

**To the Bottom of the Heap:
Educational Deprivation and its Social Implications
in the Northwestern Province of Zambia, 1906-1945
[Latest e-book revision: 1 March 2014]**

by

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**This e-book (same title) is based on my dissertation
submitted to the History Department /
Graduate School of Syracuse University,
May 1983**

Table of Contents

Abstract [from dissertation]	5
Preface [from dissertation]	6
Thanks	9
Special Terms and Abbreviations in the Text	10
Introduction ???	12
Part One: Traditional Africa and New Colonial Societies	14
CHAPTER I: TRADITIONAL AFRICAN EDUCATION	15
Mukanda: A Model	16
Adaptation Under the World System	19
CHAPTER II: EUROPEAN AND AFRICAN CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS	24
Parameters of the Environment	24
Different Perceptions of the Environment	27
Opposing Social Conceptions and Realities	30
CHAPTER III: THE NWP AS AN IMPERIAL BACKDOOR	36
The Birth of Three Colonial Societies	37
Changing African Conceptions	48
CHAPTER IV: ADMINISTRATORS AND SETTLERS IN THE NWP'S COLONIAL SOCIETY	55
BSAC Administrators Occupy the NWP, 1902-1924	57
Administrators of Stagnation, 1924-1945	62
No Settlers, No Development	67
CHAPTER V: THE MISSIONARY FACTOR	72
The Brethren and the SAGM: Background and Entry	73
Unorthodox Religious Policy	78
CHAPTER VI: SOCIAL INTERACTIONS	87
The Elements of NWP Society, A Closer Look	87
Forced [Required] Interactions: Taxation/Migration and Evangelization	91
Voluntary Interactions: Education as a Symbol of Modern Society	98
The Historical Limitations of Education	100
Part Two: The Inception and Evolution of the Modern Educational System	102
CHAPTER VII: EDUCATION IN KAONDE-LUNDA PROVINCE, 1906-1924	104
Kalene Hill's Educational Program	104
The SAGM's Educational Program	112

March 17, 2014

CHAPTER VIII: EDUCATION AT CHITOKOLOKI, 1914-1924: A DIFFERENT FORUM.....	121
George Suckling's Educational Vision	121
Suckling, A Dual Barotse Administration, and Africans.....	126
Suckling's Fading Vision	129
CHAPTER IX: EDUCATIONAL STAGNATION, 1924-1932	134
New Hopes, Little Change: The Educational Situation in the Territory and in the NWP.....	134
Sketches of Autonomous Stagnating Educational Programs	140
Cottrell's Visit and the Birth of the Modern Educational System	155
CHAPTER X: EDUCATION AMIDST WORLD CRISIS, 1933-1945.....	157
The Educational Implications of World Crises	159
Quantitative Educational Advances: The Rapid Development of Village Schools in the Mid-1930s	164
Qualitative Educational Improvements: Middle and Upper Primary Schools and Teacher Training	171
An Era Ends	177
CHAPTER XI: A CONCLUSION: THE AFRICAN RESPONSE TO THE NWP'S WEAK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM	181
Unpopular Educational Programs and African Preferences.....	181
Taxation, Migration, Self-Help and Education	184
Formalized Interaction, 1941-45: Native Authority Schools and Local Education Committees	189
APPENDICES (from original dissertation).....	193
APPENDIX A: Brethren Missionary Principles.....	193
Appendix B: A Lingua Franca? Alternative Brethren Positions on African Education	194
Appendix C: Melland and Government Under BSAC Control	202
Appendix D: Melland versus SAGM	206
Appendix E: Pirouet in Kaondeland	210
Appendix F: An African Messiah	224
APPENDIX G: Taxation Introduced	225
APPENDIX H: Native Schools Proclamation of 1918	227
Appendix I: George Suckling and Education	230
APPENDIX J: Silas Chizawu on Education, Balovale, 1930s	234
Appendix K: John Cottrell's Report, January 1933	237
Appendix L: Educational Missions, 1938.....	255
APPENDIX M: Five Year Development Plan: Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1943 African Education	261
Bibliography of Selected Key Books, Articles and Ph.D. Dissertations on the NWP of Zambia: 1983 - 2013	266
Books and Articles.....	266
Ph.D. Dissertations.....	267

Outline of Bibliography (Original, 1983)	269
BIBLIOGRAPHY	269

Abstract [from dissertation]

The vast area of Northern Rhodesia that later became the Northwestern Province (NWP) was part of an even larger colonial backwater. This area and this fact provide the framework for studying the NWP's colonial society. The NWP's educational system in turn evolved from this anachronistic society.

In the 1880s Britain through the British South Africa Company (BSAC), King Leopold through his Congo Independent State, and Portugal competed vigorously for the NWP and the much vaster geographic region of which it forms a part. A series of chance decisions fixed new international boundaries and left the NWP at the point of congruence and on the periphery of their three empires. Then another series of chance decisions by Britain and the BSAC left the NWP economically stagnant. Consequently, despite vast mineral resources, the NWP was consistently neglected during the twentieth century. By 1945 it had become known as the cinderella province of Northern Rhodesia.

While this--negative setting transformed African education, the new colonial society did not regard it as meaningful. Thus Christian missions laid the foundation for the modern educational system. Since large mainstream societies found the NWP unappealing, conservative evangelical missions operated all educational progress. Small and poor, they maintained only feeble religious schools that had little appeal to the African population. Only one missionary, George Suckling, tried to organize a systematic program, but was unsuccessful until the mid-1930s and early 1940s when government policy became more progressive. With this change, Suckling and other educators improved their educational programs. These improvements came too late. By 1945 the NWP was so far at the bottom of the heap, educationally as well as developmentally, that it could never catch up.

Part One analyses traditional African society and the impact of colonialism. Part Two narrates more chronically the growth of the new educational system. Sources for this study came from living and working in Zambia during 1963-79 which afforded wide access to written materials and key individuals. British and American archival materials were also utilized.

Preface [from dissertation]

Educational systems do not develop in a vacuum. Instead they reflect the societies of which they are an intrinsic part. Such is the case with the seriously defective educational system that emerged in the IVP during the colonial era by 1945. It mirrors the NVP's colonial society that consisted of a powerful, albeit miniscule, white elite and a powerless African populace.

The primary and secondary reasons for this educational deficiency--which clearly lie outside the realm of formal education--indicate the general constraints on, and inadequacies of, this society. The primary cause for the NWP's defective educational system was the uneven economic development that took place in south-central Africa during the first half of the twentieth century. This development in turn had been instigated by events that occurred in an earlier era. In the late nineteenth century three large imperial powers created both new colonial societies and new international boundaries to separate them. Thus, they transformed this region of Africa into the Belgian Congo, (Portuguese) Angola, and (British) Northern Rhodesia.

These powers slowly imposed upon the area their own economic systems, all based upon an emerging industrial capitalism concerned with efficiency and profits.. much of the region they considered a poor risk for investment and development. So while modern industrial economies flourished in the copperbelts of the Congo and Northern Rhodesia, most areas languished. As the new boundaries severed traditional east/west trade routes and cultural and political ties, these regions became increasingly divorced from the old society without being positively incorporated in the new.

Northern Rhodesia's northwestern corner, an isolated and remote segment of Anglophone Southern Africa that eventually became the NWP, was one of the extreme examples of neglect by the new economic, political and social order. Britain did not believe educational development was crucial in such a peripheral part of its world empire.

Because they were most interested in government economy and efficiency, the British literally dumped the matter of African education into the lap of the Christian missions. In the NWP this action contributed to a far more visible, though much less important, secondary reason for the defective educational system. On the whole, large missions believed that the NWP was not a prime mission field. Except for the Zambezi Valley, the area lacked effective transportation and communications systems and had a small population. Hence, prior to world War II, the NWP attracted only two relatively poor evangelical missions: missions moreover possessing only a marginal interest in secular education. Because these small missions failed to provide a high quality of western-oriented education, the region became an educational as well as an economic backwater. By 1945 it was a forgotten little corner of the world.

Reflecting the economic, political, and social order that they are a part of, the western-oriented academic world also has ignored the NWP. Little has been written about it except for a few excellent micro-studies by anthropologists: F. M. Melland (on Kasempa District), Victor Turner (on Mwinilunga District), C.M.N. White and, more recently, Arthur Hansen and Anita Spring (on Zambezi District). Pre- colonial historical studies by Dick Jaeger

(Kasempa), Robert Papstein supplement (Zambezi) and Robert Schecter (Mwinilunga) this work. Only Benson Kakoma has written about the colonial era. Works focusing on the whole territory and nation, such as Richard Hall's *Zambia &* and L. H. Gann's *History of Northern Rhodesia* have ignored the NWP with very minor exceptions prior to 1981. New work does not make this error Only Fergus Macpherson's new work does not make this error of omission. In like manner, the main works on the so-called 'development of education in the territory, especially those of John Ragsdale and P. D. Snelson, focus on other provinces where the new educational system grew much more rapidly.¹

The reason for this neglect is simple. In the colonial era this northwestern corner of the territory was undramatically, almost placidly, yet devastatingly converted into an uninteresting backwater of the modern world. And the western academic world, which includes many scholars at African universities, generally has not examined such backwaters.²

Both consciously and unconsciously, scholars have traditionally worked as a part of or an extension of the western elite. In order to obtain academic employment and funding for research and in order to make themselves heard through the media, scholars have had to do one of two things. They have had to either openly glorify and support, or 'constructively' criticize and analyze, the movement of international capitalism and imperialism that has controlled the rest of the world in the twentieth century. The works of L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan do just this, especially *Burden of Empire*. Failing this first course, scholars could instead choose to study the exotic, dramatic, and flamboyant. Glorifying imperialism and capitalism has flattered wealthy sponsors; constructive criticism has soothed consciences: and the sensational has its own obvious appeal to buyers of books. Other approaches would not sell so well. Certainly relatively few readers either in the West or in Africa have wished to identify their own complacency and responsibility in quietly subjugating pre-industrial peoples. They do not wish to admit their own part in turning the people of self-sufficient, independent African societies with unique cultures into dependent, powerless peasants within a capitalist economy.³

Despite its undramatic history, the transformation of the HWP has a valuable message for everyone, namely that the capitalist, imperialist devastation of over half the world has been truly efficient, and dramatic episodes—such as those of stoic resistance portrayed by T. O. Ranger and George Shepperson—are the exceptions, not the rule. Much more common has been the very quiet and efficient conversion or subversion of peoples into

1. For full information on the authors cited in this brief review, consult the bibliography. Besides these scholarly works on the IVP, works by three Zambian nationals are useful: Simon Chibanza, Thomas Chinyama, and Mose Sangambo. For other important educational works on the territory as a whole, see John Mwanakatwe and Trevor Coombe. In addition, R. I. Rotberg's book on Christian missionaries still contains perceptive material. Fergus Macpherson's new work deserves special notice. I could obtain this work only in June 1982 just before completing the final version of this work. This analytic study totally refutes the assertions of Gann and most other western scholars, who maintain that British rule under the BSAC was established and sustained rather painlessly. It could properly be subtitled "African Misery and suffering under the BSAC." Despite differences in method, emphasis, and style, my research and this dissertation support his major findings and assertions. Although unable to quote him in the text, I have made extensive cross-references to this brilliant new historical interpretation.

2. A few scholars today are consciously trying to break out of this mold. An example with regard to Zambia is Maude Muntemba's dissertation on the economic history of Kabwe Rural District.

3. These strong statements are not political statements for or against the East or Soviet/Chinese forms of communism. In Africa, these nations have been largely irrelevant, at least directly, until recent years.

modern-day peasants who remain powerless within the world's economic, social, and political systems. If the stories of these nonwestern peoples and places are ever told, they will parallel the tale of the NWP.⁴

My friends in the NWP are especially asked to place these statements concerning my dissertation in the following context. Between 1963 and 1979 I lived and worked in, or was closely associated with, the NWP. During that time two truths became apparent to me. First, despite its vast potential mineral wealth, good soils, and small population, the NWP truly has been Zambia's "cinderella province", a land of perpetual future prosperity whose future never seems to come. Second, its modern education system has been and still is weak. Since Independence in 1964 the examination pass-ratio for NWP students has remained among the poorest in the nation.⁵

These two truths and the evidence that supports them became the focus of countless personal and professional discussions. While they agreed on the facts, most people hotly disputed the causes that created them. These obviously lie in the past. But as noted below, history can be an amorphous grab bag, useful for groping into and hurling out answers pleasing to some and displeasing to others.

My discussions included people from all segments of society: politicians, missionaries, and so-called ordinary people. The last often spoke with great emotion about the colonial government's policy of neglecting the province and about the parallel failure of the missions to organize an adequate system of education, especially when missions in other provinces, such as the Church of Scotland in the Northern Province, did so much more. The missionaries replied with sadness that they and their predecessors had given their lives to the people and region. Yet they took the blame for the failure of education and for a situation they did not create. The colonial government, in deciding to 'rule on the cheap', had required the missionaries to educate the people but had not financed them with the amounts of money they needed to do the job properly. Everyone had expected too much of missionary agencies and their voluntary supporters overseas. They could not provide money for all social services in the area. The new Zambian officials also joined the debate. They repeatedly said that the national government provided an equitable number of places in school in comparison to the rest of Zambia. The poor results produced by the educational system lay not in Lusaka but within the province.

Each group was at least partially correct, both in its historical self-vindication and in its accusation of others, because each viewed the present situation from the perspective he had inherited from the past. Education, especially the 'little school in the bush', had been a potent symbol to their predecessors and it still retained its potency.

If anyone was wrong, I was. In the 1970s while collecting written records and oral

4. My broad assertion on the "capitalist, imperialist devastation" may have been compromised by Goran Hyden's new work, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980). Unfortunately, I located a copy of this work too late to fully absorb his line of argument and make any changes here.

5. The term "cinderella" has great emotional meaning to people within the NWP. It came into common use during the period of the Central African Federation after 1954 and has been used by numerous politicians. Frequent use has raised awareness of the deprivation, but has not led to much long-term, positive change. Hence the term connotes ever-increasing frustration, at least up to 1979.

narratives relating to the past and present educational system, its teachers, its pupils, the number of schools, and the like, I largely ignored the wider message that everyone was sending to me. Only distance in time and place from my adopted home in the NWP has enabled me to see that the problems raised were not only historical, but wider and deeper than I realized-- extending much beyond the formal educational system. While I was lost in the trees, each from his own perspective was telling me about the forest.

As a result, the scope of this study has altered since I first began. In place of extensive pedagogical details, I now tackle the different attitudes, viewpoints, perceptions, and assumptions of the interacting social groups. In the first part, the words 'schools' and 'education' are employed infrequently, because this portion focuses first on these concepts, second on the African people and the region, third on international events relation to the NWP, and fourth on the elements that comprised the NIP society, a distinct provincial variant of Northern Rhodesian colonial society. Even the last part contains far less narrative and detailed description of individuals than I originally anticipated. Instead, I try to place the basic facts about the foundations and evolution of the present educational system into the wider framework of the emerging colonial state. Furthermore, I now end the narrative in 1945 instead of 1968. For while after 1945 the same general neglect continued, complex new policies began to unfold. Certainly this approach will not please everyone. But it will, I hope, help to clarify a shadowy historical era and area that few historians and social scientists have charted.

Thanks

I cannot thank all the people on three continents who have assisted me. The Bibliography lists individuals I have interviewed. These 'informants'--as academics use the term--include some of my dearest friends and adopted relatives. I thank all of them collectively; to pick out and repeat any names would show an unfair partiality.

I would also like to acknowledge other individuals not mentioned in the Bibliography: Robert and Marion Molteno in London; Wim and Romana Hoppers in the Netherlands; Felix Mukuka and Peter Njovu in Solwezi; Karen Szymanski and Marcia Harrington in Syracuse; and my advisors at Syracuse University, Roderick J. Macdonald, Robert G. Gregory, Alan K. Smith, James L. Newman, and Peter T. Marsh. The Gqomo 'clan' in Port Elizabeth in South Africa and New York City and the Wilkin and Gutridge

'clans' in Ohio and Canada have given me continual moral support which I greatly appreciate.

The staffs at several institutions have assisted me in my research. These include the Evangelical Church of Zambia (AEF) in the NWP and Lusaka, the University of Zambia Library, the National Archives of Zambia, the British Museum, the SAGM (AEF) Headquarters at Wimbledon and Reading in England, and Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML) at Spring Lake (New Jersey), Union Theological Library (NYC), Yale Theological Library, and Bird Library (Syracuse University).

Lastly, I must thank Miriam Zindi Gqomo Wilkin for her enduring encouragement and confidence.

As most of the people cited both here and in the Bibliography know very well, history lives in the NWP! I am aware that historical topics dealt with here are extensions of current realities, especially those concerned with 'tribal' history and those concerned with mission/church relations. An effort has been made to deal carefully and with sensitivity to topics relating to living individuals connected in the past or at present to the NWP. Professional integrity, however, has set limitations. Hence, I have no doubt that while some readers mentioned herein will be pleased, others will not be so happy. In either case all are invited to write to me regarding any general interpretation or specific handling of individuals, organizations, and groups to clarify any misunderstandings. For the indefinite future, write to me as follows:

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Special Terms and Abbreviations in the Text

N.B. Whenever possible, this study uses the terms and abbreviations that were current during the period discussed. The major exception is the NWP. As noted below this is used as a geographic identifier. The following are terms that might cause confusion.

Boma is now part of normal English usage in Anglophone Africa and is not underlined. While specifically referring to local government headquarters and offices, boma is frequently used to include small district townships that have grown around these government headquarters.

Boundaries is a common western term indicating fixed and rigid divisions of land. The concept was transferred to Africa during the colonial era and has much importance today. It stands in contrast to **frontiers**, more fluid divisions of space.

Brethren has been chosen to incorporate the loose grouping of autonomous missionaries that are also called Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML) , Garenganze Mission (late nineteenth century), and Plymouth Brethren (PBs). The British clearing house for these missionaries is in Bath, England. When not capitalized brethren refers to church leaders in local congregations.

BSAC is British south Africa Company, also called the Company. Referred to frequently, the title is seldom fully written out. I do not use BSACcompany.

DC means District Commissioner. For much of the colonial and post-colonial era, this acronym has been used in place of the much longer two words. It is used in the same way in this text. The following, less common, terms are normally not abbreviated except in the footnotes: Native Commissioner (NC), Provincial commissioner (PC), and the adjective Acting (Ag.).

Education is used very broadly to include formal and informal training that individuals receive(d) for life in modern (western-initiated) or traditional (African-initiated) society .

Educational Program refers to the individual mission stations' educational work. In the

early days these were autonomous.

Educational System refers to the modern educational systems and also to the collective programs of mission stations that anticipated this modern system.

Fisher, Dr. Walter remains **THE** doctor in much of the northwestern part of Zambia. Because the title and the man became synonymous, this is the only individual referred either by title or by name. No other titles are used in the text except for essential identification. Walter became the patriarch of a large number of Fishers and these are identified by both surname and Christian names.

LLLC is my own creation. It refers to the increasing ethnic-type cluster of African peoples designated as Lunda, Luvala, Luchazi, and Chokwe. Today they are largely located in eastern Angola, southern Zaire, and northwestern Zambia.

Matrilineal people claim their descent through their mothers and not through their fathers, in contrast to Hebrew and European custom.

Migration has two uses: rural to rural, and rural to urban migration. The first refers to the more traditional movement of African peoples over long, or more commonly, short distances often to maximize land use. The latter is connected to the colonial and post-colonial era in which labor moves towards new economic centers to earn money.

NAZ means the National Archives of Zambia. Called also the Zambia National Archives (ZNA).

NWP is a modern term especially used after 1954. It is used throughout this text, however, to represent today's boundaries. It encompasses the more historical regions of Kasempa Province/Kaonde-Lunda Province and Balovale District of Barotseland. The following are all acceptable spellings for the province: North western, North-Western, and Northwestern.

SAGM was the most common short way of saying the South Africa General Mission. Today the name has been changed to Africa Evangelical Fellowship (AEF), with the local church in Zambia being called the Evangelical Church of Zambia (ECZ).

School(s) has been frequently used as a synonym for particular educational programs or systems. When used in my own analysis, it refers to a particular place where formal learning takes place.

Symbols suggest something else by reason of association, convention or accidental resemblance. Thus seemingly simple objects have multiple symbolic meanings, especially to different groups within a modern society. In this study, such symbolism is especially important in relation to education and schools, and also medicine and the hypodermic needle for injections.

Tribe/tribal connotes colonial and post-colonial groups of African peoples. Today it overlaps with the term ethnic.

Note also the following:

1) Throughout the text single quotation marks are used for terms that have a religious and/or linguistic meaning for a particular group in society. Double quotation marks are seldom used except for quoted material.

2) Footnoting has been done solely by paragraph. If only one citation is given and the paragraph contains a quotation, the citation is for this material. **[Note: change this!]**

Historical and Modern Place Names in 1983

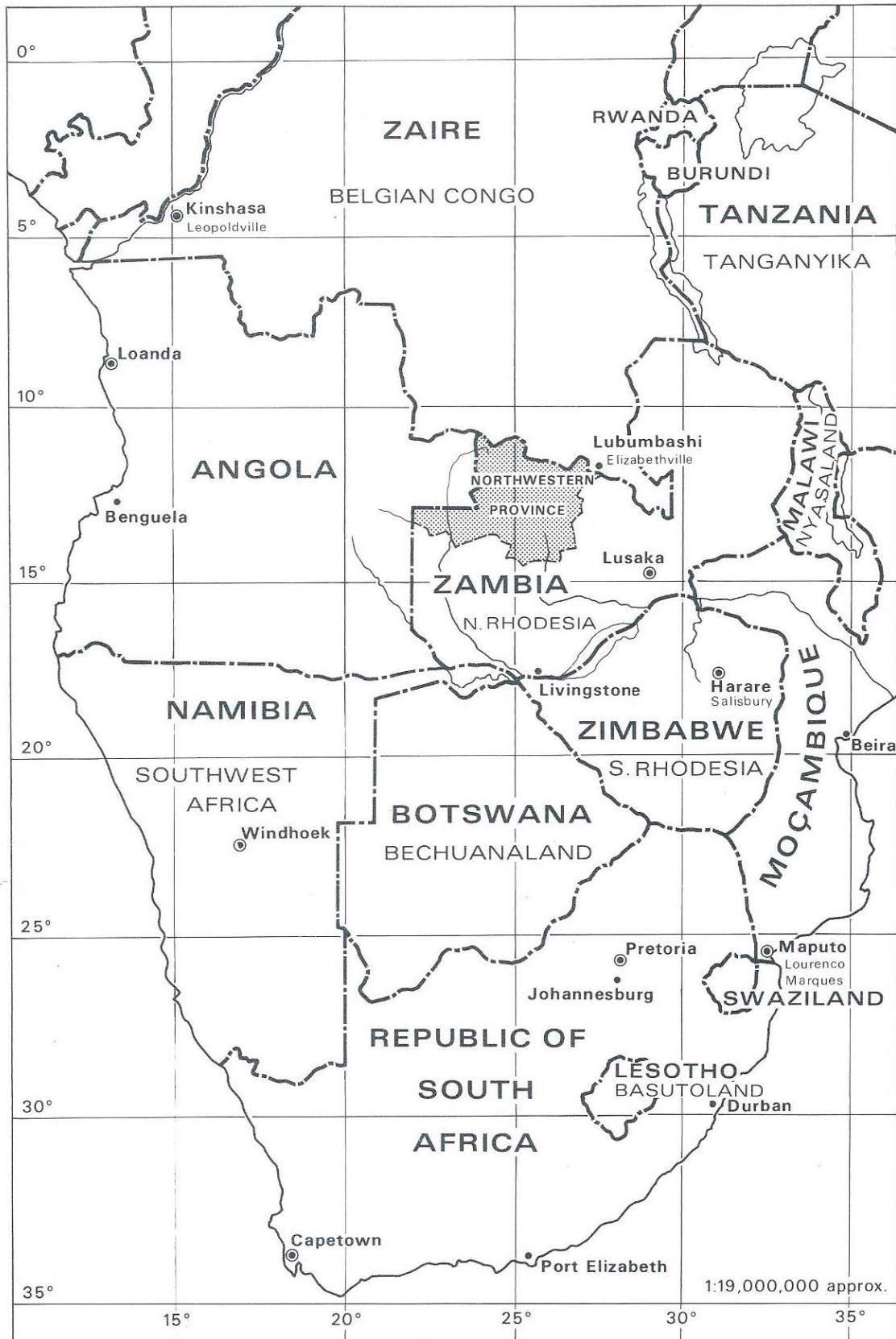
Prior to 1945.....In 1983

Balovale	Zambezi
Bancroft	Chililabombwe
Barotseland	Western (Province)
Belgian Congo	Zaire
Broken Hill	Kabwe
Elizabethville.....	Lubumbashi
Katanga	Shaba
Leopoldville.....	Kinshasa
Mankoya	Kaoma
Northern Rhodesia	Zambia
Nyasaland	Malawi
Southern Rhodesia	Zimbabwe
Western (Province).....	Copperbelt Province

Introduction ???

Map of southern Africa

(created by Syracuse University's Cartography Dept. in 1983)



Part One: Traditional Africa and New Colonial Societies

A Study of education is meaningless without . . . constant reference to the situation in which the education is given.

A. Victor Murray

CHAPTER I:

TRADITIONAL AFRICAN EDUCATION

*Education, it is said, should be a natural and not an artificial process and should come from the working of the inborn interest and not through response to external forces. That is true; it is, in fact, life itself.*¹

W. R. Mwondela

*Some aspects of African education were formal; that is to say, there was a specific program and a conscious division between teachers and pupils.*²

Walter Rodney

This study perpetuates a popular, yet false, western assumption: that education was introduced to Africa by colonial governments and missionary groups. It does this by focusing on the development of the NWP's modern educational system which was created in Europe and North America but had far-reaching effects on African society. In the process this study also commits one serious sin of omission. It largely ignores the elaborate and indigenous educational systems that existed before the arrival of the whites and that continue to exist today though altered in form and meaning. Yet these complex traditional systems do have a pervasive significance that this study cannot ignore. As Walter Rodney has noted when speaking of Africa as a whole, these system had "direct relevance to Africans, in sharp contrast to what was later introduced."³

In the pre-colonial era, the distinctive educational systems that lay at the core of all NWP societies--whether Lunda, Luvala, Luchazi, Chokwe (LLLC) or Lamba/Kaonde, or some in between group--integrated individuals into societies. This cultural integration of the individual was complex and thorough and not only had social, but also political, economic, and religious implications.⁴

Like the systems that evolved throughout pre-colonial Africa and in Old Testament Hebrew and other pre-industrial societies like colonial America, these educational systems of the NWP peoples specifically functioned to unify each group, enabling it to adapt reasonably successfully to a particular corner of the world. Each educational system not only helped to integrate all elements of society, but to assimilate new ideas into traditional patterns of thought and to perpetuate the group. This system alone allowed societies to weave necessary changes for survival into the existing social fabric and to continue to function as stable entities.

1. *Mukanda and Makishi: Traditional Education in North-Western Zambia* (Lusaka: NECZAM, 1972), p. iv.

2. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington D.C.: Howard University Press, 1973), p. 239.

3. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, p. 239. Most works on the history of education in Africa (in English) commit this 'sin of omission'. A notable example of an otherwise excellent work is Michael Anthony Samuels, *Education in Angola, 1978-1914: A History of Culture Transfer and Administration* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1970). Although African education seems more relevant to his study than he acknowledges, he only makes passing reference in one short paragraph on page four. An exceptional study that does not commit this 'sin' is Philip Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).

4. As argued later, this presumes that this systems worked.

March 17, 2014

Education in the Northwestern Province

Any broad generalizations about the different educational systems of the NWP will necessarily resemble those of John Mwanakatwe and P.D. Snelson on the whole of Zambia, of Babs Fafunwa on Nigeria, and even of Bernard Bailyn on pre-revolutionary America-- though in the last, a small literate elite was trained for higher social position, something that could not occur in pre-literate societies.⁵ For example, in all these societies where labor was divided mainly by age and sex, the young learned informally, through imitation. Only certain important elements were formalized, and both adults and youths participated because the whole community considered them essential to its survival.

Mukanda, practiced by the Lunda, Luvala, Luchazi, and Chokwe (LLLC) in the NWP, represents this formal and informal learning for the young that involved the whole society. Outsiders have often regarded it as a colorful, quaint circumcision ritual for males. To those who practiced it, however, *mukanda* has always been a central part of traditional educational systems. As such, it illustrates the symbiotic relationship between traditional education and the wider society.⁶

Mukanda: A Model

The following description of *mukanda* is timeless and generalized, applicable to all LLLC societies, and hence described in the present tense. It highlights traditional education's colorful variety and occasional formality. Likewise, it indicates traditional education's enormously complex symbolism. Most important, it reveals how traditional education used this colorful variety, occasional formality, and complex symbolism to integrate and reinforce each society.⁷

Mukanda occurs when a prominent leader, who has an adolescent or pre-adolescent son or nephew, feels that enough youths are on the verge of manhood to justify the time expended on the ceremony. If he is important enough and can get other men in the vicinage to agree that *mukanda* is necessary, the community begins to plan carefully because this special training ritual disrupts everyone's normal routine.⁸

5. Mwanakatwe, *Growth of Education in Zambia Since Independence* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 1-6; Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia* (Lusaka: NECZAM, 1974), pp. 1-4; Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974), pp. 15-49; Bailyn, *Education in the Forming American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1972), pp. 3-49.

6. *Mukanda* is also practiced by some of the Mbunda "who have not been culturally absorbed by the Lozi." C.M.N. White, *Elements in Luvala Beliefs and Rituals*, The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, Number Thirty-Two (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), p. 18. The other two major peoples in the NWP, Kaonde and Lamba, do not practice *mukanda*.

7. Many writers have described *mukanda*. Some have made comparisons between *mukanda* in different localities, but most have described it as conducted by a particular local group or society. The most important studies for the NWP and this study are four works by Turner, White and Mwendela. All stress its wider social function. White and Turner write as ethnographers; Mwendela writes as an educator. Willie R. Mwendela, *Mukanda and Makishi*. Victor W. Turner, *A Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967); C.M.N. White, *Elements* and "Notes on the Circumcision Rites of the Balovale Tribes," *African Studies*, 12 (1953), pp. 41-56. I also had many chances to observe different aspects of *mukanda* between 1964 and 1968. These observations have better enabled me to draw historical inferences about this important ritual.

8. Turner, *Forest*, especially pp. 156-84, describes the political and social importance of the headman who is responsible for a *mukanda* in a particular vicinage.

Ch. I: Traditional African Education

Mukanda takes place in the cool months following harvest, but only if the harvest has been good and times are peaceful. Then men build special camps, and the women prepare special food and beer. To attract and sustain interest in *mukanda* and to generate the necessary tension, they make preparations for colorful pageantry that merges entertainment and the deep seriousness of education.⁹

The candidates for *mukanda* do not have to be sexually mature, but they must be at least pre-adolescent and old enough to be "introduced to adult life."¹⁰ In other words, they must permanently leave the childhood that is closely aligned with the world of women. During *mukanda*, the initiates pass through three distinct stages in which boys die and men are born. These follow the pattern for such ceremonies described in Arnold van Gennep's *The Rites of Passage*.¹¹

The first stage is a brief "ritual separation," characterized by mounting excitement.¹² Up to six different kinds of *likishi*, masked figures who represent ancestral spirits, create anticipation. These *likishi* range from the *mwanapwevo*--the old woman who symbolizes the female world the youth are leaving--to the *katotolo*--a fierce-looking, super macho figure bearing a large panga.¹³ They lead the people in hilarious celebration. Members of the community dance all night and, except for the boys and their guardians, enjoy the permitted social freedom. (Many sexual taboos are relaxed during this time.) After everyone rests, the events continue on the next day. The boys eat a special meal, and their bodies are painted. Then, without warning, they are carried off to the "place of death" outside the village. The women cry and wail; the drums beat frantically. On their way to the camp, the boys and their guardians observe the strict order dictated by custom. When they arrive, the boys are circumcised.

After circumcision, the long transition stage begins. In the past, this stage could exceed nine months; all depended on the instructors' satisfaction with the achievement of the novices.¹⁴ Today the complete ritual often must be squeezed into a two to four week period.

Elaborate formal and extensive informal education takes place during this transition stage. At the camp, a large especially built lodge dominates the scene. Here the boys live and the teachers teach. These instructors are adult males. During this time they replace their non-essential work in the community with camp duties. Their primary responsibility is teaching

9. White, *Elements*, pp. 1-3, describes typical preparations.

10. Mwondela, *Mukanda and Makishi*, p. 6. White, *Elements*, pp. 1-2, notes that the boys themselves also had some degree of choice when the eligible candidates were decided.

11. Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 65.

12. For two especially useful descriptions of the first stage, see White, *Elements*, pp. 3-5 and Turner, *Forest*, pp. 187-223.

13. *Likishi* is the plural for *makishi*. Each different *makishi* played a separate role in representing the ancestors. While up to twelve *likishi* existed historically in the whole area, six or fewer types of *likishi* generally appear during the *mukanda* in any particular vicinage. The *katotolo* bearing a large panga chases women, uncircumcised boys, and 'foreigners', from the proximity of camps to prevent 'pollution.'

14. White states that in the past the Luvala continued *mukanda* "for as long as a year," "Circumcision Rites," p. 42. Considering the intensity of the education, the knowledge conveyed and the total impact on the child far exceeds that for a similar time period in the new education system.

Education in the Northwestern Province

the novices. In this transition stage the boys receive five categories of training: a) general discipline; b) preservation of the secrets of the lodge; c) sexual knowledge and mores; d) other esoteric knowledge reserved for men; and e) song and dance. They receive both theoretical and experimental instruction to transform them into adults possessing appropriate knowledge and beliefs. If one boy violates the strict discipline of the camp, all are punished. For example, if a boy forgets or disobeys the regulations, his food and that of his fellow novices is destroyed. The men believe that after a day of hunger each novice will be more apt to remember and obey and also more likely to see that his peers do the same.¹⁵

Respected instructors control the formal education. A personal guardian attends to the needs of each novice and teaches him to learn and obey the proper rules and accompanying rituals. Besides these guardians, special instructors come "from all parts of the locality. [Together with] other subjects, instruction [is] given in dancing, singing, folklore, handicrafts and sexual life."¹⁶ The purpose of instruction in the past was especially clear.

*This period of seclusion . . . gave the youths theoretical knowledge about adult life, . . . how he should behave in society and what society expects of its members. . . . Thus the various subjects . . . [gave] the young man comprehensive preparation for adult life.*¹⁷

Once the youths master the essential skills they can re-enter society in their new roles. The second stage ends and the third stage of 'reincarnation' or rebirth begins. Like the first stage it is short and intense. First women are allowed to see the new men from afar. Then the youths ritually bathe. Finally the *likishi* lead all the members of the local vicinage in singing and dancing as these ex-boys rejoin society as new men. With this final celebration, the society establishes a new unity. Some form of ritualized sexual intercourse takes place after the end of the celebrations because the youths are now regarded as mature adults and the propagation of society is not just desirable but essential.¹⁸

[Inclusive.] From its beginning until this ritual conclusion, *mukanda* continually strengthens local society. First it stresses the rules for individuals within each segment of society, segments that remain distinct and necessary but interdependent. By focusing on distinctions between insiders and outsiders and on age and sex divisions, it also emphasizes shared, mutual values and goals that bind all participants. By reaffirming clear

15. Ibid., pp. 54-6; see also: White, *Elements*, pp. 6-7 and Turner, *Forest*, p. 237.

16. Mwondela, *Mukanda and Makishi*, pp. 9-11.

17. Ibid.

18. For the most useful description of the last stage, see White "Elements," pp. 12-4; Turner, *Forest*, p. 254; and Max Gluckman, "The Role of the Sexes in Wiko Circumcision Ceremonies," in *Social Structure--Studies Presented to A.R. Radcliffe*, ed. M. Fortes (New York: Russell and Russell Inc. 1953), p. 159. For an elaborate description of the girls' puberty ceremonies, which differed from the boys in that each girl went through it alone, see Victor W. Turner, *Drums of Affliction: A Study of Religious Processes among the Ndembu of Zambia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press and the International African Institute, 1968), pp. 198-268. Although Kaonde and Lamba boys were not circumcised, girls in these societies had a similar ceremony to that for LLC women. See Frank H. Melland, *In Witchbound Africa: An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe and Their Beliefs*, (London: Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd., 1923), pp. 76-8 and Clement M. Doke, *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia: A Study of Their Customs and Beliefs*, (London: C. Harrup and Co., 1931), pp. 148-58.

Ch. I: Traditional African Education

and basic rules at a time when new social adjustments are made, it reinforces society's essential unity. In addition, at this time of change, it reminds people that continuity exists with the ancestral past and that this continuity must be perpetuated.

Furthermore, while the society changes at this level, so do individuals within it. In *mukanda*, as boys become men, mothers "lose" sons and adult males gain new comrades. Thus, individuals maintain an appropriate identity for their age and sex. In short, *mukanda* is a joint LLLC Bar Mitzvah, a Mardi Gras, and an Easter sunrise service.

But this model of *mukanda*, which stresses education's complexity and ability to continually reunify society, is inadequate because it is timeless. *Mukanda*, like the wider systems of which it forms a part, has changed enormously. And only history can show how societies experience subtle, but profound changes to avoid collapsing in the face of enormous outside challenges. History also accounts for two forms of essential education, 'traditional' and 'modern', that children receive today. This historical description partially parallels the historical analysis in the later chapters, except that it focuses on African societies and their traditional education, especially *mukanda*.

Adaptation Under the World System

An all-encompassing world system both challenged and transcended the unique, insular and regional societies in the NWP. The roots of this world system lay in technological innovations that occurred in two successive stages during the previous five hundred years. Its initial innovations took place, largely in Western Europe, between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries and laid the foundation for the industrial revolution. At that time, some European countries also accumulated unprecedented amounts of capital and the modern middle class emerged with a strong work ethic. From these European roots, peripheral subservient economic areas developed. The system expanded faster and further, not only spanning the globe, but also entering into its remotest corners.¹⁹

Since these multiple changes originally occurred in the West, almost unlimited powers fell into the hands of a few nations, especially the United Kingdom. Principally during the 1880s, these nations used their new power to subjugate large segments of Africa, including all societies in the area then dubbed 'the heart of Darkest Africa'. With the advent of this modern imperialism, the West shoved the traditional societies of the NWP into a new political, economic, and social order. In fact, the age of modern colonialism began as Europe thrust African into the new order, powerless.²⁰

In the wake of this enormous European power, new colonial societies emerged. Occupying

19. For the origins, see Immanuel Wallerstein. *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974). Also, in 1980-1981 lectures at Syracuse University by Alan K. Smith were helpful.

20. 'Power' and 'powerless' are used as rather general, amorphous concepts in this thesis and in this paragraph are deliberately counterpoised in the colonial context. As indicated in the preface, and as scholars of Africa well know, Africans in some parts of the continent stoically resisted. But all resistance, however noble, ultimately failed. The number of works written on the "New Imperialism" of the late nineteenth century is vast. I especially like the brief collection of readings by Robin W. Winks (ed.), *British Imperialism: Gold, God and Glory* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963). Also, see Chap. III, especially the last section.

Education in the Northwestern Province

the peak of the new social hierarchies, a colonial elite then consciously patterned these societies after the imperial motherlands. This group ruled the societies, reorganized their economies, and shepherded them religiously. Race, either officially or unofficially, became the basic criterion for entry into the group. The privilege Europeans, who had direct access to the world's increasingly sophisticated technology, also controlled the training needed to understand and use it.

The colonial elite regarded all African culture and education as primitive or quaint, if not savage or sinful. African ways seemed irrelevant or even anathema to 'civilization'. This elite never considered the possibility that traditional African education might be important enough to integrate into the training required for the modern technological world. In fact, many white colonials doubted that Africans had the intelligence to acquire new skills, or if they had, should have access to them. These people preferred Africans to remain unskilled laborers.²¹

In this negative social environment, two things happened with regard to education. First, very inadequate educational systems with European roots began. Second, traditional educational systems and African societies adapted and reintegrated [atrophied??] themselves into the dominant order. In the first case, the new systems slowly began resembling other systems of education round the world. Despite grave weaknesses, they were increasingly based on scientific and industrial technology, European middle class principles of hard work and thrift, and a wider political, religious and social identity that transcended all local, traditional societies.

The new developed alongside the old, but interaction between them remained minimal. Officially sanctioned by the new elite, all elements of the colonial society increasingly accepted the new system as 'education', acknowledging the traditional systems only as 'tribal customs'. Colonial societies also deliberately frustrated African attempts to unify the old and the new. Consequently, an almost insurmountable dichotomy developed between them. In this way, the new European-based, world-oriented system became the official system of education.²²

The traditional educational system creatively adapted and continued, but their original functions changed. C.M.N. White closely observed Luvale adaptations in the face of the new challenges. His comments relate their general social "adaptation and reintegration" to their more specific *mukanda* rituals:

Luvale society has undergone quite extensive changes in the last half century. . . . [but] far from disintegrating disastrously in the process, it has undergone successful adaptation and reintegration through the easy acceptance of

21. The educability of Africans was an important historical issue. For two useful studies, see Charles H. Lyons, *To Wash an Aethiop White: British Ideas About Black African Educability, 1530-1960* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1975) and Barbara A. Yates, "White Views of Black Minds: Schooling in King Leopold's Congo," *History of Education Quarterly*, 20 (Spring 1980): 27-50.

22. When interviewing people, I discovered that most thought "education" only included the official school system and its historical development. For example, see the long quotation by Silas Sameta in Chap. VII. Only the most educated and politically aware believe otherwise. Generally, when a lead question was interjected about "traditional education," the conversation changed. Sometimes the change was disastrous; more often, extremely interesting reflections and discussions ensued on the acculturation of children and youths.

Ch. I: Traditional African Education

certain western cultural values. Hence modern Luvalé society exhibits a certain amount of dualism combining western and traditional elements in an almost creole fashion.²³

Part of the continuing survival of the male puberty rites must be ascribed not to any continuing acceptance of . . . symbolic values but to the fact that these are public rituals involving much that is picturesque and colorful and capable of a considerable degree of secularization, as well as symbolizing the unity of all Luvalé. [They] express in ceremony certain Luvalé cultural values.²⁴

This commentary on Luvalé adaptation applies equally to all NWP societies. Because of dynamic educational systems, none either disintegrated or merged fully into any wider territorial or international societies.

These traditional societies specialized as they adapted and in the process, changed or permutated in significant ways. For example through its school system, the foreign-dominated colonial society increasingly selected the very brightest, most energetic and tenacious young people for favorable jobs in its new wage economy. This selection continually dichotomized traditional societies until traditional education assumed a new function, to prevent these divisions from irreconcilably splitting and destroying society. Traditional education did this by providing a cultural identity that transcended the new divisions. As other economic, political and religious functions withered, this special cultural unification became increasingly important.²⁵

Mukanda provides an example of traditional education's new specialized role. During it, the new literate/illiterate dichotomy disappears. As White observes, "The occasions upon which the ritual is performed not only reiterate and reaffirm [Luvalé] values, but serve to integrate society in its traditional form. Acceptance and performance of the ritual is to reject any anti-social or deviationist tendencies."²⁶ All men become simply men, as opposed to women, children, and outsiders. All submit to the demands of its rituals and in turn possess a role within. No one is excluded because of ability, social class, or wealth. And as *mukanda* reintegrates everyone, the entire group identity is reaffirmed. Consequently, *mukanda* becomes a soothing balm for individuals and society in the face of potentially destructive pressures.

In forcing traditional society to specialize, the omnipotent colonial society generated another kind of invisible metamorphosis. It transformed the nature of the local society into which the individual was integrated and from which he received his identity. In the pre-colonial era, local identity developed out of a rather amorphous and fluid combination of clans joined by matrilineal kinship, spatial proximity, and language. In the colonial period, this local social identity slowly expanded, assuming a wider and frequently more rigid form

23. White, *Elements*, p. 74.

24. Ibid., p. 26.

25. Mwondela, *Mukanda and Makishi*, rather strangely states "the circumcision traditional had no religious significance" (p. 6). This total denial of its obvious historical significance, detailed by White and others, is probably important. Mwondela is a second generation Christian himself, and by NWP standards received an exceptionally good mission education. Thus he seems to be directly manipulating traditions into what he regards as acceptable modern molds. Unfortunately, when interviewing his brother, I neglected to ask about this statement.

26. White, *Elements*, p. 26.

Education in the Northwestern Province

that outsiders often labeled as "tribes" or "tribal clusters" or "ethnicities."²⁷

More simply, an LLLC ethnic grouping emerged and evolved. The identity of this new type of LLLC group increasingly resembled that of all other ethnic groups worldwide. In each, individuals became part of a distinct sub-culture that was part of a wider, more comprehensive society. The difference between a distinct culture in the nineteenth century and a *sub*-culture in the twentieth century is, by definition subtle but profound.

Colonial society transformed the individual's social identity in two ways, each of which had an economic base. First, it forced extended rituals to be abridged even in the rural homelands of LLLC societies. Second, it relocated many LLLC adults in the new heterogeneous urban areas. The transformation of *mukanda* indicates how this metamorphosis occurred.

With its economic roles excised and its political and religious roles partly voided, *mukanda* failed to justify the long periods of time hitherto devoted to it. Extended instruction in esoteric, localized knowledge became less meaningful to both adolescent and adult males. Increasing numbers of the former attended the new mission and government schools. Local elders had to squeeze *mukanda* into school holidays. Increasing numbers of the latter migrated to towns and worked in wage earning jobs to get money for taxes, food, and clothing. As the ratio of men to women decreased in local rural society, *mukanda* was often postponed until enough males returned home from the towns to conduct it. Even a good local harvest became less important as a prerequisite. Sponsors more frequently bought the food and presents that it required.

As they migrated to new economic centers, LLLC men came into contact not only with new European cultures but also with totally alien African cultures. In Northern Rhodesia, most of these 'foreigners', just like the Lamba and Kaonde in the NWP, did not practice circumcision. They failed to appreciate the rich symbolism associated with *mukanda*. Hence, these outsiders often scorned both *mukanda* and the act of circumcision, which for LLLC men had been the very symbol of manhood. In the face of this total disbelief and opposition, internal differences that seemed significant in the rural homelands faded away.

This new social identity led slowly to cultural confrontations with other peoples who were unknown or irrelevant in pre-colonial times. Although the following incident occurred in the post-colonial era, it highlights the new and wider form of identity that the LLLC peoples assumed.

RITUALIST ATTACK

*Villagers at Kasongo, 12 miles from Ndola on the Kitwe road, have forcibly circumcised a man. The man is said to have asked a group of Luvala-Lunda circumcision ritualists for direction . . . But because the man had "intruded" by appeared at the "Mukanda" ritual hut--the place of circumcision--the ritualists attacked him. Police have made an arrest.*²⁸

27. In Chap. III, the colonial origins and significance of "tribes" is discussed.

28. *Times of Zambia*, 6 July 1967 (?), p. 1. (Unfortunately, when this clipping was made, the year was omitted. Nonetheless, it makes the point.)

Ch. I: Traditional African Education

In the aftermath of this incident, several LLLC men were convicted and sentenced for assault. Prominent LLLC leaders in the Zambian Government considered the conviction a collective attack on and insult to their traditions. Emotions became so strong that President Kaunda intervened and issued a pardon. In turn, LLLC leaders promised that *mukanda* camps would be clearly demarcated.²⁹

This dramatic episode, with united all LLLC men against perceived cultural insults and threats from outsiders, is unique, but the wider issues are not. It illustrates that traditional education remained vital and valid. More subtly, it also reveals the permutation that traditional education underwent in successfully fulfilling its only possible positive role in colonial society.

Visual and structural similarities notwithstanding, the educational function of this *mukanda* was extremely different from celebrations of by-gone days. Even the location of the camp, in the midst of the Zambian Copperbelt's extremely heterogeneous population, implies fundamental change. *Mukanda* was no longer the exciting summit and ending of a complete, largely unconscious education prescribed by an almost inviolate customary code handed down by the ancestors. Rather at this *mukanda*, these "circumcision ritualists" consciously, and in a relatively short time, provided the youths with a much needed cultural identity to face a competitive and bewildering colonial society. Individuals still had to contest with each other and with other children in the new educational system in order to gain comfortable places in the new society.

Mukanda had become part of the LLLC peoples 'informal' education. As such, it resembled the 'informal' education of all other ethnic groups throughout the world. Through it, the group established a child's identity within a sub-culture of a more heterogeneous society and also prepared the child for the 'formal' education that he had to gain through the new society's school system. In the latter individuals had to compete for high marks since this became the only way to gain comfortable places in the colonial society.

Despite their importance, traditional African educational systems failed to give, or at least failed to connote, power in the new society. Consequently these traditional educational systems are neither the problem nor the focus of this work. The new 'formal' education of the colonial society is the subject. It became a wonderful symbol of promise, part of which included sharing, if not regaining, the power that Europeans had taken away from Africans.

29. This is all based on my memory of events. Unfortunately, I did not record them in my diary, so my memory may be telescoping these controversial events.

CHAPTER II: EUROPEAN AND AFRICAN CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS

*Environments are as much a product of men's minds as they are of the natural forces working on the earth's surface. If we wish to understand how landscapes are built and shaped, then we must inquire into the role played by human attitudes and assumptions.*¹

James L. Newman

When used with deliberate care, the terms "European" and "African" not only identify the people that exist on two large continents of the world, but also convey two crucial sets of attitudes and assumptions. For example, the British and Portuguese and Belgians, as Europeans, share many common perceptions of the environment, despite enormous national differences. These perceptions evolved from the historical interactions of groups of individuals in similar geographic settings. All came to take for granted their cool climate with four distinct seasons, rainfall throughout the year, and the great topographic diversity that existed within relatively short distances.

In the nineteenth century, when Europeans had just come to Africa, they used these old attitudes and assumptions to interpret and evaluate their new environment. Likewise, the Lunda, Luvale, Kaonde, and Lamba as Africans evolved a common set of perceptions despite equally great differences among them. Distinct rainy/dry seasons, for example, were taken for granted as the most significant climatic variations. Consequently, when 'black men' and 'white men' met each other in the late nineteenth century, the color of their skins was not only apparent. It also symbolized the confrontation between two very different sets of mental perceptions about this savanna region of Africa which produced countless political, economic, religious, and social changes.

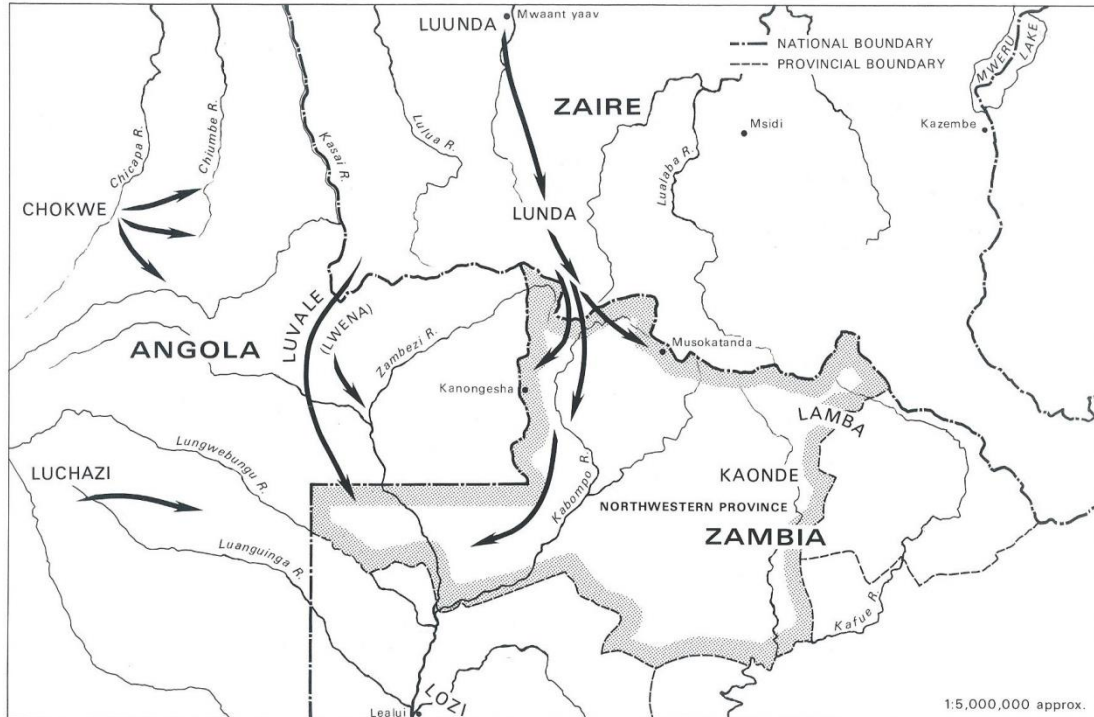
Parameters of the Environment

The present-day NWP is part of the heartland of the southern savanna, one of the largest vegetation zones on the African continent. It lies halfway between the equatorial forest to the north and the Kalahari Desert to the south. In addition, it lies midway between the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans. Its geographic characteristics resemble those of contiguous areas in Angola and Zaire (Congo), and together these three areas form the core region of the southern savanna. In addition, the NWP covers 125,935 square kilometers (48,582 square miles), and is larger than Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales combined. But while the latter have a combined population of over nine million people today, the NWP has fewer than four hundred thousand.

1. *Environmental Evaluation and Risk Adjustment in Eastern Africa* (Syracuse University, Program of Eastern African Studies, 1969), Occasional Papers, no. 52, p. 1.

Pre-colonial African Migrations

(created by Syracuse University's Cartography Dept. in 1983)



Three climatic characteristics dominate the environment: three seasons -- hot/dry, hot/wet, and cool/dry; a moderate temperate range that reflects the NWP's interior continental position; and high altitude. More specifically the total yearly rainfall in different sections varies from about 900 mm. (36") to 1400 mm. (70") and the mean annual temperature ranges from about 17° C. (64° F.) in July, the coolest month, to 24° C. (76° F.) in October, the warmest. Although contiguous areas of Zaire might have a higher annual rainfall, the variations remain slight throughout this entire core region of the savanna. Furthermore frost is uncommon. With irrigation most crops can be grown throughout the year.

The seasons indicate how moderate the climate is. October is the hottest month in the hot/dry season. At this time the sun is overhead and the rains have not yet begun. But low humidity moderates the effect of the heat and nights are pleasant because of the high altitude and limited cloud cover. As the tropical rain belt follows the sun and the hot/wet season begins, crops are planted, and the land is transformed from burnt brown to green. By February travel is difficult because the "long grass" becomes almost impenetrable and small creeks become raging rivers or vast lakes. But from May to August, in the cool/dry season that follows, rivers subside, grass is burnt, and long distance travel is once again relatively easy. This cool season is the equivalent of the Northern Hemisphere's autumn:

Education in the Northwestern Province

crops are harvested and festivities are common.²

The NWP's topography is also typical of African savanna. To the world traveler, the area seems an undulating and unending expanse of earth. Although it contains beautiful spots, such as the Kabompo Gorge in Mwinilunga District, most of the region lacks variety. Mountains, oceans, and large lakes are absent. Frank Melland described it as "'pretty' . . . better than 'grand.'" The river valleys probably provide the greatest variety. Near the Zambezi/Congo watershed, rivers are narrow and swift. In the west, however, the upper Zambezi absorbs many fast-flowing rivers and emerges as a lazy, meandering river of hypnotic beauty.³

Variations in the soils and vegetation are more noticeable than those in the climate and topography. Soils range from very porous, white/grey Kalahari sands in the upper Zambezi Valley to very heavy, red clays in the east and north. These differences in soils help create natural vegetation of considerable variety. In the deep sands--large parts of which are annually flooded in the rainy season--short grasses are more common. Most of the region, however, is well-wooded, with *brachystegia* forests predominating. Although the deep sands are of marginal value, many of the other soils can be very productive for the cultivation of maize and cassava.⁴

The fauna is also typical of the savanna. In 1912 Albert W. Bailey described the large herds of animals that roamed part of the region.

Game was very plentiful in the territory traversed, so that there never was a day's meat famine on the trip. Herds of wildebeeste and hartebeeste beset the path. Great hulking, snorting hippos abounded in the Lunda River. Flocks of puku made the river plains resemble sheep pastures. Eland, roan, sable, waterbuck, impala, steenbuck, reedbuck, and wild pigs added to the bewildering variety of game animals with which nature has endowed Central Africa. It would be a poor hunter indeed who would lack gam in such a country. If the appetite for meat palled, there were flocks of Guinea fowl, almost as tame as barnyard fowls, and the

2. For the use of the words "long grass" to identify the region and its vegetation, see: Dan Campbell, *Back to the Long Grass: My Link with Livingstone* (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923).

3. Melland, *Kaonde*, p. 19. Melland was one of the first colonial officials to live for a reasonably long period in the NWP (eleven years). Many of his very perceptive observations about the area remain unchallenged today. The pejorative title of the book is misleading since the quality of his ethnographic research is excellent. I have based many of the comments in this section on my observations, made during 1963-1968 and 1971-1979. During that time I lived in three different parts of the NWP. My observations coincide with those of Melland, pp. 17-26. "Hypnotic beauty" is not hyperbole. From 1963-1868, I lived on one of the two big bends of the Zambezi River near the Zambezi (Balovale) boma, and will never forget the sight of the sun setting on the Zambezi. Earlier, in 1963, within a week of my arrival in Zambia, a friend described Chavuma (north of Zambezi) as "heaven on earth." That is hyperbole, but only just.

4. Since 1936, the standard work on soils and vegetation has been C.G. Trapnell and J.N. Clothier, *The Soils, Vegetation and Agricultural Systems of North Western Rhodesia: Report of the Ecological Survey* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1936). According to Philip Page, Agricultural Officer in Solwezi, 1976-7, this otherwise awesome study contains some serious underestimations of the potential of many soils in the province for agricultural development. Unfortunately, the newer soil surveys made in the 1960s and 1970s do not seem to be available outside some government departments. Almost all other authors writing about this area have quoted or paraphrased the work of Trapnell and Clothier. An especially useful study, but one that still depends on Trapnell and Clothier, is John D. Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia, 1890-1964* (Munich: Weltforum Verlag [London: C. Hurst and Co.], 1968), 220-32.

Ch. II: European and African Cultural Perceptions

*rivers teem with fish that have never learned the nature of a hook.*⁵

While these herds of game have been historically important as a source of protein, a much less obvious creature, the tsetse, has been much more significant to man. While it does not harm the wild animals, it does cause sleeping sickness in man and quickly kills his domestic animals. Hence, large parts of the region--some like the Chizera District with excellent soils and rainfall--have been difficult to inhabit.

Like contiguous parts of the savanna to the north and east in the Congo, the NWP is contains many minerals. Copper, iron, and salt have been used in varying degrees, and cobalt, gold, manganese, uranium, and diamonds are known or suspected to exist. Prior to the colonial era, people in different places smelted copper and iron. Likewise, several salt pans have had long and continuous use in areas like Kaimbwe, halfway between Kasempa and Solwezi. During the colonial era, people continued their subsistence operations since the deposits were too small for commercial exploitation. Iron smelting stopped, however, because products were imported from Europe. Only copper mining expanded when deposits of high grade and easily accessible ore were located. The most notable of these has been at Kansanshi near the Solwezi boma. The most significant deposits of copper, however, were located to the north and east of the NWP in the main part of the area collectively known as the Congolese and Northern Rhodesian 'copperbelts'.⁶

Different Perceptions of the Environment

Initially, most Europeans who came to this part of the savanna perceived the region in negative terms: it was an enormous, ill-defined, unhealthy, and very hot area in which travel and communications were exceedingly difficult. They had formed much of this image from stories of earlier travelers before they ever left Europe, even though these tales often referred to the coast and the climatic zones of West Africa rather than to the savanna.

The journey inland from the coast reinforced the negative assumptions of these early European travelers. They lacked the forms of transport that much of mid-nineteenth century Europe took for granted, including navigable rivers, canals, and railroads. Neither could they use horses to transport their goods because of the dangers posed by the tsetse. Hence the journey necessitated the use of Africans as carriers. This tended to dehumanize them in Europeans' eyes and to prevent the travelers from averaging more than twenty to forty kilometers a day. This method and pace of travel also unsettled basic concepts of time and space. Unlike Europe, the savannah lacked awesome barriers, such as mountains; yet it was much, much larger. A typical journey to interior places like the NWP took two to three months from the coast. Furthermore, since the population was small, many Europeans assumed that the land through which they were passing was poor and truly

5. *South African Pioneer* (hereafter cited as *Pioneer*), 25 (April 1912), 53.

6. This is largely based on personal observations and general historical information acquired whilst working in NWP development projects, 1975-9. Pirouet describes an impoverished European involved in the subsistence operations of the salt pans at Kaimbwe. [Give source here.] Kansanshi has not been continuously worked because of problems with its high water table. The word 'copperbelt' is often, but inconsistently capitalized by writers on Northern Rhodesia/Zambia.

Education in the Northwestern Province

godforsaken.⁷

Major E.A. Steele gave a speech to the Royal Geographical Society that illustrates these impressions. Principally describing his work on the delimitation of the British/Belgian border between Northern Rhodesia and the Congo, he also sketched in the similar work of the British/Portuguese demarcation along the Northern Rhodesian and Angolan border. Steele described the problems and frustrations he felt in trying to bring in essential supplies.

*The problem was how to maintain eight white men and four hundred black men in a practically uninhabited and foodless country for fifteen months, the farthest point of which was 350 miles or a twenty-eight days' journey from our railhead at Baya. As a Native can only carry a total load of twenty-eight daily rations, it follows that he cannot be sent further than a fourteen days' journey, in which case he will have consumed all the flour he started with, as he required the remaining fourteen rations to feed himself coming back. As the first half of this country was tsetse fly area, any form of animal transport was also out of the question.*⁸

Steele was obviously relieved when the border commissions met just north of Kalene at the junction of Angola, the Congo, and Northern Rhodesia. He concluded by noting that "we were able to turn our backs once and for all on what must surely mark the beginning of one of the most dreary and desolate parts of Africa".⁹

Not all Europeans shared, or at least continued to share, Steele's negative perceptions. Dr. Walter Fisher, the founder of Kalene Mission, is a good example. Fisher thrived not because his early perceptions were different, but because his religious convictions caused him to stay long enough to acquire more positive perspectives. This especially occurred after he explored the thickly forested watershed, which Steele later demarcated, and founded a permanent mission station on Kalene Hill. From it, hundreds of square kilometers of Angola, the Congo and Northern Rhodesia woodlands were visible. He and his family, like many later immigrants, soon learned that a cool night in July, when the temperature was only two or three degrees centigrade, was no warmer than a similar night in London or Paris in early winter. Likewise, they learned that the hot days of October, which had low humidity and were accompanied by cool nights, were not really so hot as the summer days of Lisbon, Rome, or Athens. Furthermore, Fisher helped improve the use of several drugs for tropical diseases. For example by experimenting with, and insisting on, the use of small regular doses of quinine, he helped eliminate malaria's deadly derivative, blackwater fever. With such medical advances, he helped make the environment almost as healthy as the European countryside.¹⁰

7. In 1924, on her initial trek to Kalene from the Congolese railhead, Elsie Burr and her entourage averaged eighteen miles a day. This was as fast or faster than her predecessors travelled. *Kalene Memories* (London: Pickering and Inglis, 1956), p. 89.

8. "Zambezi-Congo Watershed", *Geographical Journal*, 50 (Sept. 1917): 180-93; quotations from pp. 184-5, 187.

9. Ibid.

10. In the historical records available, Fisher does not specifically compare Africa and Europe. These examples are inferred, however, from the records to make this point. In the 1960s and 1970s numerous personal visits that I made to Kalene and the nearby Hillwood Farm, with the attached school for missionary children at Sakeji, easily convinced me how healthy the area could become. Living in similar places in the NWP for reasonably long periods gave me further proof.

Ch. II: European and African Cultural Perceptions

For most Europeans initial perceptions changed more slowly. The immigrants seemed to need negative thoughts of the African environment to sustain a favorable image of their old homes in Europe.

African perceptions were obviously very different. Because the area was the only home they knew, they made internal rather than external comparisons. To them, the differences between sections of the region were large. The land was neither monotonous nor alike. For example, the thickly forested Congo/ Zambezi watershed with its heavy, red clay soils, and the lightly wooded Zambezi Valley with its deep, sandy soils and slightly warmer temperatures were different ends of a closed spectrum.

In 1914 George Suckling recorded the way in which some young men responded to these internal differences. When he left Kalene to found Chitokoloki Mission, ten young men--some with families--walked three hundred kilometers south along the Zambezi River to join him. While the distance of the journey did not appear to disturb them, "the change of altitude did not seem to suit them."¹¹ It was too hot. After several got sick and one died, others returned to their old, "healthy" environment.

European and African perceptions thoroughly diverged over the meaning of land and its possession. The white immigrants believed that all land had an exact beginning and ending. A particular space belonged indefinitely to a particular individual(s) and kin. In other words, they believed in a fixed tenure of land that distinguished their own portions from that of other people. Industrialization and urbanization separated the average middle class European from any autochthonous oneness with his environment.

Africans believed the land was an extension of each individual's persona. The spirits of his ancestors in the past, his kin in the present, and his children in the future were united through the land. People used what they needed to survive and what they could defend against envious neighbors. Power struggles arose over choice spots, but the region's vastness minimized conflicts.

Thus African concepts of the land were both broader and narrower than those of the European. "Our" land was defined as that which the individual and his kin were currently using. "Theirs" was what other people were using. But since kin were spatially separated and dispersed among other people, "our" land was not simply one compact unit of land, but extended throughout a large area of the savanna. Ultimately, through the land all the peoples of the savanna were united, forming a completeness, a oneness. Maybe one white observer was correct when he said, "'Mother Earth' is a common expression in civilization. But to Africans the earth is intimate and 'mother' to a degree that suggests an African origin of the phrase."¹²

For the newcomers, the land might be either beautiful or ugly. For the indigenous people, such an observation was irrelevant. Function determined beauty, not the abstractions of a

11. Suckling, 15 March 1914, *Echoes of Service* (hereafter cited as *Echoes*), 43 (June 1914, pt. 1), pp. 215-6.

12. ____ Watson, *On Trek*, Vol. 19 (May/June 1945), p. 5. For the complex relationships that arose over land, see especially Victor W. Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society: A Study of Ndembu Village Life* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964 [1957], for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Northern Rhodesia [Zambia]).

Education in the Northwestern Province

more complex society. The land, and the trees and animals thereon, had 'beauty' when it had a positive function. The significant question to them was whether or not it helped them survive and prosper. One of Elsie Burr's witty anecdotes, recorded during her early travels around Kalene, far more vividly and charmingly contrasts these two sets of environmental perceptions.

On one trip I had no cook-boy with me, so I took one of my ordinary carriers and showed him my simple requirements. At the first camp he set the little table for the meal. I had opened a tin of sardines. After arranging the table in what he thought was the correct way, he vanished into the bush and came back with a large red wild flower, just the head of it. This he crammed into the empty sardine tin and solemnly set it in the middle of the table. The onlooking and wondering village people were surprised and said to him: "Is she going to eat it?" With withering scorn, he replied: "Oh, you people of the villages, you know nothing, nothing at all! Don't you know that the white people cannot swallow their food unless their eyes are resting upon a flower?"¹³

The two distinctly different sets of environmental perceptions, especially highlighted by this anecdote, indicate the vast differences between European and African conceptual worlds. In fact, these different perceptions are only the tips of two conceptual icebergs. The deep and wide chasm between them, which still remains hard to bridge, is indicated by the following comparison of some key social and political concepts and realities that existed late in the nineteenth century.

Opposing Social Conceptions and Realities

Although generalizing for much of Africa, Guy Hunter, a prominent social scientist, succinctly described the salient characteristics of the traditional NWP social and political order. He also indicated why Europeans --even the most sympathetic--initially failed to understand what they saw.

These societies were extremely varied in their social and political structure. . . . Yet certain factors were widely found which make the sharpest distinction between the principles and values informing the whole life in Tropical Africa and the ingrained assumptions of the Europeans.

African social and often political organization was built up almost invariably on units of the extended family, lineage or clan, sometimes cross-cut horizontally by organizations of age-grades and further complicated by individuals, groups or associations with a particular religious status or function. This veritable cat's cradle of relationships, stretching far back into the past, sometimes covering a wide area with many villages, embracing a host of rights and obligations, taboos and status rules, was intimately connected with religious observance through its link with ancestors. It combined both a rigid framework of support, certain built-in flexibilities (through exogamy and other rules) and often a system of checks and balances to avoid an undue concentration of power.

This exact and complex network was *society*. . . . *The existence of a chief did not necessarily*

13. *Kalene Memories*, p. 72. In general, this same wide gap between European and African perceptions of the land still exists.

Ch. II: European and African Cultural Perceptions

imply, as the European was so apt to think, a single all-embracing power. The fact that the life-force and well-being of a tribe by symbolized and immanent in the chief from whom to ask hospitality, with whom to make treaties, through whom to rule, in total ignorance of the real social entity they were meeting, treated all Africans as "tribes" with "chiefs," and accordingly supposed their political organization to be as simple and undeveloped as their techniques. They had no means of appreciating the complexity, the subtle political texture, the elements of grass-roots democracy, the balance between communal, family and individual rights which have since been disclosed by patient and sympathetic study.¹⁴

Having thus described the old African order and the inability of Europeans to understand it, Hunter concluded: "thus, from the beginning, there were to be deep misunderstandings between white men and Africans, due to mutual ignorance." These initial misunderstandings are significant to this study because they often led to the later misunderstandings that developed as Europeans and Africans increasingly interacted in the twentieth century.¹⁵

Hunter's general description indicates what has already been noted about the difference between African and European conceptions of the land. The former conceived the world more holistically than did the latter. And, as the land was extension of persona, so the dividing line between social relationships, religion, politics, and the economy was hazy and indistinct or non-existent. The Europeans, on the other hand, tended to divide exactly, or compartmentalize society (see Chapters IV-VI): the missionaries handled religion, the government officials controlled politics, the big business and the settlers operated the economy. In the NWP the different social and political concepts and realities appear in a comparison of the following: matrilineal and patrilineal descent that linked individuals into families; segmented clans within small regional states and families united within societies and polities to form centralized tribes and nations; and frontiers and boundaries that determined divisions between people.¹⁶

Europeans readily identified the patrilineal descent of some African peoples, such as the Zulu in South Africa or the Maasai in East Africa, but the matrilineal descent found in many African societies, like some in the NWP, confused them. Unlike patrilineage in the Bible and in the present-day western world, matrilineage traces descent through the mother, not through the father. Europeans did not understand how such social relationships organized society, let alone see their religious, political, and economic implications. Late nineteenth century European languages had yet to evolve terminology describing such social phenomena as matrilineal relationships.

Virilocal patterns of living also confused these Europeans. In most of these matrilineal groups, women lived in their husbands' areas, and matrikin continually segmented and dispersed among other groups. In turn, these segmented kin maintained identity through dispersed clans. For example, among the loose clustering of LLLC peoples in the NWP and contiguous areas, about twelve clans predominated and were scattered throughout this

14. Hunter, *The New Societies of Tropical Africa: A Selective Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 11-2.

15. Ibid., p. 15.

16. It is useful to note that even this section of this chapter is part of the modern evolution of this type of specialization. To isolate and analyze some aspect of a holistic oneness is a contradiction.

Education in the Northwestern Province

multi-linguistic and cultural clustering of peoples.¹⁷

Failing to understand matrilineage, these Europeans could not comprehend its significant political implications. Lineage connections in different places ensured peace and cooperation and limited conflict. In the NWP, they implied a widespread egalitarianism and lack of strong hierarchical systems. Scattered matrikin not only failed to provide a base for political centralization, but also made the need for centralization less necessary. Only stateless societies or, more commonly, small local states, existed in the NWP during the late nineteenth century. Languages and cultures that shaded into each other provided regional differences, but these did not necessarily imply tribes, especially as conceived by nineteenth century Europe. In contrast, the patrilineal descent typified by Old Testament society and medieval European societies, more frequently joined male patrikin and often laid a base for a more centralized tribe or prototype national state.

As just implied, the fluid African political and social relationships did not require fixed boundaries. Yet in nineteenth century Europe, everything was divided and defined by boundaries, from personal land holdings to national states. Thus, Europeans wrongly perceived the NWP peoples as peripheral segments of the large Lunda-Luba kingdoms, especially the *mwaant yaav (mwatayavo)*, far to the north. While a fount of some political and social concepts, these kingdoms, as shown later, never tried to conquer the NWP area with an invading army. Instead, individuals and small clusters of matrikin migrated short distances to maximize economic resources and political ambitions. For example, in the eighteenth century, Lunda princes moved southward into parts of Mwinilunga and adjacent areas, and small states coalesced around them.¹⁸

The geopolitical concept of 'frontiers' best explains the difference in perceptions. Frontiers refer to the unique, fluid, often indeterminate expanses of land between two or more political entities, but they also imply a special set of perceptions and interactions between polities. Unlike a boundary, that is "inner oriented . . . created and maintained by the will of the central government," a frontier is:

*Outer-oriented. Its main attention is directed toward the outlying areas which are both a source of danger and a coveted prize. The hinterland--the motherland--is seldom the directing force behind the pulsations of frontier life. As history, . . . well illustrates, the borderlands often develop their own interests quite different from those of the central government. They feel neither bound by the center nor binding to its realm. Rather, they represent runaway elements and interests.*¹⁹

In this frontier fashion, the Lunda traditions spread south through the formation of tiny

17. For details about several NWP societies' complex social relationships, especially see works by C.M.N. White and Victor Turner. Also see works by Doke and Melland. For material on these dispersed clans, especially see White, "Clan, Chieftainship, and Slavery in Luvala Political Organizations," *Africa*, 27 (1957): 59-75.

18. For the Mwinilunga Lunda example, see Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), pp. 162-5 and Schechter, "History and Historiography on a Frontier of Lunda Expansion: The Origins and Early Development of the Kanongesha" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1976), especially pp. 166-226.

19. L.D.K. Kristoff, "The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 49 (1959): 262-82, cited in Harm J. de Blij, *Systematic Political Geography*, 2nd ed. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973), pp. 136-48, quotation on p. 137. Many political geographers distinguish quite carefully between the terms frontiers and boundaries.

Ch. II: European and African Cultural Perceptions

egalitarian states, not only through one titleholder, but also later through other autonomous, contentious elements from this titleholder's matrilineage.

Papstein's description of the Luvale peoples provides a comprehensive example of how all these African social and political concepts were realized in one part of the NWP through the late nineteenth century. At this time, neither any large political state(s) nor a Luvale tribe existed. People with a similar culture and language vaguely noted their affinity as Luvale through a loose association with the *chinyama* titleholder of the royal *nama kungu* matrilineage. The *chinyama* had little political significance beyond a very small local state, that was of indeterminate size and much like others in the region. All association with the *chinyama* was much less important to individuals than the association with matrilineal clansmen, who were widely scattered among groups later designated as Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda and Luvale (LLLC).²⁰

According to their historical traditions, the original Luvale titleholder, Chinyama cha Mukwamayi, headed the royal *nama kungu* matrilineage. With his matrikin, he moved from a state in the north that preceded or was affiliated with the partially legendary Lunda-Luba Empire. Having been connected with the royal court, this original titleholder brought with him two symbols of his royalty, the *lukano* bracelet and the *lupembe* bell. Thus, the matrilineal *chinyama* titleholders that followed became the first among equals with social prestige but little political power.²¹

Papstein also relates that with these symbols of authority, "the *nama kungu* established a loose position of political dominance over the *mbwela* lineages . . . by combination of warfare, intermarriage, ritual and technological innovations." *Mbwela* matrilineages were autochthonous stateless peoples, who lacked any formal specialized political structures, and these dispersed matrilineages functioned as the region's basic social unit. Among them, the *nama kungu* matrilineage also segmented and dispersed thus extending the frontiers of the *chinyama* traditions. Consequently, over many generations the *nama kungu* clan and the *mbwela* both created and then retained a new set of symbolic political and social relationships. One of the significant ritual innovations that the *nama kungu* introduced was *mukanda*, and through such evolutionary changes the *chinyama* traditions became a symbolic focus of the lands' fertility. People began to perceive the *chinyama* and *nama kungu* as a part of themselves. They did not require a European-type subservience.²²

Possibly the most important thing about these traditional social and political historical realities and the concepts that underlay them has been the degree to which they changed in the colonial era. They were neither better nor worse than nineteenth century European realities and concepts. Africa was no more a paradise than Europe, particularly after being traumatized by the western-oriented slave trade. The realities were, however, the unique adaptations of the people in the region to their environment. But these were lost or changed during the colonial period, sometimes directly by European force. As Africans adapted to the new order, they both consciously and unconsciously modified or replaced

20. Papstein, "Luvale," pp. 129-205.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid., p. xvi.

Education in the Northwestern Province

their conceptual world with European concepts. Thus both directly and indirectly, Europe's enormous power continually changed Africa in the first half of the twentieth century.

Ch. II: European and African Cultural Perceptions

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CHAPTER III: THE NWP AS AN IMPERIAL BACKDOOR

*The missionary carried the Bible; the soldier carried the gun; the administrator and settler carried the coin. Christianity, Commerce, Civilization; the Bible, the Coin, the Gun: Holy Trinity.*¹

Ngugi wa Thiong'o
Petals of Blood

*Tropical Empire was based on power.*²

D.K. Fieldhouse
Colonial Empires

In the late nineteenth century Europe assumed direct control of Africa by using a creation of modern technology, "the [Maxim] Gun."³ On it, Europe's success ultimately rested. After the initial show of force the Europeans generally kept it sheathed, but they did keep it visible and available. It became the symbol of European power. Thus weapons laid the foundation for building the colonial societies of Northern Rhodesia, Angola and the Belgian Congo. Yet the almost omnipotent power generated by "the Gun" was only as effective as the self-confident men who with used it directly or acquiesced in its use.

As the Kenyan novelist, Ngugi wa Thiong'o observed, these men included representatives of western business and government (soldiers, administrators, and settlers who included farmers, miners, and traders) and religious humanitarians (Christian missionaries). While some were solely motivated by the thought of using the gun's power to acquire personal or national glory, most were inspired by "the Coin" and "the Bible," or some combination of "God, Gold, Glory." Though from all areas and social strata of Europe, they shared the attitudes, assumptions, and objectives of their age. For example though they disliked and distrusted each other, they all considered themselves far superior to 'heathen' and 'uncivilized' Africans. They also believed that Africa and its people needed to be changed in some fundamental manner. These Europeans formed a built-in elite in the new colonial societies. As such, they not only possessed the different powers they enjoyed in Europe; they also expanded them through their domination of the African people.⁴

Thus Africans rapidly became a homogeneous mass at the base of the new societies, and their powerlessness became as significant as European power. Any equality between Europeans and Africans that had existed prior to this time ended. Even Lewanika, the

1. Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, 1977, quoted in A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, "The Thin White Line: The Size of the British Colonial Service in Africa," *African Affairs* 79 (Jan. 1980): p. 25.

2. *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1967), p. 397.

3. Fieldhouse in *Colonial Empires* maintains that "the Maxim gun was the symbol of the second phase of the partition as the diplomats' cartography had been of the first." p. 222.

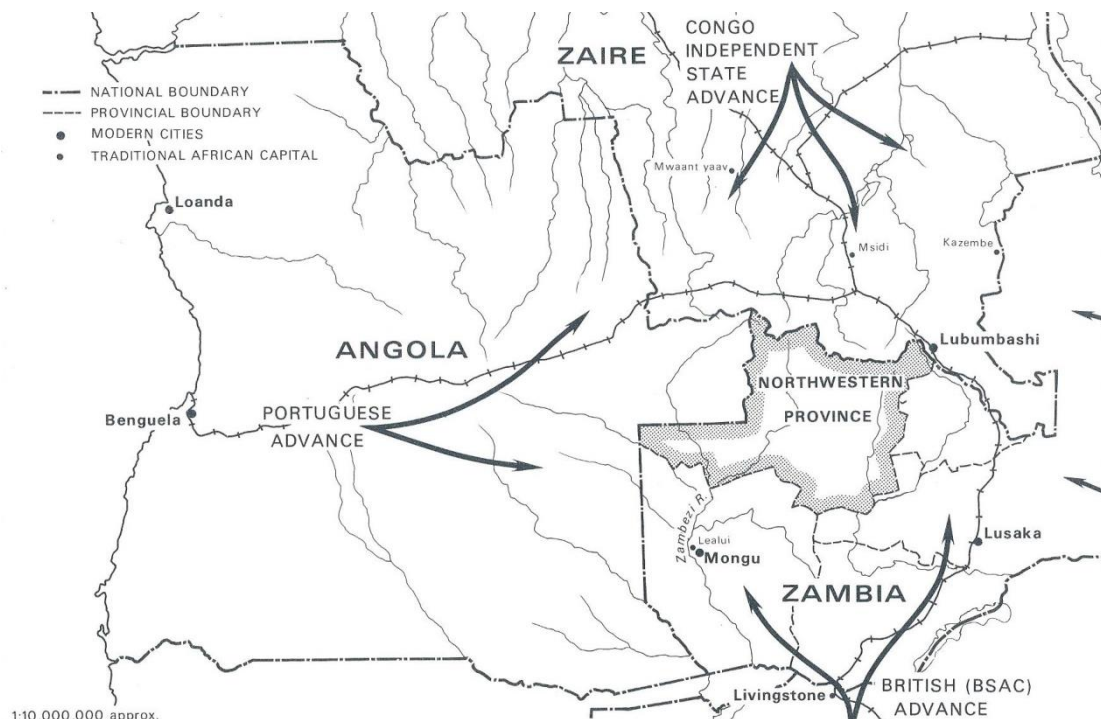
4. In the introduction to his readings, *British Imperialism: Gold, God, and Glory*, Robin Winks states, "The old judgment that the Spanish conquistadores came to the New World in search of Glory, God, and Gold . . . continues to have meaning." (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 3.

Ch. III: The NWP as an Imperial Backdoor

strongest ruler, found his power in Barotseland eroding after several decades of successful collaboration with Europeans.⁵ Accordingly, Africa's own history, together with its current polities, economies, and societies lost value and underwent a complete metamorphosis. Both conscious and unconscious changes made the lives of individuals and the structures of whole societies more compatible with the colonial society's new norms. In the process the NWP became an area that lay like a closed backdoor between the Congo, Angola, and Northern Rhodesia.

Colonial Advances into south-central Africa

(created by Syracuse University's Cartography Dept. in 1983)



The Birth of Three Colonial Societies

As Ngugi wa Thiong'o cynically implied in his comment on the "Holy Trinity," an extremely diverse collection of actors performed in the late nineteenth century drama called the European 'Scramble for Africa'. The NWP was no exception. In fact, the actors in this local drama formed one of the more bizarre collections. International actions by Cecil Rhodes and King Leopold of Belgium, two of the world's richest men, combined with the unintentional actions of Frederick Stanley Arnot, a conservative evangelical missionary, to create the NWP's colonial society. Others like Alfred Sharpe and Captain Stairs, local

5. As the most recent scholarly work on the Lozi by Gwyn Prins makes clear, Lewanika did not initially lose his power, and in fact, immediately benefitted from his association with the British: See *The Hidden Hippopotamus: Reappraisal in African History: The Early Colonial Experience in Western Zambia, 1876-96* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). Lewanika was, however, an unusual exception in much of Central and East Africa.

Education in the Northwestern Province

representatives of European business and government interest; Charles Swan, a colleague of Arnot; and Lewanika, Msidi, and Nyakatolo, all African rulers of coveted regions, also contributed to the plot.

Referring especially to the late nineteenth century, Guy Hunter in *The New Societies of Tropical Africa* describes and comments upon the situation that brought such men together.

*Save for China, Tropical Africa was the last great land area which, in the mid-nineteenth century had not been penetrated by Western civilization. . . . It is important . . . that it was not the older, Catholic Europe which finally took hold of the heart of Africa, but the self-assured, Protestant, capitalist, industrial, scientific spirit, bred particularly in Europe's West and North--in France, Germany, the Netherlands, England. . . . Although there was the will to conquer, or to use [before this time] there was not the will to change. It needed the spirit of the missionary journeys of St. Paul, the expansive spirit of Protestant capitalism, the imperial spirit of the nineteenth century European states and the growing power of their economies to give both the moral impetus and the physical strength to grasp, to hold and to change. It was not the trader alone, but the three together, and the settler in their train, who were strong enough; and these four, with their different yet interwoven interests, will figure again in the story.*⁶

Here Hunter develops three significant points about European imperialism in Africa and the birth of colonial societies. First, Africa was the last region of the world to be "penetrated." Prior to this time Europe had no reason to enter Africa, not finding it especially desirable. But by this time, the divisions of this last large section of the early "probably were inevitable."⁷ As a result, not just Europe but particular powers of western Europe contested for a part of Africa that they did not need and which did not have any intrinsic value for them. Second, different segments of European society that normally disagreed about the treatment of Africans agreed on or acquiesced in Europe taking charge of Africa. In this context, Rhodes and Leopold, who personified naked and aggressive political and economic power, became the bedfellows of Arnot, who personified ultra-pious, nonviolent, and even apolitical humanitarianism. Third, Europe not only grasped and held on to Africa, but in doing so, changed it dramatically. Hunter's three points become repetitious themes in the NWP's story.

The most significant aspect of that story is that only one of the European 'powers' involved in the scramble for this part of Africa--namely Portugal--was a national government. The others were large international companies led by Leopold and Rhodes. The BSAC became Britain's proxy when "the government in London became fascinated with the cut price imperialism which Rhodes proffered millions made possible."⁸ The relationship between Leopold's Congo Independent State and Belgium was even more ambiguous. Technically, the Congo was independent, and hence not responsible to any European government. Belgium did not assume control until 1908.

6. Hunter, *New Societies*, pp. 3-4.

7. For the short quotation, see Fieldhouse, *Colonial Empires*, p. 373.

8. For the quotation, see Trevor A. Coombe, "Origin of Secondary Education in Zambia: A Study in Colonial Policy Making," (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1968), p. 2.

Ch. III: The NWP as an Imperial Backdoor

Quite clearly, these companies were more than simple business enterprises. Rhodes and Leopold, who rivaled each other in cunning, deviously manipulated the complex interacting and overlapping powers inherent in late nineteenth century economic capitalism and political nationalism. In addition, wealthy stockholders with both hidden and open political powers supported them. Thus business and government, or the economic and political spheres, acquired and sustained a relationship of extraordinary power. In relation to Rhodes and Leopold, Portugal remained an inferior rival.

By the 1880s, the leaders of these three powers and their representatives in Africa tried to out-maneuver each other to acquire the south-central savanna. Although regarding it as a less desirable part of Africa, all three wanted it to round out their territorial claims. Portuguese agents hoped to push old claims inland and across the continent to connect Mozambique and Angola. Rhodes and his cohorts aspired to stretch the British Empire from Cape Town to Cairo. Leopold desired to make all of the Congo River basin a personal fiefdom. In addition, all dreamed that the area contained valuable minerals.⁹

To make the stratagem successful, each power tried both to assert an internationally recognized territorial claim and to secure actual control. At the end of 1884, the eve of the Congress of Berlin, Portuguese representatives moved into the upper Zambezi Valley; BSAC agents pushed north across the Zambezi and west from Nyasaland; and Leopold's men headed south into the upper Congo region.

When this extraordinary amalgam of power enveloped the south-central savanna in the mid-1880s, the outside world neither knew much about the area nor possessed a curiosity to learn more. The NWP still remained a segment of the "Heart of Darkest Africa" even though famous world travelers such as David Livingstone had passed through.¹⁰ Now very suddenly, the situation changed. For a few short years, many of Europe's powerbrokers carefully and eagerly noted details concerning the region and its people, including their past and present customs. They also stimulated an increasing public interest in Europe.

Since the Congo Independent State, Portugal, and the BSAC all sought more general information on the region, the missionary-explorer Frederick Stanley Arnot received extraordinary attention when he literally walked into the picture. Arnot was uncooperative and could not be influenced, let alone controlled. He was unconcerned about his significance to them. These imperialists, however, saw more in the stories of his experiences and observations than religious fortitude and faith. From his writings they could extrapolate materials concerning, and possible claims for, the frontier areas between them. They especially noted Arnot's geographic observations of Barotseland, the upper Zambezi Valley generally, and the region that stretched east from the slave entrepot at Nana Kandundu (ruled by the Luvale chieftainness Nyakatolo), just north of the

9. Unlike Leopold's inherited wealth and title, Rhodes was a self-made millionaire. He became governor of the Cape Province. UPDATE THIS FOOTNOTE AND INCLUDE ROTBERG'S NEW BIBLIOGRAPHY ON RHODES. For a useful study, which reflects their conservative philosophy, see Lewis H. Gann and Peter Duignan, *The Rulers of Belgian Africa, 1884-1914*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 1-163.

10. For David Livingstone's descriptions of this part of the savanna, see: *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (New York: Harper and Brothers), 1858), pp. 205-381.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Congo/Zambezi watershed, into the present Shaba Province of Zaire. Consequently, the threads of the complex European power struggle that related to the NWP quickly involved Arnot and his travels. His missionary work could not be accomplished in a vacuum, and the European powers exploited this fact in the course of gaining control over this part of Africa.

Even a novelist would have difficulty conjuring a more unusual, unlikely, unknowing, and unwilling participant in the colonial and capitalist division of Africa. Arnot had played with David Livingstone's children and, possibly more than any other individual, was Livingstone's spiritual successor. While in his teens, Arnot felt God's call to Central Africa. In 1881 at the age of 23, he left England for South Africa with almost no money, but lots of faith and promises of support from several Brethren assemblies in the United Kingdom. He had a tough constitution and began trekking into many isolated places that had not been explored by any European since Livingstone. His sole wish was to have the 'privilege' of preaching the Word of God in a new part of Africa.¹¹

Between 1881 and the end of 1884--the Congress of Berlin was meeting during the latter time--Arnot traversed the Barotse kingdom from south to north and Angola from east to west. He spent much of this time at the Lozi court, opening the first school in what later became Northern Rhodesia. As Livingstone before him, he tried to work peaceably and amiably with all people around him. Arnot's personal relationships remained untainted by the European influences that soon infested the region. In 1884 when civil war in Barotseland seemed to threaten his world, Arnot retraced Livingstone's footsteps to Angola's west coast.¹²

While he completed this final trek, Arnot's supporters published the first brief travels of his life in Barotseland. They brought him instant fame in Britain. The imperialist agitators, a vocal and influential minority throughout Europe, especially took interest. Thus when Arnot arrived in areas under the firm control of the Portuguese, he heard that the colony's governor had ordered officials to give him full cooperation. After he reached the coast, an American official asked him to come aboard ship and preach to the seamen, and a representative from a German man-of-war politely questioned him. In addition, the captain of an English battleship offered to give him the supplies he needed and to convey him to Luanda for Christmas with the Portuguese Governor and the British Consul.¹³

Arnot tried to ignore everyone. He wanted only rest, supplies, and his supporters' approval of his plan to proceed inland to the court of Msidi. Messengers had brought a letter that

11. See Chap. V for a more detailed explanation of the role of the Brethren in the history of the region and Appendix A for a self-description of their missionary philosophy. For the best account of his early years, see his official biography by Ernest Baker, *The Life and Explorations of Frederick Stanley Arnot* (London: Seeley, Service and Co., 1923), pp. 17-119.

12. For an analysis of Africa-European relationships in the nineteenth century before they became tainted by Europe's new power, see H. Alan C. Cairns, *Clash of Cultures: Early Race Relations in Central Africa* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965).

13. Arnot's first publication was a pamphlet, consisting of some letters and parts of his diary: *From Natal to the Upper Zambesi* (London: James E. Hawkins, n.d.). This pamphlet was followed by two others, also undated, produced by the same editors and publisher. They were: *The First Year Among the Barotse on the Zambezi in Continuation of From Natal to the Upper Zambesi*; and *From the Zambesi to Benguela*. For his experiences with the representatives of the colonial powers, see especially Baker, *Arnot*, pp. 120-42, and the book that was published when he first returned to England, *Garenganze: Or, Seven Years' Pioneer Mission Work in Central Africa* (Bath: Office of the "Echoes of Service," 1914), pp. 1-53.

Ch. III: The NWP as an Imperial Backdoor

"contained an earnest appeal that men might come to Garenganze."¹⁴ Although Msidi sought traders rather than missionaries, Arnot considered this God's Call. In June 1885 he left the coast and followed the old slave trade route east to Msidi's kingdom. Here he lived as simply as he had in Barotseland. Only in August 1888, when Charles A. Swan and W.L. Faulkner replaced him, did Arnot return to Europe. He had achieved his personal goal of preaching the Word in a new corner of the world.¹⁵

Agents of Rhodes and Leopold utilized such geographical data as Arnot's in their final maneuvering for control of the region. In Berlin, Britain had agreed in principle that Leopold was to control the Congo Basin. But a determined Rhodes and his BSAC refused to give up. In 1888 just after Arnot had left for Europe, representatives of the BSAC focused their attention on Msidi's kingdom. Thus within a few months of each other, Alfred Sharpe, the BSAC agent, and Captain Stairs, the Congo agent, arrived at Msidi's court.¹⁶

There, significant events occurred in quick succession. Charles Swan, as Arnot's replacement at the court, tried to remain neutral. This annoyed Sharpe, who expected cooperation from a fellow Englishman. Even Swan's simple lifestyle angered him. Sharpe bitterly reported:

*The missionaries treat Msidi as a great king; do nothing without first asking his permission, are at his beck and call, almost his slaves. . . . They live like natives, . . . It seemed to me a humiliating thing to see white people taking up such a position . . . and a great mistake too.*¹⁷

Swan's earnest attempts at neutrality proved significant. Since Swan refused to influence Msidi one way or the other, the ruler did not sign a treaty with Sharpe. After Sharpe left, Stairs arrived and quarreled with Msidi. Amid the ensuing confusion, the king was shot. Stairs claimed the kingdom for the Congo Independent State. As a result of Stairs' incident, the European powers believed that Leopold's representatives had outfoxed Rhodes's men.¹⁸

For Europe's elite, such tactical maneuvers resembled a large-scale chess game that gentlemen and their subordinates played. But for Africans and for the region, such events

14. Baker, *Arnot*, p. 119.

15. Ibid., pp. 142-230; Arnot, *Garenganze*, pp. 127-250; Arnot, *Missionary Travels*, pp. 54-104.

16. The BSAC's clear intent to annex Msidi's kingdom and the assumption that Arnot and these other Brethren would help were stated in a letter from Shippard to Coillard, 1 Sept. 1889, CO 5/5/1/, cited by Gervas Clay, *Lewanika*, p. 62.

17. Sharpe to Johnston, 8 Sept. 1890, to 27 Jan. 1891, encl. in Johnston to Salisbury, 6 May 1891, F.O. 84/2114, quoted by Cairns, *Clash*, p. 47.

18. The BSAC's failure to annex Msidi's kingdom meant that Katanga's copperfields went to Leopold's Congo. This created one of the more interesting "if" questions of Central African colonial history. The details of these events in Katanga that involved Msidi, and also Kazembe in the Luapula region to the east, have been described by Ruth M. Slade, *Congo*; and Robert I. Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia: 1880-1924* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 67-71 and "Plymouth Brethren and the Occupation of Katanga, 1886-1907", *Journal of African History*, 5 (1964): 285-97. Many Brethren resent some of Rotberg's implications regarding their missionaries. For descriptions of these events from their viewpoint, and some rebuttals, see the following two works: Frederick Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement: Its Origins, its Worldwide Development, and Significance for the Present Day*, 2nd ed., (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1976), pp. 204-7; Echoes of Service, *Turning the World Upside Down* (Bath: Echoes of Service, 1972), pp. 388-9. See also the following by Arnot's son: R.S. Arnot, *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, III (no. 5, 1958): pp. 428-34. Macpherson, *Anatomy*, gives these Msidi/Arnot/European powers an interesting new perspective, pp. 43-5.

Education in the Northwestern Province

had long-term consequences. This particular confrontation at Msidi's court determined part of the new rigid boundaries between the British and Belgian empires in south-central Africa. More specifically, it fixed the Zambezi/Congo watershed as the NWP's northern boundary with the Belgian Congo. For the African peoples living in the region, it meant that Musokantanda's people in the west and the Lamba and Kaonde peoples in the east were split into two separate territories and empires.¹⁹

Meanwhile to the west, the Northern Rhodesian/Angolan boundary areas that Arnot had explored became the focus of equally complex negotiations. Britain, through the BSAC, took Barotseland under its protection and created North Western Rhodesia. In 1891, both Britain and Portugal agreed that the latter's colony of Angola would begin where Lozi rule in Barotseland ended--somewhere in the upper Zambezi Valley. Until a final agreement could be reached, the Kabompo/Zambezi confluence served as a boundary. Portugal wanted to retain this boundary by proving that the upper Zambezi peoples had been independent, especially Nyatatolo at Nana Kandundu. Britain on the other hand, wished to extend the Barotseland boundary north to the Congo/Zambezi watershed, and west to include much if not all of the upper Zambezi Basin. Thus the BSAC became advocates for the Lozi and sought to prove that in 1891 Lewanika, the Lozi king (Litunga), had a very large kingdom.²⁰

These Barotseland/Angolan boundary negotiations became part of wider wrangles between Portugal and Britain over African territory. By the time King Emmanuel of Italy arbitrated a settlement in 1905, it had become one "of the last outstanding boundary questions between European powers in Africa." When he attempted to identify the boundaries of the Lozi, King Emmanuel correctly recognized that no fixed line had ever existed. Consequently, he compromised by creating a geometric boundary halfway between the two claims. Thus the Chokwe peoples became part of Angola, and the Lunda and Luvale peoples were each divided and placed into Angola, the Congo, and Northern Rhodesia.²¹

19. For the final Congo/Northern Rhodesia boundary agreement between Great Britain and King Leopold's Congo Independent State on 12 May 1894, see Sir Edward Hertslet, *Map of Africa by Treaty*, revised ed. (London: H.M.S.O., 1909), vol. II, pp. 578-80 and map facing p. 580.

20. For a brief contemporary account of the final boundary negotiations and settlement, see "Barotse Boundary Award", *Geographical Journal*, 26 (1905): 201-4. For the relevant international exchanges, between Great Britain and Portugal, see Hertslet, *Map of Africa by Treaty*, Vol. III, pp. 1016-21, 1026-9, 1072-6 and attached map. In their accounts of extended journeys in disputed areas, Major A. St H. Gibbons and Col. Colin Harding seemed to have stretched their observations considerably to support British and BSAC claims: Gibbons, *Africa from South to North through Barotseland*, (New York: John Lane, 1904), 2 vols. and Harding, *In Remotest Barotseland: Being an Account of a Journey of Over 8,000 Miles through the Wildest and Remotest Parts of Lewanika's Empire* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1905). For a debunking of these two accounts, see C.M.N. White, "The Ethno-History of the Upper Zambezi," *African Studies*, 21 (1962): 21-5. For the Lozi reactions to these British activities and the 1905 arbitration, see Clay, *Lewanika*, especially pp. 137-40.

21. "Barotse Boundary Award," p. 201. For some later implications of this award in the upper Zambezi Valley, see Papstein, who refers to other relevant studies, pp. 30-9. For an example of one of the wider wrangles, see Alan K. Smith, "The Angola-Portuguese Conflict Over the Shire Highlands, 1875-91," in *From Nyasaland to Malawi: Studies in Colonial History*, ed. Roderick J. Macdonald (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1975), pp. 44-64. Macpherson, (*Anatomy*, pp. 45-6) also gives these new NWP boundaries a wider perspective. He notes for example that by the end of 1891 the boundaries of Northern Rhodesia were complete but that "the weakest links in the chains of the fence were those dividing what is now Zambia's

Ch. III: The NWP as an Imperial Backdoor

This geometric division of the upper Zambezi Valley, created by a disinterested European king, resulted in major long-term consequences for Africa and symbolizes the basic fact that European power and African powerlessness rapidly became absolutes. Equality between Europeans and Africans ended. The traditional subject/ruler respect that Arnot and Swan showed to Msidi largely ceased to exist when the ruler was an African. European attitudes, assumptions and perspectives became all-powerful. Europe could create a new social order in the region and it did so as the new colonial societies came into being.

The Growth of the Colonial Societies

Rhodes and Arnot only met once, in 1894. Each had reached his peak of fame: Rhodes as the wealthy entrepreneur-politician who built empires and Arnot as the humble missionary-explorer who followed in Livingstone's footsteps. By this time, Europe's paper division of Africa was rapidly becoming history. A new stage had been reached and new activities were being initiated. Rhodes's BSAC representatives were moving north both to establish their suzerainty and to install an administration in their newly recognized regions. In a very different manner, the missionary work initiated by Arnot was also expanding. A new string of mission stations stretched east from the Atlantic to the Luapula River and Lake Mweru along the old slave--and future railway--route and across the newly designated territories of Angola, the Belgian Congo, and Northern Rhodesia.²²

Arnot described their meeting in Durban, South Africa.

*Mr. Rhodes had many questions to ask about the Garenganze country, and hoped that the brethren there would be willing to train young men as telegraphy clerks, etc., so that they might earn good wages and be useful to the large commercial companies and European governments. It was not very easy for me to explain to him that we were rather hoping to find ways and means of teaching the native boys trades that would keep them at home. The African native cannot be employed on trading stations and Government posts without developing a strong inclination to pick up the white man's vices; and even when congregated in mining compounds, or on plantations under the best control, they are still exposed to what might be called 'barrack life' temptations. The natives can weave and work in metals, as well as farm, all of course in a rough way. Our ambitions, therefore, I explained to Mr. Rhodes, lay rather in the line of stimulating these industries, and in preserving African village life.*²³

Both men tacitly assumed that Africa's old social order had passed. A new order, based on European control and guidance, had dawned.

This assumption notwithstanding, Arnot focused on the major differences dividing Rhodes and himself, especially on how to remold Africa and Africans. He clearly did not agree with Rhodes's vision of the new order's structure. Rhodes envisioned missionaries training Africans for relocation to towns where they could assume low level jobs in government

north-western province from Angola and, to a lesser extent, from the Congo Free State" (p. 45).

22. Baker says that "whilst waiting at Capetown for a steamer to Durban, the late Cecil Rhodes sent Arnot an invitation to meet him." *Arnot*, p. 256. Arnot was making his third voyage to Africa against his doctor's orders and hoped to "ascertain the possibilities of the East Coast route and its possible advantages over the West Coast."

23. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

Education in the Northwestern Province

and industry. Rhodes assumed, of course, that such towns would quickly spring up. He knew that at such places as Lovedale and Fort Hare in South Africa and Livingstonia in Nyasaland missions already trained Africans. Probably thinking of the same missions and South African cities, Arnot seemed to be recoiling from the thought that the same fate awaited his isolated Brethren, who were just establishing their missions in the new hinterland. Rather he seemed to envision a new rural utopia with life improving in a very simple manner while Africans were to Christianity.

Since Rhodes represented the enormous political and economic power instituting the new order, Arnot's polite objections had little effect on the new pattern of events throughout the region. His objections indicate, however, how future Brethren policies would clash with those espoused by men like Rhodes. Following Arnot's example, most Brethren quietly resisted providing the educational programs that Rhodes desired. Objecting in principle, they believed that such programs, if necessary, should be provided by secular authorities. However, these missionaries only rarely attempted to apply Arnot's vague ideal. And when they did so, their efforts were feeble and rested solely on government sufferance in rural areas like the NWP. Hence only in a few isolated areas, did this ideal occasionally had meaning.

In this ambiguous setting, the new colonial societies of Portuguese Angola, the Belgian Congo, and British Northern Rhodesia came into being. The combined power of European big business and government molded these societies. While the power of Europe gave these societies a similar base in the world economic system and empowered a European elite to organize and rule them, the strong counter-force of nationalism increasingly differentiated them. Consequently each began to embody the national differences of its European homeland. These apparently contradictory crosscurrents often complemented one another and in the process splintered many homogeneous African peoples. This made African resistance harder. In turn, the colonizers often deflected severe discontent by allowing Africans to move into neighboring territories and by permitting the flow of labor to other regions. European internationalism and European nationalism became two sides of one phenomenon.

Since the dividing line between the economic and political spheres was so blurred during this period, early officials often represented both types of power. Often ex-military officers, independent adventurers, explorers, or big game hunters, these men frequently had only vague national loyalties. In addition they shared an enormous self-confidence, bolstered by 'the gun' they carried on behalf of their new imperial masters. From the original nuclei on the Atlantic coast (Portugal), the lower Congo River (Congo Independent State) and the middle Zambezi (BSAC), these representatives moved inland not only to create the modern boundaries of Angola, Congo, and Northern Rhodesia, but also to establish their authority and then to organize the region's resources for exploitation.

Humanitarian rhetoric masked cynical avarice as these representatives of the BSAC and the Congo Independent State proclaimed to be 'stamping out slavery and tribal war', 'civilizing savages', and 'teaching them to work'. And while they placated humanitarians in Europe by stamping out all disorders, they also benefited international company-rulers. Disorder cost

Ch. III: The NWP as an Imperial Backdoor

money through the loss of African labor and the waste of administrators' time. Through such activity, they also quickly established control over a district and its people. When a simple display of arms did not clarify their position, minor overt action--such as killing a few resisters or burning 'huts'--did. One or two well-armed Europeans and a few African retainers generally could handle the task. Yet the European powers frowned on district administrators who precipitated costly military campaigns. Even King Leopold discovered that widespread atrocities brought down the wrath of Europe's humanitarians.

Having subdued an area and established their authority in the name of western civilization, the representatives set up a rudimentary administration. Theoretically this job assured peace and justice for a district. In practice it organized and mobilized the population as a labor pool. Although the Portuguese used force labor on a large scale, the resulting humanitarian outcry indicated that taxation was more efficient. Consequently, the administrators quickly and often forcibly instituted it in most of the region.²⁴

The administrators, though a diverse group, had lot in common because of their similar problems and tasks. Despite their different nationalities, these representatives with almost unlimited, dictatorial power over the African populace felt like a fraternity as 'civilized' whites in a 'savage' black sea. Sometimes, their imperial masters directly or indirectly encouraged them to abuse their subjects. The Congo Independent State incessantly demanded rubber. The Portuguese tried to supply forced labor to Sao Tome plantations. The BSAC drafted carriers in World War I. Conversely, some took their tasks seriously and served their districts conscientiously as benevolent dictators.²⁵

A motley group of individuals directly or indirectly supported the work of the administrators. Before their arrival, a small number of Portuguese and many more half-caste Portuguese-Africans traded for ivory, rubber, and slaves with the region's last independent African trader-rulers. At the same time the administrators began their work, mining prospectors searched for mineral wealth, especially gold and diamonds, and dreamed of another Witwatersrand gold field or another Kimberley diamond strike. Many of these early prospectors explored for concessionary companies that were connected through business agreements to Rhodes's and Leopold's companies. For example, George Grey, who Europe credited with discovering both Kansanshi and some of the large Katangese mines, represented Sir Robert Williams's Tanganyika Concessions Ltd.. While Grey and many of the companies' leaders belonged to the British nobility and/or were independently wealthy,²⁶ many prospectors also came solely on their own, often as

24. For Northern Rhodesia, see Macpherson, *Anatomy*, pp. 105-90; the topics musonko (taxation) and chibalo (labor migration) are the key parts of his book. Also, Macpherson attempts to show how these administrators perceived their own cruelties in relation to those in other imperial powers' central and south-central African territories, pp. 192-4.

25. For BSAC abuse during World War I in the NWP, see Chaps. IV and VI; and for Northern Rhodesia as a whole, see Macpherson, *Anatomy*, pp. 167-71. For the CFS, see Slade, *Congo*, pp. 171-8. For the forced labor to Sao Tome, see Duffy, *Portuguese Angola*, pp. 157-65 and Henderson, *Angola*, pp. 114-6.

26. For useful references to Grey or Williams, consult the following: Joseph Austen Bancroft, *Mining in Northern Rhodesia: A Chronicle of Mineral Exploration and Mining Development* (BSAC, 1961), pp. 49-52, 105-7; H. Francis Varian, *Some African Milestones* (Oxford: George Ronald, 1953), pp. 148-215; Gann, *Plural Society*, pp. 119-20 and *Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 121-3; E.A. Copeman, "George Grey," *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, Vol. II (no. 3, 1954): 23-5. In the latter, the attached photograph of Grey's first 1899 expedition indicates its military orientation. Brelford, *Men*, pp. 78-86, with the photograph of Grey

Education in the Northwestern Province

destitutes or outlaws.

These isolated administrators, traders, and mineral prospectors comprised but one part of grandiose imperial dreams. As Arnot's quotation implied, Rhodes and his BSAC ultimately dreamed of towns and cities, mines and industries--all the products of rapid and widespread economic development in an enormously rich British Empire. Although Leopold's initial dreams of the Congo more closely resembled a medieval fiefdom, he acquired similar economic dreams, at least for the southern Katanga (Shaba) region. In contrast, proud but poor Portugal was still to dream of industrial development for herself as well as for her Angolan colony.²⁷

The BSAC's north-south railway line became the most concrete manifestation of new economic dreams. It symbolized a modern communication and transportation system. Not only in the prospect of great wealth, but also as an act of faith in a glorious imperial destiny, Rhodes and the BSAC pushed the line northwards across the African savanna, even when the British Government refused to help. Maximizing economic potential, the BSAC routed the rail line north from Bulawayo through the Wankie coal fields. In 1905, the BSAC continued it across the Zambezi at Victoria Falls through the fertile farmlands of the Tonga plateau towards small, new mines where copper, lead, and zinc had been discovered. As it moved north, BSAC officials chose a route through Broken Hill (Kabwe) and Lusaka instead of a more westerly and northerly route toward the small copper mines opening in the Kafue Hook and Kansanshi. They could lay the track most easily through these plateau lands and the Kabwe minerals appeared to be more immediately exploitable. In 1908 the railway reached Ndola and its Bwana Mkubwa mine a few kilometers from the Congolese border.²⁸

Meanwhile, other international railways moved across the south-central savanna. The Congo Free State slowly spread a new transportation and communication system across the Congo Basin. Rail lines supplemented navigable portions of the Congo River and inland lakes. The focus was also the copperbelt that spread along the Northern Rhodesian/Congolese border. In 1909 the Southern Congo's railroad connected with the BSAC's north-south line.²⁹

In 1931 the rail lines took their final form when an international Western European business consortium completed the Lobito (Benguella) Railway across Angola from west to east and connected the three territories. This provided the most international and direct

between pp. 136-7.

27. For a good economic overview of these events, see J. Forbes Munro, *Africa and the International Economy 1800-1960: An Introduction to the Modern Economic History of Africa South of the Sahara* (London: J.N. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1976), especially see pp. 86-113. For the Portuguese poverty and economic problems in relation to Africa, see: Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*, pp. 221-4 and R.J. Hammond, *Portugal and Africa, 1815-1910: A Study in Uneconomic Imperialism* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp. 1-35.

28. For the laying of the railroad, especially consult Varian, *Milestones*, pp. 95-140, 202-15; and Gann, *Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 125-7.

29. Varian, *Milestones*, pp. 148-215; Ansley, *Legacy*, pp. 102-5; Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*, pp. 247-8; Henderson, *Angola*, pp. 126-32. Check this footnote.

Ch. III: The NWP as an Imperial Backdoor

route between the Northern Rhodesian/Congolese copperbelt and the oceans. These rail links determined the pattern of future economic development. Additional extensions depended on the profitable exploitation of mineral reserves and these reserves seldom justified expansion of the initial line. Consequently the Kafue Mines and Kansanshi closed down or operated spasmodically and the NWP became destined for nondevelopment.³⁰

By the 1930s European nationalism accentuated the process of non-development in areas like the NWP by increasing the significance of the Northern Rhodesia/Congolese boundaries. After its completion in the 1930s, the Benguella Railway's close proximity might have ended the NWP's increasing isolation. Mineral deposits in Solwezi and Mwinilunga Districts lay just south of the new rail line, and relatively short branch lines could have been laid. But the NWP's mineral potential not only remained unproven, and the boundary hindered new lines from being laid. While the southern Congo's economy rapidly expanded, the whole of the NWP and contiguous areas of eastern Angola remained underdeveloped.

By World War II, non-development continued on its own since sustaining and expanding growth in developing areas became easier than starting the process afresh. When no economic development occurred, the NWP remained merely a tiny labor reserve. Instead of becoming an economic link between these three territories, the NWP became a stagnant corner of Northern Rhodesia.

European nationalism also created a new cultural dichotomy. In particular, the different languages of the three imperial powers conspicuously symbolized the forces of European cultural nationalism. Speaking English allowed NWP Africans to integrate themselves better into the new Northern Rhodesian society. Meanwhile their clansmen discovered the same reason for learning French in the Congo and Portuguese in Angola. In this manner, Europe's cultural diversity was slowly superimposed over African cultures. As a result, the NWP did not become a cultural meeting place at the juncture of three territories; it became an isolated outpost where Britain's colonial culture ended. Just beyond its boundary, the colonial cultures of Belgium and Portugal began.³¹

Of the three territories, the Belgian Congo began as and remained the most international, but became increasingly stamped with Belgium's seal. It was King Leopold's venture and was initially under history absolute sovereignty. Although Belgium took charge of the area in 1908, it had neither an imperial tradition nor any initial public interest in Africa. Belgium largely continued Leopold's totalitarian rule, although it also instituted relatively effective social services for the African population in the new mining settlements. Questionable British intentions toward the Katangese copper mines--which in 1926 produced 80,639 long tons, much more than Northern Rhodesia's 708 long tons--strengthened Belgian

30. Munro, *International Economy*, pp. 90-95, 107-13, 133-7.

31. The increasing imprint of European nationalism on Africa eventually helped lead to something different than expected: African nationalism in the 1950s and 1960s. The latter phenomenon lies beyond the scope of this work. However, see Robert Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966).

Education in the Northwestern Province

national interests in the colony.³²

Portuguese national pride created a different situation in Angola. Portugal never officially connected culture with race and mulattoes and Africans who adopted the culture were theoretically Portuguese. Portuguese nationalism, however, encouraged extreme chauvinism toward all other cultures within its territory. African languages, for example, could not be learned in schools, nor could books be printed in other languages unless accompanied by a Portuguese translation on the facing page. Zealous patriotism and cultural antipathy also became associated with forced labor. With only minuscule industrial development in both homeland and colony and with knowledge of their weakness and poverty relative to the other European powers, Portugal seemed determined to mobilize Angola's labor. Portugal rationalized that the Africans did not possess a culture and remained in an 'idle' and 'savage' state.³³

Questionable British intentions toward Angola's territorial integrity increased Portugal's virulent nationalism. The 'secret' understanding forged by Britain and Germany over the division of Angola if Portugal could not rule the territory became known and did not help matters.³⁴

At the same time, foreign missionaries agitated against horrendous abuses perpetrated upon Africans through forced labor. Since many of these critical missionaries were English-speaking Protestants from Britain, the nation that most threatened Portuguese suzerainty, local officials tried to handicap the critics as much as to correct the abuses. In Decree Number 71 in 1921, Portuguese authorities forbade teaching in any language except Portuguese.³⁵

Although at the juncture of three territories, the NWP became a closed backdoor between them. The local inhabitants could neither stimulate European interest nor ward off the European neglect that followed. The NWP was unimportant to, but totally dependent on, the new social order. In the twentieth century, territorial, imperial, and world events had enormous impact on the NWP, but local events very rarely meant anything elsewhere.

Changing African Conceptions

Having gained control of Africa and having made Africans powerless in the new colonial

32. Slade, *Congo*, p. 43. Coleman (Copperbelt, p. 21) gives comparative production figures for Katanga and Northern Rhodesia from 1908 to 1926. Belgium's fears of Britain, Northern Rhodesia, and especially white settlers, in and from the latter, and the resulting "Belgianization" are summarized well by Gann and Duignan, *Belgian Africa*, pp. 199-200.

33. For a detailed study of race relations in Angola, see Gerald J. Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978).

34. Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*, pp. 221-4; Wheeler and Pelissier, *Angola*, pp. 71-83; and Henderson, *Angola*, pp. 110-6.

35. For early and rather unusual agitation by a Brethren missionary, see Swan, *Slavery*. For Brethren responses to the 1921 Decree Number 77, see *Echoes*, especially G.H. Mowat, Vol. 50 (Oct. 1921), p. 238; editors' remarks, Vol. 51 (Apr. 1922), p. 77; Vol 52 (Sept. 1923), p. 214; 26 Sept. 1923, Edward Sanders, Vol. 53 (Jan. 1924), p. 12; editors, Vol. 54 (Apr. 1925), p. 76. Also see the following Links: F. Broadhurst, Vol. XI (1922), p. 128 and Vol. XV (1927), p. 46. This matter greatly upset Fisher at Kalene, although he was in Northern Rhodesia, as he felt it struck a blow at the very foundation of their mission work. See Walter Fisher Papers, folios 1763-1772, NAZ.

Ch. III: The NWP as an Imperial Backdoor

territories, Europeans often lost respect for their new subjects, and the relationship between the two groups changed from one of grudging equality to one of inequality. To both Arnot's spiritual kindred and Rhodes's kin, different as they were, the indigenous African population became an undifferentiated mass. Like children, they were perceived as requiring supervision, control, guidance, and salvation. Consciously and unconsciously, Europeans evolved a vocabulary that reflected this negative attitude. In Northern Rhodesia, all Europeans officially referred to Africans as 'natives' and informally called them 'boys' and 'girls'. Racists called the Africans a 'stinking lot of kaffirs', 'niggers', and 'munts'. Likewise, all said Africans lived in 'huts' or 'kayas', instead of 'homes' or 'houses'.³⁶

The omnipresent European power rapidly and often traumatically changed many parts of Africa's old order. At best, Africans could accept or reject a new religion and learn how to read and write. At worst, they became the slaves in *A Modern Slavery*.³⁷ The political power that Africans had once possessed disappeared almost immediately except for rare examples. Economic changes quickly followed when all Africans were forced to pay taxes. Those living away from the new economic centers migrated to earn money as unskilled labor. In the more rapidly developing regions, individuals suffered grave injustices, often being thrust from traditional lands or being forced to work as peasants for new European owners. Either way, they found themselves in a 'no win' situation.

Powerless in the face of power, stereotyped by the new vocabulary, Africans responded in ways that might change their deplorable position. Just as the European colonial powers had three different imperial faces, Africans groped in different ways to improve their situation. Nonetheless, these responses were limited because they had to be passive. And in such a negative situation, the African societies often unconsciously changed their self-conceptions and brought themselves into greater conformity with the norms of the three colonial societies.

As the Africans tried to deal with the situation, they found the European elite tampering directly with their societies. British administrators did so in the NWP, where they failed to understand the elaborate, multi-functional matrilineal societies. The small localized states seemed especially degenerate and exceptionally 'primitive'. From the European viewpoint, these societies were low on the evolutionary ladder.

These Englishmen clearly admired African peoples who had more 'advanced' hierarchical

36. Retaining any form of equality in such a social environment required a conscious effort on the part of a white. For a territorial figure that did this in many ways, see Gore-Browne, described by Robert Rotberg in *Black Heart: Gore-Browne and the Politics of Multiracial Zambia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977.) Provincial figures prior to 1945 possibly included Frank Melland and F.V. Bruce Miller and three missionaries: George Suckling at Chitokoloki throughout the era, Herbert Pirouet in the 1920s, and Peter Letchford at the end. The letters reveal their attitudes. Each made an effort to describe individual Africans as church or traditional leaders and not just refer to Africans as some amorphous mass needing salvation. The missionaries' stand in relation to Africans is noteworthy. As the self-acclaimed protectors of the African, they resisted the blatant and strident racism found along the line of rail and the use of pejorative terms. Many like Herbert Pirouet argued strongly that the Africans were gentlemen and certainly not savages. (See App. E.) But while most initial letters home refer to African 'men and women', those sent a year later fell into established social patterns and used 'boys and girls'.

37. This underlined title is taken from Henry Woodd Nevins's book, *A Modern Slavery* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1906). He is especially referring to the Portuguese in Angola.

Education in the Northwestern Province

kingdoms, and they certainly expected to find coherent tribes. The NWP peoples seemed a 'pathetic lot' when juxtaposed against the large Lozi kingdom. Although they may have regarded Lewanika of the Lozi as a tyrant with 'savage' or 'pagan' customs, Europeans thought they understood history hierarchical state structure. They also respected his power over other African peoples.

In 1924 a new missionary wrote from Chavuma in Balovale District. She stated that "Simey, our nearest official . . . has been around Africa a good bit, and he speaks of this district as being the rawest he has ever seen."³⁸ The implication was clear. The officials and the missionaries both had special tasks to raise up these lowly peoples, to help them 'improve' themselves by creating a new hierarchical tribal structure. Although their concepts of Africa society were often wrong, their power enabled them to remold the people in the NWP as they saw fit. Thus false European concepts often became new African truths.

Accordingly, tribes appeared because Europeans believed that Africans needed them. They also determined Africans' tribal identities by using the region's languages and historical traditional for their own purposes. Government officials designated the most visible African leaders as 'chiefs' and 'headmen'. They expected these individuals to assist the government in ruling over people or at least interceding for them. Having created tribes and chiefs. Europeans later tried to divide and distinguish each of them.

Writing about the Luvale, Robert Papstein explained why the colonial government especially needed tribes and how it subsequently made the tribes into genuine social organisms. What he said for the Luvale applies to other peoples in the NWP.

Colonialism and neo-colonialism are political manifestations of capitalist economic relations with Africa. In the Upper Zambezi, the tribal social formation is the ethnic expression of this relationship. Colonial peoples have always been expected to pay for their becoming a part of the capitalist system and the Upper Zambezi was no different. The tribe was the administrative mechanism through which this was accomplished. Wage labor and commercialization of agriculture provided the money.

The arrival of colonial administration . . . meant the introduction of more centralized ethnic concepts, most importantly that of the "tribe." At the beginning of the twentieth century there was no such entity as a Luvale tribe. By the late 1950's the existence of such an ethnicity is indisputable. Between 1906 and about 1965 the Luvale social formation was radically altered from a large group of essentially independent, local polities sharing certain similarities of culture and language to a centralized, hierarchical "tribe" with a legally defined territory, a drastically limited number of government-recognized chiefs, centralized courts, and a "tribal" government.³⁹

As these two passages indicate, the 'tribe'--both as a concept and as reality--became the focal point of a non-dramatic, European-initiated revolution in the NWP. Europeans did not have general objections to stateless societies; they also needed tribes as mechanisms through which to exercise their all-encompassing political and economic power.

38. Ruth V. Logan, *Echoes*, Vol. 53 (Dec. 1924), p. 276.

39. Papstein, "Luvale", pp. 271,270.

Ch. III: The NWP as an Imperial Backdoor

Just as the NWP and Northern Rhodesia became genuine political entities, so tribes eventually became genuine social organisms. This happened as Africans accepted the concept and increasingly readapted themselves in the face of European power. The tribal model gave them a way to reinterpret both past and current realities.

Modern Luvale history illustrates the way NWP peoples used the model in reinterpreting the past. Historically, the concept focuses on a permanent chief or king occupying the top of a hierarchy and having a discernible genealogy of ancestral 'begets'. During the colonial era, the *chinyama* traditions implied a stronger, decidedly hierarchical, state structure to prominent Luvale. These leaders looked for, located and strengthened old ties with the *mwaant yaav* in southern Zaire. This re-adaptation and accommodation appears in a new book by Mose Sangambo, a respected Luvale leader. Like others, he seemingly bolsters the Luvale's kingly traditions. By improving the Luvale's negative image, the past now comes to us most easily through the colonial filter of a tribe.⁴⁰

This conceptual revolution also imposed new social relationships and patterns. As indicated in Chapter I, African education changed, giving individuals a new ethnic identity in a culturally complex and heterogeneous modern world. Internal social changes allowed individuals and groups to conform more fully with norms of the new colonial societies while protecting the heritage of their forefathers and maintaining their integrity. Consciously and unconsciously, individuals and societies juggled old and new concepts, and the latter often altered or replaced many of the former. For example, Africans have endeavored to minimize colonialism's harshest realities in rural societies.

The harshest of these new realities was the maxim gun. Possibly the wisest, and not necessarily the weakest peoples in Africa realized the futility of struggling openly against it. Most NWP peoples, like others throughout the world, did not choose the resistance Terence Ranger described in Southern Rhodesia or George Shepperson examined in Nyasaland. Furthermore, numbers were generally too small for any large-scale resistance. In addition, most societies had been weakened by the devastating nineteenth century slave trade. Nonetheless, some initial resistance in Mwinilunga and minor secondary incidents in Kasempa gave the BSAC the opportunity to force people into obedience, as described in Chapter IV.⁴¹

In the NWP most people searched for passive ways to avoid the most noxious demands of the colonial rulers. Some simply hid from an annoying Native Commissioner and his retinue, especially when taxation started. When this tactic failed they tried other means.

Living at the junction of three territories, some NWP peoples found that fleeing across

40. Mose Kaputungu Sangambo, *The History of the Luvale People and Their Chieftainship* (Los Angeles: African Institute for Applied Research, 1979). As Arthur Hansen has pointed out, the Luvale have had an especially "bad press" ("Running," p. 105). The Lunda in the region got a good press through Shinde's hospitality to Livingstone. See also Thomas Chinyama, *The Early History of the Balovale Lunda* (Lusaka: Africa Literature Committee, Lumbrito Series, Number 15).

41. For the most concise summary of the BSAC 'squashing' the NWP peoples, see Macpherson, *Anatomy*, pp. 115-6, 160-6. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia* (London: Heinemann, 1967); Shepperson and Thomas Price, *Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958).

Education in the Northwestern Province

international boundaries was a feasible and passive protest against or evasion of harsh colonial realities. They became aware that the white invaders had fixed concepts of territoriality and respected the claims of the other European empires. They likewise discovered that the colonial powers did not normally stop them from leaving any territory. Nor did these powers try to hinder them from entering if they agreed to be 'obedient'. In fact after World War I, when taxation had started, each colonial administration encouraged immigrants in order to enlarge the territory's tax revenue. Although continual fleeing remained an unpalatable option as each territory wanted to tax them and as homes, crops, ancestral lands, etc., all had to be abandoned, it was a useful defense tactic.

Fleeing became intertwined with traditional migration patterns through the savanna since boundaries clashed with Africans' holistic conception of the land. After the colonial era began, individuals and matrikin often crossed these boundaries when they temporarily or permanently joined kin in other places. These included the Luvala in the vicinity of Chavuma on the Zambezi River and on the upper reaches of the Lungwebungu River, the small Kanongesha state in Mwinilunga, and the Musokatanda Lunda and the Kaonde and Lamba living on the Zambezi/Congo watershed. Discontent with land or neighbors, and/or efforts to maximize land use, had previously provided reasons for moving. Now a noxious local colonial administration could also be an incentive. And colonial officials could distinguish between traditional migrations and fleeing only if large numbers were involved.⁴²

In the NWP two notable examples of large-scale fleeing stand out: one into and one out of the province. Both are examples not only because the administrators regarded them as cases of fleeing, but also because they incorporated large numbers of people who were not matrikin. The first involved the large scale, temporary depopulation of Mwinilunga. During 1907-1909, as will be explained in the next chapter, people fled into the Congo and Angola because of a cruel administrator and did so again just before World War I because of taxation. The permanent immigration into Kabompo and Mankoya (Kaoma) illustrates the reverse situation. When Portuguese forced labor in central Angola caused large-scale revolts and repression during the 1920s and 1930s, some 250,000 people immigrated into the district.⁴³

All these responses created a new meaning for rural migration. Similar groups of

42. In the 1960s and 1970s, the 'refugees' into the NWP should be considered as part of the new fusion between traditional migration and fleeing. The colonial government and new Zambian Government tried to isolate them, but many had close relatives in the NWP. I personally observed three of these migrations: a) the aftermath of the Tshombe/Katanga emigrations in 1963, b) Angolan emigrations in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and c) Zaire in the late 1970s. Hansen's dissertation ("Running") focuses on the Luvala emigres from Angola.

43. Macpherson (Anatomy) notes the Mwinilunga emigres and gives useful sources (especially pp. 160-4 and fn. on pp. 185-6), but does not have the events clear chronologically. Instead, see Kakoma, "Mwinilunga," pp. 35-73. For the immigration into Kabompo and Mankoya, the Pioneer for these years records a number of events; for example, see Vol. 48/9 (March 1935), pp. 27-8. Several missionaries became interested in these people since they hoped to begin mission work among them. See also, E.M. Jakeman, *Pioneering in Northern Rhodesia* (London: Morgan and Scott, n.d.). C.M.N. White reflects on these later immigrants and their opinion of both Portuguese and British colonial overlords in the era after World War II: "Notes on the Political Organization of the Kabompo districts [sic] and its Inhabitants," *Africa Affairs* 9 (4, 1950): 185-93.

Ch. III: The NWP as an Imperial Backdoor

matrilineal clans less easily joined other matrikin or dispersed themselves among other clans. The significance of matrilineal clans also diminished as the importance of the new colonial-induced concepts of boundaries and tribes increased. As a political and social unit, the clan began to die. Individuals and small groups needed a new, wider, and more rigid identity. A tribe matched geographic area and thus could be legally delineated. As result, internal and international boundaries rigidified an cultural areas.

Quarrels no longer involved small groups spread across vaguely defined frontiers: instead they encompassed large tribes on each side of slowly emerging formal boundaries. In the NWP, areas that contained two or more of the new tribes not readily divided by boundaries--as in Kabompo and Balovale--became focal points of tension, and these tensions precipitated even more precise boundaries. Thus by the end of the colonial era, the Northern Rhodesia administration had even fixed geographical boundaries between recognized chiefs' areas. These boundaries became the new mechanism for preventing and resolving conflicts.⁴⁴

After 1945 all these above changes were accentuated; but by that time, colonial society had thoroughly altered the peoples' basic perceptions of their homelands. At the beginning, the Africans had almost no knowledge of the world beyond their undulating savanna. But by 1945 in place of broad frontiers that separated 'us' from 'them,' new geographic entities existed. Everyone recognized three large colonial territories with fixed boundaries, rulers, languages, and laws that were based on those of Portugal, Belgium, and Britain. Even the Africans perceived themselves in new ways. More important, the NWP had a new identity that tied it to British-ruled southern Africa. Contiguous areas of Angola and the Congo became transformed as well. Relatives of NWP peoples living in those places increasingly excluded the NWP from their new framework.

No matter what form they took, western capitalism and western imperialism/colonialism informally cooperated to slowly transform the peoples and the geography of south-central Africa. In the process, the region became a part of the world's new political and economic systems. The NWP in particular lay at a junction, yet both it and its society became only a provincial, rural variant of Northern Rhodesia.

[Place this into chapter 4??]

Until World War II, relatively large numbers of white settlers distinguished Northern Rhodesia society from Angolan and Congolese societies. The BSAC had created this segment of colonial society by encouraging white settlement in the territory. These settlers established privileged enclaves along the railway. Many were neither British nor Anglican. The largest non-British group consisted of poor Afrikaners; they spoke English as a second language and belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. These colonists had only color in common, so the color bar became increasingly more rigid in Northern Rhodesia than in the Congo or Angola. Consequently by virtue of race, the poorest, most uneducated and

44. See especially the map of the NWP that exactly delineated all chiefs' areas with boundaries: "Chiefs' Areas" North-Western Province" (SDT.160, 1:500,000; revised March 1959, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland).

Education in the Northwestern Province

uncouth white became superior even to traditional African rulers.⁴⁵

These settlers keenly encouraged BSAC covetousness toward the Congo's Katangese copper mines and Angola's fertile Bihe plateau. They not only sought to protect their interests in Northern Rhodesia but simultaneously to expand them by extending the British Empire. But their territorial aggrandizement ultimately failed. The international boundaries to the NWP never changed. Had they succeeded in expanding the boundary, the settlers might have reversed the NWP's negative economic and social destiny. Had the international boundary moved west, the whole of the Zambezi Valley would have fallen into British hands. Had it moved north, the Benguella Railway would have more easily served the

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45. For a sympathetic recounting of the settlers' situation in the earliest days, see Gann, *Plural Society*, pp. 115-74, and history broader work, *Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 117-48. In the latter work, Gann describes the color bar at Kansanshi and the European rationale for it (pp. 143-5). Likewise, a sympathetic treatment is given by Brelsford in *Men*, especially pp. 124-34. Such sympathetic treatments are not in vogue in Africa today. Macpherson makes continual references to settlers before 1924 although BSAC officials are more directly relevant to his study. Anstey (*Legacy*, pp. 210-5) describes how strong the color bar became in the Congo. Possibly the situation became as bad as in Northern Rhodesia.

CHAPTER IV: ADMINISTRATORS AND SETTLERS IN THE NWP'S COLONIAL SOCIETY

It is arguable that every public activity during the colonial period was perforce acted out against the backdrop of the ubiquitous colonial administration, so that the District Administrator took the role of producer for prompter where he was not already playing the lead, . . . To missionaries and merchants, soldiers and settlers, to the professional and technical branches of the Colonial Service, and to all Africans--princes, peasants and politicians alike--the omnipresence of the DC constituted an ineluctable consideration of their every thought, word and move.

If the ratio of colonial administrators to the African population was proverbially slim, to the point of being minuscule under the system of indirect rule and scarcely generous even in instances of close administration . . . in the final analysis, like the Thin Red Line of the 93rd Regiment at Balaclava, the Thin White Line of colonial administrators was also tipped with steel.

The strength of the steel frame [lay] in coercion, collaborators, confidence, and competence.¹

A.H.M. Kirk-Greene

The BSAC never made the quick profits that its directors and stockholders initially envisioned, despite its dual control over the politics and economy of the contorted geographic area known as Northern Rhodesia. In 1911 it tried to rectify the situation by combining North Eastern and North Western Rhodesia into Northern Rhodesia, but profits still proved elusive. Meanwhile humanitarian groups in Britain agitated against colonial rule administered by a business enterprise only nominally supervised by the imperial government. Consequently, as a result of stockholders' discontent because of no profits, the Company's desire to be rid of administrative responsibilities, and this humanitarian agitation, the British Colonial Office (CO) assumed direct control of the territory in 1924.

A new colonial society established itself in the territory during the BSAC period and consolidated itself under the Colonial Office's administration. As in Angola and the Congo, autochthonous Africans composed the vast majority of the population; yet a tiny number of whites--consisting of government administrators, European settlers, and missionaries--rigidly controlled Northern Rhodesia. As these social elements became increasingly fixed, the pattern of interaction among them was ever more distinct, especially during the interwar era.

The BSAC and the Colonial Office successively created and empowered loyal administrators to extend the government's control throughout the territory. Then, these administrators further exercised the Company's governmental powers by keeping the peace, collecting

1. A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, "The Thin White Line: The Size of the British Colonial Service in Africa," *African Affairs* 79 (1980): 25-6, 38.

Education in the Northwestern Province

taxes, and organizing African labor. Consequently, they became the supreme element in the new society.

Like its predecessor, the Colonial Office believed that the colony's new economy required white settlers acquainted with western technology, who could exploit the land and minerals quickly and efficiently. Accordingly they offered these immigrants a variety of entrepreneurial and financial incentives. For example, the BSAC sited the rail line through the fertile farmland around Lusaka and the Tonga plateau of the Southern Province. Compared to miners in South Africa and Europe, the miners here received high salaries; farmers received cheap land and enjoyed cheap African labor; and storekeepers and other businessmen made large profits. Finally, the BSAC and the Colonial Office gave these settlers a disproportionately large role in government.

The missionaries comprised the third element of the new colonial society, but embodied a very different side of the motherland. As products of nineteenth century humanitarianism and religious revivalism that had helped ameliorate some of the excesses of industrial capitalism and imperial expansion, they wanted to uplift the Africans by converting them to Christ. To fulfill this goal and satisfy their voluntary supporters back home, they always tried to convert the so-called heathen savage to Christ.

From the time of their arrival in Northern Rhodesia, these missionaries faced an enormous dilemma. The administrators and settlers refused to provide even basic health care and education to the African people. While most missionaries were eager to provide these needed social services in order to entice Africans to salvation, they often lacked the money and staff to do so. Education and health were only one part of salvational objectives, yet these could easily become more important than evangelism.

Each mission society, and often each mission station, chose its own course in solving the dilemma. Neither government officials nor settlers nor other missionaries dictated policy. Hence in parts of the Northern Province the Church of Scotland provided excellent social services. Yet many small evangelical missions, such as the SAGM in the NWP, provided few and preferred to stress direct evangelism. This autonomy gave the missionaries a social power over the African people similar to the political and economic power of the administrators and settlers. For example, each mission determined the quality and quantity of the education provided. It could moreover either consult with the people or autocratically dictate policy.

Although a microcosm of Northern Rhodesia society, NWP society had also distinct variations. They were created by formal and informal imperial policy, the lack of white settlers, an atypical mission situation, and atypical African ethnic groups that the European elite regarded as "backward". Ultimately, these variables made the NWP one of the territory's most isolated and provincial societies, at the bottom of the territorial heap.

NWP society illustrates some important social processes that took place in Northern Rhodesia. But to understand these processes and their short- and long-term consequences, at least four key questions must be raised and answered with regard to each of the NWP's social groups: What characteristics distinguished each of them? How did

Ch. IV. Administrators and Settlers

each perceive itself and the others? What objectives motivated each to enter and remain in the region? And most importantly, what patterns of interaction contributed to the creation and maintenance of the new social order? Then satisfactory answers must be found for these questions.

This chapter and the next attempt to answer the first three questions. Chapter VI tries to answer the last. Part Two then analyses one of the many results: the development of the contemporary educational system.

BSAC Administrators Occupy the NWP, 1902-1924

Shortly after the beginning of the twentieth century, the BSAC officials who spread throughout the NWP typified what the British historian, A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, has called the "Thin White Line . . . tipped with steel." These men tended to be ex-military officers or general adventurers, whose background, philosophy, and actions furthered the policies of the new territorial government. As elsewhere, they were expected to occupy the region, to establish 'order' by stopping the slave trade and 'tribal war', and to make the people 'respect' the new government. Then they were to organize a rudimentary administrative system so that they could levy taxes. Although few in number, these men possessed both enormous power and the self-confidence needed to wield it. Knowing that they represented the world's strongest imperial power reinforced and enhanced both. Such strength did not need to be displayed often to be effective.²

These officers primarily occupied the last part of North West Rhodesia to be entered by BSAC administrators. They first designated it as "Kaonde-Lunda District." Although the boundaries changed many times, the area covered much of modern day Kasempa, Solwezi, and Mwinilunga Districts.

Occupation began in 1902 when Captain Stennet established a camp at Kasempa with the support of a regiment of Barotse Native Police. In the process, he seemingly encountered and drove out Mambari slave traders. In 1906-7 his colleagues completed this basic task for the territorial government. By that time the King of Italy had fixed the NWP's boundaries, enabling a Mr. Bellis and a Sergeant-Major Frykberg-both operating under the jurisdiction of Native Commissioner (NC) E.A. Copeman--to establish a camp in the center of the new Mwinilunga District, the last northwestern outpost of the BSAC. To do so, they crushed the last of the slave trade and captured several European outlaws, who were hiding where the jurisdictions of the Portuguese, Belgians, and British was uncertain.³

The occupation of Solwezi District followed a different pattern because it involved

2. Kirk-Greene, "Thin White Line," p. 26. See Chapter III for a comparison with the situation elsewhere in Central Africa.

3. The date 1902 is uncertain. P.G.D. Clarke vaguely states that an "advanced party of the Administration [came] in 1901" and then says that the "first record of established administration is in 1902." See "Kasempa, 1901-1951," *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, II (5, 1955): 62-70. Most useful was Dick Jaeger, "History of Kasempa (1875-1975)," unpublished script, Amsterdam, 1976. In a letter to me dated 6 April 1983, Jaeger states that his useful bibliography in the latter script is incorporated in the following: Settlement Patterns and Rural Development, A Human Geographical Study of the Kaonde Kasempa District (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1981). For a chronicle of these and subsequent BSAC activities in Mwinilunga, see Benson Chitundu Kakoma, "Colonial Administration in Northern Rhodesia: A Case Study of Colonial Policy in the Mwinilunga District of Zambia, 1901-1939" (M.A. thesis, University of Auckland [New Zealand], 1971), see especially pp. 35-73.

Education in the Northwestern Province

prospectors and miners as well as BSAC administrators. George Grey originally 'discovered' copper at Kansanshi Mine in 1899 when Chief Kapijimpanga took him to ancient mine workings. After mining began in 1901 under European supervision, the men in charge of the mine also functioned as *ad hoc* occupiers and representatives of the Company. In 1905, a government officer temporarily located a camp at Shilenda. Only in 1909 did administrators permanently open "Kansanshi District." In 1912 when he re-stationed at Solwezi Boma, approximately sixteen kilometers away, the government permanently renamed the district Solwezi.⁴

These BSAC officials also occupied Balovale District in Barotseland, which then included most of Kabompo District. They did so under a set of rules that differed, at least cosmetically, from those followed in Kaonde-Lunda Province.

Officially Balovale was included when the BSAC, in the name of Britain, superimposed its power over Barotseland's traditional hierarchy. It did not need to be occupied. Supposedly Lewanika, the Lozi king (*litunga*), already ruled it. Actually when J.H. Venning founded the Balovale boma in 1908, he established one joint, complex colonial presence comprising the Barotse, the BSAC, and the British. Although the pretense of Lozi suzerainty fooled no one, it was necessary in light of the 1905 British/ Portuguese division of the upper Zambezi Valley. Until 1942 Venning's successors continued under this fiction.⁵

After these individuals minimally occupied the area in the name of the King and the Company, they assumed that a government framework would be quickly established. In most districts--then called 'sub-districts'--it was. Kasempa provides an example of the process. The BSAC posted a minimal number of staff at the new boma. Within a few years, this staff consisted of a Native Commissioner who administered this large 'sub-district'; one or two African clerks; and the 'African Native Police', probably not more than twenty men most of the time.

As the forerunner of the District Commissioner (DC), the Native Commissioner headed everything. After establishing the Company suzerainty and then an administration, he maintained the whole operation. He executed the Company's policy and in turn represented the district to superior officials. He served as the region's magistrate, judging those the BSAC regarded as disobedient or criminal. For instance in 1907 on Company instructions, Copeman imposed a poll tax of five shillings. In the normal course of duty, he toured the district taking a census of its occupants and collecting the tax money from them either in cash or in kind. Then he punished individuals who did not pay and who tried to flee from his entourage.⁶

The lack of initial resistance in Kasempa sub-district seemed to indicate that the Company had successfully occupied the area and established a satisfactory government. But by 1911

4. For information on Grey and the Kansanshi Mine, see Ch. III. For these other details, see Clarke, "Kasempa," pp. 62-4.

5. See especially, J.H. Venning, "Early Days in Balovale," *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, II (no. 6, 1955), pp. 53-7.

6. For Copeman and the poll tax, see Kakoma, "Mwinilunga ." Macpherson (*Anatomy*, p. 192) aptly noted that such early BSAC "agents appear generally to have taken the law into their own hands."

Ch. IV. Administrators and Settlers

the taxes were too high in relation to the money available in the region and dissatisfaction increased. The Native Commissioner, W.H. Hazell, tolerated no dissension. So when a white gold seeker was killed he responded rapidly. P.C.D. Clarke chronicled the events.

Mr. Ohlund was murdered by three Kaonde at Shindamona gold workings, thirteen miles north of Kasempa. He was killed by shots fired through his dining room window while he Saturday at his typewriter after dinner, and there was no obvious motive. It became clear that the Kaonde were in a dangerous mood. A fort was constructed at Kasempa and police reinforcements arrived. Rigorous action was taken by Mr. W.H. Hazell to capture the murderers, and he received the loyal support of Kalusha Kasempa VIII [the Kaonde chief recognized by the officials]. . . . It is recorded that 'Mr. Hazell's method of bringing home to the Kaonde the fact that the murder of white men was a matter not lightly to be considered were wonderfully efficient and are likely to have a lasting effect on the present generation'. . . . On 11th November, 1912 the three murderers were hanged in public at Kasempa . . . before all Kaonde chiefs and a number of headmen and tribesmen. It is recorded--'The execution had a sobering and restraining effect on the BaKaonde for a considerable time'.⁷

Hazell decisively revealed the "tip of steel." After that, no notable activity hindered political consolidation. In this fashion a handful of men ruled Kasempa, an area as large as southern England, but with far fewer people.

The task of establishing and consolidating government was not always so easy. Mwinilunga proved especially different because the district was remote from territorial headquarters and the two new international boundaries were close, and finally because one administrator had been particularly cruel and callous and some of the Lunda had initially resisted.

In 1907 when Copeman attempted to impose a poll tax in Mwinilunga, Kasanza, a prominent Lunda leader, and his followers resisted. Bellis was killed and Copeman himself only narrowly escaped an ambush. Kasanza then fled into Angola. For the next few years, the situation worsened. The BSAC appointed A.G. MacGregor who proceeded to burn 'huts' and to order other 'punishments'. Because of Mwinilunga's isolation from Kasempa, Copeman neither noticed nor checked MacGregor's actions for almost a year. In that time a majority of the population fled into Angola or the Congo and the district was severely depopulated. Copeman lamented that the people's trust had been destroyed and would be hard to restore.⁸

Only in 1912 after F.V. Bruce Miller took charge did officials really establish a stable administration in Mwinilunga District. But Bruce Miller could initiate taxation only slowly after 1914. Even then, he could do so only with the very reluctant intervention of Dr. Walter Fisher at Kalene Mission. Many people trusted the missionary and he, in turn,

7. Clarke, "Kasempa," pp. 64-5. Macpherson gives the events a territorial perspective. He indicates Hazell was a ruthless man; see *Anatomy*, 116-7, 161-3.

8. Kakoma ("Mwinilunga," pp. 56-72) gives the best narrative of these events in Mwinilunga. In addition, for these events in Mwinilunga, Solwezi, and Kasempa, Macpherson refers to the *Diaries and Letters of Theodore Williams*, Rhodes House. See Macpherson, *Anatomy*, pp. 114-6 (footnotes. 37-38, p. 141).

Education in the Northwestern Province

believed that paying taxes was preferable to the disruption caused by fleeing.⁹

After occupying the region and settling up a minimal government organization, officials carried out administrative changes in the NWP. In the BSAC period, the most significant changes occurred in 1916 and 1923. In the first, Frank H. Melland changed the headquarters of Kaonde-Lunda Province from Kasempa to Solwezi. When Melland left just before the Colonial Office took control of government, P.E. Hall reestablished Kasempa as the center of the province. Under Hall's supervision, Kasempa, Solwezi, and Mwinilunga became districts and together formed Kasempa Province.¹⁰

Over a period of time, a series of similar capricious changes led directly to the formation of the NWP. For approximately two years, in the middle of the depression, these districts lost their provincial status and became outposts of an enormous West Luangwa Province. In 1942 the present-day boundaries of the NWP were created. Balovale District was excised from Barotseland and joined to Kasempa, Solwezi, and Mwinilunga in the Kaonde-Lunda Province. Between 1946 and 1954 the area became part of the Western (now Copperbelt) Province. In 1946 Kabompo District was created. Finally, the Northwestern Province (NWP) assumed its modern form and name in 1954.

Melland was one of the most instrumental officers in initiating many of the changes prior to 1924. As the most outstanding BSAC officer, he was an experienced Native Commissioner and Magistrate near retirement. He undertook his duties seriously and vigorously. His letters, periodic reports, and perceptive and a thorough ethnographic book on the Kaonde indicate a remarkable empathy for 'his' people. Thus when Melland praised the Africans for their cooperation in World War I, his phrase "granted the work was 'compulsory'" can be easily glossed over. Yet the phrase tells why an overwhelming percentage of adult males assisted in the war. Voluntary and involuntary cooperation cannot be easily distinguished.¹¹

Melland's words reveal serious, inherent flaws in the whole BSAC system. A few lonely and isolated representatives exerted almost absolute political and economic control over their subjects. Such power entrapped even men of the highest integrity and honor. Abuse was not only easy, but even necessary, as in Melland's case. Thus actions by MacGregor, the worst abuser of this power in the NWP, do not seem extraordinary. Nor do MacGregor's actions compare with events taking place elsewhere, whether by BSAC officers in the territory at large, or by representatives of Leopold's Congo with its 'red rubber', or Portuguese officials of Angola with forced labor. Colonial representatives' actions served imperialism by forcing Africans to accept Europeans as overlords.

9. His full name was Frederick Vernon Bruce Miller. 'Bruce Miller' was an unhyphenated surname. Like other officials, he inflicted many hardships on the people because the BSAC demanded that he do so. Like Melland, he later reflected on these early years. As noted in later chapters, he continued to serve the district. He spoke Lunda and married Dr. Fisher's daughter, Katolo. See the Bruce Miller Papers, Historical Manuscripts, HOME 17 (M 1/5/1), NAZ.

10. For the best secondary reference to the early changes, see Clarke, "Kasempa," pp. 65-6.

11. Melland, "Kaonde," p. 26. Macpherson (*Anatomy*, p. 160) gives Melland a back-handed compliment by noting that he "was, from all reports, much less disliked than many of the company's agents."

Ch. IV. Administrators and Settlers

Melland's writings show that neglect of the NWP's Africans typified the BSAC period. In a remarkable prologue to his Annual Report in 1921, quoted in Appendix C, he described a "regrettable undercurrent which is difficult to analyze." He then explained why the people appeared to be "dissatisfied with the Administration--or rather, with white domination, . . . even though they were powerless to changed things." The causes centered on laws and regulations that often neglected the population and hence did not seem "reasonable" to them. Neglect involved low payment for labor and no real "freedom of contract" since the "ordinary native knows that he cannot really fix or bargain about, his rate of pay--which has decreased." It also focused on the paucity of visible returns for the taxes the Africans paid since there was a lack of medical assistance [and] education." Africans also deeply felt the "unreasonableness of our laws" that interfered with customs.¹²

Melland eloquently argued, "The fact that we collect tax, keep order, suppress crime, is nothing in itself. It is essential as a start but it is not a result; and surely it is not our 'aim?' If we proceed no further it appears to be the negation of our right to rule." Needless to say, such frank reports and defense of the people did not endear Melland to the central BSAC administration. His question was never answered. His statement becomes an appropriate condemnation of the regime.¹³

Most certainly, the BSAC callously disregarded all social services for Africans. Since later chapters detail the lack of educational provisions and their implications, the following examples make the point here. Except in Barotseland, where the Lozi *litunga* maintained some power and the BSAC felt obligated to partially adhere to an initial agreement; and except for a small school in Livingstone township, the Company spent nothing on African education in the whole territory before 1924. When mission societies requested it to "accept responsibility for subsidizing missionary school[s] the administration declined pleading its administrative deficit as an excuse."¹⁴

Nor did the Company spend much money on medicine, let alone medical facilities, for the African. In 1917 Dr. Fisher's campaign against tropical ulcers illustrates the lack of interest. Traveling great distances, he and his helpers vaccinated and treated thousands of the afflicted. But as he lamented in private correspondence to his brother-in-law, a physician in the United Kingdom, "the administration have offered us 50 [pounds], . . . for the 1915, but will allow nothing for 1916. Seeing [expenses] totaled 700 [pounds], they evidently do not think much of the lives of the people here." His basic health program had to be almost completely funded by contributions from overseas supporters. What these voluntary agencies did not do on their own initiative remained undone.¹⁵

Given these severe constraints, many local administrators like Melland governed their subjects as well as they could. These men not only urged voluntary agencies to operate

12. App. C. See also me's [check this typo] later reflections in his book with T.C. Young, *African Dilemma* (London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1937).

13. App. C.

14. Coombe, "Origins," p. 46.

15. Fisher to Darling, 20 February. 1917 (folios 1684-91), Walter Fisher Papers, NAZ.

Education in the Northwestern Province

worthy programs, but also started and maintained their own projects. Melland describes several of the latter, such as Bruce Miller encouraging traditional blacksmithing in Mwinilunga and cotton growing in Kasempa. These officers did this work, however, with the clear understanding that the government would contribute only minimal sums of money.

In 1924 the demise of the BSAC administration and the institution of direct Colonial Office rule pleased all the divisions of the new colonial society. Although it expanded the empire cheaply by making the Africans passive subjects who were malleable to the administration's demands, the Company rule had little positive impact on the NWP. The new administration could hardly be worse and might be better.

Administrators of Stagnation, 1924-1945

The BSAC never pretended to develop areas like the NWP unless it benefited the Company as a business enterprise. The British Government through the Colonial Office promised more. As its cornerstone it promised and provided a more competent, albeit minimal, government. By the mid-1930s it sent out a corps of well-trained, well-screened, and well-disciplined young administrators. This corps' efficiency, which made it cheap and effective, especially pleased the imperial government. It was, however, a two-edged sword, capable of both governing well and exploiting African labor, whichever and whenever the colonial government so desired.

For much of the colonial era, Ralph Furse controlled the appointments of young men into the administrative corps heading to Africa. He molded the group according to his ideal of imperial leadership and imposed uniform imperial standards. While prizing a quick and analytic mind, he regarded a good character and personality as well as a suitable background and training as more important. To him, those who possessed the qualities of a good prefect and headboy in an elite British public boarding school made good DCs. Under Furse's supervision, young Oxbridge men continually left the United Kingdom for all corners of the empire.¹⁶

Furse's young administrative protégés clearly shared common traditions and a similar vision. For them, the empire was, or could become, noble and glorious and its world-wide diversity could become a great asset. To achieve this ideal, however, each appointee had to play his part. In helping rule the empire, he had a dual duty to government and to its subjects, although government always came first if a conflict between the two arose. Since most were motivated by a positive vision of providing benevolent and fair government, their objective was to balance these dual duties for the good of all. One DC, reminiscing on Northern Rhodesia and the NWP, stated that the senior imperial administration eventually failed when it forgot that "the business of Government where two races are living

16. Major Ralph Dolignon Furse, *Aucuparius: Recollections of a Recruiting Officer* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962). For the best account of Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service between 1920 and 1945, when Furse was in command, see Robert Heussler, *Yesterday's Rulers: The Making of the British Colonial Service* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1963). For a more comprehensive work on the whole Colonial Office, see: Sir Charles Joseph Jeffries, *The Colonial Office* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1956).

Ch. IV. Administrators and Settlers

together, is to govern without fear or favour to each of them."¹⁷

By the 1930s most NWP officials possessed the background that Furse and shared these qualities with officials in other parts of the empire. When appointed, the young men fulfilled minor duties as junior officers and during different periods were called Assistant District Commissioners (ADC), Assistant District Officers (ADO), Cadets, and Probationers. The best later became DCs and then senior territorial officials. Senior administrators transferred them constantly, either within a particular territory or to another part of the empire. Because of this relatively uniform set-up, generated and sustained under Furse, NWP administrators remained the most homogeneous body in NWP society and with their counterparts elsewhere.¹⁸

These local officers, especially the DCs, retained their enormous power throughout the whole colonial era. Short, a noteworthy DC who served after World War II, described this power as it existed until 1964.

*The District Commissioner was the captain of the ship: responsibility rested on him alone. Within the District he was supreme and enjoyed very great power and patronage; he had the means to make life uncomfortable for the dissenter or malcontent. Men from the town, even then, returned to the village with new and disturbing ideals. The necessity of living, the pressure of Headman and of Chief, and the very presence of the Boma, partially re-absorbed them within the framework of village life, and their ideas were heard no more. Dissent, . . . was unknown, unimaginable and unimagined.*¹⁹

Thus along with reasonable competence, Short and other administrators ruled with confidence bordering on arrogance.

Short's quotation confirms Kirk-Greene's concluding argument that tiny numbers of local administrators throughout the British Empire succeeded through "coercion, collaborators, confidence and competence."²⁰ Short illustrates the increasingly sophisticated use of coercion and collaborators. By his time, the military-type coercion used by Copeman, Hazell, and MacGregor had been abandoned and relegated to local folklore. And a deep chasm even lay between these men's methods and those used late in the BSAC period by administrators like Melland and Bruce Miller. As the colonial government became more firmly entrenched and methods continued to evolve, Melland's successors no longer needed to recruit involuntary labor.

Short clearly relied on the local colonial social structure and on the vague and amorphous threat of an all-encompassing, omnipresent and omnipotent world empire. His colleagues became so confident and competent as administrators that Short felt that the "British Empire was far too large an institution to descend to petty acts of persecution," even against an annoying group like the Jehovah's Witness. In fact dissident groups presented these administrators with a type of chess game challenge. The DC must keep them

17. Robin Short, *African Sunset* (London: Johnson Publication Ltd., 1973), p. 75.

18. For titles used by different levels of authority in the Overseas Civil Service, see Kirk-Greene, "Thin White Line," p. 32.

19. Short, *Sunset*, p. 30.

20. Kirk-Greene, "Thin White Line," p. 38.

Education in the Northwestern Province

harmless without resorting to overt force and without using government funds unnecessarily.²¹

Short shows that one of the most effective forms of control was the use of African collaborators, leaders who could minimize and suppress dissension cheaply and efficiently. These included a "subordinate bureaucracy,"²² a new form of African leadership that evolved rapidly and encompassed clerks, teachers, and even mission evangelists. From 1924 until after World War II, however, the administrators successfully manipulated headmen and chiefs, traditional--or supposedly traditional--rulers, through the hazy policy of indirect rule.

In the NWP, as in much of the empire and territory, indirect rule had considerable administrative significance and provided a wide appeal to all social elements. Supposedly, it had "intrinsic merit of its own [and would] preserve all that was best in traditional institutions, whilst enabling Africans gradually to learn the arts of civilization, blending the old with the new without compelling black men to discard ways prematurely."²³ This mystique made indirect rule appealing to humanitarians, especially missionaries, and also to Africans because it gave the latter an official voice. Its real appeal to both territorial and imperial governments and to the white settlers, however, was that it would save "both money and work."²⁴

Consequently, after approximately two decades of direct administrative rule in the NWP, the territorial government initiated indirect rule with ordinances that were "models of paternal benevolence."²⁵ Indirect rule encouraged chiefs to assume a slightly more formal, and supposedly more progressive, leadership in the new political order. But never really working as many of its believers envisioned, it just became another administrative tool. Government chiefs increasingly became puppets. On some occasions, however, indirect rule did, however, allow a more frank exchange of views between the African population and the local colonial officials. (See Chapters IX-XI.)

A pragmatic imperial philosophy encouraged administrators to use such guidelines as indirect rule in running their districts. In his autobiography, Furse noted that "for most of my official career the Colonial Office did not appear to possess anything which you could call a general policy. At the time this may well have been wise, for it was then working in a field whose salient feature was a bewildering and kaleidoscopic variety."²⁶ While territorial headquarters determined many specific policies, such carefully picked administrators seemed to thrive on vagueness. Local DCs, as the frontline for the imperial government and the foremost element of colonial society, found this philosophy an appropriate daily

21. Short, *Sunset*, p. 31. For further comments on the Jehovah's Witness, see Chap. X.

22. Kirk-Greene, "Thin White Line," p. 41.

23. Gann, *Northern Rhodesia*, p. 290, 292.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Rotberg, *Nationalism*, p. 50

26. Furse, *Aucuparius*, p. 304.

Ch. IV. Administrators and Settlers

guide in realizing their dream of empire. This philosophy provided both a vision and the method: coercion, collaborators, confidence and competence. The philosophy expected them to 'get on with it' and also encouraged personal initiative. When problems arose, the local officers took responsibility for specific decisions, but always within the broad parameters of imperial guidelines and territorial policies.

In the rural NWP society each DC became the honorary father and guide for his district. He viewed other segments of society from his lofty position, but also knew he must employ restraint. For him, settlers, traders, and missionaries, as well as the African population, had fixed places in the new society. Although traders and settlers were few, the DC regarded them as the businessmen who represented the economic interest of the new society. Likewise, he regarded the missionaries as 'do-gooders', obligated by their calling to provide religion and social services such as education and medicine. Finally, he regarded the African population as his children, firmly believing that they needed protection while they learned the rules of the society that he represented.

After 1924 the guidelines and policies that DCs followed simply continued the BSAC's general neglect. Despite progressive pronouncements about helping 'backward' regions, the Northern Rhodesia Government largely maintained the status quo in the NWP. A sustained policy of non-development and strict economy remained the by-words for this region. Extremely limited statistics are available, but between 1923 and 1932 the government seems to have allocated less than four hundred pounds sterling annually (recurrent and capital expenditures taken together) in support of all social programs. The government's determination to save money by working only through reluctant and poor missions minimized all social services.²⁷

Furthermore in the NWP, the central government made few provincial administrative appointments and changes and paid little attention to the economic infrastructure. Several able BSAC men such as Bruce Miller had been retained. Other administrators entered and left in the normal rotation of government. The total establishment for the province, however, increased only slightly. Numbers probably never exceeded twenty in both Kaonde-Lunda Province and Balovale District of Barotseland. Likewise, government built a minimal road network that enabled lorries to travel only between Elizabethville (now Lubumbashi) or the Northern Rhodesia copperbelt and the main administrative centers of Solwezi, Kasempa, and Mwinilunga.²⁸

In this unstated and non-developmental program for the NWP, the local DCs and their assistants played a neutral role. Occupying the base of the imperial pyramid, they could not change the policy that relegated the NWP to the bottom. They were expected, however, to share opinions and make positive suggestions, and many faithfully reported the NWP situation and offered a wide range of suggestions to superiors in Livingstone or

27. By 1932 the financial situation had improved slightly. Both Chitokoloki and Kalene had been given educational grants of between 200 and 300 pounds; Mutanda/Mukinge received a small boarding grants, and several missions received small grants for hospital supplies. Furthermore, in 1927-28, the Board governing the Barotse National Fund approved the building of and support for a hospital in Balovale. See "Barotse Trust Fund, 1925-1930," ZA 5/1/1, NAZ.

28. By 1926 a road was open between Elizabethville and Solwezi and Kasempa.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Lusaka. These DCs placed the NWP in the wider perspective of the territory and Empire. They knew that compared to many other regions, the NWP was undeveloped or, as they preferred to say, 'backward'. They also quickly learned that the local mission agencies were not only reluctant, but also too internally handicapped to substantially change the situation. Just like Melland, they realized that the area urgently required basic social services from some mission and/or government agency. In 1933, E.H. Cooke (DC, Mwinilunga) discussed education and made these points.

Owing to the lack of schools the local is making no progress whatsoever. The need for a really enterprising mission, of the Livingstonia type, is imperative if these people, acknowledged the most superstitious and backward in Northern Rhodesia, are to make progress. The alternative is a good Government school and several out-schools under direct control of a Superintendent of Native Education. . . . These Missions have no idea of what other institutions are doing and [are] content to drift along year after year making little or no progress. The annoying part, from and ADVANCEMENT OF THE NATIVE point of view is that they have the monopoly of education in the District and unless Government moves in the matter and establishes schools and hygienic centres the Lunda/Andembo remains the Cinderella of the Territory.²⁹

Like Cooke, other administrators strongly and repeatedly advocated that government directly institute change. They believed Britain's imperial propaganda about progressive government. In fact in 1929 while commenting on education, R.B. Drapier, the Provincial Commissioner, anticipated Cooke's statements:

Some other Society with more experience, and the gift of making elementary learning sufficiently alluring, should be invited to have a try. Otherwise, . . . one or two Government schools. . . could be opened, it would have the backing of the chiefs, able, through their influence which is going to increase, to encourage, . . . youngsters to go to school and stay there. . . . If indirect rule is to be a success there has to be a better knowledge and understanding of responsibilities this measure entails. It can only come through education of the rising generation.³⁰

Drapier, like Cooke, expressed the feelings and hopes of his fellow officers. Only more government intervention, assistance, and guidance would make indirect rule and other progressive policies work.

By the 1930s the optimism of the administrators dimmed because the NWP seemed in the process of permanently becoming an undeveloped 'reserve'. The territorial government made local administrators' tasks difficult by giving them a complex, unsolvable dilemma. If they accepted the government's lack of serious interest and concluded that the missions should not be held accountable when the central government refused to assist, they had to accept the status quo. If they did so, they either lost their dream of the empire becoming glorious or accepted the NWP and its people as an exceptionally 'poor lot'. Some came to believe the latter. For example, E. Sharpe, Provincial Commissioner in the early

29. Mwinilunga Tour Report, No. 7/1933, ZA 7/4/42, NAZ. Livingstone remained the territorial capital until 1935 when it moved to Lusaka.

30. Kasempa Province AR for the Year Ending 31 December 1929, p. 9 ZA 7/1/12/6. These administrators did not see any contradiction between indirect rule and more government assistance and guidance. In their opinion, traditional methods needed refining and modernizing in order to be applicable.

Ch. IV. Administrators and Settlers

1930s, stated that "very little progress has been made with Native Education because the natives of this Province do not appear to want it." The following year he also noted that "all three DCs again report apathy."³¹

Although after the mid-1920s, the government evolved a somewhat more progressive position toward social services in the NWP, little else happened. As latter chapters on the evolution of educational systems show, social services improved because of administrative carrot-and-stick pressure on the mission agencies. The government did virtually nothing by itself. It certainly did little to improve the economy or the transportation and communication infrastructure. In this situation, even the best local administrators could do little to help. Like Robin Short a decade later, many accepted the province's status quo as a positive thing--the NWP became a living museum outside the territory's mainstream. Consequently, the terms 'backward' and 'cinderella' became as applicable to the NWP during World War II, during Federation in 1953, on the eve of independence in 1964, and even to a lesser degree in the post-colonial era, as they had been in 1933.³²

No Settlers, No Development

In twentieth century Africa, western-style democracy that functioned for Europeans often repressed and exploited Africans. Yet when Europeans and their democracy were absent, economic stagnation frequently occurred. This situation held true in the NWP, where few whites settled.

Rhodes and his multi-million pound BSAC begot many children, particularly petty white entrepreneurs seeking wealth. These traders, miners, and farmers can properly be called settlers or colonists. After the BSAC extended its rail line north and large mines began to operate, these settlers entered the territory in increasingly large numbers. The modern transportation and communication system and the large mines enabled them, as small risk-takers, to maximize their chances of economic success. Consequently, they clustered either near the mines or along the north-south line of rail that connected the territory with the modern economic system. With their inside knowledge of the new colonial system, and especially of the new economic order, many achieved economic success.³³

Half-brothers of the big concessionary companies, these entrepreneurs maintained a close relationship with, and became an extension of, the BSAC and its concessionary mining companies. Mining towns generated a market for farm produce, for retail goods, and for small consumer industries. Loud quarrels between these small white businessmen and the big mining companies and territorial officials were really minor family feuds, often centering on the best way to exploit African labor. The settlers often provide materials and

31. Sharpe, Kasempa Province AR for 1930, Annexure XV, ZA 7/1/13/6; Kasempa Province AR for 1931, ZA 7/1/14/6, NAZ.

32. For further reference to the terms 'cinderella' and 'backward' vis-a-vis the NWP, see the Preface, fn. no. 4 and chapters following this one. Also, see "North-West Frontier: Cinderella Province," *Central African Examiner*, 9 April 1960, pp. 31-4.

33. For Europeans' almost ensured economic success, especially in comparison to Africans' relative poverty, see the very revealing chart for 1961 (p. 43) in Robert E. Baldwin, *Economic Development and Export Growth: A study of Northern Rhodesia, 1920-1960* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966). For descriptions of these settlers, see also Gann, *Plural Society*, pp. 115-58 and *Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 117-48.

Education in the Northwestern Province

supplies that the big mining companies needed. They also provided a pool of white labor to fill the mining companies' supervisory positions and afforded alternative jobs for retiring miners.³⁴

Although Ngugi's "Coin" attracted them, the settlers quickly acquired the desire for political power. When the Colonial Office assumed control of the colony in 1924, the number of settlers had increased to approximately four thousand.³⁵ By then some concept of democracy, symbolized by universal suffrage for both men and women, had swept across Western Europe, especially Britain. Although Africans were placed in another category, white settlers felt they themselves deserved the right to vote and to control their own destinies in Africa. Consequently, they strove to share the administrators' power and sought government support for their endeavors.³⁶

Increasingly successful in Northern Rhodesia, white settlers became the most selfish members of the new elite. In the name of democracy and local autonomy, they allied themselves with big business and the government administration. They then manipulated Africans to their own benefit. In areas that they coveted, the territorial government systematically denied Africans their basic rights and privileges. Conversely, the areas they did not want became ignored labor reserves. Thus, even in areas like the NWP, their influence cast a long shadow.³⁷

These colonists presented themselves forcefully and effectively to sympathetic administrators. At first they did so informally through representatives in the Legislative Council (LegCo). Trevor Coombe described the effect of their enormous power on African education, particularly the colony's failure to provide Africans with secondary education prior to World War II. Anticipating the solid opposition of the settlers to any progressive programs for Africans that did not benefit them even more, senior government officials formulated measures and interpreted Colonial Office directives so as to minimize the settlers' wrath.³⁸

Maude Muntemba, a Zambian historian, has described what happened in the desirable parts of Kabwe Rural District. In her economic history, she showed that the settlers made an unholy alliance with big Northern Rhodesian/Katangese mining interests and with Northern Rhodesian government officials. They then quarreled over the way to exploit the district's non-enfranchised and powerless Africans. In short, Muntemba described how

34. Baldwin's work, *Economic Development*, shows the close relationship of copper production to other Northern Rhodesia industries, and also the domination of white settlers therein.

35. For useful 1921 census figures, see Bancroft, *Mining*, p. 72.

36. For the "settler as politician," see Gann, *Plural Society*, pp. 159-74 and *Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 149-56, 172-92, 236-50, 267-84.

37. Ibid. Racial trade unionism on the copperbelt effectively blocked Africans from improving their skills and living standards.

38. Coombe, "Origins," especially see pp. 117-28. For another interesting description of their influence over African interests, and also "self government and amalgamation," see James Wheeler Davidson, *The Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948), especially pp. 67-117.

Ch. IV. Administrators and Settlers

settlers became the foremost element in under-developing that district.³⁹

In Kabwe Rural District, the list of abuses resembled a long litany. Although Africans paid taxes as soon as an administration was set up, Europeans did not do so until after World War I. Government officials recruited labor for big business in South Africa and Katanga until the World War II period, by which time the voluntary flow of labor to the towns became large enough to supply the demand. These business firms in turn paid a commission for each recruit that went into government revenue. Along the line of rail, government 'alienated' African land and made it available for large European farms. Africans became tenants on what had been their land or were moved away. Moving away, they became isolated from the transportation facilities they needed to become part of the modern economy. Government forbade African farmers to grow the most profitable crops, such as maize, and allowed them only a few corridors through allocated white lands to reach the railway. Serviceable roads were built in white farming areas but not in African reserves. Farming subsidies available for whites were unavailable for blacks.⁴⁰

In contrast, few settlers entered the NWP. With its distance from the line of rail, prospects for profitable development remained slim. Government did not foster open exploitation of Africans in favor of small white entrepreneurs, and local NWP societies lacked some of the built-in tensions found in many other places. Conversely, without the settlers' agitation, the government found it easier to neglect economic, transportation and communication, and social services. Without settlers, the NWP's situation could more correctly be called non-development rather than underdevelopment.

The total number of white settlers who lived in the NWP at any time was infinitesimally small, except when Kansanshi Mine multiplied their numbers. But after 1901-14, the initial years of limited activity, Kansanshi remained open only between 1927 and 1933 and again between 1952 and 1957. In August 1930 for example, it employed 94 Europeans and 1925 Africans. Freelance prospectors and miners remained scattered throughout the districts during the colonial era. They probably never totaled more than a dozen or so odd characters, like old man Severts with his small salt mining operation in Kasempa District.⁴¹

The number of farmers and traders were equally small. Although government deemed some of Mwinilunga's most fertile areas as crown land, thus making them available for European farmers, few whites found Mwinilunga appealing for reasons already given. At different times, European farmers lived at Caenby Farm in the northeast corner and at Matonchi to the west of Mwinilunga boma. The only permanent white farmer, however, was Dr. Fisher's son, ffolliott, who lived at Hillwood Farm near Kalene. Since he extended the missionary work at Kalene by helping to sustain a small school for the children of missionaries, he was an atypical white farmer-trader. A few other self-supporting Brethren

39. Maude Shimaayi Muntemba, "Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia: Kabwe Rural District, 1850-1970" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977). Macpherson (Anatomy, p. 151) reluctantly admits and Muntemba proclaims that Northern Rhodesia and Kabwe are variations of Rodney's How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.

40. Muntemba, "Rural Underdevelopment," see especially Chapters III-VI.

41. Statistics on Kansanshi are scattered through Bancroft, *Mining*. For Kansanshi in the 1950s, see Coleman, *Copperbelt*, pp. 147-8. For Severts, see App. E.

Education in the Northwestern Province

businessmen-traders and/or transporters also settled near the Balovale and Mwinilunga government bomas. Before World War I, a few Swedes entered Kasempa District. By World War II, the Robinson family had become established between Solwezi Boma and Kansanshi Mine. In short these and other settlers provided minimal agricultural, trading, and transport functions as required by the new society.⁴²

Other facts about white settlers in the NWP are significant: a) none were Indian, Lebanese, or Greek, as in many parts of Africa, and few were Afrikaners as was common both in the copperbelt to the west and along the railway south through Lusaka and the Southern Province; b) most regarded themselves as self-supporting missionaries or adjuncts of the mission. Thus they were atypical of the white settler community in Northern Rhodesia. Having more affinity with the administrators in the boma and with the missions nearby than with the white settler community in the rest of the country, they did not agitate aggressively for any economic improvements in the province.

Without even selfish white interests to spur it on, the Northern Rhodesia Government could easily forget the NWP. And without white settlers, benevolent administrators could govern the NWP as they felt best within general imperial principles and neglectful territorial policy.

42. Much of this summary was obtained very informally in numerous conversations with both Europeans and Africans, past and present in the NWP, and from reading Echoes and government ARs for the era. For the Swedes in Kasempa, see S. Grimstvedt, "The 'Swedish Settlement' in the Kasempa District," *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, III (No. 1, 1956): 34-43.

Ch. IV. Administrators and Settlers

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CHAPTER V: THE MISSIONARY FACTOR

*The missionary embarks on no political reforms or agitations; he preaches the Gospel.*¹

A. R. Short

The missionaries in the NWP differed considerably from most of their missionary counterparts in Northern Rhodesia. Until World War II, they were the only missionaries not part of the large Protestant and Roman Catholic mission agencies. Instead they represented two small, loosely organized groups of conservative evangelicals, called by several names, especially the SAGM and the Brethren. They cooperated with each other by not competing for territory and converts. As indicated by Arnot in the last chapter and by Short above, their primary social objective was uplifting people through salvation.²

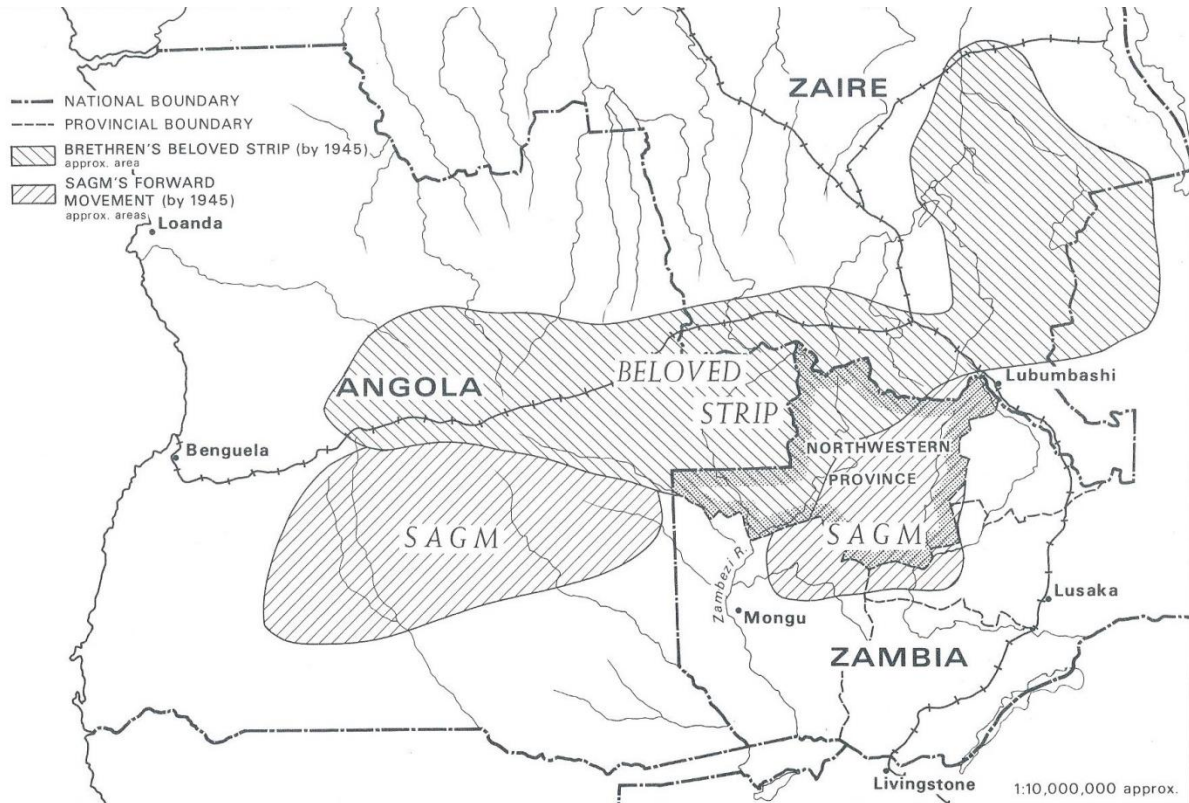
The Brethren and SAGM mission activities in south-central Africa evolved from Arnot's pioneering efforts, and together their mission field spanned an area of Africa that was larger than Britain and France. The Brethren, by far the larger of the two during the colonial period, covered vast areas of Angola, the Belgian Congo, and Northern Rhodesia, including the western parts of the NWP. To them, this large area became known as the Beloved Strip because so many early and beloved missionaries quickly died from malaria and other unknown or untreatable diseases. The Brethren's early, widespread activities and enormous influence make a remarkable, largely unknown story of the European missionary advance into Central Africa. Brethren missionaries, for example, were probably the most homogeneous non-African body in this whole area of the savanna prior to World War I. The much smaller SAGM mission field adjoined the Beloved strip. In the NWP, it lay to the south and east; and in Angola, to the south. The SAGM entitled its mission work in these areas as the Forward Movement. (See the map on page ____ for the geographic expanse of these missions.)

1. Short, *A Modern Experiment in Apostolic Missions* (Bristol: W. G. Harris, n.d.), p. 14.

2. SAGM stands for South Africa General Mission. After the independence period in Africa, the mission became African Evangelical Fellowship (AEF) and the local church in Zambia became the Evangelical Church of Zambia (ECZ). The term Brethren is probably preferable to other choices with regard to the other grouping of missionaries. Many outsiders in Britain called them Plymouth Brethren or PBs. As noted in footnote 4, one Brethren writer called his history . . . The Brethren Movement. As a group of missionaries in Africa, they were first identified as the Garenganze Evangelical Mission. Later, American Brethren began to use the title 'Christian Missions in Many Lands' to satisfy legal requirements. Consequently, CMML is the most commonly used name in Central Africa today. Brethren, however, is possibly the most acceptable for everyone since they add the adjective 'open' or 'closed' brethren to distinguish between two major divisions among their movement -- see footnote ____ later in this chapter.

Brethren and SAGM Mission Areas

(created by Syracuse University's Cartography Dept. in 1983)



Arnot acquired and sustained a personal interest in the upper Zambezi region, especially the NWP, although most of the Brethren's Beloved Strip lay to the west, north, and east of the NWP, and most of the SAGM's Forward Movement focused on Angola. Since his reputation became so great, the NWP remained particularly significant in Brethren and SAGM mission circles. In addition, as the only mission agencies in the NWP for much of the colonial period, the Brethren and SAGM acquired local importance. Even church politics and philosophies assumed wider meaning in NWP society. Above all, these reluctant missionaries became the most important originators of all new social services, especially education and health. Thus the history of Arnot, the expansion of the two missions, and the evolution of the NWP became intertwined.³

The Brethren and the SAGM: Background and Entry

Despite their importance in parts of south-central Africa, the Brethren were neither well-known nor well-liked in Britain, in other English-speaking parts of the Empire, or in Western Europe. In contrast, in the polyglot religious confusion of America, they became just one more tiny, conservative, evangelical group. Orthodox British religionists

3. The following pages continue the story of Arnot's quest begun in Chapter III.

Education in the Northwestern Province

considered them extremists since they adhered to their nineteenth-century revivalist heritage. Strongly egalitarian and dissenting non-conformists who sometimes seemed to be aggressively evangelical, they posed a threat to the established church and to the social order of the nation. Or so more nominal Christians believed.

The Brethren's story began simply in the 1820s in England and Ireland. Several met privately in Dublin to study the Bible and arrived at doctrinal conclusions that would be held by later believers. They accepted the Bible as the divinely-inspired Word of God and as a literal example for all to follow. They felt that church and state should be separated and that even church organizations were non-Biblical and unnecessary. Believers should simply meet together in local autonomous assemblies--often called "gospel halls"--and each service should be conducted under Divine Inspiration. These men said the Bible did not call for a specially trained and ordained clergy. The 'priesthood' was open to all who believed. Hence as brethren, they started 'breaking bread' without ordained ministers. Without inclining toward emotionalism, they believed that people should regularly assemble to reinforce the spirituality and fellowship of believers and to convert non-believers through evangelistic preaching.⁴

This initial assembly felt that all believers had to help in preaching the Word in each nation and corner of the world. Many years later one prominent Brethren writer explained how the support of mission work had become both a uniting force and a symbol of spirituality within and between different assemblies.

*The degree of unity and harmony which has prevailed among [assemblies] is due in no inconsiderable measure to the missionary spirit which has characterized them. Indeed, speaking of individual assemblies, it may be said that their spiritual prosperity has been in direct proportion to their missionary zeal.*⁵

More specifically, as a result of this last belief, world-wide missionary efforts originated within the Dublin assembly, especially through the endeavors of Anthony Norris Groves. Like the rest of the little group, Groves believed that the formal missionary societies of Britain were unBiblical. When believers listened to God's "go ye therefore,"⁶ they had to proceed forth on faith alone as the Apostle Paul had done. God would reward their faith by supplying all essential needs. Thus, Groves initially proceeded to Baghdad and later to India. In South India, he laid the foundation for extensive missionary work. More important to believers in Brethren assemblies, Groves' piety and successful dedication to mission work made him the foremost model of an exemplary life. An extraordinary number of individuals heeded Groves' example, and many independent assemblies began springing

4. Three scholarly historical studies of the Brethren, the first two by Brethren are: Frederick Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement: its Origins, its Worldwide Development, and Significance for the Present Day*, 2nd edition., (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1976); Harold Hamlyn Rowdon, *The Origins of the Brethren, 1825-1850* (London: Pickering and Inglis, 1967); Peter L. Embley, "The Early Development of the Plymouth Brethren," in *Patterns of Sectarianism: Organisation and Ideology in Social and Religious Movements*, ed. Bryan R. Wilson (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1967), pp. 213-243.

5. W. E. Vine, Preface to *Principles of Christianity*, by "By a Younger Brother," as cited in the previous footnote, p.iii.

6. Matthew 28:19.

Ch. V The Missionary Factor

up in some of the world's least accessible places.⁷

One of those men who heeded the Call was Arnot. Like many others, he simply set out to preach the Word in new lands. Like Groves, he became another role model who helped orient others towards Central Africa. Arnot's pietism, individualism, and apolitical single-mindedness are much more plausible and understandable in this religious setting than in the political setting where the new colonial powers made him an unwilling participant.⁸

As described in Chapter 3, Arnot's importance in the international maneuvering for control of south-central Africa largely ended in 1888 when he turned over his mission work in Msidi's kingdom to Swan and Faulkner and returned to the United Kingdom. His religious and social significance, however, had just begun. Britain hailed him as a new David Livingstone. Throughout the country, he addressed not only Brethren assemblies but also the general public including learned societies and nobility. Being a man with unlimited energy, in the midst of this praise and publicity, he married, wrote *Garenganze* (his first major book) and laid plans to return to Africa.

Within a year, he led a party of thirteen people to the Angolan port of Benguella. Although several members died on the way, he and the group slowly moved inland, opening mission stations along the old slave trading route. By the time Arnot died in 1914, twenty mission stations were operating. He had personally initiated many of them.⁹

Although most of these new stations lay in other parts of the savanna, Arnot's brother-in-law Walter Fisher shared his long-enduring concern for the upper Zambezi region. As part of the group formed in 1889, Fisher helped establish several new stations around the turn of the century. Moving south from Kavungu (Nana Kandundu) in 1899, he opened Kazombo and then Kalunda (Hill) in 1905, both in the extreme eastern pedicle of Angola that is in the upper Zambezi Valley. A renowned medical doctor, he not only wanted to preach the Word of God, but also to build a sanatorium for missionaries who were then dying at an alarming rate from unknown or incurable tropical diseases. The upper Zambezi Valley especially suited him because it was approximately halfway between the east-west string of Brethren stations. But Fisher also desired higher land. After deciding Kalunda was not suitable, he trekked east across the newly demarcated boundary and chose Kalene Hill. Strongly believing that God guided his choice, Fisher moved to Kalene with his family in

7. For the world-wide Brethren ministry, see the following two works: Echoes of Service, *Turning the World Upside Down* (Bath: Echoes of Service, 1972). ADD NEW SERIES. Since Groves inspired so many later Brethren assemblies, much has been written about him. For a recent article see Dr. Frederick A. Tatford, "Anthony Norris Groves: His Principles," *Christian Missions in Many Lands*, 8 (July-August 1979), pp. 17-9.

8. Numerous popular books and articles, not noted here, have been published about Arnot. For a recent description of Arnot living an exemplary life for modern believers, see Frederick A. Tatford, "Frederick Stanley Arnot" (Bath, May 1981); cited in *Christian Missions in Many Lands*, Vol. 11, under the title "The Beloved Strip," May 1982, pp. 5-8 and June 1982, pp. 3-6.

9. The events of 1889-1892 were the focus of Arnot's next book, *Bihe and Garenganze* (London: James E. Hawkins and Colonial Office., 1893). His later works were: *Garenganze: East and West* (London: Walter G. Wheeler and Colonial Office., 1902); and finally, *Missionary Travels*. See also: Baker, *Arnot*, pp. 231-73 and Echoes of Service, *Turning*, 363-81. For brief, personal reminiscences by many of the early pioneers, see [Echoes of Service] *A Central African Jubilee: 1881-1931, Or Fifty Years with the Gospel in "The Beloved Strip"*, forward by Montague Goodman (London: Pickering and Inglis, 1932[?]).

Education in the Northwestern Province

June 1906 and founded the first mission station in the NWP.¹⁰

Arnot did not limit his encouragement to Fisher. He remained 'burdened' about this area that included the NWP and felt that the peoples in and near the upper Zambezi Valley, who the BSAC officially regarded as Lozi subjects, had been "deserted and forsaken"¹¹ by all missionaries except Fisher. Conversely, he realized that the resources of the relatively small Brethren assemblies were too limited to extend much further. Most certainly they could not reach all the peoples south and east of the Beloved Strip, including the Kaonde/Lamba. The Roman Catholics focused his concern, since they seemed likely to enter if no evangelicals did. Spending long periods in South Africa for reasons of health and his children's education, Arnot became acquainted with the SAGM. They helped answer his prayer.¹²

Dr. Andrew Murray, a bilingual Afrikaans/English-speaking South African, founded the SAGM. The group had been formed when Murray and others inspired many loosely-associated, conservative evangelical churches to join in missionary endeavors. Just like the Brethren, the SAGM believed that the Bible was God's divine inspiration. The missionary's task was simply to preach the Word to the 'heathen'. As the SAGM's Forward Movement expanded north into Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Murray and other leaders visited England and America to gain wider support. At this time, Arnot met them.¹³

Arnot's main SAGM contact, however, was not Murray himself but Albert W. Bailey, an American who had come to South Africa as a missionary less than two years before. After long conversations with Arnot, Bailey felt the 'Divine Call' to extend the SAGM's Forward Movement into North West Rhodesia and then, later on, into the Angolan areas south of the Beloved Strip. Although the SAGM's leaders hesitated because of severe staff and monetary limitations, Bailey finally received permission to become their pioneer among the Kaonde/Lamba.¹⁴

Arnot did more than just give Bailey moral support. In 1910 Arnot preceded Bailey,

10. For the life story of Dr. Walter Fisher, see W. Singleton Fisher and Julyan Hoyte, *Africa Looks Ahead: The Life Stories of Walter and Anna Fisher of Central Africa* (London: Pickering and Inglis, 1948) and also the Walter Fisher Papers (HM/8), located in the Zambia National Archives (ZNA). He saw medical work as a useful tool in evangelism and in assisting new converts; for example, see the ending to his letter, 14 June 1917, *Echoes*, 46 (Oct. 1917, pt. 1), p. 309.

11. Baker, quoting from Arnot's diaries, *Arnot*, pp. 303-4.

12. *Pioneer*, 22 (September 1909), p. 142; Arnot to Middlemiss, 9 July 1910, in Correspondence Files, Volume IX, Wimbledon.

13. For information about SAGM's early days, see J. du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* (London: Longmans, 1911; reprint edition, Cape Town: C. Struik, 1965) and *The Life of Andrew Murray of South Africa* (New York: Marshall Brothers Ltd., 1919). For an unpublished history of the SAGM, see John Craig Proctor, "The Cross in Southern Africa" A History of the South Africa General Mission" (prepared for the American Council of South Africa General Mission, Inc., Brooklyn, New York, 1945, ts.).

14. For chronological details of the SAGM's early work in Northern Rhodesia, see the monthly correspondence in *Pioneer*. For the opening of new mission stations, see Rev. A.W. Bailey's *Commission and Conquest in South Africa: An Autobiographical Account of Pioneer Mission Work in Africa*, edited by his wife, Metha D. Bailey (Newark, NJ: privately duplicated and bound in book form, 1968). For the first days in Northern Rhodesia, see also a pamphlet by Bailey, "Lessons in an African Prayer School" (SAGM, n.p., n.d.). Bailey was an American who had been a pastor cum missionary in a lumber camp in a remote part of Maine.

Ch. V The Missionary Factor

surveyed the area, and then spent six more months helping him become settled. Together they chose a site on the Chisalala River, a day's walk south of Kansanshi Mine. The proximity of the mine enabled Bailey to minister to the European and African miners and to the local population.¹⁵

Later in 1912 Bailey traveled west and opened a station on the Lalafuta River in Kasempa District. After new missionaries arrived, Bailey moved on and founded a new series of stations in Angola.¹⁶

With Arnot's encouragement, Fisher and Bailey had opened two mission stations in the northwestern corner of North West Rhodesia. But Arnot remained unsatisfied. The main Lunda/Luvale area of the upper Zambezi Valley just south of the brethren stations in eastern Angola and the southern Congo and just north of the Lozi was unoccupied. And the perennial Roman Catholic threat enflamed his desire to work on his own mission station. He envisioned a location at the confluence of the Kabompo and Zambezi Rivers. Thus, in 1913 he led George Suckling, with experience at Kalene (from 1908 and 1911) and Lambert Rogers to this spot.¹⁷

Arnot's dream became reality, but repeated bouts of malaria had permanently damaged his health. Rainy weather, combined with the task of finding a suitable site in a swampy area, broke it completely. In January 1914 his spleen burst. He was taken to South Africa where within two months he died as stoically as he lived. The story of his life and death, told and retold, inspired several generations of Brethren to 'heed the Call', come to Africa, and 'pick up the sword'.¹⁸

The new mission had quickly acquired an air of romantic tragedy within mission circles and retained it for some years. Before Arnot died, the youthful Rogers had mangled a foot in a gun accident, but had refused to leave and seek medical attention in South Africa. Thus the new mission quickly acquired an air of romantic tragedy within mission circles. After Arnot's death, Rogers recovered and helped Suckling move the mission approximately fifteen kilometers north to the beautiful and more healthy site that it presently occupies. (It was renamed Chitokoloki, but for many years most people continued to call it Kabompo Mission in honor of Arnot.) Just when Chitokoloki seemed to be prospering, Rogers abruptly died from blackwater fever. As he died while traveling to Kalene to marry his young fiancé, an equally active young missionary, the aura of romantic tragedy continued. Arnot's and Rogers's deaths made them martyrs who illustrated Christian valor. Likewise, Suckling's determination to stay, despite the deaths of his two comrades, seemed to reveal Christian determination and tenacity. Chitokoloki and Suckling's new programs received

15. Baker, *Arnot*, pp. 304-8.

16. Bailey, *Commission*, pp. 30 ff.

17. Baker, *Arnot*, pp. 314-26.

18. Baker describes Arnot's final journey from Kabompo to south Africa as an invalid, and his inspirational death bed experiences, pp. 320-30. For a memorial by someone who knew him as a fellow missionary, see Dan Crawford, "Memories of F. S. Arnot", *Christian Express*, 2 May 1921, pp. 74-6. For the best, but still very deficient, recent biography, see Tony Lawman, *From the Hands of the Wicked* (London: Hale, 1960).

Education in the Northwestern Province

considerable expected publicity.¹⁹

With this founding of Chitokoloki on the eve of World War I, the three mission stations occupied the three major parts of the NWP and became firmly established in the colonial society. From these, other Brethren and SAGM stations opened.

Unorthodox Religious Policy

NWP missionaries, like all missionaries in Northern Rhodesia, shared a common dilemma. Seeking to save Africa from sin, they eagerly tried to provide social services to entice Africans to salvation. But these services cost them considerable money and personnel that their voluntary supporters overseas could not provide. While the territorial government wanted them to provide these social services, it refused to offer financial assistance until the late 1920s or even the 1930s. Consequently, permanent solutions to this dilemma proved elusive. While the quest for answers occasionally united disparate missions throughout the territory, each mission agency, and in the final analysis, each isolated mission station, had to reach a personal solution and then constantly re-evaluate it.

These similar goals and problems notwithstanding, competition generated by religious antipathy remained a dominant fact of missionary life throughout much of Northern Rhodesia. It often became cut-throat as large religious organizations sought exclusive occupation of, or the choicest locations in, an area. In the eastern part of the territory, the Dutch Reformed Church and White Fathers attempted to outmaneuver each other village by village. To the north, the latter competed vigorously in different places with the Church of Scotland, the London Missionary Society (LMS), and the Brethren. Later in Barotseland, the Paris Mission Society (PMS) competed with the Roman Catholics and Seven Day Adventists.²⁰

The Southern Province became a Christian Tower of Babel. "Nowhere in Northern Rhodesia was the denominational battle waged so fiercely. . . . By 1925, . . . eight mission societies had [been] established."²¹ In 1905 the Seventh Day Adventists and the Jesuit Fathers established two missions, Rusangu and Chikuni, about three kilometers apart. P. D. Snelson, one recent educational historian, pondered on the situation.

*One wonders what the Tonga villagers thought of these two deeply divided branches of the Christian church settling in their midst in the course of a few days; each offered the pagan Tonga the promise of salvation through the same risen Christ, but considered the other to be so seriously in error as to be in danger of eternal damnation.*²²

Only in the NWP and a few other smaller areas, such as the lower Zambezi Valley and

19. See the following issues of *Echoes* for these dramatic events: Suckling, 15. Mar. 1914, 43 (June 1914, pt. 1), pp. 215-6; Nov. 1914, 44 (Feb. 1915, pt. 2), pp. 72-3; 45 (Oct. 1916), p. 356.

20. P. D. Snelson gives the best account of this early competition over education: *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia, 1883-1945* (Lusaka: NECZAM, 1974), pp. 65-118. See also John Ragsdale, "Protestant Missions and the Development of Education in Northern Rhodesia" (Ed.D. dissertation, Lehigh University, 1973).

21. *Development*, p. 94.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

Ch. V The Missionary Factor

Kaoma District, did a friendlier and more Christ-like relationship between missions exist. The Brethren in Mwinilunga and Balovale and the SAGM in Kasempa and Solwezi not only had similar doctrines, but shared Arnot as their spiritual father. Their paucity and isolation also prevented them from competing, and the vague threat presented by wealthier and more orthodox mission agencies entering the NWP, especially the Roman Catholics, increased the camaraderie between them.

This lack of competition was not necessarily desirable, however, from the African point of view. With the benefit of hindsight, many interviewees said it seriously affected the NWP's meager educational gains.²³ This analysis may be simplistic, but it has considerable validity. For example, by the 1920 the Brethren in the Luapula areas of northeastern Rhodesia occasionally wrote lurid letters home to Britain about the horrors of the White Fathers, who competed with them for each locality. At this time the Luapula Brethren had more staff and a well-organized school program that had been in place at least a decade before those in the NWP. Suckling's earlier educational advances in the NWP also rested partly on the threat of mission competition. The correlation between competition, overseas support, and social inducements for African appears obvious. In general, competition not only seemed to bring in more money and staff from overseas, but also induced these missions to use their resources more vigorously in providing education, medicine and direct evangelism.

While decreasing the amount of mission activity, the lack of large and vigorously competing missions increased a particular locality's reliance on its sole mission agency. In fact, each NWP district developed a vested interest in the local mission's work, policies, and types of missionaries. A whole district occasionally could feel repercussions from mission problems. These were often byzantine matters involving church discipline, especially clashes between African tradition and Victorian Christian ideas on sex, dancing and alcohol. Without competing missions and with little government assistance, the local colonial society could only accept or reject the social services the local mission offered. For example, people near Kalene had only one choice, to take the medicine or education along with the constant preaching of the Word by Dr. Fisher's staff. If serious internal mission problems arose, a district might also lose its only school(s). In short, the lack of mission competition and poverty of the Brethren and the SAGM minimized their effectiveness and negatively affected each NWP district.

Until after World War II the SAGM barely kept their two missions open because of continuous staff and money problems. Their ineffectiveness was clear to both the missionaries and the district as a whole. Even in good times, the SAGM seldom maintained more than six or eight missionaries in Solwezi and Kasempa Districts--generally two married couples, several single ladies, and occasionally a single man. In bad times, numbers decreased. For example, during part of 1936 and 1937, only two single ladies

23. Several interviewees preferred not to be quoted. Of those who did not request anonymity, this widespread belief was stated most clearly by Luka Yamba. I interviewed him formally on 8 July 1979 in Solwezi Township, but talked with him informally on many other occasions. It was, however, stated most forcefully in the interview with Stanley K. M. Tapa, 6 Dec. 1976, Mwinilunga Township.

Education in the Northwestern Province

remained at Mutanda, the only mission in the whole Solwezi District. Even if the SAGM had serious social objectives besides evangelism, these minimal numbers could achieve very little in such an enormous area.²⁴

In private letters to their headquarters in Cape Town and in open appeals to churches, individual SAGM missionaries begged for more staff and money. But without mission competition and with the region's unimpressively low population, their prayers and pleas went unheeded.²⁵ Herbert Pirouet's 1925 appeal was a typical statement of the problem and the local missionaries futile attempts to change the situation.

*Our district [is] twice the size of Swaziland. In a bee-line there are about 120 miles between our two stations. There are two men in this district, Mr. Foster and myself, and five ladies. It is some fifteen years since the SAGM made itself responsible for the evangelization of the Kaonde. More than half the villages are still to all intents and purposes untouched. This generation is dying in darkness. . . . We are here watching this process. . . . We need four more married couples and need them urgently.*²⁶

The SAGM's poverty was not uncommon, but it became significant in the NWP because of the group's monopoly and its attitude toward this monopoly. The poverty resembled that of other small faith missions elsewhere in the territory and empire.²⁷ But had they been in the Southern Province, for example, other larger, more able, and more competitive missions would have surrounded them and supplemented their social services. Here the SAGM retained a total monopoly for long periods of time but provided few social services. Thus, Christian missionary endeavors had a minimum effect on Kasempa and Solwezi Districts.

SAGM missionaries cannot be faulted for these obvious and unavoidable mission constraints. Unfortunately for the district, however, they jealously tried to block local government officials from bringing in other mission societies even when they could not adequately provide social services and when the territorial government refused to do so. Consequently their monopoly continued, leaving a serious void until the eve of World War II.

Fortunately, the SAGM's relatively orthodox mission structure helped unite the mission. Under the supervision of their headquarters in Cape Town, SAGM missionaries in Northern Rhodesia held a yearly regional conference on internal matters, such as doctrine, church polity, finances, and general church operations. Each missionary received a basic salary,

24 In 1936, Victor and Anne Nelson went overseas on leave. For up to a year--the exact time is not stated in available records--Florence Reed maintained a small clinic and Edith Shoosmith had a small girls' school. Pupils in the boys' school were sent to Mukinge.

25 In the early period, Ernest Harris's pleas were especially strong and continued throughout the seven years that he remained the senior missionary. For his private correspondence, see letters from Middlemiss in the Cape Town office to E. C. Faithful in England, Wimbleton, Correspondence Files, Vol. XI to Vol. XVIII. For the open pleas to supporters, see letters by Harris, Roy Vernon and A. A. Wilson in *Pioneer*.

26 *Pioneer* (Am.) 6 (1925/6), p. 33.

27 The SAGM was probably no poorer than missions like the South African Baptists, Brethren in Christ, the Church of Christ, Salvation Army, or the Pilgrim Holiness.

Ch. V The Missionary Factor

though individual missionaries also could receive personal gifts. Individual SAGM missionaries reported to the Field Secretary at the mission headquarters and he reported to Home Secretaries in countries that sent missionaries. In turn, these men contacted the missionaries' sponsoring churches, recruited new missionaries, and provided general information on SAGM. The most important home office, in Wimbledon, England, published *On Trek*, a mission magazine for children, and *South African Pioneer*, a monthly composite of mission news. Despite the great diversity in recruits from independent evangelical churches in different countries, this conventional structure gave the mission a reasonable degree of harmony.²⁸

Like the SAGM, the Brethren acquired, and sometimes sustained for up to fifty years, a total monopoly on religious work and the accompanying social services in Mwinilunga and Balovale/Kabompo Districts. They also had frequent staff and funding problems. Unlike the SAGM, however, these Brethren missions differed intrinsically from major missions in the rest of the country. Their greatest differences came from an unceasing insistence on local mission autonomy. As in England, these Brethren missionaries were religious purists who objected not only to the 'laxity', but also the organization itself of more orthodox churches.

Lacking a formal organization, the Brethren conducted mission work in an informal manner. After an individual acknowledged the Divine Call, a local church assembly vouched for his piety and faithfulness, and expressed its faith in his call by sponsoring him. Then one or more nearby assemblies seconded the sponsorship and helped support the individual while overseas. In the mission field, the new missionary became responsible only to the leading elder on the mission station and to sponsoring assemblies. While never making open appeals for money and staff, as the SAGM missionaries did, one or more journals printed the missionary's letters and supplied publicity and information to interested assemblies.²⁹

Of these periodicals, *Echoes of Service*, published in Bath (England), was the earliest and most important. In 1922 after noting that they had just passed their fiftieth year of operations, the editors of *Echoes* emphatically stated what they were and were not.

*We wish it to be understood that we do not constitute a Society, nor is there a Board of Control, but we are simply a medium of communication between individual Christians or assemblies of God's people and labourers who had gone forth in gospel service in the Lord's name in simple dependence upon Him for their guidance and maintenance.*³⁰

28. Wimbledon, a conversation with Horace Totterdell, Home Secretary of the British Council for Africa Evangelical Fellowship (in his office on 21 Jan. 1976) provided much insight into the general organization and social perceptions of the Mission. I am also deeply indebted to the other staff at Wimbledon for their marvelous hospitality for several weeks during Jan. 1976 and their patience in answering my flood of questions regarding the past and present structure of the mission and also to Mr. and Mrs. Michael Warburton, whom I originally met at Mutanda Mission near Solwezi, Zambia in 1963 and later again in 1975 in their new roles with the new AEF International Headquarters in Reading, England.

29. Brethren periodicals relating to missions are given in the Bibliography. There have also been several commercial Brethren publishers, such as Paternoster Press (London and Glasgow) in Britain and Loizeaux Brothers (Neptune, NJ) in America.

30. *Echoes*, 51 (Apr. 1922), pp. 75-6. *Echoes of Service* had its centenary anniversary in 1972. It was called The Missionary Echo until 1885. Today it is simply called *Echoes*.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Without a formal society to take responsibility, the Bath office served as a clearing house for general donations. If a donor specified a gift's destination, it was forwarded. If not, a group of elders divided it as God directed. This meant that some Brethren missionaries in the Beloved Strip had ample funding others barely survived.

The Brethren's lack of organization and centralized direction caused an anomalous situation in parts of the NWP where they maintained a monopoly on mission work. Since no orthodox missions overshadowed them, as in England and most parts of the Beloved Strip, they became a rigid anti-establishmentarian religious establishment. From this paradox, three interrelated and overlapping problems, which arose in Brethren mission work throughout the Beloved Strip, became especially noticeable and had multiple social implications in the NWP.

The first problem, a lack of leadership, related to them as a large body of missionaries and other groups. The Brethren continually refused to allow any person to lead or represent them and intermediate with others, despite the considerable confusion this caused among government officials, other missions, and the African population. As in Britain, their stations often became the "happy hunting ground of the individualist,"³¹ each jealously guarding its independence. This is illustrated by a letter dated 1906 from Fisher.³² In it, he reported that other Brethren missionaries did not regard Arnot as their representative, although by then he was very famous.

The second problem was coordinating, planning, and sustaining continuity among Brethren missionaries without a formal organization. This problem had both internal and external implications. Several hundred missionaries in several dozen mission stations and three territories of Central Africa, including Brethren missionaries in the NWP, were unwilling to coordinate their current activities or to plan their future evangelical and social activities beyond the individual mission station. Total autonomy meant that different stations did not necessarily coordinate or plan anything except when an urgent need arose. For example, Dr. Walter Fisher and his staff had limited interest in education. They never attempted to send pupils for teacher training at Brethren mission stations at either Johnston Falls (in Luapula Province) or Chitokoloki until government applied strong pressure in the mid-1930s. Thus as late as 1936, Mwinilunga District had no certified teachers.³³ Likewise, Chitokoloki and Chavuma missions in Balovale District had contrasting educational philosophies and policies.

The first two problems especially frustrated and annoyed government officials. These men generally came from more orthodox churches and failed to see any doctrinal value in autonomy. They normally dealt with large mission organizations represented by a single individual who spoke and acted forcefully on behalf of the whole organization. Most

31. Coad, *Brethren Movement*, p. 165.

32. Fisher (at Kanongesha) to Singleton Darling, 12 June 1907, Walter Fisher Papers, folios 1552-5, NAZ.

33. The teacher training school at Johnston Falls became esp. well-known after 1926 under the supervision of Charles E. Stokes. Government reports and the individuals who attended the school make this clear. In particular, see the interviews with Aaron Ngalande, 14 Nov. 1978, in Kasempa Township and Tito Kibolya, 10 Nov. 1977, in Solwezi Township.

Ch. V The Missionary Factor

important, many wanted to develop the districts. Since economy was the chief watchword of both the imperial and territorial governments and yet many government officials desired progress, they wished to maximize all available resources. The missionaries appeared to be natural allies for this task. But administrators were used to missions complaining about each other and competing to establish schools or evangelical centers. Thus the NWP, especially Mwinilunga, initially surprised them. By the mid-1930s, for example, administrators had to deal separately with the head missionaries of Kalene, Kamapanda, and Mujimbeji. These missionaries did not even necessarily know what the other Brethren stations were doing. At the same time the missionaries did not complain about the others, nor did they constantly demand government assistance for social services.

Since this anti-system became Mwinilunga's system by default, the government officials believed overall development of the district suffered. Most annoying to them, no mission would take a progressive lead. Kalene, with the only well-equipped and adequately staffed hospital and with the best land surrounding it, did not try to develop a medical or agricultural training center. Kamapanda absolutely refused to proceed on their own. So without other mission agencies, Mwinilunga DCs continually felt frustrated.³⁴

The third problem that evolved from Brethren autonomy related to internal disagreements. These could not be solved easily without any formal ecclesiastical appeal beyond the individual missionaries and their sponsoring assemblies. Solutions had to be reached by consensus. In the United Kingdom, extremely dissatisfied parties simply withdrew their fellowship and then isolated themselves from the offenders.³⁵ At the same time, they withdrew the knowledge of quarrels and schisms from non-believers. In Central Africa, however, a local misunderstanding or separation could seldom be hidden and sometimes had consequences for many others besides church members. An outstanding and recent NWP example is a post-World War II separation between Chitokoloki and several ex-Chitokoloki missionaries, who had taken charge of Kabulamema. It eventually involved Kabompo District officials and African adherents of the two missions and continued to be significant in the 1970s.³⁶

The problem of a *lingua franca* for the region provides a more relevant example of the internal Brethren disagreements that were difficult to solve and had widespread social significance. This issue raised long-term questions. Should the Bible be translated into

34. For a consistent indication of the frustration of local officials, see Mwinilunga ARs for this period, NAZ.

35. A major schism had occurred in the Brethren movement in the 1840s. As a result, two large groups of assemblies formed: the 'exclusives' or 'closed' Brethren and the 'open' Brethren. Missionaries in the NWP and the Beloved Strip were from 'the latter. In the eyes of many 'open' Brethren, older histories overstressed these events. For recent scholarly accounts by Brethren writers, see Coad, *Brethren Movement*, pp. 106-64 and Rowdon, *Origins*.

36. Kabulamema is mentioned here as a modern example because it is so widely known in Kabompo/Zambezi Districts and has been the source of local conversation for several decades. The Kabulamema issue took on complex educational, governmental, and even legal ramifications in addition to social ones. These are indicated clearly in "Kabulamema Correspondence, 1954-1964," File no. A/19, in the old Ministry of Education Files, Solwezi. One earlier pre-World War I, 1907 example further highlights the historical, schismatic tendency. At this time, some missionaries in Kazombo refused to have fellowship with Dr. Fisher because they felt he was too tolerant in his handling of the polygamous marriages of new converts. See Fisher to Darling, 30 July 1907, Walter Fisher Papers, folios 1564-71, NAZ.

Education in the Northwestern Province

many African languages? Or should more extensive educational programs teach Africans to read and understand easier-to-translate European languages, especially English, French, and Portuguese? Suckling and Charles Swan advocated the latter. Most Brethren, however, rejected the idea of a European *lingua franca*. They argued that Africans should read the Bible in their mother tongue. Thus, they advocated and later undertook the enormously time-consuming task of translating the Bible into many languages. For pushing his point of view too fervently, Suckling earned a rare, open rebuke. Publicly, the issue died. Diverging feelings nonetheless remained and this difficult consensus relegated African education, beyond basic literacy for reading the Bible, to a lower place than translation work.³⁷

Despite such disputes, extreme Brethren independence allowed for localized excellence. Unhampered by ecclesiastical authorities, a Brethren missionary could choose his priorities and then, in his little section of the NWP, do as much as his vision, ability, and finances permitted. The medical work of Fisher and his successors made Kalene famous throughout Central Africa. The educational program of Suckling likewise earned Chitokoloki a high reputation by the end of World War II.

In contrast, NWP government officials felt no SAGM missionaries attained a notable reputation. Given SAGM's tenuous funding and staffing restraints, evangelizing enormous districts and providing tiny schools and clinics therein harried the missionaries and continually limited their achievements. In the process, several missionaries lost their health. And two of the most outstanding, Herbert Pirouet in the late 1920s and Peter Letchford after World War II, assumed administrative positions in the mission organization, leaving colleagues to carry on their projects.

Nationalities and social class also had relevance in defining the place of these missionaries within Northern Rhodesian and NWP colonial society. Except for a few black missionaries from Guyana,³⁸ all Brethren missionaries were European, and most spoke English as their native language. While increasing numbers originated from the USA, Canada, and other Commonwealth countries, the majority came from Britain until after World War II. Overseas, most assemblies' leaders were at least reasonably well-educated, though they perceived education only as a means to an end. God's inspiration was always the essential ingredient in doing His work. Reflecting this, Brethren missionaries largely came from the middle class, though some could be described as the 'better sort' of working class. In following the Biblical example of the Apostle Paul, many had either/or both professional and practical trades training in medicine, education, construction and agriculture. Though most were full-time missionaries, some tried to be self-supporting. As noted in the last chapter, most European businessmen--traders and farmers--in Mwinilunga and Balovale Districts were Brethren.

37. Give basic references in Appendix B for this footnote.

38. The black Brethren missionaries have an interesting untold story. After Arnot visited Guyana in 1897, they came to the Beloved Strip. They largely helped in Angola and in the Luapula Province. See Echoes, *Turning*, pp. 245-6 and 282-3. The increasing color bar in Northern Rhodesia adversely affected them. For a revealing incident and correspondence, see Chief of Police, and attached letter to C.E. Stokes. 16 March, 1932, confidential, ZA 1/9/158/7, NAZ.

Ch. V The Missionary Factor

SAGM missionaries had a similar but more heterogeneous background. Starting with Bailey, more tended to be American or South African. Many did not have the same high professional and practical training. District administrators certainly did not regard them as highly as they did the Brethren, not only because of their training but also because of humbler or non-British origins. As later chapters illustrate, Kaonde-Lunda Province administrators more frequently 'laid down the law' to SAGM while passively enduring similar deficiencies by Mwinilunga Brethren.

The characteristics of the SAGM and Brethren missions in the NWP made them an unorthodox religious element and clearly distinguished them from most missionaries in the territory. They did not do many of the things that might have helped the region when the government ignored it. Unlike large Protestant missions elsewhere, they did not become strong agitators for political, social, and economic reforms. Nor did they care to associate too closely with such agitation.

While other missions in the territory solicited their participation in territorial conferences on common mission problems, most NWP missionaries remained uninvolved. Not only did such agitation go against their philosophy, but they objected to getting involved with larger Protestant missions which they felt were tainted by doctrinal impurities. Even more, they feared the Seventh Day Adventists and Roman Catholics. Avoiding open hostility was hard when meetings were essential. To even formulate basic medical and educational social policies for Northern Rhodesia with such mission agencies became very difficult.

Walter Fisher's response to the Northern Rhodesian Missionary Conference of 1919 illustrates how these missionaries distinguished, separated, and isolated themselves from most mission groups in south-central Africa. Missionaries at this very crucial conference handled major social, especially educational, issues. Diverse and antagonistic missionaries collectively tackled the BSAC's abysmal neglect of the African.³⁹ Yet at this time of enormous educational activity and nascent religious cooperation, Fisher found the proceedings displeasing. Writing to his brother-in-law, he expressed "disappointment" with most missionaries at the conference who were overly concerned with "business matters. They only preach the Gospel by means of paid native teachers and outschools, etc." They only ones who "interested" him "were the 'Brethren-in-Christ'" who knew "their Bibles well [and were] keen soul winners."⁴⁰

These missions were happy to remain isolated in the NWP. Most simply did not know or did not especially care what happened elsewhere in the territory. Since they controlled all social services by default and since Africans had nowhere else to turn, the NWP shared their isolation and its consequences.

If these new missionaries reluctantly agreed to operate new educational systems under the government, they did so because they feared government threats not only to invite, but also to encourage, other missions to enter the region. Fortunately in their eyes, but

39. For conference details, esp. in terms of education, see Ragsdale, "Development" pp. 141-9 and Snelson, Development, pp. 133-4. This conference was preoccupied with the Native Schools Proclamation of 1918.

40. Walter Fisher to Singleton Darling, 13 Aug. 1919, Walter Fisher Papers, folios 1723-6, NAZ.

Education in the Northwestern Province

unfortunately in African eyes, most orthodox Protestant missions declined local administrators' invitations to enter until after 1945. Deeply involved in other regions, these missions regarded most of the NWP--with its vast spaces, poor transport and low population density--as too peripheral. Consequently, the long-term SAGM and Brethren monopoly was broken only at the end of or after this era.⁴¹

41. As noted elsewhere, both government and individual officers' invitations to other missions were important, but often made informally and not placed in the records. Hence, precise examples and dates of these invitations are vague or missing.

CHAPTER VI: SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

What happened in the other, outer world [beyond Kasempa District] became of little interest or concern. Wars, disasters, the rise and fall of kings, dictators or ministers, or the absurd mass amusements of the uninitiated, became dwarfed in size before a bridge that had fallen, the death of a Headman of traditional importance, or the defalcation of a chief's clerk. A world experienced that I remember. I cannot forget, for it was a world of the Middle Ages, enjoying a brief time of peace under a good king.¹

Robin Short

While the situation was much less romantic, Short was partly right. Before 1945 the NWP's society was superficially an idealized "world of the Middle Ages."² Because white settlers were insignificant, administrators and missionaries became its nobility and clergy. Having superimposed themselves at the top, they then sustained enormous governmental and ecclesiastical power. Africans formed a much larger, mostly powerless group of peasants.

This anachronistic society functioned through the interactions of these three social elements because of their different motivations, perceptions and social status. Two issues initiated and continued the interaction: taxation imposed by the Northern Rhodesia government and Christianity interpreted and preached by the SAGM and the Brethren. Forced interaction in turn generated voluntary interaction. The latter initially assumed many forms, but education increasingly became the most significant. By 1945 many Africans, but by no means all, accepted education as a key that unlocked the secret benefits of the modern world.³

The Elements of NWP Society, A Closer Look

Fraternity united and suspicion divided the NWP missionary and administrative elite. The similarities noted in the last three chapters generated feelings of fraternity. For example, both groups were white and shared broad cultural assumptions. With few exceptions, those who were not British spoke English as their mother tongue. Almost all were Protestant. Members of the middle class, they shared beliefs about the work ethic, formal education, and the importance of religion in that education. All received economic support from outside the area, and all could be classified as adventurous and ruggedly individualistic. The missionaries' strong sense of God's direction helped them face difficult tasks that required much personal initiative. The administrators' official position, with its

1. Robin Short, *Sunset*, p. 18.

2. Ibid.

3. Acute observers will correctly note that events preceding the Balovale District secession from Barotseland in 1942 led to the most interaction in that district. Unlike the issues and topics dealt with here, this secession derived from the more localized Balovale situation, over Barotse suzerainty of the Lunda and Luvala areas in the colonial era. Its wider implications related not so much to the present-day NWP, but more to the whole territory and to British imperial rule. It requires a different, more political analysis is not discussed.

March 17, 2014

Education in the Northwestern Province

prestige and power, strengthened their resolve in setting up and sustaining a new political and economic system.

While these similarities reinforced the administrators' and missionaries' sense of belonging to an elite, their differences generated ambivalence about the alliance. First, each brought preconceived notions of the other from overseas, and the reality of living together often reinforced these. The officials thought both the Brethren and SAGM were unduly strict and disorganized, and the missionaries refused to taint themselves by participating in government and regarded the administrators as sinners needing salvation.

Second, their different vocational loyalties--secular and religious--influenced the perspectives from which the men viewed their time commitment to the region. As the government regularly transferred its men in order to reduce the possibility for personal involvement, officials tended to subordinate themselves to the wider objectives of uniform government in the territory. Missionaries often acquired a deeper commitment because their belief in personal service reinforced their life of service to the region. Some missionaries sustained long-term relationships with individuals and particular groups of Africans. Thus they occasionally became enmeshed in local affairs. Chitokoloki provides an exceptional example, especially in George Suckling's long-term relationships with local African church leaders and also his representation of the Lunda/Luvale interests against Lozi suzerainty in the 1930s and early 1940s.⁴

During the first decades of the colonial era, members of this tiny white elite developed an informal, symbiotic relationship within itself and with the African people. As individuals, neither missionaries nor officials depended directly on the African population for economic support. Nonetheless, the missionaries expected their adherents to support African evangelists and the new African church, and the officials demanded tax payments on behalf of government. In addition, both had traditional economic interests and also traditional sanctions to protect them. Furthermore, they perceived themselves as the people's saviors: the officials believed that their predecessors initially had stopped war and slavery and later had both introduced the people to and yet protected them from the flaws of the modern world; the missionaries believed that they had rescued the Africans from spiritual and material degradation. Both required African acquiescence and passivity. In short, they became two sides of the coin that affected colonial rule.

Possessing visible power and the force and self-confidence to use it, government officials demanded obedience and normally received it. With their status assured, they tolerated and often encouraged traditional African customs as long as the people broke no laws. A few mixed with varying degrees of intimacy with their subjects. The best, for example Frank Melland and Charles White, made extraordinary attempts both to understand African customs and beliefs and general patterns of living, and to write about them with

4. The story of Suckling's representation of the Lunda-Luvale peoples was well told by: Chifuanyisa Silas Chizawu, Kabompo Township, 15 June 1976 and Gordon Suckling, Sachibondu in Mwinilunga District, 26 November 1977; see also Papstein, "Luvale," pp. 34-5 and Gann, *Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 296-8. See also Chapter X.

Ch. VI. Social Interactions

considerable sympathy and understanding.⁵

Most NWP missionaries would have indignantly and sincerely denied being agents of colonialism. Beginning with Arnot in the 1880s, they perceived themselves as politically neutral. But their independence from the people, their informal connections with the government, and especially their religious monopoly made them a part of the ruling elite. They had power over the local churches and social programs even when they did not use it. They generally expanded educational and health programs as the officials requested, if these demands could be integrated into their broad evangelical aims. Appreciating evangelical autonomy and fearing the entry of dissimilar mission bodies, they rarely quarreled with government officials. Thus, the missionaries became the tail side of the colonial coin. Benson Kakoma's comment on Dr. Walter Fisher's reluctant secular involvement supports this.

*Fisher could not easily divorce himself from the district's secular problems. Indeed, it is only fair to regard the establishment of Kalene Hill as another aspect of the colonial intrusion in Balunda at the turn of the century, especially as the missionary movement and the Company administration arrived in the area almost simultaneously.*⁶

While missionaries abhorred forced obedience, they tended to be intolerant of traditional African lifestyles. They prayed for Africans to feel a need of salvation and to desire a new Christian life. As Charles Foster explained, "We had not come into the country as a Government does, to command them to do, or not to do this, that or the other, but to tell them of a Savior." But they also required new converts to deny much of their traditional culture. Often confusing religious beliefs and social customs, they regarded many revered African customs and Christian doctrine as irreconcilable. Thus they made Christianity an unappealing option to most prospective volunteers, and consequently, Africans frequented wanted the missionaries' new social services but infrequently desired salvation.⁷

Since all members of the elite were white and spoke the same language, many Africans did not initially distinguish between missionaries and administrators or settlers in the towns outside the NWP; they simply regarded them as parts of a larger whole. This troubled NWP missionaries. By 1911 when rural to urban migration had already started, the *South African Pioneer* requested overseas supporters to pray for the two Kasempa/ Solwezi missions because the "influx of godless whites for work on the adjacent mines makes it all the more necessary that the Gospel should be brought to the natives, who are apt to think that a white skin and a clothed body are emblems of Christianity." Nine years later, Charles Foster reported in the same magazine that on one NWP safari people asked permission to have a "death dance . . . not because we were missionaries, but because of an undue regard and almost reverence for white people." A final comment by another SAGM

5. The double insinuation of "mixed rather intimately" is intended. A handful of Zambian 'coloureds' in the NWP indicate one side of the intimacy. The other side is revealed by White's numerous writings--the most relevant of which are given in the bibliography--and Melland's book on the Kaonde and his other articles and reports.

6. Kakoma, "Mwinilunga," pp. 45-6.

7. By "death dance" he was referring to local rituals conducted after a person died. These supposedly warded off evil ancestral spirits. Foster, *Pioneer* (Am.), 1 (1920-1), p. 34.

Education in the Northwestern Province

missionary clarified the Africans' early fears about the Europeans as a group.

*On the path we met two headman. We told them our business. One of the two said, "I do not want to listen to your words. The white man who first came to us wrote our names and now we have to pay tax. Now the white men send you. You will write our names and bring other difficult things. If the white people whom you represent will urge the Government authorities to release all Christians from paying tax--then we will believe in your God."*⁸

As the three groups had more contact, the situation changed. Africans began to differentiate between the methods and purposes of the other two groups. The result, however, did not especially please the missionaries. For example, in continuing his story of the "death dance," Foster told the villagers that the missionaries did not want them to "deny themselves a pleasure simply for our comfort; but that if they really wanted to follow Christ they themselves would eventually want to give up such things for His sake." When the people learned this, "the initial dance proceeded."⁹ What happened to Foster was typical. When the people learned that the missionaries, unlike officials, did not directly force them to obey, most did not.

Without white settlers, the missionaries and officials unintentionally provided Africans with two different models of accepted social behavior. The officials' lifestyles revealed that the new society sometimes permitted such simple, traditional pleasures as smoking, drinking and sex beyond the strictures of the monogamous marriage.

Two officials in Kasempa described to Pirouet the model that the missionary corrected feared most Africans would choose.

*We swear, we drink, we smoke, we live immorally and do all those things which you [Pirouet] are telling the natives are wrong; then they see that we do these things, yet that we are the men that live in the greatest luxury and that we have the power. I do not know a single white man in the country who is a Christian. If there is one I have never met him.*¹⁰

Only a small minority accepted the missionaries' model.

The alternative social models created a new divergence among Africans. The believers pitted themselves against the non-believers, and officials often regarded the mission 'boys' as 'sneaky' while the missionaries regarded government clerks, messengers and police as a 'hard lot.' One missionary observed that "It was generally considered by the natives that it was impossible to be a Christian whilst in Government service, and taking this attitude apparently hardened their hearts against the Gospel."¹¹ A new African possessiveness also developed as the whites became 'our' missionaries and/or 'our' officials.

Since movement toward either social model occurred relatively slowly, Short was right in stating that the NWP remained tranquil. Unlike the more rapid change that took place in

8. *Pioneer*, 24 (February 1911), p. 17. Foster, *Pioneer*, (Am.), 1 (1920-1), p. 34. Irene A. Bartling, *Pioneer*, 37 (1924), p. 148.

9. Foster, *Pioneer*, (Am.), Vol. I (1920-1), p. 34.

10. Herbert Pirouet, *Pioneer* (Am.) 1 (December 1920), p. 33. This document appears in Appendix E. "Musonwedzi--Kasempa--Northern Rhodesia."

11. Ernest Frost, *Pioneer*, Vol. 51 (February 1937), p. 19.

Ch. VI. Social Interactions

other areas, it did not as frequently traumatize individuals. Even the social interaction in the NWP reflected this tranquility. Government officials, missionaries, and the African populace interacted relatively cordially. They did so, however, in an anachronistic manner. As the major issues of taxation/migration, evangelism, and education later show, grave deficiencies permeated the whole social system.

Forced [Required] Interactions: Taxation/Migration and Evangelization

Taxation was the primary issue that forced all three elements of the NWP society to interact directly. By collecting it, the administrators became the foremost element of the new society. Striving to be spiritual guides, the missionaries became indirectly affected. For the African population, taxation often meant extreme individual and collective trauma.

The BSAC instituted its taxes in the NWP between 1902 and the end of World War I. As described in Chapters III and IV, the BSAC not only desired revenue to run to company-government; it also wanted to force Africans to migrate to new economic centers. In such places these uprooted Africans created the foundation for new economic growth. To achieve these aims quickly, the BSAC designed the initial tax as 10/= (ten shillings) per year for adult males. In a region where currency remained rare, men might only earn a tuppence a day. As a result the Africans had one and possibly two months of hard work as carriers or in other menial positions to earn tax money. When the BSAC authorized its officials to enforce compliance, men like Macgregor in Mwinilunga ruthlessly burnt homes and inflicted severe hardships on the whole population. The imposition of taxation at that time may prove to be the most profound and traumatic event to confront people in the NWP in the twentieth century.¹²

By the 1920s, taxation affected every African. Overt resistance proved impossible and going to jail was not viable. Likewise, people discovered that fleeing to Angola and the Congo provided an illusory option because these colonial territories also instituted taxation. Furthermore, the trauma of abandoning homes, lands, and food supplies made fleeing unrealistic. Consequently, those who fled generally came back. In Balovale, a few people could sell some products to limited markets downstream. Also a few others found work on government bomas and mission stations.¹³

As the BSAC intended, most people in the NWP followed the pattern set elsewhere in Central and East Africa. Their only long-term option became the periodic trek or migration to new centers with capital enterprises. Here they earned tax money. Many young people from Kasempa/Solwezi went to the nearby Congolese and Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt towns in the north and east. Balovale and Kabompo men followed the Zambezi River

12. Fergus Macpherson's new interpretation of the BSAC period shows the drama and general violence that accompanied BSAC taxation, in the whole of Northern Rhodesia as well as the NWP; see pp. 105-90. For the standard interpretation accepted by most historians that Macpherson strongly refutes, see Gann, *Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 100-11. This ten shilling tax was later reduced to seven shillings and sixpence and again to six shillings in the late 1930s.

13. For Fisher and Suckling on instituting taxation in Mwinilunga and Balovale, see Appendix G. [Quote original sources of this appendix.]

Education in the Northwestern Province

downstream toward Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. And in isolated Mwinilunga, the "pattern of labour migration . . . was oriented to Katanga."¹⁴

In these new centers, with their cosmopolitan population of diverse Africans and Europeans, NWP migrants discovered the need for new language and/or industrial skills. Those possessing new skills did not have to do the hardest and most unpleasant tasks yet earned more money. This meant less time away from home and family. Consequently many men began to ask the NWP missionaries, their new religious shepherds, new or harder questions.

To these shepherds, taxation presented an indirect, but serious dilemma. On the one hand, these missionaries believed that people must "render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's."¹⁵ On the other, the atrociously high taxation inflicted grave handicaps on their parishioners--poor people who were unfamiliar with western currency.

Missionaries also were concerned about the result of labor migration. When they failed to see any alternatives, however, most responded by unconsciously building contradictions into their thinking. They correctly believed that Africans, because of labor migrations, contacted the worst vices of the modern world. The mining towns were clearly more sinful than the local 'heathen' environment. Like Arnot after his meeting with Rhodes, they saw no religious value in educating and training young men and women simply for emigration. Sin was sin. As late as 1937 one missionary stated that Mukinge Mission would train carpenters only if the trainees stayed and helped the region. Like most NWP missionaries, he was not realistic. Throughout the colonial era, the urgent need for tax money constantly prodded the best trained young men, as well as the illiterate, away from their homes and from traditional family life. Only toward World War II did town life as town life begin to attract large numbers of Africans.¹⁶

George Suckling was possibly the only crucial NWP missionary who imaginatively and energetically tackled the taxation issue and the resulting abuses. He searched for alternative methods for Africans to earn money locally and to uplift their traditional life. On one occasion, he even released tax violators who had been taken prisoner and abused by African police. He then boldly confronted the Native Commissioner about the matter. Although reference to the incident was not located in existing government records, the incident and Suckling's defense of the people became part of local folklore.¹⁷

Missionary Evangelism. If BSAC administrators, on behalf of government, forced the interaction by taxation and caused the rural to urban migration, missionary evangelism

14. Wim Hoppers, *Education in a Rural Society: Primary Pupils and School Leavers in Mwinilunga, Zambia* (the Hague: the Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries [CESO, 1981]), p. 35. See also, Mary Jackman, *Recent Population Movements in Zambia: Some Aspects of the 1969 Census*, Zambia Papers No. 9 (Lusaka: University of Zambia, 1973), pp. 56-7.

15. Matthew 22:21

16. The source of this 1937 statement in one SAGM publication was lost.

17. Suckling is favorably remembered for this confrontation, although no one remembers the exact date, and for his later involvement in the Barotseland secession. See the following interviews: Silas Chizawu, Gordon Suckling, John Mwendela and Peter Sayila (Manyinga, Kabompo District, 17 November 1976).

Ch. VI. Social Interactions

forced a very different type of interaction. Unlike taxation/migration, the direct evangelism that is symbolized by preaching the Word caused neither suffering nor devastation. Nonetheless, it required an African response. On rare occasions, government officials even became involved. This happened when a missionary failed to provide requested social services while annoying too many people with over-zealous evangelism. In the absence of settlers, these missionaries initiated the most direct *culture* clashes in the NWP.

One major source of these clashes was evangelical, district-wide touring. Although the basic purposes and tactics differed from those of government administrators, NWP missionaries devised similar systems for covering a district. Just as Native Commissioners, DCs, and other white administrative staff trekked from village to village for up to eight weeks, so did the missionaries. Just as African police or messengers supplemented the work of white officers, so did African evangelists supplement the work of white missionaries. Although not as forceful nor as effective as government, such mission teams attempted to preach and re-preach the Word through their areas as often as possible.¹⁸

For villagers, the first missionary treks and the inevitable sermons provided novelty and diversion from the daily routine of village life, but the welcome grew less warm in areas where the teams visited often. For most people the missionary message seemed to have no particular earthly value and eventually became a nuisance. Although lacking the formalized rituals of the Anglicans or the Roman Catholics, these missionaries still stressed water baptism for adults, singing of baptismal hymns, and repetition of Holy Scriptures. Villagers found the services cryptic; they also did not take many of the mission evangelists seriously because these evangelists were over-eager, poorly-trained, and often too young. Most important, the NWP peoples did not regard themselves, and certainly not their customs, as sinful. Since the missionaries and their evangelists continually denounced them, the complaint of A.A. Wilson soon became typical.

*At first when we approach, there may be quite a number of men and women about, but by the time we come fully into view there are just a few women sitting under the verandahs of their huts, . . . and our congregation is quite small.*¹⁹

The missionaries presented a formidable list of 'no's' and 'do not's' to even the keenest prospective believers. The first major point of conflict has already been indicated. These American, Canadian, South African, and British missionaries regarded liquor, tobacco, dancing and any form of sex outside a monogamous marriage, as visibly sinful. But the NWP peoples considered the same things as part of life's basic, simple pleasures. Furthermore, in different African societies, alcohol, tobacco, dancing and sex often had

18. One of the most tireless trekkers was Herbert Pirouet. Shortly after he arrived in the territory, he married an equally young and enthusiastic missionary, Florence Alderton. Since Chisalala was becoming isolated from the African population, they more-or-less lived in temporary camps for several years. See the *Pioneer* for the years 1919-1922 and also the interview transcript of a conversation between Florence Pirouet and R.NWP. Wyatt, n.d., n.p., located in Wimbleton. For a narrative of one of Herbert Pirouet's later comprehensive treks, especially see Appendix E, "Musonwedzi--Kasempa--Northern Rhodesia."

19. *Pioneer*, 28 (October 1915), p. 158. In 1926, John Stevenson noted that one "backslider . . . was much under conviction. His shirt was wet with tears. . . . This is practically the first Kaonde I have seen in tears because of his sin." Almost inevitably, such people who perceived sin had long maintained contact with the missionaries or with other whites. *Pioneer*, 50 (May 1936), p. 34.

social or religious functions. They believed that eliminating them would be ridiculous.²⁰

Three other points of conflict were witchcraft, respect for ancestral spirits, and death ritual; all key parts of the Africans' "intense and pervasive belief of the Spirit."²¹

Missionaries confused and denounced all three as equally evil. They railed against 'witchcraft' regardless of its purpose for good--e.g., healing--or evil; and denied or ignored the ability of such practitioners or claimed them powerless against the Gospel. But such prescientific societies believed witchcraft was real and potentially dangerous, so when government officials and missionaries protected witches as Kalene did at its 'witchery', the Africans believed that evil forces would sweep through an unprotected society.²² Early missionaries classified respect for ancestral spirits with witchcraft. But the African believed that if neglected, their ancestors' spirits might take offence and immediate calamity could occur. This issue raised also the ultimate question of descendants' remembering and respecting them. Finally, missionaries abhorred death rituals. But without wailing and ritual intercourse, Africans feared that the dead person would not completely move out of the world of the living. Evil and misfortune might haunt the widow or widower, children other relations, and even the whole area.

The last two points of conflict arose over the transition into adulthood. Missionary wives saw women's puberty rituals--including early marriage--as unspeakably sinful and degraded. Yet without these, most African women believed that they could not bear healthy children and that society could not continue. The missionaries also denounced all transition rituals for men, except for circumcision.²³ But as noted in Chapter I, most NWP societies believed *mukanda* essential if young boys were to become men. For society, sex was not merely a matter of procreation. It presented a timelessness that transcended current existence.

In principle, missionaries expected new Christians to retain their culture and not become 'black Englishmen'. But the practice was not so simple. On the one hand, missionaries misunderstood and condemned African customs that gave traditional African societies coherence. On the other, they praised polite, superficial mannerisms and called them acceptable traditions. Thus their demands often had wide-ranging implications that they either failed to recognize or ignored.

Sydney Buckland of Mujimbeji illuminates this contradiction. He demanded that all new Christians follow African customs and traditions and not imitate Europeans. Consequently,

20. For example, in *mukanda*--as described at some length in Chapter I--alcohol, dancing, and sex all had significance, either as a symbolic part of the preparations or training or as a part of the general festivities.

21. Hunter, p.13. For a vivid, negative description of the Africans' belief in the 'spirit', see: E.H. Sims, *Echoes*, 59 (February 1930), pp. 41-2.

22. For a good example of disciplinary action against African Christians for 'witchcraft', see: John Stevenson, *Pioneer*, 45 (February 1932), p. 17.

23. The following comments about *mukanda* are typical of the negative missionary responses. In 1931, Frederick Barnett at Chavuma described his visit to a *mukanda* camp. "In the ritual surrounding this native rite there is unspeakable sin. The boys are taught evil things." *Echoes*, 60 (March 1931), p. 62. In like manner, three years earlier, E.H. Sims noted "instruction in unmentionable vices." *Pioneer* [check name of publication], 57 (June 1928), p. 136.

Ch. VI. Social Interactions

he forbade Africans to wear shoes or speak English when talking to him. He condemned them as 'proud' when they did. He wanted them, however, to follow only the traditions and customs that he regarded as compatible with his interpretation of Christianity. He scorned and condemned those customs and traditions that were very significant, such as the ritual element in *mukanda*. Even after being in Africa for twenty-years, he continued to misunderstand.

*We have just visited parts of a new district which is now included in the Mwinilunga area. Seldom does a missionary get to those villages. There are three chieftainships, but the people are very backward. In the Chief's capital they had just made a new grave--burying the corpse right in the village!*²⁴

Instead of being "backward," these people were following old customs that had not yet been altered in this isolated sector of the NWP. They were truly traditional.

This ignorance of and these attitudes toward the African conceptual world limited Christianity's appeal and placed African Christians in a difficult social position. A comparison of the lives of Simon Kibanza and John Pupe, two of the very earliest and able SAGM converts, reveals one aspect of this problem.

Kibanza left the region to seek 'higher' education elsewhere. In his journeys he learned to speak English well. Although handicapped by the color bar, he handled many important government duties in the Solwezi boma during World War II after he returned to the NWP. Since 'Faithful John' Pupe stayed with the missionaries as an evangelist and worked for the mission until his death, he spoke English poorly and the modern world passed him by. Only in the 1960s did the mission realize and regret its early policy that often handicapped its most faithful disciples.²⁵

Several interviewees, many ex-teachers, explained another aspect of this problem. They had been expected to be practicing Christians, yet as teachers, they found themselves as part of the new elite. But the missionaries and other whites held them at arm's length, especially as the color bar became more rigid. Many became demoralized. Some backslid.²⁶

In this context, a 1937 report by John Stevenson, an SAGM missionary, is especially revealing. Touring Kasempa District, he visited new village schools almost three decades after the SAGM missions were founded.

24. *Voices*, 36 (March/April 1940), p. 6. Several informants, who preferred not to be named, recalled Buckland unfavorably. Government officials were also very displeased with Buckland and found his attitude towards educating Africans very negative late in the colonial era. See, G.B. Buckland (PEO) to PC in Solwezi, 4 January 1954, "Agency Correspondence -- Mujimbeji," (A/25) M/1/8, Ministry of Education, Solwezi.

25. For thoughtful regret about the early inadequacies of the SAGM's endeavors, see the Florence Pirouet interview; also, R.N. Wyatt's other interview, located in the Wimbledon materials, with E.M. Shoosmith, on 24 April [year not specified] in Missionary Shoosmith's home at Crowborough, England. For Pupe's regrets, a conversation with John (Ginger) Wright in Ndola, March 1975, was helpful. Wright's description was confirmed by various informal conversations in Solwezi during the next few years. Simon Kibanza (Chibanza) later wrote a monograph on the Kaonde's history, "Kaonde History," in *Central African Historical Text's I* (Lusaka: Rhodes-Livingstone Communication Number Twenty-Two, the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1961).

26. When interviewed, Peter Sayila stated this dilemma for teachers most eloquently.

Education in the Northwestern Province

I have only recently returned from a trek round our out-schools and Christian groups to the west of the Station. . . . We covered about two hundred and fifty miles and in that distance there were quite a few villages: yet, all told, only five people professed to come to the Lord. On the other hand we had medicines with us and we gave injections for Yaws, and at times we were just besieged with people seeking medicine attention. . . . The medicine gave out, but still they came, old and young, some walking miles. . . . Yet, when the Message of Life Everlasting . . . was told . . . they could not be bothered. . . . One woman came after the Yaws medicine was finished, and was told she could not get an injection for this reason, promptly said: 'If I believe, will you then give me an injection'?

Another thing that impressed me on my travels was the slackness of many of the Christians. Few came from a distance, . . . but over forty heathen came for medicine, some . . . having walked about forty miles.

Yet a third thing that impressed me and that was the emptiness of the conversations of the Christians. The white man's camp-fire is the place where the Christians usually gather to talk. I had rather a lot of writing to do on this trek, and so could not be with the Christians in their conversations as much as I should have liked. But I could hear, while writing quite a lot of idle tales and frivolity. I drew their attention to this at one place where we spent the week-end and the result was silence.²⁷

Stevenson's report indicates that his medical services were very popular. By 1937 villagers clearly appreciated that yaws could be controlled. They did not, however, want to hear the Word preached. Nonetheless, they would 'believe' if this pleased the missionary and caused him to give them medicine.

Village Christians were not very enthusiastic either. Those who came to see Stevenson found him too busy to be bothered. He probably meant his comments to be a mild pastoral rebuke, but they became much more. He was a white man with power, and they were black men without any. At least for that period, all camaraderie between them ended, including conversation.

Like most Christian missionaries throughout the world at that time, Stevenson did not appreciate the breadth and depth of the chasm that separated the new white elite and their culture from the Africans and their culture. By not understanding how severely it divided them, Stevenson and the white elite seldom bridged the chasm. Africans dared not try.

This deep rent in the colonial society and the failure of whites to understand it led to a complicated paradox. Possessing great power, the elite generated a multitude of diffuse African responses that in turn profoundly changed traditional African societies. And while only vaguely understanding the responses and changes, the elite guided the whole process.

The Messiah Cult and Kitawala. The white elite knew much more about some African responses and changes than others. In *kitawala* (also called Watchtower and Jehovah's Witness) in the 1930s and 1940s. (The latter will be described in Chapter X.) In all of these

27. Stevenson, *Pioneer*, 51 (May 1937), p. 58.

Ch. VI. Social Interactions

responses and changes, Africans worked together in non-traditional ways across old linguistic and cultural barriers.

Desperate for anything which helped them cope with the problems created by the colonial society, the messiah cult quickly spread through the region. In 1913 rumors circulated that an African messiah had come. Promising relief from the miseries imposed by the new society, the cult spread like wildfire among different African ethnic groups.²⁸

The messiah cult, however, quickly failed. Its solutions to old and new problems were too simplistic and unrealistic. Despite the messiah's fabulous promises, normal human problems still occurred; illness, death, famine and locusts continued. Furthermore, the burdensome taxes still fell relentlessly due. Ardent belief and much enthusiasm notwithstanding, the quality of individuals' lives continued to degenerate. A utopia was not ushered in.

The cult and others also failed because of white disapproval. Suckling and Harris wrote hostile accounts of the messiah cult. Suckling narrated its spread and also noted that the BSAC administration was very watchful. Harris gleefully described its failure. The all-powerful administrators were not only watchful of such new social phenomena that involved inter-ethnic African cooperation; they also took stronger measures when they felt this was necessary. In the case of Jehovah's Witness in the 1930s and early 1940s, government officials first berated and threatened leading Africans for getting involved. Then in World War II, they completely banned the sect. Thus the white elite directed the course of African social change.²⁹

The New Education: Acceptable Interaction. As the supreme paradox, Africans had to solve the problems caused by the new colonial society and its white elite with solutions that this society's elite sanctioned. In this context, the new western-oriented education gained significance. Unlike the messiah cult and Watchtower movement, the white elite approved of voluntary interaction among the Africans and with the whites themselves because of education. Unlike other solutions to the new problems, education provided necessary skills for everyone. By 1945 and especially by the end of the colonial era, it clearly had become valuable to most Africans as well as the white elite.

Partly because of the increasing approval of all three social elements and partly because of the increasing demands of the new capital-oriented economy, education became the foremost form of voluntary social interaction. All other alternatives failed to generate a positive and voluntary three-way social exchange. And while interaction largely resulted from the primary forms of forced social interaction, this secondary form acquired a much greater complexity and long-term significance. Just as *mukanda* and traditional education lay at the core of the LLLC societies, the new 'little school in the bush' and education slowly become part of the core of the colonial society. It also laid the foundation for modern post-colonial society. Both the social interaction generated by education and the initial limitations of the evolving system reveal the way colonial society functioned and its serious

28. For this messiah cult, see Appendix F; for Watchtower, see Chapter X. [Put in citation of original source.]

29. Ibid.

inherent defects.

Voluntary Interactions: Education as a Symbol of Modern Society

Education Symbolized a Golden Key. In the colonial era, education symbolized an increasingly potent golden key. Thinking education would unlock their dreams, the NWP's administrators, missionaries, and Africans began interacting voluntarily. For the BSAC administrators who were establishing a new and 'glorious' empire, it became a key to cheap social services, a way to gain skilled workers and to keep the African population happy. For the SAGM and brethren missionaries who sponsored new educational programs, education was a key to the Kingdom of God, a tool for attracting reluctant Africans to, and retaining their interest in, the evangelical message. For the African peoples trying to balance their ancient traditions and western innovations, it became a key to an earthly paradise, a magic wand for acquiring the white man's power, wealth, and technology. For the white elite and the black population alike, education--especially that offered by the 'little school in the bush' -- became the most significant symbol of the new society.

Education, and the school that embodies it, especially lends itself to symbolization. In the West after the Middle Ages, education became the primary means for the emerging middle class to advance. And both the NWP missionaries and administrators were typical products of the middle class. Their education enabled them to get where they were.

As western humanitarians in the NWP, the missionaries especially desired to uplift and "enlighten the dark hearts and minds of these heathens."³⁰ Even the most ardent missionary evangelists realized the inadequacy of direct evangelical preaching and the need for indirect evangelical work through basic education. They knew that both potential converts and new Christians wanted it. Furthermore, since the government did not provide such social services, missionaries needed to help new catechists learn to read the Bible.

Administrators gave the missionaries moral support. Like the missionaries, they increasingly saw the need for education and encouraged Africans to seek it. Ever-increasing numbers of administrators had lofty ideals and wanted to counterbalance the negative effects of taxation. Many others besides Melland believed that the government was morally wrong to exploit the people by forcing them to pay taxes and migrate all over south-central and southern Africa, especially if it gave nothing in return. But most of all, to achieve their governmental goals and get approval for their work, these officials needed to have blacks educated in the right way -- and just enough -- to make them work happily for and in the empire.

The symbolism related to education and the school was possibly even more valued by many NWP Africans. In *mukanda*, for example, an adult group gave up and shared its secrets with other individuals for the good of all. As they adapted and reintegrated

30. Burr, *Kalene Memories*, p. 60.

Ch. VI. Social Interactions

themselves into the colonial society, Africans increasingly realized what education might do for them. New schools and education fit into the old symbolism. With education they discovered the secrets of the white men and could possibly share their powers. The relative prosperity of the Nyasaland clerks in the NWP and the other black men who spoke English in the towns also reinforced belief in the symbolism. So did totally correct stories that spread about Lewanika speaking English, visiting England, and attending the coronation of King Edward VII in 1901. With this learning -- particularly reading and writing, industrial skills, and above all else, English -- individuals and their kin might survive and advance in the new colonial society.³¹

Medicine and hygiene also had similar symbolic value for all three social groups. Like education, medicine became an indirect form of evangelism, another way of attracting new converts and keeping believers faithful. Furthermore, the hygiene required by western medicine was expected of practicing Christians. In the eyes of the missionaries, a visible shift towards modern hygiene often indicated a change of heart. Government officials went further and demanded new hygienic measures in the villages, especially pit latrines. These symbolized progressive local government.³²

Although Africans did not necessarily see a connection between modern hygiene and medicine, the latter symbolized a new kind of magic. Dr. Fisher's pills, liquid medicines, and lotions became increasingly desirable. For many decades, the surgical operation -- generally performed in the environs of Kalene -- became the ultimate and unfathomable form of this magic. The needle, after being used extensively in the early jaws campaigns, became the most visible symbol. As Stevenson noted in 1937, "Some who came for injections were trembling with nervousness, yet they would have the needle."³³

Medicine, however, never gained education's enormous social importance. Only Dr. Fisher and a few others were able to do more than pass out pills and give injections. Most missionaries, however, could give African parishioners enough literacy training to read God's Word. And while badgering both the missions and the territorial administration to provide more medical staff, local officials still regarded better education as a more urgent priority. Africans increasingly regarded medicine and improved hygiene as good western magic and desirable innovations. They realized, however, that western education helped them to learn and manipulate these medical secrets for themselves.

Inherent Weakness of Symbols. As symbols, medicine with its needle and education with its school shared an inherent weakness. In all men's minds, symbols conjure up vivid but different legitimate images. The Africans, administrators, and missionaries worked from a conflicting, rather than a common ground. Each group applied its own meaning rather than developing it in harmony with the others. And since all placed exceptional importance on education, their symbolic meanings clashed when applied to the NWP's only educational

31. Lubinga Mijatulunga made many points clear: interviewed at his home in Lubinga Village, near Kasempa Township, 12 November 1978.

32. In the early colonial days, the administration forced villagers to build and use pit latrines. The people initially resented these endeavors.

33. *Pioneer*, 58 (May 1937), p. 58.

Education in the Northwestern Province

systems. Yet for much of the colonial period, these little mission programs generally had no room for multiple meaning, only the one held by the mission sponsors.³⁴

The Historical Limitations of Education

At the heart of this and all histories of education in Africa is a stubborn and ironic problem. Before World War II, western-initiated education often meant little to the majority of the African population. Consequently, if we confuse it with the mass education of today, we commit a major error. Nonetheless, early education created the foundation of both modern education and modern African society.

From the time of Zambian independence in 1964, the enormous symbolic meaning of education cannot be disputed. For modern Africa, education had become the "magical key opening the door to knowledge and power."³⁵ This is now as true in most of the isolated NWP as it is elsewhere. For this reason, dealing with education as a key of ever-increasing symbolic value is appropriate. By learning of the inception and general development of this formal education system, we better understand the modern African world of the '60s, '70s, and '80s.

But a precautionary note is essential. In trying to explain the enormous significance of formal education in Africa today, many writers have over-stressed and over-isolated the new western-initiated education that began in the little mission schools throughout Africa in the first half of the twentieth century. In doing so they have given their readers a distorted and even grotesque view of how colonial society worked. Education was and must be perceived as a key part of social history -- no more and no less. The society in this case was an exploitative colonial one.³⁶

As described in this and previous chapters, the sudden imposition of taxation, followed by forced labor in World War I, placed Africans in an impossible position. Their old traditions and skills meant very little. Like Africans elsewhere, people in the NWP desperately needed new skills. Nonetheless, the kind of western education that inculcated these skills was only available and meaningful to a tiny percentage of the NWP's population. For many decades the mission schools in the NWP were too small, too restricted, and too isolated to cause extensive interaction among administrators, missionaries, and Africans.

When the initial 'prayer' schools in the NWP had sustained meaning, they symbolized evangelical Christianity's attempts to save Africans from sin and, in the process, to change their revered traditions. As shown in the next chapter, schools in the Kaonde-Lunda

34. One missionary, Eva M. Jakeman, contrasted the clashing symbolism of the Africans and missionaries: "Over the hearts of the people of the Dark Continent, . . . there has come a restless desire for something new; and education is to them a symbol for something new. [Is this] not a clarion call to the Church of Christ [to] give to these eager souls education in its highest sense . . . of which the end and aim is to teach them the things of God?" *Pioneer*, pp. 11-2.

35. Burke, *Africa's Quest for Order* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 88.

36. For an extreme example of such distortion, see John Erni Remick, "American Influence on the Education of the Ovimbundu (the Benguela and Bihe Highlands) of Angola, Africa, from 1880-1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, Miami University [Ohio], 1976. It was submitted to the Department of Educational Leadership (Educational Administration). Remick confused the tiny educational program of two American missionaries with the educational needs of the whole of Central Angola.

Ch. VI. Social Interactions

Province lightly skimmed over or altogether skipped training in English and industrial skills. Even those that offered practical help, like Chitokoloki, kept trying to impose Christianity upon the students. Quite simply, schools became good places to indoctrinate. Missionaries asked their pupils first to memorize religious songs and passages and then to read and write using the same materials. Seldom did the mission schools symbolize the things that schools and education symbolize today.³⁷

These deficiencies frustrated the tiny minority of relatively sophisticated young men who perceived education's modern symbolism. Quickly disappointed, they did one of three things: a) accept the new religious training and reject many of their old ways; b) reject religious training and seek something better elsewhere; or c) reject the training and resign themselves to their new status as unskilled laborers. Very few found the first option appealing. Likewise, only the most determined and healthy searched across the savanna for schools that taught 'inglishi'. Most of these young men apathetically resigned themselves to the last. Those who discovered that education was a gold key also learned that they could not acquire it in most of the NWP.

Logical End to the Chapter. Put following materials elsewhere?

Only a handful of astute and lucky Africans realized that mission education would become the correct key to the future and discovered ways to acquire and use it. These Africans pioneers were the focus of Frank Melland's attention. Writing in 1921 when the new colonial society was becoming permanently established in the NWP, he corrected observed:

*Except for very little at Kalene Hill and Musonwedzi Missions the natives get no [education] in this district. Over 90% are quite untouched. . . . Yet [they] can learn; local natives at Kansanshi Mine soon become adept at minding machinery: a local (raw) native who drifted to Cape Town is now driving a doctor's car, etc. The raw material is here; and, if anything were done for it, it would soon repay the expenditure and trouble.*³⁸

Melland stated his case out of extreme frustration with the dual inaction of the territorial government and mission agencies. With regard to education, his 90% was probably no exaggeration in 1921. The long-term problem was that little would be done for this "raw material" for many decades, often only after World War II. The region's population remained a small, untrained labor pool that of necessity migrated to the new towns and cities. Like the NWP's mineral resources, this human resource remained largely undeveloped, improperly used, or totally unused. And with convoluted logic, the territorial and local colonial society came to regard both the NWP and its people as 'backward'.

37. This paragraph indicates the basic educational problem of the missionaries' educational programs that are described in Chapters VII and VIII.

38. "Report of the DC for the Kasempa District [Province]" for the year ending 30 September 1921, ZA 7/3/9, NAZ.

Part Two:

The Inception and Evolution of the Modern Educational System

The village school . . . in the bush, or in the forest, or on the veld, is the heart of the African educational system. It is here that the native African gets his first touch with the world of new ideas which is going to transform his life.

A. Victor Murray

The task of the missionary is primarily spiritual and secondarily educational. To reverse the order is to make a fatal mistake. To feed the naïve brain without regeneration of heart is disastrous to himself and to the white man in particular.

Genheimer, South African Pioneer

Ch. VI. Social Interactions

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CHAPTER VII: EDUCATION IN KAONDE-LUNDA PROVINCE, 1906-1924

One boy, whom we have prayed for a great deal, wrote the other day to say he wants to be a Christian. He is not a native of this country, and said that his sole object in coming to us was 'school'; he did not 'even want a wife, nothing but school'. He has made splendid progress here, but this is the first indication that he cares for anything more.¹

Winifred Hoyte, 1914

Hoyte' story reveals both sides of the dilemma that 'school' created for both missionaries and Africans in the old Kaonde-Lunda District (Province) prior to 1924. During this period, an increasing number of young African males throughout the south-central savanna decided that above all else they needed education. It was the key to the white man's magic. Christianity was secondary. The missionaries, on the other hand, hoped to save souls. They perceived education as an indirect form of evangelism, a way to attract potential converts and to keep new believers faithful.

Because government provided no aid and established no standards, each mission developed its own educational system. Elsie Burr later recalled that "the school work was not helped by Government money, nor was it hampered by Government regulations." Thus, all the early mission programs evolved out of local conditions in a very haphazard fashion and today each has its own unique history.²

Only when the missionaries and/or the Africans accommodated the others' concept of education by modifying their own could learning take place. This often meant that the success or failure of a school depended on the inclination of a few over-worked missionaries to teach English and other subjects in a manner that induced Africans to attend. Such mutual accommodation was not always possible and, as the following narratives show, success was often limited.

Kalene Hill's Educational Program

It all began on Kalene Hill. The NWP's modern educational system started there in 1906. Eileen Darling, Dr. Fisher's niece, taught the first class in the first little school. On 24 May 1907, in the first written reference to the little school, she told her supporters in Britain, "I am teaching some of the boys English, and two of them are reading now, one very well indeed. He has been promoted to an English hymn-book on Sunday morning, and is quite proud of himself."³

English was the most notable and successful subject, and the class pleased both Darling

1. *Echoes*, 43 (Dec 1914, part 1), p. 459.

2. *Kalene Memories*, p. 36.

3. 24 May 1907, *Echoes*, 36 (September 1907), p. 335. Darling was teaching adult males, not children. For the use of the term 'boys', see Chapter VI.

March 17, 2014

Ch. VII. Education in Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1906-1924

and her pupils. There, a few Africans learned to speak the powerful language of the white man. There, a few Africans learned to read God's Word. Everyone seemed satisfied.

Darling's school was one product of Fisher's evangelical vision. Fisher felt God had called him to cross the new international boundary into the northwestern corner of Northern Rhodesia, which had no Christian missions. So in May and June 1906, he, his family, and numerous African followers traveled from Kalunda Hill in eastern Angola to found Kalene. Fisher's ministry in Mwinilunga began soon after he arrived. It included preaching the Gospel, providing health care, and opening this school. Fisher wanted to provide a rudimentary education for both the faithful followers from Angola and the new people in the vicinity of Kalene Hill.⁴ The BSAC officials were irrelevant to his initial comprehensive vision. Since they were only entering the district from the south at this time, Fisher's contact with them was irregular.⁵

Silas Sameta has described the background to Fisher's entry, the entry itself, and the first school at Kalene. He was born the year after Kalene's founding and his parents were loyal followers of Fisher. Sameta is uniquely qualified to tell the story and give it an African perspective. By 1976 as his following narrative reveals, Sameta probably had longer personal contact both with the Fisher family and with modern education in the NWP than any other individual.

My father was Sameta and my mother was Nyameta. . . . About the years of the Arabs and Livingstone, many people were scattered by the wars and he and my mother were in their villages to the north. When war came they scattered everywhere and they went to the ports, as far as to the sea as slaves. In the years of Livingstone, they made them free and said they should go where they came from. They found it difficult to walk on foot back to where they came from. They came a long distance footing--my father and his son Sapalo, on his shoulders, and my mother with her basket on her head, from Bihe, footing, footing, to follow the missionary, Dr. Fisher, to Kazombo. They stayed there at Kazombo. And then when they heard Dr. Fisher say "I will go to Lundaland; I found a long hill; I want to stay in Lunda." They said "We must follow him; we must go with him, sometime we will reach where we came from in our country." And they came along with Dr. Fisher like his people--his workers. My father had his son and a daughter. Very difficult indeed to carry a son on his shoulders, plus his gun; my mother with my sister on her back, all came with Dr. Fisher, footing, footing, footing, until they reached Kalene; so they would be with him at Kalene. . . . When they reached Kalene it was 1906. . . . In 1907 my mother gave birth to another son, Nyandu--I myself.

Now I want to tell how education began in the North-Western Province. Dr. Fisher's work was to heal people and second, to preach the Word of God to the people. There was no education in the country. There was only darkness over the country. . . . Miss Darling . . . began to teach a few children at the station. There were no books to read. They taught the children on slates and were using chalk. They were teaching the children only reading and writing and counting numbers with beads. Nothing more. There was no arithmetic, no English at all . . . no good building, only a shelter. It was very difficult to bring the children to school, because they feared

4. For details of Fisher's first few months at Kalene, see the following issues of *Echoes*, 34: (September 1906), p. 354; (October 1906), p. 396; (November 1906), p. 435.

5. For Fisher's contact with the BSAC, see Chapter IV and Kakoma, "Mwinilunga", pp. 35-73.

Education in the Northwestern Province

*the Europeans.*⁶

Sameta telescopes late nineteenth century events, particularly Livingstone and the ending of the slave trade. Without intending to do so, he significantly focuses our attention on Dr. Fisher and his loyal band of immigrants, as opposed to the local people who distrusted Fisher.⁷

By 1906 Fisher was already well-known in Central Angola as a healer and teacher (i.e. preacher). Having served for seventeen years in areas where many people had been scattered by slavery, he created islands of tranquility and stability that Sameta indicates. A man who disliked using his authority to order people around, Fisher preferred teaching by example instead of precept. His gentle and genteel manner conveyed an acceptable form of European power, so he easily replaced traditional ways that maintained law and order and he painlessly introduced the western economy and culture. He not only paid people for their work with salt and calico but also helped introduce money. He exposed people to his religion, health/ medicine, and education. People not only heard him speak English, but his staff also offered to teach them to read and write both English and two African languages (Luvale and Lunda). As Sameta implied, Fisher did not offer a lot, but certainly enough to tantalize the curious and adventurous.

Because of what he represented, a number of immigrant peoples--probably between one and two hundred--slowly gathered around Dr. Fisher in Angola. These uprooted people became a core of loyal supporters. Trusting him, they readily embraced his western innovations and then moved with him into Mwinilunga. In particular, they attended school and taught their children the importance of doing so.⁸

In contrast, most of the Lunda near Kalene avoided both Fisher and the school. Late in the nineteenth century, slave traders had struck Mwinilunga. Then just after the turn of the century, a few disreputable whites had moved in and further disrupted traditional life in the area while the jurisdiction of the Congo Free State, the BSAC, and Portugal remained uncertain. Remembering these recent events, the people doubted Fisher's stated reason for coming--to teach them Christianity. He also chose to live among the rocks on their highest hill, a peculiar place in their eyes. Thus, Fisher's strange place and strange reason left them unconvinced and even fearful. They became reluctant, even unwilling, scholars. Hence, the 'foreign' Africans initially dominated the school at Kalene, not these local residents.

Local reluctance notwithstanding, the school expanded as rapidly as possible with the small mission staff. By the end of 1907, Anna Fisher had "a morning school of small children, for teaching English, daily, Miss Darling a Lwena school three afternoons a week,

6. Interview with Silas Sameta, Mwinilunga Secondary School, Mwinilunga , 4 August 1976.

7. The mental telescoping of events is a common phenomenon in interviews. All people do it when recalling the past unless they have consciously memorized major events or have consulted written records. While it can distort time periods, it can highlight key events, people, or places in the past. The historian must expect and account for this oral testimony.

8. In her letter of 24 May 1907 -- see footnote 3 -- Darling discusses the "ex-slaves" and notes that "over 30" had already settled by that time.

Ch. VII. Education in Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1906-1924

and Mr. Sawyer an English school three afternoons a week also." As Sameta indicated, these teachers probably taught little beyond languages except for some writing and counting.⁹

The ability to write a simple letter and to read the Bible satisfied the mission staff and some of the students. Others, however, wanted more. In September 1908, Winifred Hoyte noted that not many students were enrolled, "but some, especially the elder boys, are most anxious to learn English."¹⁰

In particular, English lured "elder boys"--young men old enough to travel across the countryside on their own. For example, when Dr. and Anna Fisher toured the southern and western areas of Mwinilunga in 1908, they "brought back with them a young native chief who is anxious to learn English. He seems a very bright young fellow. The doctor tells me he has made a profession and done away with all his fetishes. I pray that his being here may prove a great blessing to his soul."¹¹ Only by speaking English could he, like other young men, converse directly with the white elite. Colonial society most affected such young males by demanding their labor. Speaking English would enable them to better understand, and to function more fully in, this new society.

In 1911 Darling left Africa and Hoyte assumed the greatest responsibility for Kalene's little educational system. Under Hoyte's care, the school still had only the most essential equipment and provided only the most basic instruction. Her vivid description of the children's morning school in *Across the Seas*, a children's missionary magazine, highlights both its *esprit de corps* and its severe limitations.

A LUNDA SCHOOL, CENTRAL AFRICA

I wish you could see all my nice, roly-poly bright-eyed blackies. They arrive any time between 7 and 8.30 a.m., and look in my room, in the garden and everywhere till they find me. Then I say, "Korenu" (Good-morning), and they clap their hands and say, "Mwane" (thank you). Then I say, "Go and arrange the seats in school," and off they go, . . . We begin with a hymn, which they sing very loudly and out of tune. I practise them with the scale, and some of them are improving. Then we have a short prayer, which is not easy to me, as I know so little of the language. Next I call the register, and these are some of the names: Samaurnu (Cross-eyed), Kawana (Smallest-of-All), Inkoneesha (Fat), Kasonda (Funny Smile), Nyakatempa (Biggest), Mutempa (Blue Beads). There are about eighteen altogether.

All sit down on the seats, which are just sections of tree trunks. They repeat some Scriptures, and then we have reading lesson with blackboard and chalk. They dearly love to come to the board and make letters and syllables. Sometimes I give each a slate, but they squeak their pencils horribly. School only lasts about an hour and a half, and then I say, "Come tomorrow. Good-bye!" and they tear off, making a tremendous hullabaloo.

This children's work is very interesting and encouraging, too, for they love to learn, and we

9. Will G. Edwards, 22 December 1907, *Echoes*, 37 (March 1908), p. 119.

10. Hoyte, 17 September 1908, *Echoes*, 37 (December 1908), p. 454.

11. 10 December 1909, *Echoes*, 39 (April 1910), p. 136.

Education in the Northwestern Province

*hope that they may become Christians.*¹²

Hoyte regularized the operations of Kalene's tiny educational system, but never gave it any clear direction. Her school never enabled Africans to handle the new society's increasingly forceful demands. Nor did the mission, under Fisher's guidance, make any plan or program for doing so in the future. As Benson Kakoma noted, the "Lunda were left to confront the new force single-handed."¹³

At this time in 1911, one missionary correctly observed that all "our people are other tribes."¹⁴ Fisher still labored without much local success. Thus, the missionaries still needed their 'foreign' followers as much as the latter needed them. This continuing mutual dependence led to the arrival of an African teacher from Kazombo.

At that time, Kalene's school needed help. When Darling departed for the United Kingdom, no missionary was available to teach classes in Luvala to the Luvala immigrants. Consequently, a man arrived from Kazombo, which was flourishing and could spare him. Records do not indicate how long he stayed or if he was a paid teacher. Kanganjo, however, probably came as a 'missionary'--as Mwendela did later at Chitokoloki--and earned his living by farming or other mission-related work.¹⁵

Kanganjo's arrival as a teacher sheds light on the flexible black- white relationships that yet existed. While large gaps prevailed between the saved and 'heathen' and between Western and African cultures, a firm color bar did not yet plague society. A rough form of equality was still possible.

About the time of Kanganjo's arrival in 1911, Hoyte had fifty-two names on her school roll. She thought the number respectable, given that the population was scattered and "education, as such, [was] of no value at all in the eyes of the people."¹⁶

Between 1914 and 1917, enrollment peaked for the BSAC period. In 1914-15 approximately one hundred students attended some kind of instruction. In 1916-17 the number rose to one hundred and fifty, with half staying at the mission as boarders. Before leaving in 1915, Hoyte observed that "our boys and girls are ready to buy any literature that can be provided for them." This kept Kalunda Mission, southwest of Kalene, busy printing Bible stories. May and Katolo, Dr. Fisher's eldest daughters, continued the success. They even hoped to train several pupils as teachers so they could open out-schools and reduce boarding enrollment. Fisher himself reported that the school was so popular that

12. No. 171 (March 1910), p. 26.

13. Kakoma, "Mwinilunga," phrase taken somewhere between pp. 47 and 53.

14. Sawyer, *Echoes*, 40 (September 1911), p. 355.

15. While at this time Kalene struggled to survive, the Kazombo Brethren assembly flourished, largely under African supervision. In 1910 when Darling visited Kazombo, she attended an assembly meeting. She reported that the meeting was not only the largest she had attended in Africa, but that it was "totally conducted" by African elders when they 'broke bread' -- a function handled by males: 9 September 1910, *Echoes*, 39 (December 1910), pp. 468-9. Black missionaries from Demarara (Guyana), as noted in Chapter V, had been important at Kazombo. Since Mwendela and Kanganjo left the Kazombo assembly at different times, I have no evidence that they knew each other. The chances, however, are good that they did.

16. 21 June 1911, *Echoes*, 40 (September 1911), p. 355.

Ch. VII. Education in Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1906-1924

"it [was] impossible to receive all who desire[d] to be pupils." Providing so much food for pupils strained both the mission's budget and its logistical ability to get enough.¹⁷

Kalene's school prospered not only because of the mission and its flexible educational program, but also because of the district, territorial, and world turmoil that made Kalene an island of peace and stability. Between 1913 and 1917, Mwinilunga District was in a state of unrest--as much or more than the rest of the rural Northern Rhodesian countryside. Following BSAC instructions in 1914-1915, Bruce Miller enforced high taxation. After people initially fled and returned, men resigned themselves to migrating outside the district to earn tax money. The direct effects of World War I--then raging in Western Europe--reached the NWP when the government forced able-bodied men into service as carriers.

Soon after, both the mission and its school experienced a rapid decline. Many of the causes lay hidden within the wider social and economic issues that initially made Kalene successful. Taxation and the resulting labor migration removed large numbers of men from the district, reducing the pool of potential male students. The women then had to work harder in the villages growing enough food for survival. The war also depleted both personnel and basic supplies at the mission station.

A strange set of events also contributed to Kalene's decline. The worldwide influenza epidemic that hit the NWP serves as the background. One traveler described the pathetic situation: "In every village people were wailing [over deaths], and we came across dying natives trying, with their last strength, to crawl down river banks in search of water."¹⁸ Yet Kalene remained untouched. Also, a few months before the epidemic swept the area, Fisher had surprised local people by putting a non-toxic grass snake in his rock garden to kill pests. Finally, he built a special baptismal pool. Here he joyfully baptized fifteen men and women, Kalene's first large group of converts. Fisher was pleased because this group included local Lunda people, some of whom now trusted him.¹⁹

At this moment of Christian rejoicing, influenza struck. Within a fortnight, seven of the fifteen newly baptized converts died. Unaware of the epidemic's worldwide proportions, the local people looked for traditional causes to explain it. These pointed to Fisher himself. Rumors spread. Many believed he was a deadly wizard fooling them with his kindness. The snake, water, and baptismal immersion all clearly indicated his clever possession and manipulation of a malevolent *ilomba*, greatly feared by all Lunda. The new trust disappeared and initial fears returned. Kalene's period of success abruptly ended.²⁰

Soon after, the missionaries at Kalene stopped teaching English. This action directly

17. Hoyte, *Echoes*, 43 (June 1914, part 2), p. 240. This article does not make clear whether the mission or the children paid for this literature. Walter Fisher, *Links*, 5 (1915/15), pp. 192-3. For boarding children, see Walter Fisher, *Echoes*, 44 (November 1911), p. 414. For continued expansion and problems in providing food, see Walter Fisher, *Echoes*, 45 (February 1916, part 1), p. 219.

18. Grimstveldt, "Swedish," p. 41.

19. Fisher and Hoyte, *Africa Looks Ahead*, pp. 178-9.

20. Ibid. An *ilomba* is a familiar manufactured by male sorcerers. It takes the form of a huge water-snake that bears the owner's face. Turner gives extensive coverage to this and other familiars in different parts of two works: *Drum* and *Schism*.

Education in the Northwestern Province

contributed to the school's decline by making its curriculum irrelevant to the people. Attendance plummeted. Sameta's testimony that flatly states "no English" was taught probably applies to this period from 1917 to 1920 when he was of school age. By March 1920, the tiny Lunda school attracted only eighty pupils.²¹

Existing records do not indicate why Fisher and the mission abandoned English, nor do they even say that the mission made this decision. They simply stop mentioning it and refer only to a Lunda school. English probably was abandoned because of the serious staff and food shortages that developed by 1917-1918, the influenza epidemic, and most significant, Dr. Fisher's philosophical doubts. He always believed that teaching English symbolized 'higher education'. In 1917 Fisher had probably overrated his success and underrated the importance of English to the people.²²

Fisher believed education to be solely an evangelical tool to help people use the Bible and remain good Christians. Thus, he was happy to teach individuals to read and write in their own language. If his school taught more, it was for the pragmatic reasons of enticing Africans or of pleasing the government. He preferred that the government assume the responsibility for 'advanced' learning and became uneasy when forced to continue the task. He strongly believed that he must not become an indirect government administrator, running an educational system through teacher-evangelists. In his eyes, social services could be provided by government and/or missions. Missionaries, however, must evangelize personally--whether through medical or educational work or direct preaching--or fail in their God-called duty.

Fisher's attitude was possibly reinforced by a tour of mission stations in South Africa in late 1919 or early 1920. He thoroughly disliked what he saw.

*Mission work in S. Africa chiefly consists in opening schools and the mission receives Government grants for every scholar; evangelistic work takes a very secondary place (with very few exceptions) and is done mostly by native preachers. These experiences lead us to hope that the character of our work for God in C. Africa will continue to be evangelistic.*²³

Although he added that schools were essential for Christians to read the Bible, he firmly established his priorities: personal evangelism through direct evangelical itineration, medical work, and then education.²⁴

Personal preferences and priorities notwithstanding, Fisher allowed English to be reinstated in 1921. In June, one missionary wrote to supporters that they planned to resume teaching English. Pupils who could read and write their own language and who

21. Bruce Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District, p. 4, in Kasempa District [Province] AR 1919 for the year ending 31 March 1920, ZA 7/1/4/6, NAZ.

22. Dr. Fisher, like most Brethren, seldom stressed staff shortages in published letters. However, Walter Fisher's private correspondence to Singleton Darling is very informative. See his letter of 5 June 1916 (folios 1651-6); with regard to food shortages, also see his letter of 5 March 1918 (folios 1720-3), Walter Fisher Papers, NAZ.

23. 6 December 1920, Echoes, 50 (March 1921), p. 65.

24. For an excellent statement of objectives via Fisher's 'healing ministry', see *Links*, 4 (1914/5), p. 70.

Ch. VII. Education in Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1906-1924

paid a "small fee" would be taught.²⁵ For Fisher the basic principle was personal evangelism. Continuing African apathy toward the school and a larger mission staff forced his concession. To proselytize the Gospel through the school, the group needed more pupils. Thus, he and his colleagues minimally accommodated the concept of education held by their parishioners.

The restoration of English to the curriculum and confidence in Fisher reaped quick and visible results. The school increased in size and became prosperous. In March 1921 the Native Commissioner noted the spectacular improvement: in less than one year attendance climbed threefold to almost two hundred and forty though only a few of the most advanced probably received English lessons. The school was open to all and free except that "the sixty-two adults receiving instruction [paid] an entrance fee of a shilling."²⁶ While available records do not indicate the exact proportion, the percentage of local residents to 'foreigners' rose.

This sudden improvement in attendance pleased local officials though they played very little part. Throughout the BSAC era, government officials ignored Kalene's educational deficiencies. For a number of reasons, they simply allowed the Kalene missionaries to offer what they felt Africans should learn in school and the Africans to respond by attending or staying away. First, they rarely visited the place because it was extremely isolated, even by the standards of that time. A trek from Mwinilunga boma required two or three days. Journeys from Kasempa and Solwezi took two weeks and required porters since this watershed area lacked navigable rivers.

Second, "government officials were more or less dependent on the Doctor in some way or other" so they rarely complained about deficiencies in his educational program. Unlike George Suckling, his more vocal and controversial disciple at Chitokoloki, Fisher did not complain loudly to the provincial and territorial headquarters about the actions of local administrators. More important, he helped stabilize the district's population. At the beginning of World War I when anger over taxation caused people to flee into Angola and the Congo, depopulating the district, Fisher reluctantly served as an intermediary between the people and the administration. Fisher also provided officials with their only source of medicine and hospital care. In addition, the Fisher family helped Bruce Miller, the best and most long-serving Native Commissioner, recuperate from a serious hunting accident; he eventually married Katolo, one of Fisher's daughters.²⁷

Third, Dr. Fisher suavely called the BSAC's bluff when they requested that he improve education. In one of the few government references to Kalene's inadequate educational system, Bruce Miller noted with embarrassment that Fisher would provide better education "were funds available."²⁸ Of course, everyone knew that the BSAC did not

25. Ethelwynne D. Marks, 24 June 1920, *Echoes*, 49 (October 1920), p. 230.

26. Bruce Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District, in Kasempa Province AR for the year ending 31 March 1921, ZA 7/1/5/6, NAZ.

27. Fisher and Hoyte, *Africa Look Ahead*, p. 151. For Fisher's direct and indirect assistance to government administrators, see the same, pp. 150-3, 193-5. During the 1913-1914 period, he wrote to Singleton Darling, his brother-in-law, (10 June 1913, folios 1636-7, Walter Fisher Papers. NAZ saying that he was "anxious not to be involved."

28. Mwinilunga Sub-District, in Kasempa District [Province] AR for the year ending 31 March 1921, ZA 7/1/5/6, NAZ.

Education in the Northwestern Province

provide Kalene with any financial subsidies. Officials could hardly insist that their only medical doctor also educate everyone throughout the district without receiving any financial support.

Finally, the SAGM's educational system was worse than Kalene's. The BSAC officials reserved their criticism for those missionaries.

The SAGM's Educational Program

The socio-economic environment for beginning education in Solwezi District (1910) and Kasempa District (1911) differed from that in Mwinilunga (1906). Both the passing of time and the geographic locations created differences even though all these missions resided within the same political jurisdiction and shared similar evangelical objectives. In 1906, Fisher entered a district populated by blacks only vaguely acquainted with the new world and not yet ruled by a colonial government. In 1910-11, Bailey founded missions in two districts where the colonial government had been in the process of establishing itself for approximately a decade. In these places the black population and the new white elite were becoming well acquainted. For example, Chisalala Mission lay about twenty-five to thirty kilometers from Kansanshi Mine, a place of continuous contact between black and white men since the turn of the century. Employing thirty white and one thousand black miners by 1910-11, Kansanshi had become a northerly focal point for European colonialism/capitalism and for African labor migration. Here, a few whites hoped to become rich and many Africans hoped to earn their tax money of ten shillings a year. Here, Africans came in direct touch with the new color bar designed to keep them powerless.²⁹

Meanwhile in 1909, Arnot made one of his lonely treks across Africa. Walking along the Congo/Northern Rhodesia boundary from the end of the railway in Ndola to Kalene and then back again, he surveyed this enormous area as a possible mission field. Solwezi/Kasempa administrators encouraged him. He expressed his surprise at their interest in *Echoes of Service*: "When leaving I met the Commissioner from Kasempa, who again pressed that district upon me. . . . Strange that the officials should be taking up the Macedonian cry."³⁰ The situation was unusual for Arnot, but not really "strange" because these Kaonde-Lunda officials clearly knew what they wanted: better basic social services for the area. The mine provided some medical care, but they especially needed educational facilities for training skilled African craftsmen and clerks.

Many Solwezi/Kasempa Africans also knew what they wanted from a Christian mission: new skills that would allow them to get easier and better paying jobs. Then they could pay their taxes without having to leave home for two to four months of the year and/or without having to work only in unpleasant, unskilled positions. Above all, English symbolized these new skills. Thus Africans wanted to learn it and learn it quickly.

In 1910 Bailey arrived with Arnot and camped at Miambo, a day's walk from Kansanshi.

29. The best comments on, and statistics about, early mining at Kansanshi are scattered through Bancroft, Mining. Also see Gann, *Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 121-4, 143-5.

30. 15 September 1909, 38 (November 1909), p. 432.

Ch. VII. Education in Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1906-1924

Headman Miambo and many other Africans in Chief Kapijimpanga's area welcomed him, probably with the notion of learning 'inglishi'. Young men rapidly gathered at the new Chisalala mission for work and education.³¹

Bailey immediately responded to their enthusiasm. Within a fortnight, he founded a school. he described the first day:

*I began School work yesterday. I have a Luba primer. I typed off several pages of 'pa ba ka' etc., and sailed in. I will learn a lot if they do not. I had eight boys to-day. Our headman-- Miambo-- was present and helped(?) with sundry exhortations and suggestions to the boys, who are very bright.*³²

About six months later, the little school had about twenty-three students. Bailey reported that he had "never seen pupils so downright anxious to learn. . . . It does one good to hear them in their compound conning over their lessons and helping one another to learn."³³

Both Bailey and his successor, E. M. Harris, stressed the mission's educational objectives. Harris said, "Too much stress cannot be laid on the importance of the school as being the best means within our reach by which to accomplish [our] purpose . . . Evangelization of the VaKaonde people."³⁴ This was a standard educational objective for many missions and could have contributed to a good school system. However, it did not. Within a year, the school became ineffective.

Unlike Dr. Fisher, Bailey initially refused to teach English. He discussed the rapid disillusionment of the Africans with him and the school in his first annual report. Both Bailey and Africans viewed education in different terms.

*The difficulty of holding a steady, regular attendance [is] one of the greatest drawbacks. The boys come apparently expecting to be made English-speaking "Capitaoes," drawing big pay, and doing no work, and all in the space of a few weeks. When they find that we are not teaching English, and that we are working for heavenly, and not earthly riches, their educational ambition is likely to suffer eclipse. In such case, their grandmother usually dies suddenly, and they go home to the funeral and forget to return.*³⁵

At the time of this initial disillusionment, Ernest and Emily Harris established themselves at Chisalala. They tried to keep Bailey's school for boys operating and to teach women living near the mission. Though the records are not entirely clear, they may have taught English to a few young men. In 1912 Emily described their efforts.

The school is the most important part of the [mission] work now in hand. At present there are sixteen boys in attendance, fifteen of whom are living on the station with a view to gaining

31. Arnot, *Echoes*, 39 (September 1910), pp. 335-6; Bailey, *Pioneer*, 23 (August 1910), pp. 115-6. Also, see Bailey, *Commission*, pp. 5-22.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 115. Arnot was with Bailey between March and 2 June 1910.

33. *Pioneer*, 24 (January 1911), p. 5. See also *Pioneer*, 24 (April 1911), pp. 52-3 and Bailey, *Lessons in an African Prayer School* (Brooklyn, New York: SAGM, nd, pamphlet), pp. 3-8.

34. Ernest Harris, "Report for General Conference 1913 from Northern Rhodesia, 20th May, 1913," p. 3, in Correspondence Files, Volume XI, Wimbledon.

35. *Pioneer* 24 (August 1911), p.125.

Education in the Northwestern Province

some education. Some have been here for months, others have just come. These, besides learning to read and write, etc., have the Word of God read and explained to them daily. So far none have taken a public stand for Christ, . . .

Since coming we have been seeking to get hold of the women and girls for Christ. . . . Besides sewing and reading from type-written sheets, they memorize Scripture; this we trust will be as "seed sown in good ground." Some days as many as eight or nine have been present--one day I had twelve. These come in the mornings and stay for the daily mid-day service, after which the boys have their "school"; they have been doing industrial work during the morning. These "boys" are not all small, the majority are young men. We are praying that God will save some . . . to be soul winners of the Kaonde people.³⁶

When the Harrises arrived, Bailey moved to Kasempa District and founded a mission on the Lalafuta River. Probably learning from his error at Chisalala, he taught English. This fact probably accounts for the higher enrollment.

In the 1913-14 Kasempa District Annual Report, the Native Commissioner described the first school which then had 48 pupils:

Only boys are admitted. All are boarders with one or two exceptions. It seems impossible to get anything like regular attendance from the villages. All are taught to read and write their own language, and some have begun elementary work in English. Simple number work is given. Daily religious and moral instruction is given, including obedience and loyalty to the Government.³⁷

In 1914 Bailey left new missionaries at Lalafuta and resettled in Angola. Since he was the cutting edge of SAGM's 'Forward Movement', his move refocused attention from Northern Rhodesia to Angola. By 1920 the SAGM's new Angolan endeavors received relatively large amounts of money and personnel. The two mission stations in Kasempa and Solwezi merely received minimal attention and financing from both headquarters and the supporting churches. Joint pleas for more support proved futile.³⁸

A number of other problems compounded the situation. First, Bailey located the two stations in isolated areas away from existing government bomas. The Lalafuta site was furthermore surrounded by swamps. Since none of the SAGM missionaries knew the language when they arrived, they could not communicate with the local people. Then, when the Kasempa missionaries began looking for new sites, they were plagued by poor health. Blanche Vernon died and the others were haunted by the same possibility. In addition, only one African, Nelson Hynde from Nyasaland, accompanied Bailey into the country.³⁹ Unlike Fisher, they brought no faithful supporters with them. Their only parishioners were the local Kaonde/Lamba people. Finally, World War I created shortages

36. *Pioneer* 25 (May 1912), pp. 69-70. For later descriptions, see *Pioneer*. 26 (May 1913), p. 70; and 29 (June 1916), pp. 70-1. For a description of the Harrises, see Chapter V.

37. Kasempa Sub-District AR for the year ending 31 March 1914, ZA 7/1/1/6, NAZ. See also Bailey, *Commission*, pp. 23-9.

38. For Bailey's move into Angola, the quick prospering of this new work, and the financial problems of those in Northern Rhodesia, see articles in *Pioneer* and at Wimbledon, Correspondence Files, Volume X to XXIII. See also Bailey, *Prayer School*, pp. 8-26 and *Commission*, pp. 30-126.

39. *Pioneer*, 28 (May 1915), pp. 68-70.

Ch. VII. Education in Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1906-1924

of personnel and money, even "cut[ting] off the money which would have paid for [the students'] food." With all these difficulties, the missionaries had little time to spend on education.⁴⁰

The nearby African communities quickly decided that the missions could give them little of value. Since the Kaonde and Lamba started new villages every few years because of *chitemene* (slash and burn) cultivation, they not only stopped attending school, but slowly moved their homes away from the missions. By 1924 a largely uninhabited country surrounded Chisalala and Musonwedji, its Kasempa counterpart.⁴¹

Long before this extreme isolation became a reality, however, promises fell due. During the first few years, the mission and various missionaries collectively pledged that the mission and the school would expand. Both government officials and Africans expected these commitments to be met. In 1913 Harris described the officials' expectations and why they could not meet them:

*The Administration want us to take apprentices, who would be bound for three years. But we do not at present recommend the Government's proposal, on the ground that it is too expensive. We prefer that the boys should make their own agreement. Under the Government proposal we are expected to teach the boys a trade, give religious instruction, schooling, feed and clothe them, and pay them at the rate of 2/- per month for the first year, 3/- per month the second year and 10/- per month the third year.*⁴²

When they did not meet expectations, the missionaries found themselves in an extremely difficult position. The African population expressed its discontent by moving away and by becoming apathetic and disinterested in the mission's two schools and evangelical campaigns. The government administrators could impose stronger sanctions as described in Chapter IV. They used their considerable formal and informal powers to belabor the missionaries and the mission.

Senior administrator Frank Melland led the attack. From 1912 until he left the area in 1921, he kept relentless pressure on the SAGM and its hapless missionaries. His power, forceful personality, and ideals make him a worthwhile subject of study.

Melland wrote that the missions were "terribly inadequate, to mean well is not enough." He was not the man to accept defeat. By World War I he knew that no other mission wanted or had funding to enter the region. He also knew that the SAGM desired to remain in the region so it could keep the Roman Catholics out. Thus he believed he had to cajole the SAGM to make desired improvements. As a result, Melland and other administrators pressured both the local missionaries and the mission's headquarters. For example,

40. In 1912 when Bailey made his first long journey into Angola, Hynde ran the new Lalafuta station. For references to Hynde, see Hamilton to Wimbledon, 31 January 1912, in Correspondence Files, Volume IX, Wimbledon, and Pioneer, 26 (March 1913), p. 36 and (August/September 1913), p. 158. The latter contains a photograph of Hynde. Luka Yamba says that the people remember him as a harsh, if not cruel man. See the interview with Yamba.

41. This action contrasted to many parts of the savanna. In many other places, including Kalene, *chitemene* cultivators moved slowly toward the new missions and then stabilized themselves nearby.

42. "Report for General Conference 1913 from Northern Rhodesia, 20th May 1913, p. 3, Correspondence Files, Volume XI, Wimbledon.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Melland used the visit of Edgar Faithful, the British Secretary, to the province in 1917 to press for a more suitable educational system. Later Bruce Miller, who as Fisher's son-in-law was on good terms with missionaries, discussed mutual problems at Wimbledon while on overseas leave in 1921. These NWP administrators may have also approached Arthur Bowen, the SAGM's American Secretary, during his 1922 visit.⁴³

Nothing changed. Different mission officials only vaguely committed the mission to a more comprehensive educational program. They had faith that each coming year would be better, especially for missions in the western part of Northern Rhodesia. But no prosperous times dawned. The mission's general revenues and staffing remained poor. Furthermore, mission work in the Kaonde-Lunda Province simply did not excite either mission headquarters' staff or sponsoring churches. Meanwhile, African apathy and administrative cynicism in Solwezi/Kasempa increased.

Melland tried bullying Harris and other Solwezi/Kasempa missionaries to get improvements. Between 1917 and 1921 two series of clashes occurred over: a) Harris's 1917-18 evangelical campaigns and the Native Schools Proclamation of 1918, and b) the SAGM's reluctance to train teachers at Kafue at the end of World War I. These precipitated an especially bitter exchange just before Melland left the region in 1921.

Harris's evangelical campaigns instigated Melland's initial attack. At this time, the general turmoil in the district resembled that in Mwinilunga: men were constantly on the move because of taxation and forced labor; the women tried and often failed to raise food for everyone; and finally, the terrible influenza epidemic killed uncounted thousands of these already debilitated individuals. Short of money and concerned about evangelism, Harris tried to innovate. Throughout the district he sent a corps of minimally-paid young men who had several years education. These men returned with glowing reports of dozens, then hundreds, and finally, approximately one thousand conversions. Harris was ecstatic and the mission was pleased.

Yet within two years this campaign would fail when both the evangelists and the newly converted realized that conversion did not solve the turmoil. In fact, A. A. Wilson later reflected that many of the conversions were "purely materialistic, 'belief in Jesus' being some new cult that they [were] all keen to join."⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the initial success, not this eventual failure, caused trouble between the mission and the government.⁴⁵

43. DC's AR for the Kasempa District [Province] for the year ending 31 March 1921, p. 7, ZA 7/1/5/6, NAZ. For Faithful's visit, see his confidential report (p. 4 of 8 pp.), dated October 1917, Correspondence Files, Volume XVIII, Wimbledon. For Bruce Miller's description of his visit to Wimbledon, see the Solwezi Sub-District AR in the Kasempa district [province] AR for the year ending 31 March 1924, ZA 7/1/7/6, NAZ. Melland himself left before Bowen's visit. Available records are not clear regarding conversations with Bowen. For the record of his journey, including a large part of his personal diary, see Ezra A. Shank, *"Fervent in Spirit": The Biography of Arthur J. Bowen* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1954).

44. Pioneer, 33 (June 1920), p. 64.

45. The failure caused considerable intra-mission squabbling and made Harris defensive of his methods. See the Correspondence Files, Volume XIX, Wimbledon: Hamilton to Middlemiss, 14 July 1920; Middlemiss to Hamilton, 13 August 1920; Hamilton to Middlemiss, 2 September 1920; Middlemiss to Hamilton, 31 December 1920. This last item included a long letter from Harris defending himself with regard to the matter and explaining what happened.

Ch. VII. Education in Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1906-1924

First Melland was unimpressed. News of the Chilembwe uprising in Nyasaland that occurred in January and February 1915 had slowly filtered into the area, so the Northern Rhodesian government was very jittery. Consequently, Melland did not want largely unsupervised, semi-literate, young 'mission boys' roaming the district, preaching not only about Christ but also about the world's doom and destruction. Instead he wanted a permanent educational system that taught technical skills, trained teachers to run village schools, and inculcated loyalty and respect for the colonial and imperial governments.⁴⁶

In 1917 draft proposals of the Native Schools Proclamation gave Melland an excuse to clamp down on Harris's evangelists and, once again, to pressure the mission for a satisfactory educational program. This Proclamation correctly recognized the close relationship between Christian evangelism and education, so when enacted, it closely regulated educational and evangelical efforts throughout the territory. It forced missionaries to register their teacher-evangelists. Likewise, they had to register their churches and/or schools. Missionaries then had to supervise African assistants by visiting all registered locations at least four times each year. The regulation served Melland perfectly. He knew that in a district larger than Wales, Harris could not make the required visits to all the villages. Harris would have to abandon his district-wise evangelical campaigns and restrict his work to the mission station's environs, or the mission's headquarters would have to supply more staff.⁴⁷

Like most mother missionaries in the territory, Harris was outraged because the BSAC wanted to regulate all Christian charitable organizations without offering any financial subsidies. Moreover, the Proclamation did not even acknowledge the amount of money and time that these voluntary organizations spent on social services. Probably as Melland hoped, both Cape Town and Wimbledon clearly heard Harris's cry of anguish. In one letter, Harris said that the "school has been purposely defined to make it embrace [sic] every form of Christian service, even a prayer meeting." He concluded another letter that it was "nothing short of iniquity. My! it is crafty. It makes one's soul cry out and long for the return of Our Lord."⁴⁸

Harris initially tried to register prayer 'schools' in most villages throughout Solwezi District. Then he threatened to spend all his time visiting them if the mission authorities failed to send more staff. Melland condescendingly told him that he attempted to do the

46. For the Chilembwe rising, see George Shepperson and Thomas Price's classic of historical research in modern Africa: *Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958). For a wider perspective of all these events in both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia during this period, see Rotberg, *Nationalism*, especially pp. 47-92.

47. Ragsdale quotes the entire Proclamation: "Development," pp. 383-6. For Harris's and Wilson's interpretation, see the extracts of his letters in Appendix H.

48. For Harris's two quotations, see Correspondence Files, Wimbledon: Harris to Middlemiss (Cape Town), 6 June 1918, Volume XVII and Harris to Faithful, 11 April 1918, Volume XVI. These appear in Appendix H. Largely oblivious to territorial events, Fisher was one of a minority of missionaries in Northern Rhodesia who did not object; he had virtually no village schools or churches and sent out no paid evangelists. For what is possibly the only existing comment by Fisher and Kalene missionaries on the Proclamation, see Fisher to Native Commissioner, April 1918, B 1/2/370, NAZ, cited by Snelson, *Development*, pp. 132, 146.

Education in the Northwestern Province

impossible. Meanwhile, Harris's evangelical campaign faltered of its own accord.⁴⁹

While Harris fumed about the Proclamation, the SAGM's educational system continued stagnating. In 1919, one official stated the crux of the problem when he cynically explained the mission's

*method of teaching the principles of Christianity and very little else does not appeal seemingly to the native. Industrial training is practically non-existent. The present worker in charge [of Musonwedji], Mr. A. A. Wilson, informed me that the decrease toward the end of the year was due to the decision not to teach English, in spite of the fact that knowledge of this tongue was eagerly grasped after by native worker and pupil alike. It is hardly to be expected that a native will take much interest in his morals or his place in the next world for their own sake, unless he is provided with something in this world to improve him mentally and to lift him out of the ruck as a wage earner.*⁵⁰

Even Vernon at Musonwedji expressed the basic conflict between mission interests and African/government interests. He noted: "Desire to learn the language of the white man has overtaken the natives who in Kaondeland have learned to read in their own language; schools on all sides of us are by their better equipment leading these boys off."⁵¹ He did not say, however, that "schools on all sides" lay at least one hundred kilometers away. Since walking along narrow paths was the only way to reach them, these young men's discontent must indeed have been great.

The lack of trained teacher-evangelists underlay this continually inadequate educational system. Harris and Wilson proposed sending several men to Kafue Training Institute in 1917.⁵² Despite the desperate need for such trained men, Faithful at Wimbledon had strong reservations. He did not want SAGM "teachers to come under the influence of [Rev. Fell's] teaching." Fell seemingly admired "modern scholarship and criticism of the Bible."⁵³ When administrative pressure and African discontent finally resulted in three men being sent to Kafue in 1920, overseas mission officials intervened and forced the missionaries to withdraw them. Melland noted that "the only accessible training institute . . . is discouraged. [Thus,] for all practical purposes, 'the man in the village' has no chance of advancement in this district."⁵⁴

In the midst of the Kafue issue, the local mission staff and policy changed. The Harrises left Chisalala because of poor health and resettled in South Africa. Vernon and Wilson transferred to Angola. Charles Foster and Herbert Pirouet, who took over, closed both

49. See Appendix H for the significant correspondence mentioned in this paragraph between Harris and Wilson, the mission headquarters, and Melland. All are quoted from Correspondence Files, Wimbledon.

50. Solwezi Sub-District AR, in Kasempa District [Province] AR for the year ending 31 March 1920, ZA 7/1/4/6, NAZ. The author of this report was either Melland himself or one of his junior officials.

51. *Pioneer*, 32 (August/September 1919), p. 73.

52. Harris to Middlemiss, 9 October 1917, Correspondence Files, Volume XVI, Wimbledon.

53. Faithful to Middlemiss, 18 December 1917, *ibid.* For the intra-mission discussion of the matter, see also the following in the Correspondence Files, Wimbledon: Melland to Wilson, 4 April 1919, Volume XVIII; Middlemiss to Hamilton (Wimbledon), 13 August 1920, Volume XIX; "Minutes of District Conference . . .," 19 May to June 1921, Volume XX.

54. AR for Kasempa District [Province] for the year ending 30 September 1921, ZA 7/3/9, NAZ.

Ch. VII. Education in Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1906-1924

schools and concentrated on training a few teacher-evangelists that already believed. Foster and Pirouet decided they were not responsible for providing a 'secular' or 'academic' education and discouraged men from coming to the mission solely for that purpose. Furthermore, their resources had become so limited that they could do no more.⁵⁵

Melland became totally disgusted by this new position. He first attacked both the mission and local missionaries in a frank, logical, thoughtful letter to Foster. He asserted that the missionaries were obligated to "up-lift" everyone, not just their adherents. While he admitted that the government did little for the people, he accused the SAGM of doing less. Then an even harsher verbal exchange with Pirouet followed. Melland asserted that most of the SAGM missionaries were not capable of being leaders of missions stations. Furthermore, the SAGM should either fund and staff the mission stations properly or leave the province and let some other mission agency enter. In response Pirouet gallantly defended the mission and his colleague. Foster and Pirouet jointly explained what happened to Cape Town and Wimbledon.⁵⁶

Shortly after these exchanges between Melland and these two local missionaries, Faithful again visited the two stations. Afterwards Pirouet and Foster started a small system of education that more closely resembled those elsewhere in the territory. Using the initial graduates of the seminal training program for teacher-evangelists, they began a few village schools. Everyone near the schools could attend them for free. Under a new plan, the best students from these village schools would later go to Chisalala or Musonwedji for additional education. The plan also vaguely included a new central station where a middle school would train mission teachers. But by 1924, this more progressive proposal floundered. Staffing and financing never improved.⁵⁷

Melland left the NWP in April 1922 and the officials who replaced him were more sympathetic to the missionaries' plight. Yet the mission's basic educational inadequacies remained. The mission was simply too poor, understaffed, and unwilling to educate in the manner that the people and the officials desired. Thus, Kasempa and Solwezi Districts' only educational programs remained feeble.

The poverty of the SAGM missionaries and Dr. Fisher and their restricted educational philosophies kept their educational programs provincial, especially when the territorial

55. For the new policy agreed upon at the annual district conference at Musonwedji from 13 to 22 November 1919, see the "Minutes . . . ," in Correspondence Files, Volume XVIII.

56. The following two items are quoted in Appendix D: Melland to Foster, 11 September 1920 and Pirouet to Middlemiss, 3 January 1921, Correspondence Files, Volume XIX, Wimbledon. Melland probably spoke so frankly with Pirouet because he regarded Pirouet as the most acceptable or genteel of these missionaries -- more able and less common than Harris, and especially Wilson and Foster, who were Americans.

57. Faithful visited the missions twice: in 1917 and again in mid-1921. For his first visit, see his report for the British Committee, "District and Executive General Report," Correspondence Files, Volume XVIII, Wimbledon. Faithful's report is exceptionally thoughtful about education. Nor report was located at Wimbledon for his 1921 visit. See, however, the Minutes of the District Conference from 18 May to 1 June 1921 in which the plan was formulated, Correspondence Files, Volume XX, Wimbledon. In these minutes, education came under the topic "Evangelization of the VaKaonde." Pirouet later noted that in 1921 under Faithful's "guidance," they had "framed a new policy of work." This same long letter-chronicle by Pirouet shows how the new plans fizzled out by 1924. See *Pioneer*, 37 (February 1924), pp. 19-21 and 37 (March 1924), pp. 35-6.

Education in the Northwestern Province

government did not provide funding or supervision. By the end of the BSAC era, the Kaonde-Lunda region was already becoming isolated and 'backward' in education as well as in other ways. It was falling to the bottom of the heap.

CHAPTER VIII: EDUCATION AT CHITOKOLOKI, 1914-1924: A DIFFERENT FORUM

*Arnot Memorial School at Chitokoloki . . . is the most beautiful school I have ever seen in Africa. The roof is quite unique, thatched on the Barotse principle, with grass interlaced and cut off short, giving it the appearance of a great impervious mat, and very durable. This thatch is finished off at the top with a straw coping, or ridge, on the Lunda plan, which guarantees all watertight.*¹

William Hoste, 1916

Within only three years of its opening, Chitokoloki's educational program was visibly successful, a stark contrast to Kalene and the two SAGM stations. Two simple reasons contributed to Chitokoloki's success. In this early BSAC era, the socio-political environments of the Barotseland and Kaonde-Lunda 'Districts' differed greatly. With regard to education, the former was 'progressive' and the latter was 'backward'. The main reason, however, was George Suckling.

Although a conservative evangelical like Fisher and Harris, Suckling had a much wider educational vision. He made Chitokoloki's educational program the heart and soul of the mission's evangelical campaign. As Fisher had with his hospital, Suckling and his educational program became almost synonymous. Consequently, the early dramatic successes and failures of Chitokoloki become those of Suckling himself.

George Suckling's Educational Vision

Publicity enabled Suckling to develop rapidly an unusually comprehensive educational program. As described in Chapter V, this publicity resulted first from Arnot's fame and second from the romantic tragedies that first befell Arnot and later the youthful Lambert Rogers. After the death of the former, Suckling planned a worthy memorial, and Arnot's admirers enthusiastically responded to appeals for support. Then when Rogers died, Suckling became the sole survivor of Arnot's final missionary endeavor. The first visible result of this publicity was the beautiful Arnot Memorial School.²

Suckling's character and vision differed greatly from Dr. Fisher's, but were equally determined. They made Chitokoloki and its educational program unique. His letters reveal a strong-willed, sometimes contradictory personality that could alternatively displease, anger, and alienate, or charm and inspire. Like Fisher, he was a conservative evangelical. Unlike Fisher, his methods were more unorthodox and controversial in brethren circles.

1. *Links*, 6 (1916/7), p. 100.

2. For two examples of how the publicity of Arnot's death focused attention on Suckling, see *Links*, 3 (1913/4), p. 204, p. 204 and 5 (1914/5), pp. 6-7. For two examples of appeals for supporting the school as a memorial to Arnot, see William Hoste, 6 November 1915, *Links*, 5 (1915/6), p. 98; p. 117.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Suckling's attitude toward Africans contrasted with that of most colleagues. When writing to overseas supporters, many missionaries only stressed negative perceptions of, or facts about, Africans and their way of life. While he was equally anxious to convert Africans, Suckling also tried to convey some of the positive things about Africa. His first annual report, while still at Kalene, reveals his frank and direct ways of dealing with African people and their way of life.

*Have you ever thought of the natives of Africa as being of a very dull type, differing but little the one from the other? I confess that is what I expected to find, but I have found the very opposite. There is a delightful amount of character and individuality in almost every one, both as to countenance and character. They have plenty of humour, some wit, and -- among themselves -- great conversational powers.*³

Suckling was also more pragmatic than most. For example, while Dr. Fisher was pragmatic when dealing with secular issues such as teaching English, he was not on the issue of personal evangelism. This prevented Fisher from having the accepted hierarchical mission organization through trained African staff.

In contrast, Suckling adopted a more conventional mission organization in his own little corner of the world. In the process, he delegated work and power to his trained African staff. As his son recalls, "He loved to see men taking responsibility." While this repeatedly got him into trouble with brethren colleagues, it endeared him to many Africans and enabled him to achieve a great deal with only a few white staff members. Besides the strong 'other world' orientation of all conservative evangelicals, he also aggressively attempted to develop Balovale District.⁴

Suckling's comprehensive educational program, which came into full bloom during World War I, did not suddenly spring forth like Athena from Zeus's forehead. It developed systematically from a humble, conventional educational endeavor much like those at Kalene and the SAGM missions. Following the drama of Arnot's fatal illness and Roger's serious injury, Suckling moved the mission to Chitokoloki and opened a little school. Here, he revealed his clear understanding of the close relationship between education and evangelism. Consider one of his first descriptions of the initial school's program.

*We have already begun school on a small scale with twenty odd scholars mostly from the immediate neighbourhood. . . . We teach them to read and write their own language, and when they are not in school they have to work in the garden or in clearing round the station. In school they are also taught by heart the simple gospel texts and to sing our translated hymns.*⁵

In 1914-15 after opening this tiny school and while planning the Arnot Memorial School and formulating more comprehensive plans, Suckling visited Kalunda and Kalene Missions. Their schools made him "blush for what we call a school at Chitokoloki." Kalunda's industrial programs in both carpentry and printing deeply impressed him. He learned what

3. 5 May 1912, *Echoes*, 41 (July 1912), p. 274.

4. Interview with Gordon Suckling.

5. *Echoes*, 43 (September 1914, part 1), pp. 334-5.

Ch. VIII. Education At Chitokoloki, 1914-1924: A Different Forum

"may be expected of the A-lunda if ever the need arises to teach them the simpler forms of skilled labour." Thus, his small initial school was only a beginning.⁶

The Arnot Memorial School became a reality in 1915. On a brief visit to Britain during World War I, Suckling gained financial support to begin. Thomas Hansen, a skilled craftsman, returned to Chitokoloki with him. Suckling together with Hansen, Rogers, and African brethren constructed the school. It looked very impressive.⁷

Meanwhile, several lengthy articles about the school appeared in *Links of Help*, the magazine of the Missionary Study Classes. Many mission supporters in English informally 'adopted' school boys. In fact, the response was so large that the editor reminded readers about continuing needs at Dr. Fisher's boarding school. The end result of this publicity and popular support in English was the visit of William Hoste, a prominent brother who dedicated the school. Just as the buildings impressed Hoste, so did its evangelical potential.

*There are 130 boys at present in the school, and continual applications from far and near. It is difficult for anyone who does not know the circumstances of African life to appreciate fully what the existence of a centre like this means, if well-manned and equipped with its Gospel testimony and schools, to a considerable tract of dark Africa where Christ would not otherwise be named. A station like this is truly a lamp in a dark place, and its effect with God's blessing must be incalculable.*⁸

Even before Arnot Memorial opened, Suckling advocated the teaching of English so that it could become a *lingua franca*. Although the editors of *Echoes of Service* published one of his letters that treated the issue, they added that "it would be inadvisable to attempt to make English a *lingua franca* for native Christians." Even though mild, the rebuke departed from policy in the periodical. Consequently, Suckling did not press the issue so strongly again.⁹

At Chitokoloki, Suckling continued teaching English to advanced students but with less fanfare. In fact, he restated his plans to make them conform with acceptable Brethren objectives. In two important articles, probably written in late 1915, he reassured readers that his aim was "to teach the boys enough . . . to be able to read and understand the Bible as it was translated for them." He had no desire "to introduce the boys to higher education of either an academic or industrial nature." Such training would only encourage them just enough for them to be able *to earn their own living* by rough carpentry or gardening work. They will then be able to teach others, to live intelligent and godly lives, and, . . . be able to teach and preach in their own villages without needing financial support from the

6. 26 January 1915, *Echoes*, 44 (April 1915, part 2), pp. 157-8.

7. Suckling, 24 February 1916, *Echoes*, 45 (June 1916, part 2), pp. 236-7; Suckling, Rogers, and Hansen, 3 June 1916, *Echoes*, 45 (September 1916, part 1), p. 317. *Links*, 5 (1915/6), pp. 117, 144, and 194. Rogers died before Hoste visited and dedicated the school.

8. Hoste, *Links*, 6 (1916/7), p. 100. For other key articles in *Links*, see: Suckling, 5 (1915/6), pp. 75-7. For the support of school boys and the editor's reminder, see the following two notes in *Links*, 5: pp. 117 and 132.

9. 44 (September 1915, part 2), pp. 356-7. For this controversy of a European *lingua franca* within Brethren mission circles, see Appendix B.

Education in the Northwestern Province

missionary."¹⁰

While suspecting the value of 'higher education' like other Brethren, Suckling believed that he must do more than help Africans read the Bible. His purpose becomes clear to the present-day reader when the phrase "pay their own taxes" replaces "earn their own living." As noted in Chapter VI, Suckling was gravely concerned over the problems created by government taxation. Because they could not earn money locally, people had to flee the territory or migrate to towns, mines and farms in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Migration separated and sometimes destroyed families. It also exposed people to the worst sins in the new colonial societies. Possibly more than anything, Suckling wanted to stabilize Balovale's population. He felt this necessary to properly evangelize the district. Thus, he aggressively sought a new solution.

Suckling decided to turn Balovale into the rural Christian utopia that Arnot had vaguely envisioned many years before. To reach this goal, he not only had to cope with traditional African 'backwardness', ignorance, and sin, but also with the new taxation/migration dilemma. As a result, Suckling developed comprehensive ideas about education's role in the evangelical effort. For example, Arnot Memorial School would not just be a physical monument to its namesake, but a living memorial to Arnot's spirit and vision. An ever expanding regional system would extend outward from this central school. Village out-schools would be at least partially self-supporting. Modern industrial and agricultural training would be taught. By training people to assume positions in the local cash economy, he hoped to create an environment in which Christianity would grow and flourish naturally.¹¹

Suckling's educational system became the foundation of an ambitious district development plan. When implementing, it would enable ever increasing numbers of people, especially converts, to pay their taxes and still have money for basic needs. The plan included new cottage industries that, in turn, required retail stores and improved transportation. To complete it, he included the development of local agriculture. Since taxation was permanent, this plan was long-term.¹²

Suckling believed that small, local industries not only had to be started, but also had to quickly become self-supporting. The taxation/migration problem was serious and his funds were limited. Consequently, he encouraged basic agricultural activities, especially the cultivation of crops like groundnuts (peanuts), cassava (manioc), and rice. The people could

10. *Echoes*, 45 (June 1916, part 2), pp. 236-7; "Sun-dried Bricks in the Arnot Memorial School: the Question of School Work in the Kabompo District," *Links*, 5 (1915/6), pp. 109-10 (last quotation). The underlining is mine.

11. For the taxation/migration issue as a strong motivation in Suckling's expanding program, see his 1920 letter in Appendix G and also other statements of his aims and objectives that were published in *Echoes*, 43 (September 1914, part 1), pp. 334-5 and 48 (November 1919), pp. 257-8.

12. Suckling's vision and objectives have to be deduced from: his published letters in *Echoes* and *Links*; the reminiscences of Gordon, his only living son; and surviving early African supporters. He never wrote an autobiography and his personal papers were destroyed after his death. His only other writings seem to be two short pamphlets for supporters: *Chitokoloki on the Zambezi: A Story of Development* (privately printed at Chitokoloki, n.d. [circa 1946]) and *Mission Work in the Kabompo Valley* (n.p., 1915). I have only seen the former; the latter, however, is referred to in *Links* and by Robert I. Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries*, p. 214.

Ch. VIII. Education At Chitokoloki, 1914-1924: A Different Forum

sell them downstream in Barotseland and Livingstone. He also expanded lumbering operations and encouraged the production of dugout boats, which were much in demand on the Barotse plains. Likewise, he trained carpenters to make high quality furniture for Europeans living in Barotseland, and for the people themselves. Finally, he used the canoes as part of an improved transport system between Chitokoloki and Barotseland. The transport system in turn allowed him to bring in supplies for new retail stores. Here people could buy necessities after they paid their taxes.¹³

In 1920 these new endeavors reached their peak. The Balovale District Annual Report for the year ending 31 March 1920 describes them.

The carpentry boys have been making progress and their number is now fifteen, half of whom can now do useful work. Twenty boys have been taught saw-pit work and other are about to learn. The carpenters and the sawyers who are able to work by themselves are paid piece work and at reasonable rates are able to make from twenty to forty shillings a month. The sawyers make their pits in the neighbourhood of the trees and bring in the planks for sale. In the course of a year they would cut down about a hundred trees but by adopting the method mentioned it is possible to distribute the boys over a wide area. Some of the school boys are taught type setting and distributing and simple machine printing work. . . . The learning of trades, however, can only be accomplished by a few and so the Mission encourages cultivation of rice, nuts, grain and manioc. The store . . . provide[s] a market for the natives.¹⁴

While working to achieve this broad development, Suckling did not forget his final aim: to prepare young men to "teach and preach in their own villages without needing financial support from the missionaries." The teachers would be self-supporting farmers and carpenters, and though modest, their places would be "outposts of evangelism" where Christianity would be stressed. Reading and writing skills would be of less importance.¹⁵

In 1917 government officials and the people successfully encouraged Suckling to begin village out-schools. He opened the first on the Mumbeji River "at the capital of the Mambunda chief, Chinyama." The people built the school themselves, and over one hundred pupils "representing three different tribes -- Mambunda, A-lunda, and Va-Lwena" -- attended. The chief, who had been to the Barotse National School and spoke some English, supported the effort. The teacher was Thomas Chinyama, one of the original members of the Chitokoloki assembly.¹⁶

The rapid expansion of village schools continued. At the end of the 1917-18 rainy season,

13. For details of this comprehensive plan and how it initially developed, see the following: Suckling, 12 April 1919, *Echoes*, 48 (August 1919), pp. 183-4; W.E.M. Owen (NC), Balovale Sub-District, in Barotseland District [Province] AR for the year ending 31 March 1920, ZA 7/1/4/2 (also ZA 7/3/8), NAZ. In the "Trade and Commerce" section of the latter, the NC describes the new stores that originated from the mission. For a photograph of some products from the carpentry shop, see *Echoes*, 49 (June 1920), pp. 132-3. By 1928, this industrial program included printing, see: Suckling, 30 September 1918, *Echoes*, Volume 48 (March 1919), p. 65. Also, see Douglas Hume, *Voices*, 16 (November/December 1921), n.p. Also, in my interview with him, Gordon Suckling described his father's wide interpretation of his evangelical ministry.

14. Barotse District [Province] AR for the year ending 31 March 1920, Balovale Sub-District, ZA 7/1/4/2, NAZ.

15. Suckling, *Echoes*, 45 (June 1916, part 2), p. 237; Suckling, 10 September 1917, *Echoes*, 47 (March 1918), p. 72.

16. Suckling, 28 December 1917, *Echoes*, 47 (April 1918), pp. 101-2. Also, see Suckling, 20 September 1917, *Echoes*, 47 (January 1918), p. 20.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Suckling reported that "the seemingly impossible [had] occurred." Despite the "native church [being] very small," they opened a second village school at Chino nu among the Luvale. Suckling assured his supporters that "already at both places there are those who profess to have found life in the Lord Jesus." Two other schools opened soon after.¹⁷

In September 1918, Suckling described this rapid, joint educational-evangelical missionary expansion.

*We have now four out-schools, where native Christians have made their homes, and in addition to teaching the rudiments of education, are carrying on an active evangelistic work. The four schools are as follows: Mumbeji, 27 miles east, in charge of Thomas and his wife Chivivi. Chinonu, 20 miles west, in charge of Ndumba and Sayikumba (the latter's wife is in fellowship). Kakonga, 17 miles south, in charge of David N japawu and Kamwandi, whose wives are professing Christians. Lwampunga, 22 miles north and close to the Government Post. It has been in charge of Manongu and his wife, who have been helped by Samalesu, but the people are so unresponsive that the work is particularly trying, so we are thinking of relieving Manongu, that he may return here for refreshment and instruction, and of sending other Christians for a month or so at a time to look after the work.*¹⁸

By the end of World War I, less than five years after the mission began, Suckling's very comprehensive educational endeavors started yielding a wide assortment of fruits. Hidden inside, however, were several worms.

Suckling, A Dual Barotse Administration, and Africans

Suckling's innovations flourished, at least for a time, because conditions were right. Unlike Kalene and Kasempa/Solwezi missions, Chitokoloki received the general support of both the administration and the people. Even the tensions within the district initially worked in his favor and/or goaded his own educational efforts.

In 1914 the political, economy, social, and even geographical situation for opening a mission in Balovale was very different from opening missions in Mwinilunga in 1906, or in Kasempa/Solwezi in 1910/1911. Unlike these other regions, Balovale had natural water transport. The Zambezi River connected it with Mongu and Livingstone, government centers of the new colonial society.

By 1914 the BSAC and Lewanika, Barotseland's dual government, used each other for their mutual benefit: the Lozi's nominal rule provided the Company with an excuse for entering the district, and Lewanika made his claims of sovereignty over Balovale a reality with BSAC power. Both also found enforced taxation a useful thing. Through the 'bush telephone', Lewanika's visit to England and his ability to talk to the white man in English were widely known. Taxation showed Balovale's recalcitrant Lunda and Luvale that Lewanika was their ruler and that the white man's gun worked on his behalf. Meanwhile, by collecting tax

17. Suckling, 15 April 1918, *Echoes*, 47 (August 1918), pp. 205-6.

18. Suckling, 30 September 1918, *Echoes*, 48 (March 1919), pp. 64-5. In an entry dated 12 June 1918, Suckling gave the names of five village schools and their teachers. According to this, they were located at Mumbeji, Chinonu, Kakonga, Lwampunga, and Makundu: KDE 2/30/7, NAZ.

Ch. VIII. Education At Chitokoloki, 1914-1924: A Different Forum

revenue, the BSAC consolidated its own rule. It also started a stream of black migrate labor down the river to the mines and farms of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. This exploitative dual government wanted missionaries in Balovale to further consolidate its rule and to provide cheap and ameliorating social services. For the same reasons, Balovale societies urgently needed an intermediary, an interpreter, and if possible, a savior.¹⁹

Despite the general short and long term destruction caused by high taxation, Barotseland received a little tax money back. Unlike other parts of Northern Rhodesia, the BSAC put a small percentage of the collected tax moneys into the Barotse Trust Fund because of an early agreement. "Control of the Trust Fund remained firmly in the hands of the Company, but Lewanika's request that first priority be given to education was accepted." In fact, Lewanika "became the advocate and patron of modern education." Educational projects particularly centered on the Barotse National School, but some money was ear-marked for sub-districts such as Balovale. Consequently, this Fund made Barotseland the most educationally progressive area of Northern Rhodesia prior to 1924.²⁰

Arnot, Suckling, and Rogers arrived at a crucial time. In 1914 the dual government planned to open an out-school in Balovale District with money from the Fund. Threatened by the prospect, Suckling hastened his own educational efforts.

Several years later, in one of his letters to the Missionary Study Classes, Suckling explained his opposition to the government school and the 1914 situation.

In the Barotse Kingdom to the south of the Kabompo, a large school had been opened, according to the treaty. . . . The education therein is purely secular, and the aim is to fit the natives who attend the school for work in the offices and the mines, or on the farms near the railway to the South. This training does not fit the natives to return to their villages to seek the general uplift of the community. It tends rather to the breaking up of tribal life, and to the drifting of the natives into a worse condition morally and spiritually than they were in before, by introducing them to the example and influence of degraded white men.

*In connection with this school the Government proposed opening an out-school in the Kabompo District by sending a trained native teacher to give rudimentary education. His life and teaching would have been irreligious and his influence general bad. Soon after Mr. Arnot had settled Mr. Rogers and myself in the district we heard of this suggestion and in order to make the opening of such a school with all its possibilities of evil unnecessary, we proposed starting a school ourselves. . . . The Resident Magistrate . . . promised not to open a rival school in the district so long as ours proved to be efficient.*²¹

After 1914 the Barotse National School and Barotse Trust Fund continued to goad Suckling, just as they had initially. The school provided a yardstick for evaluating Suckling's

19. See Chapters IV and VI for the complexities of this Barotseland political setting.

20. Snelson, *Development*, p. 123; Mainga, Bulozzi, p. 205. For the best account of the Barotse National School, see Snelson, pp. 123-6 and M. C. Mortimer, "History of the Barotse National School--1907-1957," *Northern Rhodesia Journal* 3 (no. 4, 1957): 303-10. Also, see Caplan, *Elites*, pp. 93-4. I am not certain how much funding came to Chitokoloki and Balovale District prior to 1924, but it was small at best.

21. *Links*, (1915/6), p. 110; quoted in Appendix E. Suckling also said something very similar in *Echoes*, 45 (January 1916, part 1), p. 17.

Education in the Northwestern Province

educational work; the Fund later partly subsidized his efforts. Suckling had to justify his requests, however, since the Fund also gave money to the Paris Evangelical Mission's schools to the south. Even the initial enthusiasm for English must be seen in this educational environment with its special goads and incentives. Unlike Fisher, Bailey, or Harris, Suckling never had the independence to do only as he pleased.²²

The constant threat of mission competition also kept Suckling active. If he disliked the Barotse National School, the thought of Roman Catholics and Seventh Day Adventists entering the district and opening schools horrified him. Though no other mission actually began work and started schools until the 1930s, the threat persisted from Arnot's days. Unlike the Kaonde-Lunda Province, rival missions considered the upper Zambezi Valley a highly desirable field. Realizing Suckling's fears, the Barotse administration used the threat as its final trump card. Like the territorial administration, the officials did not want too much competition, but they never objected to little. Limited competition kept missionaries busy providing social services and kept government expenses down.²³

Suckling actually worked well with senior officials in this dual administration. His disagreements were general with junior white administrators or African police/messengers, who exceeded and abused their authority. Available records indicate that his contacts with Lewanika and Yeta, his successor were cordial. This was even more true with the Resident Magistrate, the senior BSAC official in Barotseland. George Lyons, the BSAC's Resident Magistrate in Mongu, came to Suckling's defense during his troubles in the early 1920s. George Suckling even encouraged his twin brother to become Principal of the Barotse National School. The latter, an Anglican clergyman, briefly served in this capacity from August 1921 to October 1923.²⁴

The mixed population of Balovale also supported Suckling's educational innovations. First of all, they knew that he directed his efforts to everyone in the region, not just particular groups. Although he spoke Lunda, he continually stressed Chitokoloki's non-ethnic, district-wide ministry. As he, Hansen, and Rogers explained in 1916:

*Some have thought of us as working among the Va-Lovale (or Va-Lwena); some as being entirely confined to the Va-Lunda. Neither idea is right. We feel that this station is more for a district than for a tribe. In the district, there are representatives of at least seven different tribes, of which the Lunda and the Lovale are the most numerous.*²⁵

Second, Suckling's program balanced evangelism and social service in a manner acceptable to the local population. Lack of interest among Africans is mentioned infrequently in the

22. As noted in footnote 20, I am not certain how much came from the Barotse Trust Fund prior to 1924.

23. No single available government record shows that officials intentionally maneuvered Suckling, but I get this impression from general reading. Furthermore, these two rival missions had intended to enter the upper Zambezi long before they did.

24. Information on these personal relationships between George Suckling and other members of the colonial elite is limited. Likewise, so is information on F. C. Suckling. For the latter, the best is given in the "History of the Barotse National School," by Revolution. P.R. Holland, 1932, ZA 1/9/119/2/1, NAZ. Also, see Stanley R. Coad, November, 51 (March 1922), p. 64. Gordon Suckling also kindly supplied information about his late uncle in a letter dated 18 October 1982. He especially informed me that his uncle later changed his name to McDonald and served as Principal of Dr. Barnardo's Homes in Britain.

25. 3 June 1916, *Echoes*, 45 (September 1916, part 1), p. 317.

Ch. VIII. Education At Chitokoloki, 1914-1924: A Different Forum

early records, so the contrast between Chitokoloki and especially the SAGM missions is striking. For example, in mid-1919, less than six years after Chitokoloki opened and at a time of grave crises both at Kalene and the SAGM missions, one visitor marveled at Chitokoloki's size. He recorded, "We . . . saw something of the extensive educational and industrial work there. One day [we] preached to 350 people."²⁶

Suckling's early success was achieved, at least in part, because he worked well with the people, instilled confidence and loyalty in them, and even defended them. As described in Chapter II, when he arrived in Balovale, fifteen young men "none over seventeen years of age at most" walked from Kalene to be with him. Although most left because they could not deal with the warmer climate, Suckling quickly attracted other able young people. He identified the most capable, trained them for specific tasks, and gave them the power and authority they needed to help in his work. His defense of the local people was described in Chapter VI. When at one point some Barotse police/messengers cruelly mistreated tax violators, Suckling came to their aid.²⁷

Suckling's faith in people was returned. A far higher proportion of his best trainees remained with him. Fewer went off to the towns than did the SAGM's young adherents. These young assistants received minimal salaries for their work, and were not necessarily satisfied. They were, however, able to earn money locally by using skills learned at the school. Their general support in turn enabled Suckling to expand rapidly despite having few missionary colleagues at Chitokoloki.

Suckling and many Balovale Africans used the possessive form of speech when referring to each other. Just as Suckling considered everyone 'his' people, in the best sense of paternalism, Africans regarded him as 'our' missionary. Lozi overlords lumped the Balovale peoples together as inferior *wiko* and the British rulers did the same. Missionaries in the Zambezi Valley prior to this time centered their work further north in Angola or further south among the Lozi. Suckling was the first member of the new elite to consider the Balovale peoples as important, both as individuals and as a group. Also, as Silas Chizawu recalled, Africans liked the way his "door was always open." Suckling proved to be a worthy white friend: he was their interpreter of the new political economy and a potential buffer against administrative abuses. They appreciated and remembered his intervention.²⁸

Suckling's Fading Vision

Despite its impressive beginnings, Chitokoloki almost abruptly closed down in 1921. Just as its initial success focused on Suckling, so did its travail. He kept the mission alive, but his comprehensive educational vision slowly faded by 1924.

Suckling's business methods caused the immediate crisis. In his enthusiasm, he over-committed his budget and over-estimated his ability to keep control of ballooning

26. 10 July 1919, Douglas T. Hume, *Echoes*, 48 (November 1919), p. 257.

27. Suckling, 15 March 1914, *Echoes*, 43 (June 1914, part 1), pp. 215-6. See also Suckling's *Chitokoloki on the Zambezi*. For the latter incident, especially see footnotes 4 and 17 in Chapter VI.

28. Interview with Silas Chizawu.

Education in the Northwestern Province

enterprises. The formal school system at the station and in the villages made up only one part of his comprehensive educational program. His stores, trading down the river, selling of crops, lumbering, and boat building were not only too much work for him to direct, but too peripheral to his personal evangelical ministry. When he realized that his complex, multiple endeavors were getting out of hand, he requested help.²⁹

In response to his pleas, several Brethren businessmen formed the Kabompo Trading Syndicate, a limited company with two thousand pounds sterling. In 1920 a Mr. and Mrs. M. Rodgers from Johannesburg arrived at Chitokoloki to represent this company.³⁰

Problems began. The Rodgers totally disapproved of Suckling's methods. When he left the station on overseas leave, these newcomers sent strong letters to his main supporters in England. As Suckling himself reported, Rodgers wrote: "All my reports about the work are inaccurate and untrue; that I hinder Hansen from doing proper missionary work by imposing industrial work upon him; that there is no spiritual work carried on." A very sensitive situation developed. The Resident Magistrate in Mongu supported Suckling and became deeply involved. No case came to court, but seemingly only because the Brethren preferred not to use secular courts. In the process, the new company broke up.³¹

Brethren supporters in England asked Dr. Fisher to make a personal investigation. Fisher's report no longer seems to exist. Because of the controversy, however, Fisher mused that Suckling "seems very anxious minded about the report sent to Mr. Vine. . . . [We] are sorry that he shows no signs of sorrow for the mistakes he has made, and I fear if reproved by Mr. Vine will sever his connection with *Echoes* for which we are very sorry."³²

Suckling did not sever his connection and survived the crisis by sheer stubborn determination. His big plans for an educational program that moved far beyond direct evangelism and rudimentary education, however, received a fatal blow. When the crisis started, Suckling told Lyons, "It is impossible now to carry through the scheme for industrial development until confidence is re-established in me." Actually the scheme had died, and his industrial and development plans, unprofitable at least on a short-term basis, had to be permanently abandoned. Not only did support decrease, but his remaining friends now strongly opposed the scheme's continuation under the auspices of the mission. In his Annual Report for 31 March 1923, the local Balovale official lamented:

The chief industrial work is still carpentry and some of the work turned out is very good. I understand, however, that the work has been a failure financially with the result that the elders of the Mission have strongly advised Mr. Suckling to close down this branch of the work. This is to be regretted, as the work employed directly and indirectly hundreds of natives during

29. *Echoes*, 49 (October 1920), pp. 230-1, especially the first paragraph.

30. Ibid., "Extracts from the Annual Report of the Barotse District [Province] for the Year Ended 31st March 1920," p. 1, ZA 7/3/8, NAZ.

31. Suckling to Lyons, 4 November 1920; also, Mrs. M. Rodgers to Lyons, 22 December 1920 and Goodman (London) to Lyons on 22 December 1920. All this correspondence contained in "Barotseland: Mission, School, 1920 January--1922 December," KDE 2/30/8, NAZ.

32. Fisher to Darling, 4 April 1921, Fisher Papers, folios 1752-5, NAZ.

Ch. VIII. Education At Chitokoloki, 1914-1924: A Different Forum

*the year, and this is a district where work is difficult to find.*³³

Suckling's formal educational system contracted because of this crisis. The number of new village schools stopped increasing and several closed. Likewise, the decline in financial support forced Suckling to abandon boarding at the aging Arnot Memorial School. Its glitter, now tarnished, failed to inspire as much overseas support. Nor did it command the original attention and enthusiasm of the Balovale populace. In 1922 he described the formal educational system and its troubles:

*We are not sufficiently settled to have a regular boarding-school as before, and we find it so difficult to ensure that each boy allocated to supporters will remain for a complete year, that we shall not attempt just the same arrangement. The money we are receiving at present we are using for general school expenses. . . . Carpentry seems the only form of employment that we can give to many boys without incurring loss. . . . From the villages around us, we have nearly 200 boys in school, . . . Although we are thus able to have quite a large school without boarding many, we cannot have many boys from distant villages. . . . Schools cannot be opened everywhere; there is no doubt that the school in the past enabled us to reach a very much wider area than is usual within so short a time. . . . As we are given opportunity, therefore, we shall still try to gather boys from the distant villages and have them living on the place while attending school.*³⁴

The gloom in Suckling's letter is obvious. His vision faded fast. Furthermore, the tide continued to ebb and until the end of this period. The educational program remained mediocre.

Suckling's problems have another dimension. He had dreamed an impossible dream, not only for himself, but also for his overseas supporters and for the Africans around him. For him, education became the symbol of a rural Christian utopia in Balovale. This dream was progressive, but unrealistic. It attempted to resist the irresistible. The central BSAC government/ business enterprise did not just want tax money; it desired men to migrate to the towns. It did not expect development in this district. Consequently, local BSAC officials did not hinder Suckling, but except for moral support neither did they help. He sank quietly beneath the weight and burden of his own development dream.

Because of his forceful personality and enthusiasm, both Suckling's overseas supporters and Chitokoloki's African parishioners also dreamed their own impossible dreams. To each, the little school system became a golden key. To overseas supporters, God seemed to be using Suckling in a wondrous fashion to glorify His name. In the comprehensive educational program they saw the hand of God bringing salvation to the district. The 1921 events awakened them. To African supporters, Suckling offered a superior program. He unintentionally raised their hopes for a better life in this world and the next faster than he could fulfill them. The 1921 events that hurt Suckling's finances and diminished his

33. Suckling to Lyons, 4 November 1920, KDE 2/30/8, NAZ. Bruce Miller (Acting Assistant Magistrate), Barotse Province Annual Report for the year ending 31 March 1923, Balovale Sub-District., ZA 7/1/6/2, NAZ.

34. 30 September 1921, *Echoes*, 51 (January 1922), pp. 14-5. For another good description, see Henry Faulkner, 2 June 1922, *Echoes*, 51 (September 1922), pp. 208-9. The latter notes that the school met weekly from Monday through Thursday and the pupils were younger than before.

Education in the Northwestern Province

programs also awakened them.

Suckling began his 1922 lamentation by stating that "Satan" had been at work. The result was that "some of the Christians have stumbled very badly." Of these, some returned to 'pagan' customs and/or migrated to other places to seek work. By 1924 these included some of his finest Christian leaders.³⁵

After Suckling stubbed his toe in 1921 and new development projects ended, young African church leaders fell. Voluntary funding, which Suckling coaxed from overseas, had permitted his big development schemes. These, in turn, enabled young African Christians to earn their tax money and sometimes a little more besides. Consequently, Chitokoloki and its environs placidly prospered in the midst of crises resulting from taxation/migration, World War I, and influenza.

As noted above, however, much of this funding came from supporters dubious of projects stretching far beyond personal evangelism. When the events of 1921 increased their doubts and they reduced their support and government showed no interest, development had to end. This change hit the new African Christian leaders the hardest. They lost their chance to earn their tax money locally. Since the mission could not so readily fulfill their more mundane needs, Christianity's vague promises of heavenly riches had much less appeal. Hopes had been artificially raised and the ensuing reality brought gloom. 'Pagan' ways developed renewed appeal, and the Congolese copper mines now seemed to promise what Suckling had failed to fulfill.

Among those who stumbled was Mwondela, Suckling's right hand man. In 1916, Mwondela came from Kazombo as an African Brethren 'missionary' -- i.e., without a guaranteed wage. His purpose was to help Suckling establish Chitokoloki, and his Luvale complemented Suckling's Lunda. Although Mwondela had no regular salary, he not only industriously assisted Suckling at the Mission but also employed other men to run his own farm. Suckling repeatedly praised Mwondela's work to overseas supporters. But by 1924, Mwondela left both the church and the area to seek work in the Congo. The exact reason for Mwondela's change of heart and the total split with Suckling is not clear. Nonetheless, Mwondela kept touch with his wife, small children and extended family near Chitokoloki.³⁶

The departure of Mwondela and other young leaders never became a continual exodus of Chitokoloki's best young men, at least in comparison to that among the SAGM missions. The hardships of the journey caused some to return to the fold. Mwondela's pre-mature death in 1927 probably further discouraged others from following in these dissenters'

35. *Echoes*, 51 (January 1922), pp. 14-5.

36. For three specific laudatory descriptions of Mwondela, see *Echoes*: 3 June 1916, 45 (September 1916), p. 317; 12 April 1919, 48 (August 1919), p. 183; and nineteenth July 1919, 48 (November 1919), pp. 257-8. No writer said much about Mwondela's leaving the church at the time. Oblique references to his departure many years later, however, indicate how deeply Suckling felt the loss. See for example, Suckling, 14 March 1931, *Echoes*, 60 (July 1931), pp. 159-60. John Mwondela spoke at length about his father and what he knew of his work in the Congo. However, in my interview with him, he did not mention the split with Suckling, let alone the cause. Although I now regret it, I hesitated in directly posing questions to him on this delicate, but key, topic.

Ch. VIII. Education At Chitokoloki, 1914-1924: A Different Forum

footsteps.³⁷

With the dual loss of overseas supporters and of key African church leaders in 1924, Suckling's greatest schemes died. Though failing in many ways, Suckling planted a seed between 1914 and 1921. It took a longer time to germinate than he anticipated, longer than his lifespan. However, these early efforts were not forgotten. They became part of the district's traditions and would be re-examined when the Zambian Government attempted to implement large-scale development plans in the 1960s and 1970s. Suckling's timing was off, but he alone had a legitimate educational vision in the NWP in the BSAC era.³⁸

37. With possibly a touch of glee, Suckling described what befell three of the Christians who attempted to proceed "secretly" to the Congo in 1919. See Suckling, 19 July 1919, *Echoes*, 48 (November 1919), pp. 257-9. For Mwendela's death, see the interview with John Mwendela.

38. Chitokoloki's total evangelical programs would always be wider than most NWP missions as indicated by Suckling's later pamphlet, *Chitokoloki of the Zambezi*. Nonetheless, there would be considerable differences between these early efforts and those later. In looking back on my days in the NWP during the post-independence era, I am surprised at how often Suckling's early endeavors were mentioned, even as high as the Provincial Development Committee.

CHAPTER IX:

EDUCATIONAL STAGNATION, 1924-1932

Chief Katambi: What about schools? Will the government provide the schools for our people? We want schools.

DC: That is a good thing you have asked. The government is giving this matter a good deal of attention and is anxious to do all it can for you. It is assisting the missionaries to give industrial training and for medical work. The matter is not one that can be arranged quickly, but I think you will find that much more will be done for you in the future than in the past.

Chief Katambi: I am very glad. . . .

DC: Those people who want to learn should go to the missionaries. The missionaries are good people and will teach them. To learn to read and write only is not good enough. There are many other things to learn. You would learn to look after your children better; to keep your villages clean; to grow better crops. The white man is here to show you the way to acquire civilization. Remember you require him to guide you. Do not reject your guide. You will need him for a long time.¹

Mwinilunga, 1925

This dialogue between Mwinilunga's DC, C.R. Rennie, and Chief Katambi reveals some crucial questions regarding education that needed clear answers in the NWP between 1924 and 1932. Who would control education? How would the educational system be run? The answers to these questions indicated a need for basic changes in education, and these changes raised a third question. How much time would it take for these basic changes to occur?

Even though no doors had been unlocked during the BSAC era, the three elements of the NWP society increasingly believed that the 'little school in the bush' was the golden key that would open the way to a bright future. The problem, according to local government officials and the African peoples, lay not with the key but with those who held it -- the missionary educators of the schools. The latter disagreed, arguing that education was not really their primary task. They felt that education was at least the government's financial, if not its total responsibility. Partly because of these divergent opinions, satisfactory answers to the basic questions eluded NWP societies throughout the period, and a social stalemate occurred.

New Hopes, Little Change: The Educational Situation in the Territory and in the NWP

In 1924 a new era began. The territorial administration changed from the BSAC to the Colonial Office. The dialogue between Rennie, DC of Mwinilunga, and Chief Katambi

1. 5 September 1925, "Minute book for 2nd to 8th September 1925," District Inspection, Mwinilunga Sub-District, Kasempa District [Province], KDD 4/1/1, NAZ.

Ch. IX. Educational Stagnation: 1924-1932

reflects the prevailing hopes and promises for a better future. No one regretted the change. This merger of regional and world resources would benefit everyone, or so all Europeans and many Africans believed.

The dialogue, however, not only indicates the dreams of the age; it also shows Katambi and Rennie playing two-bit acting roles in the feeble NWP version of the new British colonial melodrama, indirect rule. New imperial policies demanded that a select few of the region's traditional leaders and the district's administration attend the meeting. The imperial and territorial governments wanted the chiefs, as traditional rulers, to assume more active and supposedly more progressive roles in the new political order. Indirect rule provided a new forum for a more frank exchange between selected leaders of powerless Africans and the local colonial officials.²

At the meeting, Rennie carefully stated the government's intentions regarding education. Though he had been in charge of the district for only a year, he had served elsewhere in the territory. He clearly understood the government's general desire to assist and thus improve education, but to do so only by subsidizing the educational programs of the Christian missions. With this arrangement, the Northern Rhodesia government hoped to postpone a much greater expense. The cost of starting a territorial system directly under its own officials and opening its own schools was much larger than subsidizing missionary programs. Hence, if Rennie was implying -- even vaguely promising -- improvements, he was also restraining the chief's expectations.

What Rennie politely avoided was governmental commitment to providing what Katambi wanted. When asking "Will the government provide the schools for our people, Katambi stressed the word *government*. He also expressed the people's chief concern: the need for 'schools', or an education that would help men get better jobs when they went to the towns to earn tax money. Katambi and the other chiefs attending this meeting wanted direct government involvement in opening and running schools.

These chiefs already knew the severe educational limitations of the little mission schools. And the DC's statement notwithstanding, they knew that their most curious, eager, and adventurous kinsmen had wanted to learn and had gone to the missionaries. They had, however, become so discouraged that attendance at the mission schools frequently "dwindled to nothing" within several years. One outside observer noted that the novelty simply wore off. "The pattering of scriptural passages, and the singing of hymns [became] less attractive."³ In other words, these chiefs firmly believed that missionary education would not help their people in the new colonial society.

The Brethren missionaries, who served as the school administrators in Mwinilunga, were missing from this meeting. But they believed even more strongly that education was a needed golden key. To them, however, it unlocked the Bible, gained converts, and kept them faithful. While they had voluntarily established and continued to operate autonomous systems of education, they firmly believed that providing education beyond

2. For indirect rule, see Chapter IV. See also Gann, *Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 227-31 and 290-4.

3. R.B. Drapier (DC), Kasempa District [Province] AR for 1926, ZA 7/1/10/6, NAZ.

Education in the Northwestern Province

this rudimentary stage was not their responsibility. Nor to most of them was providing education as important as providing medical services. While they did not object to Rennie's idea of the government assisting their programs or to Katambi's request for government schools, they maintained a strong and rather rigid sense of philosophy, policy, and procedure (their three 'p's'). These constrained their actions when they held the key.

Two years later, this rigidity and the government's vague and general plans led Bruce Miller to lament:

If it is true that a sound education is the surest way of killing the Africans belief in witchcraft and similar harmful kindred superstitions then it must be admitted that little has been done to raise the local native in the scale of civilization during the 20 years that this district has been occupied.

Neither from the missions nor the government are the natives of this sub-district receiving any education worthy of the name, and there seems to be no prospect of any improvements.⁴

Bruce Miller's gloomy and regressive monologue, which reflected on the past and predicted the future, contrasts sharply to that of the Rennie-Katambi dialogue. In writing this passage, he was simply bemoaning the static situation, neither accusing the government nor the missions. By 1927, Bruce Miller had become the region's most experienced government representative. He was uniquely interested in Mwinilunga, the colonial government, and the missions. As described in previous chapters, he introduced and slowly enforced taxation on behalf of the BSAC, married Dr. Fisher's daughter, spoke Lunda, and more or less made the district his home. As a benevolent ruler operating under the constraints of his mission in-laws and government employer, he wanted his people to advance. Nonetheless, he realized that he had little hope of accomplishing this latter goal.

Bruce Miller knew that Mwinilunga had exceptional medical missionaries, led by Dr. Fisher. Yet while administering in other districts, Bruce Miller had seen much better educational work being accomplished by far-sighted missionary educators. He further realized that unlike the White Fathers and Church of Scotland in the Northern Province or the Paris Mission in Barotseland, the NWP missions would not use their own initiative to systematically develop and organize education. He also knew that the '3 p's' of the missions also provided excuses for missionary inaction due to money and staff shortages. Without proper government support of education, the missions probably could not and certainly would not expand and improve in the near future.⁵

But as Bruce Miller also knew, the territorial government was not willing to adequately support education. It had been and would remain the foremost constraint on the region and its population. Despite promises and plans, the government had little serious interest in this isolated corner of the territory. It continued to restrict local administrators by providing too little money and staff. Refusing to provide financial assistance to the missionaries, it could not induce more satisfactory educational programs. Above all, it

4. Mwinilunga Sub-District AR in the Kasempa District [Province] AR for 1927, ZA 7/1/11/6, NAZ.

5. By 1927 Bruce Miller had served in all parts of the Kaonde-Lunda Province and also in Balovale (Barotseland). Thus he had not only seen Suckling's early educational endeavors and problems but also the educational work of the Paris Mission.

Ch. IX. Educational Stagnation: 1924-1932

refused to invest the money required for satisfactory alternatives to the missions' programs.

Bruce Miller's lamentation in the 1927 Annual Report (AR) and Rennie's comments at the 1925 meeting with Chief Katambi are best understood in the context of the local DC's role within the joint territorial and colonial administrative system. In 1925, Rennie knew the territorial government's general intentions regarding education. He could safely make promises but could not guarantee anything concrete, because no definite policies had been worked out. In turn Bruce Miller could only lament that by 1927 the government's initial intentions had not produced any results and seemed unlikely to do so. As a result, he felt little more could be demanded from the missions. Like these two men, DCs frequently became dispassionate observers because they were unable to change the local situation. In this case Bruce Miller saw his uneducated African subjects becoming the 'uncivilized' exhibits in the living museum of the NWP.⁶

In spite of the realization that the missions were unwilling and/or unable to do more, these administrators still occasionally resorted to pushing the missions. When they did so, they played a Melland-type game of bluff. But if they demanded specific action and the missionaries replied that they had insufficient money or staff or felt strongly that the job should be done by the government, these officials created an even more insoluble dilemma. Since the central government did not want to take direct action, and no other mission agencies had both the inclination and the resources to enter the province, the administrators had one final alternative. They could threaten to close or restrict the missionary. As the following example shows, however, this approach did not work because most believed an inefficient missionary was better than none.

In 1926-27 younger missionaries at Mukinge, Kamapanda, and Kalene asked for permission to open three new mission stations at Katandana in Solwezi District and at Mujimbeji and Kakoma in Mwinilunga District. The provincial administration demanded that before permission was granted, each party agree to provide better and continuous social services, especially educational programs. None of the missionaries would do so, and the administrators refused to allow the new stations to open.

The government officials searched discreetly and could not find another mission to take over. The missionaries could not stand the pressure of the threat. Both groups quickly compromised to save face. Hence, in 1928 when SAGM requested for a site at Mutanda later, the government agreed, but only if the mission followed the school code and provided some agricultural instruction. The missionaries agreed and Mutanda opened in 1929. Later in 1933 Mujimbeji also opened. Neither government officials nor missionaries had won. No new mission society entered, and the programs of the missions already there improved only marginally.⁷

6. For the general idea of regions being living museums, see Edward H. McKinley, *The Lure of Africa: American Interests in Tropical Africa, 1919-1939* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1974). For a more specific application, see Caplan, *Elites*, pp. 142-64.

7. No copy of the government's exact conditions has been located. For the Katandana plot, see L.J. Tweedy, Solwezi District AR in the Kasempa Province AR for 1929, ZA 7/1/12/6, ZNA. The most comprehensive description of the

Education in the Northwestern Province

While these DCs observed educational stagnation in the NWP and/or bickered with the missionaries, large parts of the territory took a more progressive course. The promises that Rennie made in 1925 typified those that government made elsewhere in the territory, and these promises brought new expectations to the better-informed, tiny but growing, African elite throughout the colony. More important at that time, these promises encouraged the most progressive and active mission educators to optimistically expand their educational programs. Many of them had been previously stimulated by members of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, who met with the General Missionary Conference of 1924, and the group's subsequent report. Many endeavored to prepare their parishioners for a more useful and productive life in the new colonial society. In education these new hopes caused educators to continue pressing the government for a Department of Native (African) Education. While refusing to go that far, the territorial government established a sub-department under the jurisdiction of the Department of Native Affairs in 1925.⁸

During this time of high hopes, Geoffrey C. Latham became the first Director of Native Education. An active and capable Advisory Board, which had some key educational missionaries as members, worked with him. Together they drafted a promising plan for improving education. It provided financial support and supervision by the government and ensured close cooperation and coordination with existing missionary programs. It also lightened the heavy administrative and financial burden of the most enthusiastic missions, without discouraging more meager educational efforts.⁹

As part of the new plan, the government carefully defined 'schools' and 'sub-schools'. These definitions established clear educational standards that would be significant for future improvements. The 'schools' were high quality institutions administered by missionaries and supported by government grants or subsidies. They had to meet for more than 120 days a year and follow a new school code that standardized the curriculum throughout the territory. The majority of mission schools that did not meet this standard became 'sub-schools', and the government did not usually subsidize them. The missions could operate them at their own expense, however, and they continued to do so.¹⁰

government's conditions for leasing the land at Mutanda to the SAGM is given by Pirouet in the children's magazine *On Trek*: 4 (July 1930), pp. 26-7. For the initial 1929 rejection of Sydney W. and Antonia Buckland's application to open Mujimbeji and of A.D. Fisher and W.W. Revington-Fisher's application to open Kakoma, see the following letters in *Echoes*: W.W. Revington-Fisher, 7 June 1929, 58 (Sept. 1919), pp. 207-8; Buckland, 21 Sept. 1929, 59 (Jan. 1930), p. 13; Revington-Fisher, 20 Dec. 1929, 59 (Mar. 1930), p. 64; Buckland, 11 Dec. 1929, 59 (Mar. 1930), p. 65; A.D. Fisher, 59 (Aug. 1930), p. 173.

8. The Phelps-Stokes Commission did not visit the NWP. Only Pirouet makes a passing reference to one of its members whom he presumably met at the conference. See *Pioneer*, 38 (January 1925), pp. 7-8; quoted in Appendix E, "British Empire Exhibition." For descriptions of its work in Northern Rhodesia, see Snelson, *Development*, pp. 138-40; Ragsdale, "Development," pp. 158-65; and Mwanakatwe, *Growth*, pp. 16-7. Despite the usage being technically incorrect, the sub-department was generally referred to as "the Department of Native Education" at that time. The text will hereafter reflect that current usage.

9. For good descriptions of Latham, the first Advisory Board, and the new educational system, see Snelson, *Development*, pp. 134-70; and Ragsdale, "Development," pp. 165-206. It seems that the Brethren were represented on this Advisory Board from the earliest times, first by Charles Stokes from Luapula, then Victor Reed and finally George Suckling in the 1940s. Little information is, however, available.

10. Latham defined 'schools' and 'sub-schools' in his draft of the Native Schools Bill. First he presented it to the Advisory

Ch. IX. Educational Stagnation: 1924-1932

In principle this territorial plan pleased all segments of the new colonial society except the most racist settlers. It assured government officials of the steady flow of skilled clerks and artisans needed to build a glorious empire. It perpetuated the missionaries' moral training of the young scholars. Most important it expanded and improved education for the indigenous African population. At least the new African elite could acquire the necessary skills for assuming a more substantial role in the territory's economy and general development.

This new government plan started successfully. In his educational history, Ragsdale notes that a "period of intense mission activity in education followed the establishing of the Department of Native Education." The territorial government steadily increased subsidies to mission educators. Expenditures for African education rose from £348 (pounds sterling) in 1924-25, to £3,994 in 1925-26, to £6,603 in 1926-27, and then to £14,448 in 1930-31. These were, however, still paltry when compared to the £27,001 spent on only 774 white children in 1930-31.¹¹

Latham's plan even foretold a brighter educational future for the NWP. The government designated this region as the largest of several 'backwater' areas and proposed to improve it. When the plan became fully operational in the NWP, the government would give the weak missionary programs in such areas disproportionate financial aid to get these agencies to conform with new territorial standards. Furthermore, Latham, like the local officials in the NWP, believed that government itself had to run a middle primary school in Kasempa. If it did not, he correctly believed that no pupils would reach a high enough standard to be sent elsewhere in the territory to teacher training or trade schools. Unfortunately, the world depression destroyed Latham's plan before it was fully enacted.¹²

Much of the NWP had unknowingly stagnated during the crucial period of 1924-33. Hindsight reveals that in the pre-World War II era these years were the most favorable time for mission educators to get government funding, a time when government had some resolve to aid education. Suckling wisely tapped these resources in 1928. In the larger Kaonde-Lunda area, however, nothing happened because the leading Brethren and SAGM missionaries did not agitate for, or necessarily welcome, assistance. Because of lost time during this year, the NWP's educational patterns became a distinct and negative variant of those in the whole territory. Old built-in government and mission limitations continued to

Board. Then at the end of 1927 his definition was confirmed when the government passed the Native Schools (Amendment) Ordinance. Both Snelson (*Development*, pp. 159-62) and Ragsdale ("Development," pp. 184-7) describe the school code and the activities of Latham. In addition, Ragsdale gives the complete school code in an appendix, pp. 387-96. See also the Northern Rhodesia Government, *Report Upon Native Education for the Year 1927* [Native Education Department AR].

11. Ragsdale, "Development," p. 188. For useful statistics on government educational expenditures, see Snelson, *Development*, p. 297.

12. For Latham's plan for the NWP, see his "School Scheme for African Education in Northern Rhodesia," pp. 4-9, and Schedule III, "Native Education, School Schemes, 22 November 1903--23 August 1933," ZA 1/9/119/4, NAZ. On 5 September 1928, Latham wrote to the Resident Magistrate of Barotse Province. He hoped the territory would be divided into five educational areas. But he felt also that both Mankoya and Balovale Districts should be included with the Kaonde-Lunda Province. Several items of the ensuing correspondence exist. Finally on 2 November 1928, the Resident Magistrate wrote to Latham that his officers did not agree with this proposal. For this correspondence, see: "Missions, General: 1924-9," KDE 2/30/4, NAZ.

restrict the region.

Sketches of Autonomous Stagnating Educational Programs

Africans seldom saw the governor who represented the territorial government and never saw the king who represented the imperial government. They only saw the DC. By 1924 he had clearly established his local power, and they seldom overtly contested it during the next decade. If taxes were paid and no murders were committed, he seldom interfered with their tradition life. He often judiciously listened to African grievances about mission education and Rennie's soothing promises to Katambi were repeated in many forms, places, and times. Thus the government often represented a benevolently beguiling or forcefully paternal face that deflected criticism to the missions. Annoying many Africans by condemning and interfering with traditional ways of life, the missionaries kept themselves visible. Consequently, the missionaries rightly or wrongly were blamed when the territorial government did not open new schools.

Between 1924 and 1933 only Brethren and SAGM missionaries continued to occupy the NWP. These missionaries opened new stations in 1923-24, but their work did not really expand substantially because of perpetual staff shortages and under-funding. Despite strong belief in personal evangelism, regular contacts with Africans were limited to people living near the mission stations. Occasionally African soul-, medical-, and education seekers came to the mission station, and the missionaries irregularly toured the district's 'heathen' villages, tainted by "unspeakable sin."¹³ Such contacts kept Africans aware of the missionary presence but limited their social influence.

Afraid of hindering their personal evangelism, almost all missionaries resisted involvement in formal educational or other development projects. They also refused to face a reality: they had become the NWP's version of an established church and, as such, had special social obligations. Thus, missionaries at both old and new mission stations only maintained elementary and tiny educational programs. These had little relevance to and impact on those who lived in the surrounding district. Even Chitokoloki's once promising school system stagnated in the mid-1920s.

These stagnating educational programs fall into three groups: the SAGM's stations in Kasempa/Solwezi; the Brethren's two Mwinilunga stations at Kalene and Kamapanda along with Chavuma in Balovale District; and Chitokoloki, which always charted its own erratic course. The following sketches of these programs show how and why education remained so provincial throughout this crucial time.

John Cottrell visited all these mission stations at the end of 1932, becoming the first senior official from the Department of Native Education to tour the whole region. His comprehensive tour and remarkable report seemingly resolved the major educational issues that caused stagnation; it also divided the NWP's educational history into two

13. Frederick Barnett of Chavuma, *Echoes*, 60 (March 1931), p. 62. He was alluding to *mukanda*. Similar quotations about 'sin' were made by many missionaries.

Ch. IX. Educational Stagnation: 1924-1932

phases during the interwar era. His comments conclude each sketch.¹⁴

(1) *The SAGM at Mutanda and Mukinge*. After failing to provide the education that Africans wanted prior to 1924, the SAGM did no better in the next decade. Short periods of improvement and decay alternated. The SAGM lacked enthusiasm for its own programs. They wanted the territorial government to take over education so they could concentrate their meager resources on evangelizing and on running a Bible school. They tried no new innovations and made only marginal improvements when local administrators badgered or threatened them. Even geographical problems handicapped their programs: this enormous area had a small population; shifting cultivation patterns severely limited the value of permanent school buildings; little surface water and the tsetse made large areas uninhabitable and unpleasant to cross. Thus educational advancement was static until 1933.

Although the mission recognized their value, village out-schools remained a failure. The total of these village schools seldom exceeded seven or eight in both districts together and often consisted of only two or three. The number of pupils in each school often averaged only ten or twenty, with over forty being rare. The schools opened for a maximum of 120 days and generally much less.¹⁵

For a specific example of their feeble village school program, consider the 1927 and 1928 situation. In 1927 Pirouet and Foster reported that each district had two village schools: Kapandula and Sandangombe in Solwezi and Mpala and Kajilambinga in Kasempa. They also said that the mission had six 'certified' teachers (not educationally 'qualified'). In 1928, the DCs of Solwezi and Kasempa dispassionately observed that attendance at these schools was "very spasmodic" and "the effect . . . negligible."¹⁶

The biggest problem with the village schools was that the SAGM made neither teaching nor attending attractive to Africans. Although unable to pay the teacher/evangelists much money, the mission required them to be dedicated evangelists and expected them to live largely by faith. As a result, teaching remained an unacceptable option for most capable young men. Furthermore, many who tried teaching felt caught between two cultures. Some of these either backslid or resigned after several years to seek 'higher education' in other districts. Only a few of the most faithful, such as John Pupe, valiantly continued to teach and preach in the humble 'bush' schools.¹⁷

14. The report's controversy early in 1933 and its long-term consequences are discussed in the next chapter.

15. For statistics about and descriptions of these village schools, the most important source of information is the NAZ series of ARs for Kasempa [Kaonde-Lunda] Province: ZA 7/1/7/6 (1924), ZA 7/1/10/6 (1926), ZA 7/1/11/6 (1927), ZA 7/1/12/6 (1929), ZA 7/1/13/6 (1930), ZA 7/1/14/6 (1931), ZA 7/1/15/6 (1932). Other useful NAZ records are: Annexures for 1928, Kasempa and Solwezi Districts, ZA 7/2/2/6 and L.J. Tweedy (DO), Tour Report No. 1/1929, Kasempa Province Tour Reports, ZA 7/4/6. For information by missionaries, see: *Pioneer* (Am.) 5 (1924-25) and 6 (1925-26).

16. For the two DCs' comments, see Annexures for 1928, Kasempa and Solwezi Districts, ZA 7/2/2/6, NAZ. See also Kasempa, Solwezi and "Province" Annual Report for 1927, ZA 7/1/11/6, NAZ; and the following two mission reports: Pirouet, *Pioneer*, 40 (March 1927), pp. 33-4; Pirouet and Foster, *Pioneer*, 40 (August 1927), pp. 97-8.

17. For the loss of teachers in 1926 as an example, see both Shoosmith, *Pioneer*, 39 (December 1926), p. 143 and Pirouet, *Pioneer*, 29 (August 1920), pp. 112-3. For general sources, see fn. 15.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Nor did the missionaries make village schools appetizing to their students. They required their poorly trained teacher-evangelists to follow their example and place primary emphasis on preaching, especially on denouncing sin, rather than on teaching. Most pupils found the evangelical regimen uninspiring and even obnoxious. Few stayed for more than several years. Individuals generally dropped out when the village shifted to a new area, or when men were old enough to earn tax money, or when women were old enough to bear children. If fortunate, the pupils learned to read and write in Kaonde well enough to read the Bible, to write simple 'missives' (letters), and to count to 100.

Educational programs at the mission station schools fared only marginally better. Education at Chisalala ended in 1925 except for a tiny village school sustained by John Pupe for several more years. Musonwedji likewise closed early in 1926. The last available statistics for Musonwedji's school indicate that 48 pupils enrolled, 13 in the senior and 35 in the junior sections. In mid-1926, the missionaries consolidated Chisalala and Musonwedji and opened Mukinge to placate local officers.¹⁸ But by the end of the year, the DC gloomily described the new school as grossly inadequate.

*Education . . . is elementary. Reading and writing in the vernacular and the rudiments of arithmetic. Native teachers are of a low standard of education themselves and, as they find they are unable to increase their own knowledge, they are in some cases, leaving to seek further education elsewhere. School pupils have fallen off in numbers and some schools shut down for lack of interest. . . . The curriculum is not, perhaps, sufficiently "attractive: . . . No recreations or games for scholars. No industrial training. No English taught. The elementary education and the singing of hymns do not appear to satisfy the rising generation."*¹⁹

Despite the fact that Mutanda opened in 1929 because of continuing local government pressures, the quality of education still improved very slowly. In 1927 both an influenza epidemic and a general food shortage continued, periodically closing the schools during the next several decades. Although incomplete, enrollment figures seldom exceeded one hundred for Mutanda and Mukinge together and probably dropped as low as fifty or sixty. The new territorial school code adopted in 1928 became the only permanent improvement. This adoption occurred after the first visit by a representative of Latham's new Department of Native Education in Kaonde-Lunda Province.²⁰

As elsewhere, the basic problem dividing the missionaries and their Africans parishioners was the school with its clashing symbolic meanings. Several quotations by Charles Foster illustrate this clash from the mission's perspective. After adopting the school code, Foster reassured overseas supporters about the mission's priorities.

The aim of our educational work is to train pupils to be workmen who "need not to be ashamed," and who will "rightly divide the Word of Truth" (2 Timothy 2.15). Out of seven

18. For Pirouet's last months at Chisalala, see *Pioneer*, 39 (August 1926), pp. 112-3; for other details, see *Pioneer*, 37 (February 1924), pp. 19-21. For Musonwedji, see *Pioneer*, 39 (August 1926), pp. 112-3.

19. Ansley, Kasempa District [Province] Annual Report for 1926, ZA 7/1/10/6, NAZ.

20. For Mukinge in 1927, see Drapier (DC), Kasempa District [Province] Annual Report for 1927, ZA 7/1/11/6, NAZ. See also Shoosmith, *Pioneer*, (Am.), 8 (June 1928), p. 106. Unlike Cottrell's report, John Keith's inspection reports have not been located and probably have been destroyed. For general descriptions and statistics, see materials cited in fn. 15.

Ch. IX. Educational Stagnation: 1924-1932

*school periods, three are given to Scripture, viz., Old Testament, New Testament, and reading. The subject of reading develops into a Scripture lesson, because all text books but the Primer are either Old Testament stories, or some portion of the New Testament.*²¹

In a very different manner in 1931, Foster grumbled to the DC that "the value of education is not at present appreciated." And a year later he called the DC's attention to the high drop-out rate; he complained that the Kaonde had no "perseverance," so there were no "qualified teachers" and only one village school.²² For this reason, the station school had to teach beginners. Foster ignored the probability that the school's very strong religious emphasis made it unappealing to pupils.

In his attempt to exonerate himself and the mission for the failure of education and to fix the blame directly on the people themselves, Foster also asserted that "the greater number of the natives of this District are not particularly capable or bright."²³ In his 1932 report, he even gave way to self-pity: "The results achieved are by no mean commensurate with the effort which has been put forth, and one sometimes feels that educational work under present circumstances is of small value and productive of very little in the way of permanent results."²⁴

During his inspection, John Cottrell, as a government officer, ignored government policy as the ultimate cause of poor education. Instead he placed the primary blame on the missions. As quoted in Appendix K, Cottrell found education at Mukinge unimpressive and only marginally better at Mutanda. His serious but fair indictment of the SAGM was: "The missionaries have, I fear, yet to gain the full confidence of the people."²⁵ More specifically, he felt the lack of trained African teachers gravely handicapped the program because they were needed to staff village schools. Thus large numbers of beginners attended the mission stations' boarding schools. Cottrell recommended that "boarding grants be given in respect of boys in the Standards only. In these times of depression sub-standard education of the type given at this Mission does not warrant boarding grants."²⁶

Cottrell's suggestion that government cut its new grant to Mukinge probably had elicited Foster's 1932 attempt to defend and exonerate the mission's abysmal record. As the depression rapidly eroded overseas support, the mission desperately needed government funding. But Foster was unfair to blame the Kaonde for lack of ability and perseverance. As described in the earlier Kafue correspondence between Melland, Foster, and Pirouet, the mission had refused to send teachers to Kafue for teacher training despite strong

21. *Pioneer*, 42 (August/September 1929), pp. 107-8.

22. For 1931 and 1932, Mukinge's ARs by Foster are attached to the Kasempa District ARs in the Province ARs, ZA 7/1/14/6 and ZA 7/1/15/6, NAZ.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. "Native Education Tour Report: Mr. J.A. Cottrell," paragraph 8 and Mukinge Report, Recommendations, ZA 1/9/119/5, NAZ. The Cottrell Report has a general section with 38 numbered paragraphs. As in the originals, this part is followed by individual reports of 4 to 10 pp. Future references to the first part will be by paragraph number and to the individual reports by the mission's name.

26. *Ibid.*

Education in the Northwestern Province

government and African pressure.²⁷

Once again, the SAGM simply found itself involved in a conflict that pitted the need for trained teachers against the desire to maintain religious purity. The mission continually feared doctrinal tainting. Rev. John Fell was in charge of the colony's Jeanes school at Mazabuka. Nonetheless, Cottrell personified a new form of government pressure. Consequently after 1932, the SAGM made better attempts to break the old repetitive cycle.²⁸

After SAGM began following the new school code in the late 1920s, a small group of able and tenacious young men gathered around the two mission stations. They had just completed or were completing the full primary course (Sub-Standards A and B and Standards I and II) that often took more than the four years laid down by the Department of Native Education. They were ready for new opportunities and provided a foundation for new growth. Cottrell noted that "Jesse Sandasanda [had] been sent to the Normal School and Briggs [Makinka] and Pandwe [?] to the Middle School at Mazabuka."²⁹ At least four interviewees from Kasempa and Solwezi also started school during this period. When trained, these men and their classmates led to an educational breakthrough for the two districts. As the first few who 'made it', they became models for others to follow. Because of them, education slowly assumed its modern symbolism for greater numbers of people in Solwezi and Kasempa Districts.³⁰

(2) *The Brethren at Kalene, Kamapanda, and Chavuma.* By the time of Cottrell's visit, the educational programs at Kalene, Kamapanda, and Chavuma were as weak as, or even weaker than, at Mukinge and Mutanda. Consider the 1933 report of a new DC, E.H. Cooke that applied specifically to Kalene and Kamapanda.

*The two missions, established here for upwards of 25 years, cannot be described as anything else but moribund. After all this time Kalene Hill has not a single outschool or village church and Kamapanda has but two, in charge of evangelists who can barely write their own names. . . Real Christian converts can be counted on the fingers of one's hands and after 25 years not one native capable of carrying out the duties of a junior clerk has been produced.*³¹

The adoption of the school code provides another comparative illustration of their weakness. Mukinge and Mutanda adopted it by 1928. Kalene and Kamapanda reluctantly did so between 1930 and 1932. Chavuma refused to do so until the mid-1930s.

The government theoretically exerted the same pressure on the Brethren and the SAGM throughout this period. However, the Brethren's extreme autonomy and the government

27. For these men's correspondence, see Chapter VII and Appendix D. Since Cottrell's report was circulated in late January 1933, Foster had probably read it before writing his 1932 AR.

28. For Fell's rocky career in government, see Snelson, *Development*, pp. 157-220.

29. Cottrell Report, "Mukinge."

30. These interviewees were: Tito Kibolya and L. Remus Kalepa at Mutanda and Linga Majatulanga and David Mukimwa at Mukinge. The records for these attending schools during this crucial period are too incomplete to give exact numbers let alone other successful students' names.

31. Mwinilunga District, in Luangwa and Kasempa Province AR for 1933, ZA 7/1/16/2, NAZ.

Ch. IX. Educational Stagnation: 1924-1932

administrators' focus on the SAGM in the center of the province created differences. Kalene, Kamapanda, and Chavuma were more isolated from the government bomas than Mukinge and Mutanda. They did not so frequently come under the careful scrutiny of the DCs. Although better staffed and financed, these three Brethren mission stations were even less inclined than SAGM to provide: a) any instruction beyond Bible reading and letter writing in the local African language, b) salaries for African teachers out of overseas funds, c) systematic planning for improvement, d) follow-up instruction, e) guarantees to government about priorities for the continuity of any program. Isolated in their little outposts, they placidly assumed a mediocre sameness until jolted by Cottrell's visit and criticism.

Though started in 1906, Kalene's formal school program remained as unimaginative and as minimal as those of the other missions. The routine and curriculum changed only slightly prior to 1933. In 1931 Roseannah Shaw still portrayed the school in terms resembling Winifred Hoyte's 1910 description about "black eyed beauties."³² Despite considerable government pressure, the school curriculum did not include agriculture. But by 1932 older students did receive training that enabled them to become carpenters and medical assistants.³³ As in earlier days, the school often contained sections of junior and senior pupils and/or of younger and older. A 'senior' school only evolved by the late 1920s. Even after this fewer than five students per year completed the basic primary course, i.e., passed Standard II. Only in 1932 or 1933 did the school develop a five day week and meet for 150 days as expected by the school code.³⁴

Compared to SAGM, however, attendance at the mission school was high. After 1928 attendance stayed fairly steady, ranging from about 150 to 200 pupils. About thirty to forty of these were girls. Average daily attendance remained high, about eighty to ninety percent, possibly because a large number were full or weekly boarders. In mid-1932 the number of pupils had gone "over 240 . . . with over 100 boarders."³⁵

Four village schools briefly opened and closed between 1924 and 1928. These met for four days a week. None had trained staff. Attendance figures are unknown. These initial outlying schools closed down when the school code was published in 1928. Either an over-

32. For two slightly different versions of Shaw's description of the mission school, see *Links*, 20 (no. 252, 1931), pp. 180-1 and *Across the Seas*, no. 442 (October 1932), pp. 170-2. In early 1931, the senior or advanced class consisted of thirty males: H.B. Waugh, Report No. 1/1931 (February/ March), Kasempa Province Tour Reports for 1931, ZA 7/4/24, NAZ.

33. Government was determined that Kalene should offer special agriculture education. In 1928 the DC observed that Wilfred Revington-Fisher and Digby Fisher were capable of starting such training. Government even offered Kalene 1000 acres. See Annexure XV, Mwinilunga District AR in the Kasempa Province for 1928, ZA 7/2/2/6, NAZ, and Anna Fisher, *Across the Seas*, no. 460 (April 1934), pp. 122-4.

34. Whether the mission school met 150 days was part of the controversy over Cottrell's report, see the next chapter and also "Kalene Hill, Education," C 1/4/8/2, NAZ.

35. C.H. Hazell (DC), Mwinilunga Tour Report No. 2/1932, in Kasempa Province Tour Reports, 1932, ZA 7/4/33, NAZ. Other basic statistics were gleaned from the following AR in the NAZ: Annexure XVII to Mwinilunga District AR in the Kasempa Province AR for 1929, ZA 7/1/12/6; K.S. Kinross (DC), Annexure XVII to Mwinilunga District AR in the Kasempa Province AR for 1930, ZA 7/1/13/6; C.H. Hazell (DC), Annexure XVII to Mwinilunga District AR in the Kasempa Province AR for 1931, ZA 7/1/14/6; K.S. Kinross (DC), Mwinilunga District AR in the Kasempa Province AR for 1932, ZA 7/1/15/6. The following mission records were helpful: Burr, *Echoes*: 57 (April 1928), p. 94; 58 (June 1929), p. 124; 59 (Aug. 1930), pp. 183-4. See also Walter Fisher, *Echoes*, 62 (Jan. 1933), p. 5.

Education in the Northwestern Province

zealous DC and/or the mission believed the village schools violated the new code since the mission had no trained African teachers. Permanent village schools started only after Cottrell's visit.³⁶

Besides this mediocre formal educational program, Kalene made two educational innovations between 1924 and 1932. The first benefited the African population in a broad but limited way. The other only served as a standard for measuring the weakness of the educational system.

The first innovation was the creation of syllabus sheets and charts that were placed in villages with one or more literate people. These sheets contained basic syllables and helped the literate teach illiterate friends to read. With them, an intelligent person might learn to read the Bible in Lunda. In addition, they encouraged a general desire to go to school. In 1930 one man came to the mission "begging for admission to the boarding school" because he had "learned all the syllables on the sheet [and] longed to knowledge all the words in the Book of God."³⁷

Mission reports to home supporters between 1928 and 1932 stressed the educational value of the sheets in glowing terms. The DCs ignored them. They wanted Kalene to offer a few pupils a high quality education, rather than assist many in such a rudimentary fashion. In other words, these government officers wanted a formal system, not haphazard charity work. The following complaint about Kalene's formal program applied even more to this attempt to combat village illiteracy.

*Anyone who succeeds in convincing the Missionaries in this district that it would be more to the advantage of the natives if they trained say six Alunda each year as efficient outschool teachers, than sixty indifferent readers of a few pages in the New Testament, will be deserving well of the people.*³⁸

The second innovation was the opening of Sakeji School for missionary children. Inspired by Dr. Fisher and founded in 1924, it grew steadily. At the beginning of the school year in 1933, some 32 students were expected. Most of the parents were evangelical missionaries in nearby areas of Northern Rhodesia, Angola, and the Congo. The aim was to provide a "sound education based on the requirements of the South African Educational Authorities."³⁹

Missionaries regarded Sakeji as godsend. It kept them from leaving the mission field while education their children or from sending the children to the home country or to South

36. For a reflection on the uncertain closure of village schools, see Cooke, "Mwinilunga Tour Report 6/34," C 1/8/4/2, NAZ.

37. Burr, *Echoes*, 49 (June 1930), pp. 141-2. For these sheets and self-teaching, see also the following in *Echoes*: Wilfred Revington-Fisher, 6 November 1928, 58 (March 1929), pp. 64-5; see also A.D. Fisher, 14 December 1928, 58 (April 1929), p. 89; Burr, July 1930, 59 (November 1930), pp. 251-2; A.D. Fisher, 9 July 1931, 60 (October 1931), pp. 230-1; Wilfred and Georgina Revington-Fisher, 26 February 1932, 61 (June 1932), p. 135. For a comparative note with Balovale and Chitokoloki, see E.H. Sims, *Echoes*, 63 (February 1934), p. 45.

38. Cooke, "Mwinilunga Tour Report, No. 7/1933," ZA 7/4/42, NAZ.

39. C.R. Nightingale was in charge of Sakeji in 1931 and thoroughly described the school and its aims in *Links*, 21 (no. 252, 1931), pp. 279-80. For Sakeji's expected 1933 enrollment, see Suckling, 26 January 1933, *Echoes*, 62 (May 1933), p. 108.

Ch. IX. Educational Stagnation: 1924-1932

Africa. But it also continually demanded and got their primary attention. In 1933 Cooke made one of the few comparative notes. "Contrasting with Native education, which . . . is virtually NIL, Sakeji European boarding school was visited. There five European teachers, two men and three women spent their full time teaching and caring for 24 children."⁴⁰

Like Cooke, Cottrell found Kalene's educational program severely wanting. By the end of 1932, Kalene's medical program was famous throughout Central Africa. Because of Fisher's advanced age and reputation, Cottrell probably expected to find a dynamic elder statesman or strong leader of Brethren missionaries. As shown in Chapter V, this was not Fisher's style nor was it possible with Brethren autonomy. Fisher was a spiritual model, or example, the most senior man among diverse equals. Failing to appreciate the Brethren's non-system and Fisher's non-leadership role, Cottrell became displeased and submitted a frank, somewhat harsh report.⁴¹

Cottrell criticized Kalene's general lack of organization and direction. He stressed that the mission trained no teachers nor sent any for training. The African men and women who helped the missionaries teach had a Standard II education at best. To correct this, he urged that the missionaries take immediate steps to reduce the high percentage of dropouts ("wastage") in the basic elementary course. Increasing the number would lead to better qualified students, who could be properly trained as teachers by the mid-1930s. Cottrell repeated the assertion that he had made after discovering the same problem at Mutanda and Mukinge: only well-trained African teachers would break the old cycle.⁴²

Cottrell's criticisms involved more than just the mission's honor. Like Mukinge, Kalene had just started receiving educational grants from the territorial government: 150 pounds for the services of Roseannah Shaw and eleven pounds for boarding. In light of the program's deficiencies, Cottrell found these grants "very generous." He specifically advocated the "boarding grant be withdrawn" and that the "European teacher grant be continued only on condition that at least three boys are passed through the School Leaving certificate in the course of the next three years and that thereafter three every year."⁴³ With the depression hitting overseas mission revenues, this was a lot of money. Thus Cottrell's criticism not only stung the pride of the mission, but his proposed cuts posed a threat. He stirred up a hornet's nest, the consequences of which are discussed in the next chapter.

Kamapanda. Immediately after Kamapanda mission opened in July 1923, a school started. The large number of people accompanying Cunningham from Angola included many eager students. In fact, both the missionaries, who at the time of leaving Angola were not permitted to teach these people in Lunda, and the Africans seemed anxious to begin. Furthermore, the missionaries only allowed African followers to settle on the mission

40. Cooke, tour report, ZA 7/4/42. As African and European education came under different government departments, Cottrell forwarded his favorable report of Sakeji to the European Education Department.

41. Appendix Key, both paragraphs. 12, 14-7 and "Kalene."

42. Appendix K, both paragraphs. 14-7 and "Kalene."

43. Cottrell, "Kalene Recommendations," Appendix K.

Education in the Northwestern Province

station if they sent their children to school.⁴⁴

The initial bustle continued in 1924 when the mission opened two village schools.⁴⁵ Progress then stopped. The mission opened maintained its tiny program. In March of 1926 Bruce Miller noted that Kamapanda made "no effect . . . to improve the school curriculum or standard of native teachers." In December 1927 he stated:

*No attempt has been made to conform to the suggestions that emanated from the Native Education Department in 1925 . . . everything appears to be subordinated to religious teaching, which . . . is not sufficiently popular by itself to attract and keep any number of natives at the schools. [Unlike Kalene] it cannot be pleaded as an excuse that the staff at Kamapanda is wholly occupied with medical work.*⁴⁶

Extensive information about Kamapanda's educational system is not available for the years prior to 1931. The mission school, however, had few boarders, so it probably did not have even the limited effect on the surrounding area that Kalene had. Likewise, as Cooke's quotation on page ____ indicates, the two village schools remained very weak.⁴⁷

By 1930 badgering by local government administrators generated some improvement. Janet Cunningham described their program and at the same time firmly assured her supporters overseas that the missionaries minimized new changes.

*Our schools go on as usual; we are now compelled to take the children up to the second standard. Gone are the old days when we only taught them reading and writing, for the sake of their reading the Word of God for themselves; however, we just give the same time to school work. We begin morning school at 8.30, finishing at 11.0; after lunch we have the gospel meeting and the afternoon school from 12.0 to 2.00 p.m. We have a fair attendance; always over one hundred scholars. Now we have more subjects to teach we cannot take quite so many scholars as formerly.*⁴⁸

This improvement probably meant minimal compliance with the school code. Kamapanda missionaries remained reluctant to improve the school, despite the fact that Africans had no other source of the new education and many wanted more. The Cunninghams worried that with more education Africans might not just migrate briefly to the cities to earn tax money but remain there.

Despite this unprogressive attitude and lackluster picture, several parts of the Kamapanda program pleasantly surprised Cottrell. Having just left Kalene, where unsystematic methods and lack of organization disturbed him, he felt that Kamapanda Mission was more

44. Clara Perkins describes the missionaries' arrival, the new station, and the African followers and plans for a school: 25 July 1923, *Echoes*, 52 (November 1923), pp. 253-4.

45. For details, see Clara Perkins, *Echoes*: 15 July 1924 in 53 (Nov. 1924), p. 256; and 26 Sept. 1924 in 54 (Jan. 1925), p. 15.

46. Bruce Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District AR in Kasempa District [Province] ARE for the year ending 31 March 1926, ZA 7/1/9/2 and Mwinilunga Sub-District AR in Kasempa District [Province] AR for the year ending 31 December 1927, ZA 7/1/11/6, NAZ.

47. Hughes-Chamberlain (DC) describes the feeble program at Chibwika in 1929, Tour Report No. 1/1929, Kasempa Province Tour Reports, 1928-29, ZA 7/4/6, NAZ.

48. 24 February 1930, *Echoes*, 59 (June 1930), pp. 135-6.

Ch. IX. Educational Stagnation: 1924-1932

organized and the missionaries' work was efficient. More specifically he was delighted by an infants' school and by the success with women's education.⁴⁹

Children between four and six years of age came to the infants school from the homes of African Christian families living on the mission station. Fifty or sixty attended daily and were supervised by the missionary ladies. This innovation became successful before 1929, when it appeared in the district's education statistics, and continued into the 1930s. Cottrell enthused that:

*This is a unique and most successful effort to run a real infants school and is the first of its kind I have seen in the country. I listed to action songs, lessons in number games, and syllable and word games. I also saw the children at play. They thoroughly enjoyed every minute of the time and, I am told, hate missing school. They were alert, polite and natural. They are taught habits of cleanliness and order.*⁵⁰

This high ratio of girls in Kamapanda's educational program also pleased Cottrell. The best of Kamapanda's untrained teachers was a fourteen year old woman. This sex ratio contrasted sharply to that in many early mission schools in the NWP and Northern Rhodesia. There, a large percentage if not all pupils were boys and men. The infants school partly explains the equitable sex ratio. Here boys and girls alike acquired an early interest in non-traditional African education. The nucleus of immigrants living on the mission station also caused a larger number of girls to attend school. Being Christians under the missionaries' watchful eyes and being new to the region, these Africans were willing to innovate. In 1928 the DC commented on the situation:

*The Alunda women in the neighbourhood of this Mission station seem to be keener on learning to read and write than is usually the case. And what, in my limited experience, is more unusual is that the elders insist that their grown up daughters attend the school regularly--having discovered that the young men are willing to pay more for a bride who is 'educated'.*⁵¹

The available statistics for Kamapanda's schools show that the exceptionally high ratio of women continued over many years. (These totals include the village schools.)⁵²

Total Enrollment			Average Daily Attendance			
Year	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
1927	145	95	240	60	40	100
1929	118	94	212	77	56	133
1930	100	105	205	70	65	135
1931	114	98	222	78	57	135

49. In the 1930s, these inspectors frequently used 'efficient' to praise mission educators.

50. For Cottrell, see "Kamapanda," Appendix K. For statistics, see DC, Mwinilunga District AR in Kasempa Province AR for 1929, ZA 7/1/12/6, NAZ.

51. Annexures for 1938, Mwinilunga District AR, ZA 7/2/2/6, NAZ. See also the interview with Peter Sayila.

52. For statistics on Kamapanda, consult the government documents listed in footnotes 30 and 40.

Education in the Northwestern Province

These statistics also illustrate the static nature of the system: totals never increased beyond the maximum enrollment of 1927. They also show a low ratio between enrollment and average daily attendance. Kamapanda might be comparatively innovative, but its educational program remained small and mediocre between 1924 and 1932.

Chavuma. Chavuma's little educational system in Balovale District was still weaker. The station opened in 1923; and by the end of the year, 59 men and 58 women enrolled at its school. At this time and for the four years that followed, this station school and all village schools met no more than three days a week. In 1925 a total of 160 pupils were enrolled in all schools and had a total of seventy days of classes during the year. Their curriculum which changed very little prior to 1933, consisted of learning to read the Bible, to write simple letters, and to count to one hundred.⁵³

At first the Chavuma missionaries did all the teaching in the mission and village schools. By 1927 when the maximum number of three village schools had opened, one African evangelist resided at Chinyi. In the following year Sims reported that two new schools would be maintained by two Christian couples. They would "cultivate wheat and European vegetables in order to be self-supporting."⁵⁴

In 1925 Mowat, one of the mission's founders, felt encouraged by the people who were keen "to learn to read."⁵⁵ All these early students received small amounts of salt as 'presents' to encourage them. The missionaries, however, soon regretted the action. In 1929 they reported to the DC that they had abandoned the practice and pupils were reluctant to attend.⁵⁶ A year later Sims grumbled to his supporters:

*The vast majority of the people in this neighbourhood have not the slightest desire to learn to read. From the out-schools comes the cry, "Give us salt and we will send our children to school." There are only about eighty children at the three out-schools and here, being taught to read and write. In the adult school here there are some forty. If we adopted the Government Code and accepted financial help, the children would be forced to attend school, but I am not sure whether this would be for the read good of the work.*⁵⁷

The mission created an unresolved dilemma for itself and the people by neither continuing to induce children with salt nor improving the curriculum. Nonetheless, by the 1930s,

53. For the 1923 to 1932 government statistics on both Chavuma and Chitokoloki, see the following ARs in the NAZ: Barotse District [Province] AR for the year ending 31 March 1924, ZA 7/1/7/2; Balovale Sub-District AR in the Barotse District [Province] AR for the year ending 31 March 1925, ZA 7/1/8/2; Balovale Sub-District AR in the Barotse District [Province] AR for the year ending 31 March 1926 [government ARs hereafter followed calendar years], ZA 7/1/10/2; Balovale Sub-District AR in the Barotse District [Province], ZA 7/1/11/2; Annexures from ARs, Balovale Sub-District for 1928, ZA 7/2/2/6; Balovale District AR in the Barotse District AR for 1929, ZA 1/1/12/2; R.S. Hudson (DC), Balovale District ARE in the Barotse Province AR for 1930, ZA 7/1/13/2; Balovale District ARE in the Barotse Province AR for 1931, ZA 7/1/14/2; H.A. Green (DC), Balovale District AR for 1932, ZA 7/1/15/2. These reports will hereafter be referred to as "Balovale or Barotse AR," along with the year. Chavuma Mission used the *Peep of Day* series of readers after 1928.

54. Sims, *Echoes*, 57 (May 1928), p. 118. See also Balovale AR, 1927. Likewise see the interview with Sachilomba Manuwele, Chavuma in Zambezi District, 11 June 1976.

55. 2 April 1925, *Echoes*, 54 (July 1925), pp. 159-60. Balovale AR, 1929.

56. Balovale AR, 1929.

57. 8 August 1930, *Echoes*, 59 (November 1930), p. 251.

Ch. IX. Educational Stagnation: 1924-1932

many people wanted the new education badly and the enrollment began to rise to 262 (152 men and 110 women) in 1931 and to 304 in 1932.⁵⁸

Sims' refusal to accept the school code reflected Chavuma's policy throughout the period. In 1928 the DC pressed the missionaries to improve. They replied the time was "not ripe for further education."⁵⁹ In 1929 the DC again stated that they "refused to cooperate with the government in the work of Native Education."⁶⁰ He compared their negative attitude with the more positive one at Chitokoloki. But between 1929 and 1932 the DCs reduced pressure on Chavuma. They probably believed that hassles were not worthwhile since Chitokoloki's program was expanding rapidly. Thus Cottrell tersely noted: "No attempt is made to follow the Government Code."⁶¹

In the eyes of local administrators, however, Chavuma had some educational merit. The missionaries attempted a vigorous, informal adult education program. Though not unique - Kalene, Chitokoloki, and Kamapanda also attempted similar things -- Chavuma's was undertaken more vigorously. Missionaries frequently traveled on both sides of the river. While evangelizing they advised individuals about growing new crops, especially wheat, rice, and fruit trees. In addition, they encouraged people, who had begun settling permanently on both sides of the river, to build substantial and comfortable homes made with walls of kimberley (large, sun-dried, clay) bricks.⁶² Last they built "excellent all-weather roads" connecting the mission station with many of these village schools.⁶³

In contrast to the local administrators, Cottrell found Chavuma's educational program totally unsatisfactory and the missionaries' attitude toward education displeasing. He agreed that the men at the mission had built good roads and buildings as well as evangelizing, but he strongly disagreed with priorities. He felt it wrong to leave education "entirely to the women."⁶⁴

Extremely blunt and frank for that era, Cottrell used his final "General Remarks and Recommendations" to evaluate Chavuma's educational program and the missionaries' attitude toward education as a more general criticism of Kalene, Kamapanda, and Chavuma. He also made a remarkable defense of the people.

There should be an organized system for all the Missions of this Society in the North West. I was told by a member of the Staff that this Mission prefers to run the school in its own way and be independent of Government grants and the undesirable regulations and restrictions attendant upon their acceptance. I know of no such regulations. Those which are in operation are enforced with the full approval of the Missionary Board of Advice on Education and are

58. Balovale AR, 1931; Balovale AR, 1932.

59. Balovale AR, 1928.

60. Balovale AR, 1929.

61. Cottrell, "Chavuma," Appendix K [check original source]; see also R.S. Hudson (DC), "Tour Report No. 10/1928," Barotse Province Tour Reports, ZA 7/4/2, NAZ. These two missions, at the northern and southern edges of the district, are approximately 100 km. apart, but connected by a navigable stretch of the Zambezi.

62. Tour Report No. 1/1932 for Balovale District, Barotse Province, 1932, ZA 7/4/29, NAZ.

63. See Balovale AR, 1930; and Sims, 16 May 1930, *Echoes*, (August 1930), p. 183.

64. Cottrell Report, "Chavuma," Appendix K [check primary source].

Education in the Northwestern Province

calculated to ensure a reasonable standard of efficiency in the schools. A day school open for only 6 hours a week, employing no qualified African teachers and teaching no systematic manual work would, of course, not qualify for a grant. There is a difference between half measures and a full time educational programme which of necessity must be regulated.

*Here, as at other missions in the area, the people were said to be the most different, backward and primitive people in the Territory. I do not agree. I found the Lwena of Angola and the border area (though perhaps rather impatient of control) living in good villages, successful agriculturist, bee keeper and fishermen, knowledgeable about animals and trees, intelligent and anxious to learn. The fact that so many girls attend the Chavuma Schools is surely not the mark of an unprogressive people!*⁶⁵

(3) *Suckling at Chitokoloki.* Chitokoloki's educational program continued to follow a different path. Unlike other NWP missionaries, Suckling integrated his evangelism and educational aims. Nonetheless his educational programs remained weak until his fortunes revived. Chitokoloki's educational program was thriving again by the time of Cottrell's visit at the end of 1932.

Suckling's educational program reached its nadir in the mid-1920s. By this time his broad educational dream had failed, especially the practical industrial program centered on carpentry. Even boarding at the mission school had become impossible. An unfortunate but appropriate symbol of this period was the collapse of Suckling's home on him and his family in 1925. After this accident, Suckling took his family to Britain.⁶⁶

Despite Suckling's problems in the mid-1920s, student enrollments at the mission and village schools were often no worse than at other places. In 1924 for example, the Chitokoloki station school enrolled 144 students (100 men and 44 women); Kangwanda -- an autonomous satellite station -- enrolled 117 students (99 men and 11 women); three village schools survived (at Kakonga, Chinono, and Mukena); and a fourth reopened in 1925. These village schools had 196 pupils (150 men and 46 women). Thus in 1924 approximately 450 students attended the formal school programs of Chitokoloki and Kangwanda together.⁶⁷

Returning from Britain in 1926, Suckling rebounded. When Hansen abandoned his own mission station at Loze and returned to Chitokoloki, the two men rebuilt the mission and revitalized its educational program. By 1927 the mission school had four terms of eight weeks each. Instruction was given three hours a day, five days a week. The curriculum again assumed a practical bias with printing and carpentry being taught. In addition Suckling encouraged people to grow wheat, rice and nuts.⁶⁸

Until the mid-1930s Suckling's Achilles heel was his irregularly-run village schools. These schools opened and closed every few years due to a combination of three factors: their

65. Ibid.

66. The exact date of the accident was not given, probably January 1925. *Echoes*, 54 (March 1925), p. 53.

67. Barotse ARE, 31 March 1924; Balovale ARE, 31 March 1925; H.L. Davey, 14 August 1925, *Echoes*, 54 (December 1925), pp. 274-5; Jean W.R. Hume, *Voices*, twentieth (July 1925), n.p.

68. Balovale AR, 1926; Balovale AR, 1927.

Ch. IX. Educational Stagnation: 1924-1932

early evangelical orientation, Suckling's own attitude, and an unusual attempt to initiate compulsory education. Until 1928 these out-schools were primarily evangelical and religious instruction centers, probably just marginally better than those elsewhere in the NWP. The teachers were described by Silas Chizawu as "just literate men, who could read and write." Standards were indeed low. In 1928 Suckling closed these initial schools.⁶⁹

With government support from the Barotse Fund under new government regulations, four new village schools opened in 1929 and 1930. To the consternation of the central government, Suckling and the DC made an additional agreement. The latter promised to use government 'kapasos' (messengers or tribal police) to ensure good attendance. Suckling agreed not only to apply the school code to these schools and provide periodic refresher courses for the staff, but also to let the DC inspect them whenever he wished. All started off well. The Schools even provided carpentry training. Attendance at each ranged from 17 to 42 in 1932.⁷⁰

After this initial success, however, the village schools failed amidst controversy. Explaining their failure, the DC blamed Suckling.

This mission has had to close its four out-schools. Mr. Suckling appears to experience difficulty not only in obtaining pupils, but keeping these in school. It became impossible to send our Messengers after recalcitrant pupils (a procedure which Mr. Suckling seemed to expect) and he therefore closed all out-schools, bringing such pupils as wished to do so to Chitokoloki as boarders. In spite of the good work done by this Mission, there seem to be more complaints about pupils etc. from Chitokoloki than from other missions with which I have come into contact. I am of the opinion that, as regards out-schools, the chief source of trouble is that they are very rarely visited. None have been visited this year. If pupils are left entirely in the hands of a native teacher, I believe they come to think that the "muluti" has lost interest in them, and under these conditions, I very much doubt whether all the blame is to be attached to the pupils.⁷¹

Cottrell later summed things up. He believed enforcing attendance "was a mistake. . . . It is bad policy to coerce an unwilling minority until the wants of the willing majority have been met."⁷²

69. Chizawu interview. For details of the schools between 1924 and 1928, see the following: Balovale AR, 1926; Balovale AR, 1927. See also 1927 reports by Hume and Suckling and 12 January 1928 letter and report by Suckling, all in "Barotseland, Missions, Schools, 1926 January -- 1929 February," KDE 2/30/9, NAZ. For mission reports, see: Hume, 11 Oct. 1926, *Echoes*, 56 (Feb. 1927), p. 42; Suckling, 1 Nov. 1926, *Echoes*, 56 (Mar. 1927), pp. 63-4; Suckling and Thomas Hansen, 1 Jan. 1928, *Echoes*, 57 (Apr. 1928), p. 87.

70. The Balovale AR for 1928 details the agreement between the DC and Suckling; at the territorial headquarters someone added in manuscript. "procedure? . . . attendance cannot be enforced." It is unclear who financed these new village schools. Hansen, *Echoes*, 58 (September 1929), pp. 206-7, aid that government did not help. For government details, see Balovale ARs for 1930-32. For school and attendance statistics see the 1932 AR. See also Suckling, 18 January 1930, *Echoes*, 59 (May 1930), pp. 109-110; Dr. Walter Fisher (who had just visited Chitokoloki) *Echoes*, 58 (February 1929), p. 45; and Gaunt, Tour Report No. 8/1930, Balovale District Tour Reports, Barotse Province, 1930, ZA 7/4/11, NAZ; and the Chizawu interview, Appendix J.

71. Balovale AR, 1931. See also G.E. Noad, Balovale Tour Reports, Barotse Province, 1931, ZA 7/4/20, NAZ. Compulsory education has subsequently been a total failure. The Native Authorities tried it again in the 1940s without success. Today local officials still regard it as an unreachable ideal.

72. Cottrell, "Chitokoloki," Appendix K.

Education in the Northwestern Province

The village school program failed because Suckling again over-extended himself. As in the BSAC period, Suckling's personnel and financial resources did not necessarily match his educational plans. He did not have enough staff to handle all the mission's activities. As he worked hard making his mission station school successful, Suckling did not have enough time for, and thus temporarily lost interest in, the village school program.

The educational programs that blossomed in the 1930s and 1940s were conceived in 1926. When Suckling returned from overseas, he went to Mongu to meet Latham. Then in 1928, he became involved in discussions between the Balovale DC and the Principal of the Barotse National School in Mongu. The latter proposed sending teachers to Chitokoloki to open a school. As in 1914 Suckling objected "on religious grounds," fearing religious contamination. The DC agreed with Suckling, although not on religious grounds; Lozi was not spoken in Balovale.⁷³

This government proposal served as new catalyst, stimulating Suckling's old determination. In a counterproposal Suckling offered to apply the school code to all his schools and also to add a normal school for teacher training at the mission station. He assured the government that "[we are] quite prepared to put our whole heart in the work and to be judged by the results."⁷⁴ Consequently, agreements were made and the Barotse Fund gave grants to Chitokoloki. The DC believed that with Suckling's "energy and capability" education in the district should improve.⁷⁵

Although the village schools failed, education at the mission school began to steadily improve. Suckling kept his word and added able staff. In 1930 James Caldwell joined to teach the upper class. By 1932 the school enrolled 76 boarders and up to 70 day pupils, including 45 women.⁷⁶ Chitokoloki once again reached a standard well beyond other educational programs.

Besides providing a high quality basic education, the mission school heeded the other aspects of a well-rounded formal education. In 1932 the DC noted that "specimens of carving, weaving, mat-making, etc., sent to the Kafue Show received commendation."⁷⁷ Cottrell asserted that the fame of Hansen's carpentry training had reached him in Mazabuka. He felt that it lived up to its reputation and enthused: "most important . . . I was pleased to note that the industrial and handicraft work was not conducted on the lines of 'forced manual labour' the invariable result of which is not character training but planting in the boys a dislike of and a tendency to avoid manual work at home and in after life." Cottrell further commended Caldwell for his work with singing, stating that he had

73. Balovale AR, 1926; Balovale AR, 1928. For this correspondence, see the following file, "Barotse Missions, Schools, January 1926--February 1929," KDE 2/30/9, NAZ.

74. Suckling to Hudson (Balovale DC), 30 Jan. 1929, KDE 2/30/9, NAZ.

75. Balovale AR, 1929. Suckling in 1928 initially applied for 334 pounds sterling in the 1929-30 financial year: KDE 2/30/9. He did not get this full sum and the records are not clear about how much he initially got. He received a grant of 250 pounds sterling for 1930-31: Hudson, Balovale District, Report for the quarter ending 31 March 1930 in "Quarterly Reports," ZA 7/3/12, NAZ.

76. Balovale ARs for 1930-32.

77. Balovale AR for 1932.

Ch. IX. Educational Stagnation: 1924-1932

"not heard better . . . at any Mission in Northern Rhodesia."⁷⁸ Time was also given to organized sports and drill.

Having established this basically sound educational program, plans could be made for a high quality normal school and teacher training. Cottrell especially noted that Chitokoloki, like the other Brethren and SAGM programs, was "up against the qualified teacher problem." Without necessarily agreeing, he accepted the fact that regards the best senior students Mr. Suckling "is wholly against sending the lads to the Railway line where he thinks they will be spoilt and not return." In accepting Suckling's argument, Cottrell tacitly agreed that Chitokoloki could start teacher training with government support, but he refused to accept Suckling's objection to advanced Jeanes training. He strongly recommended that "one candidate be selected from this Mission for training at the Jeanes School in 1935 and subsequently to serve as Jeanes supervisor to the four Missions of this Society in North Western Rhodesia." Both issues would become significant after 1933.⁷⁹

Chitokoloki was the last station that Cottrell visited in the NWP. As the above quotations indicate, it had the only educational program that satisfied Cottrell. He highly praised the mission: "The general tone, order and discipline of the school is excellent. The boys are well-clothed, well-fed, well-housed, well-cared for and happy." Cottrell also directly contrasted Chitokoloki's program with the others. He noted that it was the only mission station "of the group at which the men put their backs into the educational work." But more specifically he praised Chitokoloki and damned the others for their help or lack of help to Africans:

At one of these Missions when being shown round I heard to oft repeated expression 'This is only to whet their appetites for something more'. The words rang true: This was the very phrase I wanted to describe the work of the Mission I had been seeing. 'And it's high time they were given their dinner', was the thought that passed through my mind.

In truth, Chitokoloki, . . . was the only one about which I felt that a 'square meal' was being given. The diet too [sic] is good. The boys are not merely being trained to take a subordinate part in European industrial life. They are given that real interest in life which 'a proper education suited to past history and present condition' can stimulate.⁸⁰

Cottrell's Visit and the Birth of the Modern Educational System

In this first complete government inspection, Cottrell evaluated all of the autonomous mission programs. While recognizing the government's lack of help, he felt the existing situation demanded an honest and open analysis. Cottrell's report delighted Chitokoloki but shocked and offended most missionaries. In addition his thorough and comprehensive report was not only concerned with school inspection, but also with wider educational issues.

During his tour Cottrell talked with an extraordinary number and range of Europeans and

78. Cottrell, "Chitokoloki." See also the Chizawu interview.

79. Cottrell, "Chitokoloki," Appendix K.

80. Ibid.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Africans about general educational problems. These conversations brought him face-to-face with two interrelated questions that the region's European elite both raised and answered about the African population: a) Why did pupils generally leave school after they learned to read and write? b) Were they "backward and inferior?" Regarding the questions as significant, Cottrell addressed them several times within the report. In his concluding paragraph to the Chavuma section, he firmly rejected the pat racial answer that this elite asserted and accepted as true. In concluding his Chitokoloki report, he reaffirmed and expanded the earlier contention:

The Lunda and Lwena peoples are considered to be backward and inferior. In my opinion they are not so. The value of Education is not as obvious to them as to those who live in the industrial areas and therefore the desire for it is not strong. . . . I am convinced that general speaking, to the native mind learning is not acquired in schools for its own sake but for that of getting work under Europeans. And so in this area, the white man's magical gift is sought by the few not so much for the material gain it brings but to attain the distinction of being able to read the vernacular Scriptures and write and receive letters from friends. . . . Consequently, the "school life" of the majority of pupils is short lived.⁸¹

In refuting assumptions of backwardness and inferiority, Cottrell revealed his vision. But his rejection of this stereotype forced him to find a new reason for so many pupils dropping out when so few schools were available in the first place. Part of his answer was a condemnation of the existing school programs. But as the above quotation shows, he also pointed the answer toward its logical conclusion: industrial capitalism as a an economic system by-passed the NWP and left it a stagnant backwater. As a result, education still lacked poignant symbolic meaning for a large segment of the African population. Even the new colonial world still had no positive meaning to the bulk of the NWP's Africans. This world remained only a negative force since they paid taxes. Without widespread meaning, voluntary interaction over modern education remained more limited than in many parts of the territory. Many of Cottrell's recommendations pointed towards ways to make education more meaningful.

Above all else, Cottrell's report became the handwriting on the wall for the NWP's white elite and best informed Africans. The answer to the basic two questions was clear: the government and its officials would control education but the missions would operate it completely or in part, as government dictated. The autonomy of missions' educational programs quietly ended. His report became the inception of a modern unified system of education.

81. Balovale AR for 1932 and Cottrell, "Chitokoloki," Appendix K. See also the Chizawu interview, Appendix J.

CHAPTER X: EDUCATION AMIDST WORLD CRISIS, 1933- 1945

Village schools have been opened at many important centres during the year and schools have been crowded out.

Cooke, DC, Mwinilunga , 1934¹

In general I am not at all happy about the prospects of Native Education in the [Mwinilunga] District. It may . . . prove necessary to establish Government schools.

G. Wilson, 1938
Superintendent of Native Education²

Between 1933 and 1945 education developed through a number of ironies, indicated in part by Cooke's and Wilson's quotations. First educational stagnation ended during the deepest gloom of the world depression. During this inauspicious era, financially strapped educators undertook their tasks more energetically. Within a three year period, they opened several dozen village schools and upgraded the mission school training. Officials like Cooke also began paying close attention to the poor quality of education in their districts although they could not get the funds needed to make basic improvements. In addition, large numbers of men, women and children not only started but stayed in school for longer periods of time. More than ever, education became the key to open the door to a new world. Despite these dramatic changes, however, education in the NWP remained at the bottom of the heap in Northern Rhodesia.

Cottrell's report rapidly catalyzed these educational changes, rang a death knell for the missions' autonomy, and signaled the beginning of a modern system of education. Nonetheless, all three elements of the NWP's society professed dissatisfaction with it. Cottrell's answers did not appear to please them. At least superficially they all agreed that the territorial government should not only guide and fund, but also run the educational system. Undoubtedly the African leaders immediately desired a less evangelical form of western education. As one government officer explained they wanted to be "educated rather than evangelised."³ But the missionaries feared that the new indirect control would hinder their wider ministry and likewise feared that direct control might mean godless education. Local administrators just wanted to keep both the African population and missionaries contented and to improve education so that their 'backward' region could

1. Mwinilunga District AR in Central Province AR for 1934, ZA 7/1/17/2, NAZ.

2. G. Wilson to Acting Director of Native Education, 13 November 1936, covering letter to his inspection report of Kalene Hill mission school, 29 October 1936, C 1/8/4/2, NAZ. Wilson said that this was the first inspection since Cottrell's almost four years earlier.

3. The quotation is given in the matters arising from the Chief Secretary's visit to the NWP in 1936. See Kasempa District AR for 1947 in Western Province AR, SEC 2/134, Kasempa District: ARs for 1935 and 1936, NAZ. This visit is discussed in the next chapter.

Education in the Northwestern Province

advance. They realized that such improvements were contingent upon direct government guidance and an infusion of funds. But whatever the real feelings were, the Cottrell report provided the immediate answer. With a few exceptions, direct government control would not become a reality until the 1950s and 1960s.⁴

The new flurry of educational growth quickly leveled out by 1938. Although old-style stagnation ended with Cottrell's report, the Director of Native Education stated another irony when he stressed the NWP's unfavorable comparative position in the second quotation. Just when education in most of the territory again rapidly expanded at the end of the depression, the rate of expansion slowed down in the NWP. This leveling out resulted from: a) prior government and mission inaction in developing an educational infrastructure, and b) continuing government reluctance in funding improvements that it had demanded and was getting from reluctant and poor mission educators. The different dimensions of how past inaction and continued government reluctance combined to hurt new development in the NWP is revealed in several letters by Conrad Oppen, a senior official of the Department of Native Education. In 1936 he fully "agreed that little has been done for this backward country."⁵ But he told the PC of Kaonde-Lunda Province that the Department could give NWP missions only a little funding. Government had to "rationalise the whole system of payments" to missions. These payments in turn were based on "certain educational standards" that NWP missions did not meet. A year and a half later, he added:

*Although the few Missions operating in this area are doing as well as their resources of money and personnel allow, nothing but a comprehensive campaign of Government enterprise will meet the situation. Government schools at Mwinilunga and Kasempa Bomas would be a help, but this brings us face to face with the problems of staffing, a problem that will not find a ready solution.*⁶

"Yes," government should provide better educational funding to NWP missions. "Yes," government should take direct action. But "no," it would do neither. Because of inadequate government and mission inaction in the past, the area still had low standards and no properly trained staff. This in turn made the Director of Native Education unwilling to provide adequate current funding for education.

In this manner the NWP's poor-quality education had become self-perpetuating. Education improved, but very slowly with poor reluctant mission educators running the system and with inadequate government funding. Even with rapidly increasing African agitation for improvements, the area languished in comparison to most other areas.

4. No government official, missionary, or African directly said that Cottrell and his report were the catalysts for this sudden change. I have surmised this close connection from the events and the responses to them.

5. Conrad Oppen (as Acting Director of African Education) to Senior PC, Ndola, 31 July 1936, in PC's Conferences, 1929-37, C 1/3/3, NAZ.

6. Oppen, 6 January 1938, AR for 1937, C 4/7/1, Superintendent of Native Education ARs, NAZ.

The Educational Implications of World Crises

When the international price of copper collapsed, the world depression whacked the economy of Northern Rhodesia. Mines throughout South Africa, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and the Belgian Congo closed. Soon, all segments of Northern Rhodesia society were affected, from the industrial and commercial centers to isolated corners like the NWP. The railways and commercial farming enterprises also suffered. As revenues fell, the government made dramatic administrative cuts, even joining parts of the old Luangwa and Kaonde-Lunda Provinces to form an administrative region probably larger than England. As overseas supporters decreased their charitable giving, Christian missions cut their voluntary social services. Northern Rhodesia society collectively shuddered and hoped that times would improve quickly.⁷

The depression hit the African population hardest. First it affected men who had migrated to the copperbelt to earn tax money. Then it hurt those who depended on the migrants for tax money, clothe and other material goods. By 1933 large numbers of destitute men trudged back to their rural homelands, possessing little more than a greater knowledge of the world. The NWP resembled other areas of Northern Rhodesia. In Mwinilunga the DC wrote, "When one sees almost naked women carry their babies in their arms for lack of a carrying cloth, . . . one can realize how really poor the population is." The DC of Solwezi observed the situation from his perspective as tax collector: "The continued depression has exhausted the natives savings and the outstanding current tax is alarmingly high. There is no question of deliberate evasion, the people simply have not got, and have great difficulty getting, the money."⁸

As in other parts of the world, the depression generated social ferment and unrest. In the NWP the demand for new schools increased and the Jehovah's Witness--more commonly called Watchtower or *kitawala*--expanded. During their sojourn in the towns, men from the NWP encountered successful graduates of the 'little school in the bush'. Meeting better educated men created or renewed education's potent symbolism. Coming into contact with other new sects and religions, they became familiar with Watchtower. When they abruptly returned to the NWP, schools and/or *kitawala* became their last hope for a better world. In his 1933 reports, the DC of Solwezi District described these two related though divergent phenomena. He found a "changed attitude towards education [with] a desire to learn and schools [are] wanted in every native district" and noted "a wave of Watchtower activity spread over the district."⁹

Within the NWP, Watchtower helped mold the attitudes of the people, missionaries, and government officials toward education. With regard to education, Watchtower's influence

7. In the mid-1930s, the Luangwa and Kasempa Province [renamed the Central Province] included: Broken Hill, Mkushi, Ndola (copperbelt towns), and the Kaonde-Lunda Districts of Kasempa, Solwezi and Mwinilunga. I am not sure of this temporary province's exact size. For a vivid account of what happened to both blacks and whites during the depression when the mines closed, see Fergus Macpherson's historical novel, *One Blood* (Lusaka: NECZAM, 1970).

8. Cooke, Mwinilunga District AR and C.H. Hazell, Solwezi District ARE, both in Luangwa and Kasempa Province AR for 1933, ZA 7/1/16/2, NAZ.

9. Hazell, ZA 7/1/16/2.

Education in the Northwestern Province

could be both general and specific. Sometimes it caused village schools to close when parents refused to let children continue attending the mission-run schools. Sometimes Watchtower goaded the missions to open new ones in the hope of hindering its advance. Spreading throughout the NWP, it became especially strong Kasempa, Solwezi, and southern Mwinilunga Districts, which were areas least helped by medicine or educational social services. Because this movement allegedly assumed an anti-government, anti-mission, and sweeping anti-European tone, the government remained vigilant.¹⁰

The missions became alarmed. Between 1932 and 1938, Watchtower dominated the articles written by Northern Rhodesian SAGM missionaries for the *Pioneer*. Large numbers of mission adherents backslid. Others were allegedly harassed or isolated by the sect's followers. Watchtower thus became a form of religious competition and ungodliness in the eyes of NWP missionaries. According to one missionary, *kitawala* preached "preached a mixture of communism, heathenism and corrupt Christianity."¹¹ Only in the late 1930s did Watchtower's strength decline.¹²

At the territorial level, the continuing depression forced senior administrators to further cut their recurrent (operating) and capital budgets. The powerful white settlers' lobby prevented severe and harmful cuts to themselves. The small sub-department of Native Education and the missionary educators were less successful. Consequently, the "vested interests of the all-European Finance Commission resulted in a . . . dramatic cut in the native education budget while European education was completely unaffected."¹³ Within five years of its inauguration, the government sacrificed Lathrop's progressive plan.

The cuts in the education budget particularly affected the most efficient, effective and visionary mission educators. High quality educational programs had been promised increasing government support. Although their voluntary revenues dropped precipitously, these missions, still continued to expand, making government promises the foundation for their new programs. Suddenly in January 1933, the Director of Native Education warned them "that it may be necessary to reduce or even cancel, their grants in 1934-35."¹⁴ Discouraged by subsequent reductions, many mission educators either let their programs stagnate or deteriorate or stopped them entirely. The total number of unaided schools in the territory abruptly dropped from 179 in 1932 to 116 in 1934.¹⁵ Then the government added insult to injury by not only cutting mission grants to teachers, but also eliminating them for 'foreign', i.e. Nyasaland, Africans. Since the government continued to employ similar 'foreign' Africans and laid no handicaps on these employees, "an atmosphere of

10. For the standard, although now dated, work on Jehovah Witness in Central Africa, see Rotberg, *Nationalism*, pp. 66-passim. John Cooke at the University of Zambia and others did historical research on this sect during the 1970s.

11. (Miss) M. Goold, *Pioneer*, 48/9 (January 1935), p. 64.

12. In the late 1930s, Watchtower lost strength only to grow again in the midst of World War II. Banned in the war emergency, it went underground until the war ended and the ban was lifted. It has remained controversial ever since but never again assumed the same significance.

13. Ragsdale, "Development," p. 256.

14. Snelson, *Development*, p. 196.

15. Ibid.

Ch. X. Education Amidst World Crisis, 1933-1945

antagonism and distrust replaced . . . cooperation."¹⁶

Possibly one Methodist missionary, John Shaw, gave the most thoughtful and prophetic condemnation of government. He said that government made a "grave mistake." He further stated the bitterness of many others when he added:

*I feel that native teachers are doing the most important work in Northern Rhodesia, far more important than that of any official, from the Governor downwards, for they are moulding the minds and ideals of the permanent inhabitants of the country. . . . I do not like the phrase 'grants-in-aid to missions'. . . . Should it not be 'Payments to missions for doing the educational work the Government ought to be doing for the tax-paying natives'? One wonders just how far we are playing the game when we economise at the cost of the natives who have no vote and do not know enough to make big noise. Discontented teachers are as dangerous as matches in a haystack.*¹⁷

As African education declined in the territory, the Department of African Education became the center of the storm. Officials in this department could do little except spread the pain around because the budgetary chopping occurred in the upper echelons of the territorial government. But since Lathrop left in 1932 and six directors followed in less than six years, the director became less effective within the government bureaucracy and had a harder time getting funding.¹⁸

Fortunately a core of able young educators quietly operated in the department. They included: Conrad Oppen, Douglas Miller, Dr. John Winterbottom, G.H. Rusbridger, Peter Tregear, and John (Jock) Cottrell. These 'superintendents' of education, appointed by Lathrop, were not dismissed when the worst crunch hit. They continued weaving together the numerous mission programs into a more comprehensive and uniform territorial system of education. When possible, they also reduced the department's general decay and laid the base for further improvements.¹⁹

The presence of these young administrators partly explains the strange burst of educational activity in the NWP during 1933 and 1934. Their general efforts to regularize the department and spread its influence more uniformly throughout the territory included Cottrell's visit and report. Before their appointment Latham often ran the department with John Keith, and the two men could deal only with the more vocal missionary educators. The new men were able to reach areas lying out of the mainstream and attempted to pull them in. They kept the SAGM and Brethren aware of the department's expectations. By insisting on more uniform standards, they helped break the NWP's isolation and reduce its provinciality.

The overwhelming handicap of the superintendents continued to be the government's

16. Ragsdale, "Development," p. 270.

17. Shaw, 26 March 1935, to R. Caldwell (Director of Native Education), C 3/3/21, NAZ; quoted in Snelson, *Development*, p. 198.

18. Latham left in June 1931 and Tyndale-Biscoe took over in December 1936. For the story of the depression, African education, and the role of the Department of African Education, see Snelson, *Development*, Chapter VII, pp. 194-227 and Ragsdale, "Development," pp. 260-75.

19. *Ibid.*

Education in the Northwestern Province

parsimony towards African education. So while education in the NWP remained weak, they could not substantially change anything. Wilson's 1936 report on Mwinilunga schools summed up their dilemma: "In general, I am not at all happy about the prospects of native education. It may in time prove necessary to establish Government schools. At present the cost would be prohibiting, and I am anxious to make the best of available opportunities."²⁰ The officials could only "make the best" of this deplorable situation since government was unwilling to fund education.

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the Northern Rhodesian government still handicapped its Department of Native Education. As Snelson noted: "By 1938, the depression was a thing of the past. Government revenue had soared £20,000," i.e., from £29,195 to £47,694." Snelson further uses the Pim Commission's findings to show how parsimonious these figures were. In 1936 the Northern Rhodesia government had spent "25/= per pupil on the roll;" Tanganyika spent 51/=; the Gold Coast 80/=; and Zanzibar 168/=.²¹

Since senior territorial administrators feared both European settlers and new financial crises and African education did not seem essential, funding remained mediocre. Only prodding by the imperial government resulted in better financing. But even by the end of World War II, the Binn's Commission reported that Northern Rhodesia had the highest per capital revenue (£9-4-0) in British colonial territories, but the lowest percentage expenditure on African education, 3.2%.²²

Despite such a deplorable lack of government funding, many mission educators continued operating large educational programs at their own expense. Some even expanded. Thus in areas like the NWP, where the missions still did not surge forward on their own initiative, education failed comparatively to improve. Without adequate government funding, the Department of Native Education had to 'make do' with whatever agency could most successfully run educational programs.

Native Authorities. In the late 1930s one such agency was the Native Authorities (NAs), an evolutionary outgrowth of indirect rule. NAs gave traditional African leaders new duties and visibility. They expected the newer educated elite, which sometimes became chiefs or more commonly became clerks and councilors, to support traditional leadership. In this manner traditional African leadership was supposedly strengthened. While saving government money by limiting the size of district administrations, the agency permitted a small amount of superficial educational expansion since NAs could apply for allocations to open and sustain new schools. But these funds were small and few had the local revenue needed to supplement the educational grants. Thus the educational endeavors of the NAs could not substantially improve education. As shown later, when the three Native Authority schools opened during 1939 in Kaonde-Lunda Province, special grants were

20. G. Wilson, 13 November 1936, to Acting Director of Native Education, C 1/8/4/2, NAZ.

21. Snelson, *Development*, p. 200.

22. For the strong negative influence of settlers and fear of a new depression, see especially Coombs, "Origins." For the development of the Binn's Commission, see Ragsdale, "Development," p. 319.

Ch. X. Education Amidst World Crisis, 1933-1945

made because of the area's 'backward' reputation.²³

Late in 1936 Tyndale-Biscoe became Director of Native Education and brought stability and experience back to the department. In 1938 Tyndale-Biscoe and his now experienced superintendents compiled a confidential survey of missionary education in the territory. Its frank analysis and thorough comparisons made it one of the most useful reports in the 1930s. It confirmed that the territorial government must intervene directly and infuse much larger sums of money if the NWP were to improve comparatively. Unfortunately, government was still not prepared to do this.²⁴

Although hesitant about spending money, government did adopt more progressive and long-term plans for African education in the late thirties and early forties. The Ordinance of 1939 changed the name of the Department from Native Education to African Education. One of the Ordinance's main provisions was the creation of Local Education Committees in the districts which gave Africans a more formal voice in education. In the NWP these committees initiated the first formal meetings between representatives of the three social elements over the issue of education.²⁵

Like Latham's plan of 1929, Tyndale-Biscoe's proposal became intertwined with world events. In place of the depression's economy cutbacks, World War II brought a severe shortage of trained European administrators and of basic educational supplies like paper and slates. It also hindered the flow of funds to mission agencies from overseas supporters, so the missionaries increasingly relied on the government. The war also allowed Africans into posts and jobs previously forbidden to them. For example, in the absence of European staff, Simon Kibanza became a 'big man' at the Solwezi sub-boma. Other young men got accelerated educational training and quickly advanced. For example Aaron Ngalande became a senior Standard VI teacher at Mutanda.²⁶ [NOTE: Parts of this paragraph seem to repeat parts of Chapter VI.]

By 1945 the Department of African Education was rapidly expanding, centralizing and standardizing education in the NWP. The Department prepared a basic standard curriculum for all educational programs in the territory. For example, in 1944 Peter Letchford, the SAGM's most notable educator, took charge of Mutanda. He used the Department's basic educational program and properly applied territorial standards. Nonetheless, he felt that he still had considerable latitude with the school curriculum. In addition, the mission still controlled African staff appointments at mission and village

23. For the best references to the Native Authorities' educational endeavors in Northern Rhodesia and also comparative references to East African British territories, see Snelson, *Development*, pp. 204-6, 274.

24. Tyndale-Biscoe had been serving in Tanganyika. This experience strongly influenced his recommendations. For the original version of Appendix L, see "Reports on Mission Societies," confidential, SEC 1/550, NAZ.

25. Outside the NWP some Local Education Committees existed before this time, but the seventh clause formalized procedures; see Snelson, *Development*, pp. 221-4.

26. For the war's effort on education throughout the territory, see Snelson, *Development*, pp. 236-40 and Ragsdale, "Development," pp. 292-8. 'Big man' is frequently used in two diametrically opposite ways -- one positive and one negative; see the interviews with Silas Chizawu and Gordon Suckling for examples. For fond reminiscences of Kibanza, see the interviews with Tito Kibolya and Aaron Ngalande. The latter interview with Ngalande also describes his advance during this era. The interview with Letchford (21 November 1975 at his home in Loudonville, NY) confirms Ngalande's details.

Education in the Northwestern Province

schools and laid down regulations for this staff. Until the end of the era, the government still demanded that the missions provide educational services that the Department of Native Education increasingly, though still inadequately, paid for.²⁷

Secularization of the educational system, however, occurred later. The September 1940 inaugural meeting of the Kasempa District Local Education Committee illustrates the government's control, but also its determination to have missionaries run most educational programs.

*Mr. Foster outlined his Mission's view point as regarding educational work. He stated that the poverty of the Mission had been [recently] stressed. . . . This was not strictly accurate. It was his mission's policy to place evangelisation before educational work. While they desired to co-operate in educational work, they regarded education as primarily the responsibility of Government and of the people who benefit from it. The first claim on the missions' resources was the training of pastors and evangelists and the headquarters of his mission favoured the policy of limiting their commitments regarding educational work. The Chairman assumed that the mission would be prepared to support Native Authorities or any other society or organization e.g. the Franciscan Mission who might enter the district for the purpose of undertaking educational work. Mr. Foster stressed that while his mission would view with regret the entry of other missionary organisations into the district, they were willing to co-operate with anybody who wished to co-operate with them.*²⁸

Foster's protestations led to a clear administrative threat. As a result the SAGM continued meekly though reluctantly to follow government directives. In fact confrontations like this one in Kasempa District led to Letchford's arrival in 1944. Thus by 1945, education in the NWP was a variation of the territorial system. Of the territorial variations, however, the NWP was the most 'backward'.

Quantitative Educational Advances: The Rapid Development of Village Schools in the Mid-1930s

In January 1933 the Cottrell Report ended the SAGM's and Brethren's complacency in educating NWP Africans. As described in the last chapter, the report had wide implications. To the mission educators it meant that if they did not improve their educational programs some other mission agency would do so or the task would not be done. Conversely, it implied with improvements, the Department of Native Education would try to grant them more money. Education based solely on personal charity was no longer enough. The report had stressed that their unsystematic, loosely organized programs should be replaced by more systematic ones enabling NWP Africans to compete with Africans elsewhere in the territory. One way to do this immediately was to prepare its students for the department's new competitive examinations. Mutanda, Mukinge, Kamapanda, Kalene and Chavuma should follow Suckling's line at Chitokoloki. The latter should capitalize on its success and

27. Letchford interview.

28. "Local Education Committees: Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1940-41 and 1946," SEC 1/540, NAZ.

Ch. X. Education Amidst World Crisis, 1933-1945

make its little system permanent.²⁹

Because of the report Chitokoloki radiated with pleasure, but the other mission felt gravely insulted and recoiled in anger. When being interviewed, two ex-Chitokoloki students, Silas Chizawu and John Mwondela, recalled Chitokoloki's collective delight without even being asked about Cottrell's visit.³⁰ In a letter to the Director of Native Education, however, the Acting Provincial Commissioner (PC) of Kasempa described Foster's and Mukinge's shock and displeasure, which paralleled that at Mutanda, Kamapanda, and Kalene. The PC also thoughtfully called the Director's attention to the fact that the "amount of finances by the government is so small compared with the expenses borne by the Missions themselves that, I feel all new criticisms of these missions should be most cautiously and tactfully made."³¹ He implied that education officials should strongly criticize only if government paid the bill or was prepared to do better itself. This implication was probably the main bone of contention in the quarrels that followed.

Chavuma and Kamapanda, however, did not want government money, hoping to avoid government regulations as much and as long as possible. When Cottrell's favorable report on the infants' school elicited an unrequested government grant of sixty pounds sterling, Buckland, then in charge of Kamapanda returned it. He told Cottrell that they had "funds sufficient for the adequate carrying on of the schools." This action astonished officials. Cottrell told the Chief Secretary that this "was the first time . . . such assistance has been declined. But Cottrell continued, "CMML is different from . . . other missions [and] Buckland is more fortunate in his supporters than some of his colleagues who have been very glad to accept grants-in-aid from government."³² Chavuma also refused government funds. Like Kamapanda—including Buckland's new Mujimbeji Mission—it wished to continue charity-type education. Though Chavuma hid in the shadows for several more years while Chitokoloki blossomed, this became harder to do. DCs began using their considerable powers to insure compliance. Africans were beginning to 'awake'.³³ The report signaled a change for everybody.

Cottrell's report not only criticized Kalene most, but also included several notable errors in this otherwise fair but blunt analysis. The errors greatly increased the mission's displeasure. Cottrell stressed his unhappiness with the Brethren's non-system and pressed for change, but as implied by the PC, this goal alone was controversial since the mission received little government aid. Cottrell was unaware that Latham had allowed Roseannah Shaw, a trained educator, to receive a grant for men's education.³⁴ He misunderstood that

29. For the Cottrell report's recommendations, see Chapter IX.

30. Interviews with Silas Chizawu and John Mwondela.

31. Russell to Director of Native Education, 28 February 1933, "Kalene Hill, Education," C 1/8/5/2, NAZ.

32. Buckland to Cottrell, 3 April 1933; Cottrell to Chief Secretary, 15 June 1933: "Allocations of Grants, 1932-33," SEC 1/512, NAZ. The sixty pounds sterling reallocated to Kalene as a non-renewable grant to assist their 'witchery' for old women. They accepted the money. I have no absolute proof that these missions exchanged correspondence, but the actions that followed indicate that they did so.

33. The expression 'awake' is used with increasing regularity from the mid-1930s onward.

34. A copy of Latham's letter appears in C 1/8/4/2. This letter was from Latham to PC, Kasempa, 18 April 1931.

Education in the Northwestern Province

the mission provided most of the food for a very large boarding school. Thus, he incorrectly reported that all the pupils went home on weekends to collect food although the mission collected a small government grant for boarding. He also undiplomatically questioned the mission's integrity in meeting for the required 150 days in the previous year. Possibly worst of all in Walter and Anna Fisher's eyes, he strongly criticized the mission's hilltop location.

A nasty little brouhaha ensued. The Fishers were elderly and the Doctor had become internationally distinguished and honored for his work in tropical medicine. They believed that the report not only threatened the mission's finances, but also strongly compromised its integrity. Greatly offended, the Fishers demanded that the matter be referred to the Chief Secretary for Northern Rhodesia, an unusual and extraordinarily strong demand. Before the controversy ended, about ten government officials and missionaries exchanged approximately fifty items of correspondence.³⁵

District and territorial officials vigorously attempted to soothe the Fishers' and Kalene's wounded feelings. Cottrell and the Director of Native Education quickly decided that the grants would not be withdrawn and hastened to reassure the Fishers and Roseannah Shaw of this fact. To support Cottrell, however, the Director wrote a detailed eight page letter to the Provincial Commissioner. Cottrell included another three pages in which he reflected on Kalene's Education and his own duties. He felt his inspection of the educational programs at the mission "came as a shock to them. . . . Unfortunately it is my duty to inform them of these shortcomings and of the Department's aims and policy." He also felt the matter was resolved. "I think . . . the cause of the trouble has been removed--the grants have been paid and perhaps the 'nasty inspector' is not as bad as he seemed on paper and nearly as nice as he was at the mission."³⁶

When the Provincial Commissioner himself finally wrote the Fishers and suggested that they not press their demands, they relented. By mid-1933 the "storm in a teacup," as the Provincial Commissioner later called it, ended.³⁷

In the course of the controversy, government officials and missionaries unintentionally explored the parameters of their relationship and subsequently made some adjustments. Government officials, both territorial and district, were now clearly aware that the "efficiency of the schools . . . compares most unfavorably with educational work of the missions elsewhere in the territory."³⁸ Nonetheless, until the government could provide support, the Director of Native Education and his superintendents cautiously avoided offending NWP missions. At the end of his very carefully worded Kalene inspection report in 1938, Conrad Oppen still said "no censorious criticism is intended."³⁹

35. See the first fifty items of correspondence in C 1/8/4/2; especially important is Walter Fisher's initial statement, dated 15 February 1933, of what he regarded as Cottrell's errors.

36. For the quotations (Cottrell to L.A. Russell, 15 March 1933) and all other correspondence, see C 1/8/4/2.

37. Russell to R. Caldwell (Director of Native Education), 3 June 1933, C 1/8/4/2. The matter did seemingly reach the Chief Secretary but by that time the Fishers had been mollified and the controversy had burned itself out.

38. Caldwell to Russell, 15 March 1933, C 1/8/4/2.

39. Oppen, 1938 Report, "Provincial Advisory Board, Western Province, Rural Areas, 1938," C 3/4/4, NAZ.

Ch. X. Education Amidst World Crisis, 1933-1945

While this kind of caution possibly deterred some educational improvements in the NWP, the missions quickly expanded the number of village schools seemingly to avoid future confrontations by improving their educational programs. Mwinilunga missions increased the number of village schools from two to twenty-one during 1933-35.⁴⁰ This demonstrates a considerable change in educational policy. Similar increases in the number of village schools in Balovale, Kasempa and Solwezi compared favorably with Mwinilunga's burst of activity. These collective improvements are astonishing in light of the enormous decline in the total number of village sub-schools throughout the territory.

Kalene was not only the focus of Cottrell's report and of the resulting controversy; it also became an example of the quantitative change that occurred through village sub-schools. Kalene's burst of activity is also especially well documented from different perspectives. E.H. Cooke, the new DC, took the credit for the change and told the story from the government point of view. Elsie Burr, an experienced missionary, narrated the events as the mission educator most involved. And Silas Sameta spoke from his viewpoint as one of the new teachers.⁴¹

Shortly after his arrival, Cooke wrote several exceptionally strong reports denouncing Mwinilunga missionaries as the chief cause for the district's 'backwardness'. He especially blamed them for the fact that the "village mission teacher that valuable liaison officer, is non-existent and until established there can be no progress."⁴² A year later, however, he was patting both Kalene and himself on the back. By then he believed the problem had been an old misunderstanding between government and the mission. In education he did a "lot of bullying, with very happy results. To-day the schools are providing a boon."⁴³ Although Cooke started as the mission's antagonist, Burr later specifically recalled he and his wife's hospitality at the Mwinilunga boma and his kindness in locating and buying her a car on leave in the copperbelt.⁴⁴

Elsie Burr was a self-trained educator who had run the mission station school during part of the lackluster 'twenties. Becoming very ill in the 1930s, she went on overseas leave. When she returned in 1934, Roseannah Shaw had become Kalene's trained, subsidized educator. Thus the Fishers asked Burr to open and expand new village schools throughout the district. (Neither the Fishers nor Burr mention Cottrell or Cooke as direct incentives; the connection has to be surmised.) The Fishers' request pleased Burr because she enjoyed village trekking and evangelization. In her memoirs, she fondly reminisces on how she,

40. For these Mwinilunga statistics, see N.S. Price, Mwinilunga AR for 1935, SEC 2/133, NAZ.

41. I found it rare to get such a balanced three-way social perspective on events. For Cooke's four most useful descriptions, see the following tour reports (two) and ARs (two), all in NAZ: Mwinilunga AR in "Luangwa and Kasempa Province" AR for 1933, ZA 7/1/16/2; Mwinilunga AR in "Central Province" AR for 1934, ZA 7/1/17/2; and Mwinilunga Tour Report No. 7/1933, 1933, ZA 7/4/42; and Mwinilunga Tour Report No. 6/34, 1934, C 1/8/4/2. As cited before, Burr's main work was Kalene Memories. She also regularly wrote articles in Echoes, especially see the following: 26 November 1934, 64 (March 1935), p. 73; and 13 June 1935, 64 (September 1935), p. 243. For Sameta's perspective as a Christian teacher, see his interview.

42. Ibid., ZA 7/1/16/2.

43. Ibid., C 1/8/4/2.

44. Ibid., *Kalene Memories*, pp. 124-5.

Education in the Northwestern Province

"though a mere woman!"⁴⁵ supervised the building of several schools herself with the help of African brethren. This was a feat regarded far beyond the capacity of European women in tropical Africa. In addition she was a very short woman. Julyan Hoyte at Kalene and Charles Nightingale then at Sakeji also supervised the building of others.

Sameta also recalls Burr and the initial episodes:

When Miss Burr went to England, she explained about villages around Kalene Mission -- plenty of villages, plenty of children, but no schools in the villages. And after she explained in England, they allowed her to return back so [she] could open schools. . . . When she came, she first passed to Ndola to see the Provincial Education Official to talk with him and get authority from him. When she reached Kalene, she explained her plans. 'This year we are going to begin new schools in many villages. We need teachers'. But there were no trained teachers.

*After this time Miss Burr began to open new schools in the villages. . . . Then she sent uncertified teachers to teach the people the Words of God and how to write and how to read. Every year she called all the teachers to Kalene Mission to spend one month. She taught them how to write well on the blackboard, how to read well, how to exercise -- drill. And when they went back to the villages, they could teach the children well.*⁴⁶

The mission's failure to train African educators systematically in the 1920s now plagued new endeavors. Hence Burr introduced a vigorous retraining course that worked, at least for a few years. In addition she frequently toured the area inspecting these new schools, at first trekking and later driving. Burr's systematic supervision, and training that assisted dedicated African teacher/evangelists were the reasons for Conrad Oppen's incredulity in 1938. When he inspected these schools, he marveled:

*that for such poor quality teachers the results were, on the whole, rather surprising. Teachers who it would flatter to call of Standard I attainment somehow managed to get across a large percentage of what they knew and very little seemed lost in the process. In some cases I felt that the pupils knew rather more than the teacher himself which was, to say the least, remarkable.*⁴⁷

Burr's energy notwithstanding, the missions' quick village school expansion was not sustained. Between 1936 and 1939 the total number of these village out-schools in Mwinilunga rose only from twenty-one to twenty-five. The number in Kasempa and Solwezi Districts actually declined slightly with only nine between them in 1939. But education did not stagnate as it had between 1924 and 1933 because the quality continued to improve.⁴⁸

Five overlapping reasons contributed to this temporary plateau in the expansion of village schools.

45. *Kalene Memories*, p. 108; see also pp. 109-13. Roseannah Shaw was at this time also assisted by Peggy Gilmour. Kalene had plenty of staff, thus no reason for not opening these outschools.

46. Sameta interview.

47. Oppen, 1938 Report, C 3/4/4.

48. For the 1939 statistics, see the 1939 AR for Western Province (rural areas), in "Education Officers, Annual Reports, 1939-40," C 4/3/1, NAZ.

Ch. X. Education Amidst World Crisis, 1933-1945

First, because of the region's remoteness, many people failed to see the value of education. In his 1938 tour, Oppen asserted that "the Lunda people do not as yet appreciate the advantages of education. They have not yet seen signs of its economic value or indeed its value in improving conditions of life in their own country." Thus, he felt "the propaganda value of the return to this area of trained Lunda medical orderlies, Jeanes supervisors, teachers, carpentry instructors, clerks, etc. would be immense."⁴⁹

Second, many people still objected to the schools' primary religious function. Chief Kakoma and his area provide an example. In the mid-1930s the chief was not 'progressive' in the eyes of the missionaries and government officials and did not encourage education. H. Vaux, a temporary DC in the region, accepted an accusation that a Kalene out-school teacher ridiculed traditional religious paraphernalia. After investigating the matter, N.S. Price, the regular DC, supported the mission and believed that the chief and some of his headmen were being difficult. Nonetheless, considerable correspondence was exchanged within government about the matter and even reached the Chief Secretary for Northern Rhodesia. Possibly the exact charges were wrong, but since mission teachers served as evangelists in a locality, clashes between Christianity and traditional religion undoubtedly occurred. For some people schools had acquired their modern symbolic meaning, but for others, they still only represented the colonial society's new religion.⁵⁰

Third, local economic and geographic factors played a role. Schools were most successful in areas with both a settled population and a 'progressive' African leader who wanted a school despite its religious orientation. Hence schools remained successful in Chief Ikelenge's area of Mwinilunga after the mid-1930s. Chiefs were either sympathetic to Christianity or Christians and the area had an increasingly large and settled farming population. In contrast, relations between Chief Kakoma and Kalene missionary were frequently frosty and the population remained more mobile because of their shifting cultivation. Here, schools frequently failed. Even Christian chiefs had trouble keeping village schools open in areas with small shifting populations. Thus at the inaugural meeting of the Kasempa Local Education Committee, the DC harangued local chiefs about encouraging people to form larger and more stable villages.⁵¹

In his 1938 report, Oppen stressed that his Mwinilunga tour had helped him understand how the NWP's "remoteness and sparsity of population" generated special educational problems. Visiting the district's three mission stations and "19 of its 25 out-schools necessitated a seven week's journey of over 1500 miles." The NWP's scattered population

49. Oppen, 1938 Report, C 3/4/4.

50. For the two conflicting district officials' opinions, see Vaux, 12 November 1936, Tour Report, C 1/8/4/2; and Price, 4 December 1937, Tour Report No. 9 of 1937, "Mwinilunga Tour Reports, 1933-39," SEC 2/953. See also the Acting Director to DC, Mwinilunga, 30 November 1936, C 1/8/4/2, NAZ. This correspondence was pieced together from separate files; unfortunately, reference to the correspondence with the Chief Secretary is missing.

51. For the DC's harangue, see SEC 1/540. Besides the citation in the previous footnote on Kakoma's alleged awkwardness, see also C.M.N. White (Cadet), Tour Report No. 5/38 and N.S. Price's comments thereon, both written in January 1939, SEC 2/953, NAZ.

Education in the Northwestern Province

and immense size hindered the development of a modern educational system.⁵²

Fourth and most fundamental, the missions were poor and the government miserly. Few of these village schools received any government financing because they lacked qualified African teachers and had to be officially registered as sub-schools. This disqualified them from receiving grants. In turn, the lack of government funds strained the missions' feeble resources, so they could only pay African teachers and evangelists poorly and reluctantly. Even Chitokoloki was taken to task by Department of Native Education officials for not supplementing its meager grants for trained teachers.⁵³

This situation made the lives of teachers in the village schools difficult. While stressing that these teacher/evangelists still did as well as possible with the little they had, Silas Sameta noted that Elsie Burr:

*Found it difficult to pay full salaries to the teachers because they had no money to pay them. They were sometimes giving them five shillings. On the other hand, she was helping by giving the teachers' wives some dresses and some children's clothes. Sometimes a jersey for the teacher to help him. But no big salary 'because we have no money. This is God's work, you must go ahead. You can't ask us to give you plenty of money; we are poor, where are we going to find money'? From that time the teachers were working hard, even so, to teach the children how to write and how to read well.*⁵⁴

Fifth, only a few trained teachers were available. By the late 1930s all mission educators wanted trained teachers badly for the out-schools. Educational costs would decrease with qualified staff as the Department of African Education would provide grants to 'sub-schools' that had been upgraded to 'schools'. In 1938 intradepartmental correspondence between Oppen and the Director reaffirmed that although Kasempa and Solwezi Districts were 'backward' the SAGM mission could not be given grants to employ untrained village school teachers. The Department believed that this refusal was a necessary carrot and stick to make the SAGM improve. Rather these two officials asserted Kasempa and Solwezi Districts could "best be helped by special assistance to the [SAGM] mission station schools."⁵⁵

The government made its point. Kalene, Mutanda, and Mukinge all took definite steps to improve their quality. But weak educational infrastructures take years to improve. Only late in the 1930s and early in the 1940s did the missions produce qualified students who could upgrade their 'sub-schools'. Even then the focus of this upgrading was Suckling's Chitokoloki.

52. Oppen, 1938 Report, C 3/4/4. For a more general reflection on the region's low population density and education, see Facey (DC, Kasempa) to PC (Ndola), 30 September 1939, "Compulsory Attendance and Abolition of School Fees," SEC 1/441, NAZ.

53. Cottrell took Suckling to task on the latter matter as quoted in Appendix K; see the Cottrell appendix. For the original document, see SEC 1/550, NAZ.

54. Sameta interview.

55. Director of Native Education to Oppen, 29 October 1938, attachment to Oppen's 1938 Report, C 3/4/4.

Qualitative Educational Improvements: Middle and Upper Primary Schools and Teacher Training

Certainly the Cottrell report jarred the NWP missions out of their educational lethargy. But only Chitokoloki's infrastructure was sound enough to permit immediate qualitative advances. Since George Suckling did not have as many qualms as his colleagues about high quality education for Africans, he and James Caldwell, his brother-in-law, did as Cottrell insisted and presented their first Standard IV students for government examination in May 1933. This step and the candidates' success forged a path that led to Standard VI and teacher training in the late 1930s. Eventually, the village 'subschoools' became full 'schools' in Balovale and other districts. Despite the difficulty in transportation between Kasempa and Balovale Districts at this time, even Mukinge and Mutanda sent some pupils to Chitokoloki. The Brethren missions at Kalene, Kamapanda, and Chavuma sent Suckling almost all their candidates for 'higher' education and teacher training.

Although Chitokoloki became the educational hub of the region, other mission schools improved considerably within the next seven years. By the mid-1930s most stations had at least one trained mission educator or used prior educators more 'efficiently'. Improvements focused on the mission station schools and the Standard IV examinations, but involved all three elements of the local district societies.

Most mission educators sought out the brightest children and young men, preferably those who were Christians, and prepared them for government examinations, especially Standard IV. In the late thirties and early forties, Kalene, Mutanda, and Mukinge presented between four and twelve candidates per year. Kamapanda, Chavuma, and Mujimbeji did not submit candidates until the early or mid-1940s, but adhered to the school code and sent a few men to Chitokoloki to complete Standard IV. Chavuma for example sent four ardent young Christians to Chitokoloki for Standard III and IV instruction and teacher training in 1935. (In addition to urging by Cottrell, local officials, and the new Roman Catholic mission at Lukulu, a 1935 visit from a Jeanes teacher had proved persuasive.)⁵⁶

With trepidation by many missionaries and with eager anticipation by many Africans living near the mission stations, the first students passed the examinations. For example, Kangasa Mutembu passed Standard IV in 1938; and then in 1940 he also passed Standard VI after special coaching by Roseannah Shaw Kaye. Since he was the first Mwinilunga man to pass Standard VI, people near the mission became very excited. He clearly remembers the events: "I was carried on someone's shoulders, singing, dancing, and so on. . . . My uncle was very happy and what he did was to load up his muzzle loading gun and [shoot] it off. It was a very happy day."⁵⁷ While many did not understand what Mutembu had achieved, they knew that he spoke English and had received an honor in the new social order.

In the late 1930s and 1940s the government administrators also strengthened the

56. For Chavuma's motivations, see the interview with Sachilombo Manuwele at his home in Chavuma, 11 June 1976.

57. Interview with Kangasa Mutembu at his home in Mwinilunga Township, 7 December 1976.

Education in the Northwestern Province

mission's resolve. At least every two years and generally every year, superintendents visited the mission station schools and some village schools. Equally important, local administrators visited all schools as part of their periodic district tours. As a matter of course they reported back to the Department of African Education.

Chitokoloki under George Suckling's overall inspiration continued its leadership role by producing the best trained and most systematically educated students. Under the supervision of Suckling and also Caldwell, the regular school was raised to the level of first the Standard IV and then the Standard VI examination. Simultaneously, Victor Reed developed teacher training; and Peggy (Gilmour) Reed advanced women's education. George Suckling developed out-school and informal adult programs.

The first examination results boosted Chitokoloki's reputation among Africans and its own educational resolve. Six out of eight passed the mission's first Standard IV examination, a respectable pass rate of 75%. Caldwell continued to equal and expand these totals and percentages. In 1939, for example, fifteen passed Standard IV. Then with government encouragement, the mission also offered a Standard VI course of study. Thus some of the brightest pupils went straight into the upper standards.⁵⁸

By the early 1940s Gordon Suckling took over the senior Standard VI class. Students continued to receive a well-rounded education: trades training, modern instruction in sports and drill, and training in the articles, especially singing and drama. These endeavors led to success in 1944 when thirty-two young men passed Standard VI, the "highest number in the whole territory. Four of them [were] selected for secondary education at Government expense in a government school at Lusaka."⁵⁹ For at least one sparkling moment, Chitokoloki took the NWP to the pinnacle of educational success and showed what this 'backward' region could do.

Meanwhile enrollments in all the standards continued rising at the mission station school. Although the government refused to provide subsidies for boarders in the lower and middle standards, Suckling took in anxious boys or girls who did not live near a village school. Thus total enrollment at the school rose from 200 in 1936 and 250 in 1939 to over 500 in 1945. Many were boarders. This kind action helped isolated but ambitious young people get an education. But it also strained the mission's budget.⁶⁰

The second advance, Victor Reed's Normal School for training teachers, was intertwined with these improvements in the mission school. Cottrell laid the foundations for this

58. For the first examination results in 1933, see the interview with Chizawu. For the 1939 results, see H. Deubler, 22 July 1939, *Echoes*, 68 (October 1939), p. 270. One 1939 government report indicates that Chitokoloki had six men in Standard VI by 1939: Jones, "Balovale Tour Reports, 1938-40," Tour Report No. 6, 1939, SEC 2/988, NAZ.

59. Suckling, *Echoes*, 73 (December 1944), p. 93. See also the Gordon Suckling interview. Initially students sat their Standard V and VI examinations after a two year course of study beyond Standard IV. By the mid-1940s Standards V and VI frequently took three years with the latter being divided into 'upper' and 'lower' sections.

60. For favorable African descriptions of Suckling's kindness in accepting pupils, see the interview with Chizawu and also with Peter Sayila. For the 1936, 1939, and 1945 statistics, see the following three articles in *Echoes*: Victor Reed, 65 (May 1936), p. 130; Suckling, 4 September 1939, 68 (December 1939), p. 320; and Suckling, 74 (April 1945), p. 28. The last article may have been written in December 1944 instead of January 1945. No exact date is given.

Ch. X. Education Amidst World Crisis, 1933-1945

training when he accepted George Suckling's protests against sending young men to the line of rail for training. Ensuing mission-government negotiations resulted in the highly qualified Victor Reed starting this training in April 1935. Teacher training was first an extension to the Standard IV examination. But the divisions between teacher training and regular instruction in the standards slowly became more distinct. In 1940, for instance, Peter Sayila passed his Standard IV and became a certified primary teacher. He asked to leave school to earn money. Suckling sent him to Kamapanda to become one of the first qualified African teachers at that mission. Then several years later, having earned the needed money, he returned and completed the higher standards. The totals in the teacher training program rose from seventeen in 1939 to "over forty" in 1942, and to sixty in 1944. By the mid-1940s when Peggy died and he left, Reed had developed a sound program that others like Alexander Nisbet continued in the postwar era.⁶¹

Shortly after arriving at Chitokoloki, Reed married Peggy Gilmour, one of Kalene's young missionary educators. With the help of Suckling's and Caldwell's wives, Peggy Gilmour Reed systematized women's education. Several interviewees especially Silas Chizawu, interpreted these improvements from a man's perspective: young educated male students needed educated wives. While this undoubtedly was a catalyst, these three women and George Suckling realized that only women's education could produce Christian homes, the mission's long-term goal. Although many non-Christian parents were still unconvinced of the value in educating their daughters, enrollment rose steadily from 60 in 1937, to 80 in 1941, and finally 110 in 1943. In 1942 the first woman qualified as a teacher. Chitokoloki-educated women began taking a more active role in the new society.⁶²

Developments in women's education elsewhere in the province paralleled, though they did not succeed as well as those at Chitokoloki. At all mission schools, enrollment in women's education increased. While homecraft and mothercraft lessons became important parts of this training, these girls soon began competing directly with their male peers in academic classes. Paradoxically, Kamapanda, Mujimbeji, and Chavuma -- the missions most reluctant to start 'academic' education -- started producing the finest young educated women. Lute, who impressed Cottrell at Kamapanda, became the first. Enforcing rigid conditions on their African adherents, these missionaries' strict standards resulted in Christians not only sending their daughters to school but keeping their from marrying until they were 'mature', i.e., old enough by Europeans' moral standards.⁶³

Possibly the most noted and innovative educator in the NWP during the 1930s was Janetta

61. For Peter Sayila's education, see his interview. I do not know the exact date of Reed's departure, but his name does not appear on a 1948 list of missionaries at Chitokoloki. For these 1939, 1942, and 1944 statistics, see the following articles by Reed in *Echoes*: 68 (November 1939), p. 285; 71 (August 1942), p. 60; and 74 (January 1945), p. 5. See also the interview with Alexander and Marjorie Nisbet at their home in Sandhead, Stranraer, Scotland on 10 and 11 January 1976.

62. For an early letter by Peggy while at Kalene, see Gilmour, *Echoes*, 61 (January 1932), p. 22. Agnes Yuell Suckling and Nora Yuell Caldwell were sisters. See the Chizawu interview. For the 1937, 1941, and 1945 statistics, see the following articles in *Echoes*: Suckling, 67 (Mar. 1938), p. 75; H. Deubler, 70 (Jan. 1941), p. 10; and Daisy Wareham, 73 (Jan. 1944), p. 5. For the first qualified woman, see Suckling, *Echoes*, 71 (May 1942), pp. 36-7.

63. Janetta Forman said some of her best girls at Mukinge came from Chavuma and Mujimbeji. See her interview in St. Andrews, Fife, Scotland, on 12 January 1976. The English word 'mature' is used often in modern NWP society to describe adolescent girls and to a lesser degree boys.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Forman at Mukinge. Her letters and printed booklets reveal a person who rose above the conventions of her age, much like Melland, Pirouet, and Suckling. Although the scattered population of Kasempa and the poverty of the SAGM severely limited her immediate successes, she not only had an education and training comparable with Agnes Riddell or Roseannah Shaw's at Kalene, but also the energy of Burr. For example, when early Christians near Mukinge refused to pay three shillings to send their daughters to school, she waved the fee and traveled around the district like the Pied Piper of Hamelin. Having successfully convinced 'heathen' parents to entrust their daughters into her care, Forman trooped into Mukinge with these young 'bush' girls. Christians hastily added their daughters. From this humble beginning, systematic modern education for Kaonde women started.⁶⁴

Only with such pioneers as these young women does modern Africa begin. Although many western conventions were confused with good mothercraft, women educators from the missions did instill new hygienic standards. Thus these young African women received a better understanding of germs and disease. In the following decades one visible result was the large percentage of healthy babies who lived through childhood. Another visible result, as Chizawu observed, was that these young women married the brightest, ablest, and most ambitious young men. These pioneers later became role models for the female half of the population.⁶⁵

Meanwhile George Suckling not only expanded his village schools but also developed his own particular form of practical adult education. While other missionaries and senior African staff helped him supervise the village schools, he did much of the work himself. Although the total numbers of the village schools constantly changed and few statistics are available today, Suckling probably continuously operated between twenty and thirty outschools during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Some of them had government certified teachers from the middle of 1933, but as late as 1938 Peter Tregear, as Superintendent of Native Education, said that most of these outschools were "hardly worthy of the name." Most remained 'sub-schools' like those elsewhere in the NWP. But by the early 'forties, when trained teachers emerged from Reed's Normal School, this situation changed.⁶⁶

Concurrently with this supervisory work, George Suckling continued to encourage planting new agricultural crops, retailing and basic skills, printing at the mission and carpentry work throughout the area. Along with African assistants he assumed government building contracts at the boma. All African interviewees fondly recall him as extremely helpful to

64. For this incident, see her eight page pamphlet, *How It All Began*. Like the following, this pamphlet was privately printed by SAGM in England and had no date; the approximate dates are indicated below in parentheses. For her two most substantial pamphlets, see the *Tent of God in Africa* (late 1930s) and *Thy Light is Come* (late 1940s). She also wrote *Meli, an African Schoolgirl* (early or mid-1940s). Forman sometimes traveled with Nduwa "the dispensary orderly's wife . . . as guide counsellor and friend." *Tent*, p. 5 See also Forman's perceptive articles in *Pioneer*.

65. Chizawu interview. The large and healthy families of many Christians from the 1930s onward was obvious.

66. For Tregear's comment, see his own appendix, quoted in Appendix K. The number of out-schools remained very unstable after 1945.

Ch. X. Education Amidst World Crisis, 1933-1945

prospective small businessmen and farmers.⁶⁷

This time between 1933 and 1945 was probably Suckling's best and worst. He suffered deep personal loss when two sons were killed in World War II, but then his remaining son joined him at Chitokoloki. While enjoying his greatest personal and educational successes, he engaged in long-lasting quarrels with both government officials and fellow missionaries. Partly because he was involved in so much and yet wrote so little, Suckling remains an enigma in this period of his life. Nonetheless, even a superficial unraveling of the details shows how his Christian vision caused both Suckling's successes and problems.⁶⁸

From his own perspective, Suckling felt harassed by forces beyond his control. If he was really as fractious and quarrelsome as local officials asserted, this sense of harassment may be the cause.

The first dimension to Suckling's feeling harassed was financial. As a faith missionary, his overseas funding remained tenuous and uncertain. Worse yet, government funding was still grossly inadequate in the late 1930s. While praising his work at Chitokoloki, officials like Cottrell strongly urged him to continue moving forward. But when Suckling expanded his activities, government grants did not keep pace. (Unfortunately, accurate approximations of his expenses do not seem to exist.) Financial dilemmas involved him in local schemes to raise money, such as assuming government building contracts. He often did such work with African brethren. While these jobs were done in part to help these small African businessmen, government officials also believed that he needed money to sustain his mission work. In addition, Suckling probably exacerbated these financial problems through his old tendency of not carefully planning details nor keeping thorough financial records. With lots of heart he rather eclectically handled current crises.⁶⁹

The Catholic 'invasion' and opposition from his fellow brethren missionaries' increased his

67. Especially see the Chizawu, Mwondela, Sayila and Suckling interviews.

68. Eddie (the eldest) and Kenneth (the youngest) were killed. Will George Suckling still prove to be an enigma in the future? I am not sure. As he wrote very little, this seems likely. It is possible, however, that he only seems this way because of my interviewing techniques and because of the people interviewed. Interviewees who described Suckling's later life, especially in the late 1930s and early 1940s, often had a lot to say but tended to be overly laudatory or vague, thus leaving major gaps necessary in evaluating his total achievements. Both formal and informal interviews with Gordon and other missionaries were politely vague, probably because they felt they might say something to hurt the continuing gospel work in the region or further information was too personal and none of my business, justifiable considerations. Nonetheless this reticence made my evaluation difficult. Africans that were interviewed worked closely with him in earlier period but did not knowledge his thinking in this crucial period. I realized too late that I should have interviewed several more individuals who worked closely with him at this time.

69. Individually sponsored, Brethren missionaries were very loath to discuss finances. Lammond stated the attitude very clearly: It is point of honour with us (most of us at any rate) not to discuss the matter of income." See Lammond to Director of Native Education, 26 January 1931, "Johnson Falls, Education," C 1/8/4/1, NAZ. Available government references to grants for Chitokoloki are either vague or too specific to make a comprehensive evaluation possible. Silas Chizawu recalls that schools costs Suckling two thousand pounds sterling for at least one year in the mid or late 1930s, but this figure raises questions as to what amount, if any, was recovered from government. See also Cottrell's somewhat derogatory comment in his appendix, contained in Appendix L. On a very different note, see the following government records: 20 April 1944, Newsletter No. 1 and the comment on the newsletter by Acting Chief Secretary, H.F.C. Robinson, 25 May 1944, who very unusually commented on a newsletter, specifically defending Suckling. He said: "It appears that activities have been of assistance to Africans." "Kaonde-Lunda Province Newsletter," SEC 2/193, NAZ. Robinson collaborates Africans recollections in fn. 60.

Education in the Northwestern Province

sense of harassment. In 1935 the Catholics settled at Lukulu to the south and planned to move north. As Chizawu recalls, Suckling -- like other brethren missionaries -- fought their advance "tooth and nail." For example, he initially refused to sell them Lunda and Luvalé books for their schools. (They wrote and asked him if this was Christ-like.) In 1938 Department of Native Education officials reported that Suckling was testy and hard to handle because he regarded them as pro-Catholic.⁷⁰

By the end of this period other brethren missions opposed Suckling. For unstated reasons his brother-in-law Caldwell opened Kabulamema Mission. Suckling's old colleague, Hansen, went to Kabulamema after abandoning his small, isolated Nyamboma mission west of the Zambezi. One government official felt that an "unhealthy rivalry" existed between the two missions in 1944. Furthermore, Chavuma and Mwinilunga missionaries disapproved of Suckling's unorthodox brethren policy and actions, particularly his deep and successful involvement in the Barotseland secession dispute, his business undertakings, and his aggressiveness in expanding his village school program. Many of his specific actions in this period probably resulted from foiled ambitions and hurt pride.⁷¹

Suckling's implications in educational misunderstandings in the district culminated in a nasty little quarrel over the boma school. This came to a head in 1944. An ex-Brethren missionary married a Brethren businessman named Rudge and moved to Balovale township. In 1935 she opened a school that quickly gained popularity. She became offended when Suckling tried to incorporate the school into his out-school program. When in 1944 she withdrew her services, she precipitated a local crisis. Suckling's actions also outraged other missionaries, district officials, and even the new Lunda chief, Ishinde. Blaming Suckling for the crisis, local officials refused to give him control of the school.⁷²

Actually the situation was far more complex and involved than this. In the aftermath of the district's secession from Barotseland -- discussed later -- modern tribal troubles arose in the district. Although many of the pupils spoke Luvalé, the boma lay on the eastern side of the Zambezi River that was loosely designated as Lunda. The DC feared disorder could erupt in the region if the new Lunda Native Authority took it over and required instruction in Lunda. The DC urged the territorial government to make it a government school. In this case English could be used as the sole medium of instruction if Lunda or Luvalé proved unfeasible. The territorial government heeded the DC's pleas, but the quarrel helped direct the district's new tribal problems toward the schools.⁷³

70. Silas Chizawu made thoughtful reflections on this 'invasion' in his interview. Regarding Suckling's belief that government officials were biased, see especially Peter Tregear's appendix in Appendix L.

71. For the "unhealthy rivalry," see 10 January 1944, paragraph 5 of Newsletter No. 15, SEC 2/193. Suckling's role in the Barotseland secession will be described in the next section. For the disapproval of other missionaries see 3 July 1944, Newsletter No. 17, SEC 2/193.

72. See the following government documents in SEC 2/193: 10 January 1944, Newsletter No. 15, and 14 May 1944, Newsletter No. 17. See also Glennie (Ag. PC), to the Director of African Education, 3 May 1944, "Native Education, Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1944-46," SEC 1/569, NAZ.

73. In addition to the citations in the previous footnote. See the following government documents. In SEC 2/193, see the following newsletters: 14 May 1944, No. 17; 16 October 1944, No. 18; No. nineteenth; and second quarter 1945, No. 21. In

Ch. X. Education Amidst World Crisis, 1933-1945

The last dimension of the enigmatic Suckling was his Jeanes teachers. In 1932-33 his fears of moral corruption outweighed his desire to help Africans learn. Consequently, he did not send Jeanes candidates to Mazabuka immediately as Cottrell urged. Suckling did, however, train supervisors to help him visit the out-schools. Only in 1939 did he send John Mwondela and Silas Chizawu. While the training that these men and others later received proved useful when they were appointed to positions in the Zambian Government, the Jeanes program by the early 1940s was dying. Suckling had waited too long.⁷⁴

Alleged factiousness and the Jeanes delay notwithstanding, Suckling's overall success vindicates him. Even these officials recognized him as the most energetic and successful educator in the NWP. As the senior missionary, Suckling deserves credit for Chitokoloki's considerable educational achievement. Its educational program became the largest component in both Balovale's and the NWP's modern educational system. As the upper primary and teacher training schools turned out increasingly qualified men and women, Suckling not only was able to convert his own 'sub-schools' into 'schools' but also was able to help other missions throughout Balovale, Kabompo, Mwinilunga, and even parts of Solwezi and Kasempa Districts.

An Era Ends

Six significant events affected education at the end of this era. The first four were very specific: the 1942 secession or excision of Balovale District from Barotseland; the 1941 appointment of the first government superintendent who lived within the Province; the 1943 draft of a remarkably progressive five year development program for education; and the 1944 arrival of the SAGM's full-time male educator. The last two were more general: the beginning of mission competition and most important of all, the opening of Native Authority schools and formal inclusion of African representation on the Local Education Committees. Together these six events closed the period covered by this work.

The excision of Balovale from Barotseland had an indirect effect on education. This 1942 secession delineated the most significant boundaries of the eventual NWP. While Mankoya (Kaoma) District remained part of Barotseland, Balovale's educational as well as political and economy ties were redirected from the north-south Zambezi Valley toward Kasempa, Solwezi, Mwinilunga and the Copperbelt. By 1954 this reorientation led to the present-day NWP, with Solwezi as its headquarters.

The secession is also indirectly tied to education because of Suckling's and Caldwell's successful representation of the Balovale peoples. With a genuine desire to help, Suckling included the secession in his general scheme of action for the district. In 1939 one DC

SEC 1/569, see the following correspondence: Director (African Education) to Chief Secretary, 27 March 1944; Acting Chief Secretary to the Director, 30 March 1944; the Director to Chief Secretary, 22 May 1944. Tribal quarrels that often focused on the schools and engulfed Suckling became a major issue after World War II.

74. Suckling himself says nothing about why he did not heed Cottrell's strong 1932 injunction to send several candidates to Mazabuka for Jeanes training before 1939. His fears must be deducted from interviews, especially with Mwondela and Chizawu. Although Chitokoloki did not yet have a Jeanes teacher in 1939, the explicit duties of such teachers in Barotseland were outlined in "Advisory Board -- Barotseland, 1936-42," C 3/4/1, NAZ.

Education in the Northwestern Province

observed that "Chitokoloki mission appears to have identified itself closely with the life of the district and the relations between it and the district and the relations between it and the native chiefs are on a sound footing. Barotse elements in the district, however, tend to suspect the mission because they feel it has encouraged the local chiefs in their opposition to the Paramount Chief and the Lealui Kuta." But Suckling's motivation was probably deeper. African interviewees felt that government disliked him playing this active role as representative. Thus his misunderstandings with government and his feelings of harassment may have motivated him. Just as his evangelism included formal educational programs, it seemed also to include protecting the district from the Lozi. In the process, Suckling broke a basic Brethren maxim: "The missionary embarks on no political reforms or agitations; he preaches the Gospel." As a result Suckling eventually even traveled to England to justify his actions to supporters. He permanently etched his name on the region's history, however, by helping to change the region's political geography.⁷⁵

Before the secession climaxed, the Department of African Education stationed D.B. Roberts at Kasempa as the African Education Officer (a new title for Superintendent). Roberts immediately began organizing seminars and refresher courses for missionary educators and African village teachers. But his presence was more important than what he actually achieved. His arrival suggested that the territorial government had serious intentions about education. As indicated in Foster's initial statements during the first meeting of the Kasempa Local Education Committee, many missionaries rejoiced that they could soon wash their hands of 'academic, higher' education. Others feared, however, that when education left their control, it might become merely godless training. Government officers, on the other hand, felt that more concrete educational advances could be made and the region's educational future could and would be much more rosy. African leaders were delighted. For them, Robert's arrival heralded education without evangelization.⁷⁶

The government's new five year development plan for education -- given in Appendix M -- was closely related to Robert's work. He wrote the plan after considering suggestions by the DCs. It proposed lifting the NWP out of its rut and vastly expanding its educational system.

The Provincial Commissioner wrote a supplement that accompanied the plan and this provides an exceptionally insightful and modern analysis of the region's educational problems, particularly those related to its 'backwardness'. Like Cottrell, the Provincial Commissioner defended the people against the claim that they lacked ability. Instead, he chided all three elements of society for the problem. First, he asserted that the missions had not been "wholehearted in their educational work" and also had been monopolistic. Then he blamed the government for administering the region on unduly "'paternalistic' rather than on progressive lines." He believed:

75. For the first quotation, see Jones, Tour Report No. 6, 1939, "Balovale Tour Reports, 1938-40," SEC 2/988, NAZ. For the second quotation, see the introduction to Chapter V.

76. For the Kasempa Local Education Committee meeting, see SEC 1/540. Especially see the interview with Remas Kalepa, who shared an office with Roberts.

Ch. X. Education Amidst World Crisis, 1933-1945

There has been little to upset this complacency by both natives and officials, as the country has never been as poor as are as many parts of the Northern Province owing to fair soil, a local mine and its proximity to the Northern Rhodesia industrial centers.

The result has been that boys have not been interested in education, except to give them a smattering to enable them to earn good money with which to buy clothes. At the same time must not lose sight of the fact that most of the cream of the population has gone to live in industrial areas and these are more or less lost to the tribe. Therefore boys who have gone to school have not been subject to the discipline they should have had, and are inclined to be lazy and to have an inordinate high opinion of their abilities.⁷⁷

While Roberts and the new plan signaled the dawn of a bright new age, clouds quickly gathered. Roberts left abruptly at the end of 1944 and was not replaced within the province despite the Provincial Commissioner's frantic telegram that ominously warned, AFRICAN OPINION REGARDING NEGLECT VERY STRONG." First the war made replacement difficult and later policies were modified when the provincial headquarters was moved to Ndola. The implementation of the five year plan was only partly completed. Four years of education for all children in the province became an endless dream. Despite the fact that Africans themselves later picked up the 'backwardness' argument and boldly proclaimed that they were truly behind other provinces and thus required disproportionate funding to catch up, the required funds were never allocated.⁷⁸

While the government first signaled a new age and then reneged on its promise, the NWP missions improved their performance. First, Peter Letchford, with his perceptive leadership and with appropriate government grants, immediately helped the mission fulfill government requests. The SAGM suddenly made advances paralleling those at Chitokoloki in the previous decade. With the return to the region of two of the best trained Lamba- and Kaonde-speaking men, Tito Kibolya and Aaron Ngalande, Letchford raised the school to a Standard VI level and included teacher training. John Wright and more African staff later followed. Suckling and Letchford even conferred about the possibility of a new secondary school. While this plan for a mission-run secondary school failed, education rapidly became systematized throughout the province.⁷⁹

The two more general series of events that closed the era are the cause of the missions doing much better even though the government reneged. The Local Education Committees in which leading Africans and the missionaries started to meet formally on an equal basis is the most significant on a long-term basis. It is a focus of the next chapter. The other, competing missions, was more important as a short-term catalyst for educational expansion in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

77. C. (or E.) Munday. See "Five Year Development Plan: Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1943," SEC 2/279, NAZ. Quoted in Appendix M.

78. For the telegram of 14 July 1945, see SEC. 1/569. For an example of Africans' use of the 'backward' theme, see a letter from Chief Kasempa for Kaonde Native Authorities to the governor on 2(?) September 1946, "Redistribution of Districts: Western Province. Inclusion of Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1945-7," SEC. 2/46, NAZ.

79. See the interviews with Aaron Ngalande, Tito Kibolya, Peter Letchford, Alexander and Marjorie Nisbet. For the aborted plans, see the Nisbet and Letchford interviews. For Letchford's first impression, see "Is He Wrong?" in *Pioneer*, 59 (May/June 1945), p.10.

Education in the Northwestern Province

In 1934 the Capuchin Fathers settled just south of Chitokoloki, enormously upsetting Chitokoloki and Suckling. The spiritual war that ensued goaded Suckling in establishing and improving out-schools throughout the district. It also helped motivate Chavuma. In addition, this new competition in Balovale correctly indicated what was going to happen in other areas.

While World War II hindered Catholic missionaries settling prior to 1945, sites were chosen in all districts and plans were made. In the meantime, men like Letchford hastened these evangelical Protestants' educational work. Africans were to benefit from the period ending amidst a new phenomenon of religious competition.

Despite this flurry of educational activity by the missions in the early 1940s, the following 1945 statistics of children between the ages of eight and sixteen who attended school clearly show that education in the NWP remained at the bottom of the heap in Northern Rhodesia. The highest district percentages were Livingstone with 93%, Chinsali with 75%, and Kawambwa with 71%. The lowest district percentages outside the NWP were Namwala with 24%, Mumbwa with 20%, and Fort Jameson with 19%. In the NWP Kasempa had 19%, Mwinilunga 16%, and Balovale 16%. The provincial percentages for the whole territory were:⁸⁰

Northern	47%
Western	47% (i.e., Copperbelt)
Southern	56%
Barotseland	44%
Central	41%
Eastern	26%
Kaonde-Lunda	16% (i.e., NWP)

Past chapters have provided several explanations for these deplorable statistics; but by 1945 NWP society was no longer to blame. Despite the missions' general philosophical reservations and poverty, leading mission educators like Suckling and Letchford were prepared for and capable of making great advances. Local officials were likewise prepared to do their part. And, as will be described in the next chapter, African leaders were anxious to change the situation. Once again, the territorial government did not properly finance African education by allocating funds to make up for lost time. This time the reluctance proved fatal. From the government's perspective, the people and the resources of the NWP were best forgotten and left for future development.

Thus the NWP became the Cinderella Province. Or perhaps it was actually a Sleeping Beauty province, which needed only a rich prince to awaken it. If the latter were true, either the new territorial boundaries stopped him, or the journey from the line of rail was too great, or the tsetse killed his horse. In any event the prince never came. The NWP's educational system, like its economy, remained in a sleepy stupor.

80. Chief Secretary to Director of African Education, 15 January 1946, "General Scheme for African Education, Secretary, 1/510, NAZ; these statistics appear in Schedule D entitled "Assisted Mission and Native Authority Schools." Although in 1945 twice as many students attended school in Balovale as in Kasempa District, the former's population was much larger.

CHAPTER XI: A CONCLUSION: THE AFRICAN RESPONSE TO THE NWP'S WEAK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

*Many [Kaonde] have nibbled at [education in the mission schools] and have found it unattractive, unexciting and largely unintelligible Consequently, word has been passed round that any attempt to absorb this rather dull and alien teaching is a waste of time.*¹

Wood, Kasempa, 1931

Comments from African subjects on the topic of education would be more valid than Woods' impressions, but few are available. Traditional education never required literacy. And by World War II, the new system had not taught most of the people to read, let alone write. Consequently, few Africans recorded the changes taking place or their reactions to them as events occurred.²

Today we must glean the African response indirectly. One way is through impressions like those of Woods who, as DC, felt obligated to discover and disclose the feelings of King George's Kaonde subjects. Other ways are by deduction and through the memories of those Africans who lived through the period. Previous chapters have included some snippets of recorded conversation. This chapter will contain others. Some men interviewed, however, now have only general memories of the age and others have reshaped events through time and the telescoping of memory. Despite a careful detective-like analysis of available material on the African response, the result is not entirely satisfactory. Nonetheless, since Africans were the focus and cause of mission education in the NWP, this conclusion from their perspective is apt. To say more would be anti-climactic.

Unpopular Educational Programs and African Preferences

Until the mid-1930s and often until 1945, the NWP missions' educational programs lacked inspiration. Because the missions had few trained educators, Africans seldom received education beyond the initial primary grades. This made the programs truly "unattractive, unexciting and largely unintelligible"³ to most young people. Consequently, village schools opened, declined, and closed every few years as students lost interest. Even the mission station schools attracted and retained only a limited number of students. People often registered their dissatisfaction by not bothering to attend.

In the BSAC era covered by Chapters VII and VIII, total school enrollment was minimal. The total for each SAGM station seldom exceeded thirty, and the actual average attendance

1. Mwinilunga District AR in Central Province AR for 1934, ZA 7/1/17/2, NAZ.

2. More precisely, Woods stated that his "aim [was] to offer an explanation why they do not patronize the local mission school," *ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

Education in the Northwestern Province

was lower. In the early war years, two hundred or more attended school at Kalene, and of those three-quarters attended regularly. Before 1914 and between 1918 and 1921, figures dipped below one hundred. The Arnot Memorial School at Chitokoloki enrolled 125 pupils and, with its village schools, had between three and four hundred pupils by the end of 1917.⁴

For the 1924-33 period covered by Chapter IX, enrollment increased slightly when new mission stations opened. But after this initial 1923-24 expansion, enrollment remained almost static because all missions failed to develop a network of village schools. In 1924 approximately 700 students enrolled in some form of mission 'school' or 'sub-school' in both Kaonde-Lunda Province and Balovale District. In 1930 the enrollment had not increased. In 1932 only 850, or less than one percent, of a population that probably exceeded 100,000, attended.⁵

Although the total enrollment figures increased dramatically in the mid-1930s, only a small percentage of children attended school, and the total did not continue increasing. Only in the early and mid-1940s, when Chitokoloki's new teacher training college graduated up to twenty new trained teachers per year, did both the total number and the total percentage of children again increase. Even then education in the NWP probably remained the weakest in the territory.⁶

This weakness is highlighted by the following 1945 statistics. These come from a different government source and use a different method of calculation. Nonetheless, they verify those at the end of Chapter X. The following government estimates indicate that the NWP had a population of 144,000, 75 schools, and 5,243 pupils. Thus one out of every 27.5 people were being educated. This ratio places the NWP below all other regions.⁷

Southern	1:9.5
Central	1:10
Barotseland	1:11
Western	1:11
Northern	1:12
Eastern	1:22
Northwestern	1:27.5

The NWP's enrollment attendance totals tended to be the lowest in the territory throughout the colonial era, but specific comparisons between the NWP and other parts of Northern Rhodesia or the rest of Anglophone Africa are difficult to make. Few statistics exist, and they are unreliable. Some simple comparisons are nonetheless possible. During the 1924-33 period when NWP enrollments averaged 700, over 3,000 pupils were enrolled

4. For the statistics in this and subsequent paragraphs, no one document or even series of documents was satisfactory with the possible exception of government ARs. Unless noted otherwise, these statistics have been gleaned from numerous sources, especially consult the sources cited in Chapters VII and VIII.

5. For statistics in the 1924-32 period, see the sources cited in Chapter IX.

6. For statistics in the 1933-45 period see the sources cited in Chapter X.

7. Northern Rhodesia Government, *African Education Department, Annual Report for 1945*, Table D, p. 22.

Ch. XI. The African Response to the NWP's Weak Educational System

in the Paris Missions' schools in Barotseland and over 3,000 pupils in the Church of Scotland's schools in Chinsali District of the Northern Province. These other programs also trained Africans teachers, who operated dozens of village schools.⁸

These territorial comparisons are inadequate however, without a broader perspective. Education in Northern Rhodesia compared poorly with that in other parts of British Africa such as Uganda and Nyasaland. Thus the old Kaonde-Lunda portions of the NWP were indeed at the bottom of the territory and much of Britain's African empire.⁹

Despite the small number of schools and regardless of the vacancies in those that existed, many people wanted something. Woods confirmed this desire when he said, "Secular education, divorced from religion, is undoubtedly desired; by some, vaguely, and by a few intensely."¹⁰ The problem for most individuals was that they did not know exactly what they wanted. They only knew that they needed a functional education that would help them individually and collectively. They also wanted to understand the new world in terms of traditional, understandable social patterns. Most realized that they did not want to fit traditional social patterns into the Biblical-type social system advocated by the missionaries. In a general way, Africans understood that the missions' system could destroy the essence of their cultures.

Based on his close observations and intimate knowledge, Woods attempted to explain what his African subjects wanted. Although the phrasing may sound condescending to the modern reader, the analysis is essentially correct.

*A smattering of English, the ability to scrawl and read a letter, an increasing knowledge of the world by association with other tribes and types, the development of craft and cunning in dealing with his fellow men. These are the qualities and accomplishments which, to a large extent, constitute Education in the mind of the Bakaonde and which, once acquired, by placing them (as they hope) on a more equal footing with more sophisticated natives and with Europeans, must lead ultimately to wealth. Which, they naturally believe, is the goal and object of education.*¹¹

A rare visit of the Chief Secretary of Northern Rhodesia to Kaonde-Lunda Province in 1937 further reveals what the people wanted and did not want. Under the policy of indirect rule, he met with senior Lunda and Kaonde chiefs in the Kasempa and Mwinilunga Districts and encouraged an open discussion. The chiefs responded with verve.

Acting as the secretary, the DC recorded the following: "The chiefs unanimously expressed considerable dissatisfaction with education being given." Chief Kanongesha wanted English

8. For the best comparative statistics on education within Northern Rhodesia, see Ragsdale, "Development," Snelson Development; also see the Northern Rhodesia Government, Native [African] Education Department, Annual Reports, from 1927 onwards.

9. For two useful, unpublished works on education in Uganda and Nyasaland, the most educationally advanced territories in eastern Africa, see Felice Carter [Gadsden], "Education in Uganda, 1894-1945," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1967) and Roderick J. Macdonald, "A History of African Education in Nyasaland, 1875-1945," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1969). For two works on Ghana and Nigeria, see Foster, *Ghana* and Fafunwa, *Nigeria*.

10. Woods, ZA 7/1/14/6.

11. Ibid.

Education in the Northwestern Province

taught and less singing. Asked by the Chief Secretary whether the singing meant hymn singing he replied that it did, and further that he did not like hymns at all." Chief Sailunga agreed with Kanongesha and "Chief Mukumbi Katotola added rather vehemently that he didn't like hymns either."¹² The Kasempa dialogue was not recorded, but the DC indicates that the chiefs agreed with their Mwinilunga counterparts. The Kasempa DC further noted: "The present desire of the people is to be educated rather than evangelized and hence comes the oft repeated request for Government schools."¹³ The chiefs expressed popular African sentiments, if not a consensus of the population.

The Chief Secretary questioned the chiefs' blunt assertion that no English was taught in the district. He told them that he believed Kalene taught English in the middle standards. Later correspondence ensued and the Director of Native Education confirmed that Kalene taught English.¹⁴

The problem was that 'English' had a much narrower meaning for the Chief Secretary than for the chiefs. The former believed that English was a specific subject in a school curriculum and a precise language skill. These chiefs gave it a wider and more generic meaning. Like the young men who in 1910 gather around Bailey at Chisalala to learn 'inglishi', they believed English was a set of skills that would help them integrate better into the new society and "ultimately [gain] wealth."¹⁵ Furthermore, Kalene had limited meaning for many because it was several days journey away from their homes. For most of them, school meant the nearest 'sub-school'.

Even the chiefs, however, did not represent most of the African population. For most of the population, education symbolized the white man's religion and simply remained part of wider and more pervasive problems, especially taxation and migration.

Taxation, Migration, Self-Help and Education

Before 1924 the all-encompassing colonial government demand of taxation had become inextricably entwined with the African desire for education. After 1924 nothing changed. By the time the BSAC era ended, as described in Chapter VI, nobody could reject or avoid paying taxes. One man told Pirouet in 1924 that his people had been "freed from one form of slavery, only to be made victims of another form, taxation." Furthermore, the economic depression hit the NWP, but the prosperity of the 1920s and later of the World War II era generally bypassed it. The NWP remained an economic backwater in the colony, with hard money remaining an exceedingly scarce and precious commodity.¹⁶

Migration from rural to urban areas served two specific purposes in this complex situation.

12. The Mwinilunga meeting took place on 13 August 1937. For the dialogue, see a letter from K. Bradley (for Acting Chief Secretary) to Director of Native Education, 25 September 1937, C 1/8/4/2.

13. Kasempa DC's quotation, see Kasempa District AR for 1937, SEC 2/134, NAZ.

14. The Director of Native Education to the Chief Secretary, 19 October 1937, C 1/8/4/2. The latter used this chance to stress the need for better funding so the Department could begin government schools in the Kaonde-Lunda Province.

15. Woods, ZA 7/1/14/6.

16. For the Pirouet quotation, see Appendix E: "The British Empire Exhibition."

Ch. XI. The African Response to the NWP's Weak Educational System

As described in Chapter VI, when tax money could not be earned locally, one or more men in a village had to 'go look for money' in the towns. But migration also became a totally different and seemingly workable response to feeble, evangelically-oriented educational programs in the NWP. As Woods observed:

*The young and adolescent Kaonde . . . now realizes that a large part of what he wants can be obtained by the simple means of spending a few years in the Mining Area. Here with himself as the principle tutor, he can acquire the kind of education that he covets, and that he believes to be the best for him, and moreover he can earn wages during the process.*¹⁷

In other words, migration became a form of self-help -- and the most viable form in the NWP.

During this interwar period, independent schools opened in some parts of the British Empire, such as the Kikuyu regions of Kenya. Interviewees from the NWP uniformly agreed that such an organized course of action was unthinkable in their part of Africa. In Kikuyuland, Church of Scotland missionaries had provided a basic education quite different from that in the NWP. Having received this basic education, a new Kikuyu elite could start its own educational program. Furthermore, quite unlike the more compact and heavily populated Kikuyuland, the NWP was large and sparsely populated. Lubinga Majatulanga, one of Kasempa District's new teachers in the 1940s, explained why no other course of action was possible. His reasons agree with Robin Short's observation in Chapter IV that the DCs in the NWP were so strong that "dissent . . . was unknown, unimaginable and unimaginable."¹⁸ Mujatulanga stated:

*It was not easy for one to know what was happening in other districts. We were completely divided. We did not know what was going on in another province. There were no good communications. Even for those who travelled and saw what was happening elsewhere, it was not very easy for one in those days, to go and protest to the Government -- "Who are you? Sometimes you could be beaten, for giving other people this information."*¹⁹

Meanwhile increasing numbers of men, both those who remained at home and those who migrated, taught themselves and others to read and write. As noted in Chapter IX, syllable sheets and charts issued by Kalene and later by other missions tapped the self-help spirit. They gave some formal encouragement to self-help endeavors and also enabled bright individuals to learn the most elementary forms of reading and writing.

The following two examples from Solwezi District show that such elementary literacy became widespread. In late 1931 one official noted that of the few adult males who could

17. Woods, ZA 7/1/14/6.

18. For Robin Short's assertion, see Chapter IV and *Sunset*, p. 30.

19. Mujatulanga interview. Most African interviewees were asked why the people did not branch out on their own when the mission education was inadequate in most places. Mujatulanga's comment is typical and clearest. For Kenya there is now a vast literature on the Church of Scotland's educational endeavors and breakaway African groups. But for a more general account from the perspective of the Presbyterian Church in Kenya which emerged from the Church of Scotland's missionary work, see R. Macpherson, *The Presbyterian Church in Kenya: An Account of the Origins and Growth of the Presbyterian Church in East Africa* (Nairobi: by the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, 1970). For even earlier work on the Church of Scotland, see Macdonald, "Nyasaland."

Education in the Northwestern Province

read, a "large proportion . . . are self taught with hints from friends." Remus Kalepa also explained what he had seen in Solwezi. "Most of the people, although they had no schooling . . . could write what we called in kiKaonde *mukanda*, changed. Men like Ishindi helped guide the process."²⁰

Before Chief Ishindi became chief, he used the name Peter Dawson. This Christian name indicates a basic fact: he was already a member of a new African elite that was quietly growing alongside the traditional African elite. As elsewhere in Africa, this new elite was a direct by-product of the colonial world's modern educational systems. In the NWP it was comprised of government clerks, mission evangelists and teachers, and farmers -- largely located in Balovale District. Their voice remained constrained, but became increasingly noticeable. Those who were employed generally spoke in ways acceptable to government officers and missionaries. This manner of speaking kept them from being 'given the sack', or fired. But as this group continued to work in close proximity to the European elite, members learned the best ways and times to make their dissatisfaction known. Only the boldest or most dissatisfied openly challenged the officers or missionaries.²¹

The following examples from Solwezi and Kasempa Districts show how the efforts of the new elite supplemented those of the traditional elite. These examples also reveal the different ways that the new African voice could be heard: in a loyal whisper, a skillful and pointed letter, or an open and loud confrontation. A militant response also appeared, but most people rejected it.

In 1925 Chief Kapijimpanga asked Pirouet to read a letter from the chief's nephew, a potential heir and ex-pupil of the missionary. At this time the nephew lived in Livingstone, the territory's capital. The letter unnerved Pirouet. It asked that the chief not be "afraid" but "go to the Magistrate [DC] and tell him that you want him to send me to a big school. . . . Say that you will not go on paying taxes, there is no money in the country and refuse to pay." Pirouet discussed the matter with "trusty old John." Pupe, the long-suffering, longest-serving, and most faithful African evangelist, was frank, "You see, Bwana, we all think that the white man wants to make us suffer. I suppose it is because we are ignorant and do not understand, but that is what all the Kaonde think." Pirouet concluded that missionaries were part of a living "British Empire exhibition" whose "spectators are brown men" and who do not necessarily like the "exhibits."²²

In 1932-33, Sam K.K. Mwase, a non-NWP African, wrote a memorandum which cagily advocated the changes that local people wanted.

As everyone is aware, education is a thing that cannot be disputed upon; and to have the

20. My wife and I had the pleasure of meeting Chief and Mrs. Ishindi many times in the 1960s. By this time he was a dignified elder statesmen.

21. Members of the new African elite are often referred to as 'interpreters' and 'collaborators'. But as the latter has a pejorative tinge today, it is inappropriate. As a group, it appears to me that early teachers were naturally charming men and/or pious. Noxious, or even ambitious and aggressive, men were not mission teachers!

22. Pirouet, "Exhibition," Appendix E. Pirouet referring to the 1925 exhibition at Wembley, used it to make his point on the negative African view that the missionaries were part of the European elite.

Ch. XI. The African Response to the NWP's Weak Educational System

Africans fully understand the ethics of the Government and the benefits therefrom, a better education should be provided throughout the Territory. This is the only possible way with which to solve the native question.

Through lack of better and sounder education most of the Africans have a very wrong idea with regard to the interpretation of the word 'Government'. If asked what it means many will, without hesitation, say that the word 'Government' means to make people slaves, whereas those who have acquired a little good education interpret it as a 'peacemaker' that even our forefathers in their dark ages never witnessed, although in case of self-protection it may mean otherwise.

The Africans are aware of the fact that the Government is spending much money towards their education in this Territory. This is greatly appreciated although it seems that such grants-in-aid do not, in return, bring any fruitful results in some of the Missions. One would be greatly impressed to note that among the thousands of Bakaonde people in the Kasempa Province there is but only one native who is said to be educated, namely Simon Chibanza, the Native Clerk Solwezi now on leave, and who is the son of Chief Chibanza in this district.

Does this not show a great drawback on the part of Mission Schools: Can the Government, when things improve not be prepared to put Central Government Schools in places where Mission Schools are not established? If such Schools can be provided, is it not easy for both Government Missions to import first class teachers from other advanced countries such as South Africa? Nothing else can make the native a useful person and faithful subject to the Government other than education.²³

The contents are self-explanatory. The poor education offered by the local missions alienated the people from the missions and the government. Only the latter could provide the missing social services.

The contents of Mwase's letter are less important than government's concern for its message. Before responding to Mwase, several senior colonial officials had read it and some had made long comments: the Chief Secretary for Native Affairs, the Chief Secretary (for the whole territory), and the PC in Ndola (the NWP at that time was administered from there). Times were changing. By 1933 the government had begun to notice both the official and unofficial parts of the African voice. The missions also began to take more heed.²⁴

Even when the administrators and missionaries did not take much serious notice, some people still addressed the issue of educational inadequacies. One such person was Lumangula Remus Kalepa, who was then a young pupil at Mutanda School. His own words best describe the education that totally dissatisfied him.

Mutanda Mission . . . had no educationalist . . . Most of the work of the mission just . . . preaching the Gospel.

23. The heading of the memorandum says this was an extract. What is available is quoted entirely. "Native Education (General), 1st January 1933 - 13th October 1934," ZA 1/9/119/2, NAZ.

24. Ibid. All correspondence enclosed in the file was written in September 1933. In his long comment, Thompson maintained that Mwase was "not probably aware of [their] entire lack of desire . . . to acquire an education of any kind." Thompson clearly accepted the idea that NWP peoples were an exceptionally non-progressive group.

Education in the Northwestern Province

I remember one day we gathered before the missionary, Mr. Nelson. We said, 'No, we want more education; we want to be taught something more.' Then he was not happy with us. He said 'No, you people are wrong, we are here to preach the Gospel of God'. I was treated as a ringleader. He said, 'You, Remus, you are interested in education, why are you doing this'? We had an argument on that. . . .

Thus, I decided to go to the Copperbelt to find the means to go to other schools.²⁵

This altercation and break with the mission was Kalepa's last alternative, one that most members of this new elite tried to avoid.

John Pupe, Chief Kasempa, Chief Ishindi, Mwase and Kalepa all represented the two parts of the African voice that slowly struggled and gained some power in the new society. But another, more amorphous, response also existed, and it is easily overlooked. This response is characterized by the phrase 'Will the *bwana* help us'?

These words encompass naive attempts to be cunning or manipulative. They were used by less informed traditional rulers and by the people who lacked traditional prestige, the skills of the emerging elite, and the little money possessed by these more privileged people. This group, possibly a majority of the African population, was partly, but not completely, represented by the voices of the African elite. Consequently, many also attempted to speak on their own. But their voice was squeaky and much less successful.

For this segment of the African population, education and taxation were two aspects of a problem that could not be broken easily into parts, namely coping with a new and difficult world without losing the old one they cherished. Most people simply wanted to earn money locally so they could pay taxes and buy salt and basic clothing without having to migrate.

This problem and these much less sophisticated attempts to solve it are illustrated by the following two examples. In 1928 the very isolated, petty Chief Matebo told the Mukinge missionaries that he had become a Christian and wanted a school. Upon investigation, however, they dourly concluded that his "professed conversion" showed "no result . . . in his living" and that he wanted a school because he desired "a trading centre in his district where his people could buy cloth in exchange for grain."²⁶

In 1930 Sims in Chavuma complained that people wanted salt if they went to school. He told his supporters overseas: "If there is work to be done they will come; if we will purchase their meal they will come in their hundreds, but the gospel message is not wanted."²⁷ The people were not lazy or Sims would have said so. They just wanted to earn money locally through the mission without becoming converts. Education and coping with the new society were different parts of the same problem. This non-elite group was truly the most powerless of all.

25. Kalepa interview.

26. Irene Bartling, *On Trek*, 2 (October 1928), p. 38.

27. Sims, 8 August 1930, *Echoes*, 59 (November 1930), p. 251.

Formalized Interaction, 1941-45: Native Authority Schools and Local Education Committees

Formalized interaction between all three elements finally began. Between 1941 and 1945 Africans started to participate directly in educational decision-making. Local Education Committees signaled the dawning of a new age.

Shortly before, the first Native Authority schools opened: one in Chief Kasempa's Capital, one near the Mwinilunga boma, and one in Solwezi District. Two others followed. After the special grant to help this 'backward' region was exhausted, however, no more Native Authority schools opened. The government did not continue its generous special funding.²⁸

The Native Authority schools made the people gleeful, the missionaries apprehensive, and the officials hopeful but watchful. The missionaries agreed to supervise if the teachers accepted their Christian moral standards. While the DC of Kasempa maintained that Simon Tembo, a 'foreign' African, displeased Mukinge missionaries, most other teachers did better. In fact to minimize tension in Kasempa, Jesse Sandasanda, a staunch Christian and one of Mukinge's first trained teachers, replaced Tembo. As officials continually reminded both chiefs and missions, "the policy of government" was that Native Authority schools "should be complementary to the mission educational work" and should not compete in any unpleasant manner. At least officially, they did just that. In addition, the Mwinilunga school was especially successful. In their first examination, children at this new Mwinilunga school did just as well as those at Kalene. The school was quickly upgraded to Standard IV. Given the chance, many members of the new African elite quickly proved that they could perform quite well on their own. For the good of the region, educational cooperation continued and expanded.²⁹

Within a year of the first Native Authority school openings, the first Local Education Committees met in Kasempa and Mwinilunga Districts. By 1945 they had become a regular fixture in each district, and the African members became increasingly active. Local administrators, missionaries, and African representatives discussed the district's educational problems. These committees advised the government and helped determine local educational policy. Government officials indicated that some discomfort existed between missionaries and Africans as they faced each other on a more equal basis than they had in the past. Although the same officials remain silent about their own responses, the minutes reveal a tendency to harangue. But by 1945 the minutes of the meetings and

28. The exact opening dates of the first three schools are not known. Mwinilunga was the first to start, probably in late 1939 and in temporary quarters, and the other two in the next two years. The establishment of these initial Native Authority Schools was part of a special plan, "Expansion of Native Education, Five Year Expansion Plan, 1938-40." In 1940 Cottrell, as Acting Director of African Education, wrote a progress report describing the territory's 'backward' areas and the specific things that the government had done. The NWP received special block grants and one part of this became the new Native Authority schools. C 1/6/1, NAZ.

29. For Simon Tembo's hard work but moral lapses, see 2 July 1942, Newsletter No. 8, SEC 2/193. For this pointed government reminder that is quoted, see the 10 September 1940 inaugural meeting of the Kasempa District Education Committee meeting; see also the 26 August 1940 inaugural meeting of the Mwinilunga District Education Committee meeting; SEC 1/540. The Mwinilunga school was the most successful. Newsletter No. 9 of 10 September 1942 states that boys were studying Standard III by that time: SEC 2/193, NAZ.

Education in the Northwestern Province

the administrators' notes on them indicate that the three elements of society increasingly understood and accommodated each other.³⁰

The Local Education Committees paved the way for a brighter future. New local policy-making bodies evolved. In education, these bodies were first the regional councils and then local education authorities (L.E.A.s). All of them also became training schools for many future African leaders. They gave some able men a chance to gain self-confidence in the new society and to refine their ability to work with and even manipulate the white elite. For example, at a meeting of the Kasempa Regional Council just after the end of this era, African members, led by Remus Kalepa, strongly protested. These men correctly asserted that the Department of African Education had enacted a new policy between meetings -- in this case over teachers' pay -- and then confronted the members with a *fait accompli*. Although Peter Tregear defended the new procedure, African members made a sophisticated attack that kept the administration on the defensive. Such African offenses and the corresponding European defensiveness departed from past patterns of interaction.³¹

A watershed had been crossed, and entrenched colonial attitudes began to reverse. Blacks and whites started working together in new positive ways, and their cooperation eventually developed into equality in a modern world. Their common status as members of the province's elite who guided others became stronger. Racial divisions decreased in proportion.

Like the crow of a cock on a cool African morning, such exchanges heralded the dawn of a new age in the new age in the NWP. Even the SAGM as conservative evangelicals realized and accepted the changes and their implications. In the May/June 1945 issue, the *South African Pioneer* that was published in the United Kingdom, ran an article entitled "The Colour Bar and Race" that condemned "discrimination on racial grounds."³² In the May/June American issue of the *South African Pioneer*, the editor's opening article was entitled "The Slumbering Continent Awakes!" It concluded:

*Africa is awake! She is shaking off her slumbers! African wars have ceased! Her children and adults are attending school, anxious to learn. African is passing through her adolescence. She is rapidly changing into adulthood. Her renaissance has come!*³³

But these last pages on social interaction and change can be misleading. They are too rosy, if not downright Pollyanna-ish. Yes, a dawn had come. By 1945 even the NWP was stirring. But in education, the NWP's fate was already sealed: it would continue to lag behind. In

30. This government implication is very general and applied to all the minutes of the early meetings. The officials' tendency to harangue is clear in the DC's emphasis on village consolidation; see the inaugural Kasempa meeting, SEC 1/540. Despite increasing the accommodation between Africans and Europeans, one document indicates a stubborn trend in Balovale District. Newsletter No. 21, second quarter 1945, states that the missionaries there did not like the idea of an African majority on the committee.

31. For these first regional council meetings and the 1947 discourse between Kalepa and Tregear, see SEC 2/230.

32. *Pioneer*, 59 (May/June 1945), pp. 13-4.

33. *Pioneer* (Am.), No. 21 (May/June 1945), p. 1.

Ch. XI. The African Response to the NWP's Weak Educational System

1947 Remus Kalepa, one of the more vocal new African leaders, prophesied the future:

I remember that about 5th May 1947, . . . there was a meeting, at Balovale, of the African Provincial Council, at which I spoke. . . . On [this] day, a Provincial Commissioner came from Ndola, and he said that the government was changing the system of education. . . . He said that the government had decided to make one equal basis of education in the country. I remember objecting and said that 'Bwana Provincial Committee, this is a mistake. If we have the same system of education as in other provinces who already have had more education . . . it is like giving us a race of which the starting points are different. Others are set up about 100 yards in front and others behind, yet you say start at the same time and the goal is the same. It means that those who are 100 yards ahead will easily reach the goal and win the race'. In other words I meant, . . . we behind, who had a weak beginning, will always remain behind.³⁴

And so it has come to pass as Kalepa foretold. Despite more serious efforts by the colonial government after 1945 and especially by the new Zambian government after 1964, the most crucial period had been lost. These later attempts came decades too late. Educationally the NWP would remain at the bottom of the heap.

34. Kalepa interview.

Education in the Northwestern Province

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APPENDICES (from original dissertation)

Note: In the text, frequent reference is made to oral and written materials that were essential in writing this dissertation. Some of the least accessible are presented here in separate appendices, and each one is preceded by a brief introduction. Underscoring in the text reflects the original documents many of which used a lots of underscores.

APPENDIX A: Brethren Missionary Principles

[A. B. Short, a prominent brother in England, wrote an historical memorandum on Brethren missionary work. Writing for Bible Study Classes, he describes the model used by the early Christian church, of going forth on faith., and argues that it is still appropriate in the twentieth century. God's anointed missionaries do not need the hierarchical structure found in most missionary societies.

When he was writing in 1919, Short was especially concerned about the Brethren mission fields. Though not in the field himself, he expressed beliefs shared by missionaries in Central Africa, like Dr. Walter Fisher, Hugh Cunningham, and George Suckling. Furthermore, Short's model seems to have influenced later missionaries.¹

Supposing we wish to make a modern experiment in missions on Apostolic lines, what is the pattern we have to follow?

We have learned that there must be the reaching out to regions empty of the gospel. That the main method and purpose of the work must be evangelism, the raising up of a local church and native eldership, and imparting the written word of God. That the missionary's call comes from God, either directly or voiced by the invitation of an older missionary: that it is recognized by his fellow Christians in his own assembly as well as by himself, and by a neighbouring church (Iconium, as well as Lystra; Jerusalem as well as Antioch). That the Holy Ghost sends forth, and the Church acquiesces with full fellowship, but does not seek to exercise any control over the worker in the field. That younger missionaries are subject to elder. That financial support may come in part from the missionary's secular occupation, but that usually it is the duty and privilege of the believers who send him out also to forward money to support him. But that there is no promise or guarantee of a salary, and the worker looks to God, not man, to keep him.

No doubt objections can be raised to following such a model--that there is no sense in it, or reason for it, that other methods of doing foreign missionary work have been wonderfully successful, that it is altogether too idealist, impracticable, that the workers will be in a state of chronic financial anxiety, that they and the work will inevitably starve.

Well, everything goes back to the main question, have we any right "to go beyond the

1. A.B. Short, *A Modern Experiment in Apostolic Missions* (Bristol: W.G. Harris, [1919]), pp.19-20. For a more recent and comprehensive statement of Brethren mission principles., see A. Pulleng, *Go Ye Therefore. . .* (London: Paternoster Press, 1958).

Education in the Northwestern Province

things which are written?" Is not the New Testament example for us like the "pattern in the mount" to Moses? Why does the inspiration of God include so much personal detail, even to a few books and an old cloak left at Troas, if it is not that we too may learn how best to please our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in our service for Him? That missionary work conducted on other lines has been immensely blessed is true, and we rejoice in the success obtained and the souls saved; we wonder at and admire the splendid heroism of the pioneers of the gospel in India, and China, and Madagascar, and Africa, and Greenland, and the South Seas. But, once more, success is not the principal test of being pleasing to God.

That we may not here and now see a sufficient reason for God's laying down a particular programme for carrying out His work does not matter in the least. We can afford to wait to learn His reasons later. But, this, at least, may be said: nothing would be more hopeless than for a few exiled Britishers to expect to shake the ramparts of heathenism, or win souls out of its terrific bondage, apart from the factor of Divine Power working with them. Everything depends on mobilizing the Divine factor. And if the missionary has a daily education in looking to God, trusting in God, for his financial needs, and in getting answers impressive and easily understood when God steps in to meet those needs, how much easier does it become to learn to look to Him and trust in Him also for needs in the much more difficult spiritual realm--for power over besetting sin, daily guidance, conversion of the unsaved, preservation of converts from backsliding, overcoming of the hostility of devil-possessed priests and the like!

Again, if the worker in a foreign land looks to God alone for supplies, it greatly reduces the danger of him entering or continuing in the field whom God has not sent. Scattered through "Echoes of Service" there are a very few notices of such, who, led by enthusiasm, mistook a call, found out the mistake only after spending a year or two in the mission field, and quietly dropped out or returned home.

Whether the ideal is impracticable, when God has called a man or a woman, it is the purpose of the following chapters to elucidate.

Appendix B: A Lingua Franca? Alternative Brethren Positions on African Education

[As non-conforming, conservative evangelicals, most Brethren tended to be suspicious about providing charity school-type education in their overseas mission programs. They feared any programs that might result in their mission endeavors developing structured, hierarchical, systems--like those of formal missionary societies. They believed that this was not Biblical and could endanger their emphasis for personal evangelism. Their mission stations in Central Africa, however, faced the problems of multiple indigenous languages. As they firmly believed that everyone in the world had the right to read God's Word, they created for themselves a significant dilemma. They either had to help in a large educational endeavor when the government neglected to do so or engage in a Biblical translation task of gigantic proportions. The five Brethren extracts that follow first put this unresolved controversy into historical perspective and then give the alternative views that affected the NWP in the 1910s and 1920s.]

Appendices

An Historical Perspective by A. Pulleng

[In 1958, A. Pulleng, one of the long-term editors of *Echoes of Service*, wrote a new guide for Mission work, "Go Ye Therefore . . ." He used historical hindsight to show the lack of consensus about the place of education in mission work. What was their Christian duty? Just teach basic literacy that enabled converts to read the Bible, or something more? A secondary question and duty was involved in this issue. If they only taught basic reading, then they had to become translators and place the Bible in numerous African languages. He also notes the different colonial situations in Angola and the Belgian Congo, as well as in the English speaking British ruled areas.]²

From the earliest days of Protestant missionary work there has been a sharp difference of opinion amongst missionaries as to the value of this work. When A.W. Groves Visited India he came into contact with Alexander Duff in Calcutta in 1834. Duff had then commenced the educational work which was subsequently to make him so well known. . . . His biography records the impact which Duff's work made. . . . Mr. Groves confess[ed] I left England an avowed enemy to education in connexion with missions; but I now tell you, and frankly, that henceforth, from what I have seen today, I am its friend and advocate.

On the other hand another well-known missionary of the same era, Adoniran Judson, held quite different views. [He concluded that] while schools diffuse knowledge, improved the intellect, hasten the progress of civilization, and are therefore benevolent and philanthropic, they are not the missionary work which Christ committed to His disciples. That they have done good who can doubt? But, as a means for converting men, that they have fallen very far below the simple preaching of the Gospel is, I think, beyond a question.

Notwithstanding his position, the very mission which Judson formed was subsequently largely taken up with educational work from primary schools to university standard. In India, too, many missionaries followed Duff's example but not with the same spirituality nor with like spiritual results. In consequence, many have been led in the conclusion that, while education will tend to remove ignorant superstitions, unless it is accompanied by conversions it will result in a materialistic outlook and make the educated more difficult to reach with the Gospel than the primitive heathen. . . .

In Central Africa the results achieved in educational work have been almost spectacular. Seventy years ago when the intrepid pioneers entered the vast territory they found tribes which while they had a wealth of folk tales, legends and history, handed down from generation to generation, had no written language and therefore no literature. The first task of the missionaries was to reduce languages to writing, and give the people the Word of God to read for themselves. This has proved a monumental task and all praise is due to the men and women who, in various ways, have laboured to achieve its accomplishment.

As soon as the various languages were reduced to writing school were started and boys, girls, men and women began to learn to read. In the early days these schools were very primitive and simple in character, and though many of the missionaries were not qualified teachers, remarkable results were achieved.

2 "Go Ye Therefore . . . : Missionary Service in a Changing World" (London: Paternoster Press, 1958), pp. 84-91.

Education in the Northwestern Province

In the beginning there was no alternative to engaging in school work. In addition alternative to the effect on assembly life of ability to read the Scriptures, individuals would thus gain a knowledge of God and the Saviour which would enable them more effectively to overcome the fierce opposition of the enemy, and to shake off the shackles of witchcraft and the superstitions which had held them in bondage for centuries. If the work is to spread, it must be largely through the medium of native evangelists. If assemblies are to be built up and become self-propagating, teachers and pastors must be raised up. These cannot do their work properly unless they can read the Word of God. In civilized lands Government undertake the work of education. In the pioneer days in Central Africa, Governments had barely become established and could not undertake an educational programme.

The schools in Central Africa fall into three categories--Bush schools, Regional schools and Central Boarding schools. The missionary selects some of the brightest boys in the area, who have been converted, and gives them further instruction and training in the hope that they will be exercised to become teachers in the bush schools. Chiefs have been most anxious to see such schools established in their villages. The bush-school teacher may know little more than reading and writing, his school and equipment being quite primitive. Yet, his influence on the children of the village will be immense. He is able to impart simple instruction in the Scriptures and inculcate habits of discipline to which the child in the village has been totally unaccustomed. The school period is usually of one and a half hours duration followed by drill of which the African boy is very fond. The teachers live by the school in a simple hut of their own construction, cultivating their own plantations of manioc and grain. They may receive gifts from the parent assembly. After school, adults are gathered to hear the Gospel, and such schools have been the means of the foundation of most village assemblies.

Regional schools are better equipped than bush schools and take the boys to a higher educational standard. They are manned by African evangelists, assisted by Christian schoolboys taught at the boarding school on the mission station. At these schools the boys bring their own food on Mondays and stay during the whole week as boarders, often returning home at the week-end for more food. Such schools are equipped with blackboards, charts, exercise books, and rough tables where the boys can write more easily than they do on their knees in the bush school.

Instead of merely learning to read and to write, as in the bush schools, they have simple lessons in arithmetic, geography, history, general knowledge, and may even learn a little French or English. Bible instruction follows very much the same lines as in the ordinary bush school. The early morning prayer meeting and Bible reading is followed by a more thorough Bible exposition or Gospel message at the afternoon school, being sometimes backed up by a camp-fire meeting at night. Where a regional school exists there is usually a thriving assembly.

In the same areas because of the desire of youth for better education Central Boarding schools have been established. The boys attending these schools do not go home at weekends and are thus under Christian influence for several consecutive months. The day

Appendices

commences with a period of prayer and Bible reading. Part of each day is spent in manual work such as cutting trees and ripping planks for building operations and the clearing of the long grass which rapidly envelops the mission station; others are engaged in cultivating gardens for the production of their own food. The manual work and gardening are reckoned towards the cost of their food.

The authorities are particularly anxious that boys should be engaged in manual work, as there is a tendency for the African to regard it as demeaning, and to aspire to do only clerical work. Thus the trend is away from the rural areas to the large towns, which from a government's standpoint is not altogether satisfactory.

The boys in these central boarding schools not only derive greater benefit in the matter of education, but there is also a greater prospect of their conversion, and of their becoming potential leaders in the assemblies. In Angola the Portuguese authorities require that before an African Christian can be allowed to preach or "catechize" he must qualify for a special permit. This is only given when he has reached what they consider to be a satisfactory standard of education which includes ability to speak Portuguese. This is in keeping with their efforts to raise the cultural standards of the people and has many advantages.

Thus it would be impossible for Africans to engage in public work in Angola, were it not for schools for teaching and the training of African believers. It is also important to realize that, so far as Angola is concerned, each main mission centre is required not only to engage in school work, but also to employ a European teacher of Portuguese nationality to be responsible for it. As there is no subsidy from the Government, missionaries are put to considerable expense, but it is a condition of continuing evangelical work of any kind, and in any case the missionaries consider the results justify the expense. D.B. Long, for example, states that in a period of two years seventy per cent of those baptised were the direct result of school work.

In the Belgian Congo the position is quite different from that in Angola. It is the deliberate policy of the Congo Government that education shall be in the hands of Christian missions, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, since it considers that if the education of Africans is divorced from religion it will lead to Communism. Thus apart from certain "lay" schools in the large towns there are no government schools. This means that if the children cannot be taught by Protestant missions they will all go to the Roman Catholics. The government granted generous subsidies towards the cost of school work, but the schools must be in charge of a teacher possessing a Belgian diploma which can only be obtained after studying for twelve months in Belgium.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Charles A. Swan, 1912

[Charles A. Swan, one of the earliest Brethren missionaries to follow F.S. Arnot into Central Africa, took a contrary view to the prevailing Brethren opinion on education. Because of people's high regard for him, he was permitted to argue his case for good education in *Links of Help*, the main publication of the Men's Study Classes. In the following article, he argued for good educational programs that taught in English, French and Portuguese--the new colonial languages. While the modern reader may question his "natural order," history has proven him an accurate prophet with regard to modern education.³]

Only those who have attempted it have any true idea of what it means to reduce an African language to writing, and then to attempt to translate the Scriptures into that language. And when we consider that there are something like one hundred and sixty-eight languages and fifty-five dialects of the Bantu family alone, one can imagine what an incalculable amount of labour must be spent before all these tribes can have the Scriptures in their mother tongue.

Then, again we are bound to confess that all the translations made by the missionaries must be very faulty and in many instances, quite misleading to the native mind. If any enthusiastic missionary who has been engaged on this work think otherwise, let him ask his fellow-missionaries for their opinion about his work. The faultiness of such work may not in any way be due to the missionary's imperfect knowledge of the language, but rather to the poverty of the language itself. Language is the medium by which thoughts are conveyed from one to another, and where the thought does not exist there is no word to express it. This is the reason why it becomes necessary to introduce so many foreign words to express certain abstract ideas concerning God's attributes, [and so forth]: not only because of the wrong ideas which the natives associate with them, even when they, to some extent seem to represent the abstract ideas which we seek to convey to them. The words they use for God often fail to suggest to the native mind a true impression of that Holy and loving Being, such as the word suggests to us, and sometimes it conveys the idea of a cruel monster, even though they may think of Him as the Creator. Some missionaries have therefore questioned the wisdom of using any of the native names to represent the persons of the Godhead.

Now what is the missionary's object in going to a land like Africa? You reply at once that it is to carry out the great commission of Matthew 28. 19, 20. That is, he goes to make disciples, and to teach them all that Christ commanded. And in order to do this it is necessary not only to preach to them, but also to put the Scriptures into their own language that they may be able to read them for themselves.

Face, then, for a moment, what the problem would mean, and ask yourself the question, Will the thing ever be accomplished? I think you will be forced to the conclusion that the scriptures will never be translated into all these languages and dialects. If not, we are inclined to ask, Was it ever intended that it should be attempted? Perhaps some will say, No, not into all, but into the strongest--into those which cover the largest extent of the

3. *Links*, 2 (1912-3), pp. 30-1.

Appendices

territory.

But don't you see that if we conclude that it is impossible or unnecessary for any one of the tribes to have the Scriptures in their own tongue, the ground immediately crumbles away beneath the feet of those who insist any one of the tribes must have them.

You object, and say, Yes, but the Gospel must be preached to those of every kindred, tongue, people, and nation. Yes, but I have yet to see the passage which says that the Gospel will be read in the language of every tribe.

Now one probable way to gain time and to save work, in order to accomplish as much as possible in the short period left to us before the coming of the Lord--which some think is very near--is as follows: instead of attempting the impossible--translating the Scriptures into so many languages--let the educational or school work of the missionary be in a European tongue. All Africa is now divided out among the European nations, so that English might be taught in English territory, French in French, Portuguese in Portuguese [and so forth].

With the knowledge of the European language, the new missionary could begin at once, to some extent, this educational work, and his knowledge could be obtained before entering the field. All preaching should, of course, be done in the native language, both by missionaries and native converts; but when once the native evangelists have acquired a good knowledge of the European language it might be well to use that language as the medium for instructing and preparing them for their work. They would then go forth and tell out in their own idiomatic phrases the wonderful Words of Life.

Some may object and say that having a knowledge of the white man's language would lead the native to go off and serve the non-Christian white, and thus become exposed to grievous temptations. Possibly; but this is bound to come sooner or later, even without a knowledge of the European language, and it has already come in many parts of Africa, as letters from missionaries on the field clearly show. How much better that when they go they should carry with them a complete copy of the word of God to strengthen them to resist these many temptations.

Some of the advantages of such a method would be:

As soon as the native could read in the European language, a comparatively perfect translation of the whole Bible would, without delay, be put into his hands.

All kinds of useful literature would at once become available for him, the missionary seeing, as far as possible, that only good wholesome reading came within his reach.

The very serious difficulty of how to teach arithmetic, owing to the very crude methods of calculation which prevail among the natives, would solve itself.

All the Christians of the different tribes included, say, in the territory where any one European language is taught would be able to communicate with each other and mutually help each other in the things of God. Whereas under the present modus operandi when you have taught a number to read in each of the different tribes these cannot communicate with or help each other, nor read each other's Bible for the simple reason

Education in the Northwestern Province

that they speak and read in a different language.

I think also that the natives would be much keener to learn the .European language than their own.

Should it take ten times as long to teach the European language as it does to teach the native tongue, the end in view would be very much more quickly accomplished, as all the tedious work of translation would be done away with.

The missionaries would thus be following the natural order of things, for in new countries where the white man settles, it is not the settlers who learn the native tongue; the weaker must give way before the stronger, and the native learns the white's language.

Sooner or later the European Governments will compel missionaries to do what I am here advocating, i.e., they will be compelled to teach the European language. This is being advocated in the Portuguese Government.

Let it be remembered that all that is here said only applies to the numerous unwritten languages and dialects in Africa and not to any language in which the missionary finds a literature already in existence.

George Suckling, 1915

[Suckling applied Swan's line of argument to his own plans in a letter published in *Echoes of Service*. The editors felt that he overstated his case, however, and rebuked him as noted at the end of his letter.⁴]

Some say that to teach English should be our chief educational aim out here, so that the native Christians from all the stations should have a lingua franca in which to talk together, and also that they may have the English Bible put into their hands. The chief difficulty lies in the length of time required for the natives to master the language sufficiently to talk of spiritual things and to read the Bible intelligently. Many of the adult (though not necessarily old) Christians would find it absolutely impossible to do so. Therefore preaching and translation work in the native languages seem essential. On the other hand, the native languages not only have much smaller vocabularies, but, I think it will be agreed, much less adaptability than English for expressing spiritual truths, so that I often wonder whether some of the most familiar truths to English Christians are not quite hidden from even intelligent African believers. It is possible that these young Christian boys, by commencing thus early to learn English, may acquire a fair knowledge of it. Only a few will get on really well, so our native schools and translation work not be effected, but, if these few really acquire a good working knowledge of English, I believe the results will fall justify our trouble. There is the danger that a slight knowledge of English may lead to go and work for other white men and thus our labour may be in vain. Please pray that it may not be so with these boys but that what knowledge of English they may obtain may be for their real good and the blessing of others.

4. *Echoes*, 4 (Sept. 1915, pt. 2), pp. 356-7.

Appendices

[Editors] We may remark that even if possible, it would be inadvisable to attempt to make English a lingua franca for the native Christians of all the stations, as a number of these are in Portuguese or Belgian territory, and the respective Governments would naturally desire the natives, if they learn a European language at all, to acquire Portuguese or French.

Adams and Bromley, 1915

[Swan's and Suckling's statements expressed a minority opinion within Brethren circles. Possibly as a reply to Suckling, these two missionaries in India state a more orthodox view. Few outspoken statements like Swan's and Suckling's again appeared in Brethren mission publications for many years.]⁵

The Lord imposes no obligation whatever upon His missionary servant to provide secular education. The great scholar [Apostle Paul] of the early Church subjected his pre-eminent intellectual attainments to the stern discipline of the cross, as is abundantly manifest by his language, and it is not without significance that he did not include schools amongst the methods of missionary work followed by himself and his associates. Hence the missionary must refuse to have this responsibility saddled upon him by the Christian community. That schools can be a very useful gospel agency goes without saying, and all will agree as to the desirability of all converts and their children being taught to read the Scriptures. But with this all responsibility ceases, and higher education is only justified as a means of bringing the word of God to souls. In these remarks we do not wish to deprecate education for Indian Christians; we only wish, as missionaries, justly to repudiate responsibility for it.

J. Alexander Clarke, 1923/1924

[In this article, Clarke applies Adams and Bromley's argument to missions in the Beloved Strip. School must not become the proverbial tail--of Christian evangelism—that wagged the dog.⁶]

Four times in the Holy Scriptures are written the words "The just shall live by faith." This strange reiteration, surely emphasizes the importance of the principle enunciated. School-work is an important branch of missionary endeavor in uncivilized lands, and should be the expression of a keen desire to teach the young people to read the Words of God in their own language. Of late years, however, it has taken a much larger place in missionary life and work than formerly shown in the very extensive opening of schools, mostly erected and supported by foreign monies. In this the serious danger, for both white and coloured workers, of departing from the above fundamental principle of entire dependence upon God must be guarded against.

Already the common practice of the missionaries carrying the entire burden of these schools, which involves not only the erection and upkeep of buildings, but also monthly salaries, is creating a situation fraught with peril to the young Christian teachers. Thereby they are made, perhaps unconsciously, to look to him for all supplies both spiritual and material, and expect the missionary alone to take the initiative in all the future development of the work. But, on the other hand, to encourage and teach the local church

5. E. Charles Adams and Eustace B. Bromley, *Echoes*, 44 (Nov. 1915, pt. 1), pp. 493-4.

6. *Links*, 12/13 (1923/4), p. 285. For other important articles reflecting on education in Africa, see those by Mrs. Anton in *Links*, 18 (1928/9), esp. pp. 10-1, 14-5.

Education in the Northwestern Province

to carry the responsibility of any gospel-school work in the district is to impress upon the individual members the fact that it is not solely the foreigners business supported by monies he receives, and would also lead to exercise of heart in this respect, and strengthening of faith. Progress might not appear to be so rapid but great spiritual blessing to the church would result, in that it would no longer depend on the (to the natives) unlimited foreign supplies through the white-man, but would constantly be cast upon God for all that is needful for the furtherance of His cause. . . .

The purpose of God in this age is recognized to be not the civilizing nor the christianizing of the world, but rather the gathering out of both Jew and Gentile through the evangel, God's dynamic, a people for Himself.

Appendix C: Melland and Government Under BSAC Control

[In 1921, just before Frank Melland left office, he wrote a long introduction to the provincial annual report. In it, he candidly describes the serious flaws of the government under BSAC control. His insight and experience makes the analysis as perceptive, critical, and thorough as any that could be done by a modern historian.⁷

On the surface the past year has been most uneventful. There is, however, a regrettable undercurrent which is difficult to analyse. The fact that it is indefinite as yet does not, in my opinion, remove the obligation that rests on a District Commissioner to report it. It is better to call attention to the first signs of smoke than to wait for a fire to blaze out. I made references to this undercurrent twelve months ago., and again at the half year, and I will endeavour not to repeat myself more than is unavoidable.

There appears to be a tendency towards dissatisfaction with the Administration—or, rather, with white domination and “interference”—which either did not exist some years ago, or else was more subdued. The latter, I believe, chiefly but not altogether.) The Kasempa sub-district{*} has given evidence this year of a fairly widespread--though apparently unorganised--tendency to passive resistance to the Government. This has shown chiefly in what amounted practically to a refusal to pay the tax by an appreciable proportion of the natives. (This “refusal” has been on these lines: “If the Government will provide us with work close at hand we will pay: if not, we won’t. We will not go to Broken Hill or Lusaka: we will not go to the Congo. We would rather go to gaol as defaulters.”)

{*} I attribute the prevalence of this in one sub-district to the fact that this particular sub-district is very large in area, and is under-manned, as I have stated often in asking for a third official for it. I have removed one Chief's group to Solwezi, which will alleviate this though it will not remedy it.

Also there has been a visible tendency to neglect openly and even defiantly obligations such as road-clearing, which have always been considered by the natives to be reasonable calls upon them. It is very important in this connection to remember that in all native affairs the interpretation of a word like reasonable should depend largely on what is

7. Report by the District Commissioner, for the Kasempa District [Province], for the Year Ending 31st March 1921, pp. 1-7, ZA 7/1/5/6, ZNA.

Appendices

reasonable to the natives. The essence of good government is to be effective without being oppressive--that laws should not be felt too much so long as our laws appear reasonable to the natives they are not felt. It is hard for Europeans to realise that laws which are most reasonable in our eyes are least so in the eyes of the Bantu, and vice versa, e.g. it is accepted officially that the suppression and prohibition of slavery in all forms is reasonable (need I add I am not querying the righteousness of this suppression?) whereas compelling the natives to work for, or supply food to, the Administration is not: anyone acquainted with the local natives realises how absurd these two axioms appear to them.

So, when we find an old custom--road scuffling--which has not only never been resented, but has been publically endorsed by natives as reasonable, purposely left undone: when this accompanies an alarming failure to pay tax: a complete neglect of minor orders about villages etc., it is time to take notice--to admit that all is not well--and to ask why.

The answer is not so easy to find. As I said at the start the trouble itself is hard to analyse. However, the following are contributory causes. Different observers place them in different order; and I have not attempted to place them in order of importance.

1. Present prices. The fact that the natives' chief commodity, their labour, has depreciated in value. The native in these parts gets no more and often less pay (coin) than he got in 1914: he has to go further to get it: and the money he earns buys barely a quarter of what it used to buy. Taking the rate of pay as the same: if a native earns 15/- p.a. (minimum rate Kansanshi 1914) in three months he gets 45/- having had to travel much further to get it. This is divided as follows:--

Tax 10/-. Balance 35/-. The 35/- represented in 1914 70 yds grey calico, or 52 yds of blue, or 20 shirts. In 1921 it represents 23 (20 most of the year) 17, and 5, respectively. (In practice it is even worse, for a large part of the 35/- would go to pay the tax of a relative not strong enough to go far away to work: part goes to pay arrears--ever growing since local employment ceased--in marriage and succession dues--urgently claimed nowadays because the creditors want the money for their taxes.

The natives are therefore more and more disinclined to part with this commodity (labour) and with their only other commodity (produce), for which the price (coin) has remained at pre-war level, so that 120 lbs grain, instead of representing 10 yds calico. fetches but 3 1/2 yds (2 1/2 most of last year). "It's not worth while going to work. It's not worth while growing food for sale."

ii. The natives have paid tax for years, and they, do not see any adequate return. This is largely our fault administratively. We can enumerate the benefits of our rule, but we have not taken much trouble to demonstrate them. And the dissatisfaction is an undeniable fact. It is useless to confer "benefits" if they are not appreciated as such; and the logical result is that the plausible spreader of discontent finds no one to contradict him in the villages, so restlessness spreads easily.

iii. The unreasonableness of our laws (from the native point of view as outlined above). The natives do not object to commonsense laws made by a Government for itself (e.g. compulsory war work) but our general outlook on life is quite incongruous to them. and we

Education in the Northwestern Province

have done little to enlighten them or elevate them.

To give a few examples, by prohibiting slavery which they say (as did Aristotle) is a natural condition; and witch-finding (they say we do nothing against the witches themselves--because we deny their existence) we have interfered with two customs that are part of the bedrock of their society. Again, "taking the death off a body" is a custom we cannot even recognize as it is repugnant to us. It happens to be the mainstay of their laws of succession, on which hangs so much else; this is incomprehensible, besides being provocative of indignation and irritation as interference with, or scorn of, peoples' religious ideas always is. So far we have nothing to offer them in exchange for these things.

iv. Lack of medical assistance. The need for this has been urged so often that I will not emphasise it. It is a prominent deficiency. If one studies a map of the territory between the railway and Angola, one sees some Medical Officer posts on the railway and one on the Southern border at Mongu. There is not one in the whole interior of this area. The absence of medical skill handicaps us in much of our work: it typifies in the native mind the unreasonable nature of our laws (supra.3.) e.g. we prohibit them stopping sickness and death in a village by witchfinding and killing; and we provide no alternative. There are many other aspects, but this is not the place for a treatise on them; a reference must suffice.

v. Lack of opportunity for education. Any natives here who want education have to go as far as Dr. Fell's Kafue Mission to get it--becoming exiles temporarily. Nothing is done to remedy this. The demand is not very widespread yet, owing to lack of understanding, but it does exist and it becomes more noticeable every year.

vi. That native labour is but a commodity to be used for the benefit of Europeans (nothing is being done to direct it for the benefit of natives) ; and that there is no real freedom of contract (the ordinary native knows that he cannot really fix, or bargain about, his rate of pay--which has, in his eyes decreased: and he thinks the Government, to which he pays tax, could help him and does not.)

Minor causes can be omitted, but the above cannot be ignored. We have given the natives law, freedom, order and discipline. We probably pride ourselves most on the first two; but it may us to examine them from the native point of view.

Our law often seems unjust to them, and they do not like it. Our procedure is often so incomprehensible to them that it tends to counter-balance the great faith they have in our impartiality and probity. It has all been imposed upon them (as was our taxation) without any demand for it by them, so naturally they cannot understand why they should submit to one "nasty" thing (taxation) to pay for another (our law).

Freedom --not liberty. Our "freedom" consists largely in stopping slavery (in their eyes a natural domestic institution, and a fabric of life). Except to the slaves this is no benefit. We, in effect, demonetised the chief wealth of many, and have made it very hard for them to discharge succession dues, "friendship" fees, death payments, and old debts--liabilities which were formerly reckoned in slaves. (This has been aggravated of late by the fact that

Appendices

money is so hard to come by. Because a man cannot pay a debt or a due, with a slave, he may be mulcted of all his guns etc., and still fail to satisfy his creditor.

So much for LAW and FREEDOM from the native point of view. There remains ORDER and DISCIPLINE; these they do not mind so much, they even appreciate parts, though parts are undeniably irksome. If there were anything constructive in our work, I believe they might be widely welcomed, and then their objections to law and freedom would also decrease.

There is another point on which a report dealing with the past year cannot be silent; though as the Native Commissioners refer to it, I will be brief. As will be seen from the reports from the sub-districts, tribal control-- control by chiefs and headmen--has decreased and is decreasing, each year more speedily. The very order and discipline that we have established accelerates this tendency, since discipline reduces responsibility. This tendency is not confined to this district--the supplanting of communalism by individualism is common to most parts of tropical Africa--but that does not detract from its importance. It is a serious matter, and unless we are prepared to rule the natives directly (which is unthinkable, at present anyhow) tribal control must be supported now, and a substitute prepared to take its place when necessary. It is not an impossible achievement, had it needs constructive policy. Marking time will not suffice.

I have been in this district for ten years, and have had charge of it for five; I may be entering soon on my last year (the Regulations lay down that one may have to retire after 21 years) so I feel that I should be failing in my duty if I did not record the above matters. This is a native district of great area, bounded on two sides by foreign territory and susceptible to outside influences. The present undercurrent of discontent and restlessness is an existing fact.

It can be stopped from growing into a danger by a realisation of our responsibilities, and by some constructive work. We have laid the foundation stones, but they appear meaningless to the native population (and so long as we content ourselves with the foundations and make no effort to build thereon, they are meaningless; they may even be harmful--as if a man bought a field for building, but having dug or built the foundations did not more, thereby destroying any possible value as pasture or arable that the field might possess, while not turning it to profit as a building estate.)

The fact that we collect tax, keep order, suppress crime, is nothing in itself. It is essential as a start, but it is not a result; and surely it is not our "aim"? If we proceed no further it appears to be the negation of our right to rule.

A brighter side of the picture may be seen in the continuing and increasing immigration from foreign territories; a testimonial of which our Administration may be proud (though it is not an unmixed blessing). There is nothing really illogical in this preference for our role by those outside and the growing dissatisfaction felt for it by those inside. After some years of it the peace and security seem less weighty in the scales against loss of liberty (not freedom) and irksomeness. It is natural evolution. . . . The Belgian and Portuguese natives who reside outside our borders are also given at times to come in and seek our help, which is also gratifying.

Education in the Northwestern Province

The response to our local efforts to build up old local industries (Mr. Miller's work with the blacksmiths is most praiseworthy) is encouraging. Also there has been the effort to establish stock in the North West corner (fly-free) so suitable for it, which has so far only started in small stock, though perhaps cattle may follow later, and so add greatly to the wealth of the district. I think there is also a chance of getting cotton growing, spinning and weaving established. Some cotton seed is being sent up this year from Headquarters; and I am trying in three directions to get families who know the craft to come here to teach. The idea is welcomed by some of the natives (driven latterly to wear skins and bark-cloth) and others, now apathetic, may approve if the industry is established. At present, however, all these efforts depend entirely on local (district) initiative, and the cost of them is born (voluntarily) by the officials to whom these things appeal. Obviously, but little can be done on these lines; and the effort may die still-born with a change of personnel [sic]. It will however be persevered in on the present modest scale in the hopes that some day it may be possible to use this preliminary work as a basis for something more substantial.

Appendix D: Melland versus SAGM

[In 1920 and 1921. Frank Melland stated his thorough disillusionment with SAGM in a letter to Charles Foster on 11 September 1920. Later Melland expanded his view. Herbert Pirouet described the latter in a report to their Executive secretary in Cape Town. This correspondence raises interesting points about the relationship between the missions and the government administration.]⁸

Frank M. Melland to Charles Foster: 11th September 1920

After our talk yesterday you asked me if I would put certain parts on paper and I do so herewith. I must, however, make it quite clear that although these opinions are those which I have as District Commissioner yet they are necessarily only my own opinions, and must not be taken to represent the views of the Administration.

I think the best way to begin is to state my aims as regards the natives are justice, elevation, education and medical attention: and I do not believe that any of these can stand alone. At present the Administration gives only the first (justice, law, order). Your society aims practically at giving only elevation in a religious sense: the natives in this district get no education to speak of and (except for Dr. Fisher) no medical attention. Put shortly: I do not consider that the natives in this district are getting a fair chance. In a striking speech on his return from Canada in 1910 H.R.H. the Prince of Wales said that 'every baby born should have a sporting chance'. That is my policy: any missionary society that helps actively in this policy can count on my whole-hearted support while I am in this district. I do not consider that to date, the S.A.G.M. has been an active help.

Wherein has the S.A.G.M. failed? In my opinion primarily (1) through insufficient staff partly due, it seems to me to having pushed on into Angola when you had only a nominal occupation of the Kaonde country, which has made the work disconnected and ineffective:

8. Melland to Foster, 11 Sept. 1920 and Pirouet to Secretary, Cape Town, 3 Jan. 1921. Both items appear together in Vol. 19 (1920-1), Correspondence Files, Wimbledon.

Appendices

(2) lack of direction: a kind of aimless drift--or pious hopes not materializing; (3) absence of education; (4) absence of medical attention.

(1). At present the SAGM is the only mission operating among the baKaonde: it seems to me that it should either get sufficient staff to carry on effectively, or else close down and leave the country open to some other society. By 'effective' I consider you need double your present staff on each station, and at least four stations instead of two. (5 or 6 would be better). That is to say I think you need at least four times the present European staff: also to render this staff effective you seem to me to need a doctor and nurse (this is apart from the natives' need of a doctor to which I will come later: so as to prevent closing down a station, or curtailing your work, when some of your staff need medical attention--e.g. maternity cases. It is important to emphasize the fact that your staff requirements cannot be assured only by 'counting heads'. Distance is as relevant as population: a population of 1000 in 1000 square miles needs a bigger staff than 1000 in 100 square miles. From my point of view I cannot see that the natives should be denied guidance and help just because they are scattered, especially as there are several centres well enough populated to justify mission 'stations' in them.

(2) As your mission here so far from your Executive I consider (as I told Mr. Faithfull when last he was here) that it needs a local headquarters, with a local head with powers for directing and controlling the policy and work of all the local staff: otherwise there is too much wasted energy, and consequent inefficiency. I do not believe the S.A.G.M. will ever justify itself locally without this.

(3) I am aware that the S.A.G.M. does not aim at higher education (English, clerical, or industrial). Personally--i.e. in my own opinion after 20 years working for the natives--I consider this a great pity. I think it is our duty to try to educate the natives. Just as I am opposed to giving natives a religionless education so I am opposed to giving the natives an educationless religion. The two should go together. I hold strong views (which I urge in the proper quarters) on the state's duty in educating the natives but that does not affect the present issue: which is that I consider it is a mission's duty to elevate the natives generally and not only spiritually: raise them socially as well as morally (in this connection I consider industrial training more important than clerical): to help them to stand on their own legs--in fact to advance them towards citizenship. I consider conversion is incomplete and, relatively valueless if it does not do so. (Please understand that I am not in any way wishing to dictate to your Mission, but all through, am merely stating my own views as a keen student of native problems.)

Another point as regards education. I believe, with you, that the evangelization of Africa must be done by native evangelists. To get these in sufficient numbers I think that you need to attract natives to your mission. When you open a station in a fairly populous centre you do not want the population to drift away: you want it to remain and increase steadily ever attracting others. Natives have a natural disinclination to living too closely packed and also to staying on one spot for long. This can be overcome (I know heaps of examples but only by making the attraction of the Mission more than counterbalance the attractions of their accustomed lives. You (2 colleagues of yours) have told me that if you give training in English, or in crafts, the natives will come to the Mission not for Christianity

Education in the Northwestern Province

but for material gains. I grant this; but it seems to me immaterial what they come for so long as they do come. (Moreover one cannot blame backward peoples for wanting to improve their material position: its natural and healthy sign. And one cannot blame them, who are pagans when they come in, for not coming with a view to Christianity, nor even if they pretend to come with this high motive when it is not so: it's only natural. Further the whites should try to help natural evolution and not retard it, for we have a duty to our black wards as a white race in Africa as well as Christians.) If the natives don't come you cannot get enough native teachers. If they do come, even for purely material ends, you get a chance of teaching them; and if you fail to get the message of Christianity into their hearts when you have them near you for a long spell, it will not be the fault of the Message but of the teachers. To be logical you should refuse to preach to labourers who have only come to your mission to earn their tax money. I do not believe you will ever get sufficient results to justify your mission up here unless you can attract sufficient people (the raw material of which future Christians may be made). One can make or do nothing without material. Again, this is only my opinion.

(4) I dealt above--in section (1)--with the need of medical attention for your European staff. I consider that a mission should also be able to minister medically to natives. (e.g. witchcraft--divining and so on will never be put down without medical attention--free dispensaries--hospitals. Our side (the law) can do part. Your side (Christianity) can do part but both need medical help to drive out the biggest curse in Africa. Testimony is available from all over the continent on this point.) Just as a Mission ministers to the souls of the natives, it should, I believe, minister to their minds (education) and to their bodies (medical attention). The three go together and are like a tripod, which is a fine support when joined; but merely three (relatively) useless sticks when separate. If the S.A.G.M. really wants to influence the baKaonde for good and do its share (up here) in the regeneration of the continent I believe it should grasp these essentials.

Also I believe that the S.A.G.M. should cut its coat according to its cloth and should not try to cover more ground than it can undertake adequately. Thorough work localized is of greater and more lasting value than casual work over a big area. For instance while not presuming to criticize I hope I can say without offence that it is beyond my comprehension why you should think of spreading to the Mankoya tribe when at least three quarters of the Kaonde/Lamba (who are too mixed to be separate) are entirely untouched by your work.

I trust you will accept these written words in the same spirit as (I believe) you accepted the spoken version yesterday--namely as the honest opinion of one whose aim in life is the welfare of the natives. Anyone who works whole-heartedly for the good of the natives has my support, but if I consider anyone (or any Society) is only blocking the way by "occupying" an area inefficiently and is, thereby stopping the natives having as good a chance as other tribes have elsewhere--then I am opposed to that person, or society.

These views, let me repeat, are my personal views and I do not expect you to agree with all of them -- our point of view is different -- but I have lived 20 years among natives and am prepared to live the rest of my life amongst, and for, them: I have studied the subject, and

Appendices

cognate subjects, deeply and am acquainted with nearly every book on the subject, so I hope this expression of my views may prove of some assistance. Again my sole object in giving my views is to help--if I can.

Herbert J. Pirouet, 3rd January 1921

About a month ago I had a conversation with Mr. Melland which covered just the ground covered in his letter to Mr. Foster. With regard to shortage of staff he spoke in the same terms. I pointed out to him that his strictures on this point were hardly fair, seeing that the unavoidable illness of Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Vernon had robbed us of four of the number who should be here. To this he replied, and I quote his words as nearly as possible, "Mr. Pirouet, let me tell you that the presence of these workers would not have made any difference to my opinions. The fact of the matter is that your Executive choose and send up here entirely the wrong class of man, and put men in charge of stations who have no right to be in charge. Some of them might be of some use on stations where there are many other workers and they would be in subordinate positions, but they are no good in charge of stations." Further remarks which Mr. Melland made revealed the fact that his ground of objection to some of some of us that in his opinion certain of our number are men who are entirely unfitted to lead and develop natives, as he considers they have neither the gifts, character or education necessary. I venture to say this as I consider it throws a valuable light on all Mr. Melland wrote to Mr. Foster. I have written to Mr. Foster and told him what Mr. Melland said to me. I am more than ever of opinion that it would be well for Mr. Faithfull to come here early in April, before going to Musonwedzi. Mr. Faithfull himself suggested that it might be better for him to wait for Mr. Wilson's return. In my own opinion this would be a mistake, as by so doing he would miss Mr. Melland. I should very much like Mr. Melland to repeat to Mr. Faithfull exactly what he said to me about the choice of workers, and I am sure that he would be willing to do so. I cannot help thinking that it would be of the greatest assistance to the Executive to have the first hand opinion of the Government officials with whom we come in contact, who are none of them backward in their criticisms of us. Personally I do not feel much disturbed when officials criticize our objects and methods, but when they begin to pass adverse criticisms on our characters, then I feel it deeply, and for that reason I write as I have done above.

Appendix E: Pirouet in Kaondeland

Herbert G. Pirouet's first assignment for the SAGM was at Chisalala in 1920. Later, he worked in Kasempa District and opened Mutanda Mission before going to Cape Town to assist at headquarters. Prior to World War II, he made comments on the NWP that were as interesting as those of Frank Melland and George Suckling. While he was a careful observer, he also believed in meddling directly with African traditions although he admitted it was risky. The first four extracts here were written during his first two years in Kasempa/Solwezi.]

Kaondeland

[In stating the mission's evangelical aims in the area, Pirouet attempts to get his supporters to have a good feeling for the geography of Solwezi District and to see the Kaonde as a "gentleman" and not a "savage".]⁹

Kaondeland is not marked on most maps, but it is that part of Northern Rhodesia which lies in almost the extreme north-west. It is a territory about the same size as the midlands of England, bounded on the north by the Belgian Congo border, and therefore on the watershed of the Zambezi. The greater part of the country is over 4,000 feet above sea level, and it is therefore never excessively hot. The whole country lies within the forest belt of Central Africa, and it is also within the tsetse fly area, so that no cattle live in it. On the whole, it can be called a healthy country.

The VaKaonde tribe numbers about 30,000 people, who are scattered over the whole of this area, so that you will realize that villages are few and far between. The villages consist of anywhere from ten to forty huts, and are often found in groups of three or four. They are mostly situated on the bigger rivers. The tribe is semi-nomadic in character. This is due to the fact that their system of agriculture is bad; they never rotate their crops, so that their gardens cease to yield sufficient produce to feed them after a few years, and they are compelled to move to a new site; this they cannot do until they have had the sanction of the Government officials. It may not be known by all that this country is under the jurisdiction of the British South Africa Company, commonly known as the Chartered Company; . . . To evangelize this tribe is the object of the S.A.G.M., and with this in view two stations have been established in the country, separated from one another by a distance of about 160 miles (Chisalala and the Blanche Memorial Mission Station at Musonwedzi). But, though these two stations are so far apart, the work is essentially one. The people are always on the move from place to place, and boys on one station are in constant communication with those on the other station, and compare notes with one another.

To man this field we have at present seven workers, four more being on furlough. We must always allow for that number being away from the field, therefore you will see that we are very short-handed, and our first need is reinforcements. But if reinforcements are to be forthcoming it is necessary for you at home to know something of the opportunities offered and of the people amongst whom we are working, and also something of the

9. *Pioneer*, 33 (May 1920), pp. 55-6

Appendices

difficulties with which we have to contend. I think I will put the difficulties first, because I have an idea that English speaking people are far more likely to volunteer for an enterprise when it possesses a good many obstacles to success.

I think you would like me to be perfectly frank about these difficulties and hindrances, so I will come

straight to the point.

In this country the white population is very small, and consists entirely of officials, storekeepers (of whom there are two), and missionaries in about equal numbers. A native has only to go to the magistrate and say that his wife does not do his work properly, and the officials will give him a divorce. Taxation is on the hut basis, and this means that the native pays a ten shilling tax for each wife that he has, so that the Chartered Company profit by polygamy.

The native is an apathetic individual in whom it is difficult to raise any enthusiasm; he is accustomed to having white men in his country, so that we are not even objects of curiosity to him. But I would say here that he is a gentleman; is seldom discourteous and has great powers of endurance (he can easily do forty miles in a day carrying a load of thirty or forty pounds). He is not a savage; his moral character is not one whit worse than that of many Europeans; indeed, there are certain sins committed by white men which the native does not dream of practising, and only knows of as he comes into contact with "civilization." He is ignorant, and he has not got a high standard of living, but he is no more dirty than a great many of our fellow countrymen. Personally, I do not consider he is idle; but it is only fair to state that some of my fellow-workers who have much more experience than I have do consider him so. My own idea is that it is wonderful that he works as well as he does, seeing that it was only about twenty years ago that white men came into the country; till then the native had no need of money, his wants being few and those easily supplied. His need of working was created by the demand for tax from him. i.e., a demand that he should pay tax for the privilege of having his country administered by the white men, a privilege which perhaps, he does not altogether appreciate. The idea of steady sustained work is quite foreign to the native; he sees no need to get through with a job, for all his traditions help him to think that there is plenty of time; moreover, why should he hurry? The longer the job takes the more money will he get to buy cloth; and he will have no bother about getting a sufficiency of food, for it is up to his employer to feed him.

In Praise of the VaKaonde

[Pirouet continues his descriptions of the Kaonde and makes useful comparisons with the working classes in Britain. In addition, he explains why many customs were "evil". He concludes with brief sketches of individuals including John Pupe.]¹⁰

I have just come in from a Visit to a near by village, and feel that I must sit down and write nice things about the VaKaonde; not that anything very particular happened in that village. I merely sat and talked with the people for a short time. but every fresh contact I have with

10. *South African Pioneer* 33 (Dec. 20), pp. 138-41.

them makes me like them better. You all know Proverbs viii. 30. 31. "I was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him; rejoicing in the habitable part of His earth; and my delights were with the sons of men." I think those verses are delightful in every way. Certainly I rejoice in this "habitable part of the earth"; and so would you, if you could see its beauty. It is just putting on its spring coat. Hundreds and hundreds of trees are putting out their new leaves, and these are red; the effect is beautiful beyond all words to describe. Then I can truly say that my "delights are with the sons of men" in this "habitable part of the earth." Not only has God set me in a delightful part of His world, but He has set me amongst a specially delightful people. I have only been in the country fifteen months, it is true, but in that time I have never experienced anything but courtesy and kindness, with one or two exceptions which it would be ungenerous to think about. From the first trek I took I have found travelling with carriers the most delightful way of travelling. I should imagine I have done as much trekking as most people in a similar length of time, and not once have I had the smallest bother of any sort with the carriers; they have done their tiring work cheerfully and uncomplainingly, even when we were short of food, as was once the case. I am writing this because I want you to know how well worth while work amongst these people is. . . . I want you I want you to be thoroughly enthusiastic over them, but I want you to realise that the devil is doing much work amongst them. We see the very best side of them. I am very glad we do, because we see the side that God delights in. But there is a very bad side to them. It is not that they are more cruel than Europeans, they are not. These people are not savages. They are no more savages than Europeans. Perhaps not so savage as some! They are not living under any dirtier conditions than exist in many a so-called English "home." I have never been into huts here that are so dirty as many English houses. They are not as dirty in their bodies as many English are. They are not more superstitious than the English, for though they go in for appeasing the evil spirits and those of the dead, a large number of them do not believe in their rites, any more than a large number of English believe in Spiritism. Their spirits worship, if it can be called worship, is exactly as poisonous as spiritism in England, not a bit more so and not a bit less so. The only difference is that they have not the advantages of education which English people have, and are therefore not so culpable. They are not as avaricious as Europeans: for they learned the love of money from them, and they have not mastered the lesson yet. True! they always want a "reward" for work done. But have you never found your own countrymen dissatisfied with what they receive? Have you never heard the railway porter say, "'Ere, Lady (or Guv'nor), what do you call that?" Then I do not know that they are any lazier than Europeans; they have reduced the art of sitting still, doing nothing, to a very fine one, but they are no worse than the bricklayer who accused his mate of having so distracted his attention from the job in hand that he had laid four more bricks than his Union allowed him to (vide Punch).

All these things they share in common with their European brother. All these things are the work of the devil, who is doing all he knows to corrupt and destroy those sons of men in whom the Son of God takes His delight. But just as there are special sins amongst the more civilised peoples, so are there amongst the VaKaonde. And just as it is not the most gross sins, but the most subtle, that it is difficult to make the European see are sin, so it is

Appendices

amongst the VaKaonde. There are with them certain things which make it difficult for them to become Christians. Certain customs which are inimical to the Faith, which the devil has introduced. These have in some cases a show of good which makes them all the harder to combat. For instance, women will not speak in front of a lot of men in school, neither will they listen at a meeting in the village where there are a lot of men; so that it is impossible for a man to get a proper hearing for the Gospel message from them. It would be a matter of "Bumvu" (that is "shame") for them to listen, or to lift their eyes to the speaker. It was a difficulty to get the only baptised Kaoade woman to come to the Lord's Supper with men, and sit on the same bench with them; certain of the men she might not sit next because she was connected with them by marriage; to do so was a matter of "Bumvu." One can understand how such laws tended to combat immorality in a community where there is little privacy and scanty clothing, but they are a barrier which requires breaking down and which must be broken down with care lest the doing so destroys the restraint there is in them. Then take another matter. It is a sign of weakness in an individual to confess that he is guilty of any offence. It may be quite well known that a particular person is guilty, but he will not confess, though he knows that all know his guilt, lest he be thought to be weak: another clever piece of work on the devil's part. Now consider another thing. A man may help his relations in cases of sickness but it would be weak of him to help any member of another family. The other day a man arrived here having carried his younger brother, a full-grown man, on his shoulders for twenty miles, in order that we might treat his ulcerated leg. He was pretty well done up when he arrived. The other side of the picture we saw a short time ago, strikingly illustrated, though I only tell you this instance of what is common. I went to a village and was asked by the headman to see a man who had a bad ulcer. I went into the hut and there I saw the poor fellow sitting with blood and matter slowly oozing from his leg, and as he sat there he groaned with pain. Of course I could do nothing for him there, but I went outside to where a dozen men were sitting, and told them that if they would carry him to the Mission, a distance of about 50 miles, we thought we could cure the leg. They replied that there were no men to do it. I said to them, "But what about you? You have nothing to do but sit still." Oh! they belonged to another village, and all the men of his village were away, they could not possibly help him! I told them something of what I thought of them and only wished I knew the language a little better so that I could put it more forcibly. The man will probably die in agony because of the devil's plan that they should only help their own relatives. I need not point out what hindrances such things are to the acceptance of all the teaching of Christ and how hard it is for them to break away from such customs. I could tell you of the poor old women in another village who was too old to work in the gardens and had no relatives, so only got food occasionally. It is not "the custom" to waste food on the old. It simply "isn't done." Let me tell you how we tried to combat that custom. It has been the white man's custom to give meat to any headman whose village he happens to be visiting should he kill a buck. The men and the headman always come off well. It instituted another custom when I found out their plan. I gave instructions that, when my hunter killed, first of all the old, the sick and the poor were to receive meat, then the women and children and those who could not fend for themselves, and then, if any meat was left over, the headman could have some, and I made my Christian boys the almoners. It was quite a new idea to all, and not exactly a popular one

Education in the Northwestern Province

with the headman and other men of the village!

I have tried to show you some of the many good qualities of these people, and I have tried to show you how the devil is tying them down and making it hard for them to become Christians. I should like now to try to show you what they can become when Christ comes into their lives and rescues them from the power of the devil. We have amongst our evangelists here one of Mr. Bailey's earliest converts, by the name John. If you want to meet the perfect type of Christian gentleman, then come out here and get to know John. He is not deeply taught in the doctrines of the Bible; he would pass no examination in theology; but he walks with God. I am sure it is no exaggeration to say that he has one desire only, and that is to be a good servant of Jesus Christ. I wish some people we all have met would take a lesson from John in the way to pray in public. His prayers are never long, but every word comes from his heart and is uttered with the deepest reverence. In two minutes he says more than lots of people say in twenty, and you know he has spoken to God and not to the other people present. John is probably the best educated Kaoade there is, but he is absolutely minus "side." He is humble without being "oily." He never steps out of his place. He has a most delightful twinkle in his eye which betrays his keen sense of humour. With the sick he is as gentle as a woman. I saw him with a dying man the other day and was lost in admiration, and the dying man was one of another tribe. I should like to tell you of Mukangwa, another delightful evangelist; of our Peter, for he is always "butting in"; and of Karilanda, a charming schoolboy, who is in dead earnest if any one ever was (none of them are, to use Rudyard Kipling's expression, "plaster saints"); and of Kilemberu, whom I baptised the other day. To my mind, Kilemberu always prays as if he was holding God's hand; but I must stop. Please become very enthusiastic about my VaKaonde. . . . very jealous for my VaKaonde. If you don't know them you don't know the tribe in Africa.

Musonwedzi---Kasempa---N. Rhodesia

[This detailed narrative tells of an unusual journey to the Kaimbwe salt pan to visit an aged European man, who was living as a 'native'. By this time, Pirouet's knowledge of kiKaonde was improving and he was shocked by what the evangelists were telling the villagers to convert them. He ended this safari by visiting the boma and exchanging ideas with government officials about their differing philosophies toward life and Africans.]¹¹

I have been out on a fortnight's tour from which I returned yesterday. The object of this trip was to pay a visit to an old man names Severts. Severts has lived in N. Rhodesia for the last twelve years, having drifted up here in search of gold, or any other paying proposition he could come across; here he fell on evil times, all his cash having gone in foolish speculations; some natives led him to some salt-pans; these he pegged out as his claim and now rents them from the government at a purely nominal rental, and makes a precarious living out of the salt he sells. Salt is a luxury to the natives and you can often buy food in the villages for a handful or two of salt when they will refuse to part with their grain for money.

11. *Pioneer (American Edition)* I (Dec. 1920), pp. 31-3.

Appendices

We had sent some men to Severts to bring in some salt to us, and when they returned they brought a letter from him saying that he was old (76) and ill and did not expect to live much longer. We came to the conclusion that I ought to go to visit him and to carry the message of salvation to him. His place is five days journey from here so I sent out for carriers and on April 8th, I started off with seven carriers. I traveled along across country paths; that is to say that there were just the very slightest footpaths worn by native feet. . . .

On Saturday I reached a very big village, the biggest I have yet seen out here, and in close proximity to it were three other villages, and I learned that none of these had ever been visited by a missionary before, though the evangelists I had with me had preached in some of them. Never did I feel my lack of knowledge of the language more acutely. On Sunday I collected all the people of two of the smaller villages in one place for service (I had first been into the big village and found that all the men were out in the bush and had arranged for a meeting in the afternoon). Then I tried to preach, but very soon came to an end for want of vocabulary; so my evangelist began and I sat and listened to him with dismay, for his theme was, "Hurry up and be afraid of the big fire; that is where you will go if you do not obey God, and there is no water to drink there."

As I listened to this parody of the Gospel I realized that the preacher was the only man from whom they had ever heard anything of the Gospel at all, and I longed to be able to speak. Under this "message" four men stood to say they "believed" and I wondered just what they did believe. Then a very nice boy of about eighteen stood up and said, "I want to believe. I don't want to be punished and go into the fire." This was too much for me and I told my evangelist to sit down. Then in the simplest language possible, I tried to tell them of the love of God in Christ Jesus. Surely, I was given the language for I was able to speak for about ten minutes in spite of the fact that I had broken down twenty minutes before, when I tried to give a prepared address. What I now said was without previous preparation of the language and I am sure the people understood me. In the afternoon in the big village I had a very similar experience except that I did not try to speak until my evangelist had spoken.

On the Monday I went on my way again and reached Severts about mid-day on Tuesday, having traveled about ninety miles from Musonwedzi. I found the old man in a deplorable state of dirt. When we arrived there neither my boys nor I were able to recognize which was his dwelling house and which his chicken house. I sent some boys to cook for him and they found him in the garden and brought him to me. He was dirty beyond all words to describe, his clothes were little more than filthy rags; however, he seemed quite pleased to see me and took me to a good site for my tent. Whilst I was having this pitched, he disappeared and presently returned looking quite respectable in a good coat, a clean shirt and a new pair of trousers. We had tea together and he told me that he had been living in native fashion as he had run out of food. After tea he went off to do his evening work and presently returned to have supper with me. But for some reason he had taken off his good clothes and sat down to supper in his filthy rags! I do not believe he had had a decent meal for a long time for he ate ravenously.

That night I was not able to approach the old man at all on spiritual matters; every time I opened the subject, he fenced and turned the conversation. The next morning I went

Education in the Northwestern Province

round his property with him. As we walked. I tried to speak to him about Christ, this time making a direct attack, but he simply replied that he knew he ought to consider such things and then drew my attention to his crops. His conversation was largely about some mine which had pegged out some time ago, which has never yielded him a pennyworth of gold never will, yet all his hopes seem fastened on it. . . .

By the next afternoon, . . . I had learned that he imagined that every man's hand was against him; all day long his voice was raised in shouts of anger to his boys and he had not a good word to say for any white man in the country, except the District Commissioner, Mr. Melland, whom I have not yet met, but whom black and white men seem to admire, and Mr. Williams, one of the Native Commissioners of whom I have told you something in previous letters. No one else meets with his approval at all.

When supper was over I went straight at him about his personal salvation, telling him there was no other object in my journey but to seek to bring him to Jesus. . . . To this he replied that he thanked me for what I had said and that he would remember to call upon Him. I do not believe the old man was capable of giving a more definite answer than this, . . .

The next morning early, I started on my way back to the Mission Station, feeling that my time had not been wasted. This time I traveled by a different route, and after two days trek reached the Boma and found Mr. Parsons, the Assistant Magistrate, and Mr. Griffiths. As usual, I received great hospitality, staying with Mr. Parsons. The Boma officials are by no means the easiest part of our flock: a remark Mr. Parsons made to me will help you to see the difficulty of dealing with them. In the course of conversation, Mr. Griffith said to me, "I would not like your job at all; it must be a thankless task and not at all encouraging"; whereupon Mr. Parsons said, "I will tell you who make it hard, Pirouet; it is the white men; we swear, we drink, we smoke, we live immorally and do all those things which you are telling the natives are wrong; then they see that we do these things, yet that we are the men that live in the greatest luxury and that we have the power. I do not know a single white man in the country who is a Christian. If there is one I have never met him." What Parsons says is perfectly true, and I am glad he said it to me, for it shows me where we stand. These men always do all that is possible for our comfort when we pass through the Boma, yet how to reach them is a serious difficulty.

Kapijimpanga

[Pirouet tried to convince Chief Kapijimpanga, near Chisalala, that the girls' puberty ritual was sinful and should be stopped. When the women strongly objected, the chief backed down and felt that he must discuss the matter with the boma officials.]¹²

The past three months have been devoted to work in the neighbouring villages. The most important of these is the one in which Chief Kapijimpanga lives. This old gentleman is, perhaps, the most influential chief in the tribe. He has won his way to chieftainship by right of conquest, having defeated all the neighbouring chiefs and usurped the "throne."

Just after Christmas we started a school in his village. We sent John, our best evangelist,

12. *Pioneer* 34 (Oct. 1921), pp. 111-3.

Appendices

and his wife, Kurimbwa, to live in the village, and made John responsible for the school. We built a hut for ourselves exactly similar to those in which the natives live, with the exception that ours has windows and a proper door. In this hut we have spent more than half the time since Christmas; a week on the station and a week in the village has been the order of the day.

The school consists of 19 men and 17 women, so that John is kept busy. Kapijimpanga makes earnest endeavours to learn to read, but he is past it. However, the old man professes that he desires to be a Christian, and verily I believe that there is a change coming over him. He is not an easy person to gain the attention of, so I have hit on a scheme by which he must at least pay attention to some Christian truths. His desire to read is my opportunity. During our last visit to the village I typed out a portion of Scripture every day (one day the story of the sick of the palsy, another day "The Son of Man came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance") and these I spelt out to our chief syllable by syllable, and he repeated the syllables after me, pointing at them (or near them!) with a pencil. When we got to such a sentence as "The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins," or "Son, thy sins are forgiven thee," by one means or another we went through it many times till he knew it by heart. He fondly imagined then that he was reading it, but at any rate he had something he could hang on to.

While I am doing this sort of thing my wife is devoting herself to school work and to the women. We are tremendously encouraged by the responsiveness of the women. There are 12 who have expressed their desire to "believe." Let me at once say that these 12 have no knowledge at all of what is involved in believing. One day the chief came along for a talk with my wife and myself. During the course of conversation he told us that three girls were to be initiated on the following Tuesday. His ceremony of initiation is accompanied by many loathsome practices. We at once pointed out to Kapijimpanga that, as one who was expressing a desire to follow Christ, he should do all he could to put a stop to such practices in his villages. My wife went off to see the mothers of the girls about it. Now, you must remember that we are attacking practices centuries old. The women honestly believe that if they do not go through these hateful ceremonies they will not be able to bear children. They also believe that death will visit the village if they are omitted; and, further, they say the men will drive the girls from the village if they are not initiated. These things are very real to them; all preceding generations have followed such customs, and who are they to break away from them? Moreover, whilst they admit that objectionable customs are connected with such ceremonies, they believe that the customs are good, on the whole. After interviewing the mothers, my wife spoke to all the women, and I to all the men. From the way they took our remarks it was quite evident we had fired a big bomb into their midst. Presently the chief came along to our hut. He came to tell us that the women said that if he did not allow them to initiate these girls in the village they would go off to another village and do it there. We advised him to let them go, saying that would be better than for him to consent to the custom. But he did not like the idea of this saying that it was very hard. He added. "the women say that as soon as the initiation of these three is over they will stand up and say that they believe." We pointed out that this was because they knew the custom was evil, and that therefore they dare not stand up first. Moreover, we told them that we should not regard such a standing up as being very

Education in the Northwestern Province

genuine. He went away much exercised in mind. The next day we left the village to come back to the station, but not without going well into the subject again. Kapijimpanga told me that he would go to the District Commissioner as soon as the initiation was over, and ask him if he thought the customs as evil as I thought. If the District commissioner said the custom was bad he would ask his aid in stamping it out. "But why wait until it is all over," said I; "if the custom is so bad try to save these girls from it?" He considered a bit and said he would go to the Boma next day. The following day I received a note from him which he had dictated to the evangelist John, to say that it was no good his going to the Boma, as the women were determined to carry out the initiation.

We were defeated in this particular battle. but I think heathenism has had a nasty jar in that village. I believe those who say they "want to believe" are quite genuine, but they have to be lifted up out of awful depths.

Some of you at home do not know what you are missing by not being out here as missionaries. There is not a finer life anywhere. It is all compensations and big rewards. There are no drawbacks, only enormous advantages.

"The Gates of Hell Shall Not Prevail."

[This letter was written several years after the other four. In it, Pirouet tells of persuading Kapijimpanga to appoint a Christian as a headman without requiring him to follow the traditional ceremonies. He considers this a victory for Christianity. John Pupe is again important in the story.]¹³

Some few months ago one of the headmen under Kapijimpanga, our biggest chief, died, and the election of the new man has just taken place.

When a man succeeds to a headmanship, there are many customs with which he has to comply; for instance, he inherits his predecessor's wives, whether he is married already or not. You will at once see that a Christian could not become a headman without cutting across tribal customs of very ancient standing, or committing sin. We were, therefore, very interested when John (Pupe) told us, a few weeks back, that the man who would probably be asked to take this headmanship was a Christian, by name Kimengwa; he added that the elders were making things difficult for Kimengwa.

One day we had a talk with Kimengwa, and told him that we would back him up with prayer, and with any other help we could give him, for a missionary cannot deliberately interfere with tribal custom. He told us that one thing was hindering him; the elders wished him to place his gun at the crossroads, then to invoke the dead man whom he was to succeed, asking him to give the gun power to kill animals (the killing of meat comes into the ceremony of succession). This he refused to do, saying that if he could kill in his own strength he would, but he would have nothing to do with invoking the dead. We just mentioned these things to Kapijimpanga, but it was impossible to do much as the name of the successor is supposed to be secret till the actual day of his installation. Kapijimpanga made promise that when the day came he would send a messenger to let us know.

13. *Pioneer* 36 (Apr. 1923), pp. 42-4.

Appendices

Three days ago the messenger arrived, saying that the local men and many people had assembled at Kapijimpanga's village, and the chief would be glad if we would join them. I went out accompanied by Mr. Rhinehart and two native teachers, Mukangwa and Maluwa. we found a great crowd assembling. There must have been by sunset some 150 people, which is a crowd here. Ten headmen and all the most important people in the country were present.

At sunset Kapijimpanga called the headmen and elders together and said they wished to hear why I have come. On his invitation I addressed them, saying that, as we had assembled to appoint a headman, it would be right to pray to God to guide the minds of those responsible for the choice, that they might choose one who was worthy. After prayer, Kapijimpanga gave me further opportunity to address them. I spoke briefly, pointing out that if they chose one who was a Christian it would be impossible for him to follow their old customs, that for him to marry the widows would be adultery, if he was a married man. I said that as a Christian it would be his duty to see that the widows were never in want for food, clothing, and all the necessities of life; but that they could not become his wives. I further urged them to choose a Christian.

When I had finished speaking, Kapijimpanga said to me "You and Mukangwa may choose whom you like." I said, "Oh! no; it is not for me to choose. I come here with God's message to you; it is for you to hear and to choose in the fear for Him." Thereupon much discussion arose. These are some of the arguments which were put to us, and which were tackled admirably by Mukangwa and Maluwa, who throughout were splendid. One said, "If a man marries a woman, a widow, whom he inherits, it a public act, done with the approval of all; therefore he does not commit adultery. Adultery is that which is done in secret." This was answered, and another question brought up. "If the man does not inherit the wives there will be difficulties later on; people will say that it was not a real inheritance, because he did not inherit the wives, and the customs which we learned from our forefathers have been broken." Then it was said, "You are asking us to do a hard thing in breaking these ancient customs of ours; why should we do so?" It was pointed out that their forefathers had broken away from God, and we were only asking them to go back to God, and to that which was in the beginning. Then it was urged that the man might be allowed to inherit one wife, a proposition which was at once turned down.

At this stage Kapijimpanga said he was willing to let the customs go, and the others agreed. They then chose Kimengwa. Once he had been named, there was nothing more that we could do, so Mr. Rhinehart and I returned to the station, leaving Mukangwa and Maluwa in charge of the situation.

These two boys put up a splendid fight. As soon as we were gone some of the headmen began trying to make Mukangwa consent to follow their customs. They told Kapijimpanga that it was very bad that he had consulted the missionaries and Christians, and that we should wipe out all their customs. Some of these men had themselves made profession. Mukangwa and Maluwa debated with them, but made no impression. They then went aside and prayed for power; when they returned Kapijimpanga yielded, and from that moment he was their ally. The fight went on all night. At one time Kapijimpanga saw a headman talking to Kimengwa and he told Mukangwa to go and help him. saying "Sandanombe will

Education in the Northwestern Province

talk him over.” (Kimengwa is a young Christian with very little knowledge.) For the rest of the night these two boys stuck to Kimengwa. Kyombe, Kapijimpanga’s heir, backed them up, and one other man supported them. Curiously enough, this last man has never made any pretense of being a Christian. The rest either were active in their opposition or kept silence. The morning came and the hour for publicly making the appointment. Kapijimpanga over-ruled all the others, and it was decided that Kimengwa would inherit, and that he should not marry either of the widows. The old woman he will look after, and Kapijimpanga has decided to look after the young one himself. Kimengwa said, “There is one thing, if you want me to invoke the dead I will not do it; I will throw away the headmanship before I do such a thing.” Kapijimpanga replied, “You shall be made to follow no other customs but those of God.” So the matter ended, all agreeing in the end that, as he was a Christian, the customs of the people might be dispensed with.

Our boys are delighted, for they have seen in operation the power of God to deliver. No such thing has ever before happened in the villages. This is the fruit of the faithful witness of John [Pupe]. It is, we feel, a big thing, and we have much to give praise for. Every effort will be made by the people to turn Kimengwa back to evil, and we know the fight is not yet near an end.

The British Empire Exhibition

[Using the Exhibition at Wembley in England as his starting point, Pirouet describes to supporters the negative attitudes of all whites in Africa. It is remarkably candid and objective.]¹⁴

Many of our English readers will have paid a visit to Wembley to see the Exhibition of which we have read so much in the papers. Suggestions are being made that the exhibition should be re-opened next year, but have you realized that the biggest part of the exhibition is never closed? What you have seen in England is but a side-show. You have seen the shop windows, beautifully dressed, and have taken in something of what the empire means. but only a very, very little.

In Rhodesia the Exhibition is always open. The spectators are brown men; Kaonde and Lamba, Barotse and Wemba, and other natives tribes are always inspecting the exhibits. The exhibits are Magistrates and Government Officials, Planters and Traders, Miners, Railway workers and Missionaries. It would be most interesting to know just what the spectators think of the exhibits; I remember Dan Crawford’s saying to me that many white men have written books about the black man, but that he expects to have the laugh of his life when the black man writes one about the white man. I do not think that the black man thinks much of the exhibits as a whole: and we should probably receive a severe blow to our pride if we heard all that he thinks about representatives of the British Empire. This affects us as missionaries, for, as member of the Phelps-Stokes education commission said to me, “one of the greatest difficulties that you men have to contend with as missionaries is that you are members of the conquering race and you cannot escape from that fact.”

14. *Pioneer*, 38 (Jan. 1925), pp. 7-9.

Appendices

We get occasional glimpses into the thoughts of the black man. Not long ago I was talking to a local headman named Mbonge, and pointing out to him that the Kaonde owe their freedom from slavery to the work of a missionary, Livingstone, who aroused the conscience of the British to their responsibility in this matter. Mbonge looked at me and said very quietly, "Yes, we were freed from one form of slavery, only to be made victims of another form, taxation." Another conversation with the same Mbonge only a few days ago. He was explaining to me that, before the white man came to this land, the native did not travel very long distances in a day as they do now. I asked what made them alter. He said, "Oh! it was because the white man changed us into their beasts-of-burden and made us carry their boxes very long distances in a day."

The white man represents untold wealth to the African. He looks at us missionaries and regards us as the owners of fabulous riches. We have everything that man can desire, and he rather thinks that we do not "play the game," because we do not provide him with everything that he wants free of cost. From his point of view we live in luxurious houses and have good clothes, we buy all that heart can desire: and, as one said to me the other day when I did not see my way to make him a present of my dental forceps, we do not think twice before we buy what we want. Be quite sure of this that the missionary in N. Rhodesia, at any rate in this part, is no hero in the eyes of his flock.

Then the black man looks round at many of our countrymen and he is puzzled. He sees what appears to him inequality in the moral standards for white and black, and wants to know why his womankind is to be held less in honour than the white man's. The half-caste children whom we find in the villages are British Empire exhibits which it is more than unpleasant to see, to have your attention drawn to them and to hear their fathers named.

The native is a little puzzled about our industries, too. Said one to me a few days ago: "Of old we used to work the copper at Kansanshi, but one day one of your countrymen came along and said we were not to work it any more. They made a big mine there, and for a few years we used to go there and work. Then you had a war, and you closed the mine. It has been closed ever since; you do not work it yourselves and you will not let us get the little that we want."

Clothing: that is another thing that makes the black man wonder. The store man comes along and sells him a women's cast-off clothing of all sorts, just to make money for himself. Then he laughs at the black man for dressing in such an idiotic way, and despises him for it. The black man knows this, but does not understand why he should be despised for wearing the things that the white man has sold him.

The other day our chief asked me to read him a letter which he had just received from a nephew at Livingstone, who used to be at school here. This is the drift of it: "Now, Uncle, do as I tell you and do not be afraid, for the words that I bring you are wise. In this village (Livingstone) the white man honours the king of the Barotse, because he can speak English. All the people in your country are just foolish; they cannot speak English. Do as I tell you and do not be afraid; go to the magistrate and tell him that you want him to send me to a big school. . . . Say that you will not go on paying tax, there is no money in the country and you refuse to pay. It would be wise to do this, do not be afraid." And there was a lot more

Education in the Northwestern Province

of this sort of thing. That native has seen things at Livingstone; his mind is in a whirl. And numbers more, as they look at the "exhibits" and consider their ways, also wonder. John, our trusty old John, said to me yesterday when I was talking to him about these things: "You see, Bwana, we all think that the white man wants to make us suffer. I suppose it is because we are ignorant and do not understand, but that is what all the Kaonde think."

These are the things that we have to reckon with in our teaching. We have all the time to try to know what the pupil thinks of us. We realize that we are here on sufferance, and that the pupil is out to get all that he can out of us. On the whole he would rather be without the white man's God, for he has no love or admiration for the white man himself. It is to this native that we preach Jesus Christ, who was not a white man. If anyone doubts the age of miracles, let him come and see the native Christian, who is a Christian despite the fact that his missionary is a white man.

One more example of what they think of us. I was present at a village trial not long ago. The prosecutor wanted the culprit to be taken to the magistrate for punishment, despite the fact that one punishment had already been inflicted in the village. Said the chief, pointing to me, "What! punish her twice? Why, even the white man knows better than to punish a person twice for the same offence."

Mutanda Bridge

[in one of his last articles written as a missionary in Northern Rhodesia, Pirouet described the new mission station at Mutanda: its geography, the condition under which the government allowed the SAGM to open it, and their plans and hopes.]¹⁵

The BaKaonde tribe occupies a country roughly the size of Ireland. In that area there are only some forty thousand people, and these are scattered all over the country in small villages. Through the country there runs a motor road which only came into existence four years ago. It runs for 100 miles along the northern border, then turns south-west for 130 miles, and then due east for another 100 miles, when it passes out of the territory in which our work lies. Apart from this road there are only native paths to connect up the Villages, so you will understand something of the difficulty of getting in touch with the people.

Till 1926 the northern half of the tribe was worked from Chisalala, and the southern half from Musonwedji. In that year it was thought by the councils that it would be possible to work the whole tribe from one station, so all workers were concentrated at Mukinge Hill, which is in a very central position. The attempt proved unsatisfactory, and we obtained permission from the Councils to open another station, and this site which is just 100 miles north-east of Mukinge Hill was chosen. My wife and I came here last October, and have been living in a temporary house doing evangelistic work in the neighbouring villages. The site is about thirty miles from the old Chisalala site. In that neighbourhood there are a certain number of Christians, but the villages round here are practically untouched. We are on the motor road and about half a mile from a steel bridge which is in course of construction across the Mutanda River.

15. *On Trek*, 4 (July 1930), pp. 26-7.

Appendices

At present we are encouraged by the attendance of people at our meetings. We average about 70 adults per Sunday; and on Wednesday our Hearers' Class is attended by about 50 people. These numbers may seem small to you, but you must bear in mind that the population is very scattered. . . .

It has now been definitely decided that a station of the Mission shall be established here. The Government have made known the terms on which they will grant a lease, and the Executive Council have decided to accept those terms. We are granted a 14 years' lease on condition that during the currency of the lease, and of any subsequent lease, we conduct a school for children during eight months of every year, the school to be conducted as far as possible on Government lines, and to be under continuous European supervision. There is to be an experimental garden in which the principles of agriculture taught in the school can be put into practice. From this you will see that an urgent need is for a missionary who will be willing to run, and capable of running such a school to the satisfaction of the Director of Native Education, who will inspect the school, report on it, and say whether he considers that we are doing such a work as would justify the renewal of the lease. When I had interview with the Governor last May, he told me that as Governor of the Territory he did not take spiritual work into consideration when granting leases for Missions. It will not matter how good a spiritual work we do, the renewal of the lease will depend on our satisfying the Government that we do a good secular work. Of course we do not expect Government to take spiritual work into consideration, for the "natural man does not understand" such work. A new worker will be required for this school as it is essential that the evangelistic work should not be robbed of workers to meet the demands of the Government. In addition to a worker for school we need a young energetic man, full of the Spirit, who will be willing to devote the whole of his time to district work.

We shall not be able to start school for some months, but we shall have a large number of workmen here who will be taught daily. Concerning this we ask your prayers that there may be nothing to hinder the manifestation of the saving power of God. Of all work amongst these people, I believe that industrial work calls for most patience on the part of the missionary. To exercise discipline and to reprove loafers earns for the Missionary the reputation of being bad-tempered. Will you therefore pray for any of us who have any part in the oversight of these men, that we may show them that God is Love, and be enabled to get the best out of them. so that there may be no waste of money through idleness? The men will come from many parts of the tribe, and we hope will return to their villages sufficiently well-taught to carry back the Gospel message.

Then will you pray about the school? The Governor told me that he had no use for young men who entered school at the age of 16 or 17, that it was impossible for them to make good. My experience teaches me that we have had the best results from those who entered about that age. All those who are doing well now entered when they were 16 or 17. The lads stay a year or so and then clear off. But it is the lads that the Governor says we must take in.

We look to you for your help in putting . . . the work in this district on a sound spiritual basis, so that white and brown alike may know that Christ is all in all to us.

Appendix F: An African Messiah

[Writing on 11 November 1913, George Suckling described the effect of a proclaimed Messiah on the southern part of Mwinilunga District. Six to eight months later, Ernest Harris wrote a post mortem of the events. Despite their hostility, their accounts are the best available.]

George Suckling, 11th November 1913¹⁶

Very soon after leaving Kalene Hill, we began to be told by the people: 'Jesus has appeared.' A native of another tribe, some 200 or 300 miles to the south-east, had professed to be the Lord, and was calling the natives from far and near to come to him, the healer of diseases and the destroyer of death, to accept him and to pay him tribute. It was impossible at that distance to ascertain accurately what he was actually teaching, but it seems clear that he had no direct influence from whites, though he must have heard something of the Christian message, and that surrounding himself with much mystery, he was professing himself to be, and by many was accepted to be, a manifestation of Deity. Thousands of people must have gone to where he was; in several villages we passed we found practically all the men had gone there. An enormous interest was being thus created, yet in it all surely we must see the activity of the powers of darkness.

One day we reached a village on the Lunga River. Late in the afternoon I went out hunting, and only got back after dark. On my return I found all the people arranging their sleeping mats outside the huts. Two messengers, who had been sent to enquire of the self-proclaimed god, had returned, and the people were obeying the instructions they had brought. A long pole was raised in the centre of the village, the ordinary fetish marks were made all round it, and the fetish offering of blood made to it. Then the people were gathered together in one compact mass with the two messengers in the rear. Turning their faces towards the afterglow of the sunset, they proceeded to chant their song, with each new phrase swaying their bodies and stretching out their arms to the west. The messengers led off with: "we will believe 'Jesu' for rain." the people: "We will believe." "We will Jesu for fruitful fields." "We will believe." "We will believe" for corn, beans, potatoes, success in hunting, children, cloth, and all the things they so much desire. All this was several times repeated, the while they swung out their arms and swayed their bodies rhythmically with the time of their low, solemn chant. In the thick darkness, only relieved by the faint flickerings of a fire, it left an indelible picture of Ethiopia stretching out her hands to--what? Had their hearts been turned to seek the Living God? Alas! no. Ere long the messengers changed their song; in a while they were dancing and singing the old spirit-songs. and in this the people joined.

Ernest Harris, October 1914¹⁷

Many months ago a native man arose in the Mashukulumbwe country, some 100 miles south from here. He called himself Jesus, and his fame went through all the land for hundreds of miles. I am told that he is a leper, and lives alone. He is supposed to have had

16. *Echoes* 43 (January 1914, Part I): pp. 13-5.

17. *Pioneer* 27 (October 1914), pp. 149-51.

Appendices

a dream. He declares that he was caught up to heaven and found that there were many gods there, not one God. One was very fierce and had a bowl of blood, which he was going to pour out on the earth, but another god who was full of mercy said he was not to do so. After a time they said they would send this man back to earth to tell the people to erect poles in their villages and smear them with blood: then a god would come down on the top of the pole, and they must worship him. If they failed to do this, the god of wrath would cause a great rain to come down on that village and drown them all. People went to this man from all over the country, taking with them money, guns, ivory, etc. Ten shillings was the price of eternal life. Five paid for a little sawdust, which secured abundance of rain and a full crop of corn without the labour of digging and sowing. In obedience to him, blood-smearred poles with some old bones tied on the top, were put up in nearly every village. At the foot of each pole a little house [*Nzubu ya Munkishi*] was built. A *Munkishi* is an idol, or a fetish of some kind.

Some of those who paid ten shillings for eternal life have since died. The rain did not come at the usual time, and was not so abundant as other years; the [termites] ants are eating the poles; the village dogs sleep in the sacred "Munkishi" house during the heat of the day; the people who did not erect poles in their villages were not drowned, and those who paid five shillings for rain medicine, and neglected to sow have not reaped, and, I am told, are now wanting the man who deceived them, in order to kill him, because they are hungry. In one village I noticed a heap of firewood at the foot of a pole arranged for kindling, but the god does not light his fire, and the white ants are quietly turning it into a heap of clay. Multitudes of people believed on this man.

APPENDIX G: Taxation Introduced

[Between 1911 and 1920. Dr. Fisher and George Suckling wrote many letters to relatives and supporters, describing problems that arose when the BSAC tried to impose taxation on the Mwinilunga and Balovale [Zambezi] Districts. They believed in the right of all governments to levy taxes but, at the same time, did not want the lives of their parishioners unduly disrupted. Extracts of four letters by Dr. Fisher and two by Suckling are given in chronological order. These letters show the major dilemmas that taxation posed.]

Dr. Walter Fisher: 7th August 1911¹⁸

This year the country is very much upset because a census has been taken, and the natives fear that the hut-tax will soon follow. Since our return [to the territory from overseas leave] several chiefs have come to protest, and none have commenced new fields, so determined are they to go elsewhere rather than pay the tax.

Dr. Walter Fisher: 20th September 1912¹⁹

For months everyone has been quite unsettled, the chief cause being a hut-tax which was about to be imposed, and which the natives considered an impossible one. Ten months ago the District Commissioner was advised not to come, being told all would flee into the

18. *Echoes* 40 (November 1911), p. 414.

19. *Echoes* 41 (Dec. 1912), pp. 467-8.

Education in the Northwestern Province

bush. Three days ago representatives of all the surrounding villages met him at his request, over nine hundred people presenting themselves and bringing abundance of food for his large police force, messengers and carriers. He told us afterwards that they listened patiently while he explained to them the five demands of Government: (1) Give up killing one another, (2) Give up burning witches, (c) Abandon slavery, (4) Build together in large villages, (5) Pay a 10s. hut-tax. His reception, he says, surpassed his greatest expectations, . . . We trust that the country will now become more settled, and the work of seeking to preach the gospel be helped rather than hindered.

Dr. Walter Fisher: 10th June 1913²⁰

Last week we had the Acting DC here and our local official. He had asked me to try and collect runaway chiefs to meet which with some success we did. Of course I told him I was anxious not to be connected at all with political matters but as a favour he asked me to be present while he listened to their grievances and explained his concessions as he felt we had the confidence of the natives and they had not and that if we helped them to get more in touch with the natives they may be willing to remain in British territory.

George Suckling; 15th June 1913²¹

Before I went away f on a local tour) the long-feared exodus of the people of this neighbourhood began. The arrival of a number of white men in connection with the Boundary Commission led the peoples to imagine the hut-tax was to be immediately imposed, and consequently the inhabitants of several villages crossed the borders into either Belgian or Portuguese territory. Though the tax is imposed in the former, so much higher prices are paid for labour that it is not felt to be a burden there. Moreover, there rubber is plentiful, whereas here there is practically none except what is smuggled across the border. At one time we feared that nearly the whole population of this district would leave us, but great efforts were made by all concerned, the officials made several concessions, and we are glad to record that, in answer to prayer, it seems likely that a considerable proportion of the people will remain.

Dr. Walter Fisher: 30th September 1915²²

Seasons of radical changes amongst primitive people are always times of anxiety. During the last eighteen months we have had an experience of this, the result of the levying of a 10s. hut-tax by the B.S.A.Co. In February last year [1914] a visit round our district gave one much pleasure, as nearly everyone was busy cultivating, and all were cheerful and hopeful. Within a week all was changed! The hut-tax was announced, and they were told it was due in four months and must be paid, or defaulters must leave the country. All cultivating ceased, and numbers prepared to flee, selling their fields if possible. It was hopeless to attempt to converse on spiritual things in the villages; the tax alone occupied the thoughts of the people. Finally two-thirds of our villages were deserted. The Government then made

20. *Echoes* 42 (September 1913), pp. 335-6.

21. *Echoes* 42 (September 1913), pp. 335-6.

22. *Echoes* 44 (January 1915, Part I), P. 14.

Appendices

certain concessions to encourage the remainder to pay, with some success.

Many were the superstitions connected with the tax, which slowly disappeared when it was found that no terrible calamities befell those who were foolish enough to pay. Favourable reports reaching the deserters, by no means happy in their retreats, slowly village after village returned, so that only a third of those who fled are still absent, and these may come in yet.

George Suckling (Balovale District): 4th March 1920²³

The Lovale people are more numerous than any others in the district, and probably number thirty thousand at the least. They are the worst of all as regards tax; probably not a hundred of them have paid the current tax. I was constantly asked to open schools amongst them, but it is impossible to ignore the difficulty created by the tax question. So far, the problem has been too big for the [local] officials to handle, and they have been content to get what tax they can and to make examples here and there. But this is obviously very unfair, and this year a much more determined effort is to be made to deal with defaulters, so that unless the people pay they are sure to get into trouble, and this means breaking up of villages and general confusion. In our immediate neighbourhood we are not worried, because any native here can now earn the money for his tax, but we should be unable to avoid the question altogether should we open an out-school on the Lungevungu. Unless the people are really going to settle down and make an effort to pay their tax, the work could never have any permanence. Unfortunately, such is the fatalistic outlook of the natives, and they have so long been unable to pay the tax that they have come to look upon it as a matter beyond them.

APPENDIX H: Native Schools Proclamation of 1918

[This proclamation greatly agitated and offended SAGM missionaries like it did most other missionaries in Northern Rhodesia. Conversely, it gave Frank Melland, these SAGM missionaries' nemesis, a tool once again to try and force the mission to improve its educational programs. The following eight extracts – given chronologically — reveal not only the emotions and opinions of Harris, Wilson, and Melland, but also the complex, wider issues the Proclamation raised. All extracts are located in the Correspondence Files, Wimbledon.]

11th April 1918, Ernest Harris²⁴

Under the new regulations even a bibleclass [sic] is counted as a school and must be visited four times a year by the European in charge. You will notice the definition of a school given in the proclamation [sic], it can be made to embrace even a service for preaching the Gospel, that is the way Mr. Melland interpreted it yesterday to me. My conversation with him yesterday left two vivid impressions, 1st that the proclamation [sic] is the result of SCARE. 2nd that it is intended to hinder the preaching of the Gospel as much as possible. It can be made to mean (according to Mr. Melland) even a preaching service and whether held once a year or 365 times. Under the proclamation [sic] consent in writing must be

23. *Echoes* (June 1920), p. 133.

24. Harris to Faithful, Vol. 16.

Education in the Northwestern Province

obtained. That a proclamation [sic] capable of being so interpreted should have been signed in the name of the King and made legal by the High Commissioner is nothing short of iniquity. My! it is crafty. It makes ones soul cry out and long for the return of our Lord.

17th June 1981, A.A. Wilson²⁵

The Devil is . . . using various means to thwart God's work. For instance there has just come into force a new proclamation that restricts instruction of any kind except by duly qualified and registered teachers and evangelists. The regulations governing the qualifications are not yet gazetted and until then are we cannot send out any preachers, for preaching is claimed to be "instruction" under the meaning of the proclamation.

29th June 1918, Ernest Harris²⁶

NATIVE SCHOOLS PROCLAMATION. This is now in force in its original form. This means that all our Christian classes and every village where our Evangelists preach must be registered before the 5th of July. This I am doing, sending in two lists under the headlines of "Regular Schools". This list contains the names of fifty-five villages in forty-eight of which there are Christian classes. List B. "Occasional Schools" will be a much larger list. All of these villagers must be visited by the European in charge at least four times a year or be abandoned. Our men can only preach in villages so registered and visited as above. It takes a Boma official eight months to cover this District once a year. We have to do it four times. It costs the Boma 118. 16 [pounds, shillings] a year for carriers for this work when the official uses the bicycle and 32 /pounds/ extra if he has to use a machila. I want you to see clearly the problem we are up against from NOW ON. It cannot be shelved, it cannot be played with, it must be met and met NOW. To meet the present need we must have another man immediately. It is surely possible to release someone out of all the workers in the South. You know there are workers who wanted to come up and probably still want to come. What is good of talking . . . for years of "letting go" when you won't "let go"? Now the question that must be settled is - What are you going to do, release someone to come and meet the present urgent need, or abandon the work God has given the Mission in this District? Think what this means. Since last November there have been nearly 850 converts. They are not on the station, but scattered over a very wide stretch of country. Are they to be abandoned, left to drift? Has the Mission a similar work in any other part of the field? Is there as great a need anywhere else in the whole field? If these questions are honestly answered we feel that you, without any delay whatever, will send the needed help. I feel sure God will not hold the Mission blameless if no effort is made Now in face of what confronts us in this district.

Further if we are forced to abandon any of these villages now, it will be difficult to re-enter them later. It will mean much trouble and delay. The District Commissioner emphasised [sic] that point when talking with me yesterday. Once more I implore you, for God's sake make an effort to send someone to our aid at once, if only to tide over the time till new

25. Wilson to "Fellow Helpers" [supporters overseas], Vol. 17.

26. Harris to Cape Town, Vol. 17, Underlining as in the original.

Appendices

workers can be got from home. We must be three men on the station. The work can't be done with less.

1st July 1981, Frank Melland²⁷

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt, with thanks, of your letter of the 29th ulto covering list of villages for registration in the terms of the Native Schools Proclamation.

I note that the number of villages in your lists is very considerable and I presume you have not lost sight of the fact that the schools must be inspected by a European member of the mission at least four times a year? I mention this because with your present staff I do not see how you can carry this out. I know that with two men here, and eight months travelling it takes us all our time to visit all the villages in this sub-district a minimum of once each, (say an average of 1 1/2 visits per village); and your lists cannot be far short of the total number of villages. The population is so scattered that a great deal of ground has to be covered to get the visiting done, and to visit all these villages four times a year, in my opinion, would mean about twelve months' travelling.

Trusting that you will not object to these few remarks.

6th September 1918, Ernest Harris²⁸

I note what you write. . . . "there is only one possible solution to this question and that is to make an immediate effort to get two men to meet the need. I am persuaded that prayer and effort will remove the difficulty and men will be found to send up for this work. Of course if no effort is made to get men, you can hardly expect to get them. The sending of lady workers cannot meet the need. There are now over a thousand Christians connected with the work at Chisalala most of them are but babes in Christ, and to abandon them will be criminal. I cannot think that you can for one moment entertain such a course. Yet if men are not sent that is what will happen. . . . I have been through the whole matter most thoroughly with the Magistrate [Frank Melland] and know just what his mind is on the subject. That he will enforce the law there is not the least doubt. But I think he will be perfectly impartial and fair in all his dealings.

16 September 1918, Ernest Harris²⁹

I wrote you very fully on this matter last week, but . . . it seems clear from your letters that you have not yet grasped the gravity of the situation and the urgency for the help for which we have asked. If that help is not forthcoming by the end of the rains, when Vernon leaves for his furlough, I shall be faced with an impossible task and I assure that I shall let everything else go, station a/cs, letters, station work, everything in order to save as many of these young converts as possible.

27. Melland to Harris, Vol. 17.

28. Harris to Cape Town, Vol. 17.

29. Harris to Cape Town, Vol. 17.

Education in the Northwestern Province

18th September 1918, Ernest Harris³⁰

I have just been to the Boma, where I had a talk with the visiting commissioner, who, as you know, ranks next to the Administrator of Northern Rhodesia. The subject of conversation was the N.S.P. and he made it clear that the word school in the Proc." was purposely defined so as to include every form of Christian service. And that every village where services are held must be registered as schools This need is urgent, probably more urgent than any similar need the Mission has had to meet during the whole of its history. It is the crisis of the work in this field and what is done now will either make or marr it for all time. I wonder to what extent you (the Executive) have grasped the situation. "Very interested", but that is not sufficient. Has the need gripped you? Does it keep you awake at night? It does me. Does it bring tears to your eyes and a great pain to your heart. . . . I have done all in my power to make the situation clear to you. I can do no more. I have "delivered my soul". God bless you as you take the matter in hand. He knows the need and He knows I have not overstated it.

June 1919, Ernest Harris³¹

[The last statement by Harris was very different. Harris wrote this while in South Africa on sick leave. By this time, he had lost the struggle with both the mission headquarters and Melland. The mission did not send more staff and Melland was unrelenting. Time moreover had cooled his strong emotions. He was resigned to following a new approach, even though it led to fewer conversions. Nonetheless, after this he was permanently transferred to South Africa.]

Under the Native Schools Proclamation of Northern Rhodesia the word school is defined to mean every form of Christian service. We cannot here enter into all the provisions of the N.S.P. but we regard the regulation for the regular supervision by a European missionary as a wise one, one that will make for effective work.

Appendix I: George Suckling and Education

"Sun-Dried Bricks in the Arnot Memorial Schools: The Question of School Work in the Kabompo District"

[In 1915 and 1916, Suckling had several chances to describe Chitokoloki's first two years to the Men's Study Classes through *Links of Help*. This is his longest and most comprehensive article in this magazine. It is not one of Suckling's best statements, but does explain both Chitokoloki's new educational program and many of Suckling's new hopes and fears.]³²

Some friends may doubt the wisdom of educational work from a missionary point of view, so let us consider the alternative possibilities in the district.

There is one school for the children of Africa into which millions are introduced in infancy, and to the unholy influence of which millions are irrevocably doomed. To become but

30. Harris to Cape Town, Vol. 17.

31. Vol. 18.

32. *Links*, 5 (1915/6), pp. 109-11.

Appendices

superficially acquainted with African village life will scarcely emphasize the disastrous consequences of this training. The youngsters look so happy as they play about their villages, seemingly so free from care, with no clothes to soil, no windows to break, and no clocks to consider. The girls seem so capable, as in quite early life they accept their share in the responsibilities of the home, preparing the ground for cultivation or pounding the meal that forms their staple food. That they are usually wives and mothers before the age at which English girls generally leave school does not impress us in that land of sudden development and rapid decay. The boys seem so manly, too, as while quite little chaps they follow their father, or more often their uncle, carrying his gun or his spear, and prepared to walk fifteen to twenty miles a day without a murmur. Or perhaps they go out with some little chums, with tiny bows and arrows to shoot small birds, or to trap squirrels, the rats, or the moles that will make the dinner so much more tasty. Or they may have followed the sure guidance of the honey-bird, and come back laden with the welcome spoil. A good school this, surely, teaching the children to be self-reliant, resourceful, and observant. Why interfere with such happy, careless, innocent lives?

Learn, however, the language, observe closely the customs of the people, get into real contact with the village life, and how different the matter seems. With the exception of the limitations imposed by etiquette and superstition, there is practically no restraint placed upon the actions of the girls and boys in their villages. This school knows nothing of discipline, and its curriculum includes the teaching of no virtue. The wisdom inculcated is the wisdom that descendeth not from above, but is "earthly, sensual, devilish." Those who come to know the inner lives of these young scholars can appreciate how well they learn their lessons. Day by day and night by night these boys and girls by the example and precept of their elders, are being nurtured in vice and trained in iniquity. Not only so, they are also brought up in constant dread of malignant spirits, they are taught to trace the source of sickness and trouble to the unsatisfied claims of the departed spirits or of the power of witches and wizards, who must be searched out and dealt with. Though now in British territory it is scarcely possible for a man to be put to death on a charge of witchcraft, such charges are still made, and lead to endless trouble. The initiation ceremonies, the spirit dances, and indeed all the social habits of the people are steeped in superstition, and have their outcome in degrading fears and terrible immoralities. When a boy or girl is constantly ill in early life he or she is often dedicated to a certain spirit, and in deference to his will (discovered by divination), the patient must consider certain foods taboo. Though drunkenness is not prevalent among the children, a most pernicious habit of smoking is very general, and this often leads to various physical ills, for the habit is acquired in early childhood.

Try to imagine the ordinary life and the normal conversation of children brought up under such circumstances. Think of them in the evenings as darkness comes upon them, and they have nothing holy or pure to occupy their minds, and no books to divert their attention. Remember, too, that millions of Africa's children have at present no hope of anything better, that no true light pierces the darkness and ignorance in which they dwell, and that in very many districts there is no hand stretched out to draw them to a holy life. And may we be shamed before our God at our lukewarmness and indifference when we remember that these children, for whom Christ died, have never heard His name, and are hastening

Education in the Northwestern Province

to eternity without a knowledge of Him!

Such was the condition of all the children in the Kabompo less than two years ago, and we have now to consider the efforts for dealing with the situation.

When the late Mr. Arnot tried to reach the district, more than thirty years ago, he was prevented by the refusal of the paramount chief to allow him to go there. Twenty-five years later the Roman Catholic White Fathers sought permission from the Rhodesian Government (who had by then secured the administrative rights to the country by treaty) to allow them to open up the district by the introduction of schools and mission centres. Such activity would undoubtedly have had a civilising effect upon the natives, but the change would have been merely superficial. In place of the worship of the spirits of the dead would have been the worship of reputed saints; in place of charms and fetishes, crosses and relics; instead of prayers to the dead, prayers for the dead; and in time of sickness, instead of the rattles and charmed medicines, the rosaries and holy water. While we admire the devotion and self-sacrifice of many of the Roman Catholic missionaries, we must not forget their failure to bring the natives into right relation with God through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

When, in order to frustrate this desire to introduce such a system, Mr. Arnot himself went to the Kabompo district and started preaching the simple Gospel, illness compelled him, after six months' labour, to return to his home.

It was then that another agency prepared to enter the district. In the Barotse Kingdom, to the south of the Kabompo, a large school had been opened, according to treaty, under the direction of the Government. The education therein is purely secular, and the aim is to fit the natives who attend the school for work in the offices and the mines, or on the farms near the railway to the south. This training does not fit the natives to return to their villages to seek the general uplift of the community. It tends rather to the breaking up of tribal life, and to the drifting of the natives into a worse condition morally and spiritually than they were in before, by introducing them to the example and influence of degraded white men.

In connection with this school the Government proposed opening an out-school in the Kabompo district by sending a trained native teacher to give rudimentary education. His life and teaching would have been irreligious and his influence generally bad. Soon after Mr. Arnot had settled Mr. Rogers and myself in the district we heard of this suggestion and in order to make the opening of such a school with all its possibilities of evil unnecessary, we proposed starting a school ourselves. I went to see the Resident Magistrate about the matter, and he promised not to open a rival school in the district so long as ours proved to be efficient.

We were thus allowed to be the first to introduce education into this large district, wherein, when we went there, not a single native could read or write. A rough school-room was built, and small huts provided for the boys. About twenty-five scholars were got together and in a period of less than a year four of these boys learned to read and write, while others made good progress. A few have been introduced to the mysteries of

Appendices

carpentry, gardening and the saw-pit, while all are made to respect the "dignity of labour" by being kept occupied when not in school in useful work about the place. Our aim is to teach the boys enough for them to be able to read and understand the Bible as it is translated for them, and by means of carpentry or gardening to be able to support themselves in their villages, when they are ready to go back there and open small schools among their own people. Thus we hope to see the influence of the mission station extended to all parts of the district.

By living constantly on the mission station the boys are not only brought out of the sordid surroundings of their villages but they are definitely brought under holier influences. Into these young minds, so early tainted and corrupted, are instilled the cleansing principles of the Bible: their tongues, in earliest years "set on fire of hell" and already deplored used to vilifying and cursing, are taught to repeat the glorious words of the Gospel, and their young hearts, so soon shut close in the darkness and degradation around them, are by the Spirit of God being opened to know and love the Saviour.

What shall I more say? the need is enormous, the opportunities are extraordinary. This new little mission station, manned by two young workers only is situated in a district hitherto quite unreached with the Gospel, and is more than a hundred miles from any other station. Apart from Mrs. Arnot, no lady missionaries have worked in the district, and many of the villages have never yet been visited by a missionary. We seek to make use of every opportunity for itineration and Mr. Rogers, especially has been able to explore the district, discovering in some directions thickly populated areas, village crowded on village, and never into any of them had the Gospel been carried. May God in His mercy raise up workers, particularly young married couples, for the work in this needy field!

A circle of influence, however, like any other circle must have a centre, and hence our desire to establish the station and especially the school work, and to this end has the Arnot Memorial School been planned. The memorial would take the form of a large sun-dried brick building suitable both for school work and for evangelistic meetings, and also of house accommodation for the scholars. It may interest some to know that the boys themselves have promised to collect five pounds towards this building.

The school teaching will, God willing be resumed next April and we hope we shall be able to increase the number of scholars though the expense involved in upkeep of a boy (3 [pounds] a year, ie., 2d. a day) has hitherto necessitated our limiting the number received. On this account we have had the sorrowful experience of having to refuse admission to boys who have desired to enter the school. Imagine such a boy leaving his village, sometimes fifty to seventy miles away, tramping through the forest, wading through rivers and crossing the plains, and arriving at the mission station to seek work and admission to school. When he is refused on the ground of our having as many boys as we can undertake, he stays on throughout the day hoping through importunity to obtain a happier answer. In the evening, as the day draws in, sad and disappointed he goes away. Back to his village, back to the heathenism, the superstition, the shame, and the sin. Ask yourself what future lies before such a one.

APPENDIX J: Silas Chizawu on Education, Balovale, 1930s

[On 15 June 1976, I formally interviewed an old associate, Mr. Chifuanyisa Silas Chizawu, in Kabompo township. His memory is amazing. The following includes extracts from that interview, especially those that focus on George Suckling and the expansion of Chitokoloki's educational system in the 1930s.]

I started my first schooling in October 1927 at a primary school called Makondo, which was a mission school established by the late Mr. George Robert Suckling. . . .

That school was called Makondo out-school, because all the village schools in those days were not called the way we do now-a-days; they were called out-schools. Their main purpose was not to educate the people in the sense we understand the word education today, but the main purpose was to enable people to read and write so that they could read the Bible. Perhaps in those days we did not know very much the word 'Bible,' but to read the "Word of God." The first headteacher of that school was Mr. Moses Sangambo, who now resides in Mize. . . .

That school opened in October 1927 and it closed early in 1928. Then from that time came a system of out-schools, which were sponsored by the government, because by that time the government had felt the time had come when village schools should be opened in many places where children, boys and girls, from many villages would have access and the government said that any missionaries who were unwilling or refused to open village schools would have their rights as missionaries forfeited. Or rather they would call the Roman Catholics to open schools. So in this way they were rather frightened. Because as far as the doctrine of C.M.M.L.(Christian Missions in Many Lands) goes, they feared the Catholics; they did not like to work hand in hand with the Catholics. They feared that they would interfere with their doctrine. So Mr. Suckling took up the job. He agreed to open the schools, although other missionaries in the denomination opposed this "tooth and nail." They did not like the Africans to be educated. They said that missionaries did not come to educate the Africans but rather to teach them the Word of God and tell them the Gospel of Jesus Christ. What they wanted to do was to teach them to read and write, to enable them to read the Word of God. . . .

In 1928 the government wanted more out-schools. Schools were therefore opened in places like in what is now known as Mukandakunda, but in those days the school was known as Ishindi Out-School. That school was near the place of the graveyard of the old Ishindi Kazanda, who is the father of the present Chief Ishindi. And another school was opened at Mapachi, which is near Mize, the headquarters of Chief Ndungu. Another school was opened at Chief Ishima's village which was just on the banks of the river rapids [Lwatembu]. Another school was opened at Kasaka, the village of a Luchazi chief, who used to live there. These four schools were opened in those places. This was mostly in October 1928 and I was one of those first enrolled with Ishindi School. . . .

Now if we move forward. In 1930, another step was taken. The government said: "Well, now we have village schools all right; we must have teachers." (For your information, those teachers who taught us were not trained, neither were they educated to the standard that

Appendices

was required. Just literate men, men who could read and write. But don't forget to remember that their main work, the main purpose for putting them in the field was to preach the Gospel. The main aim of the missionaries was not to educate people in the sense of education as we know it today--to enable people to read the Book of God and the Gospel so that they could be converted.) . . .

Then in 1930, the government policy changed. They said: "We want to have the bright boys"--I am afraid we had no girls--"selected from all these out-schools and bring them into one place." In other words into a central place and that central place was the Chitokoloki Mission Station and then open a boarding school where these people would be kept--fed and taught--until they reached a certain standard. In that mission the first examination was conducted in March 1930. . . .So the examination was conducted and boys were selected. We from Ishindi were eight; from Mapachi, seven; from Chitokoloki, eleven; from Ishima, four; from Kasaka, three. Then we and two other young men; I am not certain of their age--Mr. Moses Bongo, . . . and a Luzendu . . . came from Angola solely seeking education. . . .

[Question: Was there anyone from Chavuma at this stage?]

No. Chavuma was bitterly opposed to that system of education. Chavuma felt Mr. Suckling was making these people become proud. We had no one, therefore, from Chavuma. Now our first boarding was a house of the missionaries, Mr. Hansen. He had a house, a big one and they had left it because he had moved to another station on the other side of the Zambezi at Lungvungu. That station at Lungvungu was opened by Mr. Sharpe who had left and went back home. . . .

Then that was the first boarding house. That house had no use. So the missionaries, rather Mr. Suckling, decided to use it for a boarding school. I think, if I am not mistaken, that we were 35 boys. I was one of the first group. In that examination--and I do not want to boast--I did so well that I was given a book, Pilgrim's Progress, in Lunda and two other young men received 5/- each.

The boarding started. In fact to begin with, it started in small huts which we built by ourselves and then in May, when we came back from holidays, we started sleeping in that good house. We were given very good blankets and very big light and so forth. We had happy days. We were properly fed and Mr. Suckling was very much interested in that work. In fact, he devoted himself so much to that that other missionaries began saying this and that about him. That was about the boarding.

Now we move. In November 1932, a government inspector from Lusaka came to inspect the school. He was Mr. J. C. Cottrell from Mazabuka.... After he had inspected the school, he said to Mr. James Caldwell, who was our teacher at that time, "I think this class has learnt so much, it is now Standard IV. And as a Standard IV class prepare it to sit for the examination. That was the government examination, they called it a "School Leaving Certificate Examination. (Mr. Caldwell was assisting Mr. Suckling in the missionary work and so he was given the responsibility of the school. He took the top class. We were in the top class so he was our teacher. He was the principal, or as we say now-a-days, the manager of the school, and at the same time the class teacher.) In that class we were

Education in the Northwestern Province

about seven: Silas Chizawu, John Mwondela, Samuel Mbilishi, Jeremiah Sakatengo, Jotham Luhila, Moses Mbongo and Luzendu.

In May, we walked all the way from Chitokoloki to the boma. This examination was so important, it had to be invigilated by the District commissioner--at that time was G. S. Green. So we sat for that examination. We completed it and the papers and the manuscripts went to Mazabuka for marking. When the results came, all of us passed, but two: Mr. Luzendo and Mr. Jeremiah Sakatengo failed.

That examination was a combined one. It was school leaving and at the same time, teachers leaving examination. Those who passed, passed as both Standard IV candidates and as teachers. So we who passed were allowed to start teaching. There was a proposal--although I just recollect a bit of it--by the government that those who passed and who were young would go to Mazabuka for further studies, up to standard VI, and then take the training, too. But I think--I may be wrong--Mr. Suckling objected to it. He was such a strong man that if he wanted to object the government would agree. So we started teaching: Silas Chizawu, John Mwondela, and Samuel Mbilishi. We started on the first of June, 1933. That was after the examination and the results had come back from Mazabuka. What the government did was to send lectures. Unfortunately, the man helping us study these was untrained himself. Anyway, it helped us gain knowledge. . . .

We were all teaching at Chitokoloki. Only an old man, married, could go out and teach in an out-school.

I have just thought of another one, Daniel Ndumba, who later became the headmaster at Chitokoloki. So we were eight. Two failed and six passed.

We were all teaching at Chitokoloki. The government started giving grants to the missionaries for the salaries of teachers. But the salary we started with was six shillings and three yards calico. We were also being given uniforms and soap to wash the uniforms. Married men like Yotamu Luhila and Daniel Ndumba were receiving more than ten shillings. At that time this was purely from the missionaries' pockets. But in early 1934, the government started paying grants towards teachers' salaries. The salary for men like ourselves was twenty-five shillings per month. You may be surprised, but from experience, when I compare what I am getting at the present time and twenty-five shillings, I can see that we used to get more or could buy more than with what I am getting now. A shirt like the one I am wearing would cost only three and six pence or four shillings, whereas now-a-days, this one cost me six kwacha.

There came another time in 1935 when the missionaries felt some of us should go to teach in the out-schools. I went to Makondo, my original school, and my home, too. In fact, my home is in Mukandakunda. So I went to Makondo, just two miles from Mukandakunda, on the other side of the Makondo, just going a bit towards the confluence of the river. Mr. Daniel Ndumba went to Lwatembo, the old headquarters of Chief Ishima. But we two went out to the village schools. I went there in 1935 just a week after my marriage. That was the school I taught from 17th July 1935 to mid-August 1940 when I was sent to Chalimbana for training as a Jeannes supervisor. Mr. Mwondela and I were the first young men to be sent

Appendices

from Chitokoloki to Chalimbana for the training as Jeannes supervisors. . . .

When I returned from Chalimbana in 1942, I found my friend, Mr. William Nkanza, teaching at that place [Makondo]. Both of us were teaching there for a year. Mr. William Nkanza then left me there and went to Chalimbana for the same course. . . .

I forgot one other important point in our discussion: the opening of the teachers training college at Chitokoloki. In April 1935, we received a man who had been teaching in South America, Mr. Victor Reed. He came to join the mission work. But this man was educated. He was an M.A. The government agreed [to open teacher training]. Mr. Suckling had been asking for this and that, but we had no suitable man. Now that we had this man who was an M.A. for the opening of a "normal school" as it was then called, the first teachers training college was opened late in 1935. That was the college, or the normal school, as we used to call it, which trained Mr. William Nkanza as a teacher. He and others completed their course in 1937, after two years. So that was another step in the direction of development of education in the province.

Appendix K: John Cottrell's Report, January 1933

[John Cottrell's report of his tour through Barotseland and Kasempa Province from 17 October to 10th December 1932 was as remarkable as Melland's earlier reports. Like Melland, Cottrell was one of the handful of men that saw through the conventions of his age. The following extracts are the most relevant portions to the present NWP.]³³

Plans of work.

3. It was impossible on the time at my disposal to visit more than a small proportion of village schools but in both provinces all Mission Stations, with the exception of Luampa (South African General Mission) in Barotseland, were inspected. Further, I took every opportunity of consulting Government Officers of experience, the European Missionaries and Doctors, Traders, Chiefs, African Teachers and other Natives, thus acquainting myself with the opinions of many people directly or indirectly interested in Native Education. I was also able to be present at the meeting of the Director of Native Education and the Provincial Commissioner, Mongu, with the Paramount Chief and Lealui Khotla. A day in Livingstone on the return journey afforded a valuable opportunity of discussing with the Hon'ble the Secretary for Native Affairs some aspects of the work of the Missions visited.

4. The chief Mission Societies operating in the area covered by the tour are the South African General mission, the Christian Missions in Many Lands, and the Paris Evangelical Mission. (I do not include the Seventh Day Adventists on the Zambezi, the Capuchin Fathers' on the Loanja who have a few village schools in the Sesheke District but have not yet established Stations)

5. Since the stations visited fall conveniently into three distinct groups corresponding to the Societies mentioned above I shall discuss in this covering report general questions concerning each group and summarise points worth of special notice from the reports.

33. "Native Education Tour Report: Mr. J. A. Cottrell's Tour report to Kasempa Province and Barotseland," 24 Jan. 1933, ZA. 1/9/119/5, NAZ. The underlining of full sentences for emphasis is mine.

Education in the Northwestern Province

6. Individual reports on each Station are attached. I did not mark schools in any way, contenting myself with general impressions under the heads of:

- (a) Educational value and General Influence of the station.
- (b) Site, Buildings and Equipment.
- (c) Adequacy and Efficiency of Staff.
- (d) Examination of Teachers for Certificates.
- (e) Teaching Methods (dealt with on the spot).
- (f) Work of pupils.
- (g) Provision for Agriculture and Handicrafts.
- (h) Syllabuses, Schemes of Work, Length of Sessions.
- (i) Organization, Discipline and Health.
- (j) Boarding Arrangements and Recreation.
- (k) Fulfillment of Conditions governing Grants-in-Aid.
- (l) Medical work.
- (m) Outschool System.
- (n) Vernacular Text-books.

Methodist Schools

My objective was beyond Mumbwa, but in passing I called at the Methodist outschools. . .

South African General Mission

General Remarks.

8. In this group are included Mukinge Hill and Mutanda Bridge in the Kasempa Province. Both are fairly new Stations where Elementary and a little Lower Middle School education is attempted. The apathy of the people towards education and the lack of trained African teachers are serious handicaps. The missionaries have, I feel, yet to gain the full confidence of the people beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the Stations.

Outschool System.

9. The importance of good outschool system, under qualified teachers, for the achievement of this end seems to have been overlooked. The first schools should be built near villages of important chiefs and when the latter are won over, expansion to other villages will be desired by the people themselves. Two BaKaonde boys from Mukinge Hill are now at school in Mazabuka and two more, from Mutanda, will be admitted, I hope, in September. It should be firmly impressed upon these lads that they are destined for future service amongst their people.

Medical Work.

March 17, 2014

Page 238

Appendices

10. The foundations of medical work round Mukinge Hill have been laid by Miss Kupferer and I am certain that the newly acquired enthusiasm for serious educational work by these Missions will prove to be an epoch in their history.

Grants.

11. Mukinge Hill received a Boarding Grant of 43.10.0 [pounds, shillings] last year and a Medical Grant. Mutanda Bridge promises well and deserves encouragement and Government assistance as soon as funds are available. These are the only two Mission Stations existing in the Kasempa and Solwezi Districts -- an area of roughly 20,000 square miles.

Christian Missions in Many Lands

General Influence.

12. Kalene Hill and Kamapanda in Mwinilunga District, Chavuma and Chitokoloki, in Balovale District, serve the backward peoples of the North West -- chiefly Ba-Lunda and Ba-Lovale. This branch of the Society was established in North Western Rhodesia as early as 1897 and its most fruitful spheres of activity have been its efforts in the early days to bring peace amongst the turbulent border tribes and its success in the Medical field. The surrounding tribes must have benefited greatly by long contact with these sincere and often cultured people. One notices well planned villages and houses after the European style and a respectful attitude towards Europeans. How much the Mwinilunga Boma officials are responsible for this I cannot say. Educationally it has lagged behind and seems, until recently, to have been left high and dry by the wave of education which has penetrated the more accessible parts of the Territory since 1926.

Attitude of the People.

13. Although labour for the Copper Belt and the Lobito Bay Railway must at times have been recruited from these parts, the area itself is practically untouched by European industrialism and the number of farms and trading stores are almost negligible. There is therefore little desire on the part of the natives for education. I am convinced that, generally speaking, to the native mind learning is not acquired in schools for its own sake but for that of getting work under Europeans. And so in this area, the white man's magical gift is sought by the few not so much for the material gain it brings but to attain the distinction of being able to read the vernacular scriptures and write and receive letters from friends. Many youths come to school with the sole purpose of learning to write letters to friends and even then have not the staying powers to see it through. Consequently the "school life" of the majority of pupils is short lived.

Wastage.

14. This fact struck me most forcibly in connection with Kalene Hill and brings me to an important criticism. Of a total average of 260 weekly boarders in attendance an average of only 3 reach standard II. This big percentage of Wastage indicates that the majority of pupils should not receive costly boarding education. The building up of an outschool system is the obvious solution.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Type of Education Required.

15. The creation of village schools in close touch with village communities and the mass of the people as a means of improving character and good citizenship is what is required and what is most suitable for this area, the conditions of which have already been described. The new policy places this idea in the forefront of educational effort the result of which, it is hoped, will be to produce good Africans and not imitation white men.

Teachers.

16. But we cannot get away from the vicious circle. Good village schools pre-suppose good African teachers of which there are none. I have urged these Missions most strongly to send a few picked youths for teacher-training at the Society's Training School at Johnston Falls.

Organisation of Education Work.

17. The above criticism, however, applies more strongly to Kalene Hill only. Of greater account because of its wider effect is the lack of a unified educational policy for this group of Missions. The cause may probably be traced to the fact that the individual Missions are loosely affiliated, often drawing their funds from quite independent sources. There is real need for some central administrative authority in educational matters to organise the work and bring about uniformity of aims, policy and method in closer touch with the Department. I would suggest an Education committee like that of the Paris Evangelical Mission, or, if distances are too great, an educationist like Mr. Stokes at Johnston Falls should be given authority to direct the educational work.

Place of Education in Mission Work.

18. Furthermore, the educational work seems in all cases except Chitokoloki, to be left almost entirely to the women. The making of roads and odd jobs about the Station have their place, but education is surely a more important duty of the Missionary?

The "Mission" Boy.

19. At Kamapanda I had to sound a note of warning regarding the need for discipline and firmness when dealing with the "raw" Native. The missionary who allows his servants to work for just as few hours as they please and no more, to wander about when and where they like and to come at any time with their trifling business is neglecting valuable opportunities for character training, is creating what is known as the "Mission Boy", and laying his profession open to hostile criticism.

Half Measures.

20. At Chavuma I was surprised and annoyed to find a "man on the veld" who expressed the opinion that the acceptance of a Government grant brought unwanted restrictions: I had to point out the difference between a full time educational programme and half measures. Indeed one is forcibly made to realise at times that it is only the Native ignorance and his blind and almost pathetic belief in the white man's education which induces him to send his children, and even to come himself, to the only place within reach

Appendices

bearing the name of school. It is sometimes necessary to remind missionaries in the outlying districts that the Department has a definite policy and that it aims at giving the Native a fair deal, and that regulations (usually passed by the Missionary Board of Advice) are, unfortunately, necessary.

21. At one of these Missions when being shown round I heard to oft repeated expression "This is only to whet their appetites for something more". The words rang true: This was the very phrase I wanted to describe the work of the mission I had been seeing. "And it's high time they were given their dinner," was the thought that passed through my mind.

On Sound Lines.

22. In truth Chitokoloki, the last seen Mission of this group was the only one about which I felt that a "square-meal" was being given. The diet too [sic] is good. The boys are not merely being trained to take a subordinate part in European industrial life. They are given that real interest in life which "a proper education suited to past history and present condition" can stimulate. The fame of Chitokoloki for its carpenter-training in the days of Mr. Hansen's instruction reached me through Natives at Mazabuka. I saw, too, that Native handicrafts of the District were being studied and discovered and taught. A few boys were being trained in the printers shop, others as builders.

23. But most important of all was the method and spirit in which the work was done. There was no driver and no time-keeper and a complete absence of the "hated manual task" spirit about it which has the invariable result of creating men who in after life hate manual work as humiliating and avoid it whenever possible. "Manual task" as a means of "character training" is a harmful idea when applied to African education.

24. Chitokoloki prints and supplies vernacular books.

25. Chitokoloki is the only Station of the group at which the men put their backs into the educational work.

Compulsory Education.

26. Unfortunately owing to over-enthusiasm on the part of one or two chiefs who tried to introduce a form of compulsory education, the outschools have had to be closed down; but, I hope, only temporarily. Time is not ripe for coercion of the few when the willing majority cannot yet be provided for.

Qualified Teacher Problem.

27. Chitokoloki is also up against the qualified teacher problem. This I have discussed fully in the report. A solution will be found when I have consulted the Director of Native Education.

Jeanes Teacher.

28. It would be an excellent thing if a Jeanes teacher who could speak the Lunda language were sent to the four Stations in this group so that the value of his work might be appreciated by the Missionaries. A Jeanes teacher should be trained for them as soon as possible.

Education in the Northwestern Province

European School at Hillwood Farm.

29. On October the 29th we looked over and stayed for lunch at the school for missionaries' children on the Sakeji River near Hillwood Hill. The site is healthy, the accommodation and equipment most satisfactory, and the Staff qualified and well chosen. The Principal, Mr. Nightingale, is assisted by two lady teachers, a matron, and his wife, who is a trained nurse. The Children are extremely well fed and cared for: The lines on which the school is conducted and the happiness of the children make one feel that this is a real "home from home" for them. They are fine stock - a fact of which I was all the more convinced after meeting some of the parents Fishers, Hoytes and Sucklings. Although the parents of only six children (out of the total of about 25) are at present resident in Northern Rhodesia, the missionaries are constantly transferred from territory to territory and it is probable that the majority of the children will settle in Northern Rhodesia, the only British territory of the group, when they grow up. Many of them will complete their education in England and this school is designed to prepare them for that purpose. . . .

Paris Evangelical Mission. . . .

32. The educational work of this Society is excellent and follows closely the policy of the Department. The main features may be summarised as follows:-

- (a) The Mission has a self-contained system providing elementary, middle, normal and industrial education for boys and elementary and middle education for girls.
- (b) The work is well organised under an Education Committee causing uniformity of aims and methods.
- (c) The importance of outschools for providing elementary education for the masses is recognised. In each group of outschools is a central out-school teaching up to Standard II. Outschools are closely supervised.
- II. Outschools are closely supervised.
- (d) A large percentage of the teachers employed are qualified. . . .
- (h) In policy and method the Barotseland branch of the Society has profited by the experience of the older branch in Basutoland and they realise the importance of beginning at the fountain head by winning over chiefs after which expansion to the villages under the chiefs is easier.
- (i) Quality rather than quantity in education is a respected maxim. . . .

Mukinge Hill

Morning School: Standards

Five boys in Standard II and four boys in Standard I (all boarders) are in the classroom between the hours of 7.30 and 12.00. They are taught by Mr. Foster who, however, spends much of this time on building and general Station matters. There is no Native teacher. Standard II is using "The Natal Explicit Arithmetic" Standard II (An excellent book). They worked seven problems involving multiplication and division of money and got 75%

Appendices

correct. They read the Chisanga Bible and a standard II English Reader Satisfactorily.

Standard I worked some examples from McDougall's Arithmetic with satisfactory results and wrote well.

The work of both standards in other subjects was very elementary.

Practical Work. In the afternoon the Standard II boys assist with teaching in the Sub-Standard school and together with Standard I boys work in the vegetable and fruit gardens and grow their own food. Only the hoe can be used since there are no cattle in the district. The Ba-Kaonde are very conservative in agriculture. Boys who leave the school do not put into practice any agriculture they learn at the Mission. This is probably due to the frequent moving of villages and gardens. Other Manual occupations are carpentry and brick-laying and building work generally.

Sub-standard School. . . .

These classes are taken by Mrs. Foster assisted by the Standard II boys from 1.30 to 4 p.a. They have in addition an hour in the morning with the standard school for drill and singing. They spend most of the time learning Scripture, reading from the Scriptures, writing, and doing Arithmetic. The work done is of an elementary nature but is thorough. The assistant teachers are of very limited capabilities.

Girls' School.

The girls' school has been closed since Miss Slater went on furlough.

General.

As may be seen from this report the educational work of this Mission is of a most elementary nature. The Mission has until the last two years held only, "Reading Classes" in connection with their religious work and educational work has never been seriously undertaken. No European is giving his or her full time to education and there is no African Staff. It must be kept in mind, however, that only in the last years have the Ba-Kaonde desired education and even now the boys do not "stick" to their school work for longer than 2 or 3 years.

The mission will benefit by the employment of certificated African Teachers. With this aim Jesse Sandasanda has been sent to the Normal School and Briggs and Pangwe to the Middle School at Mazabuka. By means of good Native assistants the Mission should be able to get a better grip on the surrounding people and advance the educational work.

Outschools.

There is only one outschool 70 miles West of the Mission Station which has an average attendance of 25 pupils under an unqualified teacher. The "outwork" at the evangelist centres is supervised by Mr. E. S. Frost whom I was unable to see. . . .

Fees.

Each boy bring 5/- worth of food a year. He is supplied with a uniform of khaki shorts and tunic.

Education in the Northwestern Province

The food consists of Mealie Meal, of Kaffir Corn meal, beans, pea-nuts and Meat or fish when obtainable. The boys eat in five groups. They wash regularly in the garden stream. . . .

Recommendations.

I recommend that boarding grants be given in respect of boys in the Standards only. In these times of depression sub-standard education of the type given at this Mission does not warrant boarding grants. The boys in the sub-standards should bring their own food. There is no need for them to wear uniforms.

Mutanda Mission

Classes [Sub-A through St. IV] are taught for 4 1/2 hours daily by Mr. and Mrs. Nelson assisted by an uncertified Evangelist, John Pupe. The boys are all boarders except 5 and the girls are daughters of servants and station workers. Many of the boys are over-age.

Work.

I inspected the work of all classes including the exercise books of the Standards. The Vernacular Reading was good in all classes but English, Reading and pronunciation rather poor although the pupils understood the meaning of what they read. Arithmetic was fair but Writing was definitely weak throughout the school. Geography-History and Hygiene were fair. I did not see the Drill since Mr. Nelson was away. The showing of the work generally was at a disadvantage owing to his absence. Standard IV was a very weak class and I advised that they should be grouped with Standard III this year since Standard III was a good class.

Manual Work.

The boys work in the vegetable garden and the plots in which in which food is grown for the school. I was surprised to hear that they are not taught carpentry. . . .

General Remarks and Recommendations.

The boys appeared happy and well cared for. They should be admitted at a younger age if possible.

This is a new station. I consider that a good start has been made and that the educational work will develop owing to the enthusiasm of the workers. As in the case of Mukinge Hill it is essential that some certified African teachers be employed as soon as possible. I requested that two boys be selected for training at Mazabuka.

When times improve a small grant might be given since the work is greatly handicapped by lack of funds. Educationally this Station is more promising , I think, than Mukinge Hill.

Kalene Hill

Site, Premises, etc.

Kalene Hill is a high, rocky bluff originally well named "Border Craig". From it one has a commanding view of a strip of Northern Rhodesia to the South and East and the Congo and Angola borderlands to the North and West respectively. On account of the havoc wrought

Appendices

by sickness and death in the ranks of the early missionaries working amongst the Ba-Lunda this was chosen as a bracing site for a rest resort and nursing home for sick and tired missionaries. It is far from an ideal site for a mission station school, lacking the essentials of agricultural land, water close by, space for playing fields and for future expansion. Personally I found it not altogether free of mosquitoes and hot in the evening because of the retention by the rocks of the sun's heat. No satisfactory layout plan is possible: the buildings have been erected wherever space can be found between the rocks over which one has to scramble to get from one building to another. The Native quarters are too close to the Europeans' houses and the main buildings. The boys' dormitories are on the North end of the hill and the girls on the South. . . .

Schools.

The Sub-standard school is held from 7.30 to 10.00 am from Monday to Thursday. The Standard school is held from 2.30 to 4.30 p.m. on the same days. Both schools are under Miss Shaw (M.A.) and Miss Gilmour who was in charge of the schools until Miss Shaw's arrival a little more than a year ago. They are assisted by 8 unqualified Native teachers of Standard I and II attainments.

Sub-standard School.

Sub A is divided into five classes and sub B into 4 classes. Various vernacular primers, books containing Bible stories and a Hygiene reader are progressively used leading up to the New Testament in the upper sections of Sub B. The work of the classes taken by the ladies is very good indeed. Both are competent and enthusiastic teachers and Miss Shaw's methods are up to date.

But incompetent teaching by some of the African teachers was reflected in the work of their pupils. . . .

Standard School – Boys only.

Miss Shaw and Miss Gilmour are getting good results with these [Standard I and II] classes. English is particularly well taught. Money problems of a really practical nature seem to have been neglected in the Upper section of Standard I. Otherwise the complete Elementary School Syllabus is carried out. . . .

Practical and Manual Work.

During the mornings these boys have various occupations. Two Standard I boys are being trained as medical orderlies, some teach in the Boarding School. one is being trained as a teacher, some learn to be domestic servants in the European houses and others assist with building, carpentry and in the Fruit garden on the hillside. No agriculture or vegetable gardening is taught. All these boys are rather old to remain very much longer in school: Training in these occupations is an excellent thing for them.

Number of School Days and Hours Per Day: Staff, etc.

It will be noted above that the Morning School is in session for only 2 hours and 50 minutes and the Afternoon School for 2 hours only in addition to the time given for manual work. The result is that progress is slow and the pupils take nearly twice the normal time

Education in the Northwestern Province

in each class and eventually become over-age before they reach Standard II. They must then leave school to find tax. In addition to this there are only 4 school days a week and therefore the schools are in session for only 120 days a year instead of the regulation 150. The two schools should have separate staffs and separate buildings and the respective time-tables should be drawn up giving at least 4 1/2 hours work daily. Miss Shaw and a fully qualified Native teacher should run the standard School. Miss Gilmour and five qualified Native teachers should run the Sub-standard School. As an alternative, until teachers can be trained, another European should be brought in and a separate Girls' school created.

Native Teachers.

There is a great need for properly qualified Native teachers. It should be remembered that any teacher with a Government certificate would automatically receive a Government grant for 2/3 of his salary. Promising boys should immediately be entered for training at Johnston Falls or Mazabuka.

From what has been said above it is, of course, obvious that the regulations and conditions on which Educational grants are given, are not being fulfilled.

Wastage, Government Policy: Out-Schools, Grants.

The registration and classification figures show tremendous wastage or leakage. Out of a total registration of 263 in the two schools only 3 have reached Standard II. I have already partly accounted for this the previous paragraph. I was informed by a number of the Staff that when a compulsory entrance fee of 1/- was levied recently on boys in the Standard School a number of them immediately left. This shows that there is no real desire for literary education, or rather, education for a definite purpose beyond the ability to write a letter to a friend and read in the vernacular. And there is no reason why there should be in a purely Native area; but the point is that Government cannot maintain expensive boarding schools for children such as these. They can get all they want in elementary village day schools which cost only the teachers' salaries and consumable equipment to maintain.

If the children go home every week end to fetch their food, their villages cannot be far away. Surely it would be better to open a few out-schools under Native teachers which could be supervised from the Mission? The children would then remain in the home circle and thus the mission would be freed of the responsibility of looking after them during the week.

The boarding school should be reserved for 30 to 40 selected boys in the standards who desire to carry on their education with some definite aim in view. Boarding grants and grants for European teachers are given, as a rule for the type of school just described.

Grants. A grant of 150 [pounds] per annum is given on account of Miss Shaw. This is a very generous grant seeing that only Elementary education is given. Every effort should be made to pass pupils through the Standard IV School Leaving Certificate in the next two years. The annual Boarding Grant is 11 [pounds]. But since the pupils provide their own

Appendices

food and clothing is grant must be used for general stationery and equipment expenditure and the maintenance of the Evangelist in charge of the boarders.

Boarding Arrangements, Fees, etc.

There are 120 boys and 23 girl boarders in addition to the 42 orphans who are cared for. The boarders come from Monday to Thursday and go home during the weekends to fetch their own food for the week. No fees are charged since food and uniforms are not provided. An entrance fee of 1/- is compulsory for boys in the Standard School. The boys' and girls' dormitories are on opposite sides of the hill with the European houses, hospital and school buildings between. The boys are under the control of an Evangelist and the girls under a Christian woman. They seemed happy and healthy although very crowded. I was surprised to hear that they were taken down to wash in the stream at the foot of the hill only twice a week. Although it is rather far to the stream, they should be taken down daily. I suggested that they trot down first thing every morning. This healthy exercise could, to some extent, replace physical drill and marching. A cleanliness and health parade is held every morning at school. It would be better to take it outside the dormitories after the morning wash and to inspect the dormitories, airing of blankets, etc., at the same time, a matter to which more attention might be paid. The inspection should be especially thorough on Monday mornings when the boys return from their Villages. The arrangement whereby the boys go to their villages every week end is liable to increase the possibilities of the spread of infectious disease in the school. There seems to be a lack of any organised games, such as football for the boys.

General Control of Boys.

The facts mentioned above all show the need for the control of a man over boys and the school. At the moment everything to do with the school seems to be left in the hands of the two ladies. It should be the duty of one of the male members of the European Staff to be responsible for the discipline, games, drill and general oversight of the boarders and even to take a lesson such as Scripture in the school now and again. There are some big boys in the Standard School and the disciplining of them cannot be easy for ladies. It has already been pointed out that the Staff requires an additional European. The new number should if possible be a man. . . .

Recommendations.

1. That the boarding school be reserved for selected pupils in Standard I and above.
2. That outschools be opened for elementary education.
3. That a man be made responsible for the general discipline, the boarding arrangements and the organisation of manual work and games.
4. That some qualified African teachers be employed as soon as possible.
5. That the .European teacher grant be continued only on condition that at least three boys are passed through the School Leaving Certificate in the course of the next three years and that thereafter three every year.
6. That the boarding grant be withdrawn until the school has bona fide boarders.

Education in the Northwestern Province

7. That no grants be given unless the school is in session for at least 150 full school days.

8. That if the present large attendance continues the pupils be divided into three schools (a) Boys Elementary, (b) Boys Standard, (c) Girls. This should be necessarily if outschools are opened.

Kamapanda Mission

Schools.

1. Infants' School. Held from 8.30 to 10.30 a.m. daily. All children are under 4 years of age. . . . This is a unique and most successful effort to run a real infants school and is the first of its kind I have seen in the country. I listened to action songs, lessons in number games, and syllable and word games. I also saw the children at play. They thoroughly enjoyed every minute of the time and, I am told, hate missing school. They were alert, polite and natural. They are taught habits of cleanliness and order. . . . (The teachers] are to be heartily congratulated.

2. Girls' School.

[The standard I] class consists of girls aged 11 and 12. They read the Vernacular New Testament fluently and intelligently, knew all the multiplication tables and worked three figure sums involving the 4 rules. They should complete the Standard I syllabus in the 3 R's by the end of the year. The work of Sub B and Sub A was up to standard.

The "Beginners" were taken by "Lute" a girl of 14 years, who is the daughter of an Evangelist and has passed Standard II. I heard her take lessons in word building and number work and was favourably impressed with her intelligence and the effective and sympathetic manner in which she worked with her class.

Miss Spong, who is new to the work, is a good teacher and should get good results later on.

3. Women's School.

Twenty-four married women are taught Sewing, Vernacular Reading, Simple Number work and Religion and are given talks on Hygiene and Child Welfare by Miss Perkins and Miss Spong for two hours on Mondays, Wednesdays and Friday.

4. Boys School.

Under Miss Stephenson assisted by three unqualified Native assistant teachers of Standard II attainment. Four hours each morning. . . . This school was disappointing. Standard I (4 pupils) being the only class which was up to standard. Teacher Mafufu set a copy of writing on the blackboard without using lines. His writing lacked uniformity and the boys wrote extremely badly. . . .

5. Men's School. Taken by Miss Stephenson for 1 1/2 hours on three afternoon a week. (For domestic servants, etc.) . . . The 3 R's, Religious Knowledge, Singing and Geography are taught. Hygiene and Health talks are given. The work was fair. I suggested that all classes should be grouped for a lesson in Oral English including simple conversations,

Appendices

statements, commands, questions and answers about daily affairs in the house and in the school.

Outschools.

Kamapanda has only two outschools, one at Chibwika with an average attendance of 12 and one at Mushidi with an average attendance of 30. Sub-Standard work only is taken by evangelist-teachers of Standard I attainment. . . .

General.

There are no boarders at this Mission but most of the pupils come from the Mission village. I understand that the inhabitants of this village are Balunda who migrated with the Cunninghams from Kalunda in Angola when they came to open Kamapanda in 1923. One of the conditions on which they were allowed to build on Mission ground was that they should send their children to school. This I think accounts for the good attendance of girls in the Schools. Behind the work of the Mission in all spheres from the planning of the Station to the organisation of the daily routine, the division of the pupils into their respective "schools" and the internal classification there are evidences of a sound practical mind.

In Mr. Cunningham's absence the educational work seems to have been left entirely in the hands of the women. The discipline of the Natives on the station was not all that one desires to see. They appeared to be allowed to wander about the front gardens of the European houses and to come with their petty business at any time and in any place. One of the most important lessons the African has to learn is that there is a right time and a right place for all things. The African understands sternness and is all the better in character for it. Pampering and too much kindness often leads to a loss of respect and prestige.

As in the case of other Stations of this society there is a great need for a few properly trained and qualified African teachers.

Grants for Educational Work.

No grants are received. I recommend that when times improve this Mission be given a grant in respect of the work of the European Staff. Grants for qualified African teachers would, of course, be automatically given as soon as such teachers were employed.

Chavuma

Morning School [for boys and girls] . . . The 8 classes are taken by Miss Richards and Miss Mitchell assisted by 8 unqualified Native teachers between the hours of 9 and 11 a.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays only. They are taught the 3 R's singing, Scripture and Drill. No English is taught. The Number Work is very simple. Although a very elementary nature the work is thorough owing to the enthusiasm of the two ladies. Singing is particularly good. No attempt is made to follow the Government code or classification system.

Manual work has no sufficient importance attached to it. For example the carpenters shop is never used by the school-boys.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Afternoon School (adults – men and women).

. . . The men and women divided into 13 classes are taken by Mrs. Logan and Mrs. Barnett assisted by 13 unqualified Native teachers of very limited capabilities for two hours on three afternoons a week. They are taught Reading, working up to fluent reading of the Scriptures, Writing, Singing, simple Number work involving the four rules and the drawing and printing of Scriptural Texts in crayon. A fair assortment of primers and text books includes Bible stories, a translation of “The Peep of Day” and a Hygiene Reader. These are printed at Chitokoloki Mission in the Lwena and Lunda dialects.

I spent a couple of hours dodging about between classes of youths and bearded men, young women, mothers and babies. All except the babies were deadly in earnest about their Reading. The Singing was good though a little harsh. Eight hundred men and women are, I am told, able to read and understand the Scriptures through the work of this “Readers School”.

The women should be separated from the men and should receive training in sewing and domestic work.

Fees, etc.

No fees are charged but there are no boarders. The pupils come daily from the many villages near the Mission. Books are given free of charge. . . .

Outschools.

Three outschools at Sewe, Kalasa and Cingi under uncertificated teachers are closely supervised by the ladies on the Staff. The average attendance at each is 25 pupils; I saw the building and teacher at Sewe. The former was of poles and daub and thatch, about 40 x 20 x 10 in dimensions and suitably furnished. The teacher had passed Standard II and knew a little English.

General Remarks and Recommendations.

The lack of qualified Native teachers is a serious handicap. More serious is the fact that the educational work seems to be left almost entirely to the women. The men occupy their time in building and general evangelistic work on the Station and in the district. Two excellent roads have been made leading to the main centres of the outwork. Motor cycles are used. But to improve the educational work the men should take a more active interest in the work of the schools especially in Drill and Moral Instruction, in the organisation of manual work and in the general discipline of the pupils. Leading Missionaries of today look upon the school as the most valuable servant of the church. As regards the organisation of the school, nothing but good could come of a proper system of classification instead of the present muddle.

There should be an organised system for all the Missions of this Society in the North West. I was told by a member of the Staff that this Mission prefers to run the school in its own way and be independent of Government grants and the undesirable regulations and restrictions attendant upon their acceptance. I know of no such regulations. Those which

Appendices

are in operation are enforced with the full approval of the Missionary Board of Advice on Education and are calculated to ensure a reasonable standard of efficiency in the schools. A day school open for only 6 hours a week, employing no qualified African teachers and teaching no systematic manual work would, of course, not qualify for a grant. There is a difference between half measures and a full time educational programme which of necessity must be regulated.

Here, as at other missions in the area, the people were said to be the most difficult, backward and primitive people in the Territory. I do not agree. I found the Lwena of Angola and the border area (though perhaps rather impatient of control) living in good villages, successful agriculturist, bee keepers and fishermen, knowledgeable about animals and trees, intelligent and anxious to learn. The fact that so many girls attend the Chavuma Schools is surely not the mark of an unprogressive people!

Chitokoloki Mission

School Work.

Registration and Classification. All Boys.

School from 8 a.m. to 11.45 a.m. daily plus 2 hours for manual work. . . . I inspected the Reading, Writing, Spelling, Arithmetic, Scripture, Singing, Geography, Drill and games of all classes and the English, Exercise books and test papers of the two senior classes. In addition I looked through the old exercise books of the 6 pupil-teachers mentioned above.

Lessons in Scripture, Singing, Hygiene and Geography were given by the European teachers to the whole school assembled together. Both teachers have attractive personalities. They held the attention closely and elicited the best the pupils had to give.

Mr. Caldwell has been especially successful with the Singing. I have not heard better singing at any Mission in Northern Rhodesia. In connection with Hygiene a song is sung about what one should do every morning to keep clean and healthy. On the day of inspection this was followed by a lesson and questions on "how to keep fit" comprising simple Hygiene. A cleanliness and health inspection is held every morning: It is quite obvious that the boys are made to observe all the essential rules. The Native teachers take them to bathe in the river first thing every morning. With regard to Geography, I have two chief criticisms to offer. Firstly, it should not be taught to the Sub-standards. They are too young to appreciate and be interested in the subject. They may pick up knowledge from the letters of the older boys; but work which has little interest is better left alone. Secondly, the beginning and foundation of Geography should be entirely local and what is already partly known e.g., plans of the schoolroom and station leading to idea of map, and then extension further afield to district, country and the world beyond. Similarly in economic geography the first lesson should be on the products brought and sold in the local store, then to new and unfamiliar conceptions of trade. This principle was being observed with regard to History and I was glad to notice that the African teachers were giving lessons on tribal History which, I am told, has aroused keen interest amongst the pupils.

Education in the Northwestern Province

The three R's are well taught. The majority of pupils have made good progress in the short time they have attended school. Good apparatus for teaching Arithmetic and Reading is freely used in the lower classes and the vernacular reading material printed on the spot and used by other missions is suitable. Writing, which was good in all classes showed that attention had been paid to uniformity of size and letter formation. The pupil-teacher, Muluchi used his apparatus well and taught with force. I singled him out as the best teacher and character amongst the African teachers and was pleased to note that he took the "Beginners" class. Later in the day Muluchi took the whole school for drill. He managed well and gave clear and deliberate commands which were promptly and effectively obeyed by the boys. I noticed that he did not pick out and correct a few individual faults, but he was probably anxious to avoid interrupting the exhibition. A good selection of exercises, six in number, were performed smartly and in quick succession once the start was made, yet each exercise was given adequate time.

Games, Native and European, followed in which I was glad to see that all the Native Staff and Mr. Caldwell took part. They gave vigorous exercise. enjoyment and excitement. Mr. Caldwell organises sports, games, and jumping every Friday afternoon.

Top Class.

A class of four boys. . . . I paid special attention to the top class taught by Mr. Caldwell. This is the only class learning English, which is not much required in this area yet untouched by European industrialism. It is fitting that it should be taught to a few senior boys who, it is hoped, will become teachers and perhaps printers in the case of one or two. For them English will open the gates to a wider field of knowledge and literature beyond the ken of vernacular text books, but essential for any man, African or non-African, who is to be a successful teacher and leader of his people. The standard of English done by the two best pupils (in spite of their using only a standard I Reader) was equal to a good Standard II at the average Mission School. The work was good throughout. The aim of quality rather than quantity has brought this result. The English of the other two boys in the class was equivalent to Standard I work and was good. This class has completed standard V arithmetic (Weights and Measures, Fractions, Decimal Fractions, Profit and Loss) and is doing examples of standard VI Arithmetic from "Juta's Suggestive Arithmetical Examples" by J.C. Jones (For Native Schools in the Cape).

They worked intelligently and with fair results a number of problems which I set for them. A recent text paper and the exercise books which I examined showed satisfactory work. It has already been mentioned that the two senior pupils are doing useful work in the printing office. This will be mentioned again under the heading "African Teachers".

Classification.

Although the general management and organisation of the school is sound, the classification and division of work amongst the staff seems to be at sixes and sevens. The practice seems to be to give a number of new boys to one of the African assistant teachers who, under the supervision of the European Staff, takes them on as far as he can. The result is that the classes taken by the weaker teachers benefit less than the classes under

Appendices

the better teachers. In addition there seemed to be little idea of classifying the pupils under the Government Code. This is not surprising since the school is never inspected. . . . There should be a proper system of promotion bi-annually class and a new teacher.

If possible one lesson per week in each class should be taken by one of the European teachers. At least two of the African teachers are quite competent to take Vernacular subjects with the top classes so as to free the European teachers.

African Teachers.

The six African Assistant teachers are used as pupil-teachers constantly under the eye of the Europeans. Although they have not been trained at a Normal School, regular teachers courses are held by Messrs. Suckling and Caldwell in the holidays. (Three periods of one month each per annum). All are quite competent to run village schools. Three of them together with the two senior boys in the school would, I think, have no difficulty in passing the Government examination providing they had a little extra coaching in English and School Methods. The two senior pupils are bright lads who would go far if sent to Mazabuka but they are only 14 years of age. The teachers Muluchi. Kakoma and Saulu would make good Jeanes teachers. Mr. Suckling, however, is wholly against sending the lads to the Railway line where he thinks they will be spoilt and may not return. He has a good case and I would recommend that under the circumstances Chitokoloki, although not a recognised normal school, be allowed to enter some candidates for the Teachers Certificate Examination next year. They should certainly be entered for the Standard IV school Leaving Certificate. In spite of Mr. Suckling's reluctance, I strongly recommend that one candidate be selected from this Mission for training at the Jeanes School in 1935 and subsequently to serve as Jeanes Supervisor to the four Missions of this society in North Western Rhodesia. In the meanwhile a Jeanes Teacher from the Barotse National School should be sent round to these missions that they may see the value of his work.

Outschool System: Compulsory Education.

Chitokoloki had 4 outschools last term with an average attendance of 30 pupils each. They have now unfortunately all been closed down as the result of attempts on the part of chiefs to fine parents who would not send their children to school. This was a mistake. But time has not yet come for compulsory education in this territory: Natives as a rule are anxious for their children to obtain education. There is no need to bring force to bear; it is bad policy to coerce an unwilling minority until the wants of the willing minority have been met.

Manual Work.

Every boy spends his afternoons in some manual occupation. In the case of the small boys this is confined to sweeping, tidying up, grass cutting and weeding but by the senior boys a variety of very useful and semi-skilled work is done.

Printing. The two senior boys are able to print any vernacular material from a given copy. I saw them setting the type and printing off some Pages of the local Reading Primer. These copies were for distribution to other missions e.g. Chavuma. . . .

Education in the Northwestern Province

Typesetting. One of the senior boys is making good progress in learning to use a typewriter.

Carpentry. Training in carpentry at Chitokoloki has had very successful results. A high standard of work set by Mr. Hansen and resulting in the Mission receiving in the past large orders for furniture from Bulawayo, is being maintained by African instructors and old hands on the Station who teach the present generation of schoolboys. The Church, School, Dispensary, European homes and dormitories are all equipped with good and attractive furniture made in the station workshop and from local woods.

Blacksmithing. A number of boys have been taught smithy but they do not take to it as eagerly as they do to carpentry.

Native Arts and Crafts. Arts and crafts which are of a high standard amongst the local people, are encouraged and fostered by the Mission. I saw specimens of very good work in Sisal fibre weaving and rush weaving artistically coloured with local dyes. I was presented with a length of dyed sisal cloth for a deck chair, some dyed rush trays and a knife of local iron made by schoolboys. Exhibits from Chitokoloki drew special attention at the last Kafue show.

General Building.

The schoolboys assist in any building operations which are going on, e.g. the new School Room which has been built this term.

I was pleased to note that the industrial and handicraft work was not conducted on the lines of "forced manual labour" the invariable result of which is not character training but planting in the boys a dislike of and a tendency to avoid manual work at home and in after life.

General.

The general tone, order and discipline of the school is excellent. The boys are well-clothed, well-fed, well-housed, well-cared for and happy. Each boy is given a khaki tunic and a loin cloth and a blanket (some of the smaller boys share one blanket between two)

The Mission provides their food consisting of Cassava meal and occasionally fish, meat and vegetables.

Fees.

Each boy pays a fee of 6 [pence] and some of the senior boys 1/6 per annum. . . .

Grants-in-Aid.

- (1) For Boarders 200 [pounds] (75 boarders).
- (2) For outschools 60 [pounds]
- (3) For Medical Work 50 [pounds]

Item no. 2 will no doubt be withdrawn since there is now no outschool system.

Appendices

General Recommendations.

- (1) Recommendations regarding Teacher Training and a Jeanes Teacher have already been made.
- (2) A closer following of the Government code regarding classification is advised.
- (3) Better division of work amongst the staff is essential.
- (4) That Government be asked to consider the question of giving this Society representation on the Education Board at Mongu.

Conclusions.

I consider this a most successful school especially when one considers that none of the pupils whose work has been reported on has had longer than three years in school and that the majority are were young. I understand that several bigger boys including some of the better pupils were recently turned out of the school to work for tax by a visiting District Officer. The Missionaries complain that the pupils never stay long at school and often leave as soon as they can read and write. This is the case generally in the North West. The people do not come into contact much with Europeans: Consequently they have no need for education beyond the desire to write letters to their friends and read in the Vernacular. The parents have little say in the matter: the boys come to school if they wish to and leave again of their own free will. This makes it hard for a school to show good results. The Lunda and Lwena peoples are considered to be backward and inferior. In my opinion they are not so. The value of Education is not as obvious to them as to those who live in the industrial areas and therefore the desire for it is not strong.

Appendix L: Educational Missions, 1938

[This lengthy confidential report gives a very candid and comprehensive evaluation of educational missions throughout the territory. The first part also explains how policy towards mission educators evolved after the days of Latham. The portions relating to the NWP are given here, along with enough of the other sections to make some comparisons possible. C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe wrote the main text. His superintendents wrote appendices about the regions that they knew best. A copy of the report was sent to Major Vischer in London.)³⁴

Since my arrival in this country I have been somewhat astonished by the great contrasts which exist between the various missions receiving Government grants for educational work both as regards their efficiency and their attitude towards education. On the one hand we have probably the finest educational mission in Africa and on the other, missions whose activities bring disrepute on educational work to the detriment of the work of the others.

2. I considered it advisable as a preliminary to the formulation of any general scheme for native education to ascertain the potential capacity of the various missions working in the country.

34. C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe, Director of Native Education., with his Superintendents of Native Education, 18 Jan. 1938, "Educational Missions of Northern Rhodesia," confidential, in SEC 1/550, NAZ. This lengthy report by the Director and his superintendents composed most of this file.

Education in the Northwestern Province

3. Independent reports were asked for from Superintendents of Native Education giving their estimates of the educational value and efficiency of the missions of whose work they were in a position to judge. These reports give such a clear picture of the various missions in the country that I attach them as appendices to this survey. The information in the reports closely accords with the estimates I have formed.

4. The following missions which are, or have until recently been, receiving grants from the Government, have been placed as far as it is possible to do so, in order of the value of their educational work:--

1. Church of Scotland (Livingstonia) Mission.
2. White Fathers Mission.
3. Paris Evangelical Mission.
4. Methodist Mission.
5. London Missionary Society.
6. Brethren in Christ Mission.
7. Capuchin Fathers Mission.
8. Jesuit Fathers Mission.
9. Universities Mission to Central Africa.
10. Salvation Army.
11. Christian Missions in Many Lands.
12. Dutch Reformed Church Mission.
13. Seventh Day Adventist Mission.
14. South African General Mission.
15. South African Baptist Mission.
16. Franciscan Fathers Mission.
17. Bible Class Mission.
18. Church of Christ Mission.
19. Pilgrim Holiness Mission.
20. Scandinavian Baptists mission.
21. African Methodist Episcopal Church (African Organization).

The last seven should be grouped together as having little capacity for or interest in education. Grants to them have been or are about to be discontinued.

5. Departure has in the past been made from the principle recommended in the Latham plan that grants should be given "to enable those missions which from past experience are

Appendices

considered capable of good educational work to develop on the lines desired by the Department". Grants have been paid to missions irrespective of their qualifications to conduct educational work. The Government helped those lacking resources, first by training teachers for them and then by giving them grants in respect of those teachers. In several cases the missionaries could not supervise or help these teachers since they themselves had had scant education and could not speak the local language. The result has been that they have prevented progressive missions from establishing efficient schools in those areas. In one District (the Mazabuka District) there were until the middle of last year, no less than 9 different missionary societies receiving grants from Government. In spite of this, this District which is on the line of rail and wall favoured economically is one of the most backward (educationally) in the country.

6. The system in force of giving grants in accordance with the number and salaries of certificated teachers possessed by missions irrespective of the schools to which they were posted has led to considerable rivalry in certain areas since some missions posted their teachers in accordance with the dictates of denominational strategy rather than of education. There have been numerous instances of the unfortunate results of this rivalry. Africans are often bewildered and chiefs disgusted with what they have come to understand as "education." The following is an extract from a missionary's report received by a Superintendent of Native Education:-

"I had a very hard time with the -- Missionaries at Mpanshya: we conquered 12 villages and have 8 teachers there".

This rivalry however is by no means universal and several 'gentlemen's agreements' exist between missions. In the proposed new Grants in Aid regulations, grants, although based on the salaries of qualified teachers, will only be given to schools that are considered to be necessary and are efficiently run.

7. The Reports of the Superintendents of Native Education which are attached give a clear estimate of the missions listed in para. 4, but the following notes are made in amplification:--

No. 1 The Church of Scotland (Livingstonia) Mission

The educational work of this Mission is outstandingly the best of any that I have seen either in this country or Tanganyika. The Mission recruits a fine type of man whose concern for the development of the African transcends any narrow parochialism. It is due to them that the areas in which they work are in advance of the rest of the country and that there exists such cordial co-operation with the Government officials and with other missions. If they are prepared to extend their work it would be to the advantage of the country for the Government to give them every financial encouragement to do so.

No. 2. The White Father's Mission. Although this Mission placed second on the list it is because of the excellence of the work of the Bangweolo Vicariate which, under the inspiration of that broadminded man Father Tanguy, has made great strides and works in remarkable harmony with the Livingstonia Mission. The Luangwa Vicariate is in its infancy while the East Luangwa Vicariate has been carrying on a bitter struggle with the Dutch

Education in the Northwestern Province

Reformed Church Mission in the Eastern Province to the detriment of education there. . . .

No. 3. The Paris Evangelical Mission. This pioneer mission has good staff. It has been handicapped owing to the grants it receives from Barotse Treasury being proportionately, a good deal less than the grants received by missions working in other Provinces which are paid from the general revenue. . . .

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No. 11. Christian Missions in Many Lands.

This mission consists of independent units sited at the extremities of the country. The efficiency of the stations is entirely dependent on the personality of the man for the time being in charge.

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No. 14. South African General Mission.

Two small stations in the western Province are well reported upon.

Nos. 15 to 21. Cannot be considered as educational missions.

(Appendix I: J. A. Cottrell, 7 1/2 years in Northern Rhodesia: Superintendent of Native Education, Barotse Province 1934, 5, 6 and now Principal Jeanes School)

C.M.M.L. [Chitokoloki].

The efficiency of the station schools is up to grant standard. That of village schools has not been but there have been practically no trained teachers up to date. The Normal School, opened in 1935, should rectify this. Educational influence has been confined to the station chiefly. Mr. Reed in charge of the Normal and Middle Schools and his wife in charge of the girls' work are genuine educationalists.

Unfortunately the missionaries have no regular source of funds and the senior Missionary [Suckling] has occupied himself with money getting and has crossed the District Officials on occasions, I understand, with regard to trading without licence and such matters.

On questioning Mr. Suckling in 1936 as to why his certified teachers were receiving only the equivalent of the government grant his reply was that the teachers voluntarily gave back to the Church the one-third of their salaries which is contributed by the mission.

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(Appendix III: C. J. Oppen 7 1/2 Years in Northern Rhodesia: Acting Director of Native Education 1936 now Superintendent of Native Education, Western Province)

C.M.M.L. The autonomy exercised by the separate stations of this Society makes it difficult to negotiate with the mission as a whole and renders a common educational policy almost impossible. The mission has always placed evangelisation first, medicine second and education a rather poor third. Mr. Stokes, the subsidised educationalist at Johnstone Falls is such a charming person to meet and so sensible to talk to that one is surprised at his

Appendices

narrow intransigence in certain religious and ethical matters. The personnel of the mission is of a superior type and their general influence is for good.

S.A.G.M. Although this mission has two stations in my Province I have as yet no firsthand knowledge of its work. It is one of those Missions which, owing to the policy it has adopted, or to the inaccessibility of the area it operates, or to the natural backwardness of the people therein, or to a combination of these reasons, has had a late start as far as education is concerned. Recently there has been a welcome revival at Mutanda and Mukinge and it may be that with special nursing, these stations may become centres of real educational development among the Bakaonde.

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(Appendix IV: P. S. Tregear, 5 1/2 Years in Northern Rhodesia: Superintendence of Native Education, Barotse Province.)

C.M.M.L.

The educational work of this mission is now definitely expanding, probably under the stimulus of the threatened Roman Catholic 'invasion'. I understand that Chavuma station is now starting to operate schools following the Government Code, and that a new station will shortly be established near Balovale Boma.

The Mission undoubtedly wields a strong influence among the Balovale and Balunda, and in view of the present political tension in Balovale District, I should consider them the best people to work there.

It is difficult to assess the value of the work done. As a mission, they are primarily evangelistic -- and fundamentalist. They state that they would like to see Government undertake all educational work, but view with suspicion any suggestion of the establishment of Native Authority schools. In spite of protestations, it is difficult to believe that they are whole-heartedly in sympathy with the Government programme for education.

During my visit I found the various members of the Mission difficult to work with and suggestions made with a helpful intention were regarded as unfriendly, even hostile, criticism. Mr. Suckling has a grievance against Government. He considers the Roman Catholics are favoured officially, all difficulties in their path being immediately smoothed.

Another difficulty is that there is no central Mission fund, even on the separate stations. All contributions are made to individuals. Mr. Suckling has agreed, however, to open an education account for Chitokoloki. Should grants be extended to Chavuma, a central fund at Chitokoloki would be of advantage. Careful check must be kept on the applications for grants as I have suspicion that the end justifies the means with this mission.

Mr. Reed the educationist at Chitokoloki is very efficient. The schools should improve as trained teachers become available. It is probable that boys will pass standard VI before entering the training course. I consider judgement should be suspended on the work of the Mission until the five years trial is completed. The work at Chitokoloki is satisfactory but the outschools seem hardly to be worthy of the name. After twenty years an effort is being

Education in the Northwestern Province

made to improve them.

Capuchin Fathers.

. . . . Their work at Lukulu (Mongu District) is very promising. At present the novelty of the Mission is attracting many teachers and pupils from the Paris Mission. Already a dozen outschools have been established, which received good reports from the visiting Jeanes teachers. The buildings are simple but most effective.

The coming of Rome has caused consternation among the other missions- more especially the C.M.M.L. and S.A.G.M. There is no evident desire to encroach on the field of influence of the Paris Mission. I consider the Capuchins could well confine themselves to the northern part of Mongu District and Mankoya and Sesheke Districts. There is ample undeveloped territory for them. . . .

South African General Mission. [Luampa and Kaba Hill]

I have not seen the work of this Mission but District Officers reports (and Mr. Cottrell's) are without exception unfavourable, to say the least. Mr. Jakeman insists that he is eager for educational work, but his acts belie his words. Moreover, his personality is such that few fellow Missionaries are able to work with him. . . . I understand that Mrs. Jakeman is a good teacher and may be relied on. Considerable friction is likely to develop when the Capuchins open their station in Mankoya District.

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APPENDIX M: Five Year Development Plan: Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1943 African Education

by C. Munday. PC³⁵

The success or failure of any development scheme will depend on the part the African can take in it and he will not be able to do his share unless he is properly equipped. This he cannot be unless he has had sufficient education to teach him to use his brains, his labour and his energy. Any two without the third will not equip him to take his full share, which will be the greater share.

It appears to me that the Kasempa and Mwinilunga natives are more backward than any others I have worked with and this is not because they have not ability, but because they have not had the opportunity or facilities for keeping pace with those of other tribes. Missions in these two districts have not been wholehearted in their educational work and have resented the coming of missions of other denominations into their 'preserves'. The natives too, it has seemed to me, have been administered on 'paternal' rather than on progressive lines and there has been little to upset this complacency by both natives and officials, as the country has never been as poor as are many parts of the Northern Province owing to fair soil, a local mine and its proximity to the Northern Rhodesia industrial centres.

The result has been that boys have not been interested in education, except to give them a smattering to enable them to earn good money with which to buy clothes. At the same time one must not lose sight of the fact that most of the cream of the population has gone to live in industrial areas and these are more or less lost to the tribe. Therefore boys who have gone to school have not been subject to the discipline they should have had, and are inclined to be lazy and to have an inordinate high opinion of their abilities.

Mr. Roberts, Education Officer, has drawn up an education plan for the next three years after having read the three district plans. Unfortunately he was not able to be present at the District Commissioners' Conference, but his plan was laid before the meetings and accepted in general. Balovale rather felt that it was not getting its fair share of new schools, but as the other districts are so behindhand in schools and in trained teachers or embryo teachers it was fully realised that new Balovale teachers must be diverted to the other two districts. It was also felt by the District Commissioner that sufficient attention was not given to the provision of technical schools, and they rather favoured technical schools which taught handcraft, farming and animal husbandry. Personally I do not feel that such schools can be founded within the first 5 Year Plan, that technical education is a subject apart from farming and animal husbandry and there are no men available to give an education in all three at one school. Boys who have a tendency to take up farming or animal husbandry as a teaching profession will have to go to separate schools which specialise in these subjects, and boys who wish to specialise in engineering and other trades will have to be trained at special schools. I do not in any way mean that handcraft, farming and animal husbandry must not be taught at schools, and it is intended that

35. source must be indicated.

Education in the Northwestern Province

education in these subjects must be in the curriculum of Upper schools, as well as to minor degree in the other schools. What I and the other District Officers do insist on is that boys must be taught to work with their hands and if they are not prepared to do this must not be given state aid to further their education. With the curriculum laid down I understand that much time is being given to labour and the teaching of handwork and I consider that it should be possible to give boys attending Upper and Middle schools demonstrations and instruction at model farms, nurseries and experimental farms established in the vicinity. The policy of government is to fit each boy to take his or her part in the work of keeping the people fit, healthy and as prosperous as conditions will allow, and not to be a race whose desire is to work for aliens and to be hewers of wood and drawers of water!

There are upper and teacher training schools at Chitokoloki (B), and middle schools at Mukinge Hill (K), Mutanda (K), and Kalene Hill (M) , all of which have girls boarding schools.

There are 93 elementary schools in the province of which 12 are in the Kasempa district, 35 in Mwinilunga district and 46 in the Balovale district.

There is a native authority school at Kasempa and one at Mwinilunga, the former teaching up to St. II and the latter up to St. III and IV. Roughly Mr. Roberts' plan is to establish a new upper school in the Kasempa district, probably in the northern part of the district, to serve the Mwinilunga and Kasempa districts, to enlarge Chitokoloki school to be the second upper school in the province, to establish 4 middle central schools in the Kasempa district, 7 in the Mwinilunga district and to establish 15 new elementary schools in the Kasempa district, 7 in the Mwinilunga district and 28 in the Balovale district. The present middle schools in the Kasempa and Mwinilunga districts to be closed down and to put the whole of the middle school teaching of girls in the hands of the missions by maintaining the present girls' schools and establish two new mission girls boarding schools, one in the Mwinilunga district and the other in the Balovale district. Elementary and upper schools to be co-educational.

Technical education is to be given at the upper schools, where in addition one year's special courses will be given, to include gardening, handwork and craftwork for those who are not in paid employment in the schools. Post-Standard VI education will have to be ex-provincial for the next 5 years.

It is estimated that the output of St. VI boys from the schools during the next 5 years will be 70 in 1944, 78 in 1945, 104 in 1946 and some 160 during each of the following 2 years. There will be available for further education 35 in 1944, 39 in 1945, 52 in 1946 and probably 80 during each of the following 2 years.

It is estimated that there will be 272 St. VI boys required as a minimum to carry out the proposed 5 year plan in the province, and of these 252 can just about be produced from the provincial schools during the next three years. However, in order for these boys to be available much propaganda work will have to be undertaken to make boys at schools know and see that there will be these vacancies and opportunities.

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Appendices

Women's Education:

Little has been said on this subject in the plan, but the necessity for educated girls is realised in the 5 Year Plan. Their demand as wives still exceed the supply, but propaganda will have to be undertaken in girls' schools to fill vacancies in the nursing services and to provide welfare workers in clinics in the centres. Wives of Centre officials could fill some of these latter posts which will be badly needed.

Printing Press:

The Head 'Education' seems to be the best place for including this sub-head. The recognition of one or two of the languages spoken in the province is the subject of correspondence with the Director of African Education. None of the 4 recognised languages are known to the majority of the people living in the province and the spread of news and education by the written work is rapidly becoming a matter of first importance. Many of the workers in the mines and on the farms come from the West and are quite out of touch of what is going up in their country and in places of work, owing to there being no written publications in their own languages. They too, have no literature to read. It is proposed that a small monotype press be established at Kasempa. This press might well act as an agent for "Mutende" by inserting in it sheets of news in one or more of the local languages before distribution. These sheets could also be sent to Lusaka for distribution on the mines and in the farms.

The press could also publish books in one or other of the local languages at cheap prices. Natives cannot afford to spend more than a few pence on a book which often as not gets lost or damaged and is heavy and difficult to carry. These booklets should be small, with paper covers and of a convenient size to carry in the pocket or in the load.

In addition the press could be used to print sheets for sports, of reports of meetings and of other matters of local interest.

Post-Standard VI Education:

Although it is recommended that post-standard VI education will have to take place provincially during the next 5 years, there will be many employed natives in the province who will not be able to get the time to attend these courses and so will have little opportunity of furthering their education and be able to advance in their professions. It is suggested that the African Education Department sponsor correspondence courses, to enable those men to further their education. Large sums of money are being spent by Africans on correspondence courses, many of which are ramps, and this does show that there is a demand for further education. It would be much preferable if these courses were directed by those who know the conditions of the country and what is wanted by those who seek this form of further education rather than by people of other countries who are often not able to earn a living except by promoting these courses.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Plan by D. B. Roberts, Education Officer

A. Introduction

- i. The following program is a result of comparisons of plans submitted by District Commissioners, with my own detailed 5 year scheme. The result has been shaped into a fairly balanced development for the whole Province.
- ii. As educational development is dependent on the number of children already in training at various stages, I have tried to make the plan practical rather than ideal. Doubtless extensions can be made in the second 5 years.
- iii. Costs are based on previous actual experience. Capital costs will not vary much. Recurrent expenditure is of course, based on the assumption that salaries will not change.
- iv. Development will extend fairly evenly over the 5 years, with extensions at upper levels lagging a little behind those at lower levels, though intensive efforts will have to be made to provide adequate personnel for other departments of developmental activity almost immediately.
- v. I hope it will be remembered that, owing to the fact that with one recent exception the whole province has been unfortunate in having a very much less vigorous mission service than elsewhere, very much less money has been spent on education here than in other parts of the territory. The expansion required, and expenditure involved will be proportionately the greater.

B. General Policy for 5 years:

i. Universal education to Sub. B. (2-3 years schooling)

50% education to St. II. (4-5 years schooling)

12 1/2% education to St. IV. (6-7 years schooling)

4% education to St. VI. (8-9 years schooling)

Expansion beyond this would form part of the second 5 year plan.

ii. This policy requires the following increases in attendance.

Sub A and B 100%

St. I and III 400%

St. III and IV 275%

St. V and VI 400%

Post St. VI and specialised training 100%

- iii. For reasons which have appeared in various reports from this office, the missions in the Kasempa and Mwinilunga Districts have not got the resources to undertake the customary mission share in this expansion. Government and Native Authority will have to be responsible, utilising such missionary co-operation as is forthcoming in the same manner

Appendices

as is the present practice on the Copperbelt, i.e. total cost are borne by Government and Native Authority, and mission-help in supervision is subsidised.

Co-education up to St. II, St. III-IV girls in large boarding schools on or near mission stations, doing courses with a strongly domestic bias. St. III-IV boys in Central Village N.A. Schools. Post St. IV courses co-educationally at Upper schools.

v. Provision, for fostering of local arts and crafts, and for training of artisans etc. in technical schools attached to Upper Schools. Technical and Upper (academic) training to proceed side by side to avoid "Black coat" complex.

vi. Post St. VI academic training to be done extra-provincially, e.g. at Lusaka.

C. Provision and Costing:

i. Capital Expenditure. (Each item worked out in relation to existing provision, and to child population.)

. . . (detailed listing totaling £23,580 sterling) . . .

ii. Recurrent Expenditure.

. . . (detailed listing totaling £15,434 sterling). . .

Conclusion:

This programme represents a capital investment of £1 per head of the population of school age, and a recurrent expenditure of 13/- per annum per head of the child population of school age, or £1.10.0 per head of No. of 'places' the school system will then provide, as outlined in paragraph B, i. and ii.

I believe it represents the minimum we ought to aim at in 5 years, and also the maximum we can achieve, if other development schemes are going to make a simultaneous demand on personnel, e.g. many St. IV and VI boys who might become teachers will have to be diverted to other occupations.

An improvement in the quality of our education is as important as, if not more so, than an expansion in quantity. (See separate memorandum).

This programme represents a 375% increase in recurrent costs for an increase of 250% in school attendance; but it provides a foundation on which to build in the second 5 years, when a much greater increase in school population can be produced with a much smaller increase in recurrent costs.

Bibliography of Selected Key Books, Articles and Ph.D. Dissertations on the NWP of Zambia: 1983 - 2013

General overview and comment:

Review of dissertations listed in ProQuest's Dissertation Abstracts. Since 1983, the amount of books, articles and dissertations that pertain to this vast province of Zambia have been startlingly few. Even academically, the NWP continues to remain at the "Bottom of the Heap." Excepting brief article overviews, almost no full book or dissertation looks at the whole Province. Arguably less than ten writers have produced all the notable works often starting with a Ph.D. dissertation. For no particular reason that I can discern, Mwinilunga District has been the focus of more works than any other region or district of the NWP. Dissertations tend to be very topically or geographically focused and this is true for these 30 years.

Books and Articles

- **Chipungu, Samuel** (ed). *Guardians in their Time: Experiences of Zambians under Colonial Rule, 1890-1964*. 1992. The Macmillan Press, 1992. [Sc E 93-479 Located at Schomburg.]
- **Crehan, Kate**. 1981. **Photocopies**. "Mukanashi: An Exploration of some effects of penetration of capital in North-Western Zambia. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 8, no. 1, pp. 82-93. [about a remote area of Kasempa; marginal to my work]
- **Fisher, Monica**. *Nswana the Heir: The Life and Times of Charles Fisher, a Surgeon in Central Africa*. Ndola, Zambia, 1991 [Printed by Mission Press, P.O. Box 71581, Ndola, Zambia]. [Wife of Charles Fisher, lovingly written by wife after his death.]
- **Kalusa, Walima T.** Christian Medical Discourse and Praxis on the Imperial Frontier: Explaining the Popularity of Missionary Medicine in Mwinilunga District, Zambia, 1906-1935. In *The Spiritual in the Secular: Missionaries and Knowledge about Africa*. Eds: Patrick Harries and David Maxwell. ISBN-13: 9780802866349, Publisher: Eerdmann, William B. Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, MI, 2012. 355 pp.
- **Kalusa, Walima T.** "Language, Medical Auxiliaries, and the Reinterpretation of Missionary Medicine in Colonial Mwinilunga, Zambia, 1922-51." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 1, no. 1 (2007).
- **Killingray, David and Phillips, Howard**: *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918-19: New Perspectives* (Studies in the Social History of Medicine). Routledge, 224 pp. ISBN13: 978-0415234450; ISBN: 041523445X
- **Macola, G.** "The historian who would be chief: A biography of Simon Jilundu

March 17, 2014

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 - **Pritchett, James Anthony.** *The Lunda-Ndembu: Style, Change and Social Transformation in South Central Africa.* ISBN-0-299-17150-7 Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 2001, 377 pp. [Located at Schomburg Library: Sc E 07-812.]
 - **Pritchett, James Anthony.** *Friends for Life, Friends for Death: Cohorts and Consciousness among the Lunda-Ndembu.* ISBN-13: 978081392647 Univ. of Virginia Press, 2007, 280 pp. [Schomburg Library: Sc E 07-812.]
 - **Pritchett, James A.** Ch. 1: Christian Mission Stations in South-Central Africa, pp. 27-49. in Englund, Harri (ed). *Christianity and Public Culture in Africa.* Ohio Univ. Press, Oxford, Ohio, 2011.
 - **Papstein, Robert.** "From Ethnic Identity to Tribalism: The Upper Zambezi Region of Zambia, 1830-1981." In *The Creation of Tribalism* by Leroy Vail (Univ. of CA, Berkeley), 1989.
 - **Wele, Patrick:** *Kaunda and the Mushala Rebellion.* Multimedia: Lusaka, Zambia, 1987. 179 pp. ISBN: 998230105.

Ph.D. Dissertations

As just noted, Dissertations tend to be very topically or geographically focused and this is true for these 30 years for the NWP. From my perspective, the following listing of dissertations seem to have the most merit for this huge province. A large number of dissertations have been in the field of theology, presumably most by ministers of religion who have served in the NWP at mission stations. I have taken the liberty of making a few comments if I feel they might be helpful to others.

Most useful dissertations from my perspective:

- **Crehan, Kate.** Production, Reproduction and Gender in North-Western Zambia: A Case Study. 1987 University of _____ in U.K. D-80857. Field: Cultural Anthropology. Pro-Quest Doc ID: 303615520.
- **Kalusa, Walima Tuesday.** Disease and Remaking the Missionary Medicine in Colonial Northwestern Zambia: A Case Study of Mwinilunga, 1902-1964. The Johns Hopkins University, 2003. #3080694, 249 pp., ProQuest Document ID: 288270659.
- **Pritchett, James Anthony.** Continuity and Change in an African Society: The Kanongesha Lunda of Mwinilunga, Zambia, 411 pp., Harvard, 1990 (1989). #9021822.
- **??? Neg, Rohit.** Copper Capitalism Today: Space, State and Development in North Western Zambia. #3375914. Geography Dept. at Ohio State, 2009. [check later]
- **??? Tsukada, Kenichi.** Luvala perceptions of 'mukanda' in discourse and music.

Education in the Northwestern Province

#8917245, 1988, 370 pp. [**check later**]. Seemed kinda weird when first glanced at in Diss. Abs. [Located when searching under topic of Chitokoloki.]

- ??? **Cameron**, Elisabeth Lynn. Negotiating gender: Initiation arts of “mwadi” and “mukanda” among the Lunda and Luvale, Kabompo District, North-Western Province, Zambia. 1995, #9541842. Art History.
- ??? **Silva, Sonia**. Vicarious Selves: Divination Baskets and Angolan Refugees in Zambia. Indiana University, 1999 #9942852. [[Located when searching under topic of Chavuma.] Topic: Cultural Anthropology, Folklore, Art History.

Works that come up a lot in Dissertation Abstracts or sounded initially interesting but probably not useful for me to use or fully read

- “Drums of Life . . .” on the Lozi
- Trans(?) for National learning on southern Zambia
- Kawasha, Boniface Kamba on Lunda Grammar. #3095256.
- Becker, David L. Leadership Theory . . . Bemba . . . Holiness Church., #3497158
- Uche, Asomugha John. Liturgical Inculturation: A theological appraisal of the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults (RCIA) in the context of selected African initiation rites. #329230. Duquesne University, 2007, 345 pp. Theology classification. No preview to text.
- Kohler, Kristopher M. HIV/AIDS Healthworkers. . . . #352173.
- Musambachime’s 1981 dissertation was on fishing in Mweru-Luapula though it shows in a number of times in Dissertation Abstracts in relation to the NWP.
- Rodgers, Kevin W. A study of theology of Place in Zambia and the Implications for Missions. 2011. Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary. #3497132.
- Simbao, Ruth Helen. Escorting Tradition: The Contemporary Performance of Afropolitanism in Zambia’s Traditional Ceremonies, 2008, #3312521.
- Houghum, David T. From Zambia with Love: Enacting Eye-Level Leadership. Gonzaga University, 2012. #351068. **Useless!**

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- I. Unpublished Materials
 - A. Zambia National Archives (ZNA), Lusaka.
 - B. Ministry of Education, Regional Headquarters, Solwezi.
 - C. Mutanda Bridge (Evangelical Church of Zambia), Solwezi.
 - D. Africa Evangelical Fellowship (AEF), British Headquarters, Wimbledon, England.
- E. Africa Evangelical Fellowship (AEF), International Headquarters, Reading, England.
- F. University Repositories
- II. Interviews
- III. Theses and Other Unpublished Manuscripts.
- IV. Printed Works.
 - A. Mission Periodicals (Annotated Listing).
 - 1. "Plymouth" Brethren
 - 2. Africa Evangelical Fellowship (SAGM).
 - B. Other Missionary Works on the Religion.
 - C. Additional Works Cited.

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- I. **Unpublished Materials.**
 - A. **Zambia National Archives (ZNA), Lusaka.**

Because of staff changes within the Archives during the last fifteen years, the organization of some of holdings has changed. The descriptions below reflect these changes. For example the older ZNA series for the Secretary of Native Affairs (ZA) follows the traditional Public Records Office (London) system of archival holdings for government records, while in the three new Secretariat (SEC) series, still being worked on in July 1979, the records by different government departments seem to have been placed more-or-less in alphabetical order and then numbered consecutively (Generally by individual files) until a series was considered "full". Then another series was opened. As of July 1979, there were three SEC series.

The amount of detail given below for the different series, in general, indicates the value of that series to this research.

In addition to the government holdings, ZNA has a well maintained Historical Manuscripts Collection. This consists of different collections of private individuals' papers. The most

Education in the Northwestern Province

important for this study are the well-catalogued and -calendared Walter Fisher papers, and other papers Fisher family papers that were given to the Archives several decades ago by Dr. Fisher's son, Dr. Charles Fisher, and his late daughter, Katoto Bruce Miller.

Historical Manuscripts.

- HM8 (F1/2) Dr. Walter and Anna Fisher Papers (includes F. S. Arnot letters).
- HM9 (F1/3) William B. Fisher Papers.
- HM10 (F/4) William Singleton Fisher Papers.
- HM17 (M/5/1) Bruce Miller Papers.
- HM42 P. D. Snelson Papers.

C (A) Department of African Education.

C 1 Correspondence.

- /3 Conferences, files covering 1928-40.
- /6 Five Year Expansion Plan, 1938-40.
- /8 Missions, 1929-40.
- /4 Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML), 1930-40.
- /13 Superintendent of Native Education, Ndola.

C 3 Minutes

- /4 Provincial Advisory Boards.
- /1 Barotse Province, 1936-42.
- /4 Western Province, 1938.

C 4 Reports.

- /2 District Officers, 1934-8.
- /3 Education Officers, 1939-40.
- /7 Superintendents of Native Education, 1937-8.

K District Commissioner and Resident Magistrate.

KDD Kasempa District.

- /4 Minute Books, 1925-32.
- /5 Notebook.
- /7 Reports.

KSE Mwinilunga District

- /4 "District Notebook." 1906-64.

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/1 "Solwezi District Notebook." 1915-64.

KTW Balovale [Zambezi] District.

/1 "Balovale District Notebook." Vol. I

ZA Secretary for Native Affairs.

ZA 1 Correspondence.

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ZA 5 Minutes, 1929-36.

ZA 7 Reports.

/1 Annual Reports, 1913-34.

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/3 Quarterly and Half Yearly, 1913-30.

/4 Tour Reports, 1928-33.

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SEC 1/455-62 Minutes of the Advisory Board on African Education and related materials, 5 vols., 1929-49.

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/540 "Local Education Committees: Kaonde-Lunda Province." 1940-1 and 1946.

/548 "Missions, Entry of Approved Missionaries."

/550 "Report on Mission Societies." 1938-40.

/569 "Native Education: Kaonde-Lunda Province." 1944-6.

SEC. 2 Secretariat Files (Second Series).

SEC.2/ 39 Amalgamation of Solwezi and Kasempa District, 1936-48.

/45-6 Redistribution of Districts, 1938-47.

/51 Reciting Kasempa Boma.

/53 Proposed New Luchazi District, 1946-7.

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- /63 Development Team, Western Province, 1948.
- /64-7 Quarterly Reports, Kasempa, 1932.
- /71 Annual Reports on Native Affairs of Barotse Province, 29 vols., 1935-60.
- /131-159 Annual Reports for the NWP and Districts Therein, 1929-58.
- /177-184 Districts Commissioners' Conferences, Western Province, 1936-51.
- /185 District Commissioners' Conferences, Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1945-56.
- /193 Provincial Newsletter, Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1941-6.
- /230 Kaonde-Lunda Province: Minutes of African Provincial Council Meetings, 1944-7.
- /241 Tour Reports by Members Nominated to Represent African Interests, 1946-9.
- /279 Five Year Development Plan: Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1943.
- /441 Compulsory Attendance and Abolition of School Fees, 1930-42.
- /919-932 Kabompo Tour Reports, 1948-59.
- /933-51 Kasempa Tour Reports, 1932-61.
- /952-68 Mwinilunga Tour Reports, 1932-60.
- /969-85 Solwezi Tour Reports, 1931-61.
- /986-1003 Zambezi Tour Reports, 1932-61.

B. Ministry of Education, Regional Headquarters, Solwezi.

As of mid-1979, the repository consisted of government records and files stored in an old shed. The files start in 1954, when the NWP was permanently severed from the old Western (now Copperbelt) Province. As the original order of these files is impossible to discern, I have divided them in groups: those dealing with the colony/nation and the province in general, to those dealing with the various districts. Any file numbers that are available have been quoted. If the file had two numbers, one has been put in parentheses.

General Provincial Materials: Policy, Correspondence (general), etc.

- Provincial Education Officer: Headquarters Correspondence (Confidential). 1954-65.
- Finance: Capital Estimates, F/4, 1957-65.
- Managers, General. M/1/1, 1954-68.
- Staff, Manager, European. M/3/1 and ST/23, 1960-3.
- Policy and Organisation. P/5, 1958-63.
- Policy and Organization. Policy and Planning: General. P/5, Vol. II, 1963-7.
- Literature-Publications: Vernacular Readers. L/7 1956-66. L.A.E. and P.T.S.C. Appointed Bodies. B/3, Vol. I, 1961-2.

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[Check originals to see if something was omitted here]

Minutes of District Education Authority (DEA) and Provincial Education Authority (PEA) and Provincial Teachers Supervisory Council (PTSC): Provincial and District.

Solwezi P.E.A. Minutes. AB/15/M, Vol. I, 1954-62.

Balovale D.E.A. Minutes. AB/15/M, 1954-66.

Kasempa D.E.A. Minutes. AB/9/M, 1954-66.

Solwezi D.E.A. Minutes. AB/13/M, 1952-66.

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Correspondence for DEA, PEA and PTSC: Provincial and District.

Balovale D.E.A. Correspondence. AB/5, Vol. I, 1953-62.

Mwinilunga D.E.A. Correspondence. AB/11, 1954-66.

Solwezi D.E.A. Correspondence. D/1/10 Vol. I, 1954-62.

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Policy and Organization: Statistics, Mwinilunga. P/17, 1955-8.

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Mwinilunga Tour Reports. 1954-6.

Touring, Manager Balovale West: Reports. R/3, 1960-8.

Secondary Schools and Trade Schools.

Solwezi Secondary School. S/1/15, 1956-9.

Balovale Trades School. B4/B, 1954-63.

Trades School, General: School Organization. SO/23, 1955-65.

Balovale Trades School Council. C/1/5, 1954-64.

Solwezi District: General Correspondence with Mission Agencies and Government (Local) Officials.

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Agency Correspondence--Mutanda. M/1/9 (A/29), 1959-63.

Kapijimpanga L.A.E. Correspondence. (Title on file changed from Solwezi Native Authority.) S/1/1, 1953-60.

School Councils. C/1/9, 1954-7

Franciscan Fathers(St. Francis) Agency Correspondence. A/15, 1954-67.

Mwinilunga District: General Correspondence with Mission Agencies and Government (Local) Officials.

Agency Correspondence: Mujimbeji. M/1/8 (A/25), 1954-62.

Agency Correspondence: Kamapanda. A/22, Vol II, 1962-5.

Matonchi Mission Correspondence. M/1/3, 1954-9.

Kasempa District: Correspondence with Mission Agencies.

Mukinge Mission Schools. M/1/10, Vol. I, 1954-8.

Kabompo District: Correspondence with Mission Agencies and Government (Local) Officials.

Kabompo D.E.A. Schools. S/1/8, 1954-9.

Kabulamema Correspondence. A/19, 1954-64.

Balovale District: Correspondence with Mission Agencies and Government (Local) Officials.

Luvale D.E.A. Schools. S/1/9, 1954-9.

Chinyingi Agency Correspondence. A/11, 1956-66.

Chavuma Agency Correspondence. A/9, 1956-65.

Chavuma L.E.A. Correspondence. S1/11, 1953-60.

Certificates—Teachers C/3, 1954-68.

C. Mutanda Bridge (Evangelical Church of Zambia, Solwezi.

[Check this listing for Mutanda River and note materials from Letchford?? or add it to his interview file]

Permission was granted by the Evangelical Church of Zambia (ECZ) to examine mission records in the middle of 1975. The following files contained very worn, hand manuscripts of value. The school at Mutanda is now under the control of the Zambian Government and the few records there are included.

Mutanda Mission. Staff Meetings, Minutes. 1934 - May 1942.

Mutanda Mission. Staff Meetings, Minutes. June 1947 - December 1948.

Mutanda Mission. Staff Meetings, Minutes. January 1949 - September 1950.

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Mutanda River School. Diary covering the years 1944-49.

Report by Principal and Manager of Schools, Mutanda. P(1), 1934-52.

D. Africa Evangelical Fellowship (AEF), British Headquarters, Wimbledon.

The Mission's early records are carefully maintained. The early correspondence files between the original international headquarters in Cape Town and the Headquarters for the British Isles have been indexed up to the mid-1930s. (This was probably done prior to World War II.) In addition to correspondence, many files contain other enclosures. Exceptionally useful items are noted. Some letters not retained in the files appear to have been printed in the *South African Pioneer*. After the mid-1930-s, the files have, far less detailed information.

The only complete set of *On Trek* and one of the few complete sets of the *South African Pioneer* are also available. In addition, they have several unpublished manuscripts, and a small collection of rare books.

Interview Transcripts

Conversation between *Mrs. Florence Pirouet* and Mr. R. N. Wyatt[former General Secretary of the AEF in Britain]. No date given, no place of interview given.

Conversation between *Miss E. M. Shoosmith* and Mr. R. N. Wyatt. On 24 April [no year given], at Miss Shoosmith's home at Crowborough, England.

Correspondence Files

Vol.9, 1 July 1910--30 June 1911.

Vol.10, 1 July 1911--30 June 1912.

Vol.11, 1 July 1912--30 June 1913.

"Report for the General Conference 1913 from Northern Rhodesia, 20th May 1913".

Vol.12, 1 July 1913--30 June 1914.

Vol.13, 1 July 1914--30 June 1915.

Vol.14, 1 July 1915--30 June 1916.

Vol.15, 1 July 1916--30 June 1917.

Vol.16, 1 July 1917--30 June 1918.

"District and Executive Reports". By Edgar Faithful.

Vol.17, 1 July 1918--30 June 1919.

Vol.18, 1 July 1919--30 June 1920.

"N. W. Rhodesia, Educational Reports". By W. Roy Vernon, n. d.

"'Report' to the Native Commissioner, Solwezi, Northern Rhodesia". By Roy Vernon, 12 March 1919.

Education in the Northwestern Province

"The Work of the S.A.G.M. in North West Rhodesia, June 1919". By Ernest A. M. Harris.

"The B.M.M.S. at Musonwedji, etc.". By J. H. Melland, District Commissioner, Solwezi, to A. A. Wilson, S.A.G.M., Chisalala, 4 April 1919.

"Minutes of the District Commissioner of N. W. Rhodesia held at Blanche Memorial Mission Station, Musonwedzi from November 13th to November 24th 1919". By Herbert G. Pirouet.

Vol. 19, 1 July 1920--30 June 1921.

Key letter on government policy in relation to S.A.G.M. policy. From F. H. Melland, District Commissioner, Solwezi, to Rev. Charles Foster, 11 September 1920.

Vol.20, 1 July 1921--30 June 1922.

"Minutes of the D. C. of N. W. Rhodesia at Blanche Memorial Mission Station Musonwedzi from May 18th to June 1st, 1921." By Herbert G. Pirouet,

"Report of the D. C. of N. Rhodesia, 1921". By C. S. Foster.

Vol.21, 1 July 1922--30 June 1923.

Vol.22, 1 July 1923--30 June 1924.

"Minutes of the District Conference of North West Rhodesia, held at Musonweji Mission Station, from September 17th to 24th, 1923". By C. S. Foster.

"Occupation of Kaondeland". By C. S. Foster, 2 May 1934.

Vol.23, 1 July 1924--30 June 1925.

"Minutes of the District Conference held at Chisalala M. S., N. W. Rhodesia". 21 April to 2 May 1924, C. S. Foster, Chairman.

Vol.24, 1 July 1925--30 June 1926.

"Minutes of Northern Rhodesia District Conference, held at Musonweji M. S. - June 1 and 2, 1925". C. S. Foster, Chairman.

Vol.25, 1 July 1926--30 June 1927.

"Minutes of Northern Rhodesia District Conference. Held at Mukinge Hill Station-- 28 July to 30th, 1926."

"District Conference 1926. Matters for Consideration."

"Annual Return for the Year Ending 31st December 1930. Station. Mukinge Hill."

Vol.26, 1 July 1927--30 June 1928.

E. Africa Evangelical Fellowship (AEF) International Headquarters, Reading, England.

In 1975, AEF set up a new international headquarters in Reading. In January 1976, vast amounts of unpublished documents were being shipped from South Africa and sitting in

Bibliography (Original and post 1983)

storage boxes. Most was yet not accessible to researchers. Much material may still remain in South Africa.

F. Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML) [American Brethren "Headquarters"], Spring Lake, New Jersey.

This pleasant library contains a large number of rare books and periodicals and was used in October and November 1975. Many of the items listed under "Missionary Periodicals" were found in whole or in part in this collection.

G The following institutions' libraries have valuable collections of theses and rare published materials: Yale University School, Union Theological (at Columbia University) and University of Zambia.

II. Interviews.

A. Formal: Taped, transcribed and corrected by interviews, except when otherwise indicated.

Chizewu, Silas. At Kabompo, on 15 June and 2 November 1976. These were followed by lengthy informal conversations in 1977 and 1978. He also made available a copy of his unpublished manuscript entitled, "Traditional Tribal Education in Zambezi (Ishindi) Lunda Area."

Forman, Janetta. At her home in St. Andrews, Fife, Scotland, on 12 January 1976. The interview was not recorded on tape. After the interview, she kindly went through her personal papers and in a lengthy letter dated 15th January, she gave a long chronology of the key events of her school work at Mukinge Mission from 1937 to May 1955 when she left Northern Rhodesia to work in Ghana,

Kalepa, Lumangula Remus. At Solwezi, on 23 February and 7 March 1978. Both interviews were taped and transcribed, and the former was corrected by Mr. Kalepa. The letter was partly conducted in KiKaonde with the assistance of Mr. Luka Yamba.

Kibolya, Tito. At Solwezi, on 10 November 1977. At later times, he also informally answered several other important questions.

Letchford, Peter. At his home in Loudonville, New York, on 21 November 1975. He made available some useful correspondence regarding to his work in Northern Rhodesia in the late 1940s. In later correspondence, he answered several other important questions.

Manuwele, Sachilombo. At his home in Chavuma, Zambezi, on 11 June 1976.

Majatulanga, Lubinga. At his home in Lubinga Village, Kasempa, on 12 November 1978. Interview was conducted with the assistance of Mr. Luka Yamba.

Mukimwa, David. At his home near Kasempa, on 12 November 1978. Interview was conducted with the assistance of Mr. Luka Yamba.

Mutembu, Kangasa (Spider). At his home in Mwinilunga, on 7 December 1976.

Education in the Northwestern Province

Mutwale, E. At his home near Kasempa, on 14 November 1978. Interview was conducted with the assistance of Mr. Luka Yamba.

Mwondela, John. At his home in Lusaka, on 8 January and 24 March 1979. (The latter was informal and not recorded.) He kindly made available to me a rare photograph taken about 1920.

Ngalande, Aaron. At the government rest house, Kasempa, on 14 November 1978 and on 20 April 1979.

Nisbet, Alexander and Marjorie. At their home in Sandhead, Stranraer, Scotland, on 10 and 11 January 1976 and again on 1 and 2 April 1978. Both unstructured and not recorded on tape. In addition, they have answered numerous questions in informal letters and conversations.

Riddell Agnes, L. At her home at Kalene, Mwinilunga, on 7 December 1976. In addition, she very kindly expended on the interview in letters dated 8 December 1976 and 22 June 1977.

Sameta, Silas N. At Mwinilunga Secondary School, on 4 August 1976.

Sangambo, Moses. In Zambezi, on 23 and 26 July 1977.

Sayila, Peter. At his home in Manyinga, Kabompo, on 17 November 1976. In addition, an informal conversation on 26 July 1977 expended considerably on the formal interview.

Suckling, Gordon. At his home at Sachibondo, Mwinilunga, on 26 November 1977.

Tepa, Stanley K. M. At the government rest house, Mwinilunga, on 6 December 1976.

Yamba, Luka. In Solwezi, on 8 July 1979. In addition, we travelled to Kasempa in mid-November 1978 and he assisted in meeting with various individuals in Chief Kasempa's area. Also, we worked together in the period of 1976 to 1979 in Solwezi, and Mr. Yamba advised me on many details regarding my research and interviews.

B. Informal conversations and correspondence, as indicated.

Foster, Rev and Mrs. Charles. At their home, Mukinge Mission, Kasempa, on 27 May 1975. Brief and nor recorded.

Kanga, James. Frequent correspondence and conversations about traditional society from 1965-81.

Kasumbelesa, Mr. Discussion at his home near Kasempa, on 12 November 1978 in KiKaonde with Mr. Luka Yamba interpreting.

Musompo, Ezekiel. Discussion at his home in Musompo Village, Kasempa, on 11 November 1978 in KiKaonde with Mr. Luka Yamba interpreting.

Samungole, Thomas K. Numerous conversations and correspondence about

Bibliography (Original and post 1983)

education, missionaries, and Christianity in Zambia between 1963 and 1981.

Totterdall, Horace. Several conversations about AEF, its past and present policies. At the Wimbledon Headquarters in January 1976.

Warburton, Michael and Francis. Brief conversations and correspondence at intervals between 1963-1977.

Wilson, T Ernest. Conversation in his home at Spring Lake, New Jersey, on 11 November 1976 about Brethren policies and missionary work in Central Africa, especially his own experiences in Angola and contacts with missionaries in the NWP.

Wright, John (Ginger). A conversation at his home in Ndola in March 1975, plus some brief correspondence thereafter. He made available a taped manuscript that he had written entitled "African Evangelical Fellowship".

III. Theses and Other Unpublished Manuscript

Becking, Hugh Angus. "The Planting and Nurturing of Christianity Amongst the Umbundu Speaking Peoples of Angola." S.T.M. thesis, Union Theological School, Columbia, 1961.

~~**Carter (Gadsden), Felice.** "Education in Uganda, 1894-1945." Ph. D. dissertation, University of London, 1967.~~

Coombe, Trevor A. "Origins of Secondary Education in Zambia: A Study of Colonial Policy-Making." Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1968.

~~**Garvey, Brian.** "The Development of the White Fathers' Mission Among the Bemba-Speaking Peoples, 1891-1964." Ph. D. dissertation, University of London, 1974.~~

Hansen, Arthur G. "Once the Running Stops: The Socioeconomic Resettlement of Angolan (1966 to 1972) in Zambian Border Villages." Ph. D. dissertation Cornell University, 1977.

Hoover, James Jeffrey. "The Seduction of Ruweji: Reconstructing Ruund History (The Nuclear Lunda; Zaire, Angola, Zambia)." Ph. D. dissertation, Yale University, 1978.

Jaeger, Dick. "History of Kasempa (1875-1975)." Unpublished Script, Amsterdam, 1976.

Kakoma, Benson Chitundu. "Colonial Administration in Northern Rhodesia: A Case Study of Colonial Policy in the Mwinilunga District of Zambia, 1901-1939." M.A. thesis, University of Auckland (New Zealand), 1971.

~~**Lohrentz, Kenneth Peter.** "The Politics of Educational Development in Central and Southern Nyanza, Kenya, 1904-1939." Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University 1977.~~

~~**Macdonald, Roderick J.** "A History of African Education in Nyasaland, 1785-1945" Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1969.~~

Miller, Joseph Calder. "Chokwe Expansion, 1850-1900." M.A. thesis, African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, 1969.

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- Mudenda, Gilbert N.** "Class, Politics and Development in Zambia." M.S.S. thesis, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, Netherlands, June 1977.
- Muntemba, Maud Shimaayi. "Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia: Kabwe Rural District, 1850-1970," Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977.
- Papstein, Robert Joseph.** "The Upper Zambezi: A History of the Luvale People, 1000-1900." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1978.
- Proctor, John Craig.** "The Cross in Southern Africa: A History of the South Africa General Mission." Prepared for the American Council South Africa General Mission, Inc. Brooklyn, New York, 1945. (Typewritten.)
- Ragsdale, John.** "Protestant Missions and the Development of Education in Northern Rhodesia." Ed. D. dissertation, Lehigh University, 1973.
- Remick, John Erni.** "American Influence on the Education of the Ovimbundu (The Benguela and Bie Highlands) of Angola, Africa, from 1880-1914." Ph.D. dissertation, Miami (Ohio) University, 1976.
- Rennie, John Keith.** "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism Among the Ndaus of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1945." Ph.D. dissertation Northwestern University, 1973.
- Schechter, Robert Edmond.** "History and Historiography on a Frontier of Lunda Expansion: The Origins and Early Development of the Kanongesha." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1976.
- Spring, Anita.** "Women's Rituals and Natality Among the Luvale of Zambia." Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1976.
- ~~**Tareke, Gebru.** "Rural Protest in Ethiopia, 1941-1970: A Study of Three Rebellions" Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1977.~~
- Yates, Barbara.** "The Missions and Educational Development in Belgian Africa, 1876-1908." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia, 1967.

IV. Printed Works

A. Mission Periodicals (Annotated Listing)

1. "Plymouth" Brethren

Across the Seas: A Missionary Paper for Young People. Glasgow: Pickering and Inglis, 1901-52. Founded by F.S. Arnot and under his care until 1908; thereafter, many references to his missionary work in Central Africa.

Australian Missionary Tidings (Now Tidings). Chatswood, N.S.W. Date when the periodical began is not available.

Christian Missions in Many Lands. Spring Lake, New Jersey, 1971-current. This journal began in late 1971 when leading Brethren to combine the two periodicals: *Voices*

Bibliography (Original and post 1983)

from the Vineyard and *The Fields*.

Echoes of Service (Originally *The Missionary Echo*). Bath, 1872-current. The main, the oldest, "Plymouth" Brethren periodical relating to mission work around the world.

Echoes Quarterly Review. Bath, 1949-current. A quarterly review giving in depth reports on Brethren missionaries around the world. Also any reflective articles on up-dating Brethren missionary politely to accommodate the needs of a post-colonial Non-Western world.

The Fields. Fort Dodge, Iowa: Walterick Printing Co., 1938-72. One of the two main periodicals in the U.S.A. and Canada that merged in 1971.

From Other Lands: A Missionary Magazine for Young People. Bath, 1956-current. Seemingly a modern replacement for *Across the Seas*. Marginal value for this study.

The Harvester. Bath and later London: Paternoster Press, 1923-?? Volume I appeared in 1923 and was entitled: *The Harvester with which is Incorporated Home Witnessing*. IN January 1936, *Links of Help* was incorporated into this periodical. For several years, it had some useful articles, but after World War II, it almost entirely dealt with practical and theoretical issues within the Brethren assemblies in the U.K.

Harvest Fields [Ireland]. 1961-current. Most information too current to have relevance to this study.

Home and Foreign Missions Newsletter [Scotland]. 1972-current. Most information too current to have relevance to this study.

Links of Help With Other Lands. Glasgow: Pickering and Inglis, 1911-35. In January 1936, it was incorporated into *The Harvester*.

Medical Missionary News. London: Paternoster Press, 1953-current. A quarterly journal that gives much attention to medical missionaries in Central Africa.

New Zealand Treasury. Palmerston, North, New Zealand, current. Information as to when the periodical began is not available.

Voices from the Vineyard. New York, 1905(?) -1971. One of the two main periodicals in the U.S.A. and Canada that fused in 1971.

Workers Together. Auckland, New Zealand. When the periodical began and whether it still continues is not known. Only issues from 1954-71 were located

2. African Evangelical Fellowship (SAGM)

On Trek. Wimbledon, 1927-63. The official, monthly organ of the League of Pioneers, the youth in the contributing churches.

South African Pioneer (now shorthand to *Pioneer*). Wimbledon, 1887-current. The major publication of third interdenominational missionary society.

Education in the Northwestern Province

South African Pioneer (American Edition). Brooklyn, New York, 1920-36 and 1942-64.

Before financial restraints stopped publication for the first time, the format was almost identical to the Wimbledon publication except that most letters were from North American missionaries and the appeal for funds was directed to Americans and Canadians. When publication was resumed in 1942, it still appealed to the old audience, but used an entirely different format from the British publication.

B. Other Missionary Works in the Region

Arnot, Fred S. *Bihe and Garenganze*. London: J. E. Hawkins and Company,

_____. *The First Year Among the Barotse on the Zambesi in Continuation of From Natal to the Upper Zambesi*. London: James E. Hawkins, n.d.

_____. *From Natal to the Upper Zambesi*. London: James E. Hawkins, n.d.

_____. *From the Zambesi to Benguella*. London: James Hawkins, [1885].

_____. *Garenganze. Or. Seven Years' Pioneer Mission Work in Central Africa*. London: James E. Hawkins, 1889; reprint ed., London: Frank Cass and Company. 1969.

_____. *Garenganze: West and East*. London: Walter G. Wheeler and Co., 1902.

_____. *Missionary Travels in Central Africa*. Bath: Office of "Echoes of Service", 1914.

Bailey, Rev. A.V. *Commission and Conquest in South Africa: An Autobiographical Account of Pioneer Mission Work in Africa*. Edited by his wife, Metha D. Bailey. Newark, New Jersey: Privately duplicated and bound in book form, 1968.

_____. *Lessons in an African Prayer School*. Privately published by S.A.G.M., n.d.

Baird, Thomas. *Back to the Beginning: A Miniature Manual to Missionary Memories*. New York City: Bookstall, 1919.

Baker, Ernest. *The Life and Explorations of Frederick Stanley Arnot: The Authorised Biography*. London: Seeley, Service and Co., 1921.

Burr, Elsie. *Kalene Memories*. London: Pickering and Inglis, 1956.

Campbell, Dugald. *Blazing Trails in Bantuland*. London: Pickering and Inglis. 1930.

Crawford, Daniel. *Back to the Long Grass: My Link with Livingstone*. New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923.

_____. "Memories of F.S. Arnot." *Christian Express*, 2 May 1921, 74-6.

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A Dedicated Wheelchair: The Story of Michael Warburton. Privately printed by SAGM, n.d.

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- Fisher, W. Singleton and Hoyte, Julyan.** *Africa Looks Ahead: The Life Stories of Walter and Anna Fisher of Central Africa.* London: Pickering and Inglis, 1948.
- Fisher, W. Singleton.** "The African Christian Teacher." *Missionary Review of the World*, 58 (1935), 357-8.
- Forman, Janetta.** *How It All Began: The Birth of a Girls' Boarding School in Northern Rhodesia, Mukinge Hill School, South Africa General Mission.* Privately printed by S.A.G.M., n.d.
- _____. *Meli, an African Schoolgirl.* Privately printed by S.A.G.M., n.d.
- _____. *The Tent of God in Africa.* Privately printed by England by S.A.G.M., n.d.
- _____. *The Light is Come.* Privately printed in England by S.A.G.M., n.d.
- Jakeman, E. M.** *Pioneering in Northern Rhodesia.* London: Morgan and Scott, n.d.
- Lammond, William.** "Johnston Falls Mission: 1898-1958." Privately cyclostyled for information, n.d.
- Livingstone, David.** *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa.* London: John Murray, 1857.
- Logan, Paul.** *A Man Called Sakuunda.* New York: Voices from the Vineyard, 1969.
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- Smart, John.** *Historical Sketch of Assembly Missions.* New York: C.M.M.L., n.d. [1946].
- Theo Deubler of Chitokoloki.* 1900-1970 [memorial pamphlet]. Privately printed, n.d.
- Swan, Charles.** *The Slavery of Today, or, the Present Position of the Open Sore of Africa.* London: Pickering [introduction 1909].
- Walton, W. Spencer.** "The Cape General Mission, South Africa: The Story of Answered Prayer", in *Missionary Review of the World*, 7 (1894), 424-32.
- Wilson, T. Ernest.** *Angola Beloved.* Neptune, New Jersey: Loizeaux Brothers, 1967.

D. Other Books and Articles Cited [most relevant extracted from dissertation]

Anstey, Roger. *King Leopold's Legacy: The Congo Under Belgian Rule, 1908-1960.* London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Arnot, R. S. "F. S. Arnot and Msidi." *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 3 (5, 1958), 428-34.

Bailyn, Bernard. *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study.* New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1972.

Baldwin, Robert E. *Economic Development and Export Growth: A Study of Northern Rhodesia.1920-1960.* Berkley: University of California Press, 1966.

Bancroft, J(oseph) Austen. *Mining in Northern Rhodesia: A Chronicle of Mineral Explorations and Mining Development.* British South Africa Company, 1961.

"Barotse Boundary Award," *Geographical Journal* 16 (1905): 201-4.

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deBlij, Harm J. *Systematic Political Geography* (2nd Ed.). New York: John Willey and Sons,1973 (1967).

Bradley, Kenneth. *Once a District Officer.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966.

Brelsford, William Vernon. *Generation of Men: The European Pioneers of Northern Rhodesia.* Published by Stuart Manning (PTY) Ltd. in Salisbury for the Northern Rhodesia Society; printed by Government Printer, Lusaka, 1965.

Caplan, Gerald L. *The Elites of Barotseland:1878-1969; A Political History of Zambia's Western Province.* London: C. Hurst and Co., 1970.

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Clarence-Smith, William Gervase. "Slaves, Commoners and Landlords in Bulozic c 1875-1906," *Journal of African History*, 20 (2, 1979).

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INDEX

Angola, 15, 25, 29, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56, 58, 63, 64, 76, 77, 79, 81, 89, 96, 106, 110, 111, 116, 120, 124, 135, 153, 154, 158
Arnot, F.S., 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 51, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 87, 89, 94, 97, 117, 118, 126, 127, 128, 129, 133, 137, 191
Bailey, Albert W., 27, 80, 81, 89, 117, 118, 119, 120, 133, 193
Bailyn, Bernard, 16
Barotseland, 11, 12, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 61, 63, 65, 69, 83, 92, 98, 126, 130, 132, 134, 136, 142, 160, 184, 185, 188, 191, 192, 245, 251
Belgium, 38, 40, 49, 55, 205
Bruce Miller, F.V., 51, 63, 65, 67, 69, 114, 115, 116, 117, 121, 137, 142, 143, 154, 155
BSAC (British South Africa Company), 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 53, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 71, 80, 90, 96, 97, 98, 102, 103, 110, 111, 113, 114, 116, 117, 123, 125, 126, 132, 134, 137, 139, 140, 142, 160, 190, 193
Burr, Elsie, 29, 31, 104, 109, 152, 153, 174, 175, 177, 181
Campbell, Dan, 27
Chavuma, 27, 52, 54, 87, 100, 146, 147, 151, 156, 157, 158, 163, 172, 178, 181, 183, 187, 198
Chinonu, 131
Chinyama, 131
Chitokoloki, 30, 51, 69, 82, 87, 88, 89, 93, 106, 113, 116, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 139, 146, 147, 153, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 172, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 187, 191
Chizawu, Silas
 Chizawu, 135
Clarke, P.C.D., 61, 62, 63
Congo, 20, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 54, 55, 56, 58, 63, 64, 76, 81, 96, 111, 116, 117, 139, 153, 166
Congress of Berlin, 40, 41
Copperbelt, 28
Dawson, Peter (see Chief Ishindi), 195
Doke, C.M., 19, 33
Echoes of Service, 30, 42, 43, 50, 52, 74, 79, 80, 82, 86, 89, 99, 100, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 144, 146, 152, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 174, 179, 180, 181, 198
Fafunwa, Babs, 16, 192
Foster, P., 15, 84, 94, 95, 124, 125, 147, 148, 149, 150, 171, 172, 186, 192
Furse, Ralph, 66, 68
Geographical Journal, 29, 44
Gluckman, Max, 19

March 17, 2014

Hazell, W.H., 62, 67, 152, 166
 Hellen, J.D., 27
 Hillwood Farm, 30, 73
 Ishindi, Chief, 195, 197
 Kakoma, Benson Chitonde, 55, 61, 62, 63, 94, 110, 113, 143, 144, 176, 177
 Kalahari, 25, 27
 Kalepa, Remus, 151, 186, 195, 197, 199, 200
 Kaonde, 15, 16, 19, 23, 25, 27, 43, 54, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 69, 80, 81, 85, 90, 94, 99, 101, 106, 109, 118, 119, 120, 121, 125, 126, 133, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 165, 166, 169, 171, 181, 183, 184, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196
 Kapijimpanga, Chief, 61, 118, 195
Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., 37, 58, 60, 66, 67
 Kristoff, L.D.K., 34
 Lamba, 15, 16, 19, 23, 25, 43, 54, 80, 81, 120, 187
 Lewanika, 38, 39, 42, 44, 52, 61, 104, 132, 134
likishi (singular of *makishi*), 17, 18
 LLC (Lunda, Luvala, Luchazi, Chokwe), 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, 24, 33, 34, 103
 Luba, 33, 34, 118
Luvala, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 33, 34, 41, 44, 52, 53, 54, 81, 92, 93, 111, 113, 131, 132, 138, 183, 184
 Lwampunga, 131
 Lyons
 George, 134
 Lyons, C.H., 20, 134, 136, 137
 Mbunda, 16
 Melland, Frank, 19, 27, 33, 51, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 94, 104, 107, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 143, 150, 181
 Mukanda, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24
 Murray, A. Victor, 14, 80, 108
 Mutanda Mission, 69, 84, 86, 143, 144, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 154, 170, 171, 172, 178, 197
 Mwanakatwe, John, 16, 144
 Mwinilunga, 6, 27, 33, 49, 53, 54, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 69, 70, 73, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 93, 94, 96, 97, 100, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 122, 132, 140, 141, 142, 143, 147, 151, 152, 153, 155, 156, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 183, 185, 188, 190, 193, 198, 199, 232, 233, 247, 269, 270, 272, 274, 275, 278, 280, 281, 282, 285, 286, 287
Mwondela, W.R., 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 98, 113, 138, 139, 172, 182, 184, 185
Newman, J.L., 25
 Njapawu
 David, 131
 Pirouet, Herbert, 28, 51, 84, 89, 95, 98, 101, 124, 125, 144, 147, 148, 150, 181, 193, 194, 195, 196
 Pupe, John, 100, 101, 148, 195, 197

Education in the Northwestern Province

Radcliffe, A.R., 19
Rodgers, M., 136
Rodney, 15
Rodney, Walter, 15, 72
SAGM (South African General Mission), 59, 76, 77, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 97, 100, 101, 103, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 134, 135, 139, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 162, 167, 168, 170, 171, 177, 178, 181, 185, 187, 191, 199
Sameta, Silas, 21, 110, 111, 112, 115, 174, 175, 177
Sangambo, Mose Kaputungu, 53
Schechter, R., 33
Sharpe, Alfred, 39, 42, 43, 70, 243
Short, Robin, 66, 67, 71, 76, 92, 96, 122, 147, 194, 201
Smith, A.K., 20, 44
Snelson, P. D., 16, 83, 90, 123, 133, 144, 145, 150, 167, 168, 169, 170, 192
Steele, Major E.A., 29
Suckling, George, 30, 51, 81, 82, 83, 88, 89, 93, 97, 98, 102, 116, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 142, 144, 146, 153, 159, 160, 161, 162, 170, 172, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188
Times of Zambia, 23
Trapnell, C.G. and Clothier, J.N., 27
Turner, Victor, 16, 17, 18, 19, 31, 33, 115
van Gennep, Arnold, 17
Vine, 136
Wallerstein, I., 20
White, C.M.N., 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 33, 37, 44, 55, 58, 60, 66, 67, 83, 94, 142, 177
Winks, R.W., 20, 37
World War II, 49, 55, 56, 67, 71, 72, 73, 76, 84, 85, 88, 89, 97, 100, 102, 105, 107, 146, 167, 169, 170, 182, 184, 188, 190, 194, 218
Yates, B.A., 20