

## **Mr. Robin Short**

**Mr. Robin Short and I exchanged a lot of correspondence in the period after my dissertation (from August 1985 through January 1987). He not only read it carefully, but also thoughtfully reflected on the late colonial period in Northern Rhodesia where he had been DC of Kasempa District and also held many other posts. He added some key points about NWP history that may possibly be useful to future scholars. His seven paged typed commentary of 3rd February 1986 is extremely informative. He also enclosed a 4 pp. letter from Miss L. Falconer at Kabulamema in Kabompo District.**

9 Richmond Circus  
St. Helier

27th July 67  
27th April 1987

Dear David:

Many thanks for your nice  
long letter, and the article on the  
Refugees. I rejoice with you that  
your wife is so much better. Miracles  
do happen! But perhaps one day  
you will both be able to come over to  
see us. I think you would enjoy  
our area. Jimmy: I come the new  
law otherwise by our family  
here - still going strong!  
I much enjoyed your Refuges  
article. It was the man on the  
spot regarding the fasteners and  
Towers of London. I met Gerald  
Reed, a splendid man, and heard

Turnbull: - an awful man. The  
sat. of man who handles down the  
flag with a few days of pleasure!  
No I do not think the price is  
high or low; and it gives a  
clear account of the side that, and  
him, and why.  
Spain is in a mess, and Zandira  
is on the cards! Official figures  
show food production 1.7 the Sahara  
in 1969 - 15% below 1970 - and in  
1971 20% below 1969's. They're  
dooming to the population increase  
unless something is done.  
But an area of 7 a  
hundred sq. 1,000 miles away. What  
much. But I am looking on a  
"Commonwealth Charter", a sort of mutual

27 April 57

3. Contract between the old C/Committee and the new unity is simply to keep them going with their own management, in return for their undertaking to run their affairs properly in regard to human rights, capital investment and a number of other things, under supervision.

If you say this is the Council Service in modern disguise - I will be right. I don't see any use expecting them and nationalists influenced by their own rhetoric to swallow this pill, so there will have to be certain changes in leadership. By the end of the century, perhaps?

I hope to complete this document by the end of the year, and I will send you an early copy.

27th 87

4. Thank you for your congratulations & I still retain the position of Magistrate after 9½ years as assistant. The work is more the same, but the pay is a bit higher. - But I would rather be P.O. N.W. Province, or Live on Bantoland or Fort Jameson! but if I had, I should be satisfied by now, and frustrated with inactivity - so perhaps look out a good town?!

I suggest that the brigades should meet in the p.m. but the a.m., and then they are not quite sober, to discuss these interesting N.W. Province topics! I transmit our best wishes, and our prayers, all with you and your wife. May she recover completely, and you come on with her.

Yours. Robins

9 Almond Crescent,  
St. Helier,  
Jersey C.I.

7: ~~November~~ December 1986.

Dear David.

Once again thank you for your letter; and for the Tourist material you send me from the newspaper. Pretty accurate I thought, though it doesn't mention our little Stemsches.

I hope that this may reach you in time for Christmas, and that your wife, tragically ill as she seems to be, and yourself, may have as enjoyable a time as is possible.

Your book would of course be of the greatest interest in Zambia itself, as an important part of its history by an impartial observer. LOUISIANA is the British publisher which has the biggest Educational section in Africa, and of course Macmillans follows it. I wish that I could give you their addresses, but as both have offices in New York I believe you can find them in your local telephone directory. May I urge you that your book is a part of the truth which should be preserved, and is worth preserving. I'm glad at least that part of it is coming out.

After many battles and reverses it looks as though

Dec 86

2.

I will soon be appointed magistrate of the Islands at the age of nearly sixty and after all but ten years apprenticeship as No. 2. Rather late to do all I wanted to do: and my highest ambition was once to be P.C., W. Western Province. I would have accepted the Eastern or Barotse as a pinch, I suppose. The waters are suspiciously calm with no crises to contend with and all my children learning their own living as best. There must be some thunderbolt in the offing!

Should you ever be able to come to Jersey you know that you would be most welcome for a stay. We should love to show you round. Please of course keep Miss Falconer's letter, as a memento of a fine woman, as I'm enclosing one of the weekly newsletters which keeps me in touch, which has some amusing sidelights. Meanwhile our prayers are with you and your wife - never give up hope, which I am sure you do not.

With our very best wishes,

John Ruskin.

9 Almorah Crescent  
St. Helier  
Jersey.

1 Dec. 1986.

Dear David,

I see to my dismay that the date of your letter is the 4th July! It is recorded by Lytton Strachey that Cardinal Newman wrote his Apologia in seven weeks, "constantly in tears, constantly crying out with distress, and sometimes working twenty two hours at a stretch". I am not the equal of Cardinal Newman! But this is an Apologia not an apology, for your condemnation of us on the grounds of racial superiority in the Empire: an explanation rather of why some Africans should think this, and partly why you, naturally, should reflect what they have said. I hope that it is long enough ago now for me to treat the question objectively: although, when some people say this, it is a signal that they are going to be extremely boring ... I'll try not to be.

Personally I do not think that I ever felt any fundamental difference between white and black. I suppose that the two main prongs of the Africans' complaint are (i) social, and (ii) economic.

Taking the social side first, one's own guests are generally those of the same personal interests and backgrounds. Without going into an analysis the class system prevails in England, as it does in Boston, Mass. - Would Camelot have asked a few chaps selected at random from Haarlem to dinner; or even lunch? No. Would I have had an Afrikaner mine-foreman? - Not from choice. The point is that these things are as much a matter of background as of race. This is reinforced when one is tired after a long-ish day, and such a day in Africa.

I was asked when I was interviewed for the Colonial Service (1949) not only whether I played cricket (of course!), but whether I would have Africans socially in my house. Yes, again, and from tea to lunch and dinner by about 1960-61. I had to take an extremely firm line to insist that a couple of Africans who had "made it" to responsible positions were admitted to the Lundazi Club, which had all of 12 members!

On the Copperbelt, yes, I must agree with a good deal of your thesis. Yes; I ought to have had Lawrence Katilungu to dinner: but he would get very drunk! The baneful influence of apartheid had come up along the railway from South Africa; and there seemed a great many people, S.A. and English, who looked upon Africans as a different and inferior species. - Shame upon them! I am afraid that our reception of a large number of such people in South Africa led to a greater amount of rudeness and petty in-humanity to the Africans than in almost any other Colony. For instance East Africa and Nyasaland were supplied by the East Coast, and I believe the atmosphere was rather different.

The key was, whether one invited a man to dinner or whether he just carried one's tent, to look upon him as a fellow being, not as a different species. The most wounding thing anywhere - Africa - U.S.A. - Russia - is to treat a person as a mere unit, useful only to perform some function or other. Unfortunately as I must admit, the Africans were all too often treated thus, especially in the Towns. One can only say that the P.A. did not countenance this; but who can monitor one man's personal behaviour towards another, unless it involves some legal question?

1 Dec 86

Before we get to economics the vexed question of inter-racial sex must be tackled, as a sub-head as it were, of human relations. I knew one officer of the P.A. who had an African mistress while a bachelor. She was called "Twinkle Toes". It seemed a very happy relationship. Unfortunately when he got married on leave he was posted back to the same out-station. I do not know to this day whether his wife found out, but I have reason to suspect she did. Discipline on this subject was quite rigid; and the penalty was instant dismissal from the Service. A glance at the stories of Somerset Maugham on life in Malaya is sufficient to explain why. But because we did not sleep with the African women, even if we were tempted, it did not mean that we despised the Africans as human beings.

The second class citizen in his own country, which even Senior Chief Mwase Lundazi supports today, is fallacious, I believe. After all, he got the M.B.E., and was constantly being asked to see important people, such as Lennox-Boyd, on equal terms. Agreed, it was so for the ordinary African on the Copperbelt and in Lusaka: but I for one would not have had Kaunda to dinner if he had been at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford! The emergent political class of their time, apart from Arthur Wina and Mwanakatwe, were of limited merit, and used their own lack of social acceptability as a soap-box to climb to political power and the personal enrichment that went with it. They were the professional "under-dogs" who became "overdogs", and they have fostered this white racist theory to justify their none too scrupulous political paths of advancement. To illustrate the above I will mention that before I left I was asked to continue to serve under an African who had been dismissed as a school teacher for interfering with his school children, and who had been dignified with the title of Resident Commissioner, Central Province. - No thanks!

Soon I must take a deep breath and read Fergus MacPherson's book, which has indeed been commended by others, and which I understand is on the B.S.A. Co.'s administration. What made him tick, I wonder? Was he a radical Clyde-Sider, or an indignant layman of the Church of Scotland persuasion? Or a bit of both? The B.S.A. Co.'s men were a mixed bag: alongside MacGregor and Pound we got Bruce Miller, Melland and John Keith, (still alive). I'd like to meet Fergus: after punching each other we would probably agree about quite a lot! Though the B.S.A. Co. made no secret of its policy of imposing tax on the Africans in order to force them to work in the Mines, it is also true that it paid no dividends for the first 25 years of its existence.. I suspect Dr. Mazrui's forebears made a better thing out of the Slave Trade through Zanzibar!

We can certainly agree about Janette Foreman. I was a very young cadet with a pipe, and human nature being what it is became interested in Dr. Bob Foster's wife called Belva. After suffering an interminable Mukinge church service I was to have lunch with her: but unfortunately, forewarned or perhaps inspired, he returned from tour early, and so I lunched with Janette F. and Miss Woods (Mrs. Warburton), from Atlanta. Too bad!

Oh: Stanley Tapa! Just after independence in Lusaka I saw Stanley striding along with his walking stick, looking as though he was going to take over the Ministry of National Guidance, and called out to him. He whipped round as though independence had been revoked .. I think I had him worried. We chatted and shook hands: at least we made it up in the end.



1 Dec 86

-3-

I am sure Charles White was an "Oddball", but asexual. I served over two years in Kabompo, that ghastly place which he founded, and I feel sure any man, or even woman, would have surfaced if they had been his. He died of drink, which I think may have been his solace in failing to communicate in this special way. He was un-inspiring to meet, and one could hardly believe all that special, precious knowledge of so many Africans was gathered within him. He did have the knack of being completely informal with the Africans, which I think they appreciated. He once showed me his bird collection. Hundreds of stuffed specimens in a large cabinet, drawer upon drawer. But, all the same species; which I found rather mysterious.

When I look back at the best of the P.A. - Bush, who died the other day, Hall, Murray, Harry Franklin, Goodfellow, even Colonel Bayldon, who were my mentors, I cannot find them guilty of the blind spot which you mention. They were of their time; and Harry Franklin in particular was a prophet. I found your Tribute to the P.A. very moving. The British Empire was idealistic; they wanted to live up to the generation who died in the First War, as we tried to live up to those who died in the last one. But, alas, the system may have been guilty, as charged. We did not imagine that the Africans could run the country, however badly, in our working lifetime. Perhaps there is a distinction between regarding the Africans as inferior beings under God, and recognising their definite inferiority in the administration and technical skills necessary for efficiency and progress in the 20th Century? Or even, survival for much longer as credible States?

I can certainly agree with you about the enormous economic advantages and privileges of many of the least worthy white people, which were built into the system. - And frequently abused. They had to be tempted by ordinary economic means to live in N. Rh. Besides, I think we must accept the time-scale in which we lived; and I believe it was in the 1960's that the coloured people of the U.S.A. made the most remarkable advances in social and economic status? Quite rightly, for they have been exposed to European skills for far longer.

Ironically the old economic system appears to survive in different form with the "Multi-Nationals", and low prices for African primary products. Or at any rate lower than the African Govts. think are deserved. Might this not be represented as a kind of Neo-Imperialism with the conscience of the Colonial Service removed? The awful Lonrho and Tiny Rowland, for instance ...

Professor Sir Keith Hancock, a New Zealand don at Oxford wrote on the economic\*exploitation\* of Africa by the West in great detail. I know of his books but have not read them: I believe he worked it out about evens.

But when we throw into the scale the abolition of slavery, the British Common Law, and even Christianity (!) I do believe the Africans were the gainers, not losers. And, if we had stayed long enough to introduce cricket who knows but we would be there to this day!

There is one more factor. The African propensity to flattery with the implication - "you are better than the stuffy British because you have a closer understanding and sympathy for us". That could have affected the emphasis of what they told you of us.

I think that we can at least agree on one thing. The central direction of Empires, Spanish, Portuguese, French, British, and even Roman, has always been blind and stupid, and has often been corrupt (i.e. exploitive). But they have been redeemed in lesser or greater measure, by those who served their Empires in the field. - And in which I include you!

*With every good wish.*

..

9 Annual Concord.

to Helier.

Jersey, C.I.

3<sup>rd</sup> February, 1986.

Dear David,

Before I say anything more in this covering letter I must congratulate you on a pioneering work in a new field. I read the book with much enjoyment, even those parts with which I disagreed! It's a definite contribution to history and I am sure you will be remembered by it. Will they, I wonder, publish it in Zambia? - I suspect they would prefer the outpourings of Mr. F. Stephenson - would the best bet be with Longmans Green & Co., which has an office in New York?

It is strange to me to read of you having to "defend" your thesis, although of course it is traditional - as one reads of Edmund Campion doing the same in Elizabethan Times. I would say that the dons were obliged to discuss, to criticise but kindly to demand that after, what you have written, doubtless after considerable thought, study, and above all, actual experience.

To put it bluntly, to me the Marxist mind is in itself a denial of intellectual integrity; because the spirit of inquiry into the truth is sacrificed at the altar of ideological doctrine. Take Helaine Bellon, a brilliant writer, but she is a "card-carrying Catholic" that she wrote endless nonsense about the reign of Elizabeth I. Or the fundamentalist Christian

2,  
for whom the creation of the House took seven days, and  
he more.

Ultimately, if the facts do not fit the doctrine, they  
are forced into the mould unless they do. The Marxists would  
be pathetic if they were not so powerful, particularly in the  
academic world. I should be amused to see the most  
brilliant Marxist trying to subject the enclosed letter from  
Miss Falconer to the "correct" analysis!

Any academic, or any educated man, may have his  
political or general philosophy or view of life, to which he  
holds strongly. -133 if he has any pretensions to  
reasoning, he is compelled to reason from facts. At least he  
should try; though I agree that even Macaulay was rather  
selective at Times! I believe that to be the general  
Western liberal position; and I believe it is a position that  
I have the honour to share with you.

It is kind of you to offer my Tour Reports and other  
official writings. I fear they are romantic and at times  
immature: never mind. Let me look through them and blush  
when and if I come over to America!

As Dick Jaeger has probably told you I am a minor  
judge now in my native Island. Should you ever come, you  
and your wife would be most welcome. Meanwhile, every best  
wish to you both; and may she make a speedy recovery.

Yours sincerely,

Robin S. S.



Salonnet Home [Attachment from Robin]  
Kabulamema  
PO Kabompo 140075 NWP  
Zambia 8/10/85

Dear Mr Stewart

A million thanks for  
bothering to write to me,  
I was curious when I saw  
"Balwale" on your envelope and I knew  
the letter was from someone from  
'far off days' as you put it.  
Come January it will be 40 years  
since I first left Liverpool docks to  
answer the call to serve in Africa.  
Though it has not been all easy, yet  
it is a most satisfying and  
wonderful life.

Some of the high lights have been  
visits from His Excellency, President  
Kaunda and the British High  
Commissioner.

In 1969 I was awarded the O.D.S  
Order of Distinguished Service a medal  
which hangs round the neck and a

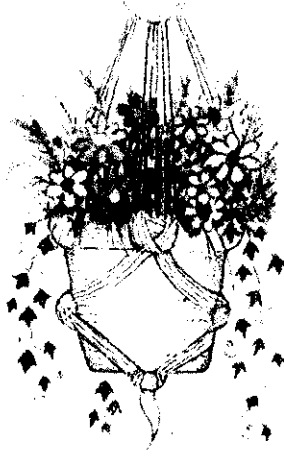
God is our God for ever and ever  
Psalm 48.14

9/10/81

huge one for the belt (right hand side).  
Then to my surprise Her Majesty the  
Queen of England awarded the MBE  
and as it was not feasible for me to  
go to Britain or even Lusaka, the  
British High Commission kindly came  
here - we had a marvellous day.

He gave me the Honor in our sitting  
room with all the children present.  
We have a very large house with  
many rooms but 20 odd years  
has already proved that another  
building must be erected, even to the  
extent of being three times the size  
of the present one.

Under my care now are some 120  
children babies and helpers plus  
some destitutes. Babies are ever  
coming in, lots & lots of them.  
I have wonderful health and full  
of energy even though now 72 yrs old.  
I told some of the Zambians (whom  
you met those years ago) of your letter.  
They remember you well of course and  
were joyous, they send greetings to you.  
Please pass good words to your wife  
and to Mr Short. Sincerely  
Lilian Lalau



8/10/85

PS

Can you try to understand my feelings when I tell you that many of those early babies and later ones now grown up are running this Childrens Home with me? One now 31 years, is my Assistant, he deals with all the purchasing on the Copperbelt, the Banking, the water pump from the river, the vehicles, a Luso 10 ton truck, a Landcruiser and a Land rover, he supervises the whole outside work the building the workers, the electricity.

Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father  
1 Corinthians 1.3

8/10/85

Another one slightly older is the one in charge of our farm and live stock. Others drive, do plumbing carpentry and one even is Laboratory Assistant in the Govt Health Centre here. He does the vaccines for me etc.

We are expecting to send for our tractor next week it is already in Lusaka from England.

As you are aware the Zambian Economy is not good and this slows things down a lot.

But we plod on & on.

We have peace in Zambia which is a wonderful blessing. An open Bible, religious freedom so these are the best of things as I am sure you agree.

Sincerely

Lilian Lalonde

MBE ODS SRW SEN

9 Almorah Crescent,

PT ZIEHLER.

JERSEY C.I.

3<sup>rd</sup> February, 1986.

PC only  
on 3/16/86

Dear David,

- If I may address you informally.

I am most grateful to receive the copy of your book "To the bottom of the Heap". All of us who have made the peoples of the North Western Province our study, and, I hope, earned their friendship, are in a sense comrades, despite obvious differences of outlook, background and experience.

Because District Commissioners as a species had become extinct by the time of your service and when you were preparing your book, you unfortunately did not have the opportunity to meet them. However, you paid them the compliment of reading their books, and I am pleased that you recognise the greatness of Melland who was after all of the B.S.A. Co., as was Bruce Miller. Even so, the Africans and the Missionaries have been able to give their account at first-hand; but not the Boma.

First a few personal sketches and memories, which may help to fill out some of the personalities you mention, in the order they occur to me.

PIROUET. Missionary. Known for his kindness and benevolence to the Africans. His remark about us being the "Exhibits" was typical and true.

JESSE SANDA SANDA. Teacher. A wonderful character. He bid for the Chieftancy of Kasempa when Samusi died; but was passed over. A great pity.

BUCKLAND. Missionary. Unusually, married the daughter of a peer, who died of blackwater in the '30's. An ineffective figure, but I met him at the end of his life, alone at Mujimbeji, sad and lonely and ill.

GORDON SUCKLING. "Missionary". Well-known as a poacher of game, for which he narrowly escaped prison. Not interested in religion, but wild-life!

hand  
J. C. 1/86

K. H. 1/86



Feb 80

DAVID MUKIMWA. A very level sensible African "P.M.". to Chief Kasempa. He clearly had some Arab blood. One of the very few Africans I knew with an ironic sense of humour.

REMUS KALEPA. Of Solwezi. I always found him an intriguer and an undeclared enemy of the colonial govt.

AGNES RIDDELL. Murdered at Kalene in 1984: murderer as yet undetected, though "everybody knows who did it", etc.

ANNETTA FORMAN. An outstanding woman and a pioneer of female education. Why she left Mukinge for Ghana when she had got it to a vital stage, I shall never know. I suspect people like Charles Foster wanted to over-emphasise the evangelical side. A truly educated woman, and not a bigot.

FRANCES WARBURTON, whom I knew as Frances Woods. The best sort of cheerful American, and an excellent nurse.

W. FFOLLIOT FISHER. Enjoyed the best of all worlds as a farmer, trader and "missionary". A very sharp operator when it came to getting his way in the District on such matters as grazing rights, and would happily go behind one's back. Referred to the Africans as "Afs". It used to be said -

"The Sucklings spoke only to Fishers  
And the Fishers spoke only to God".

No doubt the origin is familiar to you!

CHARLES WHITE. More of a scholar than administrator. Indeed, no administrator at all. A lonely bachelor, he sought consolation with the Africans, but not in any sexual way. All the same, they exploited him. Died a few years ago.

GEORGE GREY. A brother of Grey of Falloden, so far from being just a rough-diamond adventurer. The best sort of imperialist.

PETER SAYILA. An excellent Education Secretary at the Manyinga Native Authority, Kabompo. Balanced and practical.

STANLEY TEPA. I fear independence must have been a great disappointment to him, and a continuing one. For a man who should be Prime Minister, nay, President .....

CHAVVMA MISSION. The Logan family. A holiday camp with all "mod. cons." where the Logans brought up their numerous daughters. A anti-colonial government as it dared to be; and a thorn in the side of the administration. Had I served at Balovale I should have had a long look at the Missions' lease from the Crown and would have done all I could to evict them.

Feb 86

Your N.W.P. Tripod <sup>Councils</sup> Councils of administrators, missionaries and the African peoples of the North-West. May I generalise first on how the missionaries regarded us and our earlier prototypes, the B.S.A. administrators.

First, as your book confirms, they saw us as sinners. And, as they tended to look at everything in apocalyptic terms, as terrible sinners, setting a terrible example to the Africans.

A D.O. and a missionary were discussing Evolution, and Genesis: and the D.O. asked rather flippantly why ~~Me~~ should have put fossils on the tops of large mountains. The reply came back at once:- "So as to tempt foolish people like you into making remarks like that ...!" - End of discussion.

What did the P.A. think of the P.B. and S.A.G.M. missionaries? Unfortunately they mistrusted them; and they thought them as narrow and eccentric in their personal lives as in their doctrines. Who else would call a part of Africa "The Beloved ~~Skip~~"!

The females refused to wear make-up, or to do their hair except in a bun. No drink, no tobacco, which the P.A. took as normal. True, there was an occasional drunkard in the Boma, but they did not last: the two I knew were carry-overs from the War, in which one had been tortured.

So far as intercourse with African females was concerned, it was again a rarity. Hazell had some coloured children, but people such as Melland had their own wife and children. I doubt the only two coloureds I saw in Kasempa had anything to do with the administration.

You will understand that our opinion of the N.W.P. missionaries was as low as their opinion of us. With rare exceptions, they had neither been to university nor served the Crown in the armed services. They were not ordained clergy, nor did they have the mysterious prestige of Rome. They seemed at times unqualified clerks and artisans who used Africa and the N.W.P. as a field for "doing their own thing" - which thing was by no means to the advantage of the Africans or the country. That was what Melland was getting at when he addressed Pirouet on the quality of mission

personnel: and I think he was quite right.

In other words they were of a different social class to the administration; of narrow habits and beliefs, and of infinite pretensions. If this sounds snobbish, so be it .... Though I say this, I am still in touch with Kalene and Mukinge today.

What the Africans thought of us all we can hardly know. I suspect they personalised us all, and did not generalise much, if at all.

What motivated the P.A.? One can hardly say money when one started in 1950 at £550 per year in uncomfortable, unhealthy and lonely conditions. Yes, of course you can mention G.A. Henty, but at the same time you must recognise that it was not only the Americans who were idealistic. Read, for instance, had Curzon's splendid farewell in India when he resigned almost in disgrace. Without idealism as the main driving force the British Empire was no more than a sham. If it was a sham, why did it endure so long? Indeed, how did it exist at all?

Of course, you can put John Chilembwe up beside the picture of the B.S.A. Police, smiling beside a heap of dead Matabele. It happens that Mr James' book has just come into my hand, and in it are other pictures - on p. 123 - called "The Benin Horrors", Africans crucified in a tree, "altars" dripping with human blood. By Africans. Chilembwe ("Independent African's") last sermon was preached over the head of his missionary on the edge of the pulpit. So I think we may agree that at that time Africa was a hard and bloody place, with no monopoly of brutality on either side.

What the British did have, increasingly, was a measure of Parliamentary control through which the conscience of the British people could be expressed, on occasion mistakenly, (Devlin), but effectively. With 'independence', this check has been removed, with the results on human rights in Africa, which are all too glaringly apparent today. To judge African behaviour by lower standards than our own is surely to patronise them?

The almost "arrogance" with which you say Short and his fellow D.C's governed was born of confidence in our mission, and a determination that our generation would not let down our

not  
True  
Not  
Idealism  
place

predecessors, who had served in the Wars. As Churchill said:-  
 "I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside  
 over the dissolution of the British Empire". In brief, our  
 work was our religion, and if we did not suffer opposition gladly  
 or welcome wide-ranging debate on principles, it was because we  
 were seized of the rightness of our cause and the immense distance  
 the Africans had yet to travel. And as you know - having served  
 there - Africa is no place for government by committee.

yes

My friend Dr. Tony Kirk-Greene, has a lot to answer for in his  
 use of the word "Collaborators" in respect of the Africans who  
 co-operated with the imperial government. The connotations are  
 all wrong. It is a loaded word. Collaboration began with Vichy  
 under Pétain - Frenchmen who were friendly with the Nazi  
 occupying power - mainly for evil motives. To compare them with  
 the Africans who co-operated with us in bringing their people  
 forward and teaching them the alphabet of civilization as we know  
 it, is a slur which they, and us, are entitled to resent and  
 repudiate. Whatever else we were, we were not Nazis. And it  
 pre-supposes that the Africans were living in a state of primitive  
 civilization as portrayed in "Roots". In fact they were not:  
 but in a state of bloody confusion, in Central Africa. (See Coillard  
 and see Dr. Livingstone).

Very true

Here is an illustration of how development occurred in Kasempa.  
 A young African murdered his wife - crime passionel - reprieved -  
 and given a long sentence. At the same time the D.C. had been a  
 sapper (Royal Engineer) in the 1914-18 War. He taught the  
 prisoner how to build wooden bridges, was made the bridge capitão,  
 and eventually taught all the others. Result, though our education  
 may have been behind the other Provinces, our bridges were streets  
 ahead of them.

Every Province, every Colony, had its skills and its weaknesses.  
 Education was important but it was not everything. Agriculture,  
 forresting, medicine, water supplies, communications, game  
 reserves, all clamoured for attention, and their proponents all  
 seemed to claim to have the "Key to Africa". Maybe so, but I  
 would say, whatever one's specialisation, that the Key was human  
 sympathy with its people.

not sympathy

There was no challenge - no fun - in ruling by force. As I say somewhere we did have overwhelming force, but the secret was never to use it. We were not omnipotent, still less were we omniscient. Nor were we agents in any sense of some tacit conspiracy to exploit the peoples of the N.W.P. by the British Government. If we had been omnipotent, how much we could have achieved for "our people"!

The British Empire was begun by Chartered Companies, beginning with the East India Company. Later the Gold Coast Co., Imperial East Africa Co., B.S.A. Co - there was nothing unique about it. As a way of acquiring territory "on the cheap" they served their purpose well, by a sort of chapter of accidents. They suited their time: and it is interesting that the B.S.A. Co did not pay a dividend for twenty-five years, till it divested itself of government responsibility. That must imply a certain idealism.

June

History is never pre-determined, nor consciously determined by its participants. Consider how awful it would be if it was!

A powerful country, technically and culturally superior, determines to incorporate a collection of weaker peoples and subjugates them into its Empire. From the first it is decided that they are to be of maximum utility to the powerful country. From the first they are taught in the "mother country's" tongue, and indoctrinated only in the culture of the "mother country". Their own culture is buried underground, like that of the Aztecs, the Incas. What I wonder, would the verdict of historians be? An indictment, of "colonial cultural deprivation"!

Heard  
 on TV -  
 when a  
 1945 was  
 Communist

I am glad that you wrote to me, and I will give you a prophesy. By the end of this century Africa will look back upon the period of the British Empire as a Golden Age. "We will return" as your General Macarthur said, not with plumes and feathers, but to take up the burden of rescuing and guiding these people again. We shall do that because we are their friends, and we shall stretch out ~~our~~ hands to one another. They will accept you and I, and all who are fond of them and try to understand and help them. How little the theories of the dons, be they Marxist, liberal, or even imperialist, count beside this one golden key which opens the door to the Africans' hearts. Because you have quoted flatteringly and extensively <sup>extensively</sup> from my own book, I dare to repeat

its closing sentence. "But then I realized that I was indeed a rich man and wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice. Not so in terms of money, but rich for ever in my friends. There is the magic stone of Africa, and it is reward enough".

I am certain you can say the same: and is it not the final word?

Yours Sincerely, Robin Blum.

P.S. A list of minor points -

Your Ch. IV. p.110. "Men from the town ... returned to the village with new and disturbing ideas ..." (not ideals). We were not snuffing out candles of idealism; but governing according to the mores of the time.

p.102. Bellis was not killed, but badly wounded, and rescued by an African later to become Chief Ntambu. Died about 1916 from sleeping sickness.

p.101. Peter Clark, my first D.C. - not Clarke.

p.51. Cecil Rhodes was not Governor of the Cape Province; but Prime Minister of the Cape Colony.

I only mention these minor points because yours is an accademic work, and the pedants are always on the watch to correct a comma or a colon.

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22 Dec 1985

Dear Mr. Short,

I just received your card. Your phrase "It is keeping me awake at night" made me chuckle. I'm sure my book is! Same as yours caused me much reflection. We are men of different <sup>generations (!)</sup> ~~ages~~, styles & methods. I just hope your health is good & your blood pressure has not gone up unduly! (Smile). I look forward to a lively response!

My plans for writing you a long note several months ago (on my word processor to make it more legible) were totally ruined due to changing jobs & my wife's serious health problems. (She's home now ~~too~~ but on oxygen 24 hours a day.) Anyway, I'll try to give you a little of the dissertation defence sitting in

-2- (22 Dec '82)

a few pages - hoping you can read my terrible scrawl! This may answer a little of <sup>the</sup> dilemma I faced <sup>in</sup> my writing & a question or two about the book

Philosophically I'm not an imperialist, nor a conservative. But neither am I a marxist in any way. I intended to write for a average Form 5/high school/certificate N.W.P. person as well as academics. This philosophy &/or goal brought me in conflict with my two chief advisors in 1979 & 1980. As a result of my goal, I worked with a brilliant writer at Syracuse (not on my committee). Under her tutorage, my writing style totally changed. As prose she feels Ch I, II, VII & VIII are excellent. Ch IX was written at the end in haste & probably the least well organized.

My two chief advisors were Macdonald (Edinburgh Ph.D. under Shepperson) & Gregory (a teacher Ann Light whose specialty is E. Afr - Indian community). They were not concerned about my philosophy - nor that of the Ph.D. nor about anyone reading the dissertation except themselves. They preferred a very <sup>formal</sup> stylized prose.



28 [22 Dec 85] - 3-

The other members of the committee were first Alan Smith, probably the most brilliant black Am. historian on C. Afr (Mocambique + pre history). He is an intellectual marxist + remained very unhappy with Ch. I. + III + III + felt they needed a much deeper economic analysis/explanation. (I would suspect you would agree on the same chapters - for precisely the opposite reasons.)

The last two were Peter Marsh, a Canadian + N. Am's best ~~the~~ historian of Victorian England. Ch. III worried him in a general way ~~and~~ he found the overall interpretation a little too liberal, but overall he liked the flow + the unorthodox approach. Jim Newman, a cultural geographer (Tanzania) became my main supporter. He was known as a nightmare to doctoral candidates but we seemed to agree + he was very supportive in the final analysis.

The defence went well except for ~~Alan~~ Smith's marxist objections. He esp. felt I could not talk of traditional education in Ch. I without more economic data. I ~~could not~~ <sup>couldn't</sup> provide this, yet I needed the chapter + felt it was useful. In the end he accepted it + although he reprimanded me (i.e. ~~convinced~~ <sup>convinced</sup> the committee) to make minor ~~changes~~ <sup>to Ch. III, I...</sup>

- 4 -

product reflects my philosophy & thinking.

All this is, of course, now history to me & Africa becomes a fading memory. I'm now struggling to establish myself on Wall Street as a designer & implementer of computer training courses (IBM-PC, software like Lotus 1-2-3). The water is wide between Afr. History & computer training! Still I don't regret my years in Africa that spanned (1963-1979) an exciting time. But as Africa struggles with present problems, my philosophy may or may not have been wrong. Certainly as the "last imperialist" you'll have feelings about this! Time will of course be the final judge & that we'll probably never know about!

Although I'll probably never get involved in much ~~more~~ <sup>more</sup> scholarly writing on Africa, I do keep my notes. If you ever want to look through my photocopies of your official correspondence on the NWP, ~~I~~ I'll be happy to place my notes/photocopies at your disposal.

All the best. Have a good holiday season & a good 1986. I look forward to your commitments in due course.

Dan & Wilma

9 Almore Crescent.

St. Helier.

Jersey. C.I. 29<sup>th</sup> August: 1985.

Dear Dr. Wilkin.

For many years my family were amused by me saying - "one day there'll be a letter from America about my book", and sneaking down to collect the post (or mail) before anybody else! And lo, long after I had given up all hope, along comes yours. Thank you so much for making my prophecy come true.

You certainly did a good stint in the N.W.S.P. and I expect you know far more about it than I do. I am somewhat daunted to hear that you have read much of my official correspondence: I suspect the Zambian Archives, but much flattered that you have drawn on and read "African Sunset". I wrote it when what I saw as the truth was being submerged in a welter of interested propaganda, so that it would not be lost to history; i.e. in 1964-'65. Of course in the climate of those times it took me 8 years to find a publisher. So, it is very much a young man's book; and more judicious and judicial accounts will be found in Ottoband's "White-boned Africa", H. Franklin's "The Flagwagger", and Kenneth Bradley's "Diary of a District Officer". Never mind, I stand by all I have written, though I might have put it differently Today.

[29 Aug 85]

2

If I may anticipate what I believe will be the general message of your book or Dissertation, before reading it of course(!), I suspect that it will be - how little was done by the British Govt. in the educational field at the time when H.H.S. was ultimately responsible for it?

To which I would reply with two points ... First, Education, however important, was just one field among many for which we were responsible - Agriculture - Co-ops. - Medical Services - Roads & Bridges - - Power & Transport - all had their advocates, on occasion their fanatical prophets, as the solution.

And second, the circumstances of the time were often not un-propitious for the expenditure of great sums of money in development, in whatever direction. Take the calendar from 1900-1965 ... 1914-18 The Great War: over 1,000,000 British dead. 1919 - Flu Epidemic, 1924, Colonial office takes over ex-B.S.I., 1926 - General Strike, 1929 - The Great Depression, till 1931. 1935 Hitler gains power, 1940-45. The 2<sup>nd</sup> War, 1946 - 1964, a reasonably clear field for a bit: is not much money. Given all the work needed on the foundations it is to me a matter of surprise that so much was accomplished.

Whatever the machinations of Whitehall I hope I may assure you personally that at least we had no thought of just keeping people un-educated as a docile labour - pool for the times.

[29 Aug. 1985]

3

But, please let me read your Dissertation before I venture to comment further. It may possibly turn out to be a paean of praise for the British Empire!?

I am interested that you have turned to Computers. They are Greek to me as I do know that they happen to suit the Oxford Classics, because, it is said, they have the same type of logical minds. So you have entered a distinguished field...

P.S. - the admirable Dick Targer probably told you, I turned to the Law, and became a minor Judge here. Many of my cases have an echo of Africa and the N.W.P. - though in a more formal setting. I confess that I have not yet tried a Witchcraft case!

I greatly look forward to reading and commenting on your Book or Dissertation; and if you should ever be in Europe I do trust that you will come to see us in our Island home. You would be most welcome. With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Robin Sherrin.

(R.T. SHERRIN)

P.S. I had a letter from Kate Hill, (Miss Wadsworth), the other day.

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8 August 1985

Dear Mr. Short,

I know a lot about you + your years in the NWP of Zambia before Independence. I also suspect you've heard my name in passing. Although I've planned to write you for years, it's easy to procrastinate + only a visit from a Dutch scholar, Dick Jaeger, got me moving.

I arrived in the NWP in 1963, several years after you'd left. But I spent the next several decades there (five or take a year) as the first headmaster of Balovale (Zarbezi) Secondary School + later opened a University of Zambia branch before retiring back to the USA.

In 1983 I completed a dissertation on the NWP — one of the few. In the process I read most of your official correspondence, saw many of your <sup>(physical)</sup> works in Kasanga + of course read your book,

African Sunset, several times. I'm enclosing a copy of my abstract + the opening page of Chapter VI, which is a quote of yours!

If you'd like a complimentary copy, I'll order you one with the proviso that you at least make a stab at reading it + give me your opinion, or a comment, or two, no matter whether positive or negative (Am. dissertations now appear as a book hybrid of some sort.) I'm ~~not~~ <sup>no longer</sup> in university life, having left after completing my dissertation. I now work as a computer "expert" + live in NYC. This news ceases to amaze old NUP friends as I have gone from one extreme of quiet living to the so-called cutting edge of technology. I loved the NUP but now enjoy NYC.

Excuse this intrusion on your life, but actually it's long overdue, maybe two people with a long term <sup>past</sup> involvement in the NUP should get in touch! Please tell me if you'd like a copy of the whole dissertation.

Sincerely,  
David Wilkin