

# Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945

SECOND EDITION

PETER SNELSON



When, in 1964, Zambia became independent, there were very few qualified Zambians, and there was therefore much criticism of colonial governments for having failed to develop satisfactory educational facilities. However, the contribution made by early missionaries and educational administrators must not be under-rated, for it was through their efforts, in the face of apathy, indifference and often danger, that an educational structure was established which could be easily built on when the opportunity for expansion arrived.

In this well-researched history, Peter Snelson describes, with the aid of both anecdote and statistic, the achievements of the early missionary societies from the establishment of the first 'school' at Limulunga in 1883 and the gradual but often unwilling involvement of government in education.

This book will be of great interest to the historian, educationalist, missionary and, indeed, the many people who have benefited from the work of the early architects of Zambia's educational system.

*Cover picture: Chilubula Mission, a  
White Fathers' Mission in the  
Northern Province (Photo  
courtesy of S.D. Allison)*

# Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945



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## FOREWORD

The history of *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1882-1945*, by Mr P. D. Snelson, is a monumental work. The text reflects the methods of rational inquiry. Primary and secondary sources have been used with explicit documentation. The facts have been presented in a terse, descriptive manner with a good balance between anecdotal insights and explanatory material. The inquiry reflects a fair approach in the selection and interpretation of source material. Case and longitudinal studies give us many insights into the educational climate during this difficult time in our developing nationhood.

In terms of the events of the past influencing those of the present the author makes the point that we cannot expect education alone today to refashion society. However this does not detract from the fact that the missionaries did refashion our society in making the Christian ethic, literacy and improved productive skills, an integral part of our society. At the same time the author does not disguise the fact that there were forces which were not concerned about the development of the Zambian.

While the text is puritanically correct in its recall of many harrowing experiences both for the missionaries and the Zambians I could not restrain a chuckle at the statement attributed to Rhodes,

'Missionaries, conceded the agnostic Rhodes, were generally an influence for good and contributed to the maintenance of law and order. His characteristic statement was: "Missionaries are better than policeman and cheaper".'

Rhodes was an industrious and enterprising character but perhaps his vision was more limited than the missionaries.

Human societies have undergone and are undergoing continual, though perhaps gradual change in response to various forces. This text certainly traces the vicissitudes of our development but it goes further. The summation in the last chapter reflects the dramatic, exciting and dynamic changes which we are currently undergoing. Certainly change is normal and we should understand the forces which have been working on us, but we should not look over our shoulder in order to seek recrimination but look to the future and grow with change.

Man's struggle for freedom and human dignity has occupied a relatively brief period of time as compared to the total span of his existence. I was conscious of this when reference was made to some of the rituals of the Lozi and the Bemba. However, honour was restored when reference was also made to those Christian missionaries who first came to the British Isles and found the British forefathers half-clad savages. Both references illustrate man's struggle to attain excellence and the triumph of excellence over evil.

In writing history we can suppress or expose issues depending upon the prevailing climate of opinion; but history is supposed to provide guidelines for understanding thought and action in contemporary affairs. The book draws attention to this fact when it refers to the harmonious multiracial society of Zambia today, which may be regarded as a model for the world.

Mr Snelson has made a thorough study of Zambia's history of education. Some of his expositions provide the most explicit and succinct clarification of what is happening in the current Zambian educational system. I therefore feel honoured to have been asked to contribute to this great work by writing this Foreword.

**W. P. Nyirenda, M.P.**  
**MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE.**

Lusaka, August, 1973.

## PREFACE to the First Edition

There are many gaps in the recorded history of Zambia. This book's purpose is to fill one of those gaps by tracing the origins and subsequent development of education in the country from the arrival of the first missionaries to the end of the second world war.

My aim has been to bring together, for the general reader as well as for the scholar, material not previously recorded or filed away in archives, or in books long out of print, and thus not readily available.

Zambia entered its Independence in 1964 with a pathetically and dangerously small stock of educated manpower. At that time, there were 100 Zambian graduates, a bare 1500 Zambians with a School Certificate, and only 6000 who had as much as two years of secondary education, a meagre return, in all conscience, from an educational system which had started more than three quarters of a century earlier. In the face of these facts, the contribution made by the early education workers is likely to be under-valued or dismissed as worthless. I believe such a verdict would be unjust. Without the efforts of the pioneer missionaries and education administrators, the foundations would not have been there on which a comprehensive educational structure could be rapidly built when the time for expansion was eventually deemed to have arrived.

At the same time, it has not been my purpose to white-wash or to excuse those who could, and should, have done more to advance African education. Rather, I have tried to set down the facts and to show how political, social and economic factors caused educational development to stop short of what was necessary or morally right.

Nowadays, it is almost universally accepted that investment in education is an essential input of a country's development programme. During the period covered in this book, education was regarded more as a capital-consuming service, an optional extra, for which the government might provide limited funds only after budgetary provision had been made for more important items of expenditure. It is difficult to recapture the mental attitudes which led to this type of approach, but the effort must be made if the reasons for the slow rate of educational growth during this period are to be understood.

\* Similarly, it is necessary to remember that most missionaries of our period honestly believed that evangelisation meant not only taking the Good News to the people of Northern Rhodesia, but also attempting to replace African traditional culture and mores with what they regarded as the more civilized standards and ways of living of the western world. All too often, the missionaries' aim (to adapt Macaulay's Minute of 1835) was to produce people "African in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinion, in morals and in intellect". To put it





PREFACE  
to the Second Edition

More than a century has elapsed since Fred Arnot opened the first 'school' in Zambia. The education scene is now dominated by issues such as the implementation of the Education Reform measures and the growing number of university graduates who find difficulty in obtaining employment. Nevertheless, there is still considerable interest in the story of how Arnot and his fellow pioneers laid the foundation of the country's educational system. NECZAM's decision to reissue this book is, therefore, welcome.

It is encouraging that Zambian students have made significant contributions to the understanding of educational policy and practice in the colonial period. I have not attempted to incorporate their valuable research findings in this revised edition and have contented myself with correcting a number of typographical errors and in making some minor textual amendments.

It is perhaps necessary to point out that in the period covered by this book, the units of currency were pounds, shillings and pence. This remained the position until 1968, when the Kwacha and ngwee were introduced; at that time, one pound was equal to two Kwacha. An increasing number of readers will be unfamiliar with the old currency and will wish to note that one pound (£1) was made up of 20 shillings and 240 pence. In the text, a stroke (/) has usually been used to indicate shillings: 17/6 means 17 shillings and 6 pence. In some cases, however, another convention has been used: £2. 5s. 7d. means 2 pounds, 5 shillings and 7 pence.

A further point of clarification may be useful. On achieving independence, several of the countries mentioned changed their names. Nyasaland became Malawi, the Belgian Congo took the name Zaire, Portuguese East Africa became Mozambique, Tanganyika joined with Zanzibar to form Tanzania, Basutoland became Lesotho, Bechuanaland became Botswana and Southern Rhodesia is the present-day Zimbabwe.

P.D.S  
London, May, 1985



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## CHAPTER I

### THE MEETING OF TWO CULTURES

#### **Traditional Education**

It was missionaries of the Christian Church who brought modern education to Northern Rhodesia. The tribal societies among which the first mission stations were opened were illiterate. Some of the early missionaries concluded from this that the people they had come to save must be completely uneducated. In this they were wrong. Education is a condition of human survival. It is the means whereby one generation transmits the wisdom, knowledge, and experience which prepares the next generation for life's duties and pleasures. In this sense of the term, a system of education had existed in Northern Rhodesia for as long as human societies had lived there. The form of this traditional education varied from one tribal society to another, depending on environment and custom, but many elements were common to all tribes.

Traditional or tribal education had five main components. First, there was instruction in the history and traditions of the clan and of the tribe, the heroic deeds of the ancestors, the myths, rites and ceremonies; the songs and wise sayings and their hidden meanings; the dances and games, customs and beliefs. This instruction, largely conducted by the elders, developed the sense of loyalty and pride in membership of the tribe. Well-loved and oft-repeated stories told around the fire in the evening, and repeated by the youngsters among themselves, ensured the continuity of the language and took the place of grammar books and written comprehension exercises.

Secondly, came an apprenticeship in practical skills. The young boy would accompany his father on hunting expeditions into the bush. There he learned the names and uses of many herbs, flowers, fruits, shrubs, and trees. He was shown how to find his way, how to read the wind, how to set traps, to follow the spoor of game, to shoot a straight arrow, and how to skin and dismember an animal. He was also taught the art of fishing, of chopping trees, making huts, canoes, nets, mats, ropes, drums, and baskets. If he lived in a cattle area, he was taught how to herd the cattle, to care for beasts which were sick or injured, and how to defend them against attack. Helping his parents in their gardens, he learned the traditional men's share in the growing of crops. Girls spent much of their time with their mothers, aunts and grandmothers, and from an early age began to learn those skills

which would be required of them as wives and mothers of the future. From sweeping the hut and washing the pots and calabashes, the young girl soon graduated to drawing water and pounding maize or grinding millet into flour, cooking and child-minding. Later she would learn how to make pottery and how to brew beer. In the garden, where she helped the women, she learned by constant practice a wide range of agricultural tasks, from the planting of the seeds to the harvesting and storage of the crops.

Learning was by observation, imitation and repetition. Children were rarely given instructions in an explicit, verbal and abstract manner. Traditional education was concrete and non-verbal, concerned with practical activity, not abstract generalisation. The young man received no formal lessons in the theory of house-building or of storing grain. He learned these skills by watching until such time as he was able to join in the activity.

Social obligations and the inculcation of good manners, usually taught by the parents, was the third element in a young man's or woman's education. From a very early age, children learned the correct modes of greeting and addressing other members of the tribe, how to sit, how to receive or give a present. The young were taught to respect the old people of the tribe, to extend hospitality, even to strangers, to contribute skills and labour when a community project was undertaken, and generally to submerge their own interests in those of the community.

Religious teaching centred on the Supreme Being, *Mulungu* or *Lesa*, a remote but all-pervading Creator, and the more intimate tribal gods who controlled the tribe's fortunes. Young people had also to learn of the influence of the spirits, in both human and non-human form which, according to traditional religious belief, intervened frequently in daily living. Life for the young African was punctuated by religious experience since almost every event, the birth of twins, the death of a dog, sickness, drought, the breaking of a treasured calabash, was accorded a spiritual significance. The young people had to learn when and how the spirits of the departed had to be propitiated, when ceremonial purification had to be performed, the value of certain charms and protective medicines, and in what circumstances the services of a professional sorcerer, herbalist or spirit diviner should be sought.

A significant event in traditional education was frequently the initiation ceremony which followed a concentrated course of instruction given to each age group on reaching puberty. At the initiation 'schools', usually held in a secluded corner of the bush, the transition from childhood to manhood or womanhood was marked by tests of physical endurance, instruction in traditional hygiene and sexual behaviour, and the responsibilities as well as the rights of married life. In some tribes, the ceremony included the act of circumcision, for both boys and girls, which symbolised the young adult's entry into full membership of the community.

Education, however, did not cease with the initiation ceremony. In many ways, education in traditional society was a life-long process. At what might be



termed the 'post-primary' level of traditional education, specialised training was provided appropriate to the aptitude and abilities of the young people and the manpower needs of the community. For instance, the fittest and strongest of the young men were primarily responsible for the defence of the tribal lands and possessions or for raiding neighbouring tribes; they were required to learn the serious business of warfare. Some young men would serve a long apprenticeship in skilled crafts; particular prestige attached to the blacksmith who not only forged the weapons for the warriors but also made hoes, axes and other simple tools for use by the community. Others were trained in the special skills of divining, or healing, or drumming or rain-making. All were required to learn the appropriate behaviour for meetings of the tribal council. Women, too, continued to learn throughout their adult life. The skills and responsibilities of the housewife and mother were their primary concern but some earned a reputation for their success as midwives while others came to be renowned for the excellence of their beer-making, their weaving or their pottery.

It was these aspects of traditional education that Jomo Kenyatta had in mind when he wrote, 'For the African, education began from birth and continued to the grave.' (1)

Any system of education has its share of failures and it would be foolish to pretend that traditional education in Northern Rhodesia was uniformly successful. Doubtless, there were incompetent 'teachers', slow-witted learners, rebels and drop-outs. Nevertheless, in its best forms, traditional education provided a thorough and well-balanced preparation for life. It preserved the cultural heritage, language and institutions, taught the young people to make the best use of their physical environment and to be good providers. It fostered obedience, unselfishness and endurance of hardship, encouraged honesty, self-restraint and respect for the rights of others, and endeavoured to explain how man can come to terms with the spirit world.

Essentially, tribal education was a conservative and not a progressive influence on the young mind. Problems rarely arose which required the application of critical intelligence. By the standards of the western world, African society was static. Life was precarious and the margin between sufficiency and starvation was a narrow one which could easily be breached by a disaster sent by the spirits or engineered by man. In these circumstances, safety lay in the known and well-tried practices and traditions. Innovations, venturing into the unknown, could easily lead to adversity or tragedy. The educational system reflected this outlook. It aimed not so much to develop a young person's individuality or competitive spirit as to encourage conformity to community norms, and to demonstrate the arts and science of living as a member of a community and of playing one's role for the well-being of society.

For all its obvious limitations and crudities, traditional education was admirably suited to the society in which it was practised. While western education

was later accused of divorcing the African from his environment and of leading indirectly, if not directly, to unemployment, traditional education was an exact and painstaking preparation of the young people of the tribe for employment within their own environment and community. The concept of unemployment did not exist.

### **The Coming of the Missionaries**

One of the first tasks undertaken by virtually every missionary group which entered the country was to commit to writing the vernacular language of the area in which they had opened their mission station. The next step was to start a school and to teach the people the elements of reading and writing. The first 'school' in the country was opened in 1883 by the pioneer Brethren missionary, Frederick Arnot (2). By 1925, when the Government established a sub-department of Native Education, there were estimated to be roughly 100,000 pupils attending nearly 2,000 schools run by fifteen different missionary societies throughout the length and breadth of the land (3).

This book is concerned with describing how western education came to Northern Rhodesia, took root and developed. This process cannot be adequately understood without studying the individual contributions which were made by the various missionary societies which came to work in the country. These are described in the sections which are devoted to each society. Certain general aspects of the work of missionaries may conveniently be summarised now.

St Matthew tells us that Jesus Christ gave his disciples the great commission of evangelising the whole world, saying, 'Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.' (4). In obedience to this injunction, and in accordance with the example of St Paul, missionary work has always been given an important place in the life of the Christian Church and has been responsible for the spread of Christianity throughout the world. Christian missionaries were active in the Cape Province and along the coast of East Africa in the eighteenth century. On the west coast, missionary activity began several centuries earlier. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that it became possible to consider the evangelisation of Central Africa. The key figure was the missionary explorer Dr David Livingstone whose epic journeys across the African continent, ended by his lonely death in the southern swamps of Lake Bangweulu in 1873, aroused extraordinary interest in the western world. Christian churches in Europe, America, and South Africa, inspired by his heroic example, responded to Livingstone's challenge to bring Christianity and civilization to the people of Central Africa. Between 1885 and the end of the century, seven missionary societies entered what was to become Northern Rhodesia and established mission stations. A further seven had joined them by the outbreak of war in 1914.

It was not a narrow pietism that impelled so many missionaries to leave the comforts of their home and to face the unknown hazards of Central Africa. Livingstone's writings and speeches, and H. M. Stanley's colourful reports had dwelt on the physical needs and poor living conditions of the African people and the desperate, inhuman state to which some tribes had been reduced by the slave traders. These accounts touched the popular imagination and deeply stirred many hearts. Livingstone had made it plain that the saving of souls was by no means the only task facing the missionary. 'Sending the Gospel to the heathen,' he wrote, 'must include much more than is implied in the usual picture of a missionary, namely, a man going about with a Bible under his arm.' (5) 'I go back to Africa,' he told the young men of Cambridge University, 'to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity; do you carry out the work which I have begun.' (6) The promotion of commerce, Livingstone was convinced, must go hand in hand with Christianity, as it would open up the country and enable the African people to share some of the benefits of a more developed form of civilization.

But if a commitment to introducing western modes of life and skills and a desire to bring about social and economic change were the motives of a number of the missionaries, the objective of the societies which sent them was often strictly one of salvation. The Plan and Constitution of the London Missionary Society, for instance, described the object of the Society in terse, unambiguous terms: 'The sole object is the spread of the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations.' (7) This same single-minded devotion to evangelism inspired some of the hymn-writers.

'O'er heathen lands afar, thick darkness broodeth yet.' (8) ran one of the hymns of the period. The missionaries were depicted as emissaries who would bring light into the darkness and who would replace heathenism with the Gospel of Christ's redeeming love. A popular hymn rejoiced:

'Let the Indian, let the Negro  
Let the rude barbarian see,  
That divine and glorious conquest,  
Once obtained on Cavalry.  
Let the Gospel, let the Gospel,  
Loud resound from pole to pole.' (9)

Similar sentiments were expressed in another well-loved hymn:

'Where Afric's sunny fountains  
Roll down their golden sand,  
From many an ancient river,  
From many a palmy plain,  
They call us to deliver  
Their land from error's chain.' (10)

If the idyllic conceptions of the hymn-writers engendered a feeling of optimism among the missionaries, this was rudely shattered by the harsh realities of the life which faced them on arrival in the country. Disease was rife and carried off many of the pioneer missionaries. Communications were virtually non-existent, and distances were vast. It was extremely difficult to obtain supplies and living conditions were often primitive. Worst of all perhaps, the people whom they had come to save, far from being anxious for deliverance, frequently seemed to be perversely attached to their pagan beliefs and practices. With no training in anthropology, the early missionaries generally condemned all aspects of tribal society as sinful. François Coillard, for instance, leader of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, informed his home supporters that the Lozi people wallowed in an 'unfathomable abyss of corruption and degradation.' (11)

But in spite of the difficulties, the dangers, the hardships, and the apathy of the African people, the number of missionaries increased quite rapidly. 'The harvest truly is great,' Jesus had said, 'but the labourers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth labourers into His harvest.' (12) The theme was taken up by the hymn-writers:

'Far and near the fields are teeming  
With the waves of ripened grain.  
Far and near their gold is gleaming  
O'er the sunny slope and plain.  
Lord of harvest, send forth reapers,  
Hear us, Lord, to Thee we cry.  
Send them now the sheaves to gather,  
Ere the harvest time pass by.' (13)

The prayer was answered in a variety of quarters and led to the influx of Christians from many denominations into Northern Rhodesia. Frederick Arnot, as we have already noted, was the first missionary after Livingstone to work in the country but he stayed only a short time. He was succeeded in Barotseland (Western Province) by François Coillard of the **Paris Evangelical Mission** (14) who established his first stations at Sesheke in 1885 and at Sefula in 1887. Sefula remained the field headquarters of the Paris Mission when subsequent expansion led to the opening of nine more stations, mostly among the Lozi people. Coillard's first teachers were Basutos who accompanied him on his long journey from South Africa.

Basuto teachers were also employed by the **Primitive Methodists** (15), the second missionary society to enter the country from the south, who opened a station at Nkala (the ruins of which can now be seen in the Kafue Game Park) in 1893. As the number of missionaries increased, six more Primitive Methodists stations were opened in the vicinity of the Kafue and Zambezi rivers. From an

educational point of view, the most important of these was the station at Kafue which John Fell built and opened as a teacher training institute in 1918.

Another group of missionaries, from the **London Missionary Society** (16), had attempted to penetrate Northern Rhodesia from South Africa as early as 1859 but met with disaster, fifteen of a pioneering party of eighteen perishing before they reached the Zambezi. The Society's second attempt, made from Tanganyika, was more successful, and the first L.M.S. station was founded on the shores of Lake Tanganyika in 1883. The London missionaries subsequently opened stations among the Mambwe, Bemba and Lunda people, their most important educational centre being at Mbereshi, founded in 1900.

Next to arrive were missionaries from the **Church of Scotland** (17). Robert Laws had built the first Church of Scotland mission station on the shores of Lake Nyasa in 1875, and nearly twenty years later, in 1894, opened the famous Livingstonia Institute at Kondowe. In the same year, a mission station was opened at Mwenzo, just inside North Eastern Rhodesia near Fife, among the Winamwanga people. Only three other stations were opened by the Church of Scotland. At Chitambo, where Livingstone had died, a station was opened in 1907 by Malcolm Moffat and Dr Hubert Wilson, a grandson of the great explorer. Within a few years the station was moved to a healthier site. Meanwhile an African missionary named David Kaunda, educated at Livingstonia, had begun evangelistic work in the Chinsali area and his efforts led to the establishment of a mission station at Lubwa. Later, in 1922, another station was opened at Chasefu, among the Tumbuka people of Lundazi District.

The main factors which limited the work of the Church of Scotland and other Protestant missionary societies were shortages of money and of personnel. These limitations were, to a large extent, successfully overcome by the **White Fathers** (18), founded by Cardinal Lavignerie in 1868. Their first permanent station in the country was opened at Kayambi in 1895. Under the dynamic leadership of Bishop Dupont, the Society rapidly expanded its activities. Once having gained a foothold among the Bemba people, the White Fathers succeeded in establishing a strong network of stations throughout the Northern, Eastern and Luapula Provinces. To the non-Catholic missionaries, who watched with a mixture of admiration, envy and anger, there seemed no end to the stream of White Fathers, lay brothers and, a little later, White Sisters, who came from nearly every country of Europe to set up mission stations throughout the eastern half of the country.

The only society which could in any way match the White Fathers in numbers were the missionaries of the **Dutch Reformed Church** (19). Their activities, however, were mostly confined to the Eastern Province. The Dutch had opened their first station in Nyasaland in 1889 and it was the Nyasa teachers they had trained there who spear-headed the Mission's extension into North Eastern Rhodesia. Magwero mission was opened in 1899 and soon a chain of strategically sited stations covered the Fort Jameson (Chipata) and Petauke Districts, providing

the bases for a very large number of outposts which reached nearly every village.

In complete contrast to the highly organised activities of the White Fathers and the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, was the individualistic approach of the **Brethren** (20). In religious matters the Brethren acknowledge no authority other than the Bible. There is not a 'church' in the normal meaning of the term: there are no ministers, no headquarters, and no prescribed articles of faith other than the infallibility of the Bible. The opening of a number of mission stations in Northern Rhodesia was not, therefore, the result of a carefully laid plan but was due to the fact that individual Brethren felt called to preach the Word of God in those areas. In the event, the Brethren stations, usually small and dependent on the initiative, resourcefulness and energy of individuals, were mostly concentrated in the Luapula Valley, where the outstanding figure was William Lammond of Johnston Falls; in Mwinilunga District, where the work of Dr Walter Fisher of Kalene Hill will long be remembered; and in the Balovale (Zambezi) District, where George Suckling ran Chitokoloki mission station from 1914 until his death in 1951.

Meanwhile, in the south of the country, the **Jesuit Fathers** (21), the traditional teaching order of the Roman Catholic Church, had arrived. An earlier attempt to evangelise the Tonga people living in the Zambezi valley had to be abandoned in 1880, but, having established a secure base in Southern Rhodesia, the Jesuits returned to the attack in 1902. Two French Fathers succeeded in winning the confidence of the chiefs. Chikuni mission was founded in 1905 by Father Joseph Moreau in Monze District, and Kasisi mission, 29 kilometres north-east of Lusaka, by Father Jules Torrend in 1906. From these centres, other stations were opened, largely in the Southern and Central Provinces. Continuity of service was a feature of the Jesuit Fathers. Joseph Moreau, known for his agricultural enterprise, remained at Chikuni until his death in 1949 at the age of 85, just one of the many missionaries, men and women, of all denominations, who spent their lives trying to bring Christianity into the lives of the people.

Four days before the Jesuits arrived at Chikuni in 1905, an American from Indiana, William Anderson, a member of the **Seventh Day Adventist Church** (22), began building a mission station at Rusangu, a few miles away. The Zulu Bible was the main text-book used in the first S.D.A. schools and the teachers were Africans who had been converted at one of the Church's stations in Matabeleland. Subsequent expansion of the S.D.A. activities led to the establishment of widely scattered stations near Ndola, Kawambwa, Kalabo, Chipata and Senanga. The mission at Rusangu remained the most important as far as education was concerned.

Another group of missionaries who entered Northern Rhodesia as an extension of their work south of the Zambezi were the **Brethren in Christ** (23). In 1906, two maiden American ladies, Sisters Hannah Davidson and Adda Engle arrived at Macha, some 65 kilometres north-west of Choma. Two other stations were later opened, but the Brethren in Christ lacked both money and personnel to extend their work beyond a very small area.

For the same reasons, both the quantity and quality of the work of the **South African Baptist Missionary Society** (24) were very restricted. This Society took over from the Nyasa Industrial Mission in 1916, the station which had been opened at Kafulafuta, near Ndola, in 1905. Perpetually short of money, and unable to recruit sufficient staff, the South African Baptists could offer no more than the skeleton of an educational service to the Lamba people and were quite unable to rise to the challenge which was presented when the mining townships developed in what the Baptists considered to be 'their' area. In Arthur Cross, however, the S.A.B. produced an outstanding leader of the United Missions in the Copperbelt.

To the west of the South African Baptists lay the vast undeveloped North Western Province. It was to this unpromising area that Frederick Arnot brought Albert Bailey, an American missionary from the **South Africa General Mission** (25), in 1910 and selected the site for a station near Solwezi. A handful of other stations were later opened, each supposed to be the focal point of a 'parish' which covered up to 20,000 square miles (5m. hectares) with a population averaging one person to the square mile. In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the influence of the S.A.G.M. for many years was minimal.

It was here, surely, in the neglected north-west of the country that the need for additional, whole-hearted missionary effort was greatest. When the Anglicans arrived, however, they chose to establish themselves among the Tonga people in the Southern Province where the Paris Mission, the Jesuits, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Primitive Methodists, and the Brethren in Christ were already working. Bishop Hine of the **Universities Mission to Central Africa** (26) opened the first Anglican station at Livingstone in 1910 and at Mapanza, among the Tonga people, in 1911. In the same year, an African priest and teachers from Nyasaland started a station at Msoro in the Kunda area of Fort Jameson (Chipata) District. Bishop May, an influential figure for many years, subsequently expanded the U.M.C.A.'s work through stations at Chipili, near Fort Rosebery (Mansa) and at Fiwila, near Mkushi; but the Anglicans in Britain never gave the same degree of support to the U.M.C.A. as they did to the Church Missionary Society in Uganda, for instance, and educational work of significance developed only at Mapanza.

The last society to enter the country before the 1914-18 war was the **Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society** (27). The Wesleyans had opened the Waddilove Training Institute near Salisbury in 1899, and were sufficiently well established in Southern Rhodesia to consider crossing the Zambezi into the Northern Territory. In 1913, Henry Loveless and Douglas Gray opened a station at Chipembi, 38 kilometres north-east of Lusaka, and began educational work with the help of teacher evangelists from Mashonaland. After the war, limited expansion became possible, and stations were opened at Broken Hill (Kabwe), Lusaka, and at Keembe, in the western part of the Lenje Reserve. Chipembi was developed as the Society's educational headquarters, and led the way in agricultural work and in girls' education.

The Colonial Government in Uganda permitted only the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches to operate in that country. No such restrictions were imposed in Northern Rhodesia. A further six missionary societies came to the country in the period between the wars. A small group known as the **Church of Christ** (28) began work in the Southern Province in 1923 and built three small stations. Next, in 1926, came the **Salvation Army** (29) from Southern Rhodesia, in the persons of two African evangelists. A mission station was established among the Tonga people at Ibwe Munyama in 1927, and was later transferred to its present site at Chikankata. No other station was opened.

Further reinforcements for the Roman Catholics arrived in 1931, when the **Capuchin Fathers** (30) were given by the Pope the task of evangelising a 65,000 square mile (16m. hectare) area which included Livingstone District, Kabompo District, and the whole of Barotseland (Western Province). Nearly twenty Capuchin mission stations were subsequently opened, several of which, especially Lukulu, Maramba, and Mongu, became important educational centres. Only a little more modestly, the **Franciscan Fathers** (31), starting from Ndola in 1931, established the Catholic faith in the Copperbelt, and surrounding rural areas. Mission residences were built in all the Copperbelt towns and at four rural centres, the most important of which, educationally speaking, proved to be Ibenga. When the Government refused to allow denominational schools to operate in the Copperbelt, the Franciscans, with the help of the Dominican Sisters and the Sisters of St John the Baptist, concentrated their educational efforts on providing schools for European and Coloured children. The Franciscans also founded four stations in the North Western Province.

Another small group established itself in the Southern Province in 1933. These were from the **Pilgrim Holiness Church** (32), a fundamental, revivalist movement from the United States. A station was opened among the Tonga people in 1933, and two other small stations were eventually built.

To complete this summary of the arrival and disposition of the missionary groups which conducted educational work in the country during the period 1883-1945, mention must be made of two further bodies. One was the **United Missions in the Copperbelt** (33). This was formed in 1936 when representatives of the London Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland, the U.M.C.A., the Methodists, and the South African Baptists, dismayed by the welfare, social, moral and educational problems which industrialisation had brought in its wake, decided to pool their available resources and to work as a team in an ambitious programme of Christian action in the Copperbelt towns. The Franciscans and the Dutch Reformed Church also provided staff for the venture. In this unique experiment in missionary co-operation, workers from many different denominations succeeded in laying the foundation of education, social and welfare services on which government and the mining companies subsequently built.

Closely associated with the United Missions in the Copperbelt was the



**United Society for Christian Literature** (34). Indeed, it was in a small thatched hut in Mindolo, Kitwe, the headquarters of the U.M.C.B., that the U.S.C.L. began its work in Northern Rhodesia in 1936, charged with the responsibility of providing Christian literature for the Copperbelt. The Society rapidly became the main source of supply for school text-books, distributed from its bookshops in Lusaka and Kitwe; and also played an important part in stimulating the production of local books.

### **The First Schools**

Although separated by considerable distances, and with little or no contact between them, there was close agreement among the early missionaries in their assessment of the problems they faced and in devising the strategy and tactics of their evangelistic campaigns.

As we have already seen, there was general abhorrence expressed by the pioneer missionaries at the way of life in traditional tribal society. They regarded the people as immoral, lazy, and drunken, steeped in superstitions and witchcraft, and doomed to spiritual damnation. There could be no question of grafting the Christian message on to the traditional culture. That whole culture was rotten, in their view, and had to be replaced, root and branch.

The second conclusion, independently but unanimously reached, was that the people must be given a form of education. Schools played an important part in missionary work in other mission fields throughout the world and it seemed obvious that this tradition should be followed in Northern Rhodesia.

There were two main motives for the missionaries' zeal to educate the people. In order that they might receive and understand the Gospel message, the people must be able to read the Bible. In order that the Good News might spread to those whom the missionaries themselves were unable to reach, African teachers must be trained who could preach the Word of God and teach others to read. Thus, education was an essential element in evangelisation and in nurturing Christian leadership.

This view was expressed very clearly by the Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society in 1908. Answering criticisms that the L.M.S. missionaries spent too much of their time on educational work he wrote:

'It is easy to see that if the converts from heathenism are to have any real intelligence or stability they must be in a position to read for themselves the Word of God. A Christian community which is wholly dependent on oral instruction can never become strong and intelligent in its faith and will lack the most important elements of perseverance and true aggressiveness.

The Christian Church, even in the most elementary conditions of

society, ought to have teachers instructed in the truth able to teach their fellows. These two facts are at once the explanation and the justification of the larger part of the Society's activity in the establishment and maintenance of schools.' (35)

A similar but narrower viewpoint was conveyed in a letter from the Rev R. D. McMinn of Lubwa Mission to the Native Commissioner, Chinsali, in 1918:

'The aim in view is to enable the people to read the Scriptures for themselves in an intelligent manner. It is necessary for the satisfactory growth of the Christian that he should be able to read and understand the Word of God. The village school, by enabling the people to read the Scriptures for themselves and intelligently decide on the question of Christianity, has been one of the most powerful agencies at the command of the Missions. Any other instruction imparted, such as writing and counting, is given largely with a view to quickening the intelligence and increasing the ability to understand the Scriptures.' (36)

A number of societies, particularly the smaller Apostolic groups, took it for granted that conversion was the natural and valid objective of missionary educational enterprise. Hannah Davidson, for instance, of the Church of Christ, declared uncompromisingly that the purpose of her school was not to educate, but 'to get the native really saved and on the Rock, Jesus Christ.' (37)

The second motive which induced the missionaries to provide schools was the belief that education would be a civilizing force and would become a powerful weapon against the pagan beliefs and sorcery which, they held, bedevilled traditional culture. The Rev J. R. Fell of the Primitive Methodists expressed the educational objectives of many missionary societies at the first General Missionary Conference held in 1914:

'As a civilizing force, education has no equal. It will make rational, thinking men who perceive cause and effect instead of those believing the silly notions arising from generations of paganism. It is a valuable adjunct in Christianising. Indeed, the spread of Christianity is largely dependent on education.' (38)

If the chief educational motives of the missionaries were to accelerate the conversion of the people, there were those who looked to what they considered to be the long-term welfare of the Africans. Some of the early mission workers made determined efforts to raise living standards by teaching western skills which could help to make life a little more comfortable and a little less precarious. The

importance of craft training as a form of education was emphasised by the Secretary of the London Missionary Society when he wrote to the Rev John May at Kawimbe in 1900:

'It is most important that the converts should learn to read in order that they may attain to a fuller knowledge of the Scriptures, but I think it is even more important that they should learn to live self-respecting, progressive Christian lives. The mission that turns out good carpenters and blacksmiths does more among people such as you have than that which turns out good readers and writers.' (39)

Alas, May died in the following year, but Bernard Turner worked at the L.M.S. station at Mbereshi for nearly 40 years, beginning in 1903, and trained hundreds of African youths in building, carpentry, metalwork and other crafts. On the same station, Mabel Shaw pioneered the development of girls' education in the country, teaching them various aspects of homecraft and mothercraft.

Other missionaries set great store on the importance of teaching better methods of agriculture as a means of improving the lot of the people they had come to serve. Joseph Moreau, Jesuit Father at Chikuni, did as much as anyone in teaching the Tonga people how to improve the productivity of their gardens and of their cattle, and showed how the dreaded annual famine which afflicted the Tonga people towards the end of each dry season could be successfully overcome.

It might perhaps be tempting to conclude from the examples which have been given that some missionary societies were more enlightened than others in their educational objectives, and that while certain churches were concerned only to save men's souls, others were at pains to improve their physical and social well-being as well. Certainly, there were differences of opinion among the missionaries. Some regarded the school chiefly as an evangelising agency and looked to decisions for Christ or conversions as the ultimate proof of the value of educational activity. Others, particularly when conversions had been made, took the view that the objective of the schools was to instruct the existing Christian community and to strengthen its leadership. A further group felt that schools must be maintained as a Christian obligation to the community as a whole, Christian and non-Christian alike. Goodall has expressed this viewpoint in the following way:

'Education, from the Christian standpoint, is an essential way of witnessing to the Truth; it is a process by which children may be led into that fullness of life which is part of the Gospel's meaning for mankind. From this standpoint, missionaries are under an obligation to educate, just as they are under an obligation to evangelise. The two processes are so inseparable as to be indistinguishable. This policy places emphasis on the obligation to make available in

Christ's name an "education for life". Explicit decisions for Christ may or may not follow; the obligation to educate stands in its own right.' (40)

Differences of approach and of emphasis undoubtedly existed among missionaries. It would be unrealistic, however, to attempt to categorise rigidly the early missionary societies or to impose a pattern where none existed. Few societies defined their educational policies in specific terms. Where a policy existed, its implementation, or otherwise, depended on the individual missionary on the widely separated stations, which were visited only on rare occasions by those responsible for formulating policy. Thus the Rev R. D. McMinn of Lubwa, who regarded the aim of education solely as 'increasing the ability to understand the Scriptures', was responsible to the enlightened educationist, Robert Laws, who built at Livingstonia an institution which provided the richest and most varied form of education in Central Africa. The work of Bernard Turner and Mabel Shaw at Mbereshi was admirable, but many of the L.M.S. schools provided no practical instruction for either the boys or the girls. Similarly, the ploughs, improved seeds, and breeding bulls which Joseph Moreau introduced at Chikuni should not lead us to believe that all the Jesuit schools were a hive of agricultural activity. The educational aims which were pursued, and the practices which were followed, hinged to a very large extent on the personalities and interests of individual missionaries and on the assistance which they were able to obtain from their home committee. Some societies were able to send a succession of trained teachers to the mission field, although there were very few of these in the early years. Others were able to attract artisans to mission service and these started schemes of industrial training on the stations. Some were chronically short of staff, and the men on the spot had to do the best they could within their personal limitations.

It was this same factor of human and financial resources which largely accounted for the difference between the missionary societies in the speed with which they expanded their educational work. The smaller societies, such as the South African Baptists, the Church of Christ, the South Africa General Mission, the Brethren in Christ, the Salvation Army and the Pilgrim Holiness Church had neither the men nor the money to provide anything more than a skeletal educational service in their areas. Similar considerations limited the expansion of the medium-sized societies, the Paris Mission, the Methodists, the U.M.C.A., the C.M.M.L., the Seventh Day Adventists, and, rather later, the Franciscans.

In the case of the Paris Mission, however, it was not purely a question of resources which controlled the development of the Mission's educational activities. François Coillard clearly saw the importance of establishing a firm base before attempting to provide an ambitious educational scheme which he might not be able to control. With him, quality came before quantity. By 1902, fifteen years after he opened his mission at Sefula, Coillard had only five schools operating in

the surrounding villages. Coillard was not content to make his pupils literate and then to return them to the village. He aimed to provide a higher form of education for those who could profit by it. Thus, as early as 1890 Coillard sent Paramount Chief Lewanika's son and four other of his brightest pupils to his Mission's training school in Basutoland. A little later in 1898, the Paris Mission started an English class at Mabumbu mission for young men who wanted to 'complete' their education. This grew into the first teacher training school in the country. In 1902, again at Coillard's instigation, the first trades school was started at another P.E.M.S. station. True, it did not survive for long, but it is indicative of the educational philosophy of the Paris Mission that the attempt was made. Indeed, the quality of the education offered in the schools of the Paris Mission, and the pioneer work of the Barotse National School, gave to the Lozi people an educational advantage which lasted for several decades and aroused the jealousy of those tribes which were not so well served by their missionaries.

The urge to expand, even when the means to control and supervise the schools were not available, was irresistible to many of the societies. It arose in part from the desire to bring the Word of God to as many people as possible, and partly because the headmen of the villages in some areas specifically asked for schools for their people. Douglas Gray of the Wesleyan Methodists was certain that education was the only force that 'could free these people from the bondage of darkness and fear'. In 1922, he opened six village schools, but had to report, 'we are still faced with over twenty villages where the chiefs and headmen have begged us to send them evangelists.' (41). A similar problem faced the U.M.C.A. The choice lay between concentrating the best of the teachers in a few schools or responding to the call of the village headmen and staffing a larger number of schools with teachers who themselves were scarcely literate. Close supervision, it was hoped, would enable reasonable standards to be maintained in the out-schools, even if these were staffed by untrained teachers. Such supervision frequently proved impossible, and the schools suffered. When a situation of this sort arose in 1918, Bishop May closed all the schools in the Msoro area and recalled the teachers for eighteen months' further education and training.

It was the largest societies which, as might be expected, expanded their educational work most rapidly and even, at times, recklessly. Of the two thousand or so schools in operation in 1925, more than half were under the control of the White Fathers (554) and the Dutch Reformed Church (448). The next largest societies, in terms of schools, were the Church of Scotland (308) and the London Missionary Society (280) (42). The management of the remaining 400 schools was divided between the eleven smaller groups and the Barotse National School. This extraordinarily rapid rate of expansion by the four 'giants' of the missionary scene owed a great deal to the superior resources, financial and personnel, which these societies were able to command, enabling them to extend their programme of evangelisation over very wide areas.

Another factor, undoubtedly, was the fierce competition which developed among the societies for securing adherents. The early administrators of the country attempted to define 'spheres of influence' and to ensure that not more than one society operated in the same area. When the General Missionary Conference was established, hopes were expressed that the Conference would be able to secure 'gentlemen's agreements' on the areas in which each society would work. These hopes were only partly fulfilled. Societies which had similar beliefs found it easy to co-operate and to prevent duplication of their efforts or overlapping of their work. Thus, the Primitive Methodists and the Paris Mission had no difficulty in co-operating, while the Church of Scotland and the London Missionary Society worked together with similar harmony in the Northern Province. The Anglicans and the Seventh Day Adventists, on the other hand, did not feel able to restrict their activities to defined areas, and considered themselves free to work wherever the Spirit led them. Neither group, however, was strong enough to wage a full-scale denominational war with any of the larger societies. Among the Catholic Orders, of course, the country was divided by the Church authorities and the possibility of disagreement between, for instance, the White Fathers and the Jesuits never arose.

The most serious conflict occurred between the Catholic societies on the one hand and the Presbyterian churches and evangelical groups on the other. Fears were sincerely held and vehemently expressed by the non-Catholics that souls would be lost if the people listened to the message of the Romanists. Among the Catholic Orders, there was an equally strong conviction that the Catholic Church was the sole repository of Christian truth, and that the false teachings of the non-Catholics must be countered at all costs. The doctrinal differences between the Catholics and non-Catholics were such that compromise was not possible. It is true that lip-service was sometimes paid to the idea of gentlemen's agreements, but all the societies maintained that if their adherents moved into another society's area, they had the right to follow them and minister to them. Such instances, of which there were many, led to accusations of 'poaching', and the situation frequently deteriorated into one of open denominational warfare. The schools were the chief weapon in this battle, where the aim of the protagonists was to deploy their teachers in such a way that they occupied the field before the opposition arrived on the scene. A resounding victory over the opposition and a rapidly growing number of adherents or baptised members made a good impression on the Church committees overseas who supported the mission financially. No area of the country was completely free from this type of contest, which brought credit to no-one and discredit to many. Perhaps the most vicious and protracted battles took place in the Eastern Province between the White Fathers and the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, and in the Northern Province where the London Missionary Society and the Church of Scotland bitterly resented the intrusion of the Catholics, again in the persons of the White Fathers, into 'their' areas.

The consequence of these denominational conflicts was that the greatest numbers of schools were provided in those areas where inter-church rivalries were keenest. Schools were opened not as a result of a rational form of education planning, but as tactical moves by the competing societies. A headman in the Eastern or Northern Provinces who showed any interest in education, was assured of having a school established in his village by one or other of the rival societies. Sometimes, in fact, two schools, each run by a different denomination, were opened at either end of the same village. In stark contrast, in the North Western Province, where the Brethren and the South Africa General Mission co-operated in order to provide as good an educational service as their very limited resources allowed, villagers sometimes waited decades for a school.

Another and more beneficial consequence of keen competition was that the societies vied with each other to provide more advanced forms of primary education, and simple forms of further training for selected pupils. For instance, the educational efforts of the Church of Scotland were of a comparatively modest nature until the White Fathers began to operate in areas where the Scots had previously enjoyed a monopoly interest. It was in response to the challenge from Rome that the Foreign Mission Committee in Edinburgh supported the Rev Maxwell Robertson in his endeavours to develop a strong teacher training institution at Lubwa mission, to encourage middle schools in the villages, and to agitate for a form of secondary education for his brightest pupils. It was as much the challenge from the White Fathers as the farsightedness and energy of Maxwell Robertson which raised the quality of the Church of Scotland's educational work and gave the people of Chinsali District perhaps the best educational opportunities in the whole country. In those areas, however, where one voluntary agency enjoyed exclusive occupation of the field, simple literacy was usually deemed to be an adequate fare to offer to those who came to school. As late as the 1940's, Singleton Fisher, a Brethren missionary in Mwinilunga District, could write: 'The majority of the pupils have learned enough after 18 months of school to read the Lunda New Testament and to write a fair letter. In this part of the mission field this is regarded as sufficient head knowledge for the average boy or girl.' (43)

While the bitter and unedifying conflicts between the denominations often led to absurd duplication of effort and unnecessary expenditure of time and energy on the part of the missionaries on both sides, it cannot be denied that their rivalries sometimes resulted in an improvement in both the quantity and quality of the education which was provided in the areas in dispute.

### **The Response of the People**

We have seen that great importance was attached by the missionaries of all denominations to education as a major indispensable weapon in the battle against heathenism, as they understood it. The scope and effectiveness of their educational

efforts, as has already been noted, varied enormously. In part this was due to the differences between the societies in terms of their size and strength, and partly to the response the missionaries obtained from the people among whom they were working. What was the reaction of tribal society to these strange alien institutions called schools which suddenly appeared in their midst? How did communities respond when a white man came to their village and announced his intention of starting a school where they could not only learn to read and write (which their ancestors had never done), but also win eternal life through the redeeming love of the white man's God?

When the missionary met what he deemed to be his flock, two civilizations, each with its own traditions, scale of values, cultural heritage and economic system, met face to face. The typical missionary came from a bustling, and rapidly developing industrial society whose expansion depended on individual enterprise, technological innovation and capital investment. He stood for a creed of individual salvation through the love of Christ. He represented the values of the Christian and monogamous family; he advocated abstinence from alcoholic drink and continence in sexual relationships; he regarded dancing as immoral and considered that drumming was likely to arouse passion and lead to licentious behaviour. Industry and thrift were two of the virtues he most prized.

The African, on the other hand, saw himself not as an individual but as a member of an extended family which was itself part of the clan and tribe. He knew how to propitiate the spirits and usually felt no need to substitute the white man's Christ for the tribal pantheon. His economic ambition was limited to the provision of the simple needs, primarily food and shelter, of his family and the community. His capital, if he had any, was measured in cattle or well-stocked grain bins, a few simple tools, and, perhaps, some cowrie shells or beads. He practised polygamy because additional wives were valuable in the running of the home and the growing of crops, and it was absurd that women capable of bearing children should remain unmarried. He drank the beer his wife brewed and danced to the drums his friends played, to celebrate a festival, to drive away evil spirits, to rouse his martial spirit before battle, or simply to relieve the monotony of life in the way he knew best. He worked as hard as he had to, but enjoyed sitting with his friends exchanging the news of the day, or playing with his children. Life was too hard and uncertain to spend time in storing up surpluses for a tomorrow which might never come; in any case, the thrifty man would be regarded as mean or might inspire jealousy among his neighbours.

In view of this cultural chasm which separated the old and new civilizations, it is not surprising that fear of 'a new thing' and suspicion of the motives of the missionaries spelled the doom of many early attempts to open schools. Some societies were more successful than others in their educational endeavours, especially when they had first obtained the support of a powerful chief and his elders. Thus, Coillard's carefully nurtured friendship with Paramount Chief



Lewanika of the Lozi, Bishop Dupont's influence over the Bemba Chief Mwamba, and the support given to the Dutch Reformed Church by Paramount Chief Mpezeni of the Ngoni were important factors in paving the way for the opening of schools.

But close association with a powerful chief was not an unmixed blessing, by any means. Coillard, for instance, was accused of having persuaded Lewanika into signing the treaties which gave away valuable rights to the British South Africa Company. In retaliation, the Lozi people refused to send their children to school and Coillard feared that he would be forced to leave the country. Bishop Dupont's friendly relations with Chief Mwamba who, it was claimed, went so far as to name the bishop as his successor, aroused the implacable hostility of Paramount Chief Chitimukulu and other Bemba chiefs. Whether they liked it or not, the missionaries constituted a new factor in tribal power politics. In common with the traders, they frequently became involved in local political calculations. It was not always possible to maintain a position of neutrality between rival factions. Some did not attempt to do so. When circumstances forced them to align themselves with one group against another, the missionaries made enemies as well as friends with consequent detriment to their educational efforts.

There was another context in which some of the societies became politically involved. Cecil Rhodes encouraged the societies to cross the Limpopo River and to proceed into the two territories which bore his name on the grounds that the missionaries contributed to the maintenance of law and order. 'Missionaries,' he once remarked, 'are better than policemen, and cheaper.' (44) The work of evangelism could go forward only in peaceful conditions and the views of the missionaries, therefore, coincided with those of the Administration concerning the desirability of establishing and maintaining law and order. Sometimes harsh and unpopular measures were taken by the Administration in dealing with what they considered to be unruly or disobedient elements in the population. Where a society was closely identified in the public mind with the Administration, the missionaries were held to be responsible for repressive legislation or the imposition of taxes, and their schools as well as their churches were boycotted. An extreme example occurred in areas of the Northern Province where some of the early missionaries of the London Missionary Society found themselves fulfilling the roles of civil administrators and justices. In almost every sense of the term they constituted the government of the area. They heard cases and imposed punishments, flogging those whose offences, such as adultery or theft, were deemed to be serious. Not surprisingly, the Society rapidly lost adherents and its schools were shortlived. It was many years before the people were prepared to forgive this ill-conceived attempt to combine pastoral and secular functions and to support the L.M.S. schools whole-heartedly.

In many cases, it was curiosity, and the lack of anything better to do, that impelled people to school in the first instance. When the teaching was adequate,

and the initial interest could be maintained, the school was likely to take root and flourish, always provided it did not attempt to continue in the seasons when all available hands were needed in the village gardens, or to gather caterpillars, mushrooms, or wild fruits, or to catch fish.

For a long time schools were regarded as places to go to when there was nothing more pressing to be attended to in the tribal economy. Attendance was highly irregular and there were many disappointments for the mission educationists. The crux of the matter was that there was little to motivate the people to become educated. What could they do with their education, this strange transplant from an alien culture, once they had laboriously acquired the rudiments of literacy and numeracy? What was the value of spending so much time attending school merely in order to be able to read the Europeans' Book? This down-to-earth, utilitarian attitude persisted in many areas for decades. Until the practical advantages of education became apparent, the reaction of many Africans to educational opportunities was one of indifference, if not of hostility. It was generally the missionaries who were enthusiastic to impart education, not the African population to receive it. Not until employment opportunities demanding a degree of education became available in the 1930's and 1940's can it be said that there was a popular upsurge of demand for increased educational opportunities in Northern Rhodesia. Even then the demand was by no means evenly spread throughout the country.

In a number of other African countries, there is evidence to show that the dominant warrior tribes rejected education while the subservient, vassal tribes embraced it eagerly. In Southern Rhodesia, for instance, the fiercely independent and warlike Matabele people scorned the attempts of the early missionaries to persuade them to send their children to school. The Mashona, on the other hand, a peaceful people, long harried and raided by the Matabele, were much more receptive to the missionaries' educational efforts. Similarly, in Kenya, the Kikuyu rapidly saw the advantages of education, and in the course of time established themselves as the dominant tribe in that country. By contrast, the Masai, a proud warrior people, for decades refused to have any truck with the mission educationists and subsided into a pathetic shadow of their former greatness. Similar examples can be found in some other countries; but this was not the pattern in Northern Rhodesia. The warrior tribes such as the Ngoni, the Bemba and the Lozi saw no reason to reject education. By contrast, it was some of the weaker or traditionally subservient tribes such as the Ila, the Lamba, and the Senga who proved the most reluctant to take at all seriously the schools which were hopefully opened in their areas.

This response to the early mission schools seems to have had little or nothing to do with the traditional strength or weakness of the tribes. Attitudes towards education were governed largely by economic considerations. Where a school was considered by the community to have scant relevance to their socio-economic pattern, there was little the mission educationists could do about it. 'Our

cattle are our school,' the Ila headmen told the Primitive Methodists who complained that their schools were not supported. (45) Fishermen, too, like the Ushi who lived in the swamps of Lake Bangweulu, were content to lead the same sort of life as their ancestors had done for generations before them. They generally rejected the Gospel message as irrelevant, and ignored the schools which the missionaries provided for them.

Undismayed by the frequently apathetic response to their educational efforts, the missionaries persevered, often offering free food, clothing, and blankets to pupils who would live at the station schools as boarders. When interest in a school increased and attendance was good, the wise missionary recognised that these manifestations of educational zeal were not to be interpreted as indicating a yearning for the Christian Gospel. For the most part, a demand for education was a secular demand arising from a belief that the ability to read, write and count would lead to paid employment in Government service, as store assistants or as house-servants. There were villagers who thought that the source of the European's power and authority must lie in his extraordinary capacity to read and write. If the African could master reading and writing, he, too, might enjoy the same privileges. Traditional respect for wisdom and cunning is reflected in tribal history and animal fables. Kalulu the hare, and Fulwe the tortoise, are heroes of countless adventures against larger and stronger animals in the bush. It is implicit in such stories that it is the mind and not the body that counts in the last resort. For those who reasoned in this way, education offered the best means of sharpening the mind and of laying the foundations of material success. (46)

But even if the motives of their pupils were often entirely non-religious, the missionaries welcomed them to school. Some were prepared to include English in the school curriculum when the pupils demanded this as the subject most likely to improve their prospects of obtaining employment. There was always the possibility that the Christian message might get across even though the pupils were attending school for purely material motives. As one missionary put it: 'We fully recognise that the increasing desire for education is not at all generally prompted by a desire for spiritual things. But when these people ask to be taught to read, what a wonderful opportunity we have of teaching them and placing the Word of God in their hands.' (47) Regarded in this light, the schools (like the mission dispensaries and hospitals in some instances) were a sort of carrot dangled before the eyes of the people whom the missionaries hoped would eventually be won over to Christ.

So, for their own reasons, the missionaries opened schools, and so, often for completely different reasons, the people attended the schools or stayed away. Gradually, a patchy network of schools was provided across the country, not as the result of a co-ordinated development plan, but according to the resources of the different missionary societies and local circumstances. Inevitably, the development of education was very uneven. People in some parts of the country suffer

to this day from the effects of the unenlightened educational policies of the missionaries who settled in their area half a century and more ago, and the exiguous resources of the society which sent them. Others have reason to be thankful that their area was served by progressive missionaries supported by a forceful home committee of their church which was financially sound and able to attract a steady flow of not only educationists but also doctors, nurses, ministers and lay-workers.

All parts of the country were exposed to the new culture which the missionaries purveyed even though it was spread very thinly in some areas. The fact that there was not another major religion already established in Northern Rhodesia facilitated the penetration of the Christian missionaries into all corners of the country.

If there was resistance to the new education in some areas, it was apparent by 1925 that the missionary societies had achieved very considerable success, at least in terms of numbers, in transplanting western education in Northern Rhodesia. In that year, as we have seen, some 100,000 people were enrolled in schools out of a total population, children and adults, which did not exceed two million. It was increasingly apparent that the traditional education, practised for centuries, no longer provided an adequate preparation for life in the changing economic and social conditions. The growing recognition of the material benefits which could flow from the teaching provided at the mission school was reinforced by the experience of Northern Rhodesians who returned from employment on the farms of Southern Rhodesia or the mines of South Africa, or who fought or carried loads in the East African campaign of the 1914-18 War. Henceforth, the traditional and western forms of education would exist side by side and, in preparing for adult life, the ambitious child would require to become familiar with aspects of the new culture imparted by the missionaries as well as that of his forefathers.

Although we may smile at the many inefficient aspects of the early mission schools, there can be no doubt that their overall effect on Northern Rhodesian society was tremendously important. No other medium exerted such a powerful influence on the country's life, social, economic, political and cultural, as well as religious, as the school. The humble mission schools, extending to the most remote village, purveyed, however imperfectly, a new culture, a new scale of standards and values, which challenged traditional society at its very roots. Like all innovations, the new education had potential for good as well as for ill. The effect on the old cultural pattern was explosively disruptive; it alienated many students from their background; it weakened the African personality; it aroused aspirations which could not be satisfied; it hastened the erosion of the tribal economy and political structure. At the same time, it brought to the country the Gospel of Jesus Christ; it gave access to the experience and benefits of western civilization; above all, it provided, in the long run, the basis on which the development of a new nation, Zambia, could be successfully built.

Some account of how these schools were established, and of the missionary societies which ran them, is given in the following chapters.

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## CHAPTER II

### EARLY MISSIONARY SETTLEMENT, TO 1900

- (i) Fred Arnot and the First School, 1883
- (ii) The London Missionary Society: Entry from the North-East, 1883
- (iii) François Coillard and the Paris Evangelical Mission, 1885
- (iv) The Primitive Methodists: A Struggle to Survive, 1893
- (v) Entry from Nyasaland: the United Free Church of Scotland, 1895
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#### (i) FRED ARNOT AND THE FIRST SCHOOL, 1883

Frederick Stanley Arnot was one of the truly great missionaries of the pioneer period. His story belongs perhaps more to Angola and to Zaire than to Northern Rhodesia, for it was in those countries that he spent most of his period of missionary service. Nevertheless, his years in Northern Rhodesia were full of excitement and interest and to Arnot goes the credit of opening the first school in the country.

Born in 1858, Arnot had played with Livingstone's children when the two families were neighbours in Hamilton, Scotland. Inspired by hearing Livingstone speak at a prize-giving ceremony, he decided while still a child 'to go to help that great man in his work' (1), and if no one gave him the money to go to Africa, he would swim. Arnot left school at the age of fifteen, and became a steadfast believer in the fundamentalist faith of the Open or Plymouth Brethren, a group which had started in about 1830. The Brethren stand for a simple, world-renouncing piety and the infallibility of the Bible; they look for the speedy Second Coming of Christ, and reject a professional, ordained ministry. Young Arnot earned his living by working in a local ship-building yard and then in a linen warehouse; but his boyhood ambition to become a missionary never left him. With dour thoroughness, and admirable foresight, he prepared himself for his African journeys by going on long cross-country walks, using a compass, by learning to make shoes and

clothes and to repair watches. He also gained some proficiency as a blacksmith and as a carpenter, and studied simple medicine. At last he felt ready to begin his work as a missionary and, with the financial assistance of his Brethren friends, set sail for Africa.

When he arrived in Durban in 1882, not quite 24 years old, Arnot's aim was to establish a mission station somewhere along the Upper Zambezi river. Once this had been accomplished, he hoped to summon reinforcements and to continue the cause proclaimed so boldly by Livingstone. As he made his way northwards, he decided to begin evangelising among the Toka and Tonga people who lived near the Victoria Falls. Before he could do so, it was necessary to obtain the permission of Lewanika, King of the Barotse people. Thus it was that on November 20, 1882, after a hazardous and exhausting journey, Arnot arrived at Lealui, the capital of Lewanika's kingdom. Steeped though he was in details of Livingstone's experiences in the area twenty years previously, Arnot was nevertheless shocked by the Barotse's customs and mode of living. His journals and his letters to the *Missionary Echo*, a Brethren periodical, convey a vivid picture of his life among the Barotse, the people he now decided to evangelise. With no anthropological training nor understanding of the meaning or origins of many of the customs he observed, Arnot could find no redeeming features among the Lozi people.

He wrote:

'The depths of their heathendom seems unfathomable; it is a nation of secret bloodshed, superstition and enchantments.' (2)

Again, 'Covetousness is the ruling passion of these natives. A man will kill another for his coat. The details of scenes I have been forced to witness are too horrible to put on paper. A few yards from my hut lies a perfect Golgotha of skulls and human bones.' (3)

To the youthful Arnot, who had no experience of teaching but who had great faith in the character-moulding qualities of education, it was clear that a school could do nothing but good for the Barotse. As soon as he had learned enough of the language, he approached Lewanika to ask for permission to open a school. Lewanika, pre-occupied with the affairs of his unruly kingdom, expressed no enthusiasm for a school but did not explicitly forbid Arnot to begin one. This was enough for the impetuous Arnot.

'I went to the King's eldest son,' he recorded, 'and some of his other boys, and to some fathers to get their sons. In a few days, three boys came, the king's son, a nephew and another lad. This was my beginning.'

The nephew, however, was irregular in his attendance and Arnot went

to Lewanika to complain. 'The king turned to one of his servants and ordered him to go and tell his nephew that he must attend school at once and regularly. From this I saw that I had got his full consent to carry on a school.' (4)

In this way, at Limulunga, Lewanika's summer capital, the first school in Northern Rhodesia opened in March, 1883, with an enrolment of three pupils, all boys, and one teacher, untrained and with a very imperfect command of the language of instruction.

Arnot's problems were only just beginning, and the school's first term did not last long. Neither parents nor pupils (who grew in number) had any experience of regular attendance at school and truancy was common. On April 8, 1883, Arnot noted:

"The boys learn pretty well, but it requires patience and perseverance to look after them. Hunting a young truant from house to house under a hot sun is not pleasant. The parents show little interest, in fact they have little influence over their children. The leather thong rules the family above a certain age.' (5)

Lewanika wanted to know what Arnot was teaching. The missionary wrote his journal:

'I spoke to him of sin, death and judgment, and of God's love in the gift of His Son and he listened attentively. "This," I said, "was my first and chief message, besides which I wanted to teach the children to read and write; also all about the world they live in, and other things the white men know which are good for all people to know." The king then said, "Yes, yes, that is good, to read, write and to know numbers. But don't, don't teach them the Word of God; it's not nice. No, no, you must not teach that in this country".' (6)

After this conversation, revealing the clash of interests in education between the African chief and the European missionary, which was to endure in one shape or another for many years, Arnot continued his school, with rather more emphasis on the secular subjects, for another two months before an eye complaint forced him to close the school.

In June, 1883, Arnot went south to Bechuanaland to re-provision himself. He reached Lealui again in October, and shortly afterwards Lewanika sent him eight boys to be taught, two being his own sons, ranging in age from 8 to 15. Arnot, refreshed after his journey, recorded enthusiastically:

'Besides teaching the boys the alphabet and numbers, I read a little

from the New Testament and try to explain it to them. We get on famously. How different everything is this year from last! My health could not be better; the people small and great are kind and thoughtful and do their best to make me comfortable. The king has given me a present of a cow and a calf, a parrot from the West Coast, a little slave boy (free now) and a handsome waterproof coat brought to him by a Portuguese.' (7)

A grim note crept into his journal in December, 1883.

'A great many men have been killed here lately, big men as well as slaves, for the most absurd reasons and superstitions. The saddest thing in connection with my school is that most of the boys who come are under a secret sentence of death. The poor boys themselves know it, but make as light of it as possible. One is the son of Sepopo, a former king killed by his people here; two sons of Wanawoma, a later king also killed; the two sons of the present king. It is considered by the nation that it is not safe for these boys to live, so they will be speared when they reach young manhood. I mean to set myself to save the lives of these boys if I can.' (8)

The later history of Arnot's young scholars is not known, but two of them at least avoided the fate which their teacher imagined was in store for them. The King's son, Litia, succeeded Lewanika as Yeta III, and his friend, Mukamba, became the first Christian Prime Minister of the Barotse.

Arnot's school continued, in fits and starts, until May 1884, when, troubled by persistent illness, alarmed at the rumours of impending civil war, and depressed at the insignificant effect of his work among the Barotse, he decided to leave Lealui and to seek a more rewarding mission field. Within a few weeks, Arnot with his boyish enthusiasm and his persuasive charm, was forgotten, as the Barotse nation was rocked by a revolution which temporarily toppled Lewanika from power and plunged the country into bloody civil war. Nevertheless, a seed had been planted and, though no trace of his school remained, Arnot had broken down the first barriers of resistance and eased the task of the next group of missionaries who would try to bring education to the Barotse people.

Arnot went westwards to Benguela, and eventually found an opening for his work in Katanga at Garenganze. Largely as a result of his inspiration, the Open Brethren subsequently established mission stations in Angola from Benguela to Kalunda, and across Northern Rhodesia from Kalene Hill to Johnston Falls.

## (ii) THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY: ENTRY FROM THE NORTH-EAST, 1883

Whereas most missionary societies were denominational, the Missionary Society, generally known as the London Missionary Society, was interdenominational, and aimed at encouraging unity among Christian evangelists. Founded in 1795, the fundamental principle of the Society was 'to send out not Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy or any other form of Church Order and Government, but the glorious Gospel of the Blessed God.' (9) Although some of the churches which supported the L.M.S. in the early years subsequently formed denominational societies of their own, the ecumenical or catholic spirit continued to be the corner stone of the policy of the L.M.S. For some years the Society drew its personnel and financial support almost entirely from the Congregational Churches. In 1972, the Congregationalists joined with the Presbyterian Church of England to form the United Reformed Church, and the L.M.S. became part of the Council for World Mission.

In 1796, the first group of L.M.S. missionaries set sail for Tahiti and Tonga. Other fields of endeavour were China, the West Indies, Madagascar, India and Papua. The Society's activities in South Africa date from 1799. In 1817, the early L.M.S. pioneers were joined by Robert Moffat, a gardener from near Edinburgh, destined to be one of the greatest missionaries of all time. Moffat founded a mission station at Kuruman, in the north of Cape Province, where he was joined in 1841 by David Livingstone, who four years later married Moffat's daughter, Mary. Following Livingstone's exploration of the country north of the Zambezi River, Moffat despatched from Kuruman in 1859 a party which would endeavour to start missionary work among the Barotse people. The expedition, under the leadership of the Rev Holloway Helmore and the Rev Roger Price, met with disaster before it reached the Zambezi. Out of a party of eighteen, only three escaped with their lives, the remainder succumbing to the effects of shortages of food and water, malaria, the hostile reception given them by Chief Sekeletu of the Makololo, and their own mismanagement and ill-preparedness. After this tragic set-back, the society made no further attempts to enter Northern Rhodesia from the south.

At the end of 1875, two years after Livingstone's death, a Leeds philanthropist named Robert Arthington gave £5000 to the L.M.S. for the founding of a Livingstone Memorial Mission to Lake Tanganyika. The Society planned to establish a base at Ujiji on the eastern shore of the Lake and then to look for suitable sites for mission stations. In June, 1877, a party of six missionaries set off in bullock wagons from Saandani, on the coast opposite Zanzibar, and began a journey of nearly 1300 kilometres through hostile country, much of it infested with tsetse fly. After a most hazardous journey, three survivors (who included the Rev Roger Price of the disastrous Helmore-Price expedition of 1859) reached Ujiji in August, 1878. Two stations were established in Tanganyika; and Captain Edward

Hore, the leader of the group, began to visit and teach the people dwelling on the lake shore. On one of his journeys, Hore selected the mouth of the Lofu (or Lufubu) River as a suitable site for the Society's operations at the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. The first L.M.S. mission station in Northern Rhodesia was founded on the Lofu estuary in 1883, and a second was added at Niamkolo, near the present-day Mpulungu, in 1885.

In the meantime, the Society had become increasingly worried by the dangers of their long drawn-out supply route from Ujiji to the coast, and were considering the possibilities of utilising the route to Lake Tanganyika that proceeded via the Zambezi and Shire rivers and Lake Nyasa. They accepted a donation of £4000 from James Stevenson, a Glasgow benefactor, for the construction of a road between Karonga, near the north end of Lake Nyasa, to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. The first major item of freight to be carried along the so-called Stevenson Road was a 16 metre steam yacht, the *Good News*. Constructed in Scotland, and then carefully dismantled into sections, the *Good News* was sent by the African Lakes Company by river boat up the Zambezi and Shire Rivers, by carriers to Lake Nyasa, by ship to Karonga, and then by carriers again to the Society's Lofu station. The first sections arrived in October, 1883, but nearly two more years were to elapse before it could be launched.

But the policy of itinerating round Lake Tanganyika's shore failed to produce worthwhile results. Furthermore, the lake climate was unhealthy. Fever and death kept the number of missionaries low and there were those who urged that the Society should cut its losses and retire from the field. This view was strongly opposed by Wardlaw Thompson, Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S. Declared Thompson:

'The Lord Jesus asks His people to bear the heavy cross with Him. It would be the basest cowardice and ingratitude to falter and fall back as soon as we begin to feel the pressure of its weight. It is true that the loss of life in connection with the establishment of this Mission has been very serious, but none more so than has occurred more than once in the establishment of other Missions of the Society. Already in New Guinea more than double the number of workers who have died in Central Africa have laid down their lives as the result of disease, or by the hand of man.' (10)

It became increasingly apparent that the Society's efforts should not be dispersed over a wide area, but should be concentrated on a few permanent stations, preferably in healthy situations. There was also the unpalatable fact that the missionaries were having remarkably little success in their work among the Lungu people on the lake shore. Thus, at the end of 1886, a mission station was established by the Rev D. Picton Jones and his wife at Fwambo, 48 kilometres inland from the

south end of the lake, high on the plateau, and among the Mambwe people. In 1890, this was moved to a more healthy site at Kawimbe, a few kilometres away.

As a result of continual difficulties created by the Arab slave trade and tribal warfare, the L.M.S. stations in Tanganyika proved generally unsuccessful. The final straw was the closing of the supply route from Saandani to Ujiji following disturbances arising from the German occupation of Tanganyika. At last, in 1898, the London Missionary Society handed over its work in Tanganyika to the Moravian Mission, and thereafter concentrated its efforts on Northern Rhodesia.

In March, 1889, the Rev Jones opened a school at Fwambo, and several youths arrived to enrol. Jones' approach to his pupils was blunt. School, he explained, was a form of work for which the workers would receive no calico. This school was shortlived. Similar disappointment fell to Mr and Mrs James Hemans, a couple from Jamaica, who spent more than ten years at Niamkolo and had the utmost difficulty in finding pupils who would attend school for long enough to be made literate.

Undeterred by these educational set-backs, Jones devoted his attention to translation work in which he was outstandingly successful. It was he who reduced Cimambwe to writing, wrote an outline grammar, and completed the translation of the New Testament by 1901. His earlier translations of the Gospels were printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, which performed a similar service for many other missionary societies. Dr Charles Mather, a colleague of Jones, was another outstanding linguist, but is remembered primarily for founding the first leper settlement in the country. In 1893, he reported the building and occupation of a small hamlet outside the mission station for 'outcasts suffering from a disease resembling leprosy. There are seven houses in it and some twenty people living in them at present. They are receiving medicine and a school is held for them, and we have worship with them on Sunday morning.' (11) Thus began the first, if modest, school for lepers in Northern Rhodesia.

Two years later, on the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Society, Mather reported on the efforts he and his colleagues were making to provide a form of industrial training:

'Youths and young men are taken and carefully instructed in carpentering, elementary iron work, how to make bricks and burn lime and weave rope, how to build in brick or stone or wood, and other matters as sawing wood, managing a boat, etc., thus cultivating any inherent talent they may have and making them of great use to the mission, and later on it may be to other white men who may come and settle as the country develops. During the period of mechanical training, they also attend school and there receive instruction in Scripture, in reading, writing and arithmetic.' (12)

Alas, Dr Mather died from cerebral malaria at the age of 40 in 1898, the seventeenth victim in the missionaries' ranks since 1877. A further fourteen were invalidated home in the same period.

A feature of the mission stations of the L.M.S. in these early days, when the Company's administration had not reached, or only nominally reached, the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, was the growth of stockaded settlements around the missions. The people, frightened of the Arab slave-traders, and raiding Bembas, clustered for protection around the European missionaries. This practice at least gave the missionaries a captive congregation and pupils for the first schools, but brought in its wake secular commitments which could not be satisfactorily reconciled with evangelism. Administrative and judicial functions became part and parcel of the missionaries' duties. The relationship which was thereby created between the missionary and his flock was not always conducive to the teaching of the Gospel or of the 'three R's'.

In spite of numerous difficulties, the Society expanded its activities in a westerly direction. In 1894, Jones and W. H. Nutt, an artisan, established a new station at Kambole on the western edge of the plateau and within easy reach of the heavy population in the Yendwe Valley. The year 1899 saw the first L.M.S. settlement in Bemba country. A sub-station was founded at Mporokoso under the care of Joseph Kalulu, a former slave who had been trained by the Society as a teacher in Tanganyika. In 1908, a missionary was sent to start a full-scale station at Mporokoso. Subsequently, this was named Kashinda.

A further advance was made in 1900 when Adam Purves set out from Kawimbe at the head of a group of specially-trained young Mambwe men to the kingdom of Paramount Chief Kazembe of the Lunda tribe. The party included David Kawamdami (a teacher), Palakata (a sawyer), Mulala (headman), Chikasa and Mofu (herdsmen). Their route lay through the country of their traditional enemies, the Bemba, and it was a long and difficult journey. Success rewarded their efforts, and Chief Kazembe agreed to accept a mission station near his village. A site above the Mbereshi River was selected and a school was opened almost immediately by David Kawamdami who had completed half a century's service at Mbereshi when he died in 1950.

Two other stations were established by the L.M.S.; one in 1922 by Dr H. Wareham at Kafulwe on the shores of Lake Mweru, and the other in 1923 by the Rev Govan Robertson at Senga Hill, some 65 kilometres south of Abercorn.

The early educational work of the L.M.S. was very similar to that of other societies. First the missionaries had to learn the language and then persuade a group of young men to attend the station school. In the school house, which was used as a church on Sundays, the missionary was the teacher and the class were taught the rudiments of the three 'R's', religious instruction, singing and some hygiene. The students were usually boarded and clothed at the mission's expense, and, in return for their keep, did manual work about the mission station. When



they were considered to be fully literate, these first students were sent as teachers to open up village schools in the surrounding area. These schools, held under a tree or in a grass enclosure, were essentially simple and usually remained opened for only two months, the teacher then moving on to another village, his worldly belongings and his professional equipment packed in a *Venesta* box which he carried on his head. His pay, if he had passed the equivalent of Standard I, was 2/6 per month in the early years of the century. Those with lower qualifications began with 1/- per month. It was the responsibility of the village headman and parents to provide his food and to give him a house. Bright students were sent to the station school for Standards I and II, and the very best were persuaded to go to Livingstonia Mission in Nyasaland for higher academic work and training. The bulk of the teachers, however, were trained on the L.M.S. stations. Each year they were called in to the mission station for three months' 'teachers' school', and then went out to teach and preach for another six months.

With schools scattered over a large area, supervision of their activities by the missionaries was very difficult. This aspect of the L.M.S. educational work was severely criticised by Dr Robert Laws of Livingstonia and Dr Chisholm of Mwenzo when in 1905 they were asked by the Directors of the Society in London to investigate the affairs of the L.M.S. mission stations. This highly unusual step was taken by the Directors because of their grave concern at reports reaching them of dissension on the mission stations and of reprehensible practices by some of the missionaries. In their report, Laws and Chisholm were very critical of the educational efforts of the L.M.S. and advised that schools should be opened only where reasonably trained teachers were available, where a proper curriculum could be followed, and where adequate supervision could be provided. As a result, the L.M.S. village schools were closed for several months, new teachers were trained and regular visitation was arranged.

Despite these measures, the quality of the village schools remained appallingly low for many years until properly trained teachers became available. The station schools, on the other hand, gradually established themselves and exercised a beneficial influence. Kambole Station, in addition to the ordinary school work, specialised in agricultural training with the objectives of improving the variety and quality of the foodstuffs available to the people, and of encouraging the growing of cash crops. Alarmed by the distressing effects on family life which resulted when husbands and fathers left the village to earn money on the line of rail, the Rev James Ross devoted himself to proving that a man could earn a decent living from following improved agricultural techniques and growing easily-marketed cash crops such as cotton, coffee, flax and sisal, as well as fruit and vegetables for local consumption.

At Mbereshi, special attention was given to industrial training started by the Rev W. Freshwater, and continued and developed for more than a quarter of a century by Bernard Turner. Young men were taught general building, carpentry,

metalwork, boot-repairing, ivory-turning and handicrafts of a high standard. This work at Mbereshi constituted the first systematic attempt at trade-training in the country. The Society saw clearly the need to provide a mission to the 'whole man', and this included the earning of a livelihood. As the Secretary of the Society wrote to a missionary in 1900:

'It is most important that the converts should learn to read, but I think it is even more important that they should learn to live self-respecting, progressive Christian lives. The mission that turns out good carpenters and blacksmiths does more than that which turns out good readers and writers.' (13)

Perhaps the most important contribution made by the London Missionary Society to the development of education in Northern Rhodesia was in the field of female education. Recognising the need to ensure that the advancement of girls and women did not lag behind that of their menfolk, and that it was a job that could be done only by a woman, the Society sent Mabel Shaw, a young school-teacher from the Midlands, to Mbereshi in 1915 'to do women's work'. For the next 25 years, Mabel Shaw worked among women and girls at Mbereshi, and by her success encouraged other missionary societies to acquire the services of similarly dedicated ladies who gradually, across the country, broke down the barriers against girls' education.

Mabel Shaw saw that the best way to begin her work was to take a few girls into boarding school and then to train them as future leaders. It proved very difficult to persuade parents to part with their daughters, and the first group of girls numbered only four. Gradually the people came to trust Miss Shaw, and numbers increased until there were more applicants than there were places available. The success of the Mbereshi Girls' School was due largely to three main factors.

First, the education given at Mbereshi was intimately related to the actual life of the home and the community. Classwork occupied most of the morning, but the girls lived as nearly as possible an ordinary village life, drawing their own water, collecting their own firewood, preparing their own food. Each house consisted of a dozen or so girls, each with a senior girl as house mother. The house mothers were the elders of the village and settled minor disputes, as well as looking after the younger children. All the girls made their own clothes, and learned to sew, knit and crochet. They worked in the gardens, only the heavy digging being done by paid labour. Instruction was given in mothercraft and childcare. It was said that you could pick out the children of Mbereshi-trained mothers from a group of village youngsters because of their cleanliness and good health, and their homes were shining examples of cleanliness.

Secondly, it came to be seen that a girl who had spent some years at

Mbereshi was not only capable of being a superior wife and mother, but she could also go on to make a career for herself in teaching or nursing.

Thirdly, as far as sex education and preparation for marriage was concerned, Mabel Shaw realised that there was a very great deal that was of value in the instruction of the old initiation ceremonies, and that there was a need to preserve this, while eliminating what was evil, and integrate it into the Christian instruction she was giving her girls.

Mabel Shaw combined a flair for organisation with the ability to see wider issues involved in education. Among her colleagues was Winifred Bishop, who joined the Mbereshi Girls' School staff in 1920 and was responsible for the raising of academic standards in the school.

Nowadays, we take for granted the capabilities of African schoolgirls, and the heights to which they can attain. But it needed Mabel Shaw and her colleagues at Mbereshi to prove that these capabilities existed, and to inspire the girls to aspire to these heights. This is the measure of her pioneering work. It was fitting that Mbereshi was selected by the Government as the site of its first girls' secondary school in the Luapula Province. This opened in 1966 in splendid buildings costing £250000, a short distance from the spot where, half a century earlier, Mabel Shaw opened the first Mbereshi Girls' School.

By 1925, the work of the London Missionary Society had expanded to the stage where it had 20 European missionaries engaged on educational activities of one sort or another, and was running 240 schools, mostly village schools, with an enrolment of more than 12000 pupils. (14)

### (iii) FRANCOIS COILLARD AND THE PARIS EVANGELICAL MISSION, 1885

Livingstone's appeals for missionaries to spread the Gospel north of the Zambezi found a response not only in Europe but also in South Africa. The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, founded in 1822, and forced by the Bourbons to work outside the French Empire, had established itself in Basutoland in 1833. Francois Coillard (1833-1904), a Huguenot minister of great moral, courage and evangelical fervour joined the Society in Basutoland in 1857. Three years later he married Christina Mackintosh, daughter of a Baptist minister in Edinburgh.

After twenty years' work among the Basuto, Coillard and his wife were preparing for their first leave in Europe when he was asked by the Basuto Church Synod to lead an expedition to the Shona people. The expedition was thwarted by Lobengula, King of the Matabele, and Coillard then determined that, rather than return to Basutoland in failure, he would trek to the Zambezi River and explore the possibility of founding a mission in Barotseland. He was urged to do so by Khama, King of the Bamangwato, who procured guides for the party and sent ahead a high-ranking chief, Makoatsa, to introduce them to Lewanika, the Barotse ruler. Encouraged by the fact that the Barotse people spoke a language very similar to Sesuto, Coillard and his party reached the Zambezi in April, 1878, and sent a message to Lewanika asking for permission to open a mission station. The reply from Lewanika was encouraging, and Coillard returned to Basutoland in high hopes.

His next step was to visit Europe in 1880 in order to obtain approval from Paris for his proposal, and to raise funds. The Paris committee of the Society was not enthusiastic about undertaking such a venture in so remote a region, but eventually £5000 was raised and in January, 1884, Coillard again left Leribe, the Basuto Mission headquarters, en route to Barotseland. His party consisted of his wife, his niece, the Rev Dorwald Jeanmairet (a young Swiss missionary), George Middleton (an Englishman), William Waddell (a Scot), four Basuto teacher-evangelists (Isaiah, Levi, Aaron and Andreas) and their families.

In August, 1884, Coillard and his party reached the Zambezi only to find that the civil war, the threat of which had hastened Arnot's departure three months previously, had broken out, and that Lewanika was in exile. Nevertheless, Coillard was well received by the usurper, Akufuna, when he reached Lealui in January, 1885, and in September of the same year he was able to open the first mission station in Barotseland at Sesheke, on the Zambezi. Within months Lewanika regained the throne and in March, 1886, Coillard met the King on the river, where, with all his chiefs, Lewanika was paying his annual visit to the graves of his ancestors. Lewanika urged Coillard to start a new station near his capital, Lealui. In January, 1887, leaving Jeanmairet in charge at Sesheke, Coillard and his wife

began to establish themselves at Sefula, a four-hour journey by canoe from Lealui. Sefula is the oldest surviving mission station in the country.

While at Sesheke, Coillard attempted to teach some people to read, with the help of Jeanmaret. In April, 1886, the latter wrote to Mission headquarters:

'The school has no pupils apart from our own workers and a handful of unemployed who change from day to day. I am not speaking of Nguana—Ngombe and Kamburu, two young men in Mr. Coillard's employ who are entirely under his care. They are beginning to read quite well. My pupils, on the other hand, form an essentially floating population and their knowledge does not go far.' (15)

In November, 1886, Coillard was despondent at the lack of interest shown in his educational efforts.

'Indifference is widespread,' he wrote, 'or at least no one wants to progress further in instruction than his superior for fear of punishment. We called the chiefs together to talk to them about founding a regular school. At first they each agreed but suddenly they all began to make excuses like the guests in the parable of the wedding feast. The argument which prevailed was: "what will the king say if we Sesheke people steal a march on those in the Valley?" The result of this veiled opposition has been that the school, which starts each morning after prayers, has consisted of only our own boys and a few irregular visitors. The people of Sesheke have thus refused education for the time being.' (16)

Gloomily, Coillard concluded:

'I cannot conceive how it will ever be possible for us to have a real school. Slavery takes away all individuality from the masses and their masters will never consent to be taught in their company.' (17)

Better things, however, were in store.

Within seven weeks of his arrival at Sefula, Coillard opened a school. Lewanika sent two of his sons and five nephews to be enrolled and other chiefs followed his example. Each pupil was accompanied by one or more servants. The Princess Mpololoa, aged 12, required three such attendants, one to lean against as a cushion, one to hand her slate, pencil, or book, the third to present her back as a writing desk. The children lived in grass huts near the Coillards' house. Feeding so many mouths was a constant worry to Coillard. The young princes brought no food with them. They waylaid villagers bringing food to sell to the mission, and

relieved them of their loads; they raided the grain-bins in surrounding villages; they stole the Coillards' sheep and ate them. Coillard, however, did not lose heart. In his journal, he wrote on May 4, 1887:

'It is perhaps the embryo of our future normal school. Let us not despise small beginnings, but give thanks to God.' (18)

Coillard's journals and letters give a vivid and fascinating account of the early days of the school. His hopes and fears, triumphs and set-backs are faithfully recorded, and his writings provide a revealing insight into this giant among the pioneer missionaries. In November, 1887 he wrote:

'With one or two exceptions we have found it impossible to make voluntary recruits among the surrounding villages. The school is still considered exclusively that of the young princes. Our young men's establishment leaves much to be desired in every respect. Its morality is not exemplary; hunger is its habitual guest. They have nearly finished up our little flock of sheep and goats. Lately they stole my two aneroid barometers, probably to make snuff-boxes. Poor children! They little thought what mischief they were doing me. And yet, if you knew with what cares and prayers we surround this school! People would not believe in Europe, no, not even in Basutoland, the amount of patience and perseverance needed to teach this class of young men. In spite of all our occupations, my wife and I devote a certain time every day helping Aaron (a Basuto teacher) in his irksome task. Five of his pupils already read fluently and some others are making progress. What we need here, and what would do enormous good, is an industrial school.' (19)

In February, 1888, the school closed for eight months while the pupils accompanied the Barotse army which was raiding the Mashukulumbwe, a vassal tribe. Returning in October, they promised to submit to any discipline. 'You can do anything you like with us,' said Litia, Lewanika's heir, 'and the King will feed us.' (20) Lewanika strongly supported the school. He was particularly anxious to see industrial work started for the boys, and bought planes and saws in order that they might be instructed by the layman Waddell. Lewanika himself asked to be taught to read and write and Coillard was delighted and relieved that the Paramount Chief made 'astonishing progress'. In his turn, the King set to work to teach his wives and servants.

Aaron had to return to Basutoland at the end of 1888, and the Coillards and Waddell were left to carry on the school themselves. Thanks to Lewanika's influence, enrolment increased and a number of commoners made their appearance.

The spirit of the school improved. 'You would not think they were the same brigands of last year,' enthused Coillard in December. 'Instead of devouring our sheep, they go on Saturdays to hunt for us and dispute with one another the privilege of rendering us small services.' Three or four hours of lessons were given every day.

'We always feel sorry when the time comes to dismiss them. It is a hard task all the same, to teach 6 children with three blackboards (one of them a box lid covered with wax cloth), four books and six slates. And all that in the open air, amid every kind of distraction. One has to make shift and multiply oneself. The system of monitors suits us admirably.' (21)

By April, 1889, the number of pupils exceeded a hundred. 'Masters and slaves mingle in the class,' Coillard recorded. 'This is a decided step forward. The principle is so well understood that the king's daughters, who live in our house, have learnt not only to do without their maids, but even to do the household work.' But trouble was imminent. First an epidemic of ulcers severely reduced the attendance, and then the Mulena Mokwae (Lewanika's sister) fell ill.

'What do the diviners say?' asked Coillard. 'The bones and the Gods? I do not know; but it is evidently nothing good about us. Mokwae has sent for her children and all her people, one after the other, have done the same. Discouraged as our hearts are, may God give us grace still to carry on this ruined school with energy and spirit.' (22)

Only after Coillard had journeyed by canoe to Nalolo, and cured the Mulena of her sickness, did the children begin to return to school.

Within a few months, Coillard could record:

'The spirit prevailing among our children is excellent. One very hopeful feature is their passion for reading. A holiday to them is a day of privation and generally they besiege my door and encumber my verandah to obtain the loan of the school books. Among our luggage, I brought from Sesheke a little box of books. From the moment they knew the New Testament and the hymns were for sale, our pupils were jubilant. One brought his ox, another went to demand a calf of his father, and for each we made a little packet of books and garments to the value of his animal.

'You should have seen one charming little boy coming joyfully to tell me that his heifer had come. The whole school was present; and when I brought the books, with a shirt and some pieces of stuff, there

was a general exclamation of surprise. The little fellow came up, his eyes sparkling with delight; and he no sooner had the books in his hand than he jumped and skipped like his own heifer, and ran into the village followed by all his companions.

'You must not exaggerate my thought, and see already an awakening among the children. No, but the germ may be there. For us it is a marvellous thing that these heathen children, who hardly know how to read, should desire to possess the Word of God. It is no less marvellous that their heathen parents should furnish them with the means of procuring it — they who know nothing of the Gospel. Last Sunday, we counted nineteen New Testaments and as many hymn books at the service; and this movement continues.' (23)

An open day, to which parents and friends were invited, was held on January 1890. Coillard's journal entry is the earliest record of such an event in the country.

'After a short service, we had a public examination composed chiefly of reading, singing and recitation. Lewanika, book in hand, followed the reading with great interest; correcting here, encouraging there, for the examinations, insignificant as they were, made even the Zambezi children nervous. Then came a general distribution of stuff (cloth), books, copy-books and toys; games, played with great interest, inspired by our friend, Waddell. He even tried to teach them cricket! A sumptuous feast and, in the evening, a magic lantern exhibition closed by firing a salute, wound up this happy day. After the distribution of presents, Lewanika, who is less of an orator than anything else, harangued the crowd which pressed round our verandah, and above all reprov'd by name those chiefs who had not yet sent their children to school.' (24)

Towards the end of 1890, Lewanika agreed to send Litia, his oldest son, to Morija, a training school in Basutoland run by the Paris Mission. The effect of Litia's departure, together with four other of the brightest pupils, was catastrophic for the school at Sefula. Many children stopped attending and those who remained became unruly.

'The scholars know we have no authority over them and that, however ill they behave, neither the king nor their parents will have rebuke for them. But, on the whole, our pupils are making progress. Oh, if the Spirit of God would but work among them and bring about true conversions, what a change there would be! Until the time of blessing, may God continue to give us grace and patience. We are



ready for anything rather than to have no school. We must suffer in silence until better days. They will dawn at the Zambezi as in Basutoland.' (25)

Further disappointments were in store. Coillard was shocked and deeply hurt when in April, 1891, he recorded the fall from grace of two of his girl pupils:

'You will remember that besides Lewanika's daughter we had three other girls on whom we had centred much affection and many hopes. Illusive and deceptive dreams! Of these three, two had to be summarily turned out of our house. They used to get over the enclosure of the court at night, and, in accordance with the morals of the country, gave themselves up to the disorder of the village. You can guess the rest. It is quickly told: but what is not told, and cannot be, is the suffering, the moral torture, we have passed through, especially my poor wife. Her distress, her bitter tears, added to the great weakness of her condition, almost killed her. Our poor, poor children. So much for the result of three years' toil. In the bitterness of my grief, I would myself have cleared the house of the last of our girls. But my wife was of another mind—once more in harmony with that of the friend of sinners. She received three fresh little girls from Lewanika and we are going to begin again.' (26)

The arrival of a young Swiss missionary, Mlle Elise Kiener, enabled a closer watch to be kept on the girls, but within a few months Coillard suffered a grievous blow when in October, 1891, his wife died. Broken-hearted, he wrote in his diary: 'When we were married, she spoke these words to me, "I have come to do the work of God with you, whatever it may be, and wherever it may be. Remember this, wherever God may call you, you shall never find me crossing your path of duty."' (27)

We do well to pause and remember the wives of the pioneer missionaries. Not only did they share the work of their husbands, they had to make a home wherever their husbands' work took them, bear children and bring up a family far from medical assistance and where food was often in desperately short supply. Deprived of the companionship of women of their own race and cut off from the outside world for years at a time, they often had to watch helplessly while their loved ones faded before their eyes as successive bouts of malaria and dysentery made them weaker and weaker. By 1897, fifteen graves, French and Basuto, marked the Zambezi mission. Coillard, speaking at a meeting in England while on leave that year, said, 'We have not only stations, we have graves. We have taken possession of the country by our graves.' (28) He returned to Lealui the following year. Of the twenty-four mission workers who reached the country about that time,

eight died, and eleven were sent home, either as invalids or as widows. By 1902, thirty-six mission graves (sixteen of children) were mute reminders of the price paid in bringing the Gospel to the Barotse people. Truly, the foundations of the country's educational system were laid at great cost.

In October, 1892 Coillard moved to Lealui and established a new station. Within a short time he opened a school.

'I rang the bell, and soon troops of children, big boys and girls, ran from the village, and some in canoes. Others, wading through the water and splashing through the mud, arrived breathless, and planted themselves in front of us. I took down more than seventy names, and a few days later the number had exceeded a hundred and seventy. I left the responsibility of this school to our good Jacobo, and his excellent wife (both Basutos). The basis of instruction is necessarily Bible History, reading, writing, and a little arithmetic. But I attach great importance to singing, and in my eyes it is second only to the Bible. Thus, even though the Barotse sing like crows, we sing and sing a great deal.' (29)

So, day after day, month after month, and year after year, Coillard and his colleagues persevered with their work of preaching and teaching and healing the sick, their efforts little appreciated and often misunderstood. There were occasional outbursts from Lewanika. Coillard recorded one particularly painful scene.

' "What do we want with all that rubbish heap of fables that you call the Bible?" asked the King. "Are they any better than ours? What does your school do for us? For you it is the trade you live by; for us it is a purposeless and unprofitable folly. What I want are missionaries who build big workshops and teach us all the trades of the white men. What can I do with Christians who only know how to read and write and pray to the God of the white man? What I want are carpenters, blacksmiths, armourers, masons and so on. That is what I want, industrial missionaries; that is what all the chiefs want. We laugh at all the rest." ' (30)

Whatever Lewanika and the chiefs wanted, there was little evidence that the people themselves wanted industrial training. A scheme started at Sioma in 1902 for training artisans, failed through lack of support and the instructors had to be withdrawn in 1907. Nevertheless, industrial training was not neglected by the Paris Missionary Society. The layman William Waddell trained many carpenters and it was he who introduced what came to be known as Barotse thatching before he was invalided back to Scotland suffering from leprosy. A. Monteverdi was on

the staff of the Normal School from 1915 to 1932 and trained the student teachers in carpentry which included the making of barges for river transport and of Scotch carts. Not until 1935, however, did the Paris Missionary Society open a trades school. This was at Senanga and was run for a quarter of a century by Paul Mercoiret.

Generally, however, Lewanika supported the schools. Attendance in the school at Lealui was falling off in March, 1894, when on the day of the school treat, Makanoa, the King's attendant, arrived, the upper part of his body bared.

'He knelt down,' Coillard recorded, 'and the children formed a circle round him and clapped hands. Then they listened in dead silence. "The King says with him the school is a serious matter. Know then, all ye his children and slaves, that whichever of you plays truant without cause will be throttled, and whichever attends school and makes no progress will also be throttled. Remember, he tells you this once for all. Beware."' (31)

Rarely can children in any school have received greater encouragement to attend regularly and to apply themselves to their lessons.

As he came increasingly to appreciate the work of the missionaries, Lewanika mellowed, and carried out a programme of social reform. He abolished trial by ordeal and the burning alive of those supposed to be convicted thereby; he appointed police to replace sorcerers who 'smelt-out' evil-doers; he tried to suppress infanticide; he prohibited the making and drinking of strong beer. In 1902 he visited England to be present at Edward VII's coronation. On his return, Coillard assembled the children from all the five schools on the Upper Zambezi. Lewanika was delighted and on the following Sunday after the service of Thanksgiving he addressed the congregation. He had been amazed, he told the assembled chiefs and people, to see in England the respect there was for God and His Law; and that even King Edward had been crowned in a church. The Gospel was everything.

'It is the Gospel which makes people intelligent through their schools and which gives them security and happiness. The Missionaries told me all this, but now I have seen it. Barotse, let us come out of our darkness. Come and hear the teachings of our Missionaries, come on Sunday. Send your children to school that we too may become a nation.' (32)

Lewanika's support both in the schools and in the purely evangelical work of the mission was an enormous help to Coillard and his fellow-workers. When that support was temporarily withdrawn, the fortunes of the Paris Evangelical

Mission reached their lowest ebb. The occasion was the first teachers' strike in the history of the country. In 1900, the teachers employed by the Mission demanded higher wages than the few shillings and lengths of cloth which were given to them each month. They were led by Willie Mokalapa, a Basuto evangelist, who was one of the ablest teachers, and who resented the fact that the Mission was dominated by Europeans. With the assistance of some of his fellow-teachers, he formed a break-away movement and set up an Ethiopian (i.e. all black) Church. Mokalapa gained Lewanika's support by promising to open a new school. He wrote to Lewanika from Basutoland where he had gone for a short visit:

'I beg to inform you that I have found missionaries for the school we talked about. These teachers are blacks; they are very intelligent and highly educated; their desire is to teach the other blacks everything that can be learnt — theology, science, applied arts and all sorts of clever things. It is they who will furnish all the money to found this school and even the clothing for the young men.' (33)

For a short time Mokalapa succeeded but his colleagues soon found that the salaries they were able to pay themselves were considerably less than they had received from the Mission. They failed to maintain the new schools which were opened and this cost them Lewanika's support. When they quarrelled among themselves, the strike ended, and the separatist church rapidly disintegrated before finally collapsing in 1905.

By this time, François Coillard, the lion-hearted, compassionate visionary and man of action had died. On May 27, 1904, he passed away and was buried beside his wife at Sefula. The work of the Paris Evangelical Mission, however, continued. Stations founded during Coillard's life-time were Old Sesheke (1885), Sefula (1887), Kazungula (1889, closed 1900), Lealui (1892), Nalolo, or Nangoma (1894 by the Rev Eugène Beguin), Senanga (1898 by the Rev Emile Boiteux), Old Drift (1898 by A. Coisson; transferred to Livingstone by the Rev Adolphe Jalla in 1911), Mabumbu (1898 by Alfred Mann). Later stations were Lukona (1905 by the Rev Théophile Burnier), Limulunga (1934 by the Rev Samuel Seguin) and Muoyo (1955).

Mabumbu saw the beginning of the first Normal School in the country. As early as 1898 Alfred Mann started an English class at the new station for young men who wanted to 'complete' their education. This *Ecole Primaire Supérieure* was seen by Coillard as the first step towards the opening of a training school for teachers. In 1907, the Rev Auguste Coisson, an Italian from the Waldensian Valley, started a four-year teacher training course for eight students. The Normal School report for 1909 shows that the day began at sunrise with physical culture, preparation and breakfast. Four hours of lessons were given in the mornings. These included Bible study, English grammar, English composition, translation, dictation

and poetry, the geography of South Africa, handwriting, singing and some lessons in natural history by the mission doctor. The arithmetic syllabus included weights and measures, L.C.M., H.C.F., vulgar fractions and proportion. History had to be abandoned because of the lack of a text-book, and the drawing periods were not a success because equipment was not available. It is clear that the emphasis was on improving the basic educational standards of the students rather than on giving them instruction in methods and techniques of teaching. After a rest at mid-day, the students did an hour's preparation. From 3.00 p.m. until sunset they were occupied with manual work. This included agriculture, tree-felling, timber-sawing and some carpentry. Some difficulty was experienced in convincing the students that manual work was not a form of slavery and nor was it dishonourable to work with their hands. In the evening, there was a further hour and a half of preparation and the day ended at nine o'clock. (34)

The school was transferred to Sefula in 1910 where Auguste Coisson ran it until 1934 when he was succeeded by his son, the Rev Robert Coisson. For many years, the Normal School was the only institution where it was possible to obtain an advanced form of education (equivalent to upper primary level). As a result, many students attended it in order to gain a good knowledge of English, but had no intention of becoming teachers. They had no difficulty in finding clerical employment. Among those who qualified as teachers, wastage was considerable, but many gave long years of service such as Joel Zaza, from 1912 to 1948 and Timothy Silishebo from 1913 to 1946.

The opening of the Normal School enabled the educational work of the Paris Missionary Society to expand from the mission stations into the villages. For the first twenty years, the only schools were on the mission stations themselves and the number of pupils did not exceed 400. By 1916, however, 11 village schools were in operation and enrolment had reached 800 pupils. This number had grown to 2300 in 1924 (41 schools) and to 4600 in 1936, when the Mission was running 73 schools and employed 200 teachers. To begin with, nearly all the pupils were boys, as the Lozi parents were most reluctant to permit their daughters to attend school. In 1916, a small boarding school for girls was opened at Sesheke and in 1926 a girls' central boarding school was started at Mabumbu. Parents were a little more willing to entrust their daughters to the lady missionaries than to permit them to attend the village schools, but the opposition to girls' education was deep-rooted and lasted for many years.

No age limits were enforced in the early years. Grey-haired men sometimes attended long enough to become literate while at the other end of the scale youngsters were not usually enrolled until they had their second teeth.

Classes in the village schools were often held in the open air. When a building was erected, this was provided by the local people, who were also responsible for building huts for the teachers. All the early buildings were in pole and mud; they were rarely substantial unless the teacher or a missionary directed

the building operations. Pupils provided their own equipment. This consisted of no more than a slate, a slate pencil and, perhaps, a reader. Sometimes small fees were charged; usually they were paid in kind in the form of eggs, a fowl, fish or meal. School terms were usually from October to Christmas and from January to May. The schools were closed in the cold months. The trained teachers were often put in charge of the senior classes and the beginners were left to the tender mercies of the assistant teachers, many of whom were barely literate themselves. It is small wonder that some pupils spent as long as 5 or 6 years in completing the work of the sub-standard classes.

In common with other societies, the Paris Mission Society had to restrict their activities during the 1914-1918 war. Several missionaries served in the army and financial contributions from overseas dwindled. Both African and European staff accepted considerable reductions in salary. Local support, however, fortunately increased and the people began to pay school fees and to contribute regularly to the church offertory. Reported Adolphe Jalla in 1918: 'Our Christians have made an effort and now we manage to pay our evangelists and school teachers without help from Europe.' (35) The fact that Coillard's old pupil, Litia, who succeeded Lewanika in 1916 and took the name Yeta III, was a Christian, undoubtedly helped the Mission in their quest for more local backing.

The importance which the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society attached to its educational work is well expressed in this extract from a report of 1926:

'One cannot imagine a Church without a school. It is the school which is the nursery of the Church. It would be absolutely vain to pretend to want to transform a pagan population, and particularly to lead to conversion a native society, weighed down for generations in their customs, if we did not concentrate first and foremost on the young people. They have the most malleable minds and the most open hearts.' (36)

It was this belief that, through the schools, souls could be won for Christ which inspired the Paris missionaries to devote so much of their time, energy and financial resources to educational work.

Adolphe Jalla, who became leader of the Mission after Coillard's death, was outstanding among the early educationists of the Paris Missionary Society. He arrived in Barotseland in 1890. With the help of the Basuto teachers, he compiled school books, vocabularies, grammars, hymn books and primers. Later, when Silozi replaced Sesuto, Jalla adapted the school material to the new language, and subsequently translated the whole of the Old and New Testaments, and the Pilgrim's Progress, into Silozi. He had completed a remarkable 56 years on the mission field when he died in 1946. Others who made notable contributions over a long period were the Rev Louis Jalla (from 1886-1923), the Rev Juste Bouchet (from

1899-1934), his wife (from 1901-1934), Mrs Elizabeth Jalla, second wife of Adolphe (from 1917-1947), Miss Rachel Dogimont (from 1910-1926) and Miss Rose Briod (1920-1948). This tradition of long service in Barotseland has been well maintained more recently by missionaries such as the Rev J. P. Burger (1927-1960) and Miss Marie Borle, who joined the mission in 1932 and served the children of Sefula, a stone's throw from the place where François Coillard, his wife and early colleagues lie buried, until 1968.

#### (iv) THE PRIMITIVE METHODISTS: A STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE, 1893

The second group of missionaries to enter the country from the south and to establish themselves permanently were from the Primitive Methodist Missionary Society. One of several movements which broke away from the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the early part of the nineteenth century, the Primitive Methodists were intensely evangelistic. Their simple but urgent message won them a large membership among the labourers and semi-skilled artisans in the developing industrial communities of the Midlands and North of England. A missionary committee was formed in 1860 and ten years later a mission station was opened at Aliwal North in Cape Colony.

Anxious to extend its work to the north 'into the clear open field of untouched heathenism', (37), the Rev John Smith, superintendent minister of Aliwal, consulted Coillard. The Paris Missionary Society was beginning to establish itself in the western part of Lewanika's kingdom, but the eastern part of Barotseland remained completely unevangelised. Coillard recommended that the Primitive Methodists should seek Lewanika's permission to work among the tribes living on the Kafue Plain. These were mainly Ba-Ila, vassals of the Lozi people, and known by them scornfully as the Mashukulumbwe. Smith persuaded his missionary committee to accept this advice, and a pioneer party, consisting of the Rev Henry Buckenham, his wife and infant daughter, the Rev Arthur Baldwin and Frederick Ward, an artisan, set out from England in April, 1889. They travelled via Aliwal North. After a desperately hazardous journey across the Kalahari Desert, during which they lost most of their trek oxen, were abandoned by their guides and had no water for days on end, they reached Kazungula on the Zambezi in August, 1890. Ward soon left the group.

With the help of Coillard, Buckenham hoped to impress Lewanika with his party's sincerity and potential value and then to proceed without delay to the country of the Ba-Ila. Most unfortunately for the Primitive Methodist pioneers, the Lochner Treaty (38) had been signed a few weeks earlier and a reaction had set in among the Lozi chiefs. Coillard was exceedingly unpopular and held to be responsible for persuading Lewanika to 'sell' the country to the British South Africa Company whose agent Lochner was. Lewanika was under pressure to turn the Paris missionaries out of the country. This was scarcely an opportune moment for Buckenham to ask permission to set up another mission in Barotseland. For three years the Primitive Methodists were kept waiting, first at Sesheke, and then at Sefula, until at last Lewanika permitted them to travel to the country of the Ba-Ila.

The party left Sefula in July, 1893, and spent six weary months trekking eastwards, 'the most laborious and fatiguing of all our travels', wrote Baldwin. 'We had to cross seventeen rivers, one of them five times, so winding was its course —



involving off-loading all the wagons six times.' (39) Their route had never previously been followed by any form of wheeled transport. Rivers running through deep gorges had to be bridged; miles of timber had to be laid before they could cross some of the dambos. The bush was dense and passages had to be cut for the wagons. Their wagon wheels disintegrated and had to be replaced by new wheels made out of forest timber. At last, in December, 1893, more than four and a half years after leaving England, their epic journey completed, they reached the Nkala River, a tributary of the Kafue. To make up for his previous hostility, Lewanika sent with the party a royal messenger who introduced the missionaries to the Ila chiefs with these words: 'If you Mashukulumbwe accept them, you accept me. If you refuse them, you refuse me which will be equivalent to a rebellion, and for which I shall punish you.' (40) Not surprisingly, the Ba-Ila accepted the Primitive Methodists and their first station at Nkala was founded on January 1, 1894. Nevertheless, the fact that they came as protégés of Lewanika, overlord of the Mashukulumbwe, meant that the missionaries were regarded with suspicion and resentment by the people, and not till 1906 was the first convert baptised.

Reinforcements in the persons of the Rev William Chapman and Frederick Pickering arrived in 1895, and they founded a second station at Nanzela. In the same year, Arthur Baldwin opened the first school. A group of 25 children were taught selected Scripture passages by heart, hymn-singing and sewing. (The semi-nakedness of the Ila tribesmen distressed the missionaries.) The school was short-lived. Baldwin demanded a higher standard of discipline than his scholars were prepared to submit to, and, in any case, the Ila youngsters could see little point in spending their time in memorising passages of Scripture in a language, Sesuto, they did not fully understand. Pickering, who took over Nkala when Baldwin had to return to England with Mrs Buckenham, whose husband and daughter had died, described the school pupils in these words:

'In return for the teaching and food they worked, when not in school, for the mission. They also had clothing of a very, very middling sort, but better than the no-clothing or miserable rag of the bush. It ended thus: their chiefs came and wanted calico for their labours, and finally took some of them home. One or two lingered on and one of them stole something, was punished, and departed. The other went away.' (41)

Two Basuto teachers, Robert Maolosi and James Tozzo, with their wives, arrived from Aliwal North at the end of 1897. One family went to Nkala and the other to Nanzela, and further attempts were made to start schools on the mission stations. The teaching was in Sesuto; the response of the people was disappointing. Wrote Chapman: 'They at first decided that if we would take their children, feed them, clothe them, and pay them for attending, they would allow them to come.'

(42) Although Chapman and his colleagues were shocked at what they considered to be a mercenary attitude by the parents, it needs to be remembered that relationships within Ila tribal society were based on the principle of exchange, or reciprocity. If, for instance, a man gave cattle to another man, he would receive something, perhaps a wife, in exchange. If, therefore, he gave his children to the missionaries, he expected to receive a reciprocal gift. Only gradually did the position improve. An impetus to attendance was given in 1902 when Lewanika sent a royal messenger to address the Ila chiefs: 'The opportunity offered you by the missionary schools must not be neglected. The King commands you to listen to the teaching of your *Baruti* (Missionaries).' (43) The same messenger brought a personal letter from Lewanika who had just returned from his visit to England for the coronation of King Edward VII. It read:

'To the Revd. W. Chapman:

My Friend,

Yours accepted with greatest pleasure. We are still improving health yet. Trusting to hear the same from you. Am really pleased for your kindness in telling me about Mashukulumbwe as they do not care for educating their children. They shall send their children to get learned. The only thing for black man to do is to get learned. I will talk hard with the Mashukulumbwe chiefs about the schools as I did at Sesheke and Nalolo. Every chief who comes to see me I tell him to have a school opened in his district and the children to be sent to school. So, my friend, I will end with best wishes to you and Mrs. Chapman.

I remain,

Your friend,  
King Lewanika.' (44)

The Rev Edwin Smith (son of John Smith of Aliwal North) arrived at Nanzela in 1902 and was pleasantly surprised the following year when Chief Suzungu suggested that a number of boarders' huts should be built on the station for school children. 'It is no use,' said the chief, 'children being here and then returning home where they learn evil ways again. Better that they live here.' (45) Gradually, when the financial resources of the missionaries and the availability of food permitted it, the boarding of school pupils was practised as a matter of policy. In this way, regular attendance could be ensured, the children could be continually supervised and sheltered from what were considered to be the harmful influences of village life. There was greater opportunity for the missionaries to bring Christian influences to bear on their charges, and a further advantage was that the mission was assured of a regular supply of labour.

Many parents, however, continued to oppose the school. Because so little could be achieved at Nkala, the missionaries withdrew in 1905, leaving the station in the hands of a Suto teacher. It was finally abandoned altogether, and reverted to bush, in 1928. Smith recorded a meeting held with a number of village headmen at Nanzela in 1905:

'The speech of the day was by Mapati. He waxed quite eloquent. He declared that ever since the missionaries came into the country they had been troubling the people for children. First there was Sapokomani (Buckenham), then Palwe (Baldwin), then Mangundungundu (Pickering), and then Muchabana (Chapman) and now here was Shimiti at it again. Always one thing: "Give us the children." By the way he put it you might have thought we were ogres and lived on children', ended Smith in frustration and despair. (46)

There were good economic reasons for Mapati's resistance. Children and youths played an important part in the village economy, particularly in the planting season, in scaring away birds and animals from the growing crops, and at harvest time. They were especially vital to a cattle-owning people such as the Ila, for herding was the traditional responsibility of young boys. Boarding establishments on the mission stations were at least part of the answer to the problem of filling the empty classrooms. Chapman assured the Mission Secretary in 1910:

'Many of the parents try to prevent the children from attending and without this (boarding) system we should have no school worth the name. It is the most successful step we have ever taken. Many of the people come from a distance. They vary in age from eight to twenty-five years. They are employed for 6 hours daily doing useful and necessary work. They are paid from a farthing a day to 1¼d. and I see that they earn it.' (47) In addition, of course, they received their food.

The subjects taught in the early schools consisted of the three R's and hygiene. Chapman considered that these skills were necessary in order to 'cultivate their intelligence and prepare their minds for the religious truths we wish them to retain.' (48) Literacy, however, was not conceived solely as a means of reading the Scriptures but as an important first step forward towards "civilizing" the pupils. Industrial work was also included in the curriculum. This covered building as well as the use of the plough. Until 1909 all the teaching was in the hands of the Basuto men supplied by Aliwal North. They were capable of teaching the first four years' work, but not beyond that elementary level. In 1909 a young Lozi named Josefa Mofoladi, who had been an outstanding pupil at Nanzela, was entrusted with the

opening of the first village school at Nalolo, some ten kilometres from the mission. A few more of these outschools were started in the next decade but it was not until a supply of trained teachers became available that the Primitive Methodists could begin to take at all seriously the provision of educational facilities off their mission stations.

Attendance problems were acute, especially among the Ba-Ila who preferred their children to herd cattle than go to school. The quarterly report of Nanzela Mission in 1914 noted the disappointing position at one of the outschools: 'Samuel reports excellent congregations, but cannot get the children to school. "The cattle are their school", say the Ba-Ila of their children. If there were no cattle our work would be much easier.' (49) Child-marriage frequently robbed the schools of their girl pupils, a problem which continued for many years. As for the scholastic performance of the children, the missionaries were convinced that they became dull and listless on reaching adolescence, a phenomenon they attributed to unrestrained sexual licence.

A major step forward in the educational work of the Primitive Methodists was taken when it was decided that Chi-Ila and not Sesutu must be the language of instruction in the schools. This decision was taken on the advice of Edwin Smith, perhaps the most distinguished of the many mission linguists and anthropologists associated with Northern Rhodesia. By 1905 he had produced a book of Bible stories for use in the schools, and had translated a number of Psalms. The following year he published his *Handbook of the Ila Language* which became the model for missionaries in other parts of the country who were endeavouring to unravel the structure and grammatical complexities of the vernacular languages in their areas. By 1914 Smith had completed his translation of the New Testament into Ila, a task which he saw as his 'divine duty'.

By this time the Primitive Methodists had spread to the Zambezi valley and crossed the Kafue River. In 1901 a station was opened by Walter Hogg, a carpenter, at Sijoba among the Tonga people. Hogg died in 1905 and two years later the Rev John Fell moved the station downstream, first to Mudodoli (1907) and then to Kachindu in 1910. Meanwhile, in 1905, a new station was opened at Nambala (in what is now Mumbwa District) by William Chapman. The area was being opened up by the Northern Copper Company. Full of enthusiasm, Chapman wrote:

'We crossed the Kafue on a raft and pressed forward to the new site, arriving there on the 26th July. This event marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the Ba-Ila — Batonga Mission. We were to share in the general progress, for Africa is surely turning its face to the light. This is but the seed-time — who can tell how amazingly fruitful the harvest will be?'

It was in this spirit of optimism and dedication that, in spite of many

disappointments and tribulations, the early missionaries set about the task of bringing their civilization and their faith to the peoples of Northern Rhodesia.

At the end of 1909, Edwin Smith and his wife left Nanzela and founded Kasenga Mission overlooking the great Kafue Plain. In 1915, the Rev John Kerswell began work at Namantombwa but the main event of that year, as far as education was concerned, was the purchase of the Clixby Estate on which was to be built the Kafue Institute. The need for a central training institute, on the lines of Livingstonia or Mbereshi, had been felt for a long time by the missionaries in the field. It was also the desire of the Administration that the Mission should not persist in its policy of opening small stations, each staffed by one man, and widely separated. As early as 1904, the Administrator of North Western Rhodesia, Robert Coryndon, home on leave, informed the Secretary of the B.S.A. Co.: 'This Mission has hitherto accomplished but little actual work in the country.' (51) On the same visit he discussed the future of the Mission with Lord Grey and Mr Pickett of the Home Committee. Subsequently, he wrote to Pickett and expressed his satisfaction that they had agreed so closely upon 'the importance of the technical factor in native mission work. No system of missionary labour among natives which is not based upon a foundation of good technical instruction will achieve real success.' Coryndon believed that the Company would be much more inclined to assist a missionary society which provided technical instruction than one 'in which purely theoretical and dogmatic religious teaching was given.' (52) In fact, of course, the Company was not prepared to give financial assistance to any form of mission educational endeavour. Smith, however, was anxious to introduce industrial training into the Mission's programme. He and Chapman trained a number of men in brick-making and building, the use of the plough, road building and carpentry.

Coryndon took advantage of the opportunity to advise the Society to concentrate its efforts:

'I should certainly recommend you to adhere to the principle of having two or even three comparatively large establishments, well provided with tools, implements and machinery, rather than five or six small isolated stations occupied by only one white resident, so much of whose time is taken up with unavoidable camp detail of all sorts.' (53)

The Primitive Methodists, however, disregarded Coryndon's advice. Instead of building up a large station which could serve as a firm base for further expansion, and where teachers and evangelists for all stations could be trained, they persisted in opening one-man stations in order 'to occupy the field'. Responsibility for this short-sighted policy rested with the home committee.

In 1914, however, a deputation from England visited the Society's Northern Rhodesia stations and advocated the immediate establishment of a training

institution. Two years later a large estate was purchased on the banks of the Kafue river with money donated by Charles and Martha Clixby of Gainsborough in England. The Rev John Fell was appointed to build a training institution and to be the first Principal, a position he held till 1928. Fell built himself a house and some school buildings and the Institute opened in 1918 with 25 young men from Nanzela, Kachindu, Nambala and Kasenga stations for a three-year course of training as teacher-evangelists.

John Fell, a trained school teacher, had arrived in the country in 1907. Forthright, plain-spoken, 'no nonsense', autocratic, patriarchal, yet with an endearing streak of kindness and generosity, he was a practical man like all the successful early missionaries. He could turn his hand to almost anything, and whatever the task he undertook, he did it well, whether it was building, preaching or teaching. He ranks as a giant among the pioneer educationalists of Northern Rhodesia. Whereas most of his colleagues were amateurs in the teaching field, he was a professional with a definite educational philosophy and with very clear ideas of how his policy should be implemented. During his period at Kafue Training Institute, and later at the Jeanes School, Mazabuka, he trained many hundreds of teachers and through them his influence spread over most of the country.

The development of character was the basis of Fell's training programme. 'We do not desire to develop intelligence at the expense of spiritual facilities,' he wrote, 'nor train the hands without growth in Grace.' (54) Discipline was strictly enforced, and the development of orderly habits of regular study was fostered. Students were encouraged to take a pride in the study of their vernacular languages. Not until 1925 was English reluctantly included in the students' final examination. 'Our aim,' said Fell, 'is not to make a European African but a genuine African.' (55) Other subjects taught at the Institute were arithmetic, geography, penmanship, drawing, Old Testament, New Testament, hygiene, agriculture and, later, building. The aim was to improve the educational background of the students rather than to concentrate on teaching methods and techniques. Considerable attention was given to agricultural instruction. Not only was this in accordance with the wishes of the Clixby benefactors, but it was Fell's belief that all teachers should be experienced in the elements of progressive agriculture in order to be able to demonstrate them to the children and their parents in the villages. He told his fellow missionaries in 1914, in his usual vigorous style:

'I think the Batonga of the Zambezi are the worst agriculturists in the world. The ground is cultivated almost as well as if a poultry farmer had turned out his fowls to scratch in the garden. If in our mission schools the children become acquainted with new vegetable products, are taught rational methods of digging, learn about rotation of crops and manuring lands, there can be no doubt of the value of

She recorded her impressions of the village schools in her usual forthright manner. At Impongo village, the teacher is named Singuzu.

'He is not so far advanced in learning. He is, however, a conscientious and spirit-filled Christian. This is a new school, has been in session only about three months, and is held out in the open air in the shade of a tree; but they are gathering poles to build a hut. The teacher is doing his work faithfully, and progress is being made by the pupils in learning to read.' (28)

Jamu, teacher at Kabanzi village, is:

'a careful, painstaking and faithful Christian, greatly interested in the spiritual as well as the intellectual advancement of his pupils. There are generally about fifty pupils enrolled in the school and about thirty-five in daily attendance. Twelve have been baptised and nearly all the rest are in the Inquirers' Class. We enter the schoolroom and the pupils march around the building, then enter and take their places on the logs extending across the room. All kneel and repeat the Lord's Prayer and then teaching begins. A few are reading the charts, some are in the first book, a number in the Bible stories, while a few are reading the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Matthew. A number of pupils are married men and women. The women bring their babies and yet, with the interruption caused by these, they have learned to read well and are in the Bible stories.' (29)

The school at Kabwe village was in charge of Chikaila, only seventeen years of age, but 'such an earnest and conscientious Christian.' Chikaila has built a hut for himself in the village and had led the people in building a simple, pole and mud classroom.

'There is nothing lazy about the boy,' commented Miss Davidson, 'and the school as well as the work of the Lord is progressing in his hands. He soon learned to know the people and the kind of lives they are leading, and is fearless in exposing sin, although he is always mild and humble in his demeanour.' (30)

Finally, to Chilumbwe, where Jim is the teacher.

'Yes, he is that short, well-dressed native with the coloured glasses on, a splendid fellow, a sincere Christian, anxious to know and do the will of his Heavenly Father. There are about fifty pupils enrolled;

very little Citonga, but wrote on charts the few words they had picked up and these served as a basis for reading lessons. It was unthinkable that they should approach the Jesuit Fathers at Chikuni for assistance with reading material in Citonga, but the books of the Rev Edwin Smith of the Primitive Methodists Mission were acceptable. The Tonga boys at Macha thus were taught to read in Ci-Ila. 'After our boys had finished the Ila books,' Sister Davidson wrote, 'we concluded to allow them to continue the Scriptures in the Zulu Testament, as it is always easier for the natives to pass from one native language into another than from English into their language.' A little English was also taught but Sister Davidson considered this a mixed blessing.

'The opportunity of learning English is a privilege which all natives covet, as it seems to be more important in their eyes and more European. In some respects, this importance is one of the objectionable features about teaching it. Then, too, the native often is dull in learning it, but we need interpreters, and the value intellectually of this and arithmetic and kindred studies is not to be despised.' (25)

There was little danger that the boys at Macha would suffer from a surfeit of literacy education while Miss Davidson was in charge. Her great aim 'both in school and out, was to produce sincere and ripe Christians who should become teachers and evangelists of their people. Dispense with these fundamental objects and one might as well remain at home.' She had no time for those missionaries ('and we are sorry to say that the number is increasing') for whom 'missionary work spells education and civilization.' The purpose of the school was not to educate or to civilize but 'to get the native really saved and on the Rock, Jesus Christ. At the same time we should seek to train him to become a soul-winner among his people so that a knowledge of God may be spread over the country.' (26) Education, therefore, was a means to a single end, the salvation of souls, and could never be regarded as an end in itself, or merely as a civilizing agent. The success of a school was to be measured not in terms of the number of children who could read, write, multiply or divide, but in the number of souls which were saved.

At the end of 1909, the first group of ten boys were baptised at Macha. These provided the teachers for the first outschools in 1910. 'Some of the pupils,' in Sister Davidson's opinion, 'were sufficiently advanced to begin teaching, yet they were somewhat young to go out into their dark, dark houses and stand alone for God.' The solution was found in opening schools in the nearest villages; the teachers boarded at the mission and went back and forth to teach. Older teachers lived in the villages where they taught. Miss Davidson was a regular visitor by ox-wagon to the out-schools which were opened only when the people were prepared to 'build a school-hut, feed their teacher, buy their own books. Even the poorest buy their books and if they cannot bring money they often bring a chicken or grain in pay.' (27)



Adda Engle, and two African Christians, Ndhlalambi Moyo and Gomo Sibanda, she travelled by train from Bulawayo to Livingstone and there the party transferred to ox-wagon. In Kalomo, capital of North Western Rhodesia at that time, the two redoubtable ladies in their full-length skirts, longsleeved and choker-neck blouses and with their bonnets firmly tied over their uncompromisingly severe hairstyle, demanded an interview with the Administrator. Suggestions that the country was unhealthy or dangerous for two maiden ladies were swept aside by the Sisters and permission was eventually given for them to proceed and to open a station in the Mapanza area. The site finally chosen was at Macha, some 65 kilometres to the north-west of Choma, on the Batoka plateau, and here the Sisters began to build a mission station in August, 1906.

On January 1, 1907, they informed the people in the surrounding villages that they were going to start a school. As the Tonga people of the area knew nothing about schools, it was hardly surprising that no one turned up for school. This was a new experience for the Sisters. 'The children were afraid of us,' wrote Miss Davidson 'and would run away screaming to hide in the tall grass when we approached their villages.' (21) Six weeks went by without a single pupil being enrolled. Eventually on February 19, the first parent arrived. This was Chief Macha and he brought his son with him 'to learn to read and to work.' Other parents followed the Chief's example and by the end of the year there were seventeen pupils, all boys, and all boarded at the mission. They received three and a half hours' teaching each day and were required to work on the station in the early morning and in the afternoon. In return, the boys received their food, clothing and blankets. They had to remain at school for at least a year before they could take the clothing home with them. 'This stipulation was made,' Miss Davidson recorded, 'to teach them stability and prevent them from coming sufficiently long to secure clothing and then leaving before they had properly earned it.' (22)

'The devil finds mischief for idle hands' and Sisters Davidson and Engle took care that there were few idle hands at Macha.

'We had no sympathy with pupils who desired to learn and lie about and be idle the rest of the time. Several who desired to bring their food and remain at the mission without working were not allowed to do so, as we thought it would prove detrimental, both to themselves and to the rest.' (23)

With the help of the schoolboys, houses and dormitories were built; a church, which also served as a school house, was erected; a large garden was opened and crops planted under the supervision of the lady missionaries. Miss Davidson noted with satisfaction that muscles which were 'flabby and unused to exercise' hardened as the boys 'took hold of the tasks assigned to them.' (24)

In the classroom there was little equipment to begin with. The Sisters knew

#### (iv) HANNAH FRANCES DAVIDSON AND THE BRETHREN IN CHRIST, 1906

It was about 1782 when a small group of men began meeting together to worship God at a farm in the rural areas of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The Church of the Brethren in Christ, which grew out of these early meetings, places a pietistic and revivalistic emphasis on conversion and this is united with the Anabaptist-Mennonite-Brethren understanding of the Church and the relation of the Church to the world. The Church is strongly evangelical in emphasis, believing that each Christian is responsible for the spiritual enlightenment of his fellow men. It was this belief that first brought a missionary party led by Elder Jesse Engle to Central Africa at the close of the nineteenth century.

A decision to begin missionary work was taken at the Annual General Conference of the Church held in Pennsylvania in 1896 and the pioneer party, consisting of Brother Engle and three Sisters, reached Cape Town at the end of 1897. There they were well received by Cecil Rhodes who gave them a letter to his Company's representative in Southern Rhodesia asking that the Church be allocated 1200 hectares of land in the Matopo Hills, near Bulawayo, for a mission station. Missionaries, conceded the agnostic Rhodes, were generally an influence for good and contributed to the maintenance of law and order. He commended the Brethren to the Company and characteristically added: 'Missionaries are better than policemen and cheaper.' (18)

The first Brethren in Christ mission station was opened in the Matopo Hills in July, 1898. Among the missionaries was Miss Hannah Frances Davidson who had been a high school teacher in Kansas before answering the call to mission service. She soon started a little school at the infant mission station. Her objective was simple and straightforward: 'To enable them to read and understand the Word of God was the aim of the schoolwork, and the Bible was the Textbook throughout.' (19) African children, she found,

'compare very favourably with white children in their ability to learn, but few of them come regularly to school. To most of them school is just a side issue, some place to go when there is nothing else to be done. Some have an idea that they can learn to read in about a month, and when they find it requires months of weary, patient effort at meaningless characters they give up in despair.' (20)

Perhaps if the characters had been meaningful, the response would have been more enthusiastic.

In 1906, Sister Davidson decided the time had come to cross the Zambezi and to extend the Church's work into Northern Rhodesia. Accompanied by Sister

recruited pupils among the Lenje people and triumphantly re-opened his school in 1914 with forty Lenje children whom he transported to Rusangu at considerable expense. In this curious way, one of the first recorded pupils' strikes in the country's educational history was broken. (16)

In 1917, a new mission station was established at Msofu, in the Mkushi district, some 100 kilometres from Ndola. Four years later, Herbert Hurlow and his wife came from Nyasaland to open a station at Chimpempe on the banks of the Kalungwishi river, 55 kilometres from Kawambwa. Education work started soon at each station and village schools were opened. When the sub-Department of Native Education was set up in 1925, the Seventh Day Adventists reported that they were running a total of 35 schools at which approximately 1000 pupils were enrolled. (17)

Subsequently, new stations were opened at Liumba Hill, near Kalabo, in 1928, at Mwami, near Fort Jameson, in the same year, at Sitoti, south of Senanga on the banks of the Zambezi in 1944, and at Yuka, 10 kilometres from Kalabo, in 1955. A comparatively small Church, and with its limited resources dispersed over an enormous area, the S.D.A. could not become a major force in the educational life of the country. Nevertheless, an unbroken succession of men and women have kept glowing the spark kindled by William Anderson.

For more than sixty years the rivalry between the Adventists and the Jesuits has continued. Where Anderson unloaded his wagon in 1905, Rusangu Secondary School now stands. Hard by, across the Magoye river, where Father Moreau lies buried, Chikuni Secondary School dominates the scene. 'By schisms rent asunder, by heresies distressed,' the Christian Church in the Southern Province has presented a sorry image of disunity from the days of Anderson and Moreau to the present. Other branches of the Church have also joined the fray, and the Tonga must be the most proselytised people in Central Africa. If this has led to their spiritual confusion, it has also worked to their educational advantage since each denomination has striven to extend its work through the schools.

country. Pastor Jack Mpofo, who accompanied Anderson as a wagon-boy in 1905, and was still active in the church in 1968, has recalled that his wages that year were: 'two shirts, two pairs of shorts and all the food I could eat.' (15)

On July 1, 1905, Anderson and his party reached Muchilemba's village again and began the arduous task of opening a mission station which became known as Rusangu. Four days later, Father Joseph Moreau arrived at Muchilemba to claim the site for the Jesuit Fathers and was chagrined to find that Anderson had forestalled him. Father Moreau set up his station at Chikuni a few kilometres away. 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. Relations between Anderson and Moreau were strained, but a bond of personal friendship was formed between them when Anderson was able to assist Moreau who had been badly gored by an ox.

Anderson, or *Haminya* ('the wrinkled one') as he was called, opened a school at Rusangu towards the end of 1905. Assisted by Detcha and Malomo, Anderson taught Zulu reading and writing and some elementary arithmetic. The Zulu Bible was the main textbook. Within a year, the first outschool had been opened. This was at the village of Bweengwa and the teacher was a Tonga named Jim Mainza. As a small boy, Mainza had been captured by the Matabele and taken to Matabeleland. Somehow he found his way to Solusi where he was given a rudimentary education. Anderson knew of his history and by chance was able to trace the boy's father at Bweengwa. Thus, after an absence of more than twenty years, Jim Mainza came back home to teach his people.

The school at Bweengwa proved successful and a dozen more village schools had been opened by 1911 under the control of Rusangu. Meanwhile, on the mission station, progress had been made. New buildings were erected, translation work was under way, and local men were being trained as teachers. A major set-back, however, occurred in 1912. The pupils felt that the time had come when they should be taught English. An understanding of English would fit them for a variety of wage-earning jobs, apart from infinitely raising their prestige in the village community. Anderson, however, considered that the function of the school was not to provide the pupils with the skills which would enable them to earn a living in this world, but to prepare them for the next world through a study of Holy Scripture. Accordingly, when a group of pupils roused him from his afternoon rest and demanded to be taught English, Anderson was outraged. Seizing a *sjambok*, he dispersed the petitioners with some lusty blows and then returned to his bed. But his pupils were not prepared to put up with this sort of treatment. They collected their few belongings and melted away to the villages. For the rest of 1912 and the whole of the following year, Anderson was unable to find a single pupil for Rusangu school. Refusing to acknowledge defeat by the Tonga, Anderson

### (iii) REINFORCEMENTS FROM AMERICA: THE SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISTS, 1905

Nowhere in Northern Rhodesia was the denominational battle waged more fiercely than in the Southern Province. By 1925, no fewer than eight missionary societies had established themselves among the Tonga, Ila and other peoples of the province. For most societies, the decision to evangelise in the Southern Province was an extension of their work south of the Zambezi river.

Among the early arrivals were representatives of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, one of several evangelical groups which had grown out of the world-wide discussion of the second advent of Christ in the first part of the nineteenth century. From their study of Bible prophecy, scholars in many lands and of many denominations were led simultaneously to the conclusion that the return of Christ was imminent. In the United States of America, William Miller proclaimed that Christ would come in 1844. When the year ended without the advent taking place, Miller's movement was widely ridiculed. Many sincere believers, however, re-studied the prophecies and concluded that while they had been mistaken about 1844, the 'signs' of the approaching return were multiplying. They set themselves to look for and to proclaim the 'blessed hope' of the second coming of Christ, at an unspecified time, as the only solution to the world's ills. Those who believed this, and who affirmed the seventh day of the fourth commandment, Saturday, as the true Sabbath, were known as the Seventh Day Adventists.

The story of the Seventh Day Adventists movement in Africa goes back to the 1870's. Peter Wessels, a farmer in Kimberley, J. P. Tarr in East London, and Peter Trytsman of the Cape came independently to the conclusion that Saturday was the Sabbath. They came together in Kimberley and heard of the Seventh Day Adventists in America. The South Africans invited the American group to send a minister to them. The invitation was accepted and the first S.D.A. churches in Kimberley and in Cape Town were opened shortly afterwards. By 1894, the Adventists were sufficiently well established in South Africa to be able to expand their work northwards. In that year a mission station was opened at Solusi, near Bulawayo, on a 4850-hectare site provided by Cecil Rhodes. The work in Southern Rhodesia prospered and other stations were started. The next step was to cross the Zambezi.

In 1903, William Harrison Anderson, an American from Indiana, with three African converts from Matabeleland, Jacob Detcha, Phillip Malomo and Reuben Gona, investigated possible mission sites on the Tonga plateau. They selected Muchi/embamba's village, next to a prolific natural spring, in Chief Monze's area, as a suitable site and then returned to Solusi. Having collected funds in America, and equipped himself with a 'prairie schooner' trek wagon, Anderson went back to Southern Rhodesia. From Solusi he set out again on the long journey to Tonga

for calico and salt without having to tramp the 150 miles to Ndola. Then came the inevitable. The people began to get stingy over the food, and the teachers were reduced almost to starvation, and so, with attendance at the school down to scarcely ten, and with hunger staring them in the face, they had to pack up and come away. We are waiting the clear leading of the Lord before we launch another attack.' (13)

Disappointments of this nature were no rare experience. A community's clamour for a school frequently gave way to apathy or even hostility as the responsibility for housing and feeding the teachers became irksome to the parents, and the limited scope of the classwork grew monotonous for the children.

One of the smallest societies to work in Northern Rhodesia, the South African Baptists were never in a position, in terms of staff or financial resources, to train their own teachers and to make a substantial contribution to the overall educational development of the country. Their work was limited to a comparatively small rural area contiguous to what became the Copperbelt. Nevertheless, for the individual children who were their pupils, their beneficial influence, exercised by a handful of devoted missionaries, was perhaps as effective as that of the larger societies whose efforts were dispersed over a wider field.

In 1925 the Society had 10 schools in operation with approximately 400 pupils enrolled. (14) One of the outschools was at Ndola, where the magistrate contrived to provide a grant for the building of the school which also served as a church.

Apart from Kafulafuta, other mission stations were opened at Ndola (1926) and at Fiwale Hill (1935). In 1931, part of the territory of the South African Baptist Mission was handed over to the Scandinavian Baptist Mission, which opened a station at Mpongwe.

propensity in creating. The elder scholars have also to find ten shillings annually as their poll tax, and if married, they have a wife and maybe offspring to find clothing for. Happily for them, Africa does not make these duties as onerous as does Europe. They all pay a small fee for education. On Saturdays, when they are given soap, sufficient for washing bodies and clothes, their feet are minutely examined for jiggers.

'There is seldom any real trouble, their conduct being exemplary good. It has been necessary on some two or three occasions to administer mild, judicial correction to which resentment is never taken, their common sense appreciating justice. I might add that the majority make their weekly contribution of one farthing to the offertory.' (11)

A few schools were opened in the villages in response to appeals by chiefs and headmen, but the Mission's financial resources were inadequate for a systematic and sustained programme of educational expansion. Where village schools were opened, the aim of the Mission was primarily to teach the pupils to read the Bible. The pupils, however, usually had other motives in attending school.

Wrote Doke in July, 1918:

'All throughout Lambaland there is an increasing demand for learning; books and yet more books are wanted everywhere. Our first edition of the Primer is sold out; a second edition, called "Kache-Kache" or "Bit by Bit" has been printed for us at Lovedale Mission, and they are also undertaking the printing of Reader No. 2 called "Fisimikisiyo", a collection of Lamba fairy stories. May the day soon come when the yearning after a knowledge of the Lord and His Word is as keen as the desire for material knowledge that is a means of making money.' (12)

The demand for literacy did not always last long. For instance, a new village school was opened at Lushiwishi, nearly 180 kilometres from Kafulafuta in 1920. The chief of the area wanted European teachers, recorded Doke, but,

'Stephen and Jacob (two Lambas), accompanied by their wives and children and assisted by three carriers, made the journey with slates and books to open the work. They were well received, and the school was well attended to start with, but it wasn't long before the school children began to cry out for payment for learning, and the elders to grumble that had the white teachers come there would have been a market for their corn, eggs and fowls and a store in which to barter

In 1910, Phillips and H. L. Wildey opened a new station at Lwamala, approximately 160 kilometres west of Broken Hill across the great Lukanga Swamp. A school was started within a week of the arrival of the missionaries, but within two years Lwamala had to be abandoned for lack of financial support. Shortly after this, F. S. Arnot visited Kafulafuta, and realised that the resources of the Nyasa Industrial Mission were not equal to the demands of a mission field of 25000 square miles (6.25m. hectares). Arnot confided his fears to the Rev J. J. Doke of the Baptist Church in Johannesburg. Doke made a journey to Kafulafuta in 1913 to assess the position, but on his way back died of enteric fever. His death stirred the imagination of the Baptists in South Africa and by May, 1914, sufficient money had been raised for the work of the Nyasa Industrial Mission to be taken over by the South African Baptist Missionary Society. Outstanding among the early missionaries were Clement Doke and his sister Olive (who completed 50 years at Kafulafuta in 1966) and the Rev and Mrs Arthur Cross, who were subsequently closely associated with the work of the United Missions in the Copperbelt. (9)

The Kafulafuta Church and the school were one and the same building, completed in 1916, a symbol of the educational aims of the mission. 'The propelling motive for all,' wrote the Rev Phillips, 'is the instilling of the Word of God.' (10) An interesting account of the boarding school at Kafulafuta, typical of many similar institutions of the period, was provided by Phillips in *Lambaland*, the Mission quarterly newsletter, in October, 1922:

'Good success has attended the endeavour among the boys and girls residing at the Head Station, but much more could have been achieved had not monetary considerations determined limitations. Three hours' work daily is put in from 7.30 a.m. prior to which Divine Service is held. The work consists in partly growing their own food; repairing and rebuilding their houses (which termites are ever destroying); also brick-making from time to time; pit-sawing and carpentry; keeping in check the grass and weeds which grow prolifically, so as to keep the station clean and as free as possible from mosquitoes, etc. Two school sessions form part of the programme of the first five days of the week. Efforts are concentrated on reading and writing, fringing with simple arithmetic and a little elementary English, which subject has attraction and assists in prolonging the stay with us of some of the aspirants.

'The boarders live in thatched houses of wattle and daub, in companies of about six; they keep them more or less sanitary inside and out; procure their own firewood and water; grind their own corn, and act as their own cooks. They are paid for the three hours' work they do, with which they provide themselves with clothes, slates and books, and pay their numerous little debts which they have a



## (ii) IN LAMBALAND: THE SOUTH AFRICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1905

Among the small groups who struggled to provide a rudimentary education service for the people of Northern Rhodesia were the South African Baptists, later known as the Lambaland Baptists. The educational impact they made on the country as a whole was minimal but there are points of considerable interest in the story of their early work.

'In all the territory in which I have travelled in thousands of miles in Africa, I had never seen a people for whom I had so little enthusiasm. Such a forlorn, hopeless, down-at-heel remnant of centuries of the slave trade! If ever there was a place where the Lord, who can save to the uttermost, was wanted, it was here.' (7)

Thus wrote the Rev John M. Springer of the Methodist Episcopal Church who travelled through the country of the Lamba people in 1906. It was to this unpromising area to the west of Ndola that the Rev William Arthur Phillips had felt impelled to come as a missionary a few months earlier. Phillips had spent three years with the Nyasa Industrial Mission at their station in the Shire Highlands, Nyasaland. Unable to resist the challenge of the unevangelised interior, he set out on a 1200-kilometre journey from Likubula (Nyasaland) accompanied by Henry Masters. After a very difficult journey, their 140 carriers decimated by dysentery and desertions, they reached the Kapopo District (Lambaland) twenty weeks later, and opened a mission station at Kafulafuta, near the village of Chief Katanga, in December, 1905. Phillips was to spend the next twenty years at Kafulafuta, until ill-health forced him to retire in 1926.

Two months later, a school started in an open shelter, with a handful of Chief Katanga's youngsters as the only pupils. Like their pioneer colleagues in other Missions, Phillips and Masters were faced with the problem of reducing the language of the area to writing, working out its grammatical complexities, assembling a vocabulary, and then attempting translation work.

'To the missionaries fell the honour of being the first to capture from the lips of its dusky speakers the Lamba language for print,' wrote the historian of the early years of the Mission. 'Not many weeks passed before short translations of scripture, paraphrases of the sacred narratives, and even some vernacular hymns made their appearance.' (8)

These were the texts not only for the purely evangelical work but also in the school.

rapidly established the educational side of their work. The Dominican Sisters pioneered senior secondary education for European children. Their Convent School at Broken Hill presented their first candidates for the Matriculation Examination in 1938, thirteen years before any of the government schools did so.

By 1925, the Jesuits were running 83 schools with 4300 children on the registers. (6) Although few of these were of permanent significance, the essential foundations had been laid on which men such as Fathers Ladislaus Zabdyr and Max Prokoph could, in the 1930's, build a school system, at primary, secondary and teacher training levels, in the best tradition of the Society of Jesus.

season of sowing and reaping beside their gardens. A partial answer to the problem was found at the mission stations by giving the boys various jobs to do on the station and paying them for their work. This, however, was possible only when the missionaries had sufficient funds to meet the cost. Since each mission station had to be self-supporting, the amount of educational work which could be undertaken by a station depended on the receipt of donations from relations, friends and congregations in Europe.

The early village schools, like those of all the pioneer missions, were crude affairs. Teaching was in the hands of young men who had been given a grounding in the three R's and a little hygiene and, having acquired the elements of the Catholic faith, were appointed as teacher-evangelists. The schools operated for a few weeks at a time until the teacher exhausted his material or until the interest of his class evaporated to vanishing point. No attempt was made to enforce any regulations concerning the age of the pupils. Anyone who cared to come and listen was welcome. Fathers sat with their sons under the shade of a tree, chanted syllables together and helped each other to write the letters of the alphabet in the sand with their forefingers.

Outstanding in the early educational work of the Jesuits were Fathers Moreau and Torrend, the founders of Chikuni and Kasisi respectively. Moreau, as we have seen, refused to divide life into sacred and secular compartments. He knew that a man's environment had to be Christianised, as well as himself. Evangelism for Moreau involved a change of agricultural methods quite as much as it involved a change of heart. Apart from his practical work on the Chikuni farm, Moreau produced a simple book in Chitonga, *Joni Milimo*, explaining the elements of agricultural techniques. He followed this with books on hygiene, *Joni Mukampaila*, and also housewifery. It was he who, with the help of an African colleague, Paul Shilling, opened the Teacher Training School at Chikuni in 1926 and ran it for some years before handing over to J. J. Consterdine in 1930. Father Moreau remained at Chikuni until his death in 1949 at the age of 85. A great congregation gathered to pay their last respects to a man who for nearly half a century devoted himself to the education, in the broadest sense of the term, of the people of the Chikuni area.

Father Torrend gained an international reputation as a scholar of Bantu languages but was also, like his friend Moreau, a man of action. He was responsible for beginning the school at Kasisi and created a network of village schools around the mission. The primers he wrote were widely used in the schools.

Conscious of a need to provide an education for girls as well as for boys, the Jesuits invited religious sisters to establish convents on or near their stations. In 1920, the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur arrived at Chikuni and established themselves in a school and convent erected by Brother John Haupt, the mission architect and builder. Polish Sisters reached Kasisi in 1928, and Dominican Sisters built a house at Broken Hill in 1929 and later in Lusaka. Each Order of Sisters

the Jesuits have been renowned as a teaching order of the Catholic Church.

As soon as the early stations were established in Northern Rhodesia, and the Fathers had acquired the necessary mastery of English and a vernacular language, schools were opened. To begin with, these were confined to the mission stations, where the Fathers themselves were the teachers. At first, the people usually showed little interest in the schools and the Fathers did not try to force education on them.

'The first thing missionaries have to do,' wrote Father Moreau of Chikuni later, 'is to make themselves acceptable to the people and provide for them what they most need: food and a bit of money to buy the most elementary clothing. In other words, they needed a lesson in practical Christianity, which is love of one's neighbour.' (4)

Schoolroom education could wait, Moreau decided. To begin with, the people must be taught how to grow more food, since famine was a regular visitor among the Tonga people. In fact, the British South Africa Company allocated over 4000 hectares to the Jesuits at Chikuni on the understanding that the Fathers would develop agricultural training there and teach the people to improve the productivity of their gardens and their cattle.

Within two years, Father Moreau had six ploughs, fifty trained oxen and 120 hectares under cultivation from which he produced 1800 bags of maize each year. The Tonga, who knew no agricultural implements other than primitive hoes and digging sticks, were astonished at what could be done with a plough. Many came to the mission station to see Moreau's first demonstration.

'Had they known the "Nunc Dimittis",' wrote Moreau later, 'God knows, they might have sung it, because without doubt the plough has been the salvation of the Batonga. Not only did it put an end to the almost yearly famine, but it allowed the Batonga to have children to their utmost ability, knowing now they could feed them.' (5)

In 1908, Father Moreau was joined at Chikuni by Father Bick. Attempts were now made to start a regular school on the mission station and in some of the surrounding villages. The Tonga people, Moreau sadly recorded 'were lacking in an appreciation for reading and writing,' and some of the schools did not last long. Gradually, however, resistance to the Chikuni schools was broken down. Progress was equally slow on the other stations and was worst at the missions along the Luangwa River where parents expected to be paid for sending their children to school. This was not really surprising; attendance at school interfered with a boy's domestic duties of scaring baboons and birds from the family garden, and deprived the household of his services when the family left home and settled down for a

But the Jesuits were not to be deterred. Members of the Order accompanied the Pioneer Column into Southern Rhodesia in 1890 and mission stations were established. From one of these, Empandeni, the next assault across the Zambezi was launched. In 1902, Father Richard Sykes, Superior of the Mission, sent two of his men to explore again the possibility of settling between the Zambezi and Kafue rivers. One of these men was Father Peter Prestage and the other was Father Joseph Moreau. They established friendly relations with Chief Monze, who asked them to start a mission in his area. 'I told him,' wrote Father Prestage in his diary, 'that the main condition necessary for our doing so was that we should find sufficient people desirous of learning and willing to settle near us.' (1) At the Fathers' request, Chief Monze entrusted to them four boys, one of whom was the Chief's son, to be taken to Chishawasha in Southern Rhodesia for their education. Commented Father Prestage: 'This looks as if he was in earnest about the education of his people. If these boys turn out well and become good Christians, they may help us much by the effect of their example.' (2)

Three years later, Father Moreau returned to Monze with the four boys, Haantola, Jahaliso, Bbinya and Jojo, all of whom were now 'educated' by the standards of the day and had been baptised. Together they founded what came to be called Chikuni Mission in July, 1905, the first Catholic Mission in the southern part of the country. Accompanying Moreau was Father Jules Torrend, a fellow Frenchman. When the pole and mud mission house at Chikuni had been completed, Torrend declared: 'Two good men in one place are a waste.' (3) He packed his belongings and trekked northwards, establishing a station at Kasisi, some 29 kilometres north-east of Lusaka, early in 1906.

Jesuits had been working since 1881 in Portuguese East Africa on the lower Zambezi from its mouth to its confluence with the Luangwa River. In 1910, the Order was expelled from Portugal and its colonies, and in the following year the Jesuit missionaries were forced to abandon their stations in Portuguese East Africa. They crossed the Luangwa into Northern Rhodesia and founded stations at Katondwe and Kapoche. These were confined to the care of the Polish Jesuit Province (Cracow). In 1914, Chingombe Mission was started, about 160 kilometres north of Katondwe, as the result of the purchase of a large farm from Harrison Clark (known as 'Changa Changa'). Later stations to be opened were Broken Hill (1923), Mpima (1926), Lusaka (1936), Mazabuka (1949), Mpanshya, Fumbo, Kasiya and Chivuna (all in 1951), Kasenda (1953), Kalomo (1959), Mulungushi, Mpunde, Namwala and Monze (all in 1960).

When he founded The Society of Jesus in 1540, Ignatius of Loyola made it clear in his *Constitutions* that he wished his members to carry on an intellectual apostolate, and that education must play a major part in evangelisation. Before Ignatius died, Peter Canisius had founded a chain of Jesuit schools in Germany and Austria and other Fathers were engaged in educational work in South America, the West Indies, Japan and India. Down the centuries,

## CHAPTER III

### OTHER PIONEER MISSIONS, 1901-1914

- (i) Joseph Moreau and the Jesuit Fathers, 1905
- (ii) In Lambaland: the South African Baptist Missionary Society, 1905
- (iii) Reinforcements from America: the Seventh Day Adventists, 1905
- (iv) Hannah Frances Davidson and the Brethren in Christ, 1906
- (v) The Anglican Contribution: the Universities Mission to Central Africa, 1910
- (vi) South Africa General Mission: a slow start, 1910
- (vii) Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society: Chikala and Chipembi

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#### (i) JOSEPH MOREAU AND THE JESUIT FATHERS, 1905

The first missionary to enter Central Africa was the Jesuit Father, Gonçalo da Silveira who, having landed at Sofala and trekked inland, reached the capital of Monomotapa's empire, a little south of the Zambezi, on Christmas Day, 1560. Within fifteen months, the gallant Father was dead, strangled on the orders of Monomotapa who suspected him of practising witchcraft. More than three centuries elapsed before the Society of Jesus made a further attempt to establish itself in Central Africa.

In 1878, Father Henri Depelchin, a Belgian who had eighteen years' experience of missionary work in India behind him, was appointed Superior of the Zambezi Mission. In April of the following year, he set out from Grahamstown in Cape Province with eleven companions on the long trek to the Zambezi, charged with the responsibility of opening a chain of stations along the river. Disappointment, death and disaster dogged the footsteps of the band of Fathers and Brothers. Lewanika, Paramount Chief of the Barotse, refused to permit Depelchin to establish a mission in his kingdom. A station established by Father Teroerde at Moemba's village, over 200 kilometres below the Victoria Falls among the Batonga, had to be abandoned within months when the Father died. Finally, failing health forced Depelchin to return to Belgium, and the assault was, for the time being, abandoned.

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- (18) Ibid. May 4, 1887.
- (19) Ibid. November, 1887.

who passed examinations, but rather in the new hope and new self-reliance which Miss Botes gave to hundreds of blind children, who, far too often, were regarded as a nuisance by their parents, and as virtual outcasts by village society. Although the syllabus at Magwero Blind School was the same as that followed in sighted schools, special attention was given to craft training, particularly the making of mats, nets, brooms and baskets in order that the blind students might return to their villages and earn a living. The successful work at Magwero served as an inspiration to other societies, and schools for the blind were subsequently opened at Lwela, Johnston Falls, Chipili, Sefula, Kambowa, Bwana Mkubwa and Mporokoso.

Miss Botes started an orphanage at Magwero in 1932. At that time, the belief was common that if a mother died in childbirth, her death was due to an evil spirit which lived on in the baby. The fate of the infant was often either to be starved to death or to be buried alive with the mother. The Magwero orphanage was supported by Sunday School children in the Orange Free State for a quarter of a century when the need for its continuation fell away. By then, the people's attitude towards orphans had changed. Where the superstition lingered on, Christian couples were available to adopt the children.

The first child accepted into the Magwero orphanage in 1932 became a teacher at the school for the deaf and dumb, which Miss Botes opened, with the help of Mr Shenard Chitsala in 1955, at the age of 65. In this new venture, for which Miss Botes spent many years in preparing herself, academic education was combined with practical training in brickwork, carpentry, blacksmithing, tailoring and homecraft.

Her lifelong service to the handicapped recognised by Membership of the Order of the British Empire and a honorary doctorate of the University of the Orange Free State, Ella Botes retired in 1966. She is, indeed, an outstanding example of the missionary ladies in many societies who devoted their lives and gave without stint of their patience, endurance, sympathy and love to the children of Northern Rhodesia.

Work among handicapped children constituted, of course, only a fraction of the D.R.C.M.'s educational programme. The bulk of their efforts were directed towards the primary schools. In 1925, this Society was running 250 such schools where 25000 pupils were enrolled. Attendance was reputed as averaging 17000. (83) Deploying its army of teacher-evangelists with considerable skill, the D.R.C.M. was achieving its aim of reaching as many people as possible and giving them a smattering of what passed as education. Quality would not come until later. When it came, the D.R.C.M. found, as did the other societies, that better qualified teachers, improved equipment supplies, good buildings and modern teaching techniques did not necessarily bring people closer to God. Increasing sophistication of the education system rarely deepened and often undermined the simple faith which was a feature of the humble prayer school. For this reason, the D.R.C.M. clung tenaciously to their unaided schools and did not close the last of them until the mid 1950's.

D.R.C.M. opened a normal school at Madzimoyo in 1915. This was the second normal school in the country, the only other similar establishment being at Sefula, run by the Paris Evangelical Mission. The development of the Madzimoyo Normal School owed much to the Rev C. P. Pauw, who was head of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Northern Rhodesia for many years, and to the Rev Krige, H. Liebenberg and L. B. van der Walt, successive principals of the school. Students were accepted at the Normal School when they had already served in village schools following an initial teacher training course at one of the mission stations. Considerable emphasis was placed on agricultural work and on industrial training for the Normal School students. More specialised agricultural training was provided at Derika, near Magwero, where F. J. van Eeden ran a farm for many years. Carpentry, brick-making, masonry, etc., were taught at Magwero in order to supply the Mission's housing and furniture needs. Later, industrial training was concentrated at Madzimoyo and an experimental wickerwork industry was established there with the help of instructors from Mvera.

The D.R.C.M. were more fortunate than most Missions in attracting a good number of capable women to further their educational work. At an early stage, girls' hostels were established at Madzimoyo, Nyanje, Merwe and Magwero where the girls were taught to cook, to make clothes, soap and candles, pottery-work, mothercraft and hygiene. These household duties were usually taught in the morning and the girls attended the station elementary school in the afternoon. On the academic side, Miss E. M. du Plessis, Miss C. Krige, Miss F. M. Niekerk (who completed 50 years in the mission field in 1967) and Miss L. Brandt were among those who dedicated their lives to the training of African teachers.

Few missionaries in Northern Rhodesia made a more valuable contribution to the relief of human suffering than that of Miss Ella Botes. In 1905 Mrs Issie Hofmeyer, wife of the missionary-in-charge of Magwero, made the first attempt in the history of the country to teach blind children. Her class numbered only five pupils, one of whom was Lazaro Banda. Mrs Hofmeyer transcribed Nyanja reading sheets into braille, but died in 1910. Lazaro Banda then conducted a reading class, and it was his valiant efforts which attracted the attention of Miss Botes. In 1914 she started a class for twelve blind children at Madzimoyo. When the number of pupils increased, her class expanded into a school, first at Nyanje (1923) and then at Magwero (1930). Meanwhile, Miss Botes had transcribed large parts of the Bible, beginning with the Gospel of St Matthew, into braille, a veritably Herculean task. Blind children from all over the country came to Magwero in the hope of being trained by Miss Botes, and other pupils were accepted from as far afield as the Congo, Portuguese East Africa and Nyasaland. The first blind boys who passed Standard IV at Magwero were trained by Miss Botes as teachers of the blind. By 1963, 27 blind pupils from Magwero had passed Standard VI, and been subsequently trained as teachers, as telephone operators, or as evangelists. The success of the blind school was not, however, to be evaluated in terms of the numbers of children

United Free Church had reached agreement on their respective spheres of influence within North Eastern Rhodesia, and did not attempt to compete with one another, the White Fathers and the Anglicans claimed the whole country as their sphere of activity and refused to be confined to particular areas. Eventually, the D.R.C.M. and the U.M.C.A. arrived at a compromise solution to their conflicting claims, but no such compromise was possible with the White Fathers. The battle for territory and for souls between the two Missions was waged fiercely for more than half a century. It was by no means uncommon — particularly when Government control was non-existent or very sketchy — for rival schools to be opened within a stone's throw of each other in the same village, while other areas remained without a school at all. There is no point in attempting to apportion blame for this unseemly rivalry, which was by no means confined to the White Fathers and the Dutch Reformed Church; similar interdenominational wars, usually between the Roman Catholic and the non-Roman Catholic societies, were fought in many other areas. The fact remains, however, that a good deal of time, money and energy was expended by the Missions in thwarting the designs of their rivals, presenting a sorry spectacle of a divided Church to the bewildered people, and rendering even simple educational planning, which might have resulted from co-operation between the Missions, quite out of the question.

The village schools were not intended to offer more than a rudimentary education. The Rev W. A. Krige, in charge for many years of the Dutch Reformed Church's educational work in the Eastern Province, has described them as they were in about 1920:

'Each mission station was surrounded by a large number of village schools, ranging from 40 to 60 per station, and it was the duty of the missionary in charge to visit every school in his area at least twice a year. The school building, consisting of a wattle and daub structure, with openings in the walls for doors and windows, thatched roof and rows of clay benches, had to be erected by the villagers themselves. Sleeping accommodation had also to be provided for the teacher. The latter was equipped with reading sheets, the Bible, a hymn book, and his "Maphunziro"; and a drum which was used for summoning the villagers to school. Everybody, old and young, was welcome to attend the school.

'The teacher usually opened with prayer, a hymn and the reading of the Bible. The lesson for the day was next expounded and the children had then to learn the text by heart. The school was then divided into various classes and the teacher had to instruct each class in turn, beginning with the reading sheets and ending up with the advanced class learning to read the Bible.' (82)

In order to improve the quality of the teaching given in its schools, the

was taken over from the United Free Church of Scotland in 1924; mission activities in the Copperbelt began in 1935.

At all the stations, great emphasis was placed on educational work. The aim of the Mission was to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ among as many villages as possible. In order that this aim might be achieved, teacher evangelists were trained on the mission stations and were then sent to establish outposts among a group of villages. The outpost system (*buiteposstelsel*) had proved its value in Nyasaland as the most effective way of reaching the people and of teaching them, young and old alike, to read the Bible. The training given to the teacher-evangelists covered the three R's and instruction in how to keep attendance registers, but the main purpose of their training course was to impart a thorough knowledge of the Bible. On completion of their course, the teachers were given a copy of a handbook entitled *Maphunziro*. In this, the lessons for every day in the school year were set out with explanatory notes; this ensured that the same Bible lesson would be given at every school on the same day.

There was little financial reward for these early teacher-evangelists who were expected to spear-head the Mission's attack on superstition and illiteracy. They received no pay for their first six months of service when they were deemed to be on probation. Thereafter they were entitled to 8d. a month. Deserving cases might receive an increment of 4d a month after six months' satisfactory service. (80)

By any standard, this was a pittance of reward for a month's work. The Government rate for labourers in 1910 was 4/2, including calico ration. (80). In the same year, prospective settlers were advised of the wages they should expect to pay their servants:

The usual establishment consists of cook, 7/6—£1 per month; table boy, 7/6—10/-; houseboy who can also wait at table, 5/-—10/-; wash-boy, 5/-; plate washer, 3/-; dish-washer, 2/-; garden boy 3/-. All the above wages are exclusive of posho, which usually consist of four yards of calico, value roughly 1/6 per month, which is given in lieu of food.' (81)

When teachers received considerably less than a dish-washer, it is hardly surprising that wastage among teachers was extremely high and that it was virtually impossible for the Mission to retain the services of men with intelligence, drive and ambition.

More village schools were opened by the Dutch than by any other missionary society. The extent of their educational endeavours was due largely to the desire to bring the Gospel message to the greatest possible number of people. In part, however, it sprang from an unedifying conflict in which the Dutch Reformed Church became involved with the White Fathers, and, to a lesser extent, with the Universities' Mission. Whereas the Dutch, the London Missionary Society and the

## (viii) THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH MISSION: OCCUPYING THE FIELD, 1898

Like their colleagues in the Free Church of Scotland, the missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church came to Northern Rhodesia as a natural extension of their work in Nyasaland.

The Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape Province had formed a Ministers' Society for Evangelising Work in Central Africa. In 1888, at the invitation of Dr Laws of Livingstonia, who shared their Calvinist doctrines, the Society sent the Rev Andrew Murray and an artisan evangelist, T. C. Vlok, to assist the United Free Church in its work in Nyasaland and to establish mission stations. Mvera Mission, some 80 kilometres west of Domira Bay, was opened in 1889. Schools were started at once and the Dutch were able to use the books in Nyanja which the Church of Scotland had already prepared and published. To begin with, it was difficult to find pupils since the people of the area, long used to the activities of the Arab slave-traders, were convinced that the missionaries were planning to sell the school pupils as slaves as soon as a sufficient number had enrolled. Gradually, however, confidence and trust were established, and good reports of the missionaries' work reached Mpezeni, Paramount Chief of the Angoni, who lived in North Eastern Rhodesia.

In 1897, the missionaries wrote to Rhodes seeking permission to establish themselves across the border in Chief Mpezeni's area. Rhodes advised them to wait as trouble was imminent between the Angoni and his Chartered Company. A year later, while Mpezeni was in Fort Manning gaol, he invited the Dutch missionaries to open a station in his country. The Dutch Reformed Church of the Cape Province which was already supplying men and money for missionary work in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was unable to accept this additional commitment. Mpezeni's request was forwarded to the Dutch Reformed Church in the Orange Free State. The responsibility was accepted and two African evangelists were sent to the Angoni. They prepared the way for the first missionaries, the Rev John Hofmeyer and the Rev Piet Smith, who started work at Magwero, close to the border, and between Fort Jameson and Fort Manning, on July 5, 1899. Hofmeyer had brought with him African evangelists and teachers from Mvera Mission and they gave great assistance in rapidly developing the work of the new station, and starting village schools in the district.

In 1903, another station was opened, this time at Madzimoyo ('living waters') and this soon became the head station of the Mission. Expansion was rapid. Nyanje Mission was opened in the Nsenga area by the Rev J. H. van Schalkwyk in 1905 at the same time as another station was started in Fort Jameson. Subsequent stations were Nsadzu (1908), Hofmeyer (1914), Broken Hill (1921), Merwe (1922), Kamoto (1928), Lusaka (1933), Katete (1944). Tamanda Mission

employees, the letter-writing and journeys necessary for keeping in touch with so many over so wide an area. There is a large amount of literary work in the preparation of school and religious books and reading matter. The feeding and clothing of such a large 'family' involves much time and labour. The staple food is manioc meal and we have to buy over 100 tons of it a year, mostly in small quantities of 25 lbs. at a time. Meat and fish have to be bought and also nuts, beans, rice and vegetables in excess of what we can grow. There seems to be no end to building and repair work, and so there is the purchasing of materials and timber. Trees are sawn up several miles away and the rough planks have to be carried in. We have to maintain a large carpentry shop. We have to make our own bricks and burn them; we smelt our own iron from ore that has to be brought here in dugouts on the river, a distance of seven miles, and we make our own axes and hoes; nails and bolts, grass-cutters and even plane irons. We have our own electric light plant to give light not only in our houses, but in the school compound, the assembly hall, the classrooms and the reading room. It might be presumptuous to compare ourselves with those who "had no leisure so much as to eat" but there certainly is much coming and going and the pressure is very great.' (77)

Similar accounts might have been written by missionaries at scores of other understaffed stations throughout the country. The wonder is not that so little educational work of value was achieved by these missions, but rather that so much was accomplished by so few dedicated workers, who laboured, with no hope of reward in this life, in circumstances which would have been the despair of lesser men and women.

Other missions opened by the Brethren in the north-west were Chavuna (in 1923 by Gavin Mowat and E. H. Sims), Dipalata (1937), Kabulamema (1940), Loloma (1950) and Lukolwe (1960).

The total number of schools run by the Brethren in 1925 was 72 and enrolment was approximately 5500. (78) The comparatively large average enrolment per school was due to the large numbers of children who went to the schools in the densely populated Luapula Valley; the schools in the north-west were very much smaller than those run by William Lammond and his colleagues.



surprising that the Mwinilunga District remained one of the least developed in the country.

Other educational work started at Kalene included an orphanage at nearby Hillwood Farm, and a school, situated at Sakeji, for the children of missionaries in the Rhodesias, the Congo and Angola. This began in 1925 and was run for some years by Mr and Mrs Judson and Mr and Mrs C. R. Nightingale, and subsequently by Mr and Mrs Hess from the United States of America.

Meanwhile, 400 kilometres to the south of Kalene Hill, another mission station had opened at Chitokoloki, in Balovale (Zambezi) District. This owed its origins to the indefatigable Fred Arnot who had been much impressed by Livingstone's record of his journey to the west coast in 1854: 'I would pronounce the country about the junction of the Zambezi and the Kabompo as a most desirable centre-point for the spread of civilization and Christianity.' (75)

In 1913, Arnot, accompanied by Lambert Rogers and George Suckling (who had already spent two years with Dr Fisher at Kalene Hill), prospected for a suitable site for a mission station near the confluence of the two great rivers. Ill-health soon forced Arnot to return to Johannesburg where he died the following year.

'Rogers and I were left alone,' wrote Suckling, 'in a district about half the size of Ireland, in which nobody knew anything of the Gospel, scarcely any had ever heard the name of Jesus, not a boy or girl could read or write, and in which there were no schools, no medical work, no employment, no mission stations and no missionaries but our two selves.' (76)

As the ground near the confluence was swampy and full of mosquitoes, they moved 40 kilometres further up the Zambezi and founded their station early in 1914 at Chitokoloki. Although Rogers died of blackwater fever in 1916, George Suckling lived at Chitokoloki until his death in 1951. With the mission chronically short of staff, and their energies devoted to running dispensaries, a leper settlement, an orphanage, translation work, a printing press as well as to evangelism, Suckling and his colleagues were unable to develop educational work at all seriously until 1935 when a teacher training school was opened at Chitokoloki.

It is salutary to remember the vast amount of time and energy which a missionary has to devote to the 'bread-and-butter' problems of running a mission station in the bush, especially in such an isolated area as Chitokoloki. George Suckling described some of the activities which consumed a large amount of the time of himself and his colleagues:

'Think of the official, business and private correspondence and of the accounts, the payment of wages to so many teachers and other

Lammond found Dr Walter Fisher and his wife opening up Kalene Mission in the Mwinilunga District. Walter Fisher, the outstanding pioneer medical missionary in the country's history, had been persuaded by Fred Arnot in 1888, when a young man of 23, to join a party of new Brethren missionaries who were going to Angola. In March, 1889, at a farewell meeting held for the gallant band of fourteen missionaries, one brother prayed: 'O Lord, if they are too many for Thee, thin them out, Lord.' (72) By the end of October, three of the party were dead, two from malaria and one from yellow fever. Dr Fisher survived several attacks of malaria, and for the next seventeen years he and his wife worked at Brethren stations in Angola. The health of his colleagues in the Upper Zambezi Valley was a constant source of worry to him, and he decided to open a sanatorium for missionaries on high ground. He chose Kalene Hill as the site for his hospital, and this was his home until he died at the end of 1935.

A school was soon established at Kalene Hill, but Dr Fisher's main interest was in his medical work. Shortages of staff and money, as well as lack of interest on the part of the villagers, led to a general neglect of education in the surrounding district. It was not till the 1930's that persistent efforts were made to start schools in the villages around the mission station. This was largely the work of Miss Elsie Burr who regarded education as a powerful weapon in evangelising. The purpose of education, as seen by the Brethren at Kalene, was to make clear to the children God's plan of salvation.

'They were very good at memorising the Scriptures,' recalls Miss Burr, 'and it was a joy to hear them repeat whole chapters of the New Testament without a mistake. To store the minds of these Lunda children with the Holy Scripture we felt to be a work of vital importance.' (73)

The same singleness of educational purpose was expressed by Singleton Fisher, son of Dr Fisher, at the end of the 1940's, in a description of a village school.

After a hymn and a Bible lesson, the children proceeded to two periods of lessons:

'These cover the elements of the three R's and the majority of the pupils have learned enough after 18 months of school to read the Lunda New Testament and to write a fair letter. In this part of the mission field, this is regarded as sufficient head knowledge for the average boy or girl who will never be anything more than a manual labourer or field worker.' (74)

Since this was the prevailing educational philosophy, it is perhaps not

of God in those places. The missionaries received no salary but were either supported by friends in Britain or supported themselves by running trading stores or farms. Government insisted, however, that the Brethren missionaries should be collectively identified by a title, and, for this reason, the name 'Christian Missions in Many Lands' was arbitrarily chosen.

The amount of educational work carried out by the Brethren depended on the interests of the missionaries and on their financial resources. In the Luapula Valley, a significant and sustained contribution to education was made by William Lammond at Johnston Falls. Not a trained educationist himself, Lammond was willing to learn from others. In 1907, four literate Africans were sent to Livingstonia in Nyasaland for training as teachers, and when they returned, the Livingstonia curriculum was followed in the Brethren schools. Later, the Brethren relied on the advice of the London Missionary Society in the running of their schools which extended across the river into the Congo. Enrolment was open to all comers. The Johnston Falls records for 1920 show a total of 1453 boys and 1021 girls attending 28 schools run by the mission. These schools were open for approximately eleven weeks in the dry season. The wet season session was held at the mission itself when the teachers were given a twelve-week course. Teachers' salaries in 1920 ranged from 3/3 to 6/3 per month, plus 3/3 food money. The cost of running the 28 schools that year amounted to £83.5.9d., most of which was covered by a generous donation from Dan Crawford, who devoted the profits from his best-selling book, *Thinking Black*, to subsidising the work of many Brethren missions. 'My first Government grant,' Lammond has called, 'probably about 1929 or 1930 was £2. I thanked them for the "token". Mr Sims of Mansa was at the same time given £1. He returned it with thanks.' (70)

Equipment in the schools was of the simplest: printed sheets with the alphabet and single syllables; slates, pencils and duplicated primers for the more advanced pupils. An attempt to introduce a modern teaching aid ended in disaster. 'A device was tried,' according to Lammond, 'consisting of two large wheels with syllables printed spokewise at the edge, behind a board with a window, so that a great variety of two-syllabled words could be made by revolving the wheels. This had to be dropped because it produced too many bad words.' (71)

The appointment by Lammond of a senior teacher as school inspector in 1922 did something to raise the standards of the teaching in schools, and further improvements were effected by C. E. Stokes, a headmaster who arrived at Johnston Falls in 1926, and Miss Woolnough, who took over the girls' school in the same year. Industrial training was put on a sound basis by Ray Smith, who spent five years at Johnston Falls from 1937 to 1942 before joining Government. In 1940, a school for blind boys was opened at the mission with the help of a young man trained at Magwero. A similar school had been started by Miss Green at Lwela a few years earlier.

In 1906, while walking from Johnston Falls to the west coast, William

## (vii) CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN MANY LANDS: THE OPEN BRETHREN, 1897

The solo adventures of Fred Arnot in Barotseland, Angola and Katanga stirred the imagination of Open Brethren (usually referred to erroneously as Plymouth Brethren) in many parts of the world. By the 1890's a chain of Brethren mission stations had been opened in Angola and the Congo, but none had been established in Northern Rhodesia where Arnot's missionary career had begun. The Congo and Angola stations provided the springboards for expansion into the Luapula and Upper Zambezi valleys.

It was from Luanza Mission on the Congo side of Lake Mweru that Dan Crawford and Harry Pomeroy came in 1897 to explore the possibilities of beginning missionary work among the Lunda people in the Luapula Valley. Mwata Kazembe, Paramount Chief of the Lunda, at first viewed their activities with suspicion, and refused them permission to open a mission station at Johnston Falls. Shortly afterwards he relented, and Pomeroy began to build the mission station in 1898. Within a year, illness forced Pomeroy to leave, and a similar fate awaited his successors. It was not until 1905, when William Lammond and his wife moved to Johnston Falls, that the mission station became permanently established. Lammond remained head of the station for the next sixty-three years, until his death in 1968, a record which no other missionary in the country can match.

While the mission station was still in its infancy, sleeping sickness spread alarmingly among the people, and in 1910 the Administration moved all the population out of the Luapula Valley and settled them on higher land to the north. Johnston Falls had to be closed and Lammond opened a new mission station at Kaleba. This was to be his home for twelve years, for not until 1922 was the Luapula Valley declared free of sleeping sickness and the people were allowed to return to the ruins of their villages.

Meanwhile, other stations had been opened at Bwingi Mulonga, near Milambo, by Dugal Campbell and George Sims in 1910, at Mwenso wa Nsoka in 1918 by Mr and Mrs Sims, who soon moved to Fort Rosebery (Mansa), and at Mubende by Mr and Mrs Higgins, a coloured couple from British Guiana. Later stations were established at Kawama in 1927 by Mr and Mrs George Lammond, at Kalundu in the same year by the McKenzie brothers, at Lwela in 1935 by Mr and Mrs Morse and at Samfya in the following year by Mr and Mrs Horace Coleman.

The Brethren are not members of a missionary society. They have no headquarters, no central authority and no book of rules other than the Bible. The establishment of a network of mission stations in the Luapula Valley and in the north-western part of the country was due not to any careful strategic planning, but to the fact that individual Brethren felt themselves called to preach the Word

Outstanding among the educationalists of the White Fathers was Father Joseph van Sambeek. Appointed first Educational Secretary for the White Fathers in 1925, he started the Teacher Training School at Rosa Mission in 1927. This was the first essential step towards improving the quality of the education provided in the Society's primary schools. A highly skilful linguist, Father van Sambeek edited a series of text-books in Cibemba, written by African teachers, for use in primary schools. This work was continued by Father François Tanguy who became Education Secretary in 1930. Principal of the Teacher Training College from 1928-1940, first at Rosa and then at Malole, he moulded a generation of young teachers and his tribal histories are still widely used in Cibemba-speaking schools. In him was epitomised the White Fathers' policy of getting to know thoroughly the people among whom they work in order that they may serve them more effectively. The foremost expert in the Cibemba language, history and customs, Father Tanguy was laid to rest at Chilubula in 1961 after 48 years' service in Northern Rhodesia.

Apart from their station schools, the White Fathers had by 1925 more than 500 village schools operating under their control. These were attended by more than 25000 children. (69) The large majority of these schools were in the Eastern Province, where the White Fathers' battle for converts with the Dutch Reformed Church Mission was largely waged on the education field.

as catechists. Apart from religious knowledge, their training consisted largely of reading and writing exercises. Their first duty was to teach religion in the villages, but they also held literacy classes for those villagers, adults or children, who were interested. One such catechist was Joseph Muma, and his career illustrates the gradual development of the educational facilities provided by the White Fathers and, indeed, by many other societies.

Joseph Muma was born in 1898, the year when Bishop Dupont was given permission to start Chilubula mission, which was founded the following year. As a youngster of 12, Joseph started to attend the station school at Chilubula where one of the Fathers taught reading and writing on four mornings a week. The only textbooks were a catechism, a simple prayer-book, and a collection of Bible stories. Joseph and his friends were prepared to read these books with the help of a set of sheets of white cloth on which words and simple sentences in Bemba were printed. Writing was practised in the sand and only later were pencils and paper introduced. In 1918, he was selected for the catechists' course at Chilubula. He proved one of the brightest of the group and, after working for three years as a catechist in the villages, he was posted in 1922 to Malole as a teacher at the station school. Classes were small and averaged about 25 pupils; attendance was very irregular. The best pupils were sent to the junior seminary, which had opened in 1920. Joseph's salary was 5/- a month.

In 1927, he was sent to the teacher training school at Rosa Mission. It was a three-year course, combining academic subjects and professional training. At the end of the course, the students had to sit the Standard IV examination, and a professional examination as well. Joseph Muma was one of the 12 candidates out of 31 who passed the examination at Rosa in 1930. Now he was a probationer teacher and earned 9/- a month. At the end of a year, there was a refresher course and a practical teaching examination. Muma passed and was then sent to open a new village school. In addition to his salary, he was given in his first year 4½ kilos of salt per month with which to buy food. It was assumed that thereafter he would have his own garden. Joseph Muma was employed as a teacher for 30 years in various village schools and retired in 1960.

It is appropriate to pause and remember these early teachers. It was Joseph Muma, and hundreds like him throughout the length and breadth of the country, who had first the curiosity and then the perseverance to master the rudiments of education and later to serve their people as teachers, for meagre reward, over a period of many years. The methods employed by Joseph Muma are long since outmoded, and his academic attainment was low by present-day standards. Nevertheless, it is to such men that the country owes a tremendous debt of gratitude, for it was they who laid the foundation of the nation's educational system. It is from these humble beginnings in remote villages and isolated mission stations that a coherent and efficient educational organisation gradually and often painfully emerged.

skirts and the other clasping their solar topees firmly to their heads. Having steamed up the Zambezi and Shire Rivers and reached Karonga at the northern end of Lake Nyasa, they set off with 150 carriers on the last stage of their journey. Their arrival at Chilubula, three months after leaving Algiers, caused a sensation: most of the Bemba people had never seen a white woman before and found it inconceivable that four women could live together under the same roof in peace and harmony without the presence of a man to keep order in the house.

For the first two years the Sisters studied Cibemba and the customs of the people. A small dispensary was successfully started and in 1905 the Sisters opened their first literacy class. Only adult men attended. As soon as they became literate, they were sent into the villages as rudimentary teacher-evangelists. More than 300 such men had been trained by the Sisters by 1911. By that time the age of the pupils had dropped considerably but it was extremely difficult to break through the stubborn apathy and hostility which restricted enrolment almost entirely to boys and young men. In Bemba society, girls were required to help their mothers, to work in the fields, to marry shortly after reaching puberty and to raise a family. Why waste time and energy on educating them? An educated girl would have difficulty in finding a husband since education made a woman less submissive to her spouse. When a few parents reluctantly agreed to allow their daughters to attend school, the girls themselves frequently expressed their objection by running away.

With patience and perseverance, however, the Sisters persisted with their efforts to establish girls' education in the Kasama area and gradually won the confidence of the chief, headmen and parents. Enrolment increased fairly steadily, though there were set-backs and it was not until 1931 that it was possible for Sister Charles to start the first teacher training class at Chilubula. This was for girls who had passed Standard II; they were given a two-year training course to prepare them to teach in the sub-standard classes.

The 'White Sisters' Order had been founded by Cardinal Lavigerie in 1869 as *Les Soeurs Missionnaires de Notre Dame d'Afrique*. It is difficult to overemphasise the value of the dedicated work by generations of Sisters at Chilubula, Lubwe, Kayambi, Ilondola, Minga and other stations in developing education for girls and women and in providing medical care in areas far from Government clinics and hospitals.

Without the humble beginnings, laboriously and painfully made at Chilubula and elsewhere by women of unbounded faith and confidence in the future, we should not now regard it as commonplace to see well-groomed and sophisticated young **Zambian ladies** working as nursing sisters, air hostesses and stenographers, or to watch them hurrying across the University campus to their lectures, taking their seats in the National Assembly or, as mothers, demanding the best possible form of education for their daughters.

At each **White Fathers'** mission station, suitable young men were trained

Minga, in Petauke District, ten years later. Subsequent stations were at Chassa (1936), Fort Jameson (1938), Lumezi (1939), Chikowa (1941), Lumimba (1950), Chikungu (1951), Nyimba and Vubwi (1952), Kanyanga (1954), Katete (1961), Kokwe (1962) and Chadiza (1966). Each station was manned, in accordance with Cardinal Lavignerie's inflexible rule, by three White Fathers, each clad in the same distinctive dress of an Arab *gondoura* (a full-length, loose-fitting white robe), and wearing round his neck a large rosary of black and white beads. Often the Fathers were accompanied by lay-brothers, invaluable aides, who were responsible for many of the fine buildings for which the White Fathers' Society became renowned. Having undergone a rigorous selection and thorough training before their appointment as missionaries, subject to firm discipline, carefully instructed in the vernacular language, and usually very adaptable to local conditions, the White Fathers were perhaps in a better position than the missionaries of other societies to understand the people among whom they were working and to offer a professional ministry.

In coming to Africa, the White Fathers' main aim was evangelisation and the establishment of the Catholic Church. From the outset it was recognised that evangelisation required not only the preaching of the Word. Christianity demands the development of the whole personality, and for that reason the Mission had also a contribution to make in the social field, especially health, agriculture, and education. The first school opened by the Fathers was at Kayambi in 1896, and the first group of pupils consisted of 14 boys ransomed by the Fathers from the Arab slave traders. Soon boys from the surrounding villages asked to join the school and by March, 1897, enrolment had reached 235 children, many of whom boarded at the school in hastily-erected pole and mud huts. Each boarder received a sleeping mat and, as uniform, a piece of calico to wear as a loin-cloth. To feed the boarders, Bishop Dupont used to arrange hunting expeditions with his boys along the Chambeshi flats, which, at that time, teemed with game. This first school lasted only two years; blackwater fever carried off two Fathers and a lay-brother, and made it impossible for the school to continue until the mission staff could be reinforced.

Development of the mission station schools was slow. The children did not take easily to a regular school life, and sessions were kept short. To encourage good attendance, pupils were paid a penny a day. This was mission money made of perforated zinc discs which the children kept on a string. A yard of calico could be bought for eight or nine discs. This practice ceased as soon as the children began to display a greater interest in learning. Although the station schools were open to boys and girls, it was exceptional, to begin with, for any girls to be allowed by their parents to attend school.

In 1902, however, a group of White Sisters arrived at Chilubula. They were Mother Monique and Sisters Genevieve, Seraphine and Alphonsine. They travelled by sea from Algiers to Chinde, at the mouth of the Zambezi, where they were transferred to a river steamer in a basket, one hand holding down their voluminous



to open a mission station near his *musumba* but also appointed him as his successor to the chieftainship. Dupont was able to relieve Mwamba's pain and to prevent his being smothered in the traditional way, but could not save the Chief's life. He declined the chieftainship (the Administration would, in any case, not have allowed him to assume it) and wasted no time in opening a new station near the Chief's village at Chilubula, which means 'deliverance'.

Once Chilubula was established, new mission stations were quickly opened. Chilonga, near Mpika, was founded in 1899. Chilubi, on an island in Lake Bangweulu, in 1903 and Lubwe, on the west of Lake Bangweulu, in 1905. Other stations in what later became the Diocese of Kasama were established at Ipusukilo (Luwingu District, 1914), Malole and Rosa (Kasama, 1922), Lubushi (Kasama, 1930), Lwena (Luwingu, 1935), Mulobola (Kasama, 1935), Kasama 1950, Mporokoso (1958), Luwingu (1960) and Nsombo (1962). Mission stations in what was to become the Fort Rosebery (Mansa) diocese were founded at Chibote (1910), Lufubu (1930), Kabunda (1932), Mapula (1935), Twingi (1938), Kasaba (1942), Nsakaluba (1946), Mansa (1955), Kawambwa (1956), Kashikishi (1961), Bahati (1963), Samfya (1964) and Rosario (1966). Meanwhile, in the Diocese of Abercorn (Mbala) the White Fathers began their work at Ilondola (Chinsali, 1934), Chalabesa (Mpika, 1934), Mulilansolo (Chinsali, 1936), Katibunga (Mpika, 1936), Mambwe (Mbala, 1938), Mulanga (Chinsali, 1939), Mbala (1948), Serenje (1953), Charles Lwanga (Mpika, 1961), Lwitikila (Mpika, 1962), Isoka (1964) and Chinsali (1966).

Drawing their priests from many different countries, and supported financially by numerous overseas sources, the White Fathers were able to expand their work far more extensively than that of any other missionary society in Northern Rhodesia. Chronically short of staff and beset by perpetual financial crises, none of the Protestant societies could hope to match this rate of expansion. It was small wonder, therefore, that the L.M.S. and the Church of Scotland, for example, should cling tenaciously to their 'spheres of influence' and resist strongly what they considered to be 'invasions' by the White Fathers. Dr Brown of Lubwa reported the opening of Ilondola Mission to his Foreign Mission Committee in 1934 in these words:

'the Romanists have arrived. We do not propose giving way to Rome, but shall by God's help go on. It is a tremendous pity, however, that in so huge a continent so much of which is still unoccupied by any Christian body, there should be any invasions such as this, or rivalry such as is scarcely avoidable following such an invasion.' (68)

In spite of protests such as this, a network of stations was established as we have noted, which covered the whole of the Northern and Luapula Provinces. Meanwhile, another group of Fathers, based on Kachebere Mission in Nyasaland, had begun to penetrate Northern Rhodesia from the east. Their first station was opened at Naviruli in Fort Jameson (Chipata) District in 1914 and the second at

## (vi) THE LARGEST SOCIETY: THE WHITE FATHERS, 1895

A most valuable contribution to the development of education in the north and east of the country has been made by members of *La Société des Missionnaires de Notre Dame d'Afrique*, better known as the White Fathers. This is the largest of the missionary societies in the country.

The White Fathers were founded in 1868 by Cardinal Charles Martial Allemand Lavigerie, a French Catholic priest, who had recently been created Archbishop of Algiers and Primate of Africa. The original aim of the Society was to extend the civilizing influence of the Church to the Moslem population of North Africa and the Sahara, but as other parts of Africa were opened up, Cardinal Lavigerie planned to enlarge the scope of the White Fathers' work. In 1878, he was given permission by Pope Leo XIII to send missionaries to East and Central Africa, not only for the purpose of evangelisation but also to provide assistance in the fields of education, agriculture and health. The same year the first party of Fathers sailed from Marseilles to Zanzibar from where they established the stations which, after incredible initial difficulties had been surmounted, still flourish in Uganda, and on the shores of Lake Tanganyika.

One can say that the first mission station of the White Fathers in Northern Rhodesia came about by chance. In 1889, they opened a station on the Shire River, south of Lake Nyasa. Because of political trouble in which he did not wish his Society to be involved, Cardinal Lavigerie ordered the closure of the station and instructed the Fathers to proceed to one of the Society's stations in Tanganyika. The two priests and one brother travelled to the northern end of Lake Nyasa and then took the famous Stevenson Road. On July 19, 1891, they arrived, exhausted, at the village of Chief Mambwe of the Mambwe tribe who invited them to settle down near his village. The first Mambwe station, however, did not prosper. Fear of the Arab slave traders and of the Bemba, who periodically raided the area, kept the population small, and the Fathers began to look for the opportunity of moving into the more heavily populated country of the Bemba. In face of the fierce opposition of Chitimukulu, Paramount Chief of the Bemba (who did not want any white men in Bembaland), the Fathers were able to open a station at Kayambi in 1895 with the consent of Chief Makasa. This was founded by Father Joseph Dupont, an ebullient, courageous and vital personality who was shortly afterwards made Bishop of most of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. His all-consuming, bustling activity earned him the nickname of *Moto-Moto* ('great fire'), and, as *Bwana Shikofu Moto-Moto*, he was to become a legendary figure among the Bemba.

Hoping to penetrate deeper into Bemba country, Bishop Dupont attempted to persuade Chief Mwamba to allow a mission to be opened in his area. Mwamba rebuffed the first approaches, but, when seriously ill in 1898, sent for *Moto-Moto*, whose medical skill was well-known. Mwamba not only gave the Bishop permission

By 1925 the four remaining stations of the Free Church of Scotland in Northern Rhodesia were running a total of 313 schools with a combined enrolment of 10700 children. (67)

shady tree chanting a - e - i - o - u, then forming the letters with my finger in the sand. Each cloth was called *Nsalu* and when we had *Nsalu* one, two and three, we were promoted to the first class, where we were allowed to use slates.' (66)

Dr Ernest Boxer opened a station at Kazembe, west of Lundazi towards the Luangwa Valley in 1903. Dr Boxer's wife, however, soon died and the station was abandoned in 1906. It was not till 1922 that the Free Church made another attempt to establish a station in Lundazi District. This was Chasefu, opened in 1922 by the Rev Donald Fraser and the Rev Alexander Macdonald.

It was natural that the missionaries at Chasefu, a few kilometres from the Nyasaland border and forty kilometres north of Lundazi, should look for assistance eastwards to Livingstonia rather than to their colleagues in the other Free Church missions in Northern Rhodesia. But the influence of Livingstonia was not confined to Chasefu. The other stations, Mwenzo, Chitambo and Lubwa were all part of the Livingstonia Mission under the redoubtable Dr Laws. The Livingstonia syllabus was used in their schools, and it was to Livingstonia that teachers were sent for further training, and where promising youngsters went for industrial courses. In a sense, the Overtoun Institution, Livingstonia, though situated in Nyasaland, was Northern Rhodesia's first advanced teachers' training college, and her first trades school.

This dependence on Livingstonia, however, had considerable draw-backs. It took a month for a young man to walk from, say, Chinsali to Kondowe. This fact alone seriously reduced the number of Northern Rhodesian students who could take advantage of the Institution's facilities and courses. Although it was possible for a Free Church of Scotland boy to go to Livingstonia and take his Standards V and VI, followed by a teacher training course, only a handful in fact did so. The need to set up a second advanced training institution in Northern Rhodesia was recognised by the Foreign Mission Committee in 1923, but it was not until 1930 that money and staff could be found to elevate Lubwa to this position.

In addition to the assistance which the Livingstonia Institution gave to Northern Rhodesia, through boys sponsored by the Free Church Mission and the L.M.S., Livingstonia sent a stream of carpenters, bricklayers, captaos, mechanics, clerks and telegraphists into Northern Rhodesia. The 'Nyasa boy' was eagerly sought by employers and many rose to positions of importance in the country of their adoption.

One other mission station was opened in Northern Rhodesia by the Livingstonia Mission. This was at Tamanda, some 48 kilometres north of Fort Jameson, where work was begun in 1913. A shortage of staff led to the Free Church asking the Dutch Reformed Church Mission to take over Tamanda during the 1914-18 war. This arrangement worked well and, since Tamanda was remote from the other Livingstonia stations, it was handed over permanently to the D.R.C.M. in 1924.

- 1919: 25 schools. 845 boys and 448 girls enrolled. Fees collected £2.7.7d. Running expenses £37.1.1d. 60 teachers employed. Salaries £110.10.9d.
- 1922: 38 schools. 1000 boys and 724 girls enrolled. Fees collected £14.5.7d. Running expenses £44.19.3½d. 68 teachers employed. Salaries £149.2.9d.
- 1924: 50 schools. 1220 boys and 1110 girls enrolled. Fees collected £17.5.0d. Running expenses £66.8.1d. 87 teachers employed. Salaries £195.5.1d.
- 1925: 99 schools. 2457 boys and 1761 girls enrolled. Fees collected £35.11.1d. Running expenses £65.15.1d. 141 teachers employed. Salaries £252.2.1d. (65)

From the same records we learn that of the 141 teachers employed in the Lubwa group of schools, 73 were baptised and the remainder were 'hearers'. David Kaunda's salary in 1925 was £24. The other 140 teachers shared £228.2.1d. between them. Equally lowly paid was Helen Kaunda, wife of David Kaunda, who taught in the women's school at the station. She received £2.5.0d. for her year's work. Of the running expenses, £28 was spent on keeping the boarders at Lubwa and the balance of £37 was used to provide equipment for nearly 100 schools.

The rapid proliferation of village schools in the mid-1920's was made possible by the work of David Kaunda and McMinn. They ran the Lubwa Station school which had an average attendance of 100 to 150. New teachers were selected from those who had passed Standard IV in accordance with the Livingstonia grading. Twice each year teachers were called in to Lubwa for six weeks' courses conducted by McMinn and Kaunda. Their wives came with them and were taught by Mrs McMinn and Mrs Kaunda. When there was no teachers' course in progress, these ladies and Miss Masterton ran a Women's School where the curriculum covered sewing, housewifery, oil and soap-making, starch-making, and gardening as well as the normal classroom subjects. The emphasis placed on educational work at Lubwa and the combined efforts of the Kaundas and McMinns, led to Chinsali becoming one of the best developed districts in the country from the educational point of view, a position it held for many years.

In April, 1924, their many friends at Lubwa rejoiced that Helen and David Kaunda had been blessed by the birth of a second son. They called him Kenneth David. Forty years later he was to be the first President of the Republic of Zambia.

Teaching methods and class equipment remained at a rudimentary level. President Kaunda has recorded his experiences as a beginner at Lubwa:

'The method of teaching young children in the nineteen-twenties was to gather them under a tree on which was hung a cloth painted with letters of the alphabet. I well remember sitting for hours under a

Henderson, the great hunter of villages, hunted it. Many are coming searching school. They do not wish me to go away but make Chinsali as my home. They are very much willing to hear the words of God preached among them. Many are crossing the Chambesi River in search of school. There are many people and many villages — over 100 villages, east, west, south and north just in deep sleep. A European missionary should quickly take place at Chinsali.' (63)

Another six years, however, were to elapse before a European missionary was sent to the Chinsali area. During that period it was David Kaunda, based at Fonkofonko, or Senior Chief Nkula's village or at Chinsali boma, who opened schools, gave a preliminary training to the teachers and supervised their work. His record in this respect is unique in the history of the educational development of the country. A Tonga from Nyasaland, working as a teacher and evangelist among the Bemba of Chinsali District, he was as much a missionary as those who came to Northern Rhodesia from overseas.

Because of the widespread desire for more schools which David Kaunda created, Dr Laws instructed Chisholm to press the Home Committee of the Free Church to authorise the opening of a mission station near Chinsali. Chisholm informed the Committee that unless a station was opened in the area the Company might not continue to refuse admission to the White Fathers who were anxious to penetrate Chief Nkula's country. To mark the Livingstone centenary, permission was duly given in 1913 and the Rev R. D. McMinn, who had already spent twenty years in the Mission's service, opened Lubwa Mission, eight kilometres from Chinsali, in the same year.

In a tribute he wrote, following the Rev David Kaunda's death in 1932 (he was ordained in 1930), McMinn wrote: 'In 1913 we found something like a score of schools in the District, run by men who had been taught by Kaunda and had then attended teachers' school at Mwenzo, and a small Christian community, the majority of whose members were active witnesses of Christ.' (64) After McMinn's arrival, and the establishment of the mission station at Lubwa, David Kaunda remained a major influence in the life and work of the Church, as well as of the schools he loved so much.

Although Lubwa was to grow in the 1930's (under the Rev Maxwell Robertson) into perhaps the foremost educational institution in the country, its beginnings were quite humble, and the early educational efforts of McMinn and David Kaunda were marked by disappointments and set-backs. The fluctuating fortunes of the Mission's early educational work and subsequent rapid growth are well brought out in these extracts from the Lubwa Mission records:

1914: 41 schools in operation. 1446 boys and 1022 girls enrolled.  
Fees collected £6.7.9d. Running expenses £40.13.4d. 89 teachers employed. Their salaries amounted to £101.18.4d.

they are all young men and boys and the teacher informs us they will not allow the women and girls to attend school. We cannot force them to let the girls come, nor is it wise to attempt it, so we just look to the Lord and wait until He can find a way into their hearts. At all the other out-schools the girls generally outnumber the boys.' (31)

In these extracts can clearly be seen the conception of the teacher as an evangelist and of the school as a weapon in the battle to save souls. In 1915, there were six out-schools run from Macha, serving 200 children. When Frances Davidson retired from the mission field in 1924, the number of schools had not increased, but the enrolment of children had doubled. From a purely academic point of view, she had not achieved very much. She could boast of few scholars who had more than a smattering of book knowledge or whose literacy was other than precarious. Nevertheless, she had influenced the lives of a great many people through her piety and evangelical fervour. Life around Macha Mission could never be quite the same as it was before the arrival of the pioneer ladies of the Church of the Brethren in Christ.

Sisters Davidson and Engle had been joined at Macha at the end of 1907 by the Rev Myron Taylor. Two years later, Taylor and Miss Engle were married. Anxious to start a second mission station, Taylor in 1910 found a suitable site at Sikalongo, some 37 kilometres south-east of Choma. It was not until 1920 that the Company gave permission for the site to be developed. A considerable quantity of materials and equipment had then to be moved from Macha to Sikalongo. When the Government banned the movement of oxen to prevent the spread of sleeping sickness, Taylor and his African assistants pushed heavily-laden wheelbarrows along the rough tracks between the two stations. Following the arrival of Miss Beulah Musser, a day school and a night school were started at Sikalongo in 1921. A boarding school began six years later. The Rev Taylor was beginning to open village schools around Sikalongo when he was killed by a lion in 1931.

The only other station to be opened by the Brethren in Christ was Nahumba mission in 1954. Choma Secondary School was started at Nahumba in 1961 a far cry indeed from Sister Davidson's brave little literacy class of 1907.

## (v) THE ANGLICAN CONTRIBUTION: THE UNIVERSITIES MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA, 1910

It was not until the pioneering period was drawing to a close that the powerful and wealthy Church of England sponsored a mission to Northern Rhodesia.

While home on leave in 1857, David Livingstone addressed a series of meetings in an effort to inspire young men to devote their lives to missionary work in Central Africa. At the most famous of these meetings, Livingstone ended his lecture to a packed audience in the Senate House, Cambridge University, with these words:

'I beg to direct your attention to Africa. I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country, which is now open. Do not let it be shut again! I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave it with you.' (32)

As a direct result of the extraordinary enthusiasm aroused by Livingstone's lecture tour, there was formed in 1858 the Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin Mission to Central Africa, later known as the Universities Mission to Central Africa. In 1860-63, a valiant but ill-conceived attempt was made, with the help of Livingstone, to establish the Mission in the Shire Highlands of Nyasaland. This venture ended in disaster and the survivors made their way to Zanzibar, which remained the centre of the Anglican Mission's work for several decades. In the 1880's, a second diocese was established in Nyasaland, and by the opening of the twentieth century its activities were beginning to overspill into North Eastern Rhodesia.

On December 4, 1907, the fiftieth anniversary of Livingstone's lecture, another great meeting in the Cambridge Senate House approved vociferously, with one tremendous 'Aye', a resolution proposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to establish a third diocese of the Mission. John Edward Hine, formerly Bishop of Zanzibar, was appointed Bishop of the new Northern Rhodesia diocese and reached Livingstone in May, 1910. Within a few weeks of his arrival, he set out on foot to acquaint himself with the country and to seek suitable sites for mission stations. Whereas most other Missions confined their activities to one or perhaps two areas of the country, the U.M.C.A. claimed as its sphere of evangelical operations the whole of Northern Rhodesia. The years were to show that the Mission had neither the human nor material resources to make any real impact over so vast an area. Chronically short of money and men, the U.M.C.A. eventually had to be content with a thin scattering of stations, separated by great distances and language differences, which presented considerable administrative problems.

From his home base at Livingstone, Bishop Hine walked over 4000



kilometres during his first year in Northern Rhodesia, and established missions at Msoro, 80 kilometres from Fort Jameson (January, 1911) and Mapanza (March, 1911). Remarkably, the priest appointed to open Msoro was an African, the Rev Leonard Mattiya Kamungu, trained and ordained in Nyasaland, who volunteered to work in the new diocese. Quiet and unassuming in character, Kamungu wasted no time in starting a school at Msoro and in the surrounding villages. His teachers were Nyasalanders who had accompanied him from the Likombe (Nyasaland) diocese. By June, 1911, he reported, 'lots of boys and girls in school and lots of hearers.' (33) Soon, however, tragedy struck, and in February, 1913, Father Kamungu died, probably by poisoning, a serious loss to the young and understaffed diocese.

Meanwhile, Bishop Hine had decided to make his headquarters among the Tonga people at Mapanza, over 70 kilometres from Choma and 270 from Livingstone. An old government brick-built house was purchased, and on March 5, 1911, the new station was opened. The chief and people were anxious to have a school and within a few days of the station's establishment a school was opened. Wrote the Rev W. G. Webster:

'Mr. MacLennan, full of ideas, had a scheme afoot and put one of the disused huts into order. The first day, eleven very primitive youngsters appeared and waited expectantly. As our knowledge of Chitonga, the new language, was, at the best, limited, it was with some difficulty that we did proceed. But by dint of Mr. MacLennan's Sesuto (he had been doing missionary work in the Bloemfontein diocese) and my little Chinyanja, we worked through some instruction in letters, an astonishing singing lesson and various other matters. The boys were very patient with us and professed an eagerness for more. Their intelligence was surprising and once the initial obstacles of language and shyness are past, I have no doubt progress will be rapid. There will, no doubt, be indifference after the novelty has worn off and there may be antagonism. But, at least, a beginning has been made.' (34)

With this curious admixture of enthusiasm, naivete, foresight and condescension began Anglican educational endeavours at Mapanza.

The Mission was beset with staffing difficulties. Ill-health forced Webster to resign in 1912; the Bishop himself retired, a sick man, in 1914; and MacLennan died in 1916. The new Bishop, the Rev Alston James Weller May, curate at Chertsey when the offer of the bishopric was made, was to prove one of the major figures in Northern Rhodesia for the next 26 years. On arrival at Mapanza in September, 1914, he found two special weaknesses — the absence of industrial work in the boys' school and no effective girls' work because of the absence of European ladies. The first problem was solved by opening a carpenter's shop and including building work in the curriculum. The second was dealt with in a more

unorthodox manner. A nurse and a lady teacher were recruited, and a small native village was built to house ten girls. The mornings were taken up with manual work, grinding meal, and practical exercises in cleanliness and hygiene, while school lessons occupied the afternoons. Unfortunately, this brave little experiment came to an early end. The teacher, Miss Boothby, became ill, and then disciplinary problems arose in the village. In June, 1917, only nine months after it had started, the village had to be closed for lack of staff.

In September, 1912, William Deerr, former Principal of St Andrew's Training College, Zanzibar; opened a mission station at Ng'omba, about 100 kilometres south-east of Fort Rosebery, among the Wa-Ushi. For two years he worked quite alone and started schools at the mission station and in two nearby villages. In September, 1914, he wrote: 'I have started two out-schools; both have large attendances and the people seem very keen. If it had not been for manifest signs of progress, I do not think that I could have endured two years of isolation.' (35) But Ng'omba was an unhealthy station, heavily infested with tsetse fly, and in 1915, Bishop May closed it, opening a new mission in its stead at Chilikwa, north of Fort Rosebery. Schools were soon established at the new station which became known as Chipili, and in eight of the surrounding villages.

An elementary form of teacher training was provided at each mission station, and refresher courses were usually held annually. The Rev A. S. B. Ranger recorded his frustrating experience of such a course held at Msoro in 1917:

'The 21 teachers assembled each day from 9.00 to 12.15 and from 1.00 to 3.15 for instruction in very elementary arithmetic, singing and a little English. On the Thursday they were unable to make anything of three plus eight, minus seven, after several days of explanation. Little wonder that people never come near our schools; the so-called teachers have nothing to teach them. To retain such (teachers) appears not only to be throwing our supporters' money into the bush, but also to endanger the thoroughness of our work for all time.' (36)

The U.M.C.A., in common with virtually every other missionary society, was quite unable to provide a trained teacher force equal to the demands of the villagers clamouring for schools. The difficulty was made the more acute by the fact that the few shillings a month the missionaries could afford to pay their teachers would not retain an efficient man, who would have no difficulty in earning a much higher salary as a Government clerk. When the supply of reasonably efficient teachers ran short, the missionaries had to choose between concentrating the available teachers on a few schools, or responding to the call of the village headmen, and staffing a large number of schools with teachers who themselves were barely literate. Usually the decision made was in favour of quantity at the expense of quality. With regular supervision, it was hoped optimistically that untrained

teachers would be able to perform their duties in a satisfactory manner. But, as the number of out-schools increased, the control of the missionary was often reduced to a vanishing point.

Occasionally, the ultimate futility was realised of an expansionist policy which resulted in a proliferation of hopelessly inefficient little schools. The Msoro Station Report for 1918, for instance, recorded stern action by Bishop May.

'In January the Bishop examined our twenty-three teachers, found them inefficient and recalled them for eighteen months' further instruction at college, now held at Msoro. Seventeen of them responded. Several of these have already proved themselves unsatisfactory and eleven only remain.'

It was not only the teachers who came under the Bishop's scrutiny. The report continued: 'Outstanding cases of discipline were dealt with, and one hundred and four Christians from our sixteen Msoro villages were suspended by the Bishop.' (37)

Bishop May's determination to have no schools at all rather than a lot of inefficient schools staffed by semi-literate teachers was not shared by most missionary societies, who were obsessed with the importance of 'occupying the field' at all costs. The Native Commissioner at Fort Jameson wrote in his District Report for 1919:

'The University Mission's schools are still closed by the Bishop's orders who found the teachers insufficiently experienced or trained for the work. The teachers of this Mission were far better trained on an average than those of other missions, many of the so-called teachers had not passed Standard I or II and some not even that.' (38)

(We do not know the academic standing of the Native Commissioner.)

The indefatigable Deerr opened a new station at Mkushi a few weeks after being ordained priest in June, 1918. At the end of the year he could report: 'By December there was a flourishing little school of 22 on the station and two well-attended village schools.' (39) Mkushi gave every promise of successful development and the Bishop looked forward to its becoming the central station at which teachers for the whole diocese would be trained. But such hopes were short-lived. U.M.C.A. suffered from an acute shortage of staff at this time, and a crushing blow fell in March, 1920, when Father Deerr, perhaps the ablest and most respected of the Mission's whole staff, died of cancer. There being no one to take Deerr's place, Mkushi was abandoned. At last, in April, 1924, the Bishop was obliged to send Father George Hewitt and Mr Stewart to re-open the mission station at a new site known as Fiwila. Here they 'set to work to clear the forest, put up

buildings, start a garden, make bricks, cut timber, patch up sores, teach ABC and do everything else that is done to preach the Gospel.' (40)

The duration and quality of the training which could be given to the teachers employed by the Mission depended on the number of missionaries on each station and their qualifications for such work. Where staffing resources allowed, as at Chipili in 1924, the school year was divided into two halves. From October to April, the teachers, numbering 16, went to live at the mission station where they joined a handful of selected men and boys who were regarded as prospective teachers. They underwent a six-month training course while people in the villages were too busy in the fields to be able to attend school regularly. During the other half of the year, from April to October, the village schools were open and the teachers were posted in two's and three's to suitable centres from which they carried on classes in the surrounding villages, giving not only elementary secular instruction, but also religious instruction to catechumens and hearers. This method was typical of many Missions at that time: teachers were required to be Christian leaders in the community as well as purveyors of the three R's.

Bishop May was acutely aware of the weaknesses of a system under which each of the U.M.C.A. stations trained its own teachers, used its own methods, set its own standards and devised its own curriculum. He recognised the need to establish a central teachers training institution, but it was not until September, 1928 that the necessary resources were found to open a Training College at Fiwila for students from the four stations of Msoro, Mapanza, Fiwila and Chipili. Father Hewitt was in charge, assisted by James Mwela, an experienced teacher from Nyasaland, who remained on the staff for a quarter of a century. A year later, the Rev Arthur Maurice Jones arrived to take over as Warden of the College, known as St Mark's. One of his first students, Philemon Mataka, was to be consecrated first African Bishop of Zambia in 1964. Fiwila, attractive and central though it was, proved to have serious disadvantages. The food supply was expensive and erratic, and the facilities for practising teachers in the surrounding schools were insufficient. The Director of Native Education agreed to make a grant that would cover part of the cost of new buildings on another site and it was decided to transfer the College to Mapanza. The move took place in September, 1932, since when Mapanza has remained one of the leading educational institutions in the country. For this, much of the credit must go to Father Jones who was Warden of St Mark's from 1929 to 1950. Priest, scientist, engineer, builder, musician, mechanic, inventor and author, Jones demonstrated to a remarkable degree that versatility which was so valuable at a time when money was short and 'do it yourself' was a necessity on mission stations. In building up and maintaining the reputation of St Mark's, Jones was assisted by Father Geoffrey Fiennes, sub-Warden from 1935 to 1950 and then Warden himself until 1964.

The Universities Mission to Central Africa, representing the Anglo-Catholic side of the Church of England, was never to dominate the Northern Rhodesia

educational scene as their low-church colleagues of the Church Missionary Society did in Uganda and Ghana. Shortages of staff and money were a permanent feature of the U.M.C.A.'s work in Northern Rhodesia. The lonely missionary at 'the back of beyond' at Msoro and Fiwila, expected by his home supporters to manage on a personal allowance of £20 a year, may well have wondered what had happened to the initial enthusiasm generated by Livingstone's lectures of 1857. Perhaps he read with wry amusement the preface by the Rev William Monk to the published edition of the lectures. Monk wrote:

'Those Christian missionaries who first came to the British Islands found our forefathers half clad savages. And what has Christianity after the lapse of ages made us now? The greatest nation standing in the fore-front of civilization of the most astonishing age of the world's history. Let Britain fulfil her mission, especially towards Africa, whom she has in former years helped to degrade, enslave and curse.' (41)

But the members of the established church of 'the greatest nation' did not give the same support to its mission in Northern Rhodesia as it did to the Church Missionary Society. The U.M.C.A. were never able to build up schools in Northern Rhodesia comparable to King's School, Budo, in Uganda, or to the Alliance High School in Kenya. Its work has been concentrated in the primary field, except for Mapanza where a secondary school was started in the early 1950's.

By 1925, the Universities Mission was running 38 primary schools where about 1400 children were enrolled. (42)

In 1965 the U.M.C.A. merged with the S.P.G. to form the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

## (vi) SOUTH AFRICA GENERAL MISSION: A SLOW START, 1910

In January, 1966, a hundred girls made their way from all corners of the North Western Province, and beyond, to Mukinge Hill, near Kasempa, and took their places in Form I of the new secondary school on the mission station. The arrival of these girls symbolised a major break-through in the educational work of the South Africa General Mission (known since 1963 as the Africa Evangelical Fellowship) and also marked an important milestone in the emancipation of women in one of the most undeveloped areas of Zambia.

No missionary society chose a less promising field in which to operate than did the S.A.G.M. No society made, for more than twenty years, such limited attempts to establish its educational work, or met with such indifference from the people to whom it offered a modicum of western learning and enlightenment.

But we should begin at the beginning. The S.A.G.M. traces its origin to the early 1880's when a Christian Workers' Union was formed in Cape Town to seek to minister to the spiritual needs of the soldiers and sailors of many nationalities who passed through the port. Dr Andrew Murray, a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, became interested in the work of this group of laymen, and played a leading part in gaining the support of Christian leaders in England to form a missionary society to work among all sections of the population in the Cape. In 1889, the Cape General Mission was founded and took over the activities of the Christian Workers' Union. Andrew Murray was President of the Mission, and William Spencer Walton from England was Director. Two years later, the C.G.M. amalgamated with the South East Africa Evangelistic Mission to form the South Africa General Mission, an interdenominational, evangelical fellowship which drew its members not only from England and South Africa, but also from the United States, Canada and Australasia. All shared a fundamentalist belief in a literal interpretation of the Bible and the personality of Satan, and were committed to lead a life of self-sacrifice and denial in readiness for Christ's return and the Day of Judgement.

The Mission rapidly established itself in South Africa, and by 1897 the first station had been opened in Southern Rhodesia. Not until 1910, however, was a start made north of the Zambezi.

In 1909, the British South Africa Company approached Fred Arnot at Garenganze in Katanga to ask him to extend his work to the Solwezi area. Arnot's resources and those of his Brethren colleagues were already stretched to their limits, but Arnot passed on the invitation to the S.A.G.M. headquarters in Cape Town. The response was favourable, and early in 1910 Arnot accompanied the Rev Albert Bailey, an American, to Solwezi district to select the site for a mission station. They

chose Chisalala, about sixteen kilometres south-east of the present Solwezi boma in the neighbourhood of Kansanshi mine.

John Pupe, the very first Kaonde to be baptised (in 1915), and in 1968 still an active church worker, has told how Arnot and Bailey came to his village:

'When they came in March, 1910, they began to preach the Word of God on Saturdays and in the nearby villages. When the people found out that the Europeans taught reading and writing, they said, "Let us go to them and let them teach us to write." So they went to the missionaries and I went with them. I was 14 at the time. When we got there, the elders said that they wanted to join the school. Mr. Arnot said, "School is not for you grown men, but for boys like him," pointing to me. So we went home to the village and the elders told me to go back to the Europeans to be taught. So, in May, I went to the mission and was there learning for two years. There were six of us in the first class.' (43)

The pioneering spirit burned strongly in Albert Bailey. No sooner had missionary reinforcements arrived at Chisalala in the persons of Ernest Harris and his wife, than Bailey, taking John Pupe with him, set off through the bush to Kasempa, and then turned westwards towards Mankoya (Kaoma). On the Lalafuta River, about 145 kilometres from Kasempa, a mission station was opened in 1912. Three years later this was moved to the Musonweji River by Mr and Mrs Roy Vernon from America. While John Pupe supervised the building of the missionaries' house, Vernon took his wife on the long trek to Kalene Hill to be delivered. The baby was born on the way and did not live. Mrs Vernon had no sooner reached Kalene than she died. Such were the risks that missionaries ran, and still have to face, in areas where travel is difficult and medical facilities few and far between.

In 1917, the Rev Charles Foster arrived at Musonweji. He celebrated his golden jubilee with the Mission in 1967. It was he who was to be the Mission's major linguist in the Kaonde language which, at the time of his arrival, had neither been written down nor analysed. Again, John Pupe proved invaluable. He had now a fair command of English. By using substitution sentences based on the story of the woman at the well in St John's Gospel, Foster and his wife elicited from Pupe the various grammatical forms of the Kaonde language, and this led to the writing of the first skeleton grammar of Kaonde. Until this time, reading had been in the allied dialect of Sanga, which Arnot and his colleagues had used in the Congo. Foster completed a translation of St Mark's Gospel in 1922 and the first edition of the complete New Testament in Kaonde was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1936. The translation of the Old Testament was ready for the publishers in 1969, an event which crowned Charles Foster's life-time's devotion

to translating the Holy Scriptures into a language which is spoken by a bare 60000 people.

Throughout the vast Kasempa and Solwezi Districts, the density of population was less than one person per 250 hectares. There were no concentrations of population. The villages were widely scattered and were moved every three to four years. It would be hard to imagine more difficult circumstances in which to provide an education service. In any case, the S.A.G.M. was in no position, even if it had wanted to do so, to embark on a programme of school development. Both Chisalala and Musonweji were chronically short of staff, and most of the time of the missionaries was taken up with routine chores about the station and in touring, by bicycle or on foot, their 20000 square mile (5m. hectare) parishes. In the wet season, however, when touring was restricted, school sessions were held at both stations. The scattered population made it necessary for these to be boarding schools. No fees were charged, and the expense of feeding and clothing the pupils, as well as teaching them, fell on the Mission. Only a small number of pupils reached Standard 2, the highest class, and scarcely any girls could be persuaded to stay at school long enough to become literate.

Equipment was of the simplest. Anything which could not be made locally had to be transported to Musonweji by carrier from the rail-head at Broken Hill, 480 kilometres away. No road, or even cart-track, led into Kasempa District until 1927, and there were no internal roads until after that date. For the villagers, there were few visible advantages to be derived from attendance at school, and the response of the people to the limited educational programme which the missionaries provided was largely one of apathy. Some youngsters, however, achieved literacy, and also learned some carpentry, brick-making, building and other practical skills while earning their keep on the mission station.

A little more success attended the educational efforts in the west. There was not a single missionary society working in Mankoya District, and the Paris Evangelical Mission had neither the funds nor the staff to open a station there. In 1922, the S.A.G.M. partially filled the gap by opening a mission on the Luampa stream, nearly 50 kilometres from Mankoya boma. Victor Jakeman and his wife, who had previously worked in Angola, ran the Luampa station vigorously, and rapidly started an active programme of evangelism and teaching. The population around Luampa was more concentrated than at Musonweji or Chisalala, and this made it easier to build up the station school. Another station was opened in 1923 at Kaba Hill; here the emphasis was on medical work.

In 1925, the S.A.G.M. reported that it was running 10 schools, where approximately 700 children were enrolled. (44) Only the schools on the mission stations, however, were anything more than prayer centres.

The overseas council of the S.A.G.M. decided in 1926 that the stations at Chisalala and Musonweji should be replaced by a new station to be set up at a central site among the Kaonde people. The site selected was at Mukinge Hill, five



kilometres from Kasempa boma. By concentrating their slender resources at Mukinge Hill, the S.A.G.M. hoped to be able to strengthen both their educational and medical work. It proved impossible, however, to achieve any worth-while results in Solwezi District without a mission station in the district, and in 1929, Mutanda River station was opened by Herbert Pirouet and his wife, who had previously run the school at Chisalala. At Mukinge, Foster started a school for teacher-evangelists at the post-Standard 2 level. Without adequately trained teachers, the development of village schools could not be successfully undertaken, but in the next four years five such schools were opened and lived a fitful existence.

The policy of the S.A.G.M. has been 'to preach where Christ is not named', that is, to occupy only those fields where no other evangelical body was at work. Their educational philosophy for the people among whom they worked was to 'get the Gospel into them'. (45) The inadequacy of this philosophy was recognised at last in the Mission's 1927 Report:

'Pressure is being put upon us both by the Government and the Natives themselves for a stronger educational programme. It has been said in authoritative circles that if we, as a mission, fail to undertake the educational work, another mission will be invited in.' (46)

Not until 1933 were the first post-Standard IV men sent from Mukinge Hill and Mutanda River to Johnston Falls to be trained as teachers at the C.M.M.L. normal school. Only when they returned from their training was it possible for the S.A.G.M. to begin at all seriously the long and laborious task of developing a village school system for the Kaonde and Nkoya peoples. This belated expansion of the society's educational activities was a practical recognition of the fact that the Gospel is a message for the whole man: evangelism requires not only that church members should be well instructed in God's Word but also should be enabled to develop their faculties to the full, and be equipped to be self-respecting, independent members of society, with a sense of responsibility to serve the community through their various talents.

If the educational work of the S.A.G.M. built up painfully slowly, it is important to remember that the response of the African population to the scant opportunities offered them in the schools varied between apathy and hostility. When Miss J. C. Forman opened a girls' boarding school at Mukinge Hill as late as 1936, and set the annual fee for boarding and uniform at 5/-, the parents declared that this was too much. The fee was reduced to 3/6 and then waived altogether. In spite of this, only 12 girls enrolled at the school that year. Many were the excuses that kept the rest at home: 'she is too young', 'she is too old', 'she is married', 'she is betrothed', 'she is a stranger here'. (47) It required dogged persistence and a deep abiding faith on the part of the missionaries to persevere in the face of such indifference and suspicion. The visitor to the flourishing Mukinge Hill Secondary

School can but be thankful that Miss Forman and her successors did not despair, but found the will and the courage to keep open the door of opportunity and enlightenment.

(vii) WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY:  
CHIKALA AND CHIPEMBI, 1913

In striking contrast to the Primitive Methodists who were received into the country with great reluctance, the Wesleyan Methodists entered Northern Rhodesia at the direct invitation of the people themselves.

Methodists consider the world to be their parish, and their missionary tradition might be said to date back to 1735 when John and Charles Wesley ran a mission station in Georgia, U.S.A. After the Methodists finally broke away from the Church of England in 1784, there was a renewed interest in missionary work overseas, and a foothold was established in the Cape Province in the early part of the nineteenth century.

In 1890, Rhodes invited the Rev Isaac Shimmin of Klerksdorp in the Transvaal to accompany the Pioneer Column to Salisbury. Rhodes promised to provide an abundance of land for mission stations and an annual grant of £100. The following year, Shimmin and the Rev Owen Watkins led a Methodist group in the wake of the Pioneers. Their party included a number of African teachers from the Transvaal. Despite set-backs arising from the Matabele War of 1893 and the Mashona Rebellion of 1896, Methodism quickly took root in Southern Rhodesia. The young Mission's educational work flourished and a major step was taken when the Waddilove Training Institute was opened by the Rev John White at Nengubo Mission, about 80 kilometres south of Salisbury, in 1899. It was, however, not the important Institute at Nengubo, but a small school near Selukwe, which was indirectly responsible for the introduction of Wesleyan Methodism into Northern Rhodesia. The person who made this possible was a simple village man named Chikala.

Chikala lived at Mbosha's village in the Luano Valley of Northern Rhodesia. In about 1902, Chikala made his way across the Zambezi and down to Selukwe, where he found employment at a mine. He came under the influence of teachers at a nearby Wesleyan mission school and was soundly converted to Christianity. Soon after his return home, his brother became Chief Mbosha. Together the new Chief and Chikala planned to secure a missionary for their people. Chikala made the long journey back to Selukwe, only to be referred to the Rev John White, chairman of the Wesleyan Mission in Salisbury. White promised to visit the Luano Valley as soon as he could, and kept his promise in 1909. He was so impressed by the enthusiasm and faith of Chikala and Mbosha that he agreed to send an evangelist as soon as possible. Chikala set to work to erect a pole and mud building which would serve as a church and a school, and taught the people the little he had learned at Selukwe.

Chikala waited patiently for the coming of the promised evangelist. But it was three years before John White was able to return to Northern Rhodesia.

Accompanied by the Rev Henry Loveless and three African evangelists, he trekked to Mbosha village. He found that Chikala had died, still professing his simple faith, and that his little pole and mud church had fallen down.

The party decided that the Luano Valley was too hot and unhealthy for a mission station. Instead, they chose a site near Chipembi's village, 160 kilometres to the north-west. Loveless built a station here, but ill-health forced him to retire, and his place was taken by the Rev Douglas Gray in 1913. In the same year, Paul Sigalaba, a teacher-evangelist, settled at Mbosha's village. A new and larger church-cum-school was built, and when Gray visited Mbosha in 1914, he found the chief, 'an elderly man whose hair and beard were tinged with white, sitting in the school with the young men and children, laboriously forming the letters of the alphabet on a slate.' (48)

Douglas Gray was an excellent choice as leader to set the Mission on its feet. He was possessed of indefatigable energy and in the first nine months after his arrival in Northern Rhodesia he covered 800 kilometres by canoe, 1450 kilometres by bicycle, and 2100 kilometres on foot, exploring the country and learning what he could about its inhabitants. He was appalled at what he found, and especially by the evidence he saw of the 'overpowering belief in witchcraft which is acting like a vampire on the life of the people.' Tradition and custom had a strangle-hold on the people and this had kept them 'in utter ignorance'. 'Their condition today,' he inveighed, 'is a striking commentary upon the insufficiency of their religion and its impotence to lift them.' Christian education, in Gray's view, was the only force that 'could free these people from the bondage of darkness and fear. Education frees the mind from the power of dark superstition; Christianity inspires and controls the new freedom obtained.' (49)

Gray planned a rapid expansion of the Society's activities and the development of a network of primary schools. Little, however, could be done during the war years, and it was not until Gray returned to Chipembi after service as an army chaplain that an educational programme could be tackled. Expansion came through a policy of self-help. Chiefs and headmen who asked for the appointment of a teacher-evangelist were made responsible for building a church which would serve as a school during the week, and a house. At each quarterly meeting at Chipembi, the position was reviewed, and if the teacher-evangelist was not receiving adequate support, he was withdrawn. But the supply of trained men, who taught in the school in the week and preached to the people on Sunday, was unequal to the demand. In 1921, Gray reported to the Home Committee that six new out-stations had been opened during the year, but 'we are still faced with over twenty villages where the chiefs and headmen have begged us to send them evangelists.' (50) The first teacher-evangelists came from Southern Rhodesia. As more schools were opened and the need for teachers increased, the better pupils were given a rudimentary form of teacher-training and sent to open new classes. Such teachers, as Gray readily admitted, were 'more remarkable for their fervour than for their knowledge', (51)

but they were the best available. The most promising were sent to Waddilove for training. After the opening of Kafue Institute, selected teachers went to be trained by John Fell. By 1925, there were 25 teacher-evangelists working with Gray, together with two African ministers, both from Southern Rhodesia. Between them, they ran 31 schools, with 1300 pupils. The average daily attendance was reported to be 700. (52)

In the same year, one of the Watchtower revivals, which periodically sweeps across Northern Rhodesia, temporarily checked the Methodists' advance. The Annual Report of the Society for 1925 recorded that:

'this new teaching spread like a flame through some parts of the country and carried away hundreds of Church members. At some of the stations, the scholars left the schools and the whole work was brought to a standstill. Where the members were many, and the shepherds few, these were swept away almost entirely.' (53)

Only when the Government intervened and hanged for murder the leader of the movement, the self-styled *Mwanalesa*, (Son of God), did the Jehovah's Witnesses lose their influence and the scholars begin to trickle back to the schools.

Meanwhile, the Wesleyans had gained an important foothold in Broken Hill, then the chief mining town in the Territory. In March, 1923, when the population of Broken Hill consisted of 6000 Africans and 400 Europeans, F. H. Melland, the District Commissioner, wrote to the Rev Oliver Roebuck at Chipembi urging the establishment of a mission station in the town.

'I do not think there is a parish with such potentialities for good in the Territory,' wrote the worried administrator. He continued: 'If Northern Rhodesia is to break up on the rocks, the wreck will be caused by mal-education. Some people, as you know, inveigh against educating natives at all and say it spoils them; it often does. Unless it is guided and purposeful, it is an undiluted evil. We must have the right kind of schools, the right kind of guidance . . . purposeful education. We are breaking down old tribal moral guards and we must substitute new and better ones. We can keep Northern Rhodesia off the rocks, but in no other way that I know of.' (54)

Melland's urgent invitation could not be ignored, and schools were soon opened by the Wesleyans in the mine township and in Broken Hill itself. But one comparatively small missionary society, with limited financial and human resources, could touch no more than the fringe of the educational needs of Broken Hill, a fact which Gray and Roebuck recognised all too clearly when appealing to their home supporters for additional resources.

'We are faced,' wrote Gray, 'with the problem of the detribalised African, the product of the contact of our civilization upon native life. There are thousands of Africans who, because of this contact, have lost their old beliefs, their old sanctions and bulwarks, and got nothing to take the place of these things. They are the true heathen of Africa. The responsibility for these people lies upon us. By our own systems we have filched from them their fathers' faith, and unless we replace it with something better, we leave them poor indeed.' (55)

But the Wesleyans could not concentrate all their energies on Broken Hill. Their resources had to be stretched in order to extend the Society's activities to Keembe, in the western part of the Lenje reserve, to Lusaka, and as far as Masuku, near Magoye, in the Southern Province. It was at Chipembi, however, that the centre of the Wesleyans' work remained, and it was there that a boarding school was opened in 1927 to which boys and girls from the out-schools could be sent for a better education than was possible in the villages. Although the school was co-educational until 1941, the principal aim of the Society at Chipembi was to provide a first class primary education for girls. Declared Gray:

'As no stream can rise higher than its source, so no people can rise higher than the level of their women. It is they who are the repositories of the teaching of the tribe, and the upholders of the old traditions and customs. Consequently, no Christian work can ever be permanent that fails to lay hold of the women and girls of the people and to transform their lives.' (56)

Seven girls arrived to enrol when Dorothy Hinks opened Chipembi Boarding School in March, 1927. By the end of the first term, 27 were in residence, their ages ranging from 5 to 20. From these small beginnings the school grew rapidly. Chipembi produced the first girls in the country to pass Standard IV, the first women teachers, and the first Standard VI girls. Another first was achieved in 1946 when Chipembi became a girls' secondary school, the girls' equivalent to Munali, drawing pupils from all over the country, and producing educated and mature women who were to be the pace-setters, wives of future Cabinet ministers, and leaders in their own right.

Chipembi was to be no academic hot-house. Education, to Gray and his colleagues, meant 'no narrow code of literary schooling.' Emphasis was given to practical work designed to fit the pupils for a fuller and richer life when they left school. Girls took domestic science and were instructed in mother-craft and sex hygiene. Boys spent a considerable part of their day in learning not only carpentry and building work but also agriculture. The importance of improving agricultural techniques, in Gray's view, could not be over-estimated. 'We shall never make a

permanent impression on the home-life of these people,' he stated, 'until they have a different system of agriculture.' (57)

Gray was aghast at the agricultural methods of the Lenje people:

'They choose a piece of bush, lop off all the branches of the trees to be found there, and, piling them round the base of the trees, allow them to dry. Then they burn them, thus killing off the trees. Then they hoe in the ash to fertilise the soil, leaving the trunks of trees remaining stark and dead. The first year the crop may be good, so the second and third; but soon the soil is exhausted. They take everything from it and put nothing into it. "The garden is finished," they say, "we must go and find another." This may be miles away, and so a new village is needed near to the new garden. Is it likely they are going to build permanent houses when these houses must be abandoned in a few years? We shall never get them to build houses, carrying out the lessons of hygiene, ventilation and sanitation they are taught, until they have permanent gardens. They will never have permanent gardens until we can teach them the elements of agriculture, the rotation of crops and simple manuring.' (58)

Douglas Gray may well have under-estimated the efficiency, in certain circumstances, of the *citimene* system of agriculture practised by the Lenje and other tribes, and have over-simplified a complex problem. Nevertheless, he was surely right in believing that a missionary society or an educational programme which did not strive to improve the agricultural methods of the community was worthless. A sensitive man, who felt desperately sorry for the people among whom he worked, Gray pleaded with the Government for financial assistance. At last a Beit Trust grant of £350 a year for five years enabled him to appoint H. Turnbull as an agricultural missionary at Chipembi. Turnbull not only taught in the primary school, but also in the teacher-evangelist training section which began in 1928. It was hoped that Turnbull on the agricultural side, and Peter Mulenga, who taught simple building construction, could train the students in the various skills needed to raise the standard of living in the villages where they would serve. Within a generation, the whole life of the area would be transformed not only by the spread of the Christian faith, but also by the new knowledge and skills which the people would have absorbed.

Of course, these high hopes were not fulfilled in their entirety by any means. The people did not always retain their initial enthusiasm and were reluctant to maintain the schools which they had willingly built earlier. Their traditional methods of agriculture required less sustained effort than those which Turnbull attempted to introduce. The more promising students rarely remained long in a village, but went off in search of higher education, or to look for more remunerative employ-

ment. Sometimes the teacher-evangelists could not resist the social pressures put on them to depart from the Christian way of life, and fell by the wayside.

The crowning blow was the Education Department's inability to continue the financial assistance for the scheme when the Beit grant expired in 1935, at the height of the depression. Turnbull had to return to Britain, bitterly disappointed that his years of work had been largely wasted. Nevertheless, the Methodists (the Primitive and Wesleyan branches were united in 1932 into the Methodist Missionary Society) resumed their agricultural work when financial circumstances permitted. Successors of Gray such as the Rev Merfyn Temple clearly saw the need to minister to the whole man, to his body as well as to his mind and spirit. It is unfortunate that more societies did not follow so resolutely their example. A concerted effort by all the missionary bodies might have effected as revolutionary and beneficial a change in the agricultural habits of the country as was achieved in the field of literary education.



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## CHAPTER IV

### THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY AND EDUCATION

North Western and North Eastern Rhodesia were brought under the control of the British South Africa Company during the 1890's. The Company administered the two territories, which were merged in 1911 into Northern Rhodesia, on behalf of the British Government until March 31, 1924, when, with considerable relief, it divested itself of its powers of government.

Although the Company achieved considerable success in ending the slave trade, putting a stop to inter-tribal wars, creating an administrative system and bringing a measure of law and order to the country, its record in regard to African education was one of consistent neglect. Having obtained control of the country by means which were dubious to say the least, the Company acted as if it had no responsibility for furthering the social and economic development of the people who had been entrusted to its care and protection. Successive Administrators pursued a policy of cynical indifference to the question of providing social services for the African population. Their prime responsibility, as they saw it, was to the shareholders in Britain, South Africa and elsewhere. The Company's affairs north of the Zambezi were run at a loss: administrative costs were, therefore, to be kept to the minimum consistent with the maintenance of law and order. Development schemes which were not strictly essential — and education for the Africans did not come within that definition — could not be countenanced. For three decades, 'these somnolent years', (1) as Richard Hall has dubbed them, the Company consistently refused to give financial assistance to missionary educational enterprise in the country, and failed lamentably and shamefully to implement the explicit promises regarding education which had been made in the treaties with Lewanika, Paramount Chief of the Lozi, and with other chiefs, when the concessions were granted which established the Company's authority.

The implementation of the treaties with Lewanika provided a striking example of broken promises. Both in the Lochner Treaty of 1890 and in the Treaties of 1898 and 1900, Lewanika was given a firm undertaking that schools would be provided for his people. The Lewanika Concession, signed on October 17, 1900, and ratified by Joseph Chamberlain on behalf of the Imperial Government a few months later, gave the land and mineral rights of Lewanika's kingdom to the Company. In return, the Company undertook to protect the king and his nation from all outside interference or attack and to pay Lewanika and his successors an

annual sum of £850, or the equivalent thereof in trading goods. The Treaty went on: 'The British South Africa Company further agrees that it will aid and assist in the education and civilization of the native subjects of the king by the establishment, maintenance, and endowment of schools and industrial establishments.' (2)

Later, the Company was to claim that Lewanika's kingdom embraced the whole of North Western Rhodesia, and that the Company thus had the mineral rights over all the vast tract of land stretching from the Zambezi to the Congo border, including the Copperbelt. If this was to be the case, then the Company was under an obligation to 'educate and civilize' the African people throughout the length and breadth of North Western Rhodesia. In fact, the Company established precisely one school in the whole country during the entire period of its administration. This was the Barotse National School.

In North Eastern Rhodesia, the Company had bound itself in treaties with various chiefs, who ceded full mineral rights, 'to promote Christian missions and education, to stamp out slavery, and generally to advance the civilization of the native tribes.' (3) In the event, the Company's sole educational expenditure in this vast area was to pay from 1904 a small annual grant to the Livingstonia Mission in Nyasaland. Robert Codrington, the Administrator, filled the lower grades of his administrative service with 'Nyasaland boys' who had been trained as clerks and telegraphists by the Church of Scotland and, in return, paid this small subsidy to the Mission.

Perhaps, if a charitable view is taken, the Company was sincere in promising to provide schools in return for the chiefs' concessions of land and mineral rights. What, then, went wrong? The answer, briefly, is that Northern Rhodesia was a source of great disappointment to the Company and its share-holders. It was the dream of a second Witwatersrand gold field, or another Kimberley diamond mine, that had led the Company to cross first the Limpopo and then the Zambezi in its quest for quick returns. *Zambezia, England's El Dorado*; (4) a book published in 1892, reflected the quite unrealistic attitude of the day. The country was envisaged as a land teeming with easily-extracted minerals which could be cheaply and rapidly exploited to the great advantage of the share-holders in the Company which gained control over the mineral rights. In reality, of course, the position was very different. The commercial revenue of the British South Africa Company, derived from mining royalties, from sales of land, and from dividends on investments, was inadequate to provide any return to its share-holders throughout the period of Company rule. Administrative revenue was accounted for separately. This was made up from Customs duties, from taxes on the Africans, from postal revenue, from timber rights and other minor sources. African taxation usually made up a considerable portion of the Company's revenue in its administrative role. In 1911, for example, this item contributed £57000 out of a total revenue of £95000. Nevertheless, there was a deficit on the administrative account of £54000, and this had to be made good from the commercial revenue of the Company, which derived largely from Southern

Rhodesia. (5) Even when the rate of taxation of Africans was unified throughout the Territory in 1914 at 10/- for each adult male and for each wife except the first, and when modest taxation of the European community was introduced after the war, the Company could still not make ends meet. The development of the Copperbelt was not to take place till after the Company had laid down the administrative reins and handed over the country to the British Government. Exports rarely balanced imports. As late as 1923, exports totalled only £463000 (of which sales of lead made up £190000) while imports amounted to £528000. (6)

It was the same shortage of money which made the Company adopt a niggardly attitude towards the education of European children in the Territory. Only after constant pressure from groups of European parents were the first modest grants made to schools privately established. Later, a more realistic view was taken, and small schools were started at Livingstone, Chilanga, Broken Hill, Kalomo, Mazabuka and Lusaka (1914). In 1920, G. C. Latham was appointed as Northern Rhodesia's first Inspector of Schools on a part-time basis. He found that of 528 European children of school-going age in the country, only 239 were actually enrolled in a school. Expenditure on European education totalled £6900 in 1920-21, and £7500 in 1924. (7) But, if the Company's record in European education was one of hesitancy and reluctant concessions made under pressure from white parents, its attitude towards African education was compounded of apathy alternating with hostility. Thirty years of Company neglect in this field were to have incalculable consequences in delaying the development of the country.

### **The Barotse National School**

In the north-west, the Company's educational efforts were concentrated on the Barotse National School. Under an agreement made between the Company and Lewanika in 1905, 10% of the native tax collected in Barotseland was set aside and not paid into the Company's revenue account. Out of this sum, the Paramount Chief was to receive his annual subsidy and the balance was to be applied for the benefit of the African population in Barotseland by providing schools, hospitals, roads and other facilities. 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. A sum was paid each year to the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society to assist its educational work; but the bulk of the funds was used to establish and maintain the Barotse National School. The school was founded in March, 1907, at Kanyonyo, a small village three kilometres north of Mongu and Austin R. Williams, the first Headmaster, arrived five months later. He subsequently wrote:

'When I arrived, the school property, so-called, was not in existence. There were no pupils; but four men were working as apprentices at

5/- per month. The system of paying boys to learn a trade was immediately stopped, and boys were given the option of free scholastic and technical education or of leaving school. Two boys left.' (8)

But if Williams thought he was going to control the destiny of the school of which he had been appointed headmaster, he was soon disillusioned. The Resident Magistrate was responsible to the Company for the school; he dictated its policy, and exercised control over its organisation and discipline. In 1908, the Resident Magistrate, C. McKinnon, laid down the policy of the school which was to remain virtually unchanged during the period of Company rule. There was to be a system of dual education; all pupils were to spend four hours each day in the workshop and four hours in school. Industrial apprentices were to work all day as sawyers and carpenters and to attend night school 'which may be arranged later.' (9) The apprentices were to receive payment after six months' work. In all matters, the Industrial Superintendent was to be under the supervision of the Resident Magistrate. Clothes, meal, meat, salt and soap were to be issued free. Finally, no age limits were to be enforced.

The Resident Magistrate clearly regarded the Industrial Superintendent of the school as his public works supervisor and the apprentices as his labour gang. Mongu hospital, prison, police camp, church, post office and the majority of houses and offices in Mongu were either built and furnished, or furnished only, by the Industrial Superintendent and the apprentices. Though the Industrial Superintendent, J. D. Meldrum, complained bitterly that these assignments, together with others at Kalomo, Mankoya (Kaoma) and Balovale (Zambezi), made it virtually impossible for him to provide his charges with a technical education worthy of the name, he nevertheless remained at the Barotse National School from 1908 to 1926.

The first African members of the teaching staff were mainly Basuto and included Solomon Maklare. In 1911, former Paris Missionary Society teachers who had attended the B.N.S. as pupils from 1907-1911, were employed on the staff. Since there was no age limit for the pupils, many married men enrolled at the school, and lived on the site with their wives and families. By 1912, there were 400 persons living on the school site, many of them in grass shelters. 'Beer drinks, disease, immorality, idleness and strikes were prevalent; the morals of the younger pupils were being contaminated by the indiscipline of their elders; between fifty and sixty pupils left school every term,' (10) recorded the historian of the school.

Nevertheless, comment on the school in the annual reports of the Company's Native Affairs Department painted an encouraging picture of steady progress. In 1912, carpentry, bricklaying, thatching and forestry were being taught, in addition to the elementary education which was promoted. Attempts to teach hygiene were not proving successful: 'the natives regard this most important science as yet another irksome fad of the white man.' (11) A year later, when enrolment was 182, the

Headmaster reported that of the boys and men who had been educated at the school, 6 had qualified as teachers, 4 as Government interpreters, 4 as interpreters to the Native Labour Bureau, 2 as clerks in Government offices, 3 as hospital orderlies, 1 as a foreman carpenter and 1 as a foreman nurseryman, while many others had obtained situations in shops and offices. Commented the Secretary for Native Affairs:

'The Barotse National School has proved so successful that it would be well to consider whether the time has not come to establish similar institutions in other parts of the country. A native population which has had the advantage of industrial training is of very high economic value.' (12)

If the Directors of the Company considered this suggestion, they did nothing to implement it. The Secretary for Native Affairs continued to report favourably on the school.

1915: The school was in a 'flourishing condition'.

1916: 'A satisfactory state of affairs. The number of boarders is 200. Discipline has improved, as also the standard of work.'

1917: 'Very satisfactory. Discipline is good and there seems to be a higher standard of intelligence. The Paramount Chief is very anxious that a girls' school should be started. There are 5 out-schools with about 200 boys receiving tuition.'

1918: 'Very satisfactory. Discipline is good and there is marked general progress. Unfortunately, the school has been considerably hampered from shortage of staff.'

1919: 'The school suffered some disorganisation owing to the influenza epidemic and was closed from October to February. Average attendance at the out-schools reached the large number of 315.'

1920: 'Very satisfactory. Discipline is good and there is marked general progress.'

1921: 'During the absence of the headmaster on leave, there was a regrettable lapse of discipline. This has since been adjusted. 220 pupils underwent the annual examination and of these 170 passed. There are 7 out-schools with a total attendance of 359.'

1922: 'The school has made great progress. A plot of 200 acres has recently been acquired in order that pupils may be taught more advanced methods in agriculture. The output of furniture has been considerable. The present Principal is a

Minister of the Church of England (Rev F. C. Suckling) and much more has been done in the matter of religious instruction. The tone and discipline of the school are remarkably good.'

1923: 'The value of the Barotse National School is gradually increasing. The agricultural side of the Institution is being developed, and though results are not much to boast of at present, owing to the poorness of the soil, the educational value of the training given cannot be doubted.' (13)

These reports have been set down in some detail not because the Barotse National School achieved more than a mediocre standard of efficiency, but because it occupies a unique place in the history of educational development in Northern Rhodesia. The Barotse National School and its handful of little out-schools represent the sum total of the Company's involvement in the African education field during its administration of the country. It remained the only Government school until the Jeanes School was opened in 1929.

When the opportunity arose to provide financial assistance to the educational work of the Missions, the Company threw it away. Alfred Beit, a colleague of Rhodes, died in 1906 and left a bequest of £200000 for educational, public and other charitable purposes in Rhodesia. The Secretary of the Beit Trustees in 1907 asked Codrington, then Administrator of North Western Rhodesia, for details of any benevolent or charitable institutions which were deserving of assistance. Codrington replied on behalf of himself and Wallace, who was Administrator of North Eastern Rhodesia:

'I can speak confidently for the whole of Northern Rhodesia. The position is simple enough as there are no educational or charitable bodies established in Northern Rhodesia except the various Missionary Societies which require no assistance, being generously supported by the subscriptions of sympathisers all over the world.'

(14)

Codrington followed this extraordinary statement with a suggestion that a grant of a few hundred pounds might be made for European children in remote parts of the country who could not be sent to Southern Rhodesia for their education. However, Codrington concluded, since a number of European children were educated in Southern Rhodesia, 'any assistance given by the Beit Bequest to Southern Rhodesia schools is preferable to any similar expenditure in the North.'

(15)

Only crass ignorance of the desperate financial straits of most missionary societies, or complete indifference towards the provision of educational facilities



for the African people whom he governed, could have led Codrington to write such a letter.

The fact, however, that the Company was doing so little to provide educational facilities, despite the solemn promises made by the treaty-makers on the Company's behalf, did not prevent successive Secretaries for Native Affairs from urging the Missions to do more in this field.

The Annual Report for 1911-12, for instance, noted that thirteen societies were engaged in educational work in the country, and commented:

'With this unlucky number of religious sects operating in the same field — for it does not seem that they can come to any lasting agreement regarding spheres of activity — education, apart from religious instruction, must suffer. Reports on their work are not on the whole encouraging. It would be to everyone's benefit,' continued the Secretary for Native Affairs, 'if some uniform policy of instruction, acceptable to all sects, could be devised, and directed by some central authority.' (16)

The Company, of course, was the only authority which could effectively devise and implement an educational policy, and the Secretary's proposal did not commend itself to the Directors.

#### **General Missionary Conference of 1914**

The need for a common curriculum, however, was being increasingly recognised by the missionaries themselves, and was one of the items discussed at the first General Missionary Conference, held in July, 1914. Credit for initiating these conferences, which were to exercise considerable influence in the country for at least thirty years, must be given to the Primitive Methodists. When they decided to translate the New Testament into the Ila language, they invited representatives of other societies using the language to join them in revising the manuscript. From this successful attempt at co-operation grew the idea of regular discussion of mutual problems. All the societies working in the western part of the country were invited to send representatives to the first Conference held in the Coillard Memorial Hall, Livingstone. Representatives of the Primitive Methodists, the Paris Evangelical Mission, Brethren in Christ, the U.M.C.A., and the Wesleyan Methodists were present and the Rev Edwin Smith was elected President.

It was agreed that the objects of the General Missionary Conference were:

'to provide co-operation and brotherly feeling between different Missionary Societies; to labour for the most speedy and effective evangelisation of the races inhabiting North-Western Rhodesia; to

enlighten public opinion on Christian Missions and to watch over the interests of the native races.' (17)

A good deal of the four days of the Conference was taken up with educational problems. The Rev John Fell read a paper on *Ideals and Methods in Native Education* and an executive committee was elected to consider the question of drawing up a uniform curriculum for the schools and a uniform scale of teachers' wages. A resolution on education was considered by the Conference. This placed on record the Conference's 'high appreciation of the interest the Government has shown in native education and the help it has already given', and went on:

'It would respectfully draw the Government's attention to the rapidly growing desire on the part of the natives themselves for education, and to assure the Government that the Missionary Societies are doing their utmost with their limited means to cope with this need.' Now they came to the point: 'We would like to suggest to Government that the time has come when Government should bear its fair share in the maintenance of this work. A well-trained native teaching staff is an urgent necessity and we hope help to provide this will be forthcoming. We would also urge the Government to consider the advisability of subsidising all the approved elementary schools in the country and thus come into line with Southern Rhodesia and other British Colonies in South Africa.' (18)

There can be little doubt that the delegates' tongues were firmly in their cheeks when this resolution was drafted and unanimously passed by the Conference. If the resolution created as much as a ripple in the Company's boardroom, there was no outward manifestation of it. Nevertheless, a more conciliatory, if at the same time condescending, attitude became evident in the Annual Report of the Company. The Secretary for Native Affairs had this to say on education in his Report for 1915-16:

'Except in the Barotse District, education may be said to be in the hands of the missionaries. Some of the Missionary Societies deserve great credit for what they have done in this respect, and are perhaps entitled to more substantial recognition than they have hitherto received. The results in some cases on the other hand, are extremely disappointing.' (19)

#### **Company Concern**

If the Company had no intention of giving financial assistance to the Missions, the Administration was giving increasing thought to the need to exercise

some control over education, particularly over the teachers. Inevitably, many of the teachers were of a poor calibre. In their desire to reach as many people as possible and not just a small elite, the missions opened far more village schools than could be adequately supervised or for which teachers could be given more than a smattering of training. As soon as a student could read and write tolerably well, and was willing to be employed, he would be sent out to the villages to teach others his own limited skills. His little store of knowledge placed him in a separate class in the unlettered village community, and gave him considerable influence. It was also apt to make him unpopular with the officials of the Administration. A remarkable book written in 1911 by two officers stationed in North Eastern Rhodesia made this clear. The 'bumptious, self-assertive native teacher' was said to be in a class that required,

'distinctive handling from the administrative point of view; they frequently become embroiled with the wives of other men; their religion is, at the best, but skin-deep. They have more serious temptations to combat with than have their fellows, and but little help in doing so, while their very position and the influence which it carries with it is a menace in itself.' (20)

According to these officers, whose paternalistic views were orthodox by the standards of the day, the teacher, the boma *capitao*, and the store-boy represented the native aristocracy, who held aloof from the *washenzi*. 'But, whereas the boma *capitao* and the store-boy are usually under strict supervision, the mission teacher from the very nature of his work, is left for a great proportion of the year to his own devices.' (21)

The war intensified the Government's distrust of the teachers, who were seen as a potential source of subversion, particularly in the tense and militarily fluid situation on the German East Africa border. A rebellion in Nyasaland added to the Company's fears and the Administrator began to consider the best means of introducing a measure of control over the hundreds of schools in which no official interest had previously been shown. A draft scheme was produced before the end of 1915 but it was necessary to obtain the approval of the High Commissioner for South Africa and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. A hint of what was to come was contained in the Secretary for Native Affairs' Report for 1916-17: 'It was found in some cases that there was a lack of supervision over the native teachers in outlying villages; also that some of these native teachers are too young, inexperienced or of doubtful character. Legislation is to be introduced to deal with the matter.' (22)

Consultation with Pretoria and London took longer than anticipated but by early 1918 agreement had been reached. In the Government Gazette of April 16, 1918 was published the Native Schools Proclamation, the first educational legislation in the history of the country. (23)

## **Native Schools Proclamation, 1918**

The Proclamation began by defining a 'school' and a 'teacher' in the widest possible terms. 'School' meant 'a school or class for the teaching or instruction of natives, whether held in a building or not'. 'Teacher' meant 'any native teaching in a school'. No new school was to be opened or carried on without the consent in writing of the Administrator or an officer appointed for the purpose by the Administrator; existing schools were to be registered within three months of the issue of the Proclamation.

Any school might be closed by order of the Administrator if 'he is satisfied after due enquiry that the general conduct of the teacher or pupils, or the manner in which the school is carried on is detrimental to the good order and government of the neighbourhood or public decency.' (24) The Administrator could also close a school if he was satisfied that the general wishes of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were opposed on reasonable grounds to the continuance of the school.

The most controversial section was that relating to teachers. This read:

'No person shall be a teacher in any school unless duly qualified, and no person shall be deemed to be qualified unless he produces to the Administrator, or to the officer appointed for the purpose, such certificate of efficiency and good conduct as the Administrator may by regulation prescribe and also, in the case of schools where there is no European in charge, proof that he is married and living with his wife at the village where he intends to teach.' (25)

Any person teaching who was not qualified in the manner prescribed was liable upon conviction to a fine not exceeding £25 or to imprisonment not exceeding three months, or to both such fine and imprisonment. If a complaint was made against a teacher, 'imputing to him misconduct or alleging that he has attempted in any way to subvert or interfere with the tribal control of the chief or headman or with the duties and work of the district officials, messengers or police, or has given any teaching of a seditious tendency,' (26) then the Magistrate or Native Commissioner was to hold an enquiry into the complaint. The report of the enquiry was to be forwarded to the Administrator, who, if satisfied that the complaint was justified, could order the removal of the teacher from the village where he was teaching; except by permission of the Administrator, such a teacher was forbidden to teach anywhere in the Territory.

The Proclamation empowered magistrates and native commissioners to inspect schools. Teachers and the persons responsible for the management of the school were required to provide all reasonable facilities for such inspections. Finally, the Administrator was given the power to make Regulations prescribing

the qualifications of teachers, and the certificates as to efficiency and good conduct which would be required of them; providing for the inspection of schools; and prescribing the sites on which schools might be built.

In its main features, the Proclamation of 1918 was typical of the legislative instruments by which governments of African territories exercised control over teachers and schools. That the Government would in due course regulate the opening and closing of schools in Northern Rhodesia had been accepted as inevitable by most missionaries. It had been assumed, however, that government control would begin in a small way, and that the beginning of government control would coincide with the introduction of government financial support for the educational work of the missions. When, therefore, the Proclamation giving sweeping powers to the Government was issued without offering the Missions a penny-piece of assistance for their educational efforts, the reaction of many missionaries was one of bitterness and anger.

### **Mission Reaction**

The Administrator had directed magistrates in February, 1918, to discuss the Proclamation, and the draft Regulations to be made under the Proclamation, with missionaries in their districts, and to forward their remarks and criticisms to the Secretary for Native Affairs. Bishop Alston May was shocked by the extent of the powers which the Administration planned to give itself. He wrote:

'I am well aware that the Administration has been gravely dissatisfied with the character and influence of some of the teachers. Nothing is farther from my wishes than that I should hamper or embarrass you in dealing with a condition of things, which, if allowed to continue unchecked, might well become a source of grave peril.' Nevertheless, the Bishop considered the Proclamation would effect 'a revolution in the relations between the Government and the Missions of the Territory' and would involve very serious interference in the discretion of the Missions in the appointment and dismissal of teachers. 'The effect,' wrote the Bishop, 'would be in great measure to transfer the control of the teachers from the Missionary to the Magistrate.' (27)

The Rev Malcolm Moffat, writing from Chitambo, welcomed the Proclamation and Regulations as a whole, but pointed out a practical difficulty which would arise if the draft Regulations were strictly enforced.

'We employ quite a number of unmarried lads as monitors and junior teachers. Three times a year they spend a month on the station

receiving instruction and three times a year they are employed for spells of two months as junior teachers in the villages. By the terms of this Proclamation, this practice will be illegal and its discontinuance will upset our present system of training teachers.' Moffat ended his letter angrily: 'The point that repeatedly recurs to me when reading these rules is the anomaly of the Administration making such regulations in the absence of any recognition on its part of its obligation to at least co-operate in the education of the people of the Territory. The general impression one receives is that Missionaries, instead of being looked upon as fellow workers, are regarded as potential criminals.' (28)

The views of the Primitive Methodists were conveyed by the Magistrate at Namwala, who informed the Secretary for Native Affairs: 'The missionaries feel that if the Government is to control the teachers and the schools, then the Government should now assist financially with the cost of the schools, as in Southern Rhodesia, Cape Colony, The Orange Free State and elsewhere. With this suggestion I am in sympathy.' (29)

For the Paris Mission, Sefula, the Rev J. Bouchet expressed his colleagues' feelings as one of 'a deep gratitude towards the Government for undertaking to control schools' (30) and this view was shared by Father Joseph Moreau, who wrote from Chikuni: 'All the provisions seem to be wise and equitable.' (31) Walter Fisher of Kalene Hill thought the Proclamation 'in every way good and advisable where the teachers sent to teach in villages are strangers.' (32)

Fears were expressed by some societies that the minimum qualifications for teachers might be set at an impossible level. From Macha Mission of the Brethren in Christ came this plea:

'So far our village schools have been very elementary, the aim being to Christianise them (the people) and teach them to read the Word of God in the vernacular. May we hope you will not make the standard for literacy qualifications too high, for the present at least. The moral standard cannot be too high.' (33)

Father Torrend of the Jesuit Mission at Kasisi agreed that a teacher must be married and living with his wife, and listed other qualifications which might be reasonably demanded of a teacher. He must not possess a slave; he should be proficient in reading and writing one of the vernacular languages, and also in the first elements of arithmetic; he should have a fair practical knowledge of agriculture and 'of the most elementary remedies such as Keating's powder against lice and fleas, sulphur against the itch, Epsom salts, quinine and aspirin or phenacetin.' (34)

The London Missionary Society called for the repeal of the Proclamation: 'We doubt if such drastic legislation for unaided schools exists elsewhere within

the British Empire.' (35) From Madzimoyo, the Rev C. Pauw wrote that the Proclamation was an unreasonable encroachment on the work of mission schools. 'Such encroachment is, to say the least of it, un-British.' (36) On behalf of the Livingstone Mission Council, Dr Robert Laws wrote to the High Commissioner in Pretoria: 'To insist on teachers being married is to put a premium on the already common practice of the too early marriages of immature young people.' (37) More fundamental was Laws' claim that the Proclamation was *ultra vires* since it infringed the Berlin Act which provided for the freedom and protection of missionaries and secured religious freedom to all native peoples. The Proclamation, protested the doctor, denied to the African the right of education by which he might read the word of God for himself, 'since his having a school is made dependent on the opinion, favour or caprice of the Native Commissioner.' (38)

In issuing the Proclamation, the main concern of the Company had been not to interfere with the teaching of the Gospel, but to insist that the missions, in their desire 'to occupy the field', should not send young and untrained youths as teachers of girls in the villages. Considerably taken aback by the outcry of the majority of the missionaries, the High Commissioner, Lord Buxton, instructed the Administrator to ask the Mission representatives to suggest amendments to the Proclamation. This was the main task of the second General Missionary Conference held at Livingstone, July 18-22, 1919. Rev Adolphe Jalla of the Paris Mission was chairman and Rev John Fell of the Primitive Methodists was secretary.

#### General Missionary Conference of 1919

The Conference condemned 'the attitude and spirit of intolerance' (39) in the Proclamation. The main amendments proposed called for the exclusion of prayer houses from the definition of 'schools' and the controversial marriage clause for teachers. That there was need for caution in this matter was recognised in the Conference's proposed amendment which read: 'Unmarried teachers or married teachers unaccompanied by their wives should not be placed in villages where no European missionary is resident for more than three months at a time without the permission of the Magistrate.' (40) This appeared to be based on a belief that an immoral relationship between a teacher and one of the local ladies could not develop in less than three months. While the Conference was in progress, a sub-committee met J. C. C. Coxhead, Secretary for Native Affairs. Fell subsequently reported: 'He was very sympathetic and gave us the hope that, as our suggested amendments were very reasonable and obviously the outcome of experience, there was every reason to believe that the Government would entertain them and probably make use of them.' (41)

The Conference passed a number of resolutions concerning education. Chief among these was that Government should make grants in aid of the educational work

of the Missions, and, in particular, should assist the missions financially. More positively, the Conference accepted a School Code drawn up by Fell, and agreed that missionary societies in North Eastern Rhodesia should be invited to attend the next Conference.

It took the Company a further two and a half years to clarify its intentions concerning the control of education and to prepare the necessary legislation. At last, in January 1922, the new Native Schools Proclamation was gazetted. (42) The Proclamation of 1918 was repealed. A distinction was made between secular and religious schools; the definition of a school specifically excluded 'the holding of a religious service'. The hated marriage clause was dropped completely, but teachers were required to be certified by their Missionary-in-charge as qualified and of good moral character. Regulations made under the Proclamation required that schools should be inspected by Missionaries-in-charge, or missionaries nominated by them, at least twice a year.

### **General Missionary Conference of 1922**

Eleven missionary societies were represented at the General Missionary Conference which was held at Kafue, July 17-23, 1922. Bishop May of the U.M.C.A. was elected President, Rev R. D. McMinn of the Livingstonia Mission was Vice-President and John Fell was Secretary. Discussion ranged over a wide variety of subjects such as Native Reserves, Objectionable Native Marriage Customs, Spheres of Influence, Native Taxation and the need for a Native Ministry. Chief interest, however, centred on three papers on education. The first of these by J. C. C. Coxhead, Secretary for Native Affairs, urged the appointment of an agricultural expert to advise the Missions on agricultural education. The Administration, he said, would be prepared to pay one-third of the expert's salary if the missions could provide the balance.

A second paper was read by Dr C. T. Loram, an eminent educationist from Natal. Loram advocated the retention of primary education in the hands of missionaries, but urged the necessity for government to support the missionaries financially. Secondary education, on the other hand, should be run by the State. He suggested that the Administration should consider setting up in Northern Rhodesia a central institution on the lines of Fort Hare in South Africa. Apart from academic work, training in agriculture would be provided and courses would be held for chiefs, who were often serious obstacles to development in their areas. The closest co-operation was necessary, concluded Loram, between the missionaries and the Administration, and the best way of ensuring this would be through the establishment of an advisory board.

The third paper to be considered by the Conference was prepared by G. C. Latham, a former district officer who had been recently appointed to the part-time post of Inspector of Schools for the country. Latham pointed to the need for



co-ordination of effort among the agencies engaged in education. This meant that the Missions should agree among themselves about their respective spheres of influence and should not encroach into the area of another agency. Denominational differences should be forgotten and the Missions in North Eastern Rhodesia should pool their resources to provide a first-class normal school for the training of teachers in that area to match the normal schools at Sefula in the west and Kafue in the central area. Such a school would be invaluable, as the greatest hindrance to progress was the dearth of qualified and reliable teachers. Latham considered the object of all sound education was the spiritual, moral, social and economic progress of the native population. The curriculum, therefore, must be carefully balanced between the religious, academic and industrial elements.

'A merely bookish education is worse than useless for a native,' declared the Inspector of Schools. 'The minds of natives can only be really awakened through intelligent industry. I hope that in future the teaching profession will only be open to boys who have combined industrial and agricultural with literary education.' (43)

He could see no point in large numbers of village schools where people were taught bare literacy.

'Some means must be found for ensuring that as far as possible all natives who learn to read and write a little should complete a course of literary and manual training of not less than 5 years. This would probably mean closing many out-schools and concentration on more intensive work. The loss would be far outweighed by the gain. We must try for quality rather than quantity.' (44)

While Latham saw the improvement of village life as the first aim of education, the long-term effects of the educational process did not escape him. 'We cannot educate the natives,' he said, 'without in the not very distant future allowing them some share in their government. It is out of the question that we should deny them the opportunity of a generous degree of self-government.' Then, remembering his position as an employee of the British South Africa Company, he added: 'How far the native of the future will be capable of filling the highest posts is a moot point. It may be that for hundreds of years the political instinct and experience of the European will be necessary to prevent chaos.' (45) The inevitability of eventual self-government was accepted by very few officials in 1922. By the standards of the day, Latham was a radical, even though his forecast of the time it would take to achieve self-government was hopelessly awry.

Latham concluded his address by suggesting a modest scale of government grants for Mission schools where industrial training of at least two hours every day was given in addition to literary education. But this was for the future. More immediate interest at the Conference centred on Dr Loram's proposal for a government college which would provide instruction in agriculture, industry, pedagogy and the duties of chiefs. Bishop May promised £500 a year for three years in support of the scheme; and John Fell, on behalf of the Primitive Methodists, offered the use of the Kafue Training Institute facilities and staff. At the end of the Conference, May, Fell, McMinn and others met the Administrator and discussed the scheme in detail. Fell was to be Principal of the Institute which would be controlled by a joint council composed of representatives of the Administration and the missions. Running costs were estimated at £2000 per annum, of which the Company would provide £1200, the balance coming from the Missions. Alas, the high hopes entertained were short-lived. The Company Directors did not share the Administrator's enthusiasm for the scheme and refused to increase their deficit in Northern Rhodesia even to the extent of £1200 a year. Further, the U.M.C.A. headquarters did not support Bishop May, who had to withdraw his offer of financial support for the Institute.

Despite this disappointing conclusion, the 1922 General Missionary Conference was an important milestone in the country's educational development. The principle of government aid for the Missions' educational work was now no longer in doubt. That it was unreasonable for the Government to require the Missions to bear the full financial brunt of providing an educational service to the people was now accepted. It but remained for the principle to be translated into practice. This was to happen more quickly than any of the delegates to the 1922 Conference realised.

In the middle of 1923, it was announced that from April 1, 1924, the British South Africa Company would cease to be responsible for the administration of Northern Rhodesia and that government would be transferred to the Colonial Office. Since the Company had done so little for education during its tenure of power, the feeling among Mission educationists was that the advent of Colonial Office rule would be a blessing, and would hasten the granting of government financial support for their work. Cautious optimism was reflected in the minutes of the meeting of the General Missionary Council Executive Committee held in October, 1923, which was attended by Latham. Wrote the secretary:

'Mr Latham expressed the opinion that the new government was bound to do something for native education and would need to form a policy for native education. He also felt that the new government would not be able to refrain from giving some financial assistance to native education at a later date.' (46)

## Advisory Committee on Native Education

While the missionary societies in Northern Rhodesia were learning the value of co-operative action and, through the General Missionary Council, were endeavouring to persuade the British South Africa Company to adopt a more enlightened policy towards education in Northern Rhodesia, events of great significance were taking place in Britain and on the international scene.

Representatives of many Protestant churches had met in Edinburgh in 1910 and conferred on various matters of common interest, including educational problems in Africa. A continuation committee was elected and Dr J. H. Oldham was appointed Secretary. Under his clear-sighted and determined leadership, the International Missionary Council was established. Joseph Oldham and the Council were to play a key role in securing governmental assistance for missionary educational efforts and in fostering a fruitful partnership between Government and the Missions in the educational field.

Little could be done while the 1914-18 War was in progress but, with the coming of peace, a surge of idealism caused governments to give fresh consideration to their responsibilities towards the colonial peoples. A concept of trusteeship was developed and gathered strength. It found its most dramatic expression in the League of Nations mandate system for the former German colonies but had clear implications for other overseas territories, too. Oldham took advantage of the changed climate of opinion to urge the Colonial Office to formulate a clear-cut policy on education in the British dependencies. In November 1923, an important step was taken. The Secretary of State appointed the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies charged with the following terms of reference:

'To advise the Secretary of State on any matters of Native Education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa, which he may from time to time refer to them; and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in those Colonies and Protectorates.' (47)

Oldham was appointed a member of the Advisory Committee which included Major Ormsby Gore, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (chairman), Sir Frederick Lugard, Sir Michael Sadler, Sir James Currie and Major Hanns Vischer, former Director of Education in Nigeria (secretary). In order that it might successfully carry out its task of advising the Secretary of State, it was important that the Advisory Committee should be fully informed of the state of education in British Africa. By good fortune, education in territories in South and West Africa had recently been well documented and analysed. The Phelps-Stokes Fund, set up in New York under the will of Miss Caroline Phelps-Stokes to further

'the education of Negroes both in Africa and in the United States', had sent an Education Commission to West, South and Equatorial Africa in 1920-21. The Commission's report, written by its chairman, Dr T. J. Jones, Education Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, had assembled a large amount of valuable information and had excited a great deal of interest.

By agreement between the Colonial Office and the missionary bodies, it was decided to invite the Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to undertake major responsibility for carrying out another education survey, this time in East and Central Africa. In discussions with Lugard, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Oldham, Jones welcomed the opportunity to complete a unique survey of education in Africa. In November, 1923 the Trustees of the Fund authorised the new Commission and made a handsome contribution towards its cost.

### **The Phelps-Stokes Commission**

Members were soon appointed to the Commission. They were: Dr James Aggrey, a distinguished educationist from the Gold Coast; Dr J. H. Dillard (U.S.A.), President of the Jeanes Fund; Dr H. L. Shantz, agriculturalist and botanist from the U.S.A.; the Rev Garfield Williams, Education Secretary of the Church Missionary Society; Major Hanns Vischer, Secretary of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa; C. T. Loram of South Africa and James Dougall from Scotland. Outstanding in this distinguished company was the Chairman of the Commission, Dr Thomas Jesse Jones. Born in North Wales in 1873, Jones emigrated to the United States, speaking only Welsh, at the age of 11. By the turn of the century he was a Bachelor of Divinity and an M.A. of Columbia University. He soon obtained his Doctorate. For seven years he was director of the research department at Hampton Institute in Virginia and it was there that he first became acquainted with the problems of negroes. This interest influenced the whole of his future life and the ideals of the Hampton Institute became the basis of his educational philosophy.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission was charged with a three-fold task: to investigate the educational needs of the people in the light of their religious, social, hygienic and economic conditions; to ascertain the extent to which their needs were being met; and to assist in the formulation of plans to meet the educational needs of the native races.

Between January and July, 1924, the members of the Commission visited French Somaliland, Abyssinia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Portuguese East Africa, Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa. The party which visited Northern Rhodesia from June 8 to 13, (less than three months after Sir Herbert Stanley was sworn in as first Governor of the new Protectorate), was composed of Jones, Aggrey, Vischer and Dougall. Most of their time was spent at the General Missionary Conference, which was specially

summoned to Kafue in order to meet them, and in interviewing government officials at Livingstone. The information contained in the section of the Commission's Report dealing with Northern Rhodesia was supplied by Latham and the mission representatives. Most of the report, however, was a general treatise on educational aims and ideals for Africa.

Education, urged Jones, must be adapted to the conditions and needs of society. It must be a preparation for life, and life for the African meant life in the village. The chief aim of education, therefore, must be to raise the standard of living among the village community. This involved concentrating on hygiene and health, the encouragement of agricultural development, the teaching of industrial skills, raising the status of women and girls, and developing character through religious training and physical recreation. These ideas were not new in Northern Rhodesia; they were clearly in the tradition of General Armstrong of the Hampton Institute and Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee. Jones, however, not only advanced these educational aims in eloquent and enthusiastic terms, but also showed how they could be put into immediate practice in meeting the needs of the individual, or the problems of home and community life. Each subject in the curriculum was analysed in exhaustive detail to show how its teaching could be adapted to the realities of living and made significant to the pupils.

The value of the Phelps-Stokes Report lay not only in its philosophy, and its recommendations concerning the syllabus, but also in the comments made on the specific needs of Northern Rhodesia. Jones saw them very clearly. The first essential was for the Government to appoint a Director of Native Education whose task would be to co-ordinate and unify the educational activities of the missionary societies. Secondly, an advisory committee on education should be appointed, with representatives of Government, the missions and the settlers; provision should be made 'as soon as possible' for the representation of native opinion. Thirdly, government should subsidise the educational work of the Missions. 'Grants-in-aid to Missions,' stressed Jones, 'should be regarded as an investment in colonial development that will soon be reflected in better health, increased productivity and more contented people.' (48) Since funds available for grants-in-aid were likely to be very limited, Jones recommended that priority should be given to the establishment of teacher training institutions at selected mission stations. Without properly trained teachers, the educational system would remain wasteful and inefficient. Next in importance was aid for the maintenance of European missionaries to supervise the educational work of their mission stations and out-schools. Another recommendation was that financial provision should be made for the training and employment of visiting teachers whose task would be to improve the bush schools, so that these might 'realise their possibilities in improvement of health, agriculture, industry and character development.' (49) The visiting teacher scheme, Jones urged, should be based on the Jeanes system which was already operating successfully in negro schools in the U.S.A. Finally, Jones and his

colleagues recommended, it was not too early to begin to think in terms of an institution which would provide higher education to those who could profit by it. It would be some years before Northern Rhodesia could support such a college by itself, but in the meantime an institution should be set up which would serve the needs of Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. The American Methodist Episcopal Mission at Old Umtali could well be expanded, in Jones' view, to meet this need. Here the future leaders of the native population would be taught

'the experience of history, the wisdom of science and the inspiration of literature and art . . . to guide and direct their people through the perplexing processes of evolution from primitive stages of life to those of civilization now forced upon them by overwhelming forces, both kind and unkind.' (50)

#### **General Missionary Conference, 1924**

Jones and his colleagues dominated the Conference at Kafue in June, 1924, which was called in order that members might meet the Phelps-Stokes Commission and to make firm recommendations to the new Government on an educational policy for the country. In a mood of excitement and optimism, the Conference listened to addresses by Jones, Aggrey, Vischer, Fell and others. The Company had handed over its administrative responsibilities and none regretted its passing. Apart from its small effort in Barotseland, it had contributed nothing to educational development in the country. In the words of a resolution drafted by Fell and passed by the Conference; 'The late administration issued a Schools Proclamation, but, apart from the isolated instance of the Barotse National School, showed no practical interest in native education.' (51)

High hopes were entertained that the new Government would endeavour energetically to make good the neglect of the past and assist the Missions to provide an educational system worthy of the name. Jones and Fell had each drafted resolutions for the Conference's consideration. Points were taken from both documents and combined into a lengthy resolution which received the unanimous support of the Conference.

'The Conference of Missionaries,' the Resolution began, 'recognises that secular education is a duty of the State. It wishes, however, to assure the Governor that it desires to share in native education work. It thinks that a co-operative effort on the part of the missionaries and the Government will be in the best interests of education.' (52)

The basic principles for all educational work were stated to be:

- a. primary and secondary education should be undertaken in mission schools with State aid;
- b. higher education should be undertaken in Government schools with Mission aid.

Towards the carrying out of these principles, the Conference urged, in order of priority, the appointment of a Director of Native Education, and 'a Board of Advice' on which Missions should be represented; the granting of financial aid to central mission schools 'selected for their geographical and denominational importance'; financial assistance for the establishment of a cadre of visiting teachers to improve village schools; financial grants for primary schools; the establishment of government high schools with denominational hostels; and, finally, 'the apex of the educational system should be a central institution of colonial dimensions which should offer higher education to those who could profit from it.' (53)

Basically, the Conference was repeating the demands made at its first meeting a decade earlier, and adding to them the recommendations of Jesse Jones for forms of higher education for the country's future leaders. Since the successful development of primary education depended on an efficient teaching force, the delegates stressed the importance of the opening of the proposed high schools without delay. Three such high schools were considered necessary. They would undertake work at the post-Standard IV level and would provide instruction not only for student-teachers but also in 'agriculture, in manual arts, rural and political economics, in training demonstration agents in agriculture, health and sanitation and home economics.'

The Conference's resolution concluded by pointing out:

'that the native people contribute in direct taxation nearly £100000 per annum and it, therefore, expresses the confident hope that a definite proportion of this sum will be annually expended on the legitimate charges of education.' (54)

In the knowledge that they had made out a strong case to which the new Government would give sympathetic consideration, the members of the 1924 Conference returned to their scattered mission stations. They could feel fairly optimistic that, before they met again, some at least of the educational burden would have been lifted from their shoulders.

### **Memorandum on Education Policy, 1925**

The Report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission made a profound impression on the Advisory Committee on Native Education. When the Advisory Committee presented its first policy memorandum in March 1925, *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*, the influence of Jesse Jones could be clearly seen.

The Memorandum referred to 'the fuller recognition of the principle that the Controlling Power is responsible as Trustee for the moral advancement of the native population.' (55) It went on to expound the broad principles which, in the judgment of the Advisory Committee, should form the basis of a sound educational policy in the British African Dependencies. A seminal document of major importance, the Memorandum governed the direction of educational development in Northern Rhodesia, and elsewhere, for the remainder of our period.

'Government welcomes and will encourage all voluntary educational effort which conforms to the general policy,' was the first principle to be enunciated. 'But it reserves to itself the general direction of educational policy and the supervision of all educational institutions, by inspection and other means.' Secondly, co-operation between government and other educational agencies should be promoted in every way. 'With this object, Advisory Boards of Education should be set up in each Dependency upon which agencies and others who have experience in social welfare should be accorded representation . . . The Board should be supplemented in the provinces by Educational Committees.' (56)

Adaptation of education to the African environment was the next principle. 'Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life.' The content and method of teaching in all subjects should be adapted to local conditions. Special attention should be given to the preparation of suitable text-books and the study of the educational use of the vernaculars.

The aim of education should be:

'to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service.'

Provision should be made for the training of those required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services. The need for higher education was not overlooked. 'As resources permit,' stated the Committee, 'the door of advancement, through higher education, in Africa, must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education.' (57)

The Committee attached great importance to religion and to character training. Religious teaching and moral instruction should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects.' Character training was to be founded on 'the



formation of habits of industry, of truthfulness, manliness, of readiness for social service and of disciplined co-operation.'

Success in realising the ideals of education would depend largely on the outlook of those who controlled policy and on their capacity and enthusiasm. The Committee regarded it as essential that the 'status and conditions of service in the Education Department should be such as to attract the best available men, both British and African.'

Another important principle proclaimed in the Memorandum was that a system of grants-in-aid should be established to provide financial assistance to voluntary schools which conformed to the prescribed regulations and attained the necessary standards. 'Provided that the required standard of educational efficiency is reached,' stated the Committee, 'aided schools should be regarded as filling a place in the scheme of education as important as the schools conducted by government itself.'

The Memorandum urged that 'the Native Teaching Staff should be adequate in numbers, in qualifications, and in character, and should include women.' It went on: 'The key to a sound system of education lies in the training of teachers and this matter should receive primary consideration.' In addition to initial training courses, teachers should periodically receive further periods of training. As a means of improving village schools and of continuing the training of the teachers, the system of specially trained visiting or itinerant teachers was strongly commended. 'By bringing to the village schools new ideas and fresh inspiration and encouragement, they will infuse vitality into the system.'

A thorough system of supervision was considered by the Committee to be 'indispensable for the vitality and efficiency of the educational system.' Not only must the staff of government inspectors be adequate, but 'each Mission should be encouraged to make arrangements for the effective supervision of its own system of schools.'

In recommending the establishment of technical and vocational training programmes, the Committee remarked: 'It should be the aim of the educational system to instil into pupils the view that vocational (especially the industrial and manual) careers are no less honourable than the clerical . . . and thus to counteract the tendency to look down on manual labour.'

Turning to the education of girls and women, the Committee considered that while 'more should be done at once,' it was 'almost impossible to over-state the delicacy and difficulties of the problem.' It was important to provide 'educated mates' for clever boys. Instruction in hygiene and public health, child welfare, domestic economy and the care of the home was among the first essentials. In order to prevent a breach between the generations, educational opportunities for adult women should be enlarged. The difficulty lay in 'imparting any kind of education which has not a disintegrating and unsettling effect upon the people of the country.'

The judgment of those who must decide what it was prudent to attempt would be guided by 'differences in breed and in tribal tradition.'

The final paragraph of the Memorandum dealt with adult education which was still 'in an experimental stage.' The provision of adult education would vary according to local need but governments should keep adult education constantly in view in relation to the education of children and young people. 'The education of the whole community should advance *pari passu*, in order to avoid, as far as possible, a breach in good tribal tradition by interesting the older people in the education of their children for the welfare of the community.' (58)

During the thirty years of rule by the British South Africa Company, Northern Rhodesia had no coherent or constructive policy towards education. Now, thanks to the Advisory Committee's Memorandum, a clear policy had been provided which enunciated the very principles which had been urged at successive conferences of the General Missionary Council. It remained to be seen how these principles would be translated into practice and how rapidly the educational scene in Northern Rhodesia would be transformed.

The beginning, at least, was promising: within a few days of the presentation to the British Parliament of the Advisory Committee's Memorandum, Northern Rhodesia's first Director of Native Education was appointed. On their side, the missions stood ready to co-operate. Oldham made himself responsible for ensuring that all Protestant missionary societies in Africa were aware of the new opportunities for co-operation with government. The Pope appointed Monseigneur Arthur Hinsley as Visitor Apostolic to the Catholic Missions in the British Colonies in Africa. The Visitor's message was direct and uncompromising: 'Collaborate with all your power; and where it is impossible for you to carry on both the immediate task of evangelisation and your educational work, neglect your churches to perfect your schools.' (59)

In this manner the path was cleared for a new era of partnership between Government and the Missions in Northern Rhodesia, replacing the unhappy and unproductive relationship in educational matters which had marred the thirty years of Company rule.

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## CHAPTER V

### GOVERNMENT ENTERS THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD, 1925-30

The Colonial Office took over the reins of government from the British South Africa Company on April 1, 1924. Exactly one year later, the Governor, Sir Herbert Stanley, created a sub-department of Native Education, under the Department of Native Affairs, and G. C. Latham was appointed Director.

The Government's purpose and hopes for education were expressed in its Report for 1924-25:

'In view of the diversity of educational ideas and principles among the Missions and of the very different standards demanded by them, the Government has decided that the time has come to co-ordinate and supervise the education of the Native. The services of the Missions will continue to be utilised, but it is proposed to exercise some control over them and, by encouraging the societies to appoint trained educationists in a supervisory capacity, by giving financial grants in aid of salaries of certificated teachers, by assisting in the establishment of boarding schools and by other similar means, to produce in course of time a higher standard and a greater uniformity. Especial efforts will be directed towards the encouragement of technical and agricultural education. Progress may be slow, but it can be said that a new era is beginning as regards Native education in the Territory.' (1)

Geoffrey Chitty Latham was one of the most capable men in government service. He had joined the administrative service of the Company in 1910, and had held a variety of posts. He served as a captain in the Northern Rhodesia Police during the 1914-18 War, as a native commissioner, as assistant magistrate, director of the census, and assistant to the Secretary for Native Affairs. In 1918, the Southern Rhodesia Education Department, which had been responsible for inspecting the European schools in Northern Rhodesia since 1914, suggested that the Company should appoint an inspector of schools for Northern Rhodesia. Latham, at that time Native Commissioner at Sesheke, was sent to Salisbury, visited a number of schools in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, and was then appointed part-time inspector of schools. He was the chief adviser to the Govern-

ment in the furore that followed the issue of the Native Schools Proclamation of 1918 and was instrumental in persuading the Administrator to replace it by the 1921 Proclamation. His tact and sympathetic understanding of the missionaries' difficulties, coupled with his sound common sense and administrative flair, won the confidence and respect of the Missions, and his appointment as Director of Native Education was warmly welcomed.

The task facing Latham as he set to work in his office in Livingstone was enormous. Starting virtually from scratch, he had to evolve an administrative machinery whereby Government could advise, encourage, and assist the Missions throughout the country in raising the standards of their educational work. He aimed at creating a coherent and comprehensive system of education suited to the needs of the country and its African people. He had to work with the fifteen missionary societies who claimed to be running almost 2000 schools, where nearly 100000 children were taught mainly by teachers who had received only a modicum of professional training and who worked to a haphazard syllabus with totally inadequate equipment and aids. He had to devise an educational system not only for the vast underdeveloped rural areas, but also for the townships which were growing up on the line of rail and in which the Missions had so far evinced little interest.

Latham's supporting staff, in a task which would have taxed the energies and skill of a small army of officials, consisted at first of one officer seconded part-time from the District Administration, and one African clerk, William Mhone. In 1928, John Keith, a native commissioner, was seconded full-time to the Department as Assistant Director, and the Rev J. R. Fell was persuaded to leave Kafue Mission and to join Latham. A year later, F Hodgson accepted the post of Inspector of Industrial Training, and in 1930, further reinforcements arrived in the shape of no fewer than three Superintendents of Native Education: J. A. Cottrell, who was posted to the Jeanes School to assist Fell; D. S. Miller, who was sent to Kasama, and thus became the first provincial education officer; and C. J. Opper, who assisted Latham at headquarters before being transferred to Ndola to take charge of the new Government school in the African compound. By this time, the clerical strength at Headquarters had grown to two.

For the first few years, however, it was Latham who bore the heat and burden of the day, and it is he, more than anyone else, who deserves to be known as the father of African education in Northern Rhodesia. By the time he retired in July, 1931, he had laid the foundations of an educational administrative system which was to last until Independence.

#### **Advisory Board**

If Latham was to achieve anything worthwhile, it was obvious that he had to work with and through the Missions. Policy was not to be dictated from the tiny

Headquarters of the Department, but was to be evolved in close collaboration with the leading Mission educationists. Accordingly, the Missions were strongly represented on the Advisory Board, members of which were nominated by the Governor, and which met for the first time in July, 1925. The Government was represented by the Secretary for Native Affairs, the Principal Medical Officer, the Secretary for Agriculture, the Chief Veterinary Officer and Latham. Missionary members were Bishop Alston May (U.M.C.A.), Bishop Larue (White Fathers), the Very Rev Charles Bert (Jesuits), the Rev. J. R. Fell (Primitive Methodists), the Rev W. A. Krige (D.R.C.M.), the Rev J. Roulet (Paris Mission), Miss Mabel Shaw (L.M.S.), and the Rev Myron Taylor (Brethren in Christ). Two settlers, Captain John Brown and Mr W. Doull, M.L.C., completed the membership. (2) No one thought it strange that the members were all European. It was not until 1943 that the first Africans sat on the Advisory Board.

In a meeting lasting four days, and dominated by Latham and Fell, the conditions on which grants should be paid were determined; the curriculum for village and station schools was discussed, and a syllabus for agricultural training was proposed and agreed upon. A good deal of time was given to discussing teachers' qualifications and pay, to language difficulties, and to methods of inculcating hygiene among teachers and children. The full Board met in alternate years, but Latham made a practice of calling together members of the Standing Sub-Committee several times a year. For day-to-day advice he relied heavily on Fell. Latham was an administrator with little professional experience. Fell was the educationist who, since he started it in 1916, had built up the Kafue Institute into the leading educational institution in the country. 'Fell was invaluable to me,' Latham later recalled, 'as I was quite ignorant on educational techniques.' (3) Fell's professional knowledge and experience, coupled with Latham's administrative ability, made a strong combination.

One result of the first meeting of the Advisory Board was the issuing of the Native School Code. This was based on a previous code prepared by the General Missionary Conference but laid 'more stress on agriculture and other training for Native life, as against a purely literary education.'

In his introduction to the Code, Latham outlined the policy his young department would follow and stressed the importance of teacher education:

'The general educational policy of the Government is that laid down in the Colonial Office White Paper No. Cmnd. 2374 entitled "Education Policy in British Tropical Africa". This policy will be found to be in accord with the principles laid down in Dr Jesse Jones' Report on Education in East Africa, a copy of which is indispensable to anyone engaged in the education of the natives in this and neighbouring territories.

In a large number of outschools, attendance is irregular, books and



equipment are lacking, the teacher is practically untrained and has had very little education himself. Also, the school is only open for a few weeks in the year. The Code is designed for at least 150 school days with two hours' secular teaching per diem.

It is hoped that every missionary society will endeavour to establish some really good outschools which will furnish a standard to be aimed at by all and in which this Code or something similar can be applied. A thoroughly competent and enthusiastic teacher is the first essential.' (4)

### **Teachers and Teacher Training**

Latham saw clearly that the key to educational progress lay in improving the quality of the teaching given in the schools. The dearth of efficient teachers made any immediate progress in the education of the masses impossible. The widespread practice among many Missions of providing a rudimentary form of training for teachers at each and every mission station, and of sending them out to run village schools almost as soon as they could read and write, had to be replaced by a course of systematic training for prospective teachers who had reached a reasonable academic level. Only two properly conducted teacher training establishments were operating in 1925. These were at Sefula, run by the Rev A. Coisson, and the Kafue Institute, where Fell had succeeded in establishing and maintaining high standards among his students. It would take time to develop a network of efficient teacher training institutions and Latham did not set his sights too high.

'What is wanted,' he declared, 'is that each of the larger societies should establish a normal school in charge of a trained educationist at one of its stations with a practising school attached. The teacher must not only know the subjects he has to teach, but he must be imbued with sound educational ideals and he must be equipped with knowledge of teaching methods.' (5)

To encourage the voluntary agencies to take seriously the training of their teachers Latham paid grants towards the salaries of trained educationists teaching in normal schools. He stipulated that there must be 15 pupils prepared to train as teachers and ready to enter Standard III before a normal school could be started. With the approval of the Advisory Board, Latham allocated 25% of the funds at his disposal for grant-aided educationists. The response of the Missions was good. By 1926, normal schools, staffed by at least one trained educationist, were being run by the White Fathers at Rosa Mission, by the London Missionary Society at Mbereshi, by the Dutch Reformed Church Mission at Madzimoyo, and

the Seventh Day Adventists at Rusangu. By 1930, Fiwila (U.M.C.A.), Lubwa (Church of Scotland), and Chikuni (Jesuit Fathers) had been added to the grant-aided list.

The normal schools remained small, partly because few students qualified for admission, and partly because of the poor salaries which were paid to the teachers at the end of their three-year course. Enrolment in the nine Mission normal schools in December, 1930 was 231, all of whom were men.

The first departmental examination for teachers was held in June, 1928. The questions were based on the Standard IV syllabus, together with papers on the theory of teaching and school management. Additional tests in first aid, bandaging and treatment of sores were given by local doctors or nurses. Of the 261 candidates for the examination, 113 were successful. All the certificates given were provisional and subject to confirmation on inspection of the teacher at work by the Director of Native Education or someone deputed by him. By the end of 1930, only 29 teachers had been inspected: 20 had their certificates confirmed and 9 had been refused confirmation.

Gradually, Missions were able to insist on higher entrance qualifications for their normal schools. In 1929, the Advisory Board agreed that after 1932 no-one should be allowed to sit for the examination unless he had passed Standard IV and then had at least two further years of training with teaching practice in an approved practising school. By 1930, Sefula and Lubwa had adopted the Standard IV certificate as the entrance qualification for their teacher training courses and other missions were preparing to follow suit.

### Salary Grants

Latham introduced the payment of small grants towards the salaries of certificated teachers. He informed the Missions in 1925 that 'to qualify for a grant a teacher must be in receipt of a wage not less than 50% in excess of the current wage for unskilled labour in the District.' (6) With the introduction of the departmental examination in 1928, grants were paid only for teachers who were subsequently certificated by Government. Some Missions viewed this ruling with apprehension. The head of the station at Lubwa, the Rev R. D. McMinn, forwarded his budget estimates to Dr Robert Laws at Livingstonia, with the following words:

'I have put down £60 as probable Government grants. This is very much to be depended upon, for this year teachers have to sit an examination and only those who pass will get the grant. There are other conditions attached to grants; one is that the teacher must be getting a salary at least 50% higher than the pay of a labourer. A labourer here gets 7/6 (a month). This condition, owing to mission rates of pay, can only be fulfilled in the case of men far up in the service, and we have very few of them.' (7)

salaries of certificated teachers in 1930 ranged from 15/- a month to £2.10.0 a month. Some Missions paid their teachers only for those months in which they worked, which might be only 6 or 8 months of the year, the teacher going back to his home to make his gardens at the beginning of the rains. Teachers in the few government schools were paid for the whole year. Like other civil servants, they received part of their salaries in kind. The principal of the Barotse National School commented scathingly in his report for 1926:

'The handing to a teacher month by month of so much pay, of so much money for food, of so much soap in kind and of so much salt in kind, and periodically of a uniform, is postponing what seems to me to be a very proper forward step on the part of a comparatively educated section of the community. No man can achieve a manly independence until at least he buys his clothes and his food and his salt and his soap. I see no advantage in all teachers being dressed alike. It tends to produce a caste, which is the last thing desirable in the teaching profession.' (8)

Payment in kind was abolished in the 1930's, but civil servant teachers continued to receive uniforms annually until the eve of Independence. Old habits die hard.

Uncertificated teachers received considerably less remuneration than their better qualified colleagues. A monthly wage of 10/- for four months of the year was by no means unusual. The Lubwa estimates for 1928, for instance, included provision for 165 uncertificated teachers at a total cost for the year of £306.2.9 (9) Such salaries were castigated by Latham as 'ridiculously low'. Wastage among uncertificated teachers in the village schools was enormous. Wrote Latham:

'They soon get tired of the monotony of the life. The pay is usually very poor, and, having a little education, they find it easy to get work on the railway line at a comparatively high wage, and they drift away. One missionary told me that at a station to which he had recently returned, out of 418 teachers who had been on the teachers' roll since 1917, only 77 were still employed in 1928.' (10)

### **Normal School Syllabus**

A new syllabus for normal schools was issued in 1929 having been approved by the Advisory Board. This was an adaptation by Fell of the Uganda Vernacular Teachers' Training Syllabus. The working week was to consist of 40 periods, each of 45 minutes. Five periods each were to be devoted to religion, educational method, and to English; four each to vernacular and arithmetic; two to geography and

history; one each to singing, drawing, general knowledge, hygiene and the theory of agriculture; two to carpentry and other handwork, and no fewer than eight to practical agriculture. Twenty minutes' drill was to be given to the students at least four times a week. Students must have at least sixteen weeks of practice teaching, during their second and third years. Every minute of the day was to be used profitably. (11)

When he left his normal school the teacher would be cut off, apart from occasional refresher courses, from practically all sources of information and professional advice. He would have to fend for himself, professionally speaking. Without a wireless, newspaper or library to rely upon when he reached his school, the teacher had to be fully and painstakingly briefed during his normal course on every lesson he would teach in every subject. It would be virtually impossible for him to fill in the gaps in his knowledge later. Thus, the 'European Method Masters', as Latham called them, in the normal schools had to deal with basic, down-to-earth matters. There was little point in their teaching the latest theories of child psychology or the measurement of intelligence when the students' understanding of English was minimal, their knowledge of background subjects was slight and time was needed to impart elementary classroom techniques and class control. For a great many teachers, the syllabuses which Latham issued and their normal course notebooks were their only reference books, their only store-house of wisdom, and their sole source of professional inspiration.

Thus equipped, the newly-qualified teacher went forth to practise his profession. Victor Murray, an educationist from England, visited Northern Rhodesia in 1927 and subsequently recorded his impressions.

'The village teacher,' he wrote, 'leaves the social life and ideas of the training school and disappears. He takes with him the Bible, a few small books in the native language, an English grammar and his own note books. He has in his head the lessons that he has made his own and the memory of what is, for all its crudity, an intellectual and religious society. These are his whole stock-in-trade for creating a new world. He is flung largely on his own resources and yet he is a point of light in an otherwise dark village. The thing deserving of comment is not that African education does so little, but that it accomplishes so much.' (12)

Most intending teachers did not follow an approved normal school course. Training of uncertificated teachers for work in the bush schools continued on familiar lines on many mission stations. Thus the D.R.C.M. had their normal school at Madzimoyo, but continued to train teacher-evangelists at six other stations. In an address to the General Missionary Conference of 1927, the Rev W. A. Krige explained that the fundamental aim of the teacher training system

was 'the production of a model family group.' (13) If a man wanted to become a teacher, he took his wife and children with him and made his home on a mission station for two years. Three hundred such families were living thus on D.R.C.M. stations in 1927. The pupil-teacher's first task was to help build a model village, preferably of *pise-de-terre*. A garden was allocated to each family. The mornings were devoted to lessons in the classroom while the afternoons, as well as one whole day each week, were given to manual labour which might include 'ploughing, planting maize, sowing wheat, planting rice and vegetables, tree-planting or a little carpentry, smithy work, dam and road-making and pise building.' (24) Meanwhile, the wives of the students spent their mornings in the gardens or in preparing food. In the afternoon they attended school, the normal classroom lessons being supplemented by instruction in sewing, pot-making, the care of children and the sick, and hygiene.

'So for two full years,' eulogised Krige, 'attention is given to the spiritual, intellectual and bodily welfare of the whole family. The change which gradually creeps over the family is wonderful, and the effect is seen as soon as the teacher begins his work at the village school.'

After two years spent working in a school, the teacher returned for a further course of two years' training. 'The whole family continues to improve,' Krige assured the Conference, 'becoming more and more fit to be an example at the village school.' (15)

Latham admired Krige's work at the Madzimoyo Normal School but did not share his high opinion of the value of the training given in the elementary training courses. Indeed, he felt so strongly that the Dutch Mission authorities were misdirecting their efforts that he took them to task in his Annual Report of 1929:

'One important Mission is expending a great amount of effort and money in trying to train men of from 30-45 as teachers. They may make satisfactory evangelists, but not 10% of them will ever make efficient teachers.

If the time spent by competent European teachers on these men were spent on good elementary schools for boys and girls between the ages of 7 and 14, material for good African teachers in the future would be forthcoming.' (16)

Nevertheless, the fact that the training was more systematic and of a rather higher standard than it had been ten years previously, and that more attention was being paid to the wives of the students, represented a small advance.

## **Supervision: The Jeanes School, Mazabuka**

'If value is to be obtained from the great resources available in missionary personnel and plant, it is essential that there should be adequate Government guidance and supervision.' (17) Thus wrote Latham in his first Annual Report. He himself spent as much time as he could in visiting mission stations, and took a special interest in encouraging the development of modern teacher training establishments where none existed. He took to task those missionaries who did not visit their schools at least twice a year and urged that the statutory visits be devoted at least as much to educational matters as to evangelisation. Latham could not hope to cover more than a small fraction of the Territory in the course of a year, and he aimed at establishing an inspectorate within the Department. Alas, this aim was not to be achieved until January, 1964. In any case, as Latham soon realised, the need was not so much for highly qualified inspectors of schools as for down-to-earth, experienced and capable teachers who could visit the schools and help their younger colleagues with the day-to-day problems of running a village school.

Latham planned to take a number of the best teachers available from all the Missions and to give them two years' further training.

'They will be well educated natives,' he wrote, 'with a fair knowledge of English, well paid out of a Government grant to the Missions employing them but specialists in elementary vernacular schools rather than in English and higher literary work. Their superior education should enable them to understand the Department's point of view with regard to education. They will serve as propagandists and as interpreters of British ideas to the native population.' (18)

One of the strongest recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission had been that Jeanes teachers should be trained for work in the village schools, and this had been endorsed by the General Missionary Conference of 1924. Jeanes teachers owed their name to Miss Anna T. Jeanes, an American Quaker philanthropist, who believed in the value of the little schools for Negroes in the southern states of the U.S.A. She gave her fortune for their improvement and endowed a fund to be used in training travelling teachers who would demonstrate new methods in the schools they visited, discuss difficulties sympathetically with the teacher and inspire him to greater efforts.

Convinced that the visiting, or supervising, teacher would be valuable in raising the deplorable standards of the average village school, Latham began to look for the capital and recurrent funds which would be required in order to establish and maintain a Jeanes Training School. With the approval of the Advisory Board he applied to the trustees of the Beit Bequest, and in 1928 the trustees made

a grant of £12000 for the building of a Jeanes and Agricultural School at Mazabuka. Coupled with this was a maintenance grant of £1000 a year for five years. Further assistance was forthcoming from the Carnegie Corporation which offered £1000 a year for four years to help towards the maintenance of the Jeanes School at Mazabuka and towards the training of women on Jeanes lines at Mbereshi Mission. Fell accepted the post of principal of the school and took up his appointment in January, 1929. With the assistance of Frederick Hodgson, Inspector of Industrial Training, he supervised the building of the school and on February 3, 1930, the Jeanes and Agricultural Schools began work, the first government educational institutions to be opened since 1906 when the Barotse National School was founded. 21 Jeanes students and 14 agricultural students were enrolled. All the larger missionary societies sent candidates with the exception of the Dutch Reformed Church. For their technical training, the agricultural students were the responsibility of the instructional officer of the Mazabuka Research Station, T. C. Moore, but in all other respects came under the general care of the Principal of the Jeanes School. Fell's staff consisted initially of Cottrell, Mesheck Gxashe, trained in Grahamstown, John Kaingu from the Kafue Institute, and an industrial instructor from Livingstonia, Hezron Chibeza. Miss E. A. Seal joined the staff early in 1931 to run classes for the students' wives and to be in charge of the dispensary.

Fell seized with both hands the new opportunities which the opening of the Jeanes School created and immediately set about the task of establishing a tradition of high standards of work and conduct which persisted throughout the life of the Jeanes training scheme. The students were kept busy from dawn till well after dark. Eight periods daily in the classroom, where English was the medium of instruction, were followed by an hour's organised games. Preparation and homework filled the evenings between seven and ten o'clock. Saturday mornings were devoted to work in the students' own garden plots, where maize, beans, ground-nuts and vegetables were grown. A good spirit was created and the difficulties anticipated when teachers from different denominations lived together on the same station did not materialise, a fact which caused less surprise to the students than to the Missions which sponsored them.

Within a short time, Mazabuka was established as the main centre of African Education in the Territory. In June, 1930, the Department moved its headquarters from Livingstone to the Jeanes site at Mazabuka. An elementary school started in 1930, a middle school in 1931 and in the following year a normal school, the first to be established by the Department, completed a notable educational complex.

### **Village Schools**

'It will be the aim of the Department,' stated Latham, 'to curb the

multiplication of village schools and to persuade Missionary Societies to concentrate more on the training of efficient teachers for the schools already in existence. The otherwise laudable enthusiasm of Missionaries to "occupy the field" and the less laudable desire to "get in first" make some societies deaf to Government exhortation in this connection.' (19)

There can be no doubt that the educational value of the average village school in 1925 was very slight. Mainly they were catechetical centres where very elementary instruction in the three R's was given to those children who cared to stay behind after the religious instruction lesson had been finished. A few societies, notably the Primitive Methodists, the Paris Missionary Society and the Church of Scotland, ran village schools worthy of the name and these served as useful feeders for their mission station schools where more advanced education was undertaken. In most of the village schools, however, the teacher was of such low educational attainment himself, and had received such a sketchy training in his profession, that little of value could be expected.

Nevertheless, the village school for all its imperfections had its champions. It was still the chief vehicle of evangelisation. No church could be strong in spiritual life unless most of its members could read God's Word for themselves in their own tongue. Teachers had to be trained, therefore, not only to preach the Gospel, but also to instruct others to read.

'The great aim and object of these schools,' the Rev W. A. Krige told the General Missionary Conference in 1927, 'must remain the winning of souls for Christ. Anything that endangers this aim or threatens to displace it by some other objective must be carefully avoided, otherwise the ingathering (of souls) will certainly diminish if not entirely cease.' (20)

To require the village school to follow a government syllabus was to mistake the purpose for which the village schools had been opened. Government should leave the village schools alone, Krige maintained. Missionary societies 'should have a free hand in establishing village schools wherever they please without any restrictions whatsoever, even if two or more societies should open such schools at one and the same village.' (21)

Krige was not alone in regarding the village school as an important weapon in the interdenominational war his Mission conducted for many years against the White Fathers. Asking his supporters for more funds in 1926, the Rev R. D. McMinn of Lubwa wrote:

'The number of schools has been practically doubled during the year.



In view of the sustained activities of the Romans, I have felt that we were bound to respond to appeals for teachers as long as we could provide them. The only way to meet the Roman menace is to give the people God's Word; and the quickest way to get it to them is through our simple village schools.' (22)

The village school often enjoyed only an ephemeral existence. There were no buildings; but on the arrival of a teacher in the village the headman would gather his people and a simple grass shelter, often without a roof, would be erected. The teacher would be given a house in the village, and there he would stay for two or three months until he had exhausted his repertoire and interest faded. Then he would pack his belongings and move to another village or return to the Mission station for a further spell of training.

Keeping statistical records for such schools was virtually impossible. Latham reported these figures for all types of schools in the country for 1924 to 1926 but could not vouch for their accuracy:

	No. of Schools	Boys	Girls	Total
1924	1662	42631	38541	81172
1925	1981	53408	47536	100944
1926	1986	54546	55822	110368 (23)

Though these figures may be unreliable, there can be no doubt as to which societies were most heavily engaged in educational work at this time. Of the 1986 schools recorded in 1926, the White Fathers managed 542, the D.R.C.M. 464, the Church of Scotland 307 and the London Missionary Society 249. The next largest educational effort was being made by the Jesuits with 81 schools, and the U.M.C.A. with 62.

In order to encourage Missions to improve some at least of their village schools, Latham paid a £25 grant to what he termed 'model' village schools. Such grants were paid only where a good building had been provided, where 'a superior, well-trained resident teacher' was employed and where the school was open for 150 days of the year. (24)

#### **Native Schools (Amendment) Ordinance, 1927**

In 1927 Latham presented a draft Native Schools Bill to the Advisory Board. This sought to distinguish between a school and a sub-school. In deference to the representations made by some of the missionary members of the Advisory Board, assemblies where purely religious instruction was given were deleted from the definitions of school or sub-school. At the end of the year, the Native Schools

(Amendment) Ordinance was passed. (25) This replaced the Native Schools Proclamation of 1921 and all regulations made under it.

'School' was defined as 'a class or assembly for the teaching or instruction of natives, whether held in a building or not, conducted for not less than 120 days in a year, and in which instruction is based on a code approved by the Director of Native Education and the Advisory Board on Native Education.'

'Sub-school' on the other hand, meant 'an assembly for the instruction of natives in secular subjects not included within the definition of school.'

The effect of the new ordinance on Latham's statistical returns was startling. In 1927, the number of schools was 495, of which 204 were managed by the Church of Scotland, while the number of sub-schools was 1463. Of the White Fathers' educational establishments, 530 were classified as sub-schools and only 17 as schools, while the corresponding figures for the D.R.C.M. were 545 and 8 respectively. (26)

### **The School Syllabus**

Shortly after taking up his appointment in 1925, as has been noted earlier, Latham issued to all Missions a School Code. This consisted of a suggested curriculum, and some explanatory notes. Latham stated the most important aim of the school was character development. Teachers must, he stated, 'keep constantly in view the inculcation, by example, training and precept, of the qualities of truth and honesty, reverence and obedience, purity and self-control, unselfishness, courtesy and perseverance.' (27) Every opportunity must be taken to develop character. Thus the singing lesson should be devoted to songs composed by the teacher on subjects such as cleanliness, temperance, cheerfulness and kindness to animals. In the games periods, 'native amusements, many of which are notoriously degrading to body, mind and character, should be corrected and improved.' Latham gave guidance on the teaching of general science, arithmetic, English and geography, but it was apparent from his Code that these were not so important subjects as hygiene and sanitation and agriculture. 'Education cannot be regarded as complete which omits a study of field culture and care of animals,' he informed the Mission educationists. All schools were to have at least a vegetable garden and every child over the age of 12 should cultivate an individual plot of at least four vegetables. Schools with older children were to have fields of mealies, beans and sweet potatoes. At least ten trees were to be planted at each school every year. (28)

There were few schools in the country which could match Latham's Code, but here, at least, was an ideal to be aimed at.

New syllabuses, based on those used in Uganda, were introduced in 1929.

These covered the whole range of classes up to Standard VIII. An introductory note to the Upper Middle School Syllabus stated:

'At present it is improbable that Standards VII and VIII will be reached.'

(29) Prophetic words. The first tentative approach to secondary education was not to be made until the mid-1930's, and a regular Form I (Standard VII) class was not to start until 1939, ten years after the syllabus had been produced.

The most remarkable feature of the 1929 syllabus for middle schools was the fact that while nine periods each week were to be devoted to English Language (including translation) and one to 'English Penmanship', only one period per week was allocated to vernacular. The neglect of the vernacular, quite contrary to present-day educational theory and practice, was a reflection of Government's desire for an ever-increasing number of potential interpreters and telegraphists, clerks and trainees for other junior posts, who would be required to have a reasonable knowledge of English. Concentration on English was completely in line with the wishes of most of the pupils and the parents. A knowledge of English was regarded as the surest passport to securing well-paid employment. In any case, there was very little educational literature available in the vernaculars. Bemba was the best served with 26 titles in circulation in 1928 according to a survey made by the Rev Edwin Smith. (30) Two of these were primers, two were school readers, one an historical geography, two contained 'improving' stories for children, and there were two versions of *Pilgrim's Progress*. The remainder consisted of translations of the Gospels, lives of Christ, Old Testament stories, devotional services, catechisms and notes for preachers. From the children's point of view, the position was worse in other languages. For example, only two of the fourteen Ila books in print could be termed educational and the same was true of Tumbuka.

Latham's approach to the problem was to secure the agreement of the Advisory Board to the selection of four main languages, Nyanja, Bemba, Tonga and Lozi; to standardise certain books in English, and then to arrange to have these translated into the vernaculars. Slowly a number of books in the vernacular languages began to make their appearance. For many years, however, vernacular was to be the subject which aroused least interest among teachers and children once the mechanics of reading and writing had been mastered. In spite of the subsequent efforts of the Publications Bureau, a virile indigenous literature never developed, and, by the time of Independence, Northern Rhodesia Africans had produced very few books of merit in the vernacular languages.

The provision of textbooks suitable for use in Northern Rhodesia schools was no less a problem in the other subjects. In the absence of books specially written for local use, the syllabus had largely to follow that of a typical British school.

Gradually, however, books were produced. Fell wrote on the *Teaching of Reading* and Latham distributed this to all Missions. Fell also produced a science textbook in English and Tonga and similar textbooks on crops, poultry and animal

husbandry. Father van Sambeek, who was in charge of the educational work of the White Fathers, produced useful little books in simple English for elementary schools in arithmetic, agriculture, geography and hygiene, and followed these with a civics book for Standards III and IV. Most of these books and others like them were printed by the Missions, either within the country or at stations outside Northern Rhodesia such as Livingstonia, Lovedale and Kuruman.

### Girls' Education

The Advisory Board believed that the best educational returns would be obtained from boarding schools at mission stations where the children would be under the direct control of missionaries, both in the classroom and in the dormitories. Boarders who had passed Standard I and who attended school for at least 150 school days were eligible for grants at the rate of 10/- per annum in the case of boys and £2 per annum in the case of girls. The introduction of these grants was designed to stimulate the provision of more girls' boarding schools, and proved successful. In 1926, new schools for girls were opened at Kayambi, Chilubula and Mabumbu; Chipembi was opened in 1927, and Mwenzo Girls' School, which had been closed for lack of staff, re-opened in 1928 with the arrival of Miss Irene Pearce. By 1930, the Department was subsidising nearly 500 girl boarders in 17 different schools. Other societies, though fully alive to the importance of girls' education, found insufficient local interest to justify starting a girls' boarding school. 'Mothers,' noted Latham, 'until their interest and confidence is obtained, are loath to part with their daughters, lose their services, and perhaps see them imbued with ideas which are alier. to, if not in direct opposition to, the customs of the tribe.' (31)

Some of the more advanced girls' schools were beginning to train teachers. 'Women teachers are badly needed, but, unless they marry teachers and help their husbands, marriage is bound to cut short their teaching career,' (32) wrote Latham, with customary realism. At Mbereshi, a Maternity Training and Child Welfare Clinic was established in 1929, in close association with Mabel Shaw's girls' school, and gave initial training in nursing and midwifery to the girls in their final year at school. That there was need for such training cannot be doubted. Dr. Aylmer May, Government Principal Medical Officer, told the General Missionary Conference in 1927 that infant mortality on government stations, where conditions were generally better than in the villages, was 45%. Much of this appalling waste of life was due to ignorance, fear, superstition and lack of cleanliness. As parents came to see that education could lead to useful avenues of employment for their daughters, the value of girls' education became more apparent to them. For many years, however, this was to be the exception rather than the rule, and tens of thousands of girls were destined to be deprived of educational opportunities because of the shortsighted obduracy of their parents and grandparents. Much of the

illiteracy among adult women revealed in the 1963 census was due to the fact that, as girls, they were not allowed by their parents to take advantage of the educational opportunities which were open to them.

### Urban Education

It was a different story in the towns where, for years, there were virtually no schools at all. Broken Hill, where the Mine had been opened in 1906, had an African population of 10000 by 1924. They were served by one small school run by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in the mine compound. Most of the population consisted of men since no married accommodation was provided for the miners whose wives and children remained in the villages. Here was a wonderful opportunity to launch the first adult education programme in the country. At Latham's request, Fell made a survey of the situation in collaboration with the Mine authorities, and details of a well-balanced and imaginative welfare scheme, with facilities for recreation and education, were worked out. Capital and running costs for the first three years were expected to reach £10000 and thereafter the annual cost would be about £2000. Alas, disagreement arose between the Government and the Mine and the whole scheme was shelved. Bitterly disappointed, Fell told the General Missionary Conference in 1927:

'We cannot but regret that the only pleasure resort of these thousands of natives is associated with a drinking booth. The compound is rotten with disease, and prostitution is quite common. Broken Hill bids fair to become the moral cess-pool of the country.' (33)

Meanwhile, the development of the Copperbelt made the provision of urban educational facilities a matter of urgency. Developments at Roan, Nkana, Chambishi, Mufulira and Nchanga, together with the re-opening of Bwana Mkubwa in 1926, caused the African labour force in the Copperbelt to leap from 1300 in 1924 to 16000 in 1928 and to no fewer than 30000 in 1930. 'It is deplorable to have to record,' wrote Latham in 1928, 'that no advance has been made' in this connection.' His hope that the Missions would undertake educational work in the townships did not materialise. Of those around Broken Hill, Latham complained: 'The plain fact is that the missionaries are too occupied with European work to do more than look after the spiritual interests of the natives in the narrowest sense, and they cannot lay their hands on efficient native teachers to staff their schools.' (34)

The answer to the problem was for Government and the mining companies to shoulder their responsibilities instead of leaving everything to the Missions. In 1929, the Advisory Board recommended that:

'the Mining Companies should be asked to appoint a European at each mine who would be in charge of welfare and educational work. Educational work of a creative type for adults should be organised in the mine compound by the mining companies, and elementary schools with a syllabus including English should be provided for the children living in the mine compounds.' (35)

After some initial reluctance, the mining companies responded well by opening elementary schools in 1930 at Bwana Mkubwa, Roan and Nkana, while schools at Nchanga and Mufulira began a year later. For its part, the Department opened an elementary school at Ndola in 1931, and planned others for Broken Hill and Livingstone. Policy was by now clear: 'It has been decided,' declared Latham, 'that in urban areas Mission schools are not usually a success, and that they will have to be replaced by schools provided and staffed by Government or the mining companies.' (36)

### **Practical Work**

An academic education, in Latham's view, was quite unsuitable for the African child. If education was to be a preparation for life, as it should be, then a considerable portion of a school's working week must be devoted to manual work. Apart from working in the school garden, older boys should learn woodwork and other practical skills. The aim was not to train them as artisans, but in 'accuracy, neatness and general handiness.' (37) The response in the schools varied enormously from the very good to the very bad. Where suitable instructors and tools were available, extraordinarily good results were sometimes obtained. Too often, however, manual work amounted to little more than the boys acting as labourers for building projects, or spending their time in 'station maintenance', a euphemistic term covering every chore from smearing the floors of the pit latrines to sweeping up leaves.

Some societies were encouraged to develop artisan training at their station schools. Latham paid grants for the employment of men like Bernard Turner at Mbereshi, where there was a strong tradition of industrial training and where a miniature trades school, with high standards of craftsmanship, rapidly developed.

Other societies received grants in order that they could run agricultural schemes. By 1929, seven mission stations were specialising in agricultural instruction: Kafue, Chikuni, Chipembi, Chitambo, Madzimoyo, Mapanza and Kambole. There were excellent reasons for encouraging agricultural training. If it could be demonstrated to the younger generation and to their parents that improved farming methods, such as rotation of crops, contour ridging and the application of compost to improve soil fertility, would result in better crops and heavier yields per acre, then it could be confidently expected that these methods would be

immediately adopted in the surrounding villages and an agricultural revolution would sweep the country. In this vein, Latham reported in 1926: 'A demonstration garden at Nsadzu station of the D.R.C.M. produced 2,600 lbs. (1180 kilos) of maize from one acre (.4 hectares) and is reported to have done much to instil into the minds of the neighbouring natives the advantages of better methods of cultivation.' (38) The same confident predictions were being made ten, twenty, thirty years later. The plain truth, however, is that by the time of Independence, the majority of African farmers were continuing to follow the same agricultural methods as their fathers had used for generations.

When a farmer produces barely enough food to feed his wife and children for a year, he is reluctant to adopt innovations for fear that they may fail and lead his family to starvation. The agricultural experiments, therefore, of the mission schools aroused limited interest among the villagers. In the first place, the new agriculture called for much more work on the part of the farmer, and the yields were sometimes only marginally better, and not consistently better, than those of methods which had been evolved by trial and error over centuries. Secondly, an individual who produced better crops than his neighbours would arouse feelings of jealousy and suspicion in the community. Thirdly, if better yields were obtained by the new methods, how and where would the surplus be marketed?

These and many other factors meant that the Mission agricultural training schemes could have only a limited effect. They were a useful step in the right direction towards breaking down conservatism and introducing new agricultural techniques but the mission schools on their own could not reform the country's agricultural economy. This was the task of Government, and the attitude of Government towards agricultural development and the introduction of cash crops was one of extreme caution:

'It has been definitely decided,' wrote Tagart, Secretary for Native Affairs, 'that until expert advice and supervision can be secured it would be unwise to make experiments in encouraging natives to produce industrial crops which might prove an economic failure and would always be a cause of apprehension on the ground of spreading disease among similar crops under cultivation by Europeans.' (39)

## **Finance**

Before 1925, no subsidies were given to the Missions for their educational work except for a grant of £185 per annum made to the Paris Missionary Society from the Barotse Trust Fund. The principle that Government should assist the educational endeavours of the Missions was by no means universally accepted among the white settlers in the country, and Latham felt it necessary to justify in his first Annual Report the expenditure of no less than £3994 in 1925-26. If the

Government assisted with the provision of more educational opportunities, a better spirit would be induced among the African population. 'Such a spirit,' he assured the sceptics, 'must tend to the avoidance of trouble and expense in the future.' (40) The value of education as an economic factor in the progress and prosperity of the country could not be ignored.

'Whatever the opponents may say with regard to the moral effect of education on natives, few will be found to aver that even a little education, provided it includes manual training, does not increase the value of the native as a worker whether on the mines or the farm. A period of great expansion for Northern Rhodesia seems imminent and there can be no reasonable doubt that in the next few years there will be a large and increasing demand for natives whose intelligence and manual skill have been improved by education on the right lines. Apart then from other weightier considerations, money spent on establishing a sound educational system must be a good financial investment for Northern Rhodesia.' (41)

It was perhaps inevitable in a year such as 1925-26, when there was a budget deficit which had to be covered by a grant-in-aid from Britain, that Latham should feel constrained to justify the expenditure of so modest a sum on education, not only on the grounds that Government was under a moral obligation to provide an educational service for the Protectorate's peoples, but also on grounds of expediency and enlightened self-interest.

By the standards of the day, Government expenditure on African education rose steadily. Excluding contributions from the Beit Trustees, the Carnegie Corporation, and expenditure from the Barotse Fund, Government expenditure on educational facilities in 1924-1931 was as follows: (42)

1924/25	£ 348
1925/26	£ 3994
1926/27	£ 6603
1927/28	£ 6594
1928/29	£ 8493
1929/30	£12298
1930/31	£14448

By contrast, Government expenditure on European Education in 1930-31, when the number of children enrolled was 774, amounted to £27001. (43)

Expenditure on African education in 1931 represented 2.1% of total Government expenditure for the year of £695000 and 2/8 per head of the African population. An important innovation in 1930 was that the principle of making



capital grants to missions for educational building was recognised, and grants for this purpose to the amount of £812 were made. This represented nearly 10% of the grants paid to Missions in 1930-31, the remainder of the grants being paid in respect of European educationists, agricultural training, industrial training, boarders, certificated teachers, equipment for 'model' village schools, medical and maternity training and blind schools. The London Missionary Society, with £2031, received the lion's share of the grants paid in 1930, a reflection of the value of their work at Mbereshi and Kambole. Next came the Church of Scotland (£1645), the Paris Missionary Society (£1520, largely from the Barotse Trust Fund), the White Fathers (£1386) and the Wesleyan Methodists (£800). (44)

### **Financial Support from Overseas**

Grants from Government, however, represented only a small part of the Missions' expenditure on education, and the bulk of their work continued to be financed from overseas. While the fund-raising methods of the various societies differed considerably, the endeavours of the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland may be taken as fairly typical of many. This Committee had to support the work of its missionaries not only in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but also in West Africa, South Africa, India, South Arabia, China and the New Hebrides.

The main work of the Committee was to arouse among church members, and then to maintain, interest in the work of the far-flung mission stations, and to translate that interest into support through prayer and financial contributions. Missionaries on leave were sent on deputation work to address meetings, and to relate their experiences. 'Missionary weeks' were sometimes held, and the Committee's Report for 1927 stated that no fewer than 1600 meetings had been held during missionary week in the Glasgow Presbytery. The comparatively new medium of the cinema was found to be one of the most effective methods of revealing what missionaries were trying to do. 'In country places people have gathered from considerable distances to see the films of the Missionary Filming Company,' reported the Committee, 'many, in the winter-time, tramping in the snow for some miles.' (45) Thirty sets of slides for lantern lectures were in circulation. In the same year, the Missionary Prayer Union had enrolled over 16000 members and the Girls' Auxillary had increased to over 500 branches. Church publications such as *Morning Rays*, *Great Hearts* and *Young Scotland* regularly included articles calculated to arouse young people's interest in life overseas. Another publication, *Other Lands* was commended by the Committee as a magazine 'which should find a place in every home'. Over 7000 missionary collection boxes were distributed to church members; a successful week of self-denial was observed by more than 600 congregations, and the League of Twenty Thousand reported another satisfactory year of progress. Through these and various other activities,

designed to appeal to members of all ages and to all types of congregation, the Committee received contributions of over £182000 in 1927, 'abundant cause' wrote the Secretary, 'for deep thankfulness to God for the provision made to carry on the work of the Kingdom.' (46) In addition to the contributions which were channelled through the Committee, numerous individuals or congregations gave support direct either to missionaries whom they knew, or for projects in which they were particularly interested.

Sometimes whole schools were maintained by individuals. The Rev Arthur Cross of the South African Baptist Mission at Kafulafuta, near Ndola, appealed to his supporters in 1925:

'The entire annual cost of maintenance of each village school is but £10, and as in recent times the demand for those schools has grown, they have been founded at the charge of individual supporters.' For those who could not afford such a sum, the Rev Cross added: 'Some of the Kafulafuta boarding scholars are also provided for by individual subscribers; thirty shillings clothes and feeds one scholar for one year; forty shillings covers his education as well.' (47)

If the work of the Missions had not continued to receive the financial support and spiritual support of their home congregations, and the devoted services of the missionaries themselves, African education in the country would have come to a virtual standstill. This was to remain true for at least another two decades.

#### **Latham — his Achievements and Plans**

When Latham went on leave pending retirement in June, 1931, he could look back with considerable satisfaction over his six years' tenure of office. The education system in 1931 was still dominated by the missionary societies, but Government was beginning to make its influence felt. From tiny beginnings in April, 1925, Latham had built up a Department, which became independent of the Department of Native Affairs in 1930, and was established on the site of his cherished Jeanes School at Mazabuka. He had evolved a system of grants-in-aid to Missions which encouraged efficiency and laid emphasis on the quality of the education provided rather than on purely quantitative expansion which the desire to 'occupy the field' often engendered. He had placed teacher training on a more rational footing, and never tired of reminding the missionaries that a well-trained teacher was the only basis on which a good school could be run. With the help of John Fell and the Advisory Board, he had secured the acceptance of common syllabuses for use at all educational levels throughout the country. He had set his face against a purely academic type of education as being unsuitable for the needs of the people, and had striven to encourage industrial and agricultural training

which would gradually raise the standards of living throughout the country. He had assisted in the development of girls' boarding schools in every province, in the sound belief that this was the only way in which girls could gradually be given equal access to education and prepare for domestic and maternal duties.

He had failed to convince Government of the need to provide educational facilities for the developing urban areas, and the first government school, at Ndola, was not opened till the eve of his departure. Nevertheless, he had convinced the mining companies, at least in part, of the importance of establishing schools in their townships, and had proposed to supplement their efforts with Government schools in the Development Plan which he hoped would be implemented after he left the country.

This plan envisaged the establishment of government schools at bomas in the more distant parts of the Territory, and the posting of Superintendents of Native Education to rural stations from where they would ensure a more thorough supervision of the educational work of the Missions, and encourage a closer co-operation between all the educational agencies in their area. The superintendents would also encourage the creation of Local Advisory Boards. Latham foresaw the time when the mission station schools would confine their elementary classes to Standards I and II, leaving the work in the lower classes to the village schools. Later, the better type of village school would provide classes up to Standard II, leaving the mission station schools to concentrate on Standards III and IV of the lower middle school. When this happened, there would be a regular supply of boys who had passed Standard IV and who were ready for various forms of vocational training. The problem then, as Latham saw it, would be to make sure that no more pupils were trained in each trade than could be readily absorbed in the country.

'The shortage of even moderately well-trained and educated natives is at present so marked,' he warned in his valedictory report, 'that the demand for the first products of all vocational schools, including clerical, may create an exaggerated idea of the ease with which such posts will be obtainable after the first demand has been satisfied.' (48)

As the number of lower middle schools grew, there would be an increasing need for teachers who had passed Standard VI. They, in turn, would generate a need for boys who had completed Standard VIII to assist European teachers in the upper middle school classrooms.

When submitting his Development Plan to the Chief Secretary, Latham described it as,

'a school scheme for this territory which, when it is developed, should put elementary education within the reach of every native child who is really anxious for it and which should provide opportunity of more advanced education for those likely to profit thereby.' (49)

The Plan included provision for expanding teacher training. He proposed a three-year course for those who would teach in the village schools. Emphasis would be placed on agriculture, carpentry, hygiene and physical training. 'No English would be required,' he told the Chief Secretary. 'It is of little use to the elementary vernacular schoolmaster and has the disadvantage that it is apt to make the teacher seek more remunerative work.' (50)

Latham recognised the long-term need for opportunities for higher education in the fields of medicine, education, commerce, surveying, agriculture and engineering and suggested that another institution, similar to Makerere in Uganda, would be required in due course. He did not recommend that such an institution should be established in Northern Rhodesia. 'Some other institution,' he wrote, 'nearer to Northern Rhodesia may be available in a neighbouring country. More than two such institutions to serve East and South Central Africa will not be justified for many years to come.' (51)

It was perhaps as well that Latham did not remain to watch in frustration as his Development Plan gathered dust on his office shelf. Before he left Northern Rhodesia, the first effects of the slump had begun to be felt, and Mufulira Copper Mine was allowed to flood. By the time he reached Britain, the Labour Government had fallen, and the National Government was endeavouring to reduce an anticipated deficit of £120000000 on its budget. After the limited, but marked, advance which Latham had supervised during the past six years, African education was destined to mark time until the world-wide economic blizzard had blown itself out.

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## CHAPTER VI

### FURTHER MISSIONARY SETTLEMENT, 1923-36

- (i) The Church of Christ, 1923
- (ii) The Salvation Army, 1927
- (iii) The Capuchin Fathers, 1931
- (iv) The Franciscan Fathers, 1931
- (v) The Pilgrim Holiness Church, 1933
- (vi) United Missions in the Copperbelt, 1936
- (vii) The United Society for Christian Literature, 1936

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#### (i) THE CHURCH OF CHRIST, 1923

One of the smallest societies to work in Northern Rhodesia was the Church of Christ, a loosely organised, evangelical, fundamentalist group of Christians drawing their inspiration from the ideals and practices of the first Apostles.

Church of Christ members from Britain established themselves in the Cape Province during the 1880's but it was a New Zealander, John Sherriff, who first felt impelled to extend the Church's activities beyond the Limpopo into the country of the Matabele in Southern Rhodesia. Sheriff arrived in Bulawayo in 1898 and set himself up as a stone-mason. He supported himself from his business and devoted his spare time to building a small church and preaching the Gospel. Others came to join him and several attempts were made to start Mission stations. None succeeded, until in 1919 a mission was successfully started at Dadaya in the Lundi reserve. Garfield Todd, subsequently Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, was in charge of this station from 1934 to 1948.

Meanwhile, African evangelists had crossed the Zambezi into Northern Rhodesia. When W. N. Short arrived from the United States in 1922, he found Bulawayo Kukano teaching the people to read at Mukuni village, near Livingstone, and Peter Masiya teaching at Majala village, near Senkobo Siding. Short felt that Majala was the more promising of the two sites and in 1923 he built a small station nearby, known as Sinda. Molly Sherriff and Peter Masiya were the first teachers at the station school. Short has recalled: 'We tried for nothing more than to teach the Africans to read so they could read their New Testaments.' (1)



Another school was started at Siamandele village in 1925, the teacher-evangelist being Kambole Patamatenga. Two years later Short built another mission station at Kabanga. A larger station, at Namwianga, was opened in 1932 and this grew into the central mission station for the Church. Teacher training facilities were developed there by Alvin Hobby, and these provided a small but steady flow of teachers to staff the village schools which were opened in the surrounding area. By 1945, the Church of Christ had eight aided and eleven unaided schools where nearly 1700 children were enrolled. (2)

## (ii) THE SALVATION ARMY, 1927

William Booth founded the Salvation Army in London in 1865. Booth had been a minister of the Methodist New Connection but resigned from the ministry in order to work as an evangelist among the poorest and most degraded inhabitants of London's slums. With the help of his wife, Catherine, he founded the East London Christian Mission, the name of which was changed in 1878 to that of the Salvation Army. William Booth was its first General. The Army's aim was, and remains, to preach the Gospel of Christ to those untouched by existing religious effort, and to make the converts open witnesses for Christ, pledged to bring whomsoever they can into a like experience of the Grace of God.

The work spread quickly. By 1890, Salvationists were at work in Australia, India, Canada, New Zealand, the West Indies and many European countries as well as in South Africa. The Army's advance into Africa began in Cape Province in 1883 and spread to Zululand in 1888. In 1891, General Booth met Rhodes at Cape Town. Rhodes was anxious to encourage Christian missions to settle in Mashonaland which had been occupied the previous year. Rhodes thought the missions would have a civilizing influence in his new domain, and offered Booth over 2400 hectares in the Mazoe District. This was accepted and the Army's first station in Southern Rhodesia was opened in the same year.

In 1923 a group of unknown Africans from Chief Sikoongo's area in the Gwembe district of Northern Rhodesia went to work at Grand Parade Mine in the Zambezi valley. During their stay there they attended some Salvation Army meetings and were converted. They returned to Sikoongo determined to spread the Gospel to their own people. The Salvation Army had thus already gained a slight foothold in Northern Rhodesia when, in September, 1926, two full-time evangelists from across the Zambezi, Commandant Matthew Kunzwi Shava and Lieutenant Paul Shumba, were sent to work among the Tonga people. They were followed in 1927 by Captain Jensen who started a mission station at Ibwe Munyama, on the site of a former police camp.

In order that the converts might learn to read the Bible for themselves, and to raise their general standard of living, a school was soon started at Ibwe Munyama. The first teachers came from Southern Rhodesia and financial assistance for the school was provided by the Army's headquarters in Salisbury to supplement the exiguous grants from the Department of Native Education. When some local teachers had been trained, schools were opened in the surrounding villages and by 1939 the Salvation Army was running 26 schools, half of them aided, with an enrolment of 900 boys and 500 girls. (3) Major Samuel Bennett and Brigadier Alfred Erikson were in charge of the early educational efforts of the Salvation Army.

Ibwe Munyama was gradually built up as a co-educational boarding school. The first boys sat the Standard VI Examination in 1936, but the girls trailed far

behind. Often the mission truck was sent around the villages to persuade parents to send their daughters to school. Boarding fees were only £1 a year for girls but often the truck returned empty. The school log book records 72 boarders at Ibwe in 1937; only three were girls. (4)

In 1940 Major Philip Rive, a trained educationist, took over and strengthened both the academic work of the schools and their organisation. It fell to him to arrange, in 1945, for the moving of the mission station from Ibwe Munyama to Chikankata, where it remains.

### (iii) THE CAPUCHIN FATHERS, 1931

The persistence of the Church in the face of disappointments and set-backs over more than half a century is well illustrated by the Catholics' endeavours to penetrate Barotseland.

The first attempt by Catholic missionaries to enter the country of the Lozi people was in 1880 when the Jesuit priests, Fathers Depelchin, Weisskaff and Teroerde tried without success to establish a foothold across the Zambezi. Subsequent efforts in 1902 and 1903 met with a firm refusal by Lewanika, the King of the Barotse people. In the meantime, Coillard had established a number of mission stations of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society in and around Lealui.<sup>(5)</sup>

In 1930, J. Consterdine, a teacher at the Barotse National School, asked the Prefect Apostolic of Broken Hill to send a Jesuit priest to Mongu to minister to the spiritual needs of a score or so of Catholics from the Northern Province who were pupils at the school. The priest subsequently took advantage of his presence in Mongu to ask permission to establish a permanent Mission in Barotseland. The Paramount Chief, Yeta III, thought that there would be 'no harm in having different churches in the country. This will help each individual native to choose which religion or doctrine he wishes to go by,' he wrote. <sup>(6)</sup> Government approved the proposal, subject to the proviso that the Catholics would not infringe the 'spheres of influence' of existing missionary societies.

In January, 1931, the Irish Province of the Capuchin Franciscans was assigned by Rome to evangelise a 65000 square mile (over 16m. hectares) area which included the Livingstone District and Kabompo District, as well as Barotseland proper.

The Capuchin Order goes back to 1520 when a Franciscan friar, Matteo de Bassi, determined to return to the most literal observance possible of St Francis' Rule. He made himself a pointed or pyramidal hood, allowed his beard to grow and wore no shoes. Matteo was joined by others and an Order was established. Their name derives from their hood, which is known as *capuche*. From an early date they undertook missions to America, Asia and to North Africa and a missionary training college was founded in Rome in the middle of the seventeenth century. Though bound by their vows to lead a life of great poverty and austerity, the Capuchins never lacked recruits to their ranks.

In October, 1931, two Capuchin priests, Fathers Declan and Killian, arrived in Livingstone and set about the task of finding a suitable site on which to build a mission station. It proved extremely difficult to select a satisfactory site which was not within the sphere of influence, real or imaginary, of other missionary societies. In August, 1932, the Fathers, now joined by Fathers Seraphin and Phelim, took possession of Loanja, some 240 kilometres from Livingstone and just inside the Barotseland border. Within two months they had built a house, a church and a

school, but there the progress stopped. The area was sparsely populated, mostly by the Luvale tribe, and a further difficulty was that it was claimed by the Brethren in Christ as their sphere of influence.

'For four years,' a Capuchin subsequently wrote, 'these priests practically vegetated in this most desolate of spots. The only tangible results of their labours was a road to Mulobezi, the railway terminus, the acquisition of an old Ford vanette and the erection of a school at a village called Mombu. No sooner was the school built than the villagers moved 20 miles (32 kilometres) away.' (7)

In 1936 permission was received to take over a sphere of influence of the Brethren in Christ. Loanja was closed and the mission station was moved about 40 kilometres south to Sichili where educational work was rapidly and successfully developed. A lower middle school was opened in 1937. Meanwhile, in 1935, a new station was opened by Father Phelim on the Kabompo River, but this was soon recognised as a second Loanja and was moved to Silembi, near the confluence of the Zambezi and Kabompo Rivers and just outside the Paris Missionary Society's sphere of influence. This did not satisfy Father Phelim.

'He had his eye,' a Capuchin has recorded, 'on a heavily populated spot, Lukulu, a mile or two inside the sphere of influence, and quite unattended. He asked permission; the authorities temporised, Father Phelim moved in; a shindig was kicked up but when the dust had settled, Father Phelim was still there. It was a most rewarding illegal seizure of territory. Lukulu has developed into the largest and most productive of all the Catholic foundations in Barotseland.' (8)

Teacher training began at Sancta Maria, the name of the new mission at Lukulu, in 1936. The arrival of Sisters of the Holy Cross in 1939 enabled girls' boarding schools to be opened at the mission stations.

As soon as Lukulu was established, Father Phelim moved south-east and in 1938 founded Mangango, 51 kilometres from Mankoya (Kaoma). In 1943 he moved west towards the Angola border and started another station at Sihole in Kalabo District. Four years later, and seventeen years after Consterdine's request was made, Mongu, the capital of Barotseland, was opened to full Catholic missionary effort in Barotseland. As a fitting reward for his labours, Father Phelim was appointed bishop of the new diocese which was created in 1959.

Six unaided schools were being run by the Capuchins in 1935. Within two years this number had grown to 19 and nearly 1000 children were attending these schools. In addition, there were 6 aided schools in 1937 with an enrolment of more than 400 pupils. Progress thereafter was very rapid. By 1945 the Capuchins had

88 schools, of which all but two were aided, attended by 5800 boys and 3000 girls. (9) After a late start and a slow beginning, the Capuchins rapidly made up for lost time and became the largest educational agency in Barotseland.

Later mission stations were at Kalabo (1943), Katima Mulilo (1944), Sioma (Senanga, 1953), Limulunga (1959), Naliowa (Kalabo, 1960), Katongo (Mongu, 1962), Senanga and Sesheke (1966). In the Southern Province the first station was founded at Livingstone in 1931 and two others, both in or near Livingstone, were opened at Maramba (1940) and Makunika (1961). Chinyingi Mission, in the Balovale (Zambezi) District of the North Western Province, was founded in 1954.

#### (iv) THE FRANCISCANS, 1931

The Order of Friars Minor traces its history back to 1209. In that year, St Francis of Assisi, perhaps the most saintly of all the saints, obtained the approval of Pope Innocent III to form a society of men whose aim was to imitate the life of Christ as closely as possible. St Francis and his early followers lived in abject poverty, possessing nothing, working in the fields to earn their daily bread, sleeping in hedgerows or barns, mixing with the labourers and the unemployed, the outcasts and the lepers. Missionary work overseas began almost immediately. St Francis had preached the Gospel and healed the sick in Spain, Egypt and Israel before he died, his body worn out by self-denial, in 1226.

In spite of the severity of their Rule, the number of Franciscans increased rapidly and it is estimated that about the period of the Reformation, the Friars Minor numbered nearly 100000. Internal dissension and differences of interpretation of St Francis's ideals, led to the splitting of the Franciscans into three distinct branches, the Observants, the Conventuals and the Capuchins. Missionaries of all three branches were among the first to carry the Gospel to Asia, the Americas, Australia and Africa.

It was a group of Franciscan Friars Minor Conventual who came to Ndola in 1931 to spear-head the work of the Catholic Church in the rapidly developing Copperbelt, and in the North Western Province. Led by Father (later Bishop) Mazzieri, the Franciscans found that a considerable part of the Western (Copperbelt) Province was claimed by the South African Baptists. In the towns, mission residences were built at Luanshya in 1931, Kitwe (1939), Mufulira (1940), Chingola (1944), Bancroft (1957), Kalulushi (1957) and Chambishi (1966). The first mission station in the thinly-populated rural area was St Joseph's at Kalumbwa in 1932; and this was followed by St Theresa's at Ibenga in 1934, St Mary's at Shibuchinga in 1948 and St Anthony's at Ndubeni in 1954. Expansion was slower in the North West. St Francis' Mission, Kalala, was opened in 1941 and subsequent stations were founded at Lwawu (1951), Mwinilunga (1959) and Manyinga (1965).

The early educational work of the Franciscans was the running of 'prayer schools', where children received religious instruction and a smattering of the three 'R's. Sixteen such institutions were in precarious existence by 1933. Numbers fluctuated considerably until the African Education Ordinance of 1939 came into operation and these rather pathetic attempts at providing education for the people came to an end. Of much greater value were the station schools, the first of which was a boys' boarding school at St Joseph's and a girls' boarding school at Ibenga. With the arrival of the Dominican Sisters at Ibenga in 1939, St Theresa's Girls' School was developed successfully, and the foundations laid for the opening of a secondary school in 1965.

Father Nicholas Agnozzi (later Bishop of Ndola) was one of the early teachers at St Joseph's.

'Once the buildings were finished,' he has recalled, 'we scouted the neighbouring villages for prospective pupils. With the offer of free uniform and free board and lodging we managed to collect some fifteen boys. After a week, some men came to claim their boys or their pay. They said we had taken away their boys and they had nobody to help them in the fields, and they would have to pay labourers. So we sent the pupils home. Life was too good at the mission school though, and in no time at all they all came back. They had made an agreement with their elders to work in the fields during the school holidays.' (10)

As the Franciscans acquired teachers, village schools were opened. By 1945, the Society was managing a total of sixteen schools, all on the grant-aided list, catering for 1400 children. (11)

In the Copperbelt towns, the Government refused to countenance denominational schools. Unable to open their own schools, the Franciscans co-operated with the United Missions in the Copperbelt, and helped provide staff for the schools which were built by the Government and managed by the U.M.C.B., one of the first ecumenical movements in the country. Equally valuable and of more lasting importance, was the contribution made by the Franciscans in the field of European education. Government's provision of schools for the European population did not keep pace with the demand for such facilities, and neither did it meet the denominational requirements of the Catholics. Convent schools were opened at Ndola in 1935, and at Luanshya in 1938 by the Dominican Sisters, and at Mufulira after the 1939-45 War. The Sisters of St John the Baptist later started schools at Kitwe and Chingola. The Convent schools proved very successful and subsequently led the way in enrolling non-European children, an experiment in integration which in the government schools was delayed until after Independence.

The Franciscans sympathised with the lot of the Coloured children who were ineligible to attend European schools, and did not want to go to African schools. In 1951, on land donated by Arthur Davison, a few kilometres outside Ndola, the Dominican Sisters opened a boarding school for Coloured children. The Beit Trust and the Ndola and Luanshya Lotteries provided capital assistance and 250 boarders were enrolled at Fatima School by 1955.

Although the role of the Franciscans on the educational scene was comparatively small, their work was unique in that it endeavoured to cater for the needs of not only Africans, but also of European and Coloured children. St Francis would surely have applauded that his successors should aim to be servants of all men.



## (v) THE PILGRIM HOLINESS CHURCH, 1933

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a revivalist movement swept across the United States and led to the formation of numerous organisations concerned with the conservation and propagation of what they considered to be 'true holiness'. Subsequently, a number of these organisations found common ground and combined their forces. It was a movement of this sort which in 1924 resulted in the formation of the Pilgrim Holiness Church through the union of the former Apostolic Holiness Union of Ohio, the Holiness Christian Church of Pennsylvania, the Pentecostal Rescue Mission of New York and the Pilgrim Church of California. The Pilgrim Holiness Church enjoyed a separate identity until 1968, when it merged with the American Wesleyan Methodist Church.

Its primary object being the conversion of sinners and the sanctification of believers, the Pilgrim Holiness Church aims at publishing the full Gospel to every nation in order to prepare souls for the pre-millennial coming of Christ. Missionary outreach is a strong feature of the Church's activities, and the first entry of a Pilgrim Holiness missionary to South Africa dates back to 1904 when the Rev William Hurst arrived in Cape Town.

In 1930 the Church felt it was called to take the Gospel to Northern Rhodesia and the Rev and Mrs Ray Miller drove up to Choma to reconnoitre the Southern Province. They found themselves in the middle of a fierce denominational battleground. Already seven denominations were working in the Southern Province — the Jesuits, the Paris Mission, the Methodists, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Brethren in Christ, the Anglicans, and the Church of Christ. An eighth, the Capuchin Fathers, were about to arrive. Spheres of interest, often ill-defined, were hotly disputed between rival denominations. Undeterred, Miller found an 'unoccupied' area among the Batonga and obtained permission for the Pilgrim Holiness Church to start its work as soon as the necessary staff could be found.

Three years later, in 1933, Harry Reynolds and his wife were sent to Northern Rhodesia from the Emmanuel station in Natal. They were accompanied by Mary Loew, a teacher, and Ethel Jordan, an evangelist. Reynolds built two small grass houses, one for his family and the other for the two single ladies. This marked the beginning of the Rees Memorial Mission, usually referred to as Jembo Mission. Within two years, the Pilgrims had six small schools operating, three of them on the grant-aided list. Tragedy struck in 1937 when Harry Reynolds died of black-water fever at the age of 34. R. E. Strickland and his wife continued the work which the Reynolds had begun. During the war, Siachitema Mission was handed over to the Pilgrim Holiness Church. By 1945, the Church was running eleven aided schools and eight unaided schools, the combined enrolment of these being just over 900 pupils. (12)

The evangelisation of the Batonga became a prime concern of the Pilgrims

after the war, and Northern Rhodesia became the largest single mission field in the Pilgrim Holiness Church from the standpoint of missionary staff and institutional work. Chaboboma station, in the Gwembe Valley, was opened by John Blann and Ruth Miller in 1950 and C. G. Keith was responsible for starting a mission station at Zimba in 1957.

## (vi) UNITED MISSIONS IN THE COPPERBELT, 1936

Travelling in 1909 through the area which was later to embrace the Copperbelt, the Rev John Springer, a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, wrote:

'From being the bloody hunting grounds of slave raiders from east and west, this section is destined to become one of the greatest mining centres of the world. Not only will white people of all nations flock to these mines, but also natives from all over the continent by the thousands and tens of thousands. As a strategic centre for evangelistic activities, and for radiating the light of the Gospel, this mineral belt will doubtless be unsurpassed throughout the continent of Africa.' (13)

The development of the Copperbelt did not begin until the early 1920's. Drilling began at several places in 1925. The old mine at Bwana Mkubwa was re-opened in 1926 and development proceeded rapidly in the new mines at Nkana, Luanshya, Chambishi, Mufulira and Chingola. Only 1300 Africans were employed on the Copperbelt in 1924. By 1926, the number was 10000 and by 1930 had reached 30000. (14) Living conditions were rough in the mining camps which sprang up in the country of the Lamba people. Young men were drawn to the camps from near and far by the prospect of finding paid employment. Their first experience of industrial society was often a painful shock. Suddenly released from the discipline of tribal society, lonely, with plenty of leisure time on their hands, the young miners from Kasama or Balovale or Kawambwa or Mzimba (for many of them came from Nyasaland) were out of their element. As has been well said: 'In no time they were lifted out of the age of Abraham into the age of Henry Ford.' (15) Boredom, drinking, fighting and immorality were rife in these early days in the embryonic mine townships.

Here, surely was an opportunity for the missionaries. Here, on the Copperbelt, as nowhere else in the country, was there need for the preaching of the Word of God and practical Christian counselling and pastoral care.

The response of the Missions to this new challenge was slow. Shortage of funds and staff made it difficult for them to extend their work into the mining camps where, in any case, the system of migratory labour would have given them little opportunity to exert an influence on young men who rarely stayed longer than a year in one place. Until 1931, over the whole of the Copperbelt, the only resident Protestant minister was the Rev A. J. Cross of the South African Baptist Mission, stationed at Kafulafuta. For the Catholics, the Jesuits soon had priests working in the camps and they were reinforced in 1931 by the Franciscans, who opened mission stations at Bwana Mkubwa, Luanshya and Kitwe.

In 1931 came the slump. The price of copper fell to £20 a ton. Production

on a vastly reduced scale was continued at Luanshya and Nkana, but all development was halted at Bwana Mkubwa, Kansanshi, Chambishi, Mufulira and Chingola. The number of African mine employees dropped from 30000 in 1930 to 7000 in 1932.

When the General Missionary Conference met at Broken Hill in 1931, considerable concern was expressed at the social and moral problems which the development of the Copperbelt had thrown up. An important visitor to this Conference was Dr A. M. Chirgwin, General Secretary of the London Missionary Society, who suggested the possibility of a group of Missions combining their resources in order to make a joint attack on the evils of industrialisation. This idea was expanded in considerable detail in 1933 in a book by John Merle-Davis who was appointed by the International Missionary Council as chairman of a commission to investigate the effect of the Northern Rhodesia copper mines on African society and the work of Christian missions. (16) The Merle-Davis Commission recommended that the Churches must pay more attention to the welfare and social problems on the mines and that the missionary work of the Protestant churches on the Copperbelt should be united under the care of one missionary society. This revolutionary proposal was still being considered by the home committees of the churches, as well as by their representatives in Northern Rhodesia, when a young man named R. J. B. Moore opened a mission station for the L.M.S. at Mindolo, just outside Kitwe, and soon began to visit the mine compounds.

In the following year, 1935, after the sudden imposition of increased taxation, riots took place in several mine compounds and six Africans were killed at Ndola. The General Missionary Conference of 1935 was held only two weeks after this tragic bloodshed. This gave special relevance to a paper delivered by the Rev R. J. B. Moore on the effects of industrialisation. Moore drew attention to the hunger for learning on the Copperbelt and the inadequacy of the provision of schools. There was urgent need for elementary day schools for children of families who worked on the Copperbelt for short periods; of boarding schools for the children of urbanised Africans; and of facilities for adult education. He stressed the importance of co-operative work among the societies in sending trained teachers to work in and around the mines and in supporting them financially. Moore was able to report that a committee had been formed of representatives of several societies which were co-operating in new work on the Copperbelt. The Conference took 'favourable cognisance of this co-operative venture' and authorised its executive 'to do all in its power to further the union work which had thus been started.' (17)

To the annoyance of the Governor, Sir Hubert Young, the Conference criticised not only the Government's handling of the riots but also the composition of the Commission which he had set up to enquire into the disturbances. Young agreed that the Rev Malcolm Moffat of Chitambo should join the Commission and his influence can be seen in its report which stated that:

'very little attention was paid to the education or religious instruction of the natives in the compounds. As our investigations proceeded, we became more and more aware that this uncontrolled and growing emigration brought misery and poverty to hundreds and thousands of families and that the waste of life, happiness, health and wealth was colossal. Something must be done at once to remedy a state of affairs which, viewed from any standpoint, constitutes a flagrant breach of that ideal trusteeship of native races not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world. The Commission feels that the continuation of suitable religious instruction of natives who come to work at the mines and the instruction of young people who are growing up there is of great importance both from a moral and disciplinary point of view.' (18)

This report helped to convince the waverers among the home committees of some societies and in mid-1936 there was formed the United Missions in the Copperbelt. The participating societies were the London Missionary Society, the Livingstonia Mission (Church of Scotland), the Universities Mission to Central Africa, the Methodist Missionary Society, the South African Baptist Mission and the United Society for Christian Literature.

The Rev Arthur Cross was appointed leader of the U.M.C.B., a position he held with great distinction until his untimely death in 1945. Other outstanding members of the Team in the early years were Moore and the Rev George Fraser. All men of great faith, vision and determination, they drew up an ambitious and comprehensive programme of action which envisaged a total Christian approach to all aspects of life on the Copperbelt. Apart from the purely evangelistic work, the emphasis was placed on education in its broadest, as well as formal, aspects. Social and recreational centres were to be established, reading rooms were to be opened, literature was to be printed and distributed, various organisations were to be started, African co-operatives were to be fostered. If not all these plans came to full fruition, there can be no doubt that the U.M.C.B. exercised in the Copperbelt a most beneficial influence out of all proportion to its numerical strength, and at a time when neither the mining companies nor the Government were in a position to undertake social welfare or educational work themselves. The U.M.C.B. laid the foundations on which Government and the mining groups later built their educational and welfare services. Though often crippled by shortages of staff and money, the U.M.C.B. played a pioneering role which pointed the way to subsequent development.

In the field of formal education, the U.M.C.B. took over the running of a small number of schools which had been started by the Union Church of the Copperbelt. This remarkable church had been set up by African Christians who migrated to the Copperbelt, found no missionary to assist them, but nevertheless

formed their own congregations, elected elders, raised funds and supported their own evangelists. As early as 1925, Cross found such a congregation in Ndola; the church building, erected by their own efforts, was used as a school during the week. Similar congregations of Christians were active in Nchanga, Roan Antelope and Mufulira before any missionaries visited these compounds.

At the end of the U.M.C.B.'s first year of operations in 1939, Arthur Cross could report that 17 certificated teachers were employed in the Missions' schools. These teachers had been sent to the Copperbelt by the participating societies from the rural areas for a spell of duty which usually averaged two years. The African Education Department's policy was for Government to build schools in the Copperbelt towns and then to hand them over to the U.M.C.B. for staffing and management. Applications by the Franciscan Fathers and the Dutch Reformed Church Mission to open denominational schools in these towns were turned down. Instead, these agencies were encouraged to contribute teachers to the U.M.C.B. staffing pool. This they did from 1939 onwards and Catholic teachers soon made up a third of the teaching strength in the U.M.C.B. schools.

By 1942 the U.M.C.B. was running 8 schools with an enrolment of 6000 children attending in double sessions. (19) George Fraser had been appointed Education Secretary for the Team and he and his education committee ran refresher courses for the teachers. They also organised adult education classes and women's classes. The demand for increased educational facilities was almost insatiable and the administrative staff of the Team could not keep pace. Fraser became Team Leader and it proved impossible to find a suitable person to replace him as Education Secretary for any length of time. Moreover, divisions began to appear in the ranks of the United Missions. Moore had withdrawn from the Team in 1941, the death of Cross was a crippling blow, and there were serious differences of opinion on the relative importance to be attached to evangelistic work, to education and to welfare activities.

Meanwhile, there was growing dissatisfaction within the U.M.C.B. with the effectiveness of its educational programme. Compulsory education was introduced in the Copperbelt in 1943 but there were insufficient places in the schools for all the children wanting places. As a result, the U.M.C.B. were faced with the unpleasant task of turning away hundreds of applicants from the school doors. There were difficulties with the teachers, who compared their conditions of service unfavourably with those of government teachers as well as those of the miners whose children they educated. Further, and most important, the U.M.C.B. felt they had failed to mark their schools with a definite Christian character.

Faced with these difficulties, the U.M.C.B. were unable to expand their educational activities at the rate the Government required. New schools were opened and staffed by the Department instead of by the U.M.C.B., which, in 1950, began to hand over its educational responsibilities to Government. The last school was handed over in 1952. The U.M.C.B. lingered on until 1955 when it was disbanded.

Thus ended a brave experiment in missionary co-operation and Christian action, which only in a narrow sense can be said to have failed. The U.M.C.B. aroused the conscience not only of the mining companies but also of the Government, and showed what positive, practical and vitally necessary steps could be taken to alleviate the miseries of industrialisation. Without Cross, Fraser, Moore and their colleagues, the development of education, social and welfare services in the Copperbelt towns would have been seriously delayed at a cost of incalculable human suffering.

## (vii) THE UNITED SOCIETY FOR CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, 1936

Literacy develops an appetite for reading material which must be satisfied if the newly acquired skill is not to atrophy through disuse. In the 1920's and 1930's, as the number of literate people in Northern Rhodesia grew, the missionary societies found it increasingly difficult to arrange for the writing, printing, publishing and distribution of suitable reading material for their followers. The problem was particularly acute on the Copperbelt where, in the rapidly developing mine townships, was gathering the greatest concentration of literates in the country. Here was an opportunity which must be seized: a reading public hungry for books and, at the same time, desperately in need of moral and spiritual guidance in a totally unfamiliar environment. One of the first decisions of the United Missions in the Copperbelt was to enlist the support of the United Society for Christian Literature in dealing with this unique situation.

The United Society for Christian Literature was born in 1935, but its history goes back to 1799. At the annual meeting of the London Missionary Society held in May of that year, it was decided to establish the Religious Tract Society with the object of winning for Christ the new class of literates which the charity schools and Sunday schools had created in Britain. Although primarily intended as a 'home mission', the Religious Tract Society soon extended its activities overseas, and by 1811 the Society's tracts were being distributed on the European continent, in the Mediterranean, the West Indies, Russia and Canada. As the nineteenth century progressed, the R.T.S. played an increasingly important role in providing literature for interdenominational, Free Church and Anglican missions overseas, particularly in China and India. The British and Foreign Bible Society, itself an offshoot (1804) of the R.T.S., published and distributed the Scriptures; the R.T.S. provided a constantly expanding supply of devotional and evangelistic literature in local languages for the missionary outreach of the young churches. This literature was designed not only to sustain the spiritual life of new Christians and to instruct them in the meaning and nature of their faith; it also covered subjects such as hygiene, agriculture, economics, marriage, moral and social questions, and other topics which form an essential part of the Church's ministry.

Development of the Society's work in Africa was slower than it was in China, India or South America, but by the end of the First World War the R.T.S. was assisting the publication of material in 42 African languages. The Le Zoute Conference in 1926 helped to focus attention on colonial Africa and its literacy explosion. In response, the Society inaugurated a special Africa Fund. Many books were published under this Fund in more than a hundred languages, the Society paying all costs of publication, and recouping, from sales by the churches, part at least of the amount not covered by a subsidy agreed upon before publication.

In a vast country such as Northern Rhodesia, with its scattered population



and hopelessly inadequate system of communications, distribution of literature was just as pressing a problem as its production. It was to the twin problems of production and distribution that the Society addressed itself when it combined with other missionary societies to form the United Missions in the Copperbelt in 1936, one year after the Religious Tract Society amalgamated with the Christian Literature Society for India and Africa to form the United Society for Christian Literature.

It was in 1936, in a small thatched roof bookroom at Mindolo, headquarters of the U.M.C.B., that the U.S.C.L. began its task of providing a Christian literature to the Copperbelt. From the beginning, books of a general nature, as well as those with a religious message, were stocked. Sales among the miners of Kitwe rose steadily, especially of those books which cost only a few pence. But if the books were to be available over the whole Copperbelt, they had to be taken to places as far afield as Ndola, Chingola, Mufulira and Luanshya. The answer was to employ colporteurs who, with a box of books on the back of their bicycles, visited the compounds and supplied the needs of those who could not reach Mindolo. By 1945 sales from the Mindolo bookroom amounted to £3800 for the year, mostly of heavily subsidised material sold very cheaply. Kiosks had been established in the Copperbelt towns, replacing the colporteurs.

Pioneer of this early work was Padre J. R. Shaw, and it was he who was largely responsible for two important developments in the U.S.C.L.'s activities in Northern Rhodesia. First of these was the acceptance of an invitation by the Department of African Education to be responsible for the provision and distribution of educational textbooks to the schools, not only on the Copperbelt but over the whole country. The second, which grew out of the first, was the building in Lusaka in 1948 of a large bookshop and warehouse as the base for a country-wide distribution service. Until 1966, when this side of the Society's work was handed over to an educational distributor, the U.S.C.L. was the main distributor of a multiplicity of textbooks and other school materials to local education authorities and non-Catholic mission schools. Sales at the bookshops at Lusaka (moved to new premises in 1954) and at Kitwe (built in 1956), rose from £50000 in 1955 to £230000 in 1965. (20) Albert Stepney, the Rev Merfyn Temple and Dugald Bruce played major parts in this expansion of the Society's work, and they, together with Padre Shaw and the Rev Denys Whitehead of the Student Christian Movement, were familiar figures in the country's schools and provincial offices.

On the production side, the U.S.C.L. co-operated with the Government's Publications Bureau to encourage church workers and others to write books suited to the varied and changing needs of the literate population of Northern Rhodesia. Later, a five-year programme, begun in 1960 by Mary Senior, resulted in the publication of a number of useful books, some of these being written by local authors. The Society was also closely associated with the opening in 1959 of the

Africa Literature Centre at the Mindolo Ecumenical Centre providing courses in creative writing, journalism, literature training and book illustration.

In these various ways the U.S.C.L. has provided a most valuable service of Christian witness to the people of Zambia. The U.S.C.L. is convinced that print is the most powerful, as it is the most enduring, of the influences which play upon the human mind and spirit, and is pledged to use this instrument in the effective service of the Church. It was in fulfilment of this policy that the Society undertook responsibility for feeding the minds of the tens of thousands of people made literate in the country's schools, provided them with Christ's message in permanent, printed form, and opened windows on to new worlds through the supply of books made available at the cheapest possible price. Without the efforts of these missionaries of the printed word, new Christians might soon have lost their faith, and the products of the schools would almost certainly have lapsed into illiteracy.

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## CHAPTER VII

### 1931—1939: DEPRESSION AND RECOVERY

Missionaries and officials had high hopes that the implementation of Latham's Plan, as outlined in Chapter V, would be but the first step in developing the country's education system. But these hopes were soon dashed as the effects of the world economic depression shattered the Northern Rhodesia copper-based economy and forced the Government drastically to reduce its expenditure, capital and recurrent. The promise of expansion and development gave way to the harsh realities of economy and retrenchment. Only towards the end of the decade were the effects of the depression shaken off, and did the graphs of school enrolment and of recurrent expenditure begin to rise significantly. Not until the 1939-45 War, however, when the insatiable demand for copper caused the metal price to soar, was Government able to devote reasonably substantial sums of money to educational services, and thus provide school facilities within the grant-aided system, for more than a small percentage of children of primary school age.

Apart from financial difficulties which stultified many of its plans, the Department was plagued by administrative problems. While Latham, the first Director, had held his post for six years, no fewer than six different men headed the Department in the period 1931-37. Following Latham's retirement in June, 1931, J. L. Keith served as Acting Director until Robert Caldwell arrived from Nyasaland. Caldwell had to retire on grounds of ill-health early in 1935. During a visit Caldwell made to the U.S.A. in 1934, Edward Lane Poole, a district officer, acted in his place. After Caldwell's retirement, John B. Clark, Director of European Education, was appointed to act as Director of Native Education as well. Clark was ambitious to become Director of a unified education department, but his proposal for a single department of education was rejected, and he was replaced in February, 1936 by Conrad Opper. Opper acted as Director until C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe arrived on transfer from Tanganyika in December, 1936. Lack of continuity at the top was particularly unfortunate at a time when the Department was beset by a succession of crises.

Latham had foreseen the need to decentralise the work of the Department and to establish education offices at provincial headquarters. The first such office was opened at Kasama in 1931, where the Superintendent of Native Education for the Awemba Province was Douglas Miller. In the following year, Dr John Winterbottom was posted to Fort Jameson, headquarters of the East Luangwa Province.

In 1934, Peter Tregear, officer-in-charge of Ndola Government School, was given the added responsibility for education in the surrounding province and Jock Cottrell, Principal of the Barotse National School, was made Superintendent for the Barotse Province. G. H. Rusbridger was appointed Superintendent of Native Education for the Southern Province in 1936. The advantages of having a man on the spot in every province were soon realised not only by the Department but also by the Missions who welcomed the opportunity to discuss their problems and to seek advice from professional educationists. These early Superintendents of Native Education (their title was changed to that of Education Officer in 1939) all gave long and valuable service to the Department and set high standards. Northern Rhodesia was indeed fortunate in the calibre of its educational administrators. But not even the most capable of administrators could withstand the effects of the depression of the early 1930's.

### **The Economic Depression**

Latham's development plan envisaged a rise in recurrent expenditure on African education from £32179 in 1931-32 to £71346 in 1935-36. A sensational fall in the price of copper, the chief source of Government revenue, ruled such expenditure out of the question. Apart from various grants received from the Beit Railway Trust and the Carnegie Corporation, the recurrent expenditure from Government sources and the Barotse Trust Fund was as follows:

<b>Latham's Plan (1)</b>		<b>Actual Expenditure (2)</b>	
1931-32	£32179	1931-32	£29195
1932-33	£40164	1932-33	£27915
1933-34	£48363	1933	£25164
1934-35	£61250	1934	£22783
1935-36	£71346	1935	£27176
		1936	£28359
		1937	£31746
		1938	£40738
		1939	£47694

Far, then, from seeking to implement Latham's Plan which was eventually approved by the Colonial Office early in 1932, the Director was forced to reduce his budget and to devise economy measures which would have the least harmful effect on the educational system. The first such measure was taken in 1932 when boarding grants for pupils in the sub-standards and over-age pupils were reduced, and tuition fees in government schools were increased. Caldwell, however, was cautiously optimistic when he wrote to the Missions in October, 1932:

'I am authorised to assure you that it is not the Government's intention, even in the present circumstances, to revoke its policy of grant-aided education, although in certain cases a tightening up of the conditions attaching to the payment of grants may become imperative during the next financial year.' (3)

Three months later, however, in January, 1933, Caldwell had to inform the Missions that the Governor had accepted the recommendation of a Finance Commission that 'missionary societies at present in receipt of Government assistance should be warned forthwith that it may be necessary seriously to reduce, or even to cancel, their grants in 1934-35.' (4)

The Central Advisory Board at its biennial meeting in 1933 was 'firmly convinced that grant reduction in either the European or Native Education Departments will be against the highest interests of this territory, even in this time of financial stringency.' The people of Northern Rhodesia, the Board stated, constituted the country's most valuable asset. 'Money invested in their education will produce greater financial, social and moral returns than any other form of expenditure.' If more economies were inevitable, the Board resolved, grants for boarders should be further reduced, but there must be no reduction in the grants for teachers. (5)

The Missions were hit not only by the impending reduction in the grants they received from Government, but also by the effects of the slump on the rural economy and on the financial assistance they were accustomed to receive from their home committees and other supporters overseas. Parents were no longer able to afford to pay school fees. Reported the missionary in charge of the Seventh Day Adventist station at Chimpempe: 'School fees in this country are quite a problem in as much as the people, owing to the depression, have no money at all.' (6) As financial support from overseas dwindled almost to vanishing point, it became increasingly difficult to keep open the network of unaided schools in the villages. The 1933 Annual Report from the Dutch Reformed Church Mission at Madzimoyo was illuminating:

'During the first term of this year there was no money with which to pay our teachers at the various village schools, of which we have over fifty. So we asked for volunteers to teach without any remuneration for the term in question, and I am glad to say that at least two-thirds of our teachers willingly took on their task.' (7)

But this was unusual. There were 1979 unaided schools in the country in 1932. By 1934, the numbers had dropped to 1167. In other words, more than 800 schools were closed, the teachers were dismissed and the pupils sent home.

Worse was to come, and this time it was the teachers in the aided schools

who were affected. In November, 1934, the Government appointed a select committee to consider the whole question of grants-in-aid of native education. Edward Lane Poole, Acting Director, was appointed Chairman and the members included Bishop Alston May and Bishop Wolnik. Poole informed the committee that the Latham Plan, prepared at a time of comparative affluence, contemplated an expenditure out of all proportion to what was possible in a period of financial difficulty. The ever-increasing expenditure on education was giving rise to considerable anxiety. African salary grants approximated already to £4000 a year, and in five years' time might amount to three times that sum or even more. Clearly, for Poole, the prospect of such extravagance was too terrible to contemplate. New salary scales must be introduced and rigorous economies effected.

In March, 1935, Native Education Circular No. 5 was issued. This put into effect the recommendations made by Poole's committee. At the end of that month all salary grants for honorary teachers would cease. These were older teachers who had been excused from taking the Government's examination, but were regarded as certificated teachers. More serious was the discontinuation of the payment of grants for alien African teachers. This was particularly hard on the Church of Scotland and other societies which drew a considerable number of their teachers from Nyasaland. The initial salary of new Jeanes teachers, the cream of the profession, was fixed at 30/- a month, with an annual increment of 2/6. Worst of all was the new salary scale for certificated teachers, details of which were as follows:

Years of service	Salary per month	Salary per year	Maximum grant to be paid by Government per annum
1	15/0	£ 9. 0.0	£ 6
2	17/6	£10.10.0	£ 7
3	20/-	£12. 0.0	£ 8
4	22/6	£13.10.0	£ 9
5	25/-	£15. 0.0	£10
6	25/0	£15. 0.0	£10
7	27/6	£16.10.0	£11
8 or more	30/-	£18. 0.0	£12 (18)

Missions, conceded the circular, were free to pay a higher or lower salary if they wished to do so, but no additional grants would be payable. The only exception was the Standard VI teacher who, at the discretion of the Director, might be eligible for a maximum grant of £8 a year, based on two-thirds of an initial salary of 20/- per month.

The reaction of the Missions was bitterly hostile. George Sadler of the Salvation Army wrote: 'This will cripple and make our work most difficult; in fact,

you have created an impossible situation for us.' (9) From Chipembi, Wilfrid Curry stated: 'A man coming out of a Training Institute, with no small amount of enthusiasm for his work, and not a small ideal of what his profession should be, is rated at a sum equal to a carrier.' (10) Cyrus Winger of the Brethren in Christ Mission at Macha pointed out: 'The grants now offered reduce the incentive to procure certificated teachers, just about to vanishing point.' (11)

A Methodist minister, John Shaw, expressed the opinion of many missionaries when, in characteristic style, he wrote:

'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. In order to qualify as a native teacher a native must first pass Standard IV and then take a two-year Normal course. Only the best youths in the land can meet these demands. Yet, after qualifying, you think it fitting to pay ten shillings a month for his work as a teacher, and he must provide house, food, clothing, etc. One is amazed at the appalling lack of either knowledge or vision on the part of the committee. I do not like the phrase "grants-in-aid to missions", continued the irate padre. '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 a big noise. Discontented teachers are as dangerous as matches in a haystack. I suppose a change is not possible,' Shaw concluded, 'none the less, you have made a grave mistake.' (12)

Thoroughly worried by the reaction of the teachers to Circular 5, and by the scathing remarks of the Standing Committee of the Advisory Board, J. B. Clark, Acting Director, wrote to the Chief Secretary in January, 1936, and reported the

'widespread dissatisfaction among all the trained native teachers in the country with the new salary scale. These salaries are now on so low a level as to offer no incentive to better-trained boys to enter the teaching profession and this will inevitably result in a lowering of the educational standard in the country.' (13)

In order to ensure that the burden of the economies fell equally on all missionary societies, a quota system was introduced, regulating the number of



teachers in each society who were eligible for salary grants. A similar quota system was operated for boarding grants. Government schools did not escape the effects of the cuts in expenditure. All boarding grants were withdrawn from Kasama and from the elementary and middle schools at Mazabuka; the middle schools Latham had planned for Fort Jameson and Kasempa were simply not built.

By the end of 1936, however, the worst was over, and in November of that year slightly better salary scales for certificated teachers were introduced. Elementary teachers were henceforth to be paid from 17/6 to 40/- a month, while those holding the Lower Middle Teachers' Certificate started at 25/- a month and proceeded to 47/6. Government grants, still paid on the two-thirds basis, now ran from £7 to £19 a year.

### **Changes in the Grant Structure**

Shortly after his arrival, Tyndale-Biscoe reviewed the whole system of grants-in-aid to Missions, and rationalised it. He issued a list of the equipment which managers should endeavour to supply to their schools, and in 1937 introduced a modest scheme of equipment grants for schools which satisfied these requirements. In 1938 he was able to resume payment of building grants which had been suspended in 1933.

More important, Tyndale-Biscoe made the efficiency of the school, not the certificate held by the teacher, the criterion for the payment of grants. Although grants would still be estimated on teachers' salaries, they would not be paid unless the school was efficient and necessary. Thus, if a certificated teacher taught in an inefficient school, no grant would be paid. Tyndale-Biscoe itemised what he required before a school could be deemed efficient. First, the teachers had to be paid on an approved salary scale. Secondly, the school buildings had to be maintained in a satisfactory state of repair and in good sanitary condition. There had to be sufficient furniture and apparatus supplied for efficient instruction, which must be provided in accordance with the approval syllabus for not less than 150 days each year. Provision had to be made for organised games, physical training, handicrafts and school gardening. The number and ages of the pupils had to be satisfactory and attendance must average at least 20 children a day. Records of admission and attendance had to be accurately kept and the grants paid to the school must be used exclusively for the purpose of education in that school.

Here was a sincere and wise attempt to lay down standards to which the missionary societies and their teachers could aim to aspire. If many fell short of these standards, there can be little doubt that Tyndale-Biscoe's requirements, which were included in the Regulations made under the African Education Ordinance of 1939, had a considerable effect in gradually raising the standards of the country's schools.

To complete the re-organisation of the grants structure, much of which was

a copy of the Tanganyika system, Tyndale-Biscoe introduced small travelling grants to assist mission educationists in visiting their schools, and gave increased grants for the development of schools in 'backward or special areas.'

By 1939, the depression was a thing of the past. Government revenue had soared to £1674000, an increase of nearly £1m. over that of 1934. Government expenditure on African education, on the other hand, had risen in the same period by a paltry £20000.

By comparison with a number of other countries, Northern Rhodesia's expenditure on African education was niggardly. In 1938, Sir Alan Pim presented the report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the financial and economic position of the country. The report showed that in 1936 the cost to Government of African education was 25/- per pupil on the roll in Northern Rhodesia as against 51/- per pupil in Tanganyika, 80/- in the Gold Coast and 168/- in Zanzibar. The Commission considered that 'the strenuous and self-sacrificing efforts on the part of the Missions had 'been too diffused to yield commensurate results.' More generous Government assistance was certainly necessary, concluded the Report, but 'greater concentration and co-ordination of activities is required if the increased expenditure is to yield adequate results and a waste of public money is to be avoided.' (14)

At the end of the decade, the brunt of the cost of running the country's schools was still borne by the missions. If there was to be a significant increase in the number of efficient primary schools, staffed by trained teachers, then the rates of Government grants would have to be stepped up.

Dr Brown, missionary in charge of Lubwa, posed the problem in his Annual Report of 1939 to his home committee:

'The salaries of trained teachers continue to mount and the number of trained teachers to increase. This increase of expenditure on trained teachers has almost reached the limit of our ability to meet it, but we still hope that Government will do something towards increasing its help. Meanwhile, the only way to keep within one's income is to reduce the pay of the untrained teachers and catechists by reducing the number of months worked each year. This year it was reduced to four months in 2× 2 month periods.' (15)

### **Memorandum of 1935**

In 1935, the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, which had replaced in 1929 the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, issued a major statement of policy. The new Memorandum reiterated in stronger terms the principles set out in the Memorandum of 1925 but broke new ground by arguing that there was a close connection between

education and economic policy. The basic themes of the Memorandum were the need to educate all the people in the rural community, adults as well as juveniles, women as well as men, and the interdependence between education and the forces of social change. The school, the Advisory Committee stressed, had a key part to play in community improvement; the training of teachers should take into account their role as leaders of the community over and above their duties in the classroom. The Committee warned that changes taking place in African society required sociological research and pointed out the importance of taking into account African thought and feeling. African initiative, self-help and responsibility must be developed in order that living conditions could be improved and community betterment achieved.

Stress was laid in the Memorandum on the importance of co-operation between governments and the voluntary agencies and a suggestion was made that selected Europeans and Africans both from Government and Missions should be given experience in 'rural reconstruction'.

'We have tried,' said the Committee, 'to show that a new type of education is needed involving far-reaching changes in existing practice.' (16)

The changes proposed were, indeed, far-reaching. They represented a philosophy which was considerably in advance of current educational thought and practice in Britain. The likelihood of effecting such changes in Northern Rhodesia, without a massive injection of capital from outside the Territory and without a very large increase in the Department's staff, was small.

The Memorandum of 1935 did not, therefore, lead to immediate action in Northern Rhodesia as its predecessor of 1925 had done. Its influence, however, (together with that of the village college concept which Henry Morris was pioneering in Cambridgeshire) could be seen in a circular which Tyndale-Biscoe issued in 1937, based on a memorandum he had prepared while serving in Tanganyika.

'The school,' said Tyndale-Biscoe, 'should be the focus of village life and intimately concerned with its cultural and economic activities. It should contain a model house and garden, a lending library, a museum of arts and crafts, a museum of insects and plants, a village hall and compound suitable for lantern and cinematographic lectures and for recreation, the local dressing station, a model small holding and possibly a small co-operative store.'

Tyndale-Biscoe urged that the village school should organise exhibitions of agricultural produce and handicrafts, should produce plays and arrange village sports and mothers' meetings. 'The village school,' he concluded, 'should, in fact, be centres of inspiration to which the people naturally look for matters connected with health, wealth and happiness.' (17)

In expressing these hopes, Tyndale-Biscoe paid lip-service to some, at least,

of the principles set forth in the Advisory Committee's Memorandum. He could not match them with a programme of action for the schools. Educational development followed a much more prosaic direction than the visionaries of the Advisory Committee would have wished. Nevertheless, some of the changes were significant: the decade saw the emergence of central village schools, an increase in the number of non-mission schools and the introduction of a national examination system for pupils.

### Central Village Schools

Central village schools originated in the Northern Province, where the Church of Scotland educationists were increasingly worried by the ineffectiveness of their far-flung village schools. These were mostly single-teacher schools which drew their pupils from a small area, often from only one village. Classes rarely went beyond Sub-Standard B. At this stage, the brightest pupils were selected and were taken as boarders to the mission station at Lubwa or Mwenzo.

This system meant that few children could hope to advance beyond an elementary level of literacy and that the village schools could never develop into worthwhile educational units, especially as the *citemene* system of agriculture required the villages to move to new sites at least once every five years. A policy of concentration of educational facilities, rather than one of dispersion, seemed to be required. In pursuance of this, the Church of Scotland closed a number of its small village schools and opened larger ones at villages, often the chief's *musumba*, which were centrally situated. Certificated teachers were placed in charge of each of these central schools and they were able to supervise the work of their less qualified colleagues. Some children were able to attend as day pupils, but those who lived in the distant villages had to bring sufficient food with them to enable them to live at the school during the week.

Thus began the system of weekly boarding which continued in some areas to the present day. Any traveller in Zambia on a Sunday afternoon will see little groups of children walking along the road to school, a rather pathetic bundle of blankets, flour and relish on each little head. These are their provisions for the week. Until Friday, they will live in a hut erected by their parents, or perhaps by themselves, and will cook their own food, which will sometimes be supplemented, when supplies run low, by a kindly member of staff. Then on Friday afternoon they will make the long journey home again, often running and skipping in their anxiety to taste mother's cooking again and to enjoy the comforts of home for a week-end.

The lead given by the Church of Scotland was followed by other societies and, by the end of the 1930's, the central village schools were widespread. One impetus to their development was the withdrawal, because of the depression, of grants for boarders in the lower classes of mission station schools. The advantages of the central village school were that a higher standard of education was offered

to a greater number of pupils; teaching staff could be used more effectively; a better standard of building could be provided since the schools could be considered as reasonably permanent; costs were lowered; and the boarders were not so divorced from village and family life as they were when they spent many months at a stretch at a station school.

### **School Committees**

A further advantage was that the parents could be more intimately connected with the school. Indeed, the success of the central school, particularly of the boarding arrangements, depended very largely on the co-operation of the parents of the children. At many central schools a local committee was formed of elders and other parents. The effectiveness of these committees varied enormously depending on the enthusiasm of the members and their capacity for organisation. In some instances they were able to stimulate enrolment, to encourage regular attendance and to arrange for the maintenance of the school buildings. In a few cases, the committee was charged with the responsibility of collecting the school fees and providing the necessary items of school equipment. 'This system,' wrote Douglas Miller, Superintendent at Kasama, 'had proved valuable in proving to the natives the expense involved in maintaining schools. It has also done a lot to dispel the notion that school fees are merely a present to the school managers or to the Government.' (18)

In the Serenje and Chinsali Districts school committees and councils were authorised by the Superintendent of Native Education to use part of the fees collected to buy food for weekly boarders who lived a long way from the school. Inevitably, there were cases of misuse of funds entrusted to the school committees. In his Report for 1936, the Director warned that 'there is a danger of trying to advance too fast and of attempting to place too much responsibility and initiative on shoulders not yet ready for the load.' (19) This cautious attitude prevailed and school councils never developed in Northern Rhodesia to fill a major role in the country's educational system. It was to be the administrators, the managers and the teachers who ran the schools; the parents of the children were too often relegated to the background, except when unpaid labour was required to build a new dormitory or to repair a leaking roof.

### **Mission Station Schools**

The missionary societies, or the voluntary agencies as they were coming to be termed, continued to enjoy a virtual monopoly of the educational field. During this period, upper primary classes, taught almost entirely by the missionaries themselves, were developed at several mission stations and supplemented those provided by the Department at Mazabuka, the Barotse National School, Kasama,

Ndola, and, by the end of the decade, at Munali Training Centre. The leading mission schools at this time, insofar as they took their brightest pupils as far as Standard VI, were Kafue and Chipembi (Methodist), Sefula and Sesheke (P.E.M.S.), Mbereshi and Senga (L.M.S.), Chikuni and Kasisi (Jesuits), Rosa (White Fathers), Rusangu (S.D.A.), Mapanza (U.M.C.A.), Madzimoyo (D.R.C.M.), Sancta Maria (Capuchins) and Lubwa (Church of Scotland).

Perhaps the outstanding educational institution of the 1930's was at Lubwa Mission near Chinsali, where the Rev David Maxwell Robertson was in charge of the educational work. For years, the Mission had sent promising young men to Livingstonia for advanced training and had built up a stock of teachers who, by the standards of the day, were well educated. These were the men who were placed in charge of the new central village schools, all of which were modelled on Lubwa. Maxwell Robertson opened the Lubwa Teacher Training School in 1930. He ran this and the Primary School as a Scout Troop. The students were divided into patrols, each under a patrol leader and 'second'. Each patrol had its own dormitory unit. From each dormitory, a path led to a campfire site in the middle of the campus. Discipline was maintained through the Troop's Court of Honour. Maxwell Robertson intervened as infrequently as possible. During his years at Lubwa, academic standards were raised, the village schools were visited regularly and the teachers and their wives were given frequent refresher courses. Under Maxwell Robertson's enthusiastic leadership, Lubwa developed into a flourishing centre of educational activity, humming with vitality and enterprise.

Among Lubwa's primary school pupils in its heyday were the young Kenneth Kaunda and his class-mate Simon Kapwepwe who, thirty years later, were to be the first President and Vice-President respectively of the Republic of Zambia. They were joined at Lubwa in 1938 by Wesley Nyirenda, destined to be the first African Speaker of the National Assembly and, later, Minister of Education. Young Nyirenda had passed Standard IV at the sister mission station of Chasefu, near Lundazi, but had to make a dangerous seven-day journey on foot across the Luangwa Valley and up the Muchinga mountains to Lubwa in order to complete his primary education.

#### **Native Authority Schools**

Lubwa enjoyed the support of Senior Chief Nkula and his Native Authority, and did not have to contend with those who felt that education should be taken away from the Missions. It was not always the same elsewhere. In parts of East Africa, for instance, there was a demand for secular schools. As early as 1919, Orr, the Director of Education in Kenya gave as his view: 'Native Education should be secular.' This opinion was shared by the Local Native Councils set up in Kenya in 1924 and led to the establishment of a considerable number of secular schools run by Government and African local government bodies. In Tanganyika, too,

there was a strong reaction against the Missions' domination of education. The Missionaries, thought some chiefs and elders, were eroding the traditional culture of the tribe and undermining the authority of its leaders. With the approval of the Government, the Native Authorities of Tanganyika in the 1930's built and ran a great many schools. Emphasis was placed on a practical education with a rural bias. The chiefs and elders of the tribe were encouraged to work closely with the teachers. In the most successful cases, the school was happily integrated into the life of the community.

There was a comparable development along similar lines in Northern Rhodesia, but on a very much smaller scale. While there might be dissatisfaction with particular missionaries or with particular mission schools, the demand for secular schools was never widespread. The Department had neither the desire nor the resources to compete with the missions in the provision of schools. As Government saw it, the Department's role was to provide schools only where Mission provision was inadequate or where, as in the urban centres, denominational schools would be inappropriate. But if the Department was reluctant to provide secular schools itself, it began, on the arrival of Tyndale-Biscoe, to encourage the native authorities to play an increasingly active part in the educational sphere and to run their own schools.

Tyndale-Biscoe, who had served in Tanganyika before being transferred to Northern Rhodesia, put the case for native authority schools to the Advisory Board in 1937. The Board favoured the establishment of such schools 'provided they were not started where successful Mission schools already existed.' (20) The first Native Authority school to be opened, apart, of course, from the Barotse National School, was the Ngoni school at Kazimule in the Eastern Province in 1938. This was built by the Ngoni Native Authority with the help of a small government grant. Tyndale-Biscoe reported enthusiastically:

"The District Commissioner states that more than one missionary has expressed his astonishment that a school can function smoothly when its pupils belong to four different denominations and its teachers to three. Discipline is maintained by a school court presided over by the local chief once a week. Each dormitory is named after one of the chieftainships. Ngoni history and songs are being taught and efforts are being made to persuade some of the elders to teach tribal law and customs. Preparations are in hand for a school band and for the teaching of tribal handicrafts in addition to carpentry, cattle management and improved agriculture.' (21)

Five more native authority schools were opened in 1939, all in the Northern Province, largely due to the enthusiasm of Douglas Miller. These included the Kanyanta Memorial School at Paramount Chief Chitimukulu's *musumba*. The

native authorities erected the buildings, received the normal government grants for the certificated teachers and met the cost of the salaries of the uncertificated teachers from their own treasuries. By 1945 there were 23 native authority schools in existence, but by then the movement was losing momentum. Although a few more native authority schools opened in later years, the enthusiasm had largely evaporated. The native authorities experienced difficulty in finding suitable persons to manage the schools and their costs were a serious drain on the resources of the native treasuries, although these were supplemented from 1939 onwards by grants from the Native Development Board in Lusaka.

More important, it was extremely difficult, assuming it was desirable, to put a distinctive tribal stamp on the life and work of the school. The elders soon tired of lecturing on the history and customs of the tribe, and the chief had other things to do than to deal with the school children's disciplinary problems. Further, and this was vital, the pupils in the school did not want to keep their roots in the traditional village way of life. It was the glittering possibilities of life in the new towns, and the tempting glimpses of a new civilization which provided the incentive for children to go to school, and for their parents to encourage their regular attendance. They wanted a modern education, which would enable them to compete for jobs in the new economy, not one which would prepare them to spend their lives in the traditional, rural tribal society. Under these pressures, the native authority schools lost their identity and it was with a sense of relief that the native authorities handed over their schools to the local education authorities when they were established in the early 1950's.

Apart from the schools they ran themselves, the more enlightened of the native authorities contributed to the educational development of the rural areas by assisting the voluntary agencies to carry out building programmes, maintaining buildings, encouraging the attendance of pupils, providing bursaries for poor children and generally fostering the concept of schools as an important element in the life of the community. The increasing involvement of the native authorities in education assisted considerably in dispelling the belief that schools were an interest or hobby of Europeans, an exotic growth, irrelevant to the needs of the people.

### **Farm Schools**

Another type of non-mission school which grew up in the 1930's was the farm school. European farmers found increasing difficulty in retaining their employees unless they provided a form of education for the children living on the farm. Their answer was to build a little school and to acquire the services of a teacher. A considerable number of these farm schools sprang up, especially on the farms of the tobacco growers in the Eastern Province, and in the maize belt. They varied enormously in quality. Among the best was the school started by Sir Stewart Gore-Browne at Shiwa Ng'andu in Chinsali District. Sir Stewart built a central



village school at Timba on his estate and persuaded the White Fathers and the Church of Scotland to share the responsibility for staffing the school.

### **Government Schools**

As teachers and money became available, the Department planned to start government schools at provincial and district headquarters. The first such 'boma' schools were opened at Kasama and Mpika in 1933 and at Abercorn in the following year. Chiefs were encouraged to send their sons to the school at Kasama. At this point, however, the depression brought the programme to a halt, and primary education in the rural areas was left in the hands of the Missions and the native authorities. Government could postpone its development plans for the rural provinces, but it could not altogether evade its responsibility towards satisfying the educational demands of the growing urban population, particularly on the Copperbelt. The Department was ill-equipped to meet this challenging problem and had to fall back on the Missions for assistance in all but a few centres.

### **Urban Education**

In 1932 the Director had to report that Government had been unable to build a school at the new capital, Lusaka, and that the Department's scheme to establish a school at Broken Hill had been deferred. Apart from Mazabuka, the only government school on the line of rail that year was at Ndola, where enrolment barely reached 100. This had doubled by 1935, in which year an elementary school was started at Lusaka as part of the Central Trades School. By 1936, the United Missions in the Copperbelt (22) had begun work in Mindolo, Luanshya and Mufulira; the Rhokana Corporation had two large schools at Nkana; while the Jesuits, the Methodists and the Dutch Reformed Church Mission were still responsible for education in Broken Hill.

The Department was not only crippled by lack of money; it had no policy for education in the mining towns. In fact, the Government had yet to decide whether schools should be provided at all in these centres. Wrote the Superintendent of Native Education, Ndola, in 1936: 'It is bad for children, extremely bad for adolescents, to be at these centres at all. There is a danger of actually attracting children to live in conditions that are educationally bad for them in order that they can have a school.' (23) This view was shared by the members of the Advisory Board which in 1937 recommended that:

'Government should consider some machinery for encouraging the departure from the mines of children who are not residing there with their parents or nearest guardians, and that the exodus of children to the mines from rural areas should be discouraged.' (24)

Nevertheless, the Board recognised that a considerable number of children were *bona fide* residents of the Copperbelt towns and that educational provision must be made for them as a matter of urgency. Although the Native Industrial Labour Advisory Board recommended the removal of all children over the age of 10 years from industrial areas, it was obvious that such a policy could not be implemented. Children in the Copperbelt were there to stay and schools had to be provided for them.

In 1937, as we saw in Chapter VI, a co-operative scheme was worked out between the United Missions and the Department. The existing government school at Ndola was to be retained by the Department, and Rhokana Corporation would continue to run the Nkana Mine School. Apart from these, however, all education on the Copperbelt was to be undertaken by the United Missions with special assistance from the Government. This included the usual two-thirds salary grant for the teachers plus a special cost of living allowance of £1 per month for each teacher, the provision of transport, the building of two schools and the supply of equipment.

By the end of 1937, the United Missions had seventeen certificated teachers at work in the Copperbelt towns. Within two years this number had increased to 28 and attendance averaged nearly 2000 out of an estimated child population of 6000 between the ages of six and sixteen years. More would have been enrolled if teachers had been forthcoming in greater numbers from co-operating Missions. Only by teachers working a double session system, teaching one class in the morning and another in the afternoon, was it possible for this number of children to be given a form of education. A similar system had to be operated at Broken Hill where the long-promised Government school opened in 1935.

Conrad Opper, Education Officer at Ndola at the time, had definite views on African children growing up in an urban environment. They were, he considered

‘temperamental, wayward and precocious. They need firm but sympathetic handling. They are, however, amenable to vigorous but just discipline, react satisfactorily to a school environment, and are readily responsive to the civilizing and character-forming agencies that the school tries to employ.’ (25)

Opper placed great store by ‘rigid discipline’. This was enforced by drill instructors obtained from the Northern Rhodesia Regiment, one being posted to each school. Apart from maintaining discipline, the drill instructors ran the school bands. At Ndola, Opper recorded, ‘the marching of the school headed by their uniformed drum and pipe band has won many recruits.’ The drill instructors’ weekly duties also included the scrubbing of offenders whose personal cleanliness was below standard. ‘The offence,’ Opper assured the Director, ‘is rarely repeated.’ (26)

In lieu of the payment of fees, pupils in the Copperbelt schools were required to buy school uniforms and school books. The uniforms were khaki for both boys and girls and included a badge of a miner's lamp super-imposed on a warrior's shield, with the words *Konko Lubuto* (follow the light). Books were obtainable from the Mindolo Book Depot (fore-runner of the Lusaka and Kitwe Bookshops) at special discount rates.

Opper felt sport could play a major role in character training. He conducted a physical fitness campaign, organised inter-school football matches and relays, introduced boxing and encouraged golf. 'Most schools,' he reported, 'have a nine-hole course improvised by pupils who achieve remarkable distance and accuracy with their ancient and battered clubs.' (27) He also introduced pupils' record sheets. Entries were made at the end of every term. A maximum of 100 marks were awarded for classroom subjects, 60 for sport, drill and gardening and no fewer than 140 for character. Marks for character (manners, truthfulness, courage, obedience, unselfishness and service) were assessed by the class masters with the help of the class. In these termly soul-searchings, 'misunderstandings and mistakes have been plentiful,' said Opper, not altogether surprisingly.

Character development was also stressed in the annual refresher courses held for teachers. 'Sex Education' was the theme of the 1938 course, a vital subject in an area where children were deprived of the instruction which they would normally receive in a village environment. For the pupil-teachers, who included several young men who had passed Standard IV, weekly Bible classes were held 'with frank discussions on personal problems arising from the dangers and temptations of urban life'. (28)

Advice to teachers, news items, competitions, etc., were contained in *Lubuto*, the Copperbelt Schools' newspaper, another innovation of the effervescent Opper. The first editor was a young education officer, Clifford Little, who was later to achieve distinction as Principal of Munali Secondary School and as Director of African Education.

### Examinations

As the number of lower middle schools in the country increased, it became necessary to institute a Standard IV school-leaving examination. The first examination conducted by the Department was held in 1933, when 183 boys and 3 girls were candidates, 110 of whom were successful. By 1937, the number of candidates had reached nearly 600, placing a heavy strain on the small staff of the Department. Tyndale-Biscoe, who was concerned at what he termed 'certificate-mindedness on the part of the Native' persuaded the Advisory Board to agree that while the Department would continue to set the examination, marking would be conducted by the Missions, and each Mission would issue its own Standard IV certificates.

For some years, students training as lower middle school teachers, i.e. for teaching in Standards III and IV, had been required to reach the academic level of Standard VI. In 1934, the Standard VI Examination as a school-leaving examination was instituted. Among the successful candidates in the first year of the examination was Harry Nkumbula, of Kafue, later to be a leading figure in the political struggle for the country's Independence. In each province one school was selected as the examination centre, and the candidates from other schools made their way to the provincial centre as best they could. The pupils enjoyed this break from routine, but sometimes their teachers were concerned that their charges might be led into error. Father Moreau of Chikuni, for instance, protested vigorously to the Director in 1937 when the examination centre was at Rusangu School, run by the Seventh Day Adventists. 'I would not like my Chikuni boys,' he wrote, 'to be imbued with the ideas of Armageddon, of the wickedness of organised Christianity, of the approaching Millennium, when all under dogs will be top dogs, and when there will be no Pope.' (29)

By 1937, the cumulative number of Standard VI holders had exceeded 200, and Tyndale-Biscoe sounded a note of warning:

'There is the danger that the supply will eventually become greater than the demand, and, unless great care is taken to train the pupils not to despise manual work or work among their own tribes, a discontented unemployed class may arise.' (30)

This same fear of over-production of Africans 'educated beyond their station in life', or beyond the capacity of the economy to absorb them, had been made earlier when there was a substantial increase in the number of Standard IV classes. Later it was to be echoed in stronger terms when junior secondary classes opened, and to be repeated in even shriller tones when the first African students gained their School Certificate. The spectre of the unemployed university graduates of India loomed large in the minds of the educational administrators and was responsible, at least in part, for the slow rate of development of facilities beyond Standard IV and thus for the pathetically small stock of educated, high-level manpower with which Zambia entered its Independence in 1964.

Against this, there can be no doubt that some of the Standard VI leavers, having reached the top of the educational ladder, were insufferably conceited and considered any form of manual work as beneath their dignity. They found few employers who were willing to employ them at what they considered a level appropriate to their exalted educational status, and the frustration engendered by this seemed to add to, rather than detract from, their feelings of self-importance. In an attempt to instil a respect for manual labour, and in accordance with the wishes of the Advisory Board, Tyndale-Biscoe instructed in 1937 that no Standard VI or Elementary Teacher's Certificate would be issued unless the principal of the

school could certify that a candidate had attained a standard of proficiency in at least one craft such as agriculture, building, carpentry, pottery or domestic skills. (31)

But complaints regarding the Standard VI leaver continued. Gore-Browne in 1939, seconding the African Education Ordinance, felt constrained to say that efforts must continue 'to make the educated native a responsible and reliable individual and not let him think that because he has reached Standard VI he can disregard the ordinary standards of behaviour.' In the same speech, he put his finger on the key to the problem: 'One looks forward to the day when natives who have reached Standard VI should neither be phenomenal nor consider themselves phenomenal.' (32) It was precisely because Standard VI graduates were so rare or phenomenal that many of them considered they could only accept a white-collar job, and despised any task involving working with their hands, including training as artisans. If a Standard VI education had been open to the masses, instead of to a small elite, perhaps the attitude would have been different.

While Tyndale-Biscoe warned of the dangers of over-production of Standard VI pupils, the education of most children was cut short at a much lower level than that. One of the irreversible tragedies of the country's educational history is that, until Independence, children could be denied the opportunity of securing an education because of their inability to pay the small fees which were charged at most schools. Tuition fees were usually very low and could often be paid in kind; they were abolished in 1941. Boarding fees, however, though subsidised by the Department, often proved an insurmountable barrier to the children of parents living at or near subsistence level. Simon Kapwepwe, later the first Vice-President of Zambia, was able to continue his scholastic career only through the kindness of a district commissioner who came across the weeping boy near Isoka boma. His father, a district messenger, earning 30/- a month, could not afford to meet the school boarding fees of £2.10.0 a year. 'I know my father has got no money,' cried the distraught youngster, 'but I feel he should sell his bicycle to get the money to send me to school.' Impressed by this single-mindedness of purpose, the district commissioner advanced the necessary money and Simon Kapwepwe was able to return to school for another year. (33)

At Lubwa, junior day pupils were required to pay 2/6 a year in fees. When Kenneth Kaunda went to enrol one year, he had no money and the teacher sent him back to his mother to get the necessary money.

'I ran sobbing to her,' President Kaunda subsequently recalled, 'but she had no money in the house and she wept with me. Fortunately, a kind neighbour came to our aid and lent us the money which was in due course repaid. For so small a thing in those days could a child for ever forfeit the privilege of his life's education.' (34)

By comparison with many other families, the Kaundas and the Kapwepwes were people of some substance. The educational story of less fortunate children, who had no close relative in the wage-earning economy, could not have a happy ending, no matter what sacrifices their parents might be ready to make on their behalf. We shall never know how many potential Kaundas or Kapwepwes remained illiterate or semi-literate for the lack of a few shillings. Many of Zambia's resources remained undeveloped until Independence; none was more tragically and irretrievably neglected than her human resources.

### Some Statistics

By the end of the decade, the effects of the depression had been shaken off and the number of aided primary schools had risen to 500 in which 42275 children were enrolled. This compared with 300 aided schools in 1931, with a total of 16725 children. Unaided schools in 1939 numbered more than 1600 and the enrolment in those schools was over 80000. Between them, the White Fathers and the D.R.C.M. managed nearly 1000 of the unaided schools. The leading proprietors of aided schools were the White Fathers (61 schools), the Paris Mission (60), Methodists (59), Church of Scotland (48), U.M.C.A. (46) and L.M.S. (44).

But while the total number of children in aided schools had risen in 1939 to the reasonably respectable total of 42275, or 15.5% of the estimated number of children of school age in Northern Rhodesia, nearly half the children were in the first class, and less than 1 in 200 was enrolled in Standard VI. The figures in 1939 were:

<b>Elementary Schools:</b>	Sub-standard A	20611
	Sub-standard B	8626
	Standard I	5911
	Standard II	3570
<b>Lower Middle Schools:</b>	Standard III	1920
	Standard IV	1083
<b>Upper Middle Schools:</b>	Standard V	374
	Standard VI	180
		42275 (35)

Wastage of pupils between one class and another was extremely high. 17500 children in Sub A in 1938 shrank to 8626 in Sub B in 1939, a loss of more than 50%. Between Standards III and IV, nearly a third of the pupils dropped out.

## Attendance

Attendance problems loomed large throughout the 30's. Irregular attendance was particularly bad in the unaided schools where a considerable proportion of the pupils were adults, and half-full classes were common. The position was better in the aided schools, but, nevertheless, the average attendance in these schools in 1939 was no more than 75%. There were numerous reasons for absenteeism. Sometimes the schools themselves were so unattractive that the children lost interest; parents were apathetic; headmen were sometimes jealous of each other. The missionary-in-charge at the South Africa General Mission station at Mukinge Hill reported in 1934:

'A school has been running at Kabemba village for three or four years; but no-one attends but actual residents of the village, though there are two or three other villages in the vicinity. School is not worth walking for from one village to another, even if it is only a mile or so away. Pride also enters into this problem. One headman says: "Why should children from my village go across to so and so's school? Why should I not have a school in my village? I am just as good as he is."' (36)

In the Bemba area, attendance suffered severely during the growing season when whole families moved to their gardens, often at a considerable distance from their villages, and lived in their *mitanda* for several weeks at a stretch. In cattle areas, there was the permanent difficulty of school boys being required by their parents to herd cattle. Sometimes the crops were poor and the children had to help their parents in looking for food. Wrote the Superintendent of the Methodist Mission at Nanzela in 1933:

'Owing to poor rains, the shortage of food has everywhere been acute. Locusts damaged what crop there was. The consequence has been that the bulk of the population have been living in grass shanties in the forest, where they have been eking out a meagre existence on roots and berries.' (37)

On occasion, the leaders of the Watchtower Sect (Jehovah's Witnesses) were blamed for causing poor attendance; in 1935 some of the L.M.S. schools in Mporokoso District had to close down completely, the people having been convinced by the Witnesses that the millenium was imminent and that the children should prepare to meet their Maker, not waste their time in schools.

It is apparent that the roots of the educational system had not penetrated very deeply into the lives of the people, and that in the face of economic difficulties

the school often occupied a position of low priority in the minds of both parents and pupils.

### **The Girls**

Parents remained generally unconvinced of the value or relevance of education for their daughters. The girls themselves often saw little point in going to school, and preferred to stay at home helping their mothers and preparing themselves for marriage.

These attitudes were reflected in the enrolment returns of the aided schools. Girls made up 5350 of the 16700 pupils in these schools in 1931. At the end of the decade, the number of girls in school had increased to nearly 11000, but this was out of a total enrolment of over 42000. The number of boys had risen by 20000 while the girls had increased by less than 6000. Nevertheless, this could be counted as progress. In the unaided schools, where no attempt was made to enforce any age limits, and where the number of women far exceeded the men, the position was better. Female pupils numbered 37000 out of a total enrolment of 82000.

Although the number of girls in the schools rose considerably, there were few who remained at school for more than a year or two. Wastage was enormous after Sub-Standard A and rose to more than 90% after Sub-Standard B. Very few survived to the lower middle school. Of the 1000 children who passed the Standard IV examination between 1933 and 1936, only 27 were girls. Numbers in Standard VI were even smaller. From 1934 to 1936, 350 boys were presented for the Standard VI examination. The girls numbered only 4.

Parents and grandparents genuinely feared that education would spoil their daughters for marriage purposes. First, there was the danger that they might be interfered with by the teacher. Secondly, and more important, they might no longer be willing to accept women's traditional place in society, and prove a disruptive influence. Mabel Shaw of Mbereshi high-lighted some of the mistakes into which an educated girl might fall when she wrote to the Director in 1933.

'One of the finest of our old girls got into trouble not long ago because she unthinkingly corrected her husband while he was reading. He was furious at being corrected by a woman. I have had a complaint from the young men that the girls do not learn respect in school; some of them when married do not kneel when giving water and food to their husbands. In school we insist on the polite form of offering and receiving in two hands. I do not feel inclined to insist on the kneeling, although I am prepared to advise girls leaving to be married to preserve this old custom if the husband wishes it.' (38)

Mbereshi, with a strong female staff and devoted leadership, was one of the



mission stations where school life could be made interesting and attractive for girls, and where parents could be persuaded to send their girls for several years at a stretch. Similar station boarding schools for girls, not all as large or successful as Mbereshi, were at Chikuni, Chilubula, Chipembi, Chitambo, Kasenga, Kasisi, Kawimbe, Macha, Madzimoyo, Minga, Mwenzo, Nyanje and Rusangu. During the 1930's foundations were laid at Chipembi which enabled the first secondary school for girls to be opened there in 1946. It was Chipembi, where the Headmistress was Helen Dugdale, which produced in 1931 the first two women in Northern Rhodesia to qualify as teachers. Three years later, another Chipembi girl, Mary Kalulu, became the first girl in the country to pass the Standard VI examination. She too became a teacher. Chipembi also offered courses in nursing, child welfare and mothercraft. As parents came to see that education could lead to useful and remunerative avenues of employment for their daughters, the number of girls applying for places in mission boarding schools multiplied. By 1939, there were 27 such schools in the country, providing a practical as well as an academic education for 2200 girls.

But the mission schools could cater for only a tiny minority of the girls. If progress was to be made on a broad front, then special provision had to be made for the girls in the village schools. An important innovation in 1936 was the admission of girls as weekly boarders at some central village schools. Fears that co-educational village boarding schools would be bound to fail, owing to the danger of moral lapses on the part of the pupils, proved to be groundless. Frequently the chief or headman made himself responsible for the welfare of the girls, and a respected lady of the village would be appointed as matron. Since the number of qualified women teachers was ridiculously small, the answer was to train teachers' wives, and other women with an elementary education, as helpers. These women helpers, who were to remain a feature of the educational system until after Independence, were given short courses and then undertook part-time teaching of practical subjects in the schools. Without them, girls' education could never have developed, for it was they who introduced into the village school curriculum the subjects which had an immediate and lasting appeal for the girls — housewifery, laundrywork, hygiene and baby welfare, cookery and needlework.

Nevertheless, there were still many hurdles to be overcome and it would take at least another generation before girls could begin to take their place as equals of the boys. Peter Tregear, Superintendent at Mongu, reported in 1938: 'The prejudice against "educated" girls is gradually dying out, and Mabumbu is rapidly becoming, like Mbereshi, a marriage mart.' (39) Against this, the conservative point of view was expressed by Chief Mukwikile in the same year when he told the Chinsali Advisory Committee that educated boys did not want to marry educated girls because they did not like their wives being able to write letters to other boys.

The question of whether it is better for a boy to marry an educated or an uneducated girl is probably the most debated issue in Africa. It caused a lively

discussion when John Fell introduced the subject at Kafue in 1918, and can still be guaranteed to generate a great deal of heat in the post-Independence area. It is a measure of the progress which has been made that today an 'educated' girl is thought to be one who has passed at least Form II. In the 1930's, however, a pass in Standard II gave a girl a place in the ranks of the educated elite of her sex.

### **Trades and Agricultural Training**

The main development of the 1930's was the opening of the Central Trades School in Lusaka in 1933. This owed its origin to G. E. Hunt of the Sudan Education Department who visited Northern Rhodesia in 1930 to advise on technical training. At the time of his visit, the training of artisans for the labour market, as opposed to the training of craftsmen for work on the mission stations, was confined to the Barotse National School and to Mbereshi and Sefula. Frederick Hodgson was Principal of the Central Trades School when it opened, and held that position until 1944. Students were given a four-year training course in woodwork and building; leatherwork and thatching were soon added to the programme. A great deal of the training was of the practical variety on a building site. Having built much of their own school, the students were utilised as building teams for educational building projects in various parts of the country. In 1936, for instance, jobs were undertaken as far afield as Kalomo, Pemba, Chipembi, Ndola, Luanshya, Kasama and Abercorn. The standard of thatching was high, and pupils came from Tanganyika to attend the Central Trades School's thatching course.

A major development took place in 1938 when, alongside the Central Trades School, was opened the Munali Training Centre. This was the partial fulfilment of a dream of Latham, who, in his proposals of 1929, had foreseen the need for a central institution to train Africans for Government Departments and for the private sector. Latham's scheme included the training of teachers, of medical assistants, of agricultural demonstrators, of clerks and of tradesmen. In the event, Lusaka's Native Training Centre, the name of which was mercifully changed to Munali in honour of David Livingstone, comprised a middle school (transferred from Mazabuka), a clerical training course, the Trades School, and a teacher training institution. The teacher training section moved in 1939 to Chalimbana, where, under Maxwell Robertson, it soon established its independence and ceased to be part of Munali.

The basic aims of the Munali Training Centre were well expressed by J. A. Cottrell, the Principal, in his report of 1938:

'The fact that Munali offers a selection of courses does not mean that the Institution is primarily a collection of such courses. It means that every boy's training benefits from the presence of all of them. By the time a boy has completed his primary course, he is able to decide

upon a vocational course suited to his special aptitude and tastes. And those undergoing professional and trades training are able to pursue other interests and enjoy the benefits of a liberal education. Thus, elements which may, if kept apart, be mutually antagonistic, are effectively merged together and identified with the common aims.' (40)

In 1939, an event of great significance took place, when a junior secondary class was opened at the Munali Training Centre. For the next 12 years, the academic and vocational streams shared the old Munali premises until, at the end of 1951, the secondary section moved to a new site just outside Lusaka. The secondary school then took the name of Munali, and the Trades School was called after its founder, Frederick Hodgson.

Agricultural training was largely neglected in the schools. The Department's policy was based on the recommendations of the Director of Agriculture who considered that unless a European or a 'specially qualified African' teacher was available, 'it would be best to avoid a school garden altogether, and to substitute other manual work in its stead.' The Director went on: 'Any tendency towards the creation of purely agricultural schools should be avoided, if only for the reason that the pupils would be turned out without the two essentials of commercial farming, capital and suitable land.' (41) This negative and perfectionist policy had a stultifying effect on the development of agricultural training in the schools. At only a few stations could the Director's requirements be met. These included the Barotse National School, Chikuni, Chitambo, Chipembi and Senga Hill.

It was at the L.M.S. school at Senga Hill that the most outstanding work was done under Norman Porritt. Something of Porritt's enthusiasm and of the value of his work can be seen in these extracts from his reports:

'The outstanding feature of the agricultural work this year has been the sensational effect that compost seems to have on cassava. The significance of this is hard to exaggerate . . . its general adoption will mean the total elimination of hunger. The whole attitude of the school with regard to agriculture is very encouraging indeed. There is beginning to be felt the thrill of being pioneers and of having a share in an effort to make life less of an unequal struggle for thousands of Africans. I visited six schools with a view to starting them off with school gardens on a serious scale. In two of the schools a goat house is being built. I am presenting five goats to each school so they can start making compost. Everywhere the idea of getting down to some real solid work in the school gardens was greeted with enthusiasm by the people and especially by the teachers who are old Senga boys, and keen to show what they have learnt there.' (42)

Men like Norman Porritt were few and far between, and at most schools nothing was done to arouse any enthusiasm for better methods of agriculture. A golden opportunity was thus lost and the schools were the poorer for it, becoming increasingly divorced from the needs of the rural communities they were designed to serve.

### **Teachers and Their Training**

Teacher training underwent several important changes during the 1930's. In 1934, a pass in the Standard IV examination became a necessary qualification for entry to the elementary teachers' training course. The following year, the Department held the first Lower Middle School Teachers' Examination, based on a Standard VI level of attainment. Five candidates, all from Lubwa, were successful and thus qualified to teach in the steadily increasing number of central village schools which provided Standard III and IV classes. As the number of pupils passing Standard IV and Standard VI at an early age increased, it became necessary to rule that no candidate could be presented for a Teachers' Certificate examination below the age of 20.

While students had been accepted for a teacher training course with a bare Standard II qualification, and had to be prepared for a Teachers' Certificate examination at Standard IV level, the emphasis in their training inevitably had to be placed on improving their academic background. When, however, students entered the training school, having already secured the necessary academic qualification, much more time could be devoted to their professional training as teachers. This was all to the good and was an important step towards the creation of a truly professional body of teachers in the country.

Although these changes brought about a gradual improvement in the quality of the teaching in the classrooms, the number of teachers completing their training each year averaged well under 100. These could all have been trained in two, or at the most, three teacher training institutions of modest proportions. Instead, each of the major societies insisted on running its own training establishment. Some societies even ran more than one normal school. Thus, in 1937, the 114 candidates for the Elementary Teachers' Certificate were presented by 21 different stations, only three of which (Mapanza, Mbereshi and the Jeanes School) provided ten or more candidates. In the following year, the 18 candidates for the Lower Middle Teachers' Certificate were prepared by six different training schools. It is little wonder that the results were often disappointing. Despite the Department's efforts to persuade some of the smaller societies to amalgamate their training facilities into larger units, it was not to be until the late 1950's that any real rationalisation of teacher training institutions could be effected.

The depression, and the cuts made to teachers' salaries in the infamous Circular No. 5 of 1935, inevitably tarnished the image of the teaching profession as

a worthwhile career for the able student. The Standing Committee of the Advisory Board in June, 1936, were gravely concerned at

'the unwillingness of the Missions' most intelligent pupils to train for a profession whose rewards are so meagre compared with those of others,' and 'the disquieting tendency of qualified teachers, particularly those of the highest attainments, to leave the profession for better paid positions in Government service and elsewhere.' (43)

As part of the economy drive, the Department instituted a quota system for new teachers. Missions were free to train as many teachers as they wished, but only a limited number, divided on a quota basis among the societies, could be added to the grant-aided list. In fact, the output of trained teachers did not equal the quotas plus the vacancies caused by resignations. Pupil teachers had to be employed, particularly on the Copperbelt, to make good the shortfall.

The position improved to some extent, as new salary scales were introduced, and in 1939, Tyndale-Biscoe could report that of the 3000 teachers in the country, just over 800 were considered as trained, 30 of these being women. Nevertheless, the teachers remained a depressed class from a salary point of view and many of those who became teachers did so not from any sense of vocation, but because there were few other suitable openings available for Africans. Inevitably in these circumstances, when a Teachers' Association was later formed, its members had as their prime objective the improvement of their salary scales and conditions of service. It was the frustrations of the 1930's and 1940's which produced in the 1950's a body of teachers who organised themselves as a trade union rather than as a professional association, a position which persisted until after Independence.

### **The Jeanes School**

The Jeanes School at Mazabuka ran into considerable difficulties in this period. In 1932 the Agricultural School, which had been run by T. C. Moore, was closed. It had been assumed that the young men leaving the Agricultural School would be employed as demonstrators in the villages, as was the case in the Transkei; but the Agricultural Department was reluctant to embark on extension work among African farmers. It doubted 'whether sufficient knowledge has been acquired with regard to local African agriculture, soil and climate to warrant the adoption of any definite method of agricultural demonstration in the absence of adequate European supervision.' (44) This classic example of feet-dragging resulted in a breach between the two Departments, Education and Agriculture, which should have been working closely together to spear-head the attack on the linked problems of poverty, hunger and ignorance. It is one of the tragedies of the country's history that the agricultural and educational experts did not succeed in working out a

concerted scheme whereby the educational system could be utilised to help bring about the agricultural regeneration which the country so desperately needed.

In place of the Agricultural School, an elementary teachers' course was instituted at the Jeanes School with the object of training teachers for the smaller Missions. John Fell, who had been Principal of the Jeanes School since it opened in 1929, saw this latest addition to the Mazabuka complex safely launched, but in 1935 he was compelled to retire. An individualist, who had entered government service comparatively late in life, Fell found it difficult to conform to what he considered the pettifoggery of official routine. While Latham and Caldwell had overlooked his unorthodox methods and left him to get on with the job, J. B. Clark, acting as Director, was anxious to assert his authority. Fell, who considered Clark a parvenu in African education, defied Clark's authority to such an extent that he had to be removed. In this sad and unedifying manner, John Fell, missionary and teacher of the highest calibre, passed from the Northern Rhodesia educational scene on which he had been a major figure for twenty years.

It was particularly ironic that Fell should leave at a time when low wages were causing many of the Jeanes teachers he had trained to resign. By 1937, only half of the Jeanes teachers trained at Mazabuka were still in employment. The remainder, discouraged by inadequate financial reward from the Missions which employed them, and disheartened by the response of the people to their attempts to improve village life, had resigned. Only in Barotseland, where J. A. Cottrell utilised the Jeanes teachers as inspectors under his control, and sent them on tour with district commissioners, did they prove really effective. In 1938, it was decided that all Jeanes teachers should be paid by Government. This move halted the resignations and gave these teachers a considerably enhanced status.

Mazabuka had never proved a really satisfactory place for the training of Jeanes teachers because the sparse population in the area made it difficult for the students to carry out any practical work. It was decided in 1937 to close the training school at Mazabuka and to build a new one in the vicinity of Lusaka. Maxwell Robertson, who had proved outstandingly successful at Lubwa, was appointed Principal of the new Jeanes School, which opened in September, 1939. The site chosen was on the Chalimbana River, some fifty kilometres east of Lusaka. Maxwell Robertson has recalled:

'The old idea of Jeanes teachers being 'Jacks of all trades' was by now being thrown overboard. My briefing was to train these people as supervisors whose main function would be to supervise their schools, improve the techniques, and at the same time give them enough insight into other branches of village development, e.g. agriculture, hygiene, cattle management, etc., to enable them to co-operate fully with specialists trained for these schemes by other departments.' (45)

The duties of the Jeanes teachers, or Supervisors as they came to be called, were thus to be much more closely related to the schools than in the past when they had the impossible task of single-handedly trying to introduce schemes of village development over enormous areas. In effect, they were henceforth to be primarily school inspectors, a far cry indeed from the original aims of Anna Jeanes.

### **Local Education Committees**

An important feature of this decade was the emergence of Local Education Committees.

At territorial level, the Central Advisory Board had met since 1925. Provincial Advisory Boards or Committees dated from 1926, but they met infrequently since the provinces were very extensive and it was difficult to call the members together. When they did meet, the members rarely had the necessary detailed knowledge, at the grass-roots level, which would enable them to discharge their duties satisfactorily. What was needed was a third tier in the consultative machinery. Largely at the insistence of Sir Stewart Gore-Browne, it was decided to form local committees which would concern themselves with the educational affairs of a district. The first District Advisory Committees, or Local Education Committees, were formed at Broken Hill and Chinsali in 1936, each under the chairmanship of the District Commissioner. The Superintendent of Native Education for the Province was the Secretary.

The Chinsali Committee comprised Gore-Browne, Maxwell Robertson from Lubwa, Father Horst from Ilondola, Chiefs Nkula, Chibesakunda and Mukwikile representing Native Authorities, and Tom Sabi and Taddeo Chintu representing the teachers. Subjects discussed included the selection of villages where schools would be opened in future, the function of school committees, school fees at central schools, adult education, female education, grants in aid, African inspectorates and medical treatment at central schools. At last local problems were being discussed by people who could bring their local knowledge and experience to bear. 'The African members,' the secretary felt it necessary to record, 'took an active and intelligent part in the discussion.' (46) Perhaps this note was made for the benefit of the members of the Central Advisory Board who, when asked in 1937 to consider the question of an African being appointed to the Board, 'considered it advisable that in the first instance Africans should be encouraged to sit on Local Education Committees in order to show their capabilities.' (47) Not until 1943 did African members sit on the Central Advisory Board.

### **The African Education Ordinance of 1939**

As the years passed, bringing new development with them, the inadequacy of the Native Schools (Amendment) Ordinance of 1927 became increasingly

apparent. The 1927 Ordinance had been restrictive in purpose insofar as it was concerned almost entirely with regulating the opening and closing of schools, and laying down the conditions which had to be satisfied before a person could be allowed to teach. Its authors did not foresee the expansion of educational facilities which would take place in the 1930's or the increasing role which would be played in the educational field by local authorities; they did not recognise the existence of the Central Advisory Board, and neither did they give the Director statutory authority to run government schools or even to make grant payments to the voluntary agencies.

With his customary energy and imagination, Tyndale-Biscoe set about the task of drafting an ordinance which would meet the changed circumstances, and provide the legislative framework for an expanding education system. Having obtained the approval of the Central Advisory Board in June, 1937 for his draft ordinance, Tyndale-Biscoe had to wait until March, 1939 before he could present his bill to Legislative Council.

The Ordinance of 1939 (48) was notable for an important change of nomenclature. It provided for the management not of Native Education but of African Education. The term 'native' caused offence in African circles and the opportunity was taken to replace it. The Ordinance gave the Governor power to establish government schools and to approve the establishment of native authority schools. It authorised the Director to make grants for educational purposes from public revenues and, another innovation, required proprietors of schools to appoint managers of their schools, the managers being subject to the approval of the Director. Managers were required to inspect their schools at least twice a year; if they failed to do so, their schools were liable to be closed. There was to be an Advisory Board for African Education, and the membership was specified as comprising the Directors of African Education, of Medical Services, and of Agriculture, the member of Legislative Council nominated to represent Native Interests, a provincial commissioner, ten persons to be nominated by the Governor to represent missionary and educational societies, and 'such other persons as the Governor may nominate.'

Clause 7 was significant. It stipulated that Local Education Committees should be established for such areas as the Governor might decide. District Commissioners and Superintendents of Native Education were to be members and the remaining members were to be appointed by the Provincial Commissioner concerned. 'It is my intention,' Tyndale-Biscoe told the Legislative Council, 'to hand over to the Local Education Committees as much responsibility as possible for the primary education of their areas.' (49) Sir Stewart Gore-Browne, senior member of the Unofficials, who had pioneered local education committees at Chinsali, warmly welcomed this provision. Further status and authority was given to the local education committees in a clause which authorised provincial commissioners to close a school if it was conducted, 'in the opinion of the Local



Education Committee, in a manner detrimental to the interests of peace and good government or the welfare of the pupils.'

Other sections of the Ordinance required that every school should be registered; insisted that every government, native authority and assisted school should be open to 'African children without distinction of religion'; provided, in a 'conscience clause', for the withdrawal of children from religious instruction; gave power to inspect schools; required every teacher in charge of a school to be in possession of a certificate; and repealed the 1927 Ordinance and Regulations made under it. The definition of the term 'school' was deliberately limited to exclude catechetical centres or prayer houses, a change which was heartily endorsed by the voluntary agencies who felt that they would now enjoy greater freedom in their purely evangelistic work.

The only jarring note in the Legislative Council debate was struck by Sir Leopold Moore who protested strongly against the denominational and sectarian character of the country's schools. An agnostic and anti-missionary, Moore contended that Government should run the schools. 'As to subsidising these missionaries to teach the natives some outworn creed,' he declared, 'I think it is almost criminal.' He thought 'a very large amount of time is wasted in teaching Christianity which might be better used for other purposes.' This, he had to admit, was only his idea. 'I cannot call it knowledge, because I have never been to these schools.' (50) A study of Hansard makes it easy to realise why people sometimes found it difficult to take Leopold Moore seriously. Nevertheless, Moore was the recognised spokesman of a large section of the settler population. When he told the Legislative Council in March, 1939: 'We came here and we are here to stay and to dominate,' (51) he was expressing a viewpoint which was widely held in the European community and which militated against the acceptance of measures designed to assist African advancement.

On this occasion, however, Tyndale-Biscoe suffered only one setback. He had included a clause which provided for compulsory education in certain areas, notably the Copperbelt. At the same time, he proposed that children should be required to pay for their school equipment. Members objected to the idea of compulsory education unless education was free; and there was the further point, raised by Roy Welensky, that education for European children was not yet compulsory. The clause was withdrawn. In 1941, however, the Ordinance was amended and the Governor was given the power 'to order the compulsory attendance of children at school in any area and to fix the ages during which such attendance shall be compulsory.' (52)

The Ordinance of 1939 provided a fitting climax to the educational developments of the 1930's. The depression was a thing of the past and revenue was buoyant. Continuous efforts to place the primary school system on a sound basis were beginning to bear fruit, and there was a steady, though still modest, output from Standard VI. The stage was set for an expansion of the school system in

which local people would have a major part to play. Tyndale-Biscoe had already submitted to the Advisory Board the details of a development programme which would bring education within the reach of a greatly increased number of children. But before we consider this programme, and trace its outcome, we must turn our attention to the important developments which had been taking place in the field of secondary education.

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## CHAPTER VIII

### THE BIRTH OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

In a strict chronological treatment, the beginnings of secondary education in Northern Rhodesia belong to Chapters V and VII. It is more convenient, however, if the fragments of the story are brought together in a separate chapter.

'It will be some years before an appreciable advance in mass literacy can be perceivable,' wrote Robert Caldwell in his Annual Report of 1934. 'Yet it is the advance of a great multitude of villagers rather than the higher education of a select minority, that must be our aim.' (1) Two years later, Conrad Opper reiterated the same point: 'The policy of this Government has always been to build a sound foundation of village education, to improve and develop the primary school and diffuse education as widely as possible among the people, rather than concentrate attention and expenditure on the higher education of a select few.' (2)

These two quotations are a faithful and illuminating statement of the Government's educational policy in the 1930's. Whereas many other African countries made no attempt to aim at universal primary education, but rather concentrated on providing a full education for a selected few, Northern Rhodesia endeavoured to give at least a lower primary education to all children. It is true that this aim was not achieved until after Independence; nevertheless, the country's educational pyramid was built on as broad a base as possible from the time the first missionary societies expanded from their mission stations and opened the early village schools.

There is something to be said for a policy which shares the benefits of education among the whole population and provides a multiplicity of primary schools throughout the length and breadth of the country. The pursuance of this policy over the years has now brought Zambia to the brink of providing seven years of primary education for all its children.

There is, of course, the other side of the coin. If the educational pyramid is constructed on a very wide basis, there is a danger that all the available resources will be used on the foundation and there will be none to spare for the upper part of the structure. There is the further danger that the need to build beyond foundation level may be overlooked or seriously delayed. This was certainly the fate of the educational pyramid in Northern Rhodesia in the 1930's. At the end of 1939, there were 78361 pupils in Sub-Standard A; at the peak of the absurdly

shaped pyramid 15 students were enrolled in Form 1, the highest class in the country. (3)

With the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to see that the development of secondary education in Northern Rhodesia should have gone ahead much more quickly than it did, even if this had meant sacrificing part of the primary school development programme. It was because the introduction of secondary education was delayed for so long, and then was developed so slowly, that Zambia entered its Independence with a dangerously small stock of educated manpower. Only since Independence has an all-out effort been made to provide secondary education for all who can take advantage of it. But the clock cannot be put back; a whole generation's talent and ability remains undeveloped for the lack of secondary school places when they left primary school.

Nevertheless, there are certain facts which need to be remembered. First, the colonial administrators did not see Independence as an early objective. They were aware, of course, of the British Government's intention to work towards a state of affairs when representatives of the African population could be given an increasing share in the running of the country, and that self-government was the ultimate aim. But self-government to them was a concept which belonged to the future. It was not considered to be in the realm of practical politics during our period. If Latham, Caldwell, Clark, Opper or Tyndale-Biscoe had been told in the 1930's that Northern Rhodesia would become the Independent Republic of Zambia in 1964, they would never have believed it possible. Their educational policies did not take such a remote possibility into account. When they thought of secondary education, they had in mind the training of limited numbers of young men who would meet the need for medical assistants, teachers, post office workers, agricultural assistants, or who would run the Native Authorities. They certainly did not think in terms of training the country's future political leaders, senior civil servants or professional men and women.

As for the settler element, the general feeling was that education made the African 'cheeky' and produced a distaste for manual labour. There was the further danger, acutely felt by the poorly educated Europeans, that to give Africans an education beyond the primary level would enable them to compete for employment with Europeans and could lead to white unemployment.

Some missionaries recognised the desirability of a limited number of African students being provided with junior secondary education: they needed them to teach in the middle schools. Many, however, felt that the limited resources for education must be directed to the primary aim of evangelising through the medium of the village schools. If money was spent on providing secondary education, there would be correspondingly less for elementary education. They were aware, moreover, that the better educated their students were, the less likelihood there was of retaining them in mission employment. With some exceptions, therefore, the mission educationists had little incentive to press for the provision of facilities for secondary

education other than for a limited number of serving teachers who were likely to remain in the teaching profession after gaining an additional qualification.

If the African people themselves were anxious to see educational facilities extended into the secondary field, there is little evidence of it. Apart from writing letters to *Mutende*, the government vernacular newspaper, or complaining to their District Commissioner, they had no medium through which they could express their feelings. For this reason there is virtually no record of African opinion on any subject in the 1930's. It would certainly be a mistake, however, to suppose that there was a popular demand by the African people for secondary education at this time and that the demand was rejected by apathetic and cynical colonial administrators and the wicked settlers. It is perhaps true that a minority of those leaving Standard VI would have liked to continue their education. Many, however, being over 20 when they completed Standard VI, probably considered that their education had gone far enough and had lasted long enough, and that the time had come to find a job, to earn a living, to support the parents who had seen them through their education, to marry and to settle down.

It is against this background of attitudes and opinions that the unhappy story of the birth pangs of secondary education in Northern Rhodesia should be viewed. The story can be said to have begun with Latham, three years after the formation of the sub-department of Native Education in 1925.

### **Latham's Plan**

Latham's Development Plan, (4) produced in 1928 and finally approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1932, had provided for the building of government middle schools at Fort Jameson, Kasama, Kasempa and the 'new capital'. He hoped these would develop as 'upper middle' schools with classes from Standard V to Standard VIII, i.e. to include two years of secondary education which would be combined with vocational training for clerks, telegraphists and interpreters. The approved syllabus issued in 1929 included syllabuses for Standards VII and VIII in English, mathematics, geography and history. Latham's immediate successors did not recognise as clearly as he did the need to extend facilities into the field of secondary education. Latham's retirement in 1931, followed by the depression, killed any hope that his forward-looking plan would be put into operation.

It was pressure from the Colonial Office in London, rather than enthusiasm within Northern Rhodesia, which kept alive the idea of providing a modest scheme of secondary education for the country.

### **Pressure from London**

In 1935, the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies issued its Memorandum on the Education of African Communities.



Educational thinking in the Colonial Office was usually considerably in advance of the policies of the colonial governments and this new Memorandum, as we have noted, proved no exception. It castigated the view that advanced and elementary education were antagonistic and urged colonial governments to review their educational policies.

'There is not only a moral obligation resting on governments in Africa to enable Africans to develop their capacities to the full,' said the Memorandum, 'and open as widely as possible the doors of knowledge to those who can profit by an advanced education, but the general progress of the people depends on a steady increase of highly trained African leaders in all walks of life.' (5)

This Memorandum came barely twelve months after the issue by the Advisory Committee of the Currie Report advocating the elevation of institutions such as Makerere, Gordon, Achimota and Fourah Bay Colleges to university standard. The Currie Report had warned that if the 'passion of the African for higher education', was neglected, 'it must create social and political confusion.' (6)

#### **Inter-Governmental Conference of 1935**

Stirred into action, but highly sceptical of the relevance of the Advisory Committee's exhortations in the context of Central Africa, representatives of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland met in Salisbury in June, 1935 to discuss their educational policies. J. B. Clark, then acting as Director of Native Education, led the Northern Rhodesia delegation. The Conference agreed that 'there is need for secondary education for some Natives in all three Territories, the number being limited by the conditions obtaining in each.' As far as Northern Rhodesia was concerned, the need for secondary education was 'limited by the power of absorption by Government, missionary societies, European and other employers and by the more advanced Native Administrations.' The number of students to whom it was considered advisable to give a secondary education would not warrant, for some time to come, the establishment of secondary schools in each Territory. Instead, recommended the Conference, secondary education should be centralised in Nyasaland and a school should be built for this purpose. (7)

This cautious approach did not satisfy the Colonial Office. In February, 1936, J. H. Thomas, Secretary of State for the Colonies, addressed a sharp despatch to the Governor, Sir Hubert Young. Thomas criticised the Northern Rhodesia Government for the fact that very little had been done to train Africans for skilled employment or to establish the African Civil Service. He wanted a definite educational policy to be formulated and a scheme to expand educational facilities to be worked out without delay. (8) With the aim of revitalising Northern

Rhodesia's educational policy, the Colonial Office appointed Tyndale-Biscoe as the new Director of Native Education. Tyndale-Biscoe took up his appointment in December, 1936. He had barely time to take stock of the situation before a Commission on Higher Education in East Africa was appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

#### **De la Warr Commission, 1937**

The Chairman of the Commission was Earl de la Warr, who was also chairman of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education. The Commission was chiefly concerned with the future of Makerere College which had just presented its first students for the Cambridge School Certificate examination. Makerere drew its senior secondary students from five mission junior secondary schools in Uganda, a similar number of mission schools in Kenya, one government and four mission junior secondary schools in Tanganyika, and one in Zanzibar. The Commission wished to know when Northern Rhodesia would be sending its first candidates for admission to Form III at Makerere, and Tyndale-Biscoe was sent to Kampala, where the Commission was sitting, to explain Northern Rhodesia's educational policy.

Tyndale-Biscoe did the best he could. The need for promoting secondary education facilities was recognised by the Northern Rhodesia Government, he said, but it had only just become pressing. He explained that educational advancement had been slowed down because of the depression; the Territory could not afford to provide a secondary school of its own, but hoped to share in the school which it was planned to open in Nyasaland. The unhappy Director could not satisfactorily explain, however, why Northern Rhodesia had lagged so far behind the East African territories in providing a modicum of secondary education for its African pupils. (9)

The Report of the de la Warr Commission removed any lingering doubts there might have been in the Lusaka Secretariat on the need for speed in putting into action its expressed policy on secondary education.

'A system of education,' stated the Commissioners, 'must always provide for the development of those who have reached and exceeded the standards aimed at by the majority and who will be in the vanguard of the future progress of the whole group. To penalise that small group by forcing it to mark time while the majority is making up leeway would be a reactionary measure. Generous provision must be made for the complete education of the future teachers and leaders of the African people. Such a policy is in the interests of the masses themselves.' (10)

### **Bursaries for Secondary Education, 1938**

Impatient at the long delay in getting the Nyasaland secondary school project off the ground, and convinced of the urgent necessity of making a start, in however small a way, on giving African students the opportunity of a secondary education, Tyndale-Biscoe obtained the Government's approval to give bursaries to five students and to send them to secondary schools in East and South Africa. Earlier, a few African boys, on their own initiative and at their parents' expense, had obtained places in secondary schools outside Northern Rhodesia. These five, however, who were given bursaries in 1938, were the first to be provided with a secondary education by the Northern Rhodesia government. Moffat Mpaselá of Mapanza was sent to St Matthew's College in the Cape Province. Hubert Siwale of Lubwa went to Alliance High School in Kenya. Cephas Kabeta of Kafue was sent to King's College, Budo, the C.M.S. secondary school in Uganda. From Chikuni, Alfred Hambayi went to the White Fathers' secondary school at Tabora, Tanganyika. The fifth bursar was Kenan Ng'ambi, formerly of Lubwa, who was on the staff of the middle school at Mazabuka at the time of his selection. He went to the government secondary school at Tabora.

### **Standard VII at Lubwa, 1938**

The Rev Maxwell Robertson, the head of the educational work at Lubwa Mission, had long been convinced that facilities for secondary education were urgently required. The output from Standard VI was rising fast; some of the Standard VI leavers were too young for teacher training or to seek employment; Government departments were crying out for Africans with higher qualifications; men with a junior secondary education were required for training as teachers in Standards V and VI. Tyndale-Biscoe supported Maxwell Robertson and in September, 1938, nine students were enrolled in a Standard VII class at Lubwa. Small classes at Standard VII level had been held at Kafue Institute as early as 1935 for boys who were considered too young to be accepted for a teacher training course, but these had been irregular and the students had not completed a full junior secondary course.

Maxwell Robertson's experiment of 1938 can justifiably be held to be the first official and authentic junior secondary class in the country's educational history. It was appropriate that the lead should be given in the secondary field by a missionary society and not by the Government for this had been the pattern of educational development in Northern Rhodesia. It was also appropriate that the missionary society should be the Church of Scotland since, from the foundation of Livingstonia by Dr Laws, this society had exercised its educational responsibilities with great vigour and foresight.

## **Munali and Kafue, 1939**

By now the Advisory Board had persuaded Government that junior secondary facilities must be provided within Northern Rhodesia and not in Nyasaland. The Nyasaland scheme had, in any case, run into serious financial difficulties and not a brick had been laid of the proposed secondary school. Accordingly, Tyndale-Biscoe authorised Hodgson, principal of the Munali Training Centre, to accept 15 students into Standard VII in September, 1939. As it turned out, there were only 13 applicants for places. All were accepted but only 11 turned up to join the Government's first junior secondary class. A further 4 students were enrolled in a Standard VII class at Kafue but this, like its predecessors, did not last long and the class was absorbed into Munali in 1940. The Lubwa course ended, as planned, in 1940 and this left Munali unchallenged as the only centre of secondary education in the country, a position it held until 1946.

Thanks to continued and often irritating pressure from the Colonial Office, the initiative of a few enlightened missionaries, and the drive of Tyndale-Biscoe, the country had by the end of the 1930's crossed the divide between primary and secondary education. If a policy of expansion had been vigorously pursued in the next decade, Northern Rhodesia could well have caught up with the East African territories in the field of secondary education. But, alas, this was not to be, and access to secondary education was confined to a small privileged élite until almost the eve of Independence.

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## CHAPTER IX

### EXPANSION DURING THE WAR: THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN 1945

During the 1930's, as we have seen, educational development took place on a modest scale, but Government revenue was never deemed sufficient to allow significant funds to be allotted to education. It was the Second World War of 1939-45 which transformed the Northern Rhodesia economy and produced the funds with which a minor revolution was effected in the country's educational system.

The demand for raw materials needed for the Allied war machine was virtually insatiable. Output from the copper mines soared. Production during the six years of the war totalled almost 1,500,000 tons. Copper prices which had fallen to £25.6 a short ton in 1932, rose to £66.1 in 1941-46, and would have gone higher had they not been stabilised at that figure. (1) At Broken Hill, production of lead, zinc and vanadium was increased, and the prices of these commodities also rose. The greatest benefactors from this boom in the country's mining industry were the shareholders in the British South Africa Company, which had appropriated the mineral rights of North Western Rhodesia half a century earlier. Nevertheless, Government also shared in the general prosperity through its receipts from taxation. Revenue was buoyant. It rose from £1.67m. in 1939 to £2.98m. in 1941 and to £3.43m. in 1945. (2)

For the first time in the country's history, substantial sums were available for spending on the development of social services. During the period 1939-45, Government expenditure on African education climbed rapidly:

1939	£42286	1943	£ 99405
1940	£55182	1944	£123200
1941	£69453	1945	£149450 (3)
1942	£88483		

These amounts are puny compared with the colossal sums which are spent on education nowadays. Nevertheless, the funds made available to the African Education Department during the war years increased by three and a half times, and gave Tyndale-Biscoe and his colleagues an opportunity which had been denied them in the past. We shall now examine how they used this opportunity, and take stock of the country's education system as it existed in 1945.

## Government and Aided Primary Schools

A scheme for a modest expansion of the primary school system was drawn up by the Director, Tyndale-Biscoe, in 1938 at the request of the Colonial Office. This five-year Development Plan allowed for an annual increase of between 10% and 15% in the number of children enrolled in government and aided primary schools. At this rate of expansion, by Tyndale-Biscoe's own calculation, the target of universal primary education would be reached within 50 to 70 years. (4)

As additional money became available, Tyndale-Biscoe's enrolment target for 1943 was exceeded in 1941. The number of children in school rose extremely rapidly:

1939	42000 children	
1940	59000	..
1941	71000	..
1942	86000	..
1943	93000	..
1944	102000	..
1945	116000	.. (5)

In statistical terms, progress made was little short of phenomenal. In one year, enrolment rose by 40% and then, between 1940 and 1945 was almost doubled. Only countries with a highly efficient and co-ordinated administrative machinery could achieve such a rate of educational expansion without a loss of standards and without laying bare a great many weaknesses. Northern Rhodesia's Department of African Education, its small administrative staff depleted by the loss of a third of its members to the War, was certainly in no position to control and direct at all adequately an expansion programme on a scale which was without precedent in East and Central Africa.

The supply of trained teachers proved unequal to the demand. In 1939, there had been 900 certificated African or European teachers, or 1 to 47 of the 42000 pupils enrolled in 500 government and aided primary schools. (6) By 1945, the number of such schools had risen to more than 1100 and enrolment had increased to 116000, but there were only 1700 qualified teachers or 1 to 70 pupils. (7) To meet at least part of the shortfall of certificated teachers, Vernacular Teachers' Courses were started in some training colleges in 1943. These were one-year courses for selected students who had passed Standard IV. Nearly 300 of these T5 teachers, as they were later called, had been trained by 1945. Nevertheless, over 1000 completely untrained teachers, many straight from school, had to be employed in the schools that year in order to ensure that there would be someone to stand in front of each class.

In these circumstances, the quality of the classroom teaching was often of

a very poor standard. An embryonic inspectorate of approximately 50 Jeanes supervisors were for many years the backbone of the educational system. On foot and on bicycle, in fair weather and foul, they toured the schools in their area. They advised head-teachers how to draw up time-tables, helped assistant teachers with their schemes of work and preparation, demonstrated new methods and techniques. They talked to chiefs and headmen to stimulate interest in the school and urged parents to collect grass and poles to repair leaking classroom roofs. They were the roving ambassadors of the Department, and also the eyes and ears of the Director. Later, in the 1950's, the Jeanes supervisors were superseded by younger, better-qualified men. This was inevitable, but does not lessen the value of the work done by a generation of Jeanes supervisors in helping to establish primary education on a sound basis.

Staunch allies of the Jeanes supervisors were the officers of the provincial administration. Many district commissioners and district officers took a very real personal interest in the schools within their districts and encouraged chiefs and headmen to support the teachers in their work. At this time, district commissioners were responsible for all aspects of development in their area, and many a school had reason to be grateful for the benevolent paternalism of the visiting 'bwana D.C.'

In spite, however, of the efforts made by Jeanes supervisors, education officers and managers of schools, primary schools were often dull and uninteresting institutions of learning. Village classrooms still usually consisted of pole and mud structures, often built only to chest height, with a thatched roof. If furniture was provided, the desks were constructed by the teachers and the pupils from local materials; the children sat on bush-poles suspended between two Y-shaped wooden forks stuck into the mud floor. Sometimes they sat on the floor and used their knees as their desks. Uninspiring surroundings and dreary teaching were the main reasons for the rapid drop-out of pupils from the schools. The ill-balanced nature of the primary school system is well-illustrated by the break-down of the enrolment figures for 1945. In that year, the numbers of children in each class were:

	<b>Boys</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Total</b>	
Sub-Standard A	33836	24770	58606	
Sub-Standard B	15543	6217	21760	
Standard I	13371	3137	16508	
Standard II	8619	1213	9832	
Standard III	4388	509	4897	
Standard IV	2811	261	3072	
Standard V	901	43	944	
Standard VI	818	18	836	
	80287	36168	116455	(8)



Half the primary school population was enrolled in Sub-Standard A; some pupils, especially those in 'week-end' schools spent two years or more in this class before they were promoted to Sub-Standard B. Not surprisingly, many of them lost interest and left school before they had mastered the alphabet. Slightly higher up the school, parents were beginning to question the value of an education which merely made their children literate. Wrote Tyndale-Biscoe:

'It is not easy to convince Native Authorities and parents that the majority of children cannot expect to go beyond Standard II. Their attitude is that the economic return on a Standard II education is so small that it is hardly worth sending a boy to school at all. Many pupils now complete Standard II at the age of 12 or 13, and to find profitable employment for them if they do not continue their studies, is almost impossible.' (9)

If Grade VII is substituted for Standard II, this quotation would serve as a good statement of the problem facing Zambia in the post-Independence era. Equally relevant is Tyndale-Biscoe's comment: 'The answer, based as it must be on economics, is not really understood or accepted.' (10) Parents are no more willing now than they were in the 1940's to accept that their child's education should cease because the manpower needs of the country do not require him to be educated further.

Average primary school attendance in 1945 was recorded as 83% of the enrolment. A number of native authorities had made regulations for the compulsory attendance of children voluntarily enrolled in school. Attendance officers toured the schools fairly regularly, and the parents of children who had been absent from school without reasonable excuse were taken to the chief's court for punishment, usually a fine of a few shillings. The native authority attendance *kapasu*, cycling from school to school along the bush paths, pausing at villages to refresh himself, was to be a familiar figure of the Northern Rhodesia scene until after Independence.

The growth in the number of middle schools was largely due to the insistence of the local education committees that facilities at this level must be expanded. Small grants were made by the Department in 1945 to the native authorities (£6000) and to missions (£5000) to enable more middle schools of a reasonably permanent nature to be built. By 1945, the cumulative number of pupils who had passed Standard IV since the examination was begun as a school leaving examination in 1933, was over 10000. In the same year, the number who had passed Standard VI since 1934, when the examination was instituted, was 2250. (11)

Middle schools were unequally distributed over the country. Indeed, development generally of primary school facilities was very uneven. A child's educational opportunities depended very largely on chance. He was fortunate if he lived in an area where there was a missionary society willing and able to provide

an efficient educational service; and doubly fortunate if two societies were competing to extend their influence through education. But he might live in a district where the sole missionary society either had extremely limited educational aims, or lacked the resources to develop the educational side of their work, and where the native authority was apathetic towards education, and had not the means to establish a native authority school to supplement the work of the Mission.

The differences between one part of the country and another were often startling. In 1945, the percentage of children of school age enrolled in government and aided schools in Livingstone District was 93, in Sesheke it was 77, and in Chinsali District it was 75%. By contrast, only 19% of the children were at school in Fort Jameson and Mumbwa Districts, and in the North Western Province, the figure was only 16%, the lowest in the country. (12) The vast, sparsely populated north-western section of the country, torn by tribal divisions and with a totally inadequate system of communications, a daunting prospect for any missionary society, was to remain the educational Cinderella of the country until after Independence. In common with other neglected areas, it could not hope for a fair share of educational facilities until Government was prepared to take a much more direct part in the running of schools than was the case in the 1940's and 1950's.

### **Urban Problems**

Livingstone, as has been noted, had a higher percentage of its children enrolled in school than any other district in the country. This was due to the introduction of a limited form of compulsory education in 1944. The first steps were taken to compel parents to send their children to school in 1943, when education was made compulsory for children between the ages of 12 and 16 living in Broken Hill, Ndola, Kitwe and Chingola. In Livingstone and Broken Hill, which were settled communities with a fairly static population, the regulation could be enforced. In two years, enrolment in Broken Hill rose by 250%

In the Copperbelt towns, however, the Department had seriously underestimated the size of the potential school population. By the time the children of compulsory school age had been rounded up, and married girls had been exempted, together with boys who were already in employment, it was found that there were insufficient places available in the schools to enrol all those who were supposed to be put on the registers. An estimated school age population of 6000 was found to consist of at least 14000 children. Classrooms were crammed to capacity and scores of pupil teachers were employed, but the number of children was too great.

To make matters worse, an attempt to provide six years of primary education for children living in the urban areas had the effect of attracting children to the line of rail from the villages where no facilities were available beyond Standard II. Despite regulations made by native authorities in the rural areas to check the movement of children to the urban centres, and despite attempts by mine authorities

to remove from the mine townships children who were not living with their biological parents, the number of children drifting from the villages to the Copperbelt to battle for places in school continued to rise. Indeed, this movement of the population has not yet been reversed; it continues in the post-Independence era. This phenomenon is not confined to Zambia; it affects all developing countries where the rural masses see little likelihood of improving their lot and decide to claim a share in the rapid development which they hear is taking place in the towns. Not until it can be seen that a family can lead a full and rewarding life on the land will the bright lights of the city cease to lure people from the villages to the urban centres.

In 1945, the number of children seeking school places was comparatively small and the educational planners of the day thought they could solve the problem by building a few more schools and increasing the teaching establishment. Only time was to show that this was a forlorn hope and that precisely the same problem, though in greatly magnified proportions, would face the Ministry of Education after Independence.

### **Practical Education**

In selecting the 12-16 age group, rather than the 8-12 year olds, for the first experiment in compulsory education, Tyndale-Biscoe and the Advisory Board were endeavouring to find a solution to the problem of gangs of teenage hooligans who, for want of anything better to do, roamed the streets and generally made nuisances of themselves. Similar motives led to the opening in 1942 of a government school at Mwekera, a few kilometres outside Kitwe. Boys from the Copperbelt and Broken Hill who had passed Standard IV were not allowed to enrol in Standard V until they had spent a year at Mwekera. Only a small number of periods was given to academic work at Mwekera; the bulk of the time was spent on agriculture, carpentry, brickwork, thatching, physical training, civics and Scouting. Mwekera was intended, according to Tyndale-Biscoe, to provide 'the opportunity for town boys to have experience of a corporate life where rural pursuits are taught and where certain principles of communal behaviour are inculcated.' (13) The Mwekera experiment lasted only until 1946, the site proving unhealthy; but the idea of urban boys being acquainted with rural life and civic responsibilities lingered on in the Community Service camps, the first of which was held in 1947.

Meanwhile, beginning in some schools in 1942, and becoming general by 1950, a third year was added to the upper primary course. Concern had been expressed that the upper primary course was too academic and that the Standard VI leavers were reluctant to work with their hands. There was also the undoubted fact that the rapid expansion of lower middle schools had resulted in a lowering of the standard of the teaching in Standards III and IV and hence a poorer product from Standard IV. In addition, the Department and the Advisory Board had

unbounded faith in the character-improving effects of practical work on primary school pupils. For these reasons, the syllabus of Standards V and VI was henceforth to be covered in three years instead of two, the extra year being devoted to practical training either in agriculture or in industrial crafts such as woodwork or building. Candidates for the Standard VI Examination were graded by their head-teacher according to their ability and keenness in manual work. Wrote Tyndale-Biscoe, who attached immense importance to industrial training: 'No pupil who is classed as a "poor and lazy worker" is permitted to sit for the examination.' (14)

This same attitude governed the selection of pupils for secondary education. Character was all-important. 'Examination results are the least important criterion,' said Tyndale-Biscoe. (15) The Director's enthusiasm for practical work was not shared by most pupils, who resented the fact that they had to spend an extra year in school in order to obtain the coveted Standard VI certificate. Nevertheless, the extra year, known as Standard VI lower, produced some good results at schools where the best type of instructors were available, and the scheme remained in force until the late 50's.

At the more formal level, technical and industrial training was concentrated at the Munali Training Centre in Lusaka. The capacity of the Centre was stretched to the limits during the war years when it assumed responsibility for the industrial training of *askari* for the Army. The routine was further disrupted by the death in 1944 of Frederick Hodgson, the founder of Munali, and the mainstay of the Department's industrial training for fifteen years. The two-year courses available to Standard VI boys in 1945 were intended to produce a qualified artisan competent to undertake carpentry and building work of a fairly high standard under supervision. A further two-year course was designed to produce men competent to teach handicrafts and industrial subjects in middle and upper primary schools, or to undertake normal construction with the minimum of supervision. Enrolment in the two types of courses in 1945 was 48 and 13 students respectively, clear indication that industrial training was unpopular among those who had completed a full primary course of education.

Impetus would have been given to the development of industrial training if the Apprentices Ordinance passed in 1943 had embraced Africans and provided them with an opportunity to qualify as journeymen on equal terms with Europeans. But Africans were specifically excluded from the Ordinance which, in any case, set Form II as the entrance qualification for apprentices, beyond the reach of all but a handful of African trainees in 1945. (16)

### **Girls' Education**

The figures of enrolment given earlier in this chapter are a good indication of the state of girls' education in 1945. Fade-out of girls after Sub-Standard A was dramatically rapid in all but a few schools. Where girls remained in school long

enough to learn something of value, it was largely due to the presence of female helpers, ancillaries who had been given a short course, who taught elementary needlework, housewifery, and cookery and mothercraft. Girls' education on the Copperbelt received a boost in 1941 with the opening of a government boarding school for girls at Mindolo. This provided a small flow of women teachers for the schools in the mine townships and included upper primary and domestic science sections.

The main battle to advance girls' education took place on the mission stations. It was at places like Mabumbu in Barotseland, Minga in the Eastern Province, and Mubende in the Luapula Valley that a new generation of African girls was gradually produced. Alert, intelligent, skilled in domestic crafts, neatly turned out, their potential developed, they set a standard which others would try to emulate, however slowly. There were disappointments along the way, but these were accepted as inevitable by devoted ladies such as Miss C. M. Irvine of Chitambo, or Irene Pearce of Mwenzo or their counterparts at other stations of other societies. There was compensation for the failures in the joy of seeing girls achieve success. For example, Mary Pike of Chitambo reported in 1943 to her home committee:

'This year we had three girls in Standard IV, our top class. Two of them decided that they would go to Lubwa, 230 miles (370 km) away, to do a one-year normal course and come back as teachers. They went, despite the jeers of many who laughed at their fathers for wasting money on girls. As I saw them safely on the lorry, I felt as proud as the pioneer headmistress who sent her first students to Girton in the early 1870's. Here was a tangible result of all the years of work among girls here.' (17)

### **Secondary Education**

Concern had been expressed at the disappointing calibre of some of the boys and young men who were selected for Munali in 1939 and 1940. By 1941, however, the number of applicants had increased considerably and stricter selection was possible. Among those selected for the junior secondary course that year was Kenneth Kaunda who, having passed Standard VI in 1939, had taken the teacher training course at Lubwa which he completed at the age of 17. Life at Munali opened new horizons and aroused new interests for the young students. 'I found myself in a new and wonderful world,' (18) wrote the future President of the Republic of Zambia, who, until this time, had scarcely set foot outside Chinsali District. But the exciting opportunities enjoyed by Kenneth Kaunda and his fellow students were available to only a fortunate few.

If anyone expected that the opening of a Standard VII or Form I class at

Munali Training Centre in 1939 would lead to a rapid expansion of secondary education facilities, their hopes were soon dashed. As our period ends, there were 65 secondary school students in the country, all at Munali. Thirty were in Form I, 26 in Form II and 9 in Form III. The latter group would take the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate in 1946, the first in the country's history to do so. It had thus taken the Department twenty-one years to produce the first students with as much as four years of secondary education. But the need for more secondary education was recognised by the Director in 1945 as being 'urgent'. He envisaged 'a reasonable expansion of secondary school facilities to enable an increasing number of students to go forward to institutions for further education.' (19) But 'reasonable' is a question-begging term. What seemed reasonable to the Director and his colleagues was in retrospect to be considered the height of unreasonableness.

A step, however, was taken in the right direction in 1945 with the formation of a bursaries committee to select candidates for post-secondary courses not available in Northern Rhodesia. In the same year, the first two Northern Rhodesia students were awarded bursaries to enable them to attend Makerere College in Uganda, and two members of the Jeanes School staff, Safeli Chileshe and Braim Nkonde were awarded scholarships for a two-year course in linguistic studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. These were the pioneers of the men and women who, until the founding of the University of Zambia in 1966, were to travel all over the world in search of the higher education which was not available in their own country.

#### **Adult Education**

Tyndale-Biscoe's Development Plan of 1938 had foreseen the need for a scheme of adult education which would 'enable adults to improve their conditions of life and offset the dangers of antagonism arising between the older and younger generations.' (20) Apart, however, from a few evening classes run in some of the Copperbelt towns and in Broken Hill, nothing had been done to organise adult education when, in 1944, the Colonial Office Advisory Committee issued a report on Mass Education in African Society. Said the Report: 'In order to progress towards self-government in the modern world, colonial peoples must learn to read and to understand, not only about their own local affairs, but those of wider import.' (21)

It was this Report which inspired the Department in 1945 to support the work of Mrs Hope Hay at the United Missions' station at Mindolo, Kitwe. To Mrs Hay belongs the credit for the first experiments in adult literacy techniques in Northern Rhodesia and the training of supervisors for a mass literacy campaign which began in 1949. That there was ample need for adult literacy work was shown in a survey carried out by Mrs Hay in the Mindolo Mine Compound. She reported in 1945:

'It was revealed that out of 3692 resident adults, 2347 were totally illiterate, and unable to read the captions of the local newspaper in any of its four vernaculars. Of 950 women, 902 were found to be illiterate. It was also found that the average standard of education among those who had once been to school was between that of Sub-Standard B and Standard I. A great many of those who declared they had once been in Sub-Standard A or Sub-Standard B at school had lapsed into complete illiteracy.' (22)

A more rosy picture of the effectiveness of the educational system was given by Dr D. M. Brown of Lubwa who medically examined entrants to the Army during the war years. He found that '71% of the young men seeking enlistment in this district can read and write; some, indeed, only a little, but a fair proportion with the ability of those in Standards I, II and III.' (23) Both reports were probably accurate. Mindolo attracted workers and their families from the whole country, whereas the young men whom Dr Brown examined came from Chinsali District, which, from an educational point of view, was among the most advanced in the country.

It is impossible to be specific since no statistics are available, but it is probable that in 1945, 85% of the adult males in the country, and 95% of the adult females were illiterate. Here was an enormous task facing the Government and the mission agencies: the provision of a comprehensive programme of mass education to make up for the lost opportunities of the past. If such a programme was to be successful, it would have to be directly related to the lives of the people and integrated into the social and economic aspects of community development.

### **Literature and Broadcasting**

If any scheme of mass literacy was to succeed, suitable literature had to be available in order that new literates might continue to make use of their new skill. In common with most colonial territories, Northern Rhodesia was starved of reading for pleasure. Tyndale-Biscoe formed an African Literature Committee in 1937 and this worked in conjunction with the United Society for Christian Literature to produce and distribute books which were considered suitable for the general African public. As early as 1938, Tyndale-Biscoe advocated the formation of a Publications Bureau with adequate editorial and translation staff; but it was not until 1948 that this became a reality, when a grant from Colonial and Development Welfare funds was used to establish the Bureau in Lusaka. Books for use in school continued to be written by missionaries, and, increasingly, by education officers.

Tyndale-Biscoe also foresaw the need to exploit radio as a medium of education. Experimental broadcasts were first made from the Copperbelt in 1939 on a transmitter loaned by the local radio society. What was termed 'public speech

apparatus' (24) was installed at Luanshya and Kitwe and audiences numbering thousands gathered to listen to these early programmes. A small government broadcasting station was set up in Lusaka in 1940 and the first schools broadcasts were made the next year when talks were given on geography, history, civics, hygiene and English. Reception difficulties frustrated much of this initiative, and until these had been overcome, and schools could be provided with cheap and reliable radio sets, little use could be made of this new educational medium.

### **The Department in 1945: Achievements and Aims**

Julian Tyndale-Biscoe left Northern Rhodesia in 1944. He and Latham were the great architects of African education. Arriving in the country just as it was trying to shake off the effects of the financial and psychological depression of the early 30's, Tyndale-Biscoe soon infected the Department and mission educationists with his enthusiasm and initiative. During his seven years' tenure of the directorship the number of aided primary schools more than doubled, and enrolment more than trebled. He reorganised the system of payment of grants and persuaded successive governors to increase the Department's expenditure from a mere £28000 in 1937 to £125000 in 1944. He fostered the growth of the local education committees and gave them statutory recognition in the African Education Ordinance he steered through the Legislative Council. He secured the appointment of the first African members of the Advisory Board in 1943. He encouraged the development of native authority schools and expanded the provision of middle schools. Never afraid to experiment, it was Tyndale-Biscoe who introduced the first compulsory education regulations, and, at the same time, abolished tuition fees in all schools in 1941. His insistence on practical work in the schools was highly unpopular with many African parents and pupils. At the first meeting of the African Representative Council in 1946, the 'third year' of the upper primary course was bitterly attacked as a waste of time and a hindrance to boys who were going on for secondary education.

But Tyndale-Biscoe was convinced of the danger, indeed the irrelevance, of an academic education for most children living in Northern Rhodesia. He wanted the primary school course to be conceived as an end in itself, not merely as a preparation for secondary education. It must include practical work, preferably agriculture, since most pupils when they left school would spend the rest of their lives in a rural environment, earning their living from the land. Tyndale-Biscoe's philosophy is particularly relevant to the situation in Zambia today, not only at the primary but also at the secondary school level.

He was overcautious in expanding secondary education. In this he accurately reflected the opinion of the Government. Nevertheless, it was Tyndale-Biscoe who had the foresight in 1938 when he prepared his Development Plan, to draw attention to 'the expansion of the social services that will be made possible by the



training and subsequent employment of highly-qualified African natives of Northern Rhodesia.' (25) Tyndale-Biscoe achieved the 'break through' in secondary education in authorising the opening of the first class at Lubwa in 1938, and following this up with a secondary course at Munali in 1939. He would perhaps have done more if secondary teaching staff had not been so acutely short during the war years.

Tyndale-Biscoe was succeeded as Director of African Education in 1945 by R. J. Mason from Tanganyika. Mason noted the 'truly amazing' advance which had been made in primary education under his predecessor. He saw too the weaknesses which result from any rapid, and not always co-ordinated, expansion of school facilities: uneven distribution of schools, mediocre teaching and poor supervision. He identified 'the incubus which affects all non-compulsory educational systems in their infancy', and wrote:

'As long as some 70 per cent of the total enrolment in primary schools is to be found in the first two years of school life, and only one in three pupils passes from the first year to the third, it must be confessed that a great deal of educational effort is wasted.' (26)

With the arrival of Mason, the Department entered upon a period of consolidation, slowing down the rate of expansion, aiming at increasing the supervision given to the schools and raising the standards of the teaching staff. If the primary system could be made more efficient and less wasteful, more money could be spent on secondary education. With the help of the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, it was planned, in 1945, to provide secondary school facilities for 600 pupils as part of a ten-year programme. This represented a ten-fold increase on the secondary school provision existing in 1945. But Independence, unbeknown to Mason or to anyone else, was less than twenty years away. The inadequacy of the programme would not be realised until it was too late.

### **The Missionary Contribution**

Northern Rhodesia's educational system developed as a result of co-operation between the missionary societies and the Department. 'Co-operation' was not an empty platitude; it was the keystone of the Government's educational policy. From the outset, Latham had made it clear that the purpose of the Department was to assist the Missions, through the payment of grants, to run the country's primary schools. Government schools were to be set up only in special circumstances, or where the Missions were unable to provide facilities.

This was still the position in 1945. There were 1112 schools and training colleges in existence that year. Of these, Government managed 28 schools and the native authorities managed 23. The remainder, totalling 1061 schools, were run by the twenty-one missionary societies. (27)

In addition to these aided schools, the Missions in 1945 had a further 48000 pupils enrolled in 985 unaided schools. Two societies, the Dutch Reformed Church with 303 unaided schools and the White Fathers with 283, ran more than half the unaided schools in the country. The number of unaided schools was, however, dropping rapidly. Nearly 700 were closed between 1939 and 1945. This was due not merely to the fact that contributions from Mission supporters overseas fell away during the war years. Some agencies were beginning to question not only the educational value of the unaided school, which was minimal, but its usefulness as a means of spreading the Christian message. A further factor was the influence of local education committees which determined to lift education out of the arena of denominational rivalry, to rationalise the provision of school facilities in their areas, and to raise the standard of the education made available to the people. The Fort Jameson Committee, for instance, resolved it would eliminate entirely the bush schools in its district. In 1944, it arranged for 163 'schools' to be concentrated into 55. In Petauke District in the following year, 300 tiny schools, where few pupils ever advanced beyond Sub-Standard A, were telescoped into 100 schools providing instruction up to Standard II. This process was to continue throughout the next decade, and by 1955 the unaided schools were to be virtually eliminated from the educational system.

Despite the reduction of their unaided schools, the Missions still dominated the educational field. For every pupil in a government and native authority school in 1945, there were ten who attended an aided mission school. That it was desirable for the Missions to continue to undertake the lion's share of education was not in serious doubt among the missionaries. But the place of the school in the Missions' work was changing. The early schools had been started with the aim of teaching the people to read the Bible. As the years went by, more subjects were added to the curriculum. History, geography, civics and science were introduced, and the scope of the arithmetic syllabus was enlarged. The schools' extending activities brought to the pupils a new understanding and enrichment of life. They were shown how to create healthier conditions of living, to grow better crops, and to build better houses. But these were technical skills which could be taught, and knowledge which could be imparted, just as well at a secular school as at a mission school. The special contribution which the mission schools had to make was that they should still provide a specifically Christian education, which the missionaries feared might not always be given in government institutions.

Christian education, the missionaries contended, is concerned not only with the relation of man to the physical world and to the social order, but with his relation to God. Education will fall short of its purpose if it evades the ultimate issues of life and fails to bring men closer to God. The pupil's widening knowledge of nature and of men must be illumined by the Christian revelation. Opportunities for fellowship abound in a school and must be seized in order to reveal to pupils the true meaning of Christianity. Christ's teachings were not intended only for the

uneducated peasant; they have a direct relevance for modern man. Christian education was, therefore necessary for the fulfilment of the missionary task in Africa.

For this reason the missionary societies were convinced in 1945 that education was still the handmaiden of evangelisation and that they would forsake their school work only at their peril. It was not until the 1950's that this philosophy was called into serious question in Northern Rhodesia, and grave misgivings were to be entertained in mission circles when the Church of Scotland handed over to the local education authorities its schools in 1956, the first missionary society to withdraw from the primary education field.

At the end of our period, however, the Northern Rhodesia school system was still almost entirely a mission school system. This was reflected at the Advisory Board where the influence of the missionary societies' representatives was enormous. No Director could afford to ignore the resolutions of the Advisory Board. Missionaries dominated the Board's sub-committees which dealt with syllabuses, examinations, and textbooks. They also reshaped development plans in order to ensure that opportunities to exert a Christian influence in the schools would be maximised. When, in 1945, a government proposal was made to rationalise teacher training into provincial development centres in which Missions would have the right of entry but no controlling influence, the opposition of missionary members of the Advisory Board was such that the scheme had to be withdrawn and the development plan re-written.

This Mission influence over the country's education policy would continue for as long as the missionary societies were responsible for providing the overwhelming share of the educational facilities in the country. When, however, the number of local education authority schools increased, and when education costs rose to such an extent that the voluntary agencies became more and more dependent on the Department's grants for maintaining their schools, then the balance of power would swing and the Mission influence would begin to wane. In 1945, however, the missionary contribution to educational development was still of paramount importance, and the voluntary agencies were at least equal members of the partnership between themselves and Government.

### **The Teachers**

Important developments affecting teachers took place during the war years.

We have already noted the introduction, as a temporary measure, of the one-year teacher training course for men and women who had only a Standard IV qualification. These T5 teachers, as they were later called, were certainly better than untrained teachers, and some of them were to give sterling service for more than twenty years. Nevertheless, it was a retrograde step to have to train as teachers students who had completed only six years of primary education. Classroom

standards in the primary schools could not be raised while T5 teachers made up a sizeable proportion of the teaching strength. One of the prices which has to be paid for a rapid expansion of primary schools, as the post-Independence Government later confirmed, is a dilution of the teaching quality in the schools. The products of an emergency teacher training scheme linger on in the schools for many years. Facilities for retraining or upgrading such teachers are never equal to the task.

At the other end of the scale, a Higher Teachers' Course started in 1942 at the Jeanes School, Chalimbana. This combined academic work at the junior secondary level with professional training to fit the students for middle school teaching duties. With the opening of this course, Munali ceased to accept serving teachers into its secondary classes and restricted its intake to boys who had just completed Standard VI. Most of the entrants for the Higher Teachers' Course were serving teachers, though initially a few students, who intended to make teaching their career, were accepted straight from school. The idea of recalling serving teachers to the Training College for an upgrading course proved highly successful. The possibility of being selected for such a course was an incentive to teachers in even the remotest schools, while the products of the course, the H.T.C. teachers, provided a solid core of experience and expertise which served the country well for many years. The H.T.C. teachers were to be the headmasters of middle and upper primary schools in future, and the best of them were to be the first African managers of schools.

Another innovation was the institution in 1940 of an Agricultural Training School at Senga Hill, south of Abercorn. Selected boys attended a five-year course, three of which were spent on completing the upper primary course and the remainder in training as agricultural teachers. It owed its success to Norman Porritt of the L.M.S. and to Unwin Moffat, who, for many years, was senior officer at the Lunzuwa Agricultural Station. The Senga Agricultural Training School was unique. It aimed to train teachers who would teach a curriculum which was suited to the needs of the people. Porritt and his colleagues, like Ross before them, did not want to see the Northern Province depopulated because the young men left their homes to find employment in the towns. He wanted them to stay in the villages and to earn a good livelihood from the land. But first they had to be shown that a good living could be made from agriculture. The place to do this was in the schools; this meant training teachers with a special knowledge of agricultural methods, who could then pass on their know-how to the rising generation. Only at Senga was this philosophy put energetically and consistently into practice. Another distinctive feature of the scheme was that the Agricultural Training School was an inter-mission venture. Boys were sent to the school by the Church of Scotland, the White Fathers, the C.M.M.L., the U.M.C.A. and the L.M.S., all of whom were represented on the Board of Managers, which met under the chairmanship of Sir Stewart Gore-Browne.

If there had been more upper primary schools and training colleges like Senga Hill, the later development of African education might well have been different. Certainly much of the frustration and disappointment which faced many primary school leavers might have been avoided.

One effect of the war was seriously to reduce the income of the missionary societies from overseas sources. The Missions found it increasingly difficult to pay their one-third share of the salaries of their certificated teachers. To meet this difficulty, the Department agreed in 1940 to pay all but the first 5/- of the monthly salaries of the certificated teachers and also added several hundred uncertificated teachers to the grant-aided list. (28)

Nevertheless, dissatisfaction was rife among mission teachers, whose salaries were approximately half that of teachers with identical qualifications in the government schools. Many resigned. Increased grants were made by the Department in 1942 which permitted an all-round increase of 7/6 a month in mission teachers' salaries; but in 1943 Tyndale-Biscoe had to report that the year had been 'overshadowed by the rising discontent among mission teachers.' (29) Following strong recommendations made by the Advisory Board, Government agreed in 1944 to put mission teachers on almost the same salary scales as teachers in government schools. The small discrepancy remaining was removed in 1946. Nevertheless, Government teachers who were civil servants, remained at a considerable advantage since they served on pensionable conditions of service. Not until 1953, when a Unified African Teaching Service was formed, embracing teachers in local education authority and aided mission schools, was this important difference removed.

Despite these increases, the salaries of mission teachers, who made up over 90% of the teaching strength, were still miserably low. Apart from a small ration allowance, and a war cost of living allowance of 5/- per month, teachers were paid, from 20/- to 40/- a month if they were T5's; 25/- to 50/- a month if they were T4 Standard IV's; and from 30/- up to 57/6 a month if they had passed Standard VI and completed two years' professional training. The best qualified teachers, the H.T.C.'s started at £3.10.0 a month and could rise to £7.10.0. (30) But they were few and far between. By comparison, the average wages of Africans employed by the mining companies were 35/6 for surface workers and 53/- for underground workers. (31) The government rate for labourers was 25/- to 35/- a month, including rations. (32)

Teachers' remuneration had improved considerably since the first teachers were given strings of beads or a few yards of calico at the end of their month's work. Nevertheless, in relation to the importance of the work they were doing, their salaries in 1945 were pitifully inadequate. It was through thousands of teachers scattered to the furthest corners of the country that the message of the missionaries reached the people, and the policies of men like Latham and Tyndale-Biscoe became reality. Without the efforts of this ever-growing army of men and women, the benefits of education would

never have been available to more than a comparative handful of pupils on the mission stations.

Sent out to villages where no-one could read or write, and where frequently the first task was to build a schoolroom in which he could gather his pupils, and then a home in which he could stay, the teacher had to endure many privations and much loneliness. He brought the Word of a new religion which challenged the very basis of traditional philosophy. He was not only the agent of a new civilization, he was the representative of a new social order. Enormous responsibilities were placed on his shoulders by the missionaries who trained him and sent him forth, usually with a minimum of training and a small bundle of books and chalk as his only equipment. He had a foot in both worlds, the old and the new, for he had grown up in the old before he was attracted to the new life which the missionaries showed him. It is small wonder if, with little supervision and amid the social pressures of life in a small community, he sometimes misinterpreted his role and slipped from the standards he was trying to impart.

It was he and his colleagues, however, who were responsible for bringing education to the people of Northern Rhodesia, and for effecting, in a bare half century, a revolution in their life and thinking from which there could be no going back. They are, indeed, the unsung heroes of Northern Rhodesia's educational development.

## Chapter IX: References

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## CHAPTER X

### EUROPEAN EDUCATION, 1905-1945: A BRIEF SURVEY

The development of European Education in the period to 1945 was slow and patchy. Nevertheless, after a very slow start, facilities were developed considerably more rapidly than those for African children, and the education offered in the schools was usually of a much higher standard than in even the best of the African schools. The reasons were straightforward. In the first place, the task of providing educational facilities for European children was a comparatively small one since the number of children involved never exceeded a few thousand. Secondly, the majority of European parents wanted their children to go to school. They did not have to be convinced of the value of education, and neither did they need to be coerced into sending their children to school. Thirdly, successive Governments took it for granted that it was their duty to provide educational facilities for European children; whatever doubts they may have had about the necessity or wisdom of educating African children, it was axiomatic that a European child must be provided with the best possible form of education which the Government could provide. Finally, European parents were far better placed than African parents to bring their educational grievances to the notice of Government. Through the press, at public meetings, through their representatives in Legislative Council, and even through their contacts overseas, European parents were able to bring pressure to bear on Government to provide facilities, to improve them, to extend them and to pay for them. By comparison, African parents either were not interested in the education of their children, were unable to distinguish between a good school and a bad school, or had no satisfactory channel through which they could voice their educational grievances.

This is not to say, however, that European parents did not have to overcome considerable difficulties and to endure frustrating delays before a reasonably satisfactory educational system was evolved in the country. For many years the Northern Rhodesia climate was considered unsuitable for European children. Those who could afford it sent their children overseas for their education or to South Africa or Southern Rhodesia. It was mostly parents who could not afford to do this who demanded that school facilities be made available in Northern Rhodesia. The British South Africa Company was not very sympathetic to the educational problems of European parents living in small townships such as Livingstone, Kalomo or Fort Jameson, and had little understanding of how to meet

the educational needs of the children who lived in scattered farms and mission stations throughout the country.

Nevertheless, by 1924, when the Company handed over to the Colonial Office, it was spending nearly £8000 a year on the education of European children. At the same time its expenditure on African education was nil. It is necessary to trace the steps by which the Company accepted this financial commitment, and to indicate how the foundations of the European education system in Northern Rhodesia were laid.

### **The Period 1905-10**

The earliest record of a European 'school' in the country concerns the Anglican community at Fort Jameson, then the capital of North Eastern Rhodesia. In 1905, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent the Rev W. J. Bell to be chaplain to the Anglican church which the Company had erected in the little town. Bell and his wife did their best to educate the handful of local European children, using their house as a schoolroom. Beginning in 1908, the Beit Trustees paid an annual grant of £150 to the school and this was continued when the Rev A. G. de la Pryme took over the duties of chaplain in 1910, even though enrolment sometimes dropped to as low as two children.

Livingstone also needed a school. Writing in his *Livingstone Mail*, the country's first newspaper, in March, 1906, Leopold Moore warned: 'Education is one of the problems which will have to be tackled very shortly. There are already about half a score of young children in the town and something will have to be done to provide them with a school.' (1) Within weeks, the following notice appeared in the *Livingstone Mail*: 'Miss Powell is opening a private school on Monday next. Pupils received from 9.00 a.m. to noon daily, Monday to Friday.' (2)

When the Administrator visited Livingstone in 1907, he saw Gladys Powell's little school and found the premises and equipment inadequate. He agreed to provide the desks and equipment necessary for a school and to pay the rent, not exceeding £5 a month, for suitable premises. The parents, however, would have to pay the teacher's salary. This was not good enough for Leopold Moore who demanded that the Company make full financial provision for a school. The Administrator gave way, and in June, 1908, made a grant of £350 for the purpose of equipping the school and of paying Gladys Powell's salary. In a composite class varying between 10 and 20 children, Miss Powell taught up to Standard V level, following the syllabus of the Southern Rhodesia Department of Education.

Meanwhile, in Lusaka, then a very small township but the centre of a large farming area, a small boarding school was started in 1907 by the Dutch Reformed Church Mission. It was run by Miss Theron and Miss Cronje from the Orange Free State, and was supported by the financial contributions of the Afrikaaner community who farmed around Lusaka. Conditions at the school were primitive;

equipment was often in short supply; and the committee of parents which ran the school were constantly worried by parents who defaulted on the payment of the boarding and tuition fees.

By 1910, therefore, the position was that there were three tiny schools for Europeans in the country, one supported by the Beit Trust, one by the Company and the other by the parents of the children and the Dutch Reformed Church. Children of primary school age who could not reach these schools stayed at home and were taught by their parents, or remained without any education. Older children usually went to school in Southern Rhodesia, often to Plumtree School, their fees being paid in equal proportions by the Administration, the Beit Trustees and their parents.

#### **1911-20**

In 1911 a census of the European population of Northern Rhodesia was taken by J. S. Blackwell of the Southern Rhodesia Education Department. The census revealed that there were 93 European children between the ages of 5 and 14 resident in the Territory. Of these, 41 children could read and write, 7 could read but not write, and 45 could neither read or write. Commented Blackwell: 'The time has apparently now arrived to consider seriously whether some means cannot be devised to adopt a system whereby Primary Education may be brought within the reach of a larger number of children than is the case at present.' (3) The Company could not entirely ignore this advice, and in 1912 it opened a day-school at the capital, Livingstone, the first government school in the country.

1913 proved an important year. The population statistics showed that the European population had increased by 500 since the census of 1911. Many of the new immigrants had settled as farmers in the Chilanga Sub-District, which included Lusaka. The number of children of school-going age had now risen to 175. G. Duthie, Director of Education in Southern Rhodesia, was asked to examine the problem. His advice was that European education in Northern Rhodesia should be placed under the control of Southern Rhodesia, but this was not acceptable to the Company's Board. A few months later, at the end of 1913, Sir Starr Jameson, President of the British South Africa Company, visited the Territory. He was confronted by a deputation of angry parents in Lusaka, who demanded that the Company provide more schools, and, to meet their particular needs, a boarding school.

Jameson immediately agreed, and early in 1914 four farm schools were opened in the Chilanga Sub-District, at Lusaka, Mulendema, Chilongolo and Glencraig, providing places for about 60 children. A hostel was opened at Lusaka school in 1916, when enrolment was 22, but had to be closed for lack of support in 1920. Farm schools were also opened at Broken Hill and Kalomo in 1914. The Company had now accepted the principle that it had a duty to provide limited

educational facilities for the European children of the Territory, but much remained to be done. In particular, there was a need for a strategically sited boarding school if children living in isolated farms were to be able to attend school regularly. It was, therefore, an event of considerable importance when a government boarding school was opened at Mazabuka in 1919. Fifteen boys and fifteen girls were accepted as boarders under Miss Brocklehurst, first Headmistress of the Robert Codrington school.

Meanwhile, a government school had begun at Fort Jameson in 1916 to replace the 'school' which had opened in 1905. As elsewhere, this was a small school run by a single teacher. The 11 pupils on the register in 1917 were divided between kindergarten (5), Standard I (4), Standard II (2). Progress that year, according to the Native Commissioner of the East Luangwa District, was satisfactory, but 'some of the children suffered from headache, fever and sore eyes owing to lessons being taken on the veranda of the school mistress' house, as she had sprained her ankle. It was found necessary to close the school until she recovered.' (4)

Until 1920, the Education Department of Southern Rhodesia advised the Company on education in Northern Rhodesia and conducted annual inspections of the schools. As the number of schools gradually increased, the need for an inspector of schools based in Livingstone became more apparent, and in 1920, Geoffrey Latham, then a district officer at Sesheke, was sent to Salisbury for a short period of training. On his return, he was appointed Northern Rhodesia's first Inspector of Schools, a position which he combined with other duties until his appointment as Director of Native Education in 1925.

#### 1921-24

With his usual energy and enthusiasm, Latham set about the task of raising the standards in the schools, providing equipment, and encouraging and advising the teachers. He also found time to visit the small number of private schools which had sprung up on farms which were not within reach of the government schools. He urged the Company to increase the number of schools in order to meet the growth in the population. The need for such expansion was made clear by the census of 1921. This showed that there were 528 European children between 5 and 15 years resident in Northern Rhodesia. Only 239 were receiving any schooling. Two years later, when the number of children of school age had risen to 600, less than half of whom were at school, Latham proposed to the Administrator that education should be made compulsory for European children. The Company was aghast. Compulsory education inevitably meant free education. Expenditure on European education in the year ended March, 1923, had reached £6955, while revenue from school fees had been only £824.

The Company shared Latham's fears that unless the number of schools was

increased, and hostel accommodation was expanded, there would grow up a generation of uneducated, unemployable 'poor whites'. However, it had been already decided that the Colonial Office would assume responsibility for the government of Northern Rhodesia on April 1, 1924, and Latham was informed that the future policy concerning European education should be settled by the new Administration.

European parents had little reason to feel satisfied with the educational provision made for their children by the British South Africa Company. Largely as the result of the influence of Richard Goode, Secretary to the Administration, the Company had given way to pressure in a number of areas and had provided primary education facilities, in return for fees, for just under half the children in the Territory. Parents hoped for a better and fairer deal from the incoming Government.

## 1924-28

Sir Herbert Stanley, first Governor of Northern Rhodesia, was conscious of the educational needs of the country, and the first two Departments of Government he created in 1925 were those for European Education and African Education. Richard Goode, Chief Secretary, launched the European Education Department, but in 1926 J. B. Clark was appointed Director, a position he held until 1948. The development of European education was thus the responsibility of Clark for more than twenty years. Slowly, changes and improvements were effected.

Clark's first concern, in his efforts to extend the scope of the educational system, was for the children who were not attending school. These were mostly the children of the poorer type of farmer, gangers on the railway, and mine-workers on isolated claims. In 1926, he encouraged the opening of schools in thinly-populated areas by making grants available to schools with an enrolment as low as eight children. Parents had to provide the building, usually a house, and the Department gave the furniture and equipment, and paid the teacher's salary. No fees were charged in this type of school. Clark recognised that this was no more than a temporary, makeshift measure, but it was better than nothing. A number of these aided schools sprang up, flourished for a while, and then closed as parents moved away, farms were deserted, and mining claims were abandoned.

Of more permanent importance, Clark saw the need to provide facilities beyond the Standard V level. Lack of laboratories made it impossible to provide a full junior secondary course, but in 1927, Latin, French, algebra and geometry were introduced into the curriculum at Livingstone, Mazabuka, Lusaka and Broken Hill, and were taught in Standards VI and VII. As the curriculum was extended, so older children were found in the schools. To cope with the disciplinary problems which these older children, particularly the boys, created, Clark recruited more male teachers. There were only four men teachers in 1925, compared with 19 women. The balance had been partially redressed by 1932 when the men numbered

18 against 36 women. Nevertheless, the women were to remain the backbone of the European education system, in startling contrast to the African schools, where, for many years, most classes, even for the youngest children, were taught by men.

Clark's limited expansion programme, which included opening the Beit Boarding School for Girls at Choma in 1928, increased the capacity of the government and aided schools in the country to 650 places in that year. 100 places were available in the boarding schools at Choma and Mazabuka, 365 in the day schools at Livingstone, Lusaka, Broken Hill and Fort Jameson, 145 in the farm or mine schools at Lubombo, Chilongolo, Silver Rest, Bwana Mkubwa and Roan Antelope, and 40 in the aided schools at Ndola and Nchanga. Enrolment in that year amounted to 518 children. Recurrent expenditure had risen to nearly £16000. (5)

### **Commission on European Education, 1929**

These were the findings of a Commission on European Education set up in 1929 at Leopold Moore's suggestion. The Commission, of which G. A. S. Northcote was chairman, and Clark and Bishop Alston May were among the members, made a number of far-reaching recommendations. (6)

The Commission wished farm schools to be restricted to the Standard II level. Beyond that, children in rural areas should be sent to boarding schools. In order that the necessary accommodation would be available, the hostels at Choma and Mazabuka should be extended and hostels for 300 children should be built at Lusaka. Tuition fees (which ranged from £4.10.0 to £7.10.0 a year in 1928) and hostel fees (£30 to £50) must be kept at a moderate level and the State must be prepared to contemplate the partial or entire remission of fees in necessitous cases. Only in this way, urged the Commission, would education up to Standard VII level be within the reach of all European children in the country. Elementary science should be added to the curriculum of Standards VI and VII. This would ensure that a full junior secondary course was available. The Commission saw no need to provide facilities beyond that level within Northern Rhodesia.

The Commission stressed the need for day boarding facilities: a mid-day meal should be provided cheaply in order that in the afternoons children might take part in organised games, and do their preparation under supervision. A further advantage, according to the Commission, would be that if children were leading an 'ordered, busy, disciplined existence', they would be kept 'as far as possible from frequent hour-long associations with primitive, morally-unbridled influences'. From similar motives, and to 'safeguard against the growth of an unemployable class of Europeans', the Commission recommended that compulsory education should be introduced at the earliest possible date. The majority of members favoured 6 and 8 as the ages respectively at which attendance at day and boarding schools should be compulsory. No child should be allowed to leave school until

Standard VII had been passed or the fifteenth birthday attained, whichever should be earlier. Members did not consider that compulsory education necessarily meant free education. On the contrary, parents should be required to contribute to the cost of their children's education according to their ability to pay.

Finally, on the administrative side, the Commission recommended the establishment of a Central Advisory Board for European Education and of a number of local advisory boards. These should be given statutory recognition in a European Education Ordinance, the lack of which was embarrassing.

Northcote and his colleagues recognised that these proposals would involve the Government in considerable expenditure. Against this, they argued, had to be set the fact that the cost of not expanding the education system would be incalculable 'if the present and coming generations are allowed to reach manhood without the necessary minimum of education.' (7)

#### 1930-45

The history of the development of European education in the period 1930-45 is largely the story of the implementation of the recommendations of the 1929 Commission. That these recommendations were not carried out more quickly was due first to the economic depression which delayed development in all spheres, and to the slow rate at which the European population increased. A further delaying factor was the restraining influence exercised by the Colonial Office, which was reluctant to authorise increased expenditure on European education unless this was matched by a significant expansion of educational facilities for the African population.

The Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies appointed a sub-committee to consider the report of the 1929 Commission and subsequently wrote that a 'wide advance in native education, which is at present regrettably backward', was an essential condition of the Government subsidy for European education. (8) The Colonial Office continued to challenge the massive disparity between the provision for European Education and for African Education. Malcolm Macdonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies, took the Governor to task in 1938 for failing to achieve 'a reasonable balance' between the two educational systems. (9) The Advisory Committee kept up the pressure in a report on European Education in Northern Rhodesia and Kenya in 1940. While the need for 'a suitable and effective education for the whole of the European community' was accepted by the Committee, it was

'clearly most important that the European minority community, whatever its claims and significance may be, should be educated with the utmost economy compatible with efficiency in territories where the education facilities available for the native population are so inadequate.' (10)

Enrolment figures climbed slowly. There were just over 1000 children enrolled in the government primary schools in 1931. It was not until 1941 that the number exceeded 1500, and in 1945, the last year of the war, enrolment had not topped 1900. (11)

Much of the development took place on the Copperbelt. At Ndola, a government day school was opened in 1929 and a new building became necessary the following year when the number of children exceeded 20. A school in Kitwe, run by the mining company, started in 1929, and this was taken over by Government in 1931. The next year it was necessary to provide new premises which subsequently became known as the Frederick Knapp School. 1930 saw the opening of a school, staffed by a government teacher, in the Mufulira Mine recreation club. Four teachers were employed at this school in 1931, but at the end of the year the school had to be closed as the mine was allowed to flood, and the children left the township. The school did not reopen until 1934. The Luanshya School, opened in 1928 and transferred to its present site in 1931, escaped closing down completely, but numbers were very low during the depression years. A school at Chingola began in 1928, but had to close in 1931. It did not reopen until 1938; six years later it moved to its present site. In Chingola, however, as in the other Copperbelt towns, the European population was still small at the end of this period. The growth of the mine townships, as they exist today, was essentially a post-war development.

Apart from the government schools which were opened in the 1930's, there were important developments by private agencies. A convent school was started in Broken Hill in 1929 by the Dominican Sisters and for many years this school set the educational pace in the country. The first candidates were entered for the matriculation examination in 1938, and the Broken Hill Convent School provided the only senior secondary course in Northern Rhodesia until 1949 when this was transferred to Lusaka. Other convent schools were opened at Ndola in 1936, at Livingstone in 1937, and at Lusaka in 1939; all proved highly successful.

Other developments in the primary field during this period can be briefly recorded. In Lusaka, the Beit hostel, later known as the Hubert Young Hostel, was opened in 1932, and this provided boarding accommodation for children from the rural areas beyond Standard II. Younger children living on remote stations far from a school were catered for by a correspondence tuition scheme conducted by the Southern Rhodesia Education Department. Many mothers, with no training as teachers, far from sources of advice, but desperately anxious to teach their children, had reason to be thankful for these excellent correspondence courses provided from Salisbury.

Responsibility for the education of Eurafrikan or Coloured children was placed under the Department in 1938. As the number of Asian children in the Territory increased, educational provision had to be made for them, and this was added to Clark's portfolio in 1941. Non-European children were not permitted to



attend European schools, and separate facilities had to be provided for the Coloured and Asian children. This absurd situation, morally indefensible as well as highly uneconomic, lasted until 1964 when the process of integrating the various parts of the educational system was started. But, by that time, untold damage had been done, and a generation of children had grown up with warped racial attitudes and little or no understanding of people with a different coloured skin from their own.

Government expenditure on European education rose to £29000 in 1935, to £44000 in 1940 and had reached £75000 by 1945 when expenditure amounted to £40 per child enrolled in the Government schools. (12) Tuition fees were abolished in 1941.

Science was introduced into the curriculum of Standards VI and VII at Kitwe in 1933, and this became the general practice in 1936 when full junior secondary 'tops' were developed at the primary schools. It took many years, however, before facilities for senior secondary education were provided.

### **European Education Ordinance, 1941**

The modest expansion of facilities which took place during the 1930's brought education within the reach of almost every child. Only a handful of children were receiving no education. Parental indifference, where it existed, had practically disappeared and the dangers of illiteracy had been reduced to negligible proportions. Nevertheless, it was felt that there was need to introduce compulsory education, and this was the main feature of the European Education Ordinance of 1941. (13) This Ordinance made education compulsory for children between the ages of 7 and 15 who lived not more than three miles (five kilometres) from a government school or who, although living more than three miles from school, lived not more than one mile from a point on the route of a recognised transport service which served a school. If parents, for reasons of poverty, could not comply, the Director was given the power to defray the whole or portion of the cost of education, maintenance and transport.

The European Education Ordinance of 1941 was the first in the country's history and gave statutory authority to a number of established practices. Clark, introducing the Bill in the Legislative Council, commented: 'The developing activities of my Department have made it clear for some time that the Elysian bliss which it has hitherto enjoyed of functioning without legislation could not continue indefinitely.' (14) Apart from compulsory education, the Ordinance provided for the establishment of an advisory board, authorised the Director to make payments to schools and to pupils, made medical inspection of pupils compulsory, required private schools to be registered and gave the Department power to inspect them. It remained operative until repealed by the Federal Act of 1956.

## Secondary Education Controversy

Bursaries made available by the Beit Trustees were awarded for the first time in 1935, and these, together with bursaries awarded by the Government, enabled parents to send their children to Southern Rhodesia or to South Africa for their senior secondary education. This system was applauded by Sir Alan Pim in 1938 when he reviewed the Territory's economic position on behalf of the Colonial Office. Pim considered that the cost of providing a senior secondary course in Northern Rhodesia would be quite prohibitive and that such provision was, in any case, unnecessary. (15) The Advisory Board, which had been established in 1935, concurred.

By 1942, however, the number of children in the junior secondary classes had increased and the Advisory Board had changed its mind. At its meeting that year the Board resolved that it was 'the duty of Government to proceed forthwith with the further provision of secondary education for children now passing through Form II and desiring to continue their education. (16) Pupils wishing to follow a secondary technical course should be allowed to continue to go to suitable schools outside Northern Rhodesia, but candidates for academic or modern secondary courses would be expected to attend secondary school within the Territory. If they went outside, the parents would be required to meet the full cost themselves.

Government accepted this proposal and the Department set to work to plan the building of a full senior secondary school. But then a curious delay occurred. Dr. J. F. Haslam, Director of Medical Services, expressed the view that older European children should, on medical grounds, be sent out of the country for their education. According to Haslam, European children thrived in the Northern Rhodesia climate at the primary school stage, but 'on approaching the age of puberty, undoubtedly ill-effects begin to show, not only visible in the physical condition, but also in mental retardation.' (17)

Roy Welensky, a leading member of the Unofficials in the Legislative Council, and staunch exponent of senior secondary education for Europeans, took fright and demanded that an investigation be made to determine whether it would be better for secondary school children to be educated in a more temperate country. In June, 1944, a committee met under the chairmanship of Dr E. H. Cluver, Director of the South African Institute for Medical Research. The Committee recommended that full secondary education should be provided for Europeans in Northern Rhodesia and that this would not have a deleterious effect on the health of the children, if suitable arrangements were made when building the schools to provide air-conditioned recreation rooms and swimming pools.

When Legislative Council re-assembled in January, 1945, the Cluver Report was considered. Welensky was delighted that the experts had 'put the seal on the fact that this country is suitable for permanent European occupation.' (18) He urged that secondary education facilities should now be developed without delay.

But, first it was necessary to obtain the views of the Central African Council. Early in 1946, the Central African Council advised that Northern Rhodesia should concentrate on education up to Form II and should continue to send its senior secondary students to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The Advisory Board, the Department, the Government and Legislative Council were back in 'square one'.

In the event, it was a flood of immigrants to Southern Rhodesia, resulting in crowded conditions in that country's secondary schools, which caused the Northern Rhodesia Government to revert to its decision to provide senior secondary facilities within the Territory. In 1950, Form III classes opened at the Lusaka Boys' and Girls' Schools, at Broken Hill, Luanshya, Kitwe, Chingola and Mufulira. Ndola followed suit in 1952 and Livingstone in 1953. These were still secondary 'tops' to primary schools. The building of separate secondary schools did not take place until later in the decade.

The subsequent development of the system of European education, to a stage when it could stand comparison with the facilities available almost anywhere else on the African continent, belongs to the Federal era and falls outside the scope of this study.

### **Some Points of Comparison**

It was during the Federal period that the gap between the European and African education systems widened to a yawning chasm. Already by 1945, however, the gap was of considerable magnitude. All European children in the country were assured of a place in school and could proceed without interruption to Form II in Northern Rhodesia. They were then eligible for bursaries to enable them to take their senior secondary course in Southern Rhodesia or in South Africa.

By contrast, although African children had a fair chance of finding a place in Sub-Standard A of a government or aided primary school, only one in five was likely to complete Standard II and thus be permanently literate. Only the brightest African children could go beyond Standard II and much less than half of these could proceed to Standard VI. At the secondary level, there was provision in Form I for only one in a thousand of the age group; of the fortunate few who were offered places, only those who could find the fees were able to accept their place.

European children attended schools which, if not of a luxurious standard, were substantially built and well-equipped with furniture and modern teaching aids. Most African schools were built of pole and mud or sundried brick, had no furniture apart from what the teacher and his pupils could make for themselves, and a bare minimum of equipment.

Teachers in the European schools were well-trained and well-paid; 20% of them were graduates. African teachers were handicapped by a low educational

qualification and a professional training which was often perfunctory; a bare handful had more than a Standard VI qualification and the overwhelming majority had gone no further than Standard IV; the average African teacher earned less than £2 a month. European schools were regularly inspected by qualified and experienced professional men and women. The African teacher relied for guidance on his manager of schools, usually a missionary with no professional training himself, or the education officer who was expected each year to visit more than a hundred schools, many of them accessible only on foot, by bicycle or canoe, and scattered over an enormous area.

In 1945, Government spent £75000 or £40 per head on the education of 1888 European children. In the same year, it spent £149000 or less than £1.6.0 per head on the education of 116566 African children enrolled in the maintained and aided schools. (19)

The list of contrasts could be continued, but enough has been said to show clearly the disadvantages under which African schoolchildren laboured, compared with their European counterparts. It is not surprising that African parents complained that their children were not receiving the same educational opportunities as European children. Neither is it surprising, when the African nationalist movement gathered strength, that vociferous demands were made that more schools and better schools must be provided for Africans and that the system of educational *apartheid* in the country must be ended. The African people did not resent that European children were given a first-class education; they asked merely for justice, that African children should not be denied comparable educational opportunities purely on grounds of race.

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## CHAPTER XI

### SUMMARY AND REFLECTIONS

Criticism and comment has been kept to a minimum in the preceding chapters in order not to impede the presentation of the facts in a straight-forward manner. In this concluding chapter, however, which summarises the main characteristics of the country's early educational development, its successes and failures, some opinions are offered, and some inferences are drawn from the 1883-1945 period which may be of relevance in the context of the Zambian educational scene today.

#### **Missionary Enterprise, 1883-1924**

Educational development during the rule of the British South Africa Company depended almost entirely on the initiative, energy, perseverance and financial resources of the missionary societies who came to the country in the wake of the evangelical revival which Britain and other western countries experienced in the nineteenth century.

Because of its remoteness, the difficulties of travel, and endemic disease, Northern Rhodesia was one of the last countries in Africa to become a field of missionary endeavour. Land-locked, and seemingly lacking in natural resources, Northern Rhodesia aroused little interest among the colonising powers in the scramble to partition the African continent. This was an additional reason for the late arrival of the missionaries. Only after a form of British administration had belatedly been set up was it possible for large-scale missionary penetration of the country to take place.

The missionaries came to bring the Good News of Jesus Christ. In contrast with many other mission fields, Northern Rhodesia had the advantage that the Christian missionaries did not have to face opposition from established forms of religion such as Hinduism, Buddhism or Islam. Nevertheless, they had to contend with the deep-rooted and subtle influence of animism and considered that education provided an effective method of converting the people from their old beliefs and practices and of winning them for Christ. Few of the missionaries were trained educationists and the schools they provided were very crude affairs, modelled largely on the charity schools which the churches had provided in Britain a little earlier in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, despite their many imperfections, the hundreds of little mission schools, extending to the remotest villages, were the

vehicles by which not only the Gospel but also literacy were brought to the people of Northern Rhodesia.

It was the home committees of the missionary societies which bore the financial burden of laying the foundations of the country's educational system. All but eight of the 2000 or so schools which were operating in 1924 were run by the Missions, and of these, only a tiny handful received any sort of official financial support. The cost of running the country's schools was met not by Government but by thousands of church members overseas who had never seen Northern Rhodesia.

But it is not in financial terms that the contribution of the missionary societies should be measured. The missionaries played an invaluable role in the country's educational development, not because of the money they brought, but because of their personal qualities and vision. Though there were inevitably weaker vessels among them, the vast majority of the missionaries were devoted to their work. For a pittance of material reward, they gave freely of their time and energy to bring a new way of life to Northern Rhodesia. True, some missionaries displayed a deplorable lack of understanding of the indigenous culture, and mistakenly and obstinately attempted to impose a narrow and bigoted form of puritanism in place of traditional values and customs. Nevertheless, in spite of these shortcomings, the country owes an incalculable debt of gratitude to the missionary educationists.

Until 1924, as we have seen, the voluntary agencies were almost solely responsible for the country's educational growth. Subsequent development was based on a policy of co-operation between the Government and the missionary societies. At Independence, two thirds of the country's primary schools were still managed by voluntary agencies. Since Independence, the rapid expansion of educational facilities has been largely financed by Government. The voluntary agencies, many of which are now part of local churches, have still an important part to play, a fact which Government has clearly recognised. It is to be hoped that the churches will continue to respond to the educational needs of Zambia in the broadest sense. If it is increasingly difficult for them to make a distinctive contribution within the formal educational system, there are ample opportunities for them to continue their witness in the field of education through, for example, special, or compensatory education for the handicapped, vocational training programmes, adult education, or rescue work among unemployed urban youths.

If the missionary societies deserve high praise for their contribution to the country's educational development, it is difficult to find anything charitable to say about the educational work of the British South Africa Company. Indeed, there can be nothing but contempt for the shameful dereliction of duty by the Company towards the educational advancement of the African people whom the British Government had entrusted to their care. In a strictly legal sense, the Company was not the trustee of the people of Northern Rhodesia. If its formal obligations were limited, its moral obligations in the exercise of its guardianship were many. The



sorry tale of broken promises, cynical indifference, niggardliness and hypocrisy which has been chronicled in Chapter III constitutes a sickening episode in Northern Rhodesia's history for which the British Government of the day, as well as the Company, must share responsibility. A generation and more of Northern Rhodesians lost their chance of receiving education through the abject failure of the Company to pay even the most elementary attention to the provision of educational facilities for the people whom they governed.

One further comment may be made on the events of this period. When the first schools were opened, it was a mixture of adults and children who made up the classes. Father and son, and more rarely, mother and daughter sat down together to listen to the teachers and to learn the three R's. This was logical, since the schools, we must remember, were the chosen vehicle for the work of evangelism, and the Christian message was meant for all, young and old alike. As the years went by, however, the schools in Northern Rhodesia, as elsewhere, came to be identified with children. Adults were excluded. It was certainly difficult to run schools which would cater with equal success for children and their parents. Different teaching methods and materials were required for the different age groups. There were disciplinary problems, too, in trying to teach the old and young together. The missionary societies' resources were not adequate to provide separate classes; a choice had to be made. The societies decided to concentrate their educational effort on the children. There were sound reasons for this decision. The minds of the children were more malleable and more receptive to new ideas than those of their parents who were often set in their ways. The children could attend school regularly whereas their parents had other duties and responsibilities claiming their attention and time. Once the decision had been made, the parents were first discouraged from attending school, and then age regulations were introduced which excluded them altogether.

The decision to concentrate on the rising generation rather than on their parents was a natural one, yet it had profound consequences for subsequent educational and social development. If the missionaries had decided that the parents must be educated before children could be accepted into the schools, then the charge that the schools alienated the pupils from their environment and cultural background might never have arisen. Adults, who were already committed to rural life, might have been able to use the education they received to improve their living standards and to relate it to their traditional lives as farmers. Certainly the agricultural instruction and craft training which was given in some schools would have been of more benefit to adults who were already farmers than it was to their sons who, far too often, saw education as a means of escaping from what they considered the drudgery of life in the rural areas, and the unrewarding manual work which went with it.

One missionary society which persisted with its efforts to educate adults was the Dutch Reformed Church Mission at its stations in the Eastern Province.

The D.R.C.M. ran unaided schools, attended by many adults, until the mid-1950's. Was it purely by coincidence that the most progressive and prosperous peasant farmers in the country, supporting the wealthiest co-operative marketing unions, grew up in the areas of Katete and Petauke where the influence of the D.R.C.M. was strongest? It is difficult to isolate the factors which lead to the development of a flourishing agricultural community in one area and a precarious form of subsistence farming in another; but it is probable that the education provided for adults in the D.R.C.M. schools sharpened their intelligence, aroused their ambitions, and made them more responsive to schemes to develop their agricultural skills.

In most of the country, however, adult education was completely neglected. The effect of this neglect was to condemn to permanent illiteracy all those within the clan or tribal community, parents, elders, headmen, chiefs, to whom respect was traditionally **given. For many years, adult education remained the Cinderella of** Zambia's educational system, to the detriment not only of the thousands of people who never had the chance of getting an education while they were children, but also to the country's economic and social development. Illiterate elders and parents are apt to be the most conservative force in rural society, fiercely resisting changes in hallowed practices, however inefficient these may be.

Traditionally, education was the collective responsibility of the whole adult community. Illiterate themselves, parents could not contribute to their children's education in its new form. Western education was the sphere of the specialist, the missionaries or the teachers trained and paid to do this work. All too often, western education, in which the adults could not share, was a divisive influence in the community, and alienated Christian, literate children from their pagan, illiterate parents.

#### **Government-guided development, 1925-1945**

In these two decades, in place of a haphazard collection of generally very inefficient schools, there gradually evolved a rather more formal and professionally administered education system which was increasingly dependent on government assistance.

Expansion and improvement of the country's education system depended to a large extent on money. Public expenditure on African education increased from £348 in 1924-25, to £25000 in 1935, and to £150000 in 1945. By the end of our period, the schools numbered 2100, of which 1112 were aided or maintained by Government, and the number of pupils totalled 165000. All but 51 of the schools open in 1945 were run by missionary societies.

The two architects of Northern Rhodesia's educational development were Geoffrey Latham, Director of Native Education from 1924 to 1931, and Julian Tyndale-Biscoe, Director from 1936 to 1944.

Latham created the Department. Starting from scratch, and with the help initially of only one clerk, he built up a working partnership with the Missions. He

evolved a system of financial grants-in-aid to the missionary societies which encouraged them to pay more attention to the quality of the education given in the schools, rather than to concentrate on quantitative expansion. Above all else, he urged the Missions, by exhortation and small financial inducements, to produce better teachers without whom, he stressed, the schools would achieve nothing worth-while.

Latham's bitterest regret when he retired in 1931 was that he had failed to secure adequate provision for children in the urban areas. The voluntary agencies had neither the resources nor the inclination to provide schools for the children in Broken Hill, Ndola or the copper towns. Here, surely, was a challenging opportunity for Government to step in and to build, equip, and staff schools for the towns which were to provide the main source of the country's wealth for the remainder of the century at least. Government vacillated. It took refuge in an interminable argument concerning the dangers of allowing Africans to live in the towns for more than a short period. It pondered at length the social and moral problems which would arise if Africans became detribalised by urban living. The official imagination balked at the thought that mining townships, complete with housing estates and families, could develop in Northern Rhodesia in the same way as they had grown up in other countries. There was no denying the fact that children were living in the towns, even if illegally. If schools were provided for them, this would vitiate any attempt at enforced repatriation. The dilemma was solved, not by resolute government action, but by leaving the provision of educational facilities to the mining companies. Only in Ndola was Latham able to persuade Government to open and run a small school. His successors fared little better and relied first on the missions (through the United Missions in the Copperbelt) and then on the Northern Rhodesia Educational Trust (financed by the mining groups) to bear the brunt of the educational effort in the Copperbelt. Not until after Independence did Government assume full responsibility for education in its richest and most heavily-populated province.

The failure of Latham and subsequent Directors to deal with the educational problems of the urban areas underlines very clearly the crucially important point that the Department could exercise only limited control over the country's educational system during this period. With meagre funds at his disposal, and with a tiny staff in relation to the size of the country and the number of schools, the Director was in no position to direct. He could warn, he could encourage, he could try to persuade. The financial grants which were his to dispense ensured that his advice was usually heeded. But in the final analysis, he had to rely on the co-operation of the voluntary agencies which ran the schools, trained the teachers, provided the equipment and made significant financial contributions without which the schools would have had to close. Essentially, the administration of education in Northern Rhodesia depended on partnership between the Government on the one hand and the voluntary agencies on the other.

During the 1930's, another partner was added in the persons of the native authorities which were set up under the Ordinance of 1930. This is not the place to assess the policy of indirect rule as an element of British colonial administration, but this much may be said. The principle of indirect rule was based on the belief that it was better to rule through an indigenous institution, such as a traditional chief or council, rather than directly through an alien political institution imported from Britain. Sir Frederick, later Lord, Lugard who propounded the theory of indirect rule, had introduced it with great success among the Muslim Emirates of Northern Nigeria. Indirect rule worked well where there was a strong traditional system of government as there was, for instance, in Buganda. It was made to work quite satisfactorily in Tanganyika where the Governor, Sir Donald Cameron, extended to that territory the system which he had helped to introduce in Northern Nigeria.

In Northern Rhodesia, on the other hand, there were very few powerful traditional units through which Government could rule. With few exceptions, the native authorities appointed under the Ordinance lacked natural cohesion, vigorous leaders, and adequate sources of revenue. They were also frequently deficient in administrative ability since few capable Africans were prepared to work for the poor salaries which native authorities, chronically short of funds, were able to pay. Despite official encouragement, the native authorities were never in a position to make more than a small contribution to the country's educational development. As late as 1945, the native authorities managed only 23 schools, and within a few years, these were handed over to the local education authorities. Thereafter, the educational work of the native authorities was mostly confined to encouraging good attendance, providing bursaries, maintaining school buildings, and persuading the villagers to contribute to self-help projects.

If the people had been more critical of the mission schools, popular demand might have forced the native authorities to open more schools as was the case in Tanganyika. Alternatively, if the inadequacies of the mission schools had aroused more popular indignation, Northern Rhodesia might have witnessed a development similar to that which took place in Kenya in the 1930's. Gaining their impetus from the opposition which was aroused by the Church of Scotland's attempts to eradicate clitoridectomy (female circumcision), independent African school associations sprang up in Kenya and challenged both the Missions and the Government by opening self-help schools in large numbers. Nothing comparable took place in Northern Rhodesia. The people were content to leave the control of education in the hands of the Missions and the Government. (Similarly, one might add, since Independence, there has not developed in Zambia a self-help education effort in any way comparable to the remarkable *Harambee* secondary school movement in Kenya).

Julian Tyndale-Biscoe, son of an outstanding Anglican missionary headmaster in Kashmir, dominated the educational scene from his arrival from

Tanganyika in 1936 until his departure in 1944. He was fortunate to be appointed Director when the country had shaken off the worst effects of the catastrophic depression and to be in charge of the Department when the wartime demand for copper led to an enormous increase in the funds available for expenditure on education. It was largely because more money was available that the number of aided primary schools doubled during Tyndale-Biscoe's seven years of office, and the enrolment more than trebled. His major contributions to educational development were in providing for the first small beginnings in secondary education and in steering through Legislative Council the African Education Ordinance which provided for the setting up of Local Education Committees, an important milestone on the road leading to the establishment of genuine local education authorities goal which has, perhaps, still not been reached

In 1945, half of the primary school population was in Sub-Standard A and less than 1% was in Standard VI. Beyond that, there were 65 students in the country's single secondary school at Munalu. The average school in Northern Rhodesia at the time consisted of a simple pole and mud structure, ill-maintained and furnished barely, if at all. Equipment was minimal. The teachers suffered from the defects of their own academic and professional training. If they received supervision, it was spasmodic, unsystematic, and not always constructive. Much of the pupils' learning was mechanical, by rote. The syllabus, issued by the Director, was mandatory, not permissive. Progression through the school, even from Sub-Standard A to Sub-Standard B, was by examination. The highly selective nature of the educational system placed great emphasis on examinations at every stage, severely restricting opportunities to experiment or to break away from the syllabus. More emphasis was given to a child's acquisition of a limited store of ill-assorted and often irrelevant facts than to his ability to think logically or to the development of his natural curiosity. For the ambitious child, education was a rat race. For the rest it was often a drudgery. Not unexpectedly, attendance was a chronic problem and the drop-out of children was extremely high. Much of the effort was completely wasted, since those who did not complete at least four years of schooling were bound to lapse into illiteracy.

There were plenty of exceptions to this gloomy generalisation; but the fact remains that after more than half a century of educational effort, the end of the War found the country's educational system still at a very rudimentary stage.

### **A critical appraisal**

We have paid tribute in these pages to the educational work of hundreds of missionaries and to the administrative ability of Latham, Tyndale-Biscoe and their colleagues. How was it then that the product of all their efforts was so disappointing? Why had not more been achieved? Who was to blame?

If we attempt to identify the constraints which operated against the more

rapid development of a comprehensive educational system in Northern Rhodesia, we can conveniently classify them under three main headings. First, we must explain the **limited vision** of those who planned the country's educational progress; then take account of the **limited demand** for education as expressed by the people; and finally, consider the **limited resources** which were made available for educational expansion.

Education planning is a process of utilising the available resources in the most efficient manner in order to achieve certain educational objectives. What were the educational objectives of the Northern Rhodesia Government during this period? What were the educational aims of the missionary societies which were the Government's partners in the educational enterprise? There was, in fact, little or no conflict over educational policy between Government and the voluntary agencies. Government wanted to spread the benefits of literacy among as many children as possible, to provide an upper primary education for a selected few who were required to fill low and medium level posts in the public service and commerce, and to train limited numbers of artisans and craftsmen for routine tasks in industry. The missionary societies still regarded education as the best method of evangelising. They too, therefore, favoured providing a little education for the greatest number of children, and selecting for upper primary education a few of the brighter pupils who could be subsequently trained as teachers and evangelists.

That these educational objectives were totally inadequate is very clear to us today. They would also have been quite unacceptable in the Gold Coast, the present-day Ghana. In 1924, the same year as colonial government began in Northern Rhodesia, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, the dynamic and far-sighted Governor of the Gold Coast, published his views on education. 'Education,' wrote Guggisberg, 'is the keystone on which the progress of the people towards a higher state of civilization depends.' (1) He stressed the need for well-staffed and well equipped secondary schools in which African pupils could be educated for positions of responsibility. In 1927, he founded Achimota College under the leadership of the Rev A. G. Fraser and Dr Aggrey, thus strengthening the secondary education system which had begun at Adisadel in 1906.

In East Africa, Uganda led the way. Secondary education in that country was first started at Mengo High School in 1896, while the founding of King's College, Budo, dates from 1906. Tanganyika's oldest secondary school, Tabora, was begun in 1925. In Kenya, the Alliance High School was founded in 1926. By contrast, Northern Rhodesia lagged far behind.

There are two points which must be made when considering the late development of secondary education in Northern Rhodesia compared with some other British territories in Africa. First, education started later in Northern Rhodesia. The advent of education in Ghana dates back to the fifteenth century. Missionaries were active in East Africa for many years before they penetrated Northern Rhodesia which was the last of the British territories in Africa to be

colonised. Secondly, it has to be acknowledged that the willingness of other territories to extend their educational provision beyond the primary stage was not an entirely unmixed blessing. In all the territories resources were limited. When resources were spent on secondary education, less could be devoted to primary education. The East African countries, for example, devoted considerable resources to enabling a comparatively small elite to progress to secondary, and later, to higher education. They made no attempt, however, to provide a simple form of primary education for all children.

By contrast, the educational policy in Northern Rhodesia favoured spreading the available resources over as many children as possible. Caldwell expressed the Government's consistently-held view when he wrote: 'It is the advance of a great multitude of villagers, rather than the higher education of a select minority, that must be our aim.' (2) Tyndale-Biscoe's Development Plan of 1938, which provided for an annual increase of between 10% and 15% in the number of children enrolled in aided and government schools, would have resulted in the achievement of universal free primary education in the country before the end of the century. In the event, of course, expansion took place considerably more rapidly than Tyndale-Biscoe envisaged, especially after Independence. By 1968, Zambia was in the fortunate position where the number of free places in Grade I was equal to the number of children reaching school age in that year. Zambia had thus nearly achieved the aim of free universal primary education, set at the Addis Ababa Conference in May, 1961, more than a decade before the target date of 1980. The merits of this achievement have not perhaps received the attention they deserve. By contrast, less than two thirds of the children who should have entered school in East African countries in 1968 were able to find a place, and they were liable to pay school fees. The picture was even grimmer in some of the former French colonies in Africa where, until independence, as few as one out of every five children could go to school.

But the country paid a severe penalty for a policy which thinly spread the meagre benefits of primary education over the greatest number of people: the development of secondary and higher education was grossly neglected. It was this neglect which led President Kaunda, at his installation as Chancellor of the University of Zambia in 1966, to condemn Britain's colonial record in Northern Rhodesia in the field of education as: 'most criminal. This country has been left by her as the most uneducated and most unprepared of Britain's dependencies on the African continent.' (3)

Insofar as Dr Kaunda's strictures apply to the period up to 1945, it is not enough to reply that the Colonial Government of the 1930's and 1940's could not be expected to foresee that Northern Rhodesia would become the independent Republic of Zambia in 1964. Nor can it reasonably be argued that the Government was afraid of creating an educated elite which could not have been absorbed by the employment market of the time. The sorry tale of feet-dragging and procrastination

which has been outlined in Chapter VIII betrays an attitude of mind on the part of the Colonial Government which is indefensible. The Government could simply not imagine a situation where Africans would be capable of carrying out tasks involving the creative use of intelligence, initiative and responsibility. It was assumed that Africans would continue to occupy the most junior posts in the economy, whether in the public service or in the private sector. They should not be educated above their pre-determined status in life. It would be clearly absurd to criticise a government of the 1930's for not implementing a full-scale policy of Zambianisation such as has been pursued since Independence. It is perfectly valid to criticise them, however, for failing to prepare Africans for an increasingly wide range of middle level occupations, and of providing, for those who were capable of benefiting thereby, the opportunity of further education and advancement to senior positions of authority. These opportunities were withheld for no reason other than that of racial discrimination.

Here and there an African voice was raised in protest against the failure to provide secondary and higher education in the country. A study of *Mutende*, the Government vernacular newspaper, and the only forum open to the African people for debate, (there being no African representation either in the Legislative Council or on the African Education Advisory Board), makes it clear that there was a small number of African students who wanted the chance of receiving, in Northern Rhodesia, education beyond the level of Standard VI. It can be argued that this demand represented only the very tip of the iceberg. It is equally probable, however, that the demand for post-primary education was very limited. Few members of the African population were sufficiently aware of the advantages to be derived from higher education to campaign with conviction for the provision of post-primary facilities. Political consciousness was still in its infancy; the possibility of Independence by 1964 was no more real to the African population in the 1930's than it was to the colonial administrators. In fact, however, it would have made no difference whether the demand for post-primary education was limited or extremely vociferous. The opinion of the majority of the African population would not have received the same attention from Government as that of the tiny white settler community, which viewed the possibility of African advancement with a mixture of fear and disbelief.

We have noted that it was pressure from Whitehall rather than conviction in Lusaka which led to the taking of the first tentative steps in secondary education. The Colonial Office, through its Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, the Currie Report on Higher Education in Africa, the De la Warr Commission, and a constant flow of despatches to successive governors, made it quite clear that Northern Rhodesia was lagging behind in the provision of post-primary facilities for Africans. The Advisory Committee's Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, issued in 1935, declared that advanced and elementary schooling were not antagonistic but complementary. It also stated that there was a moral obligation



resting on governments in Africa to 'open as widely as possible the doors of knowledge to those who can profit from an advanced education.' (4)

But the British Government was not prepared to provide the money whereby those doors of knowledge might be opened.

It is important to remember that the aid programmes with which we are nowadays so familiar, whereby the more wealthy nations assist the developing countries, are essentially a post-war development. Britain did not expect her colonial territories to contribute to the imperial revenue. At the same time, Britain was not prepared, except in cases of direst emergency, to subsidise the budget of a territory such as Northern Rhodesia. Each territory was required to be self-supporting. Britain's concept of her role as a colonial power was a narrow one. She acknowledged her responsibility to advance the people of the colonial empire, but did not provide the money with which a programme of advancement could be implemented. The function of government was to govern and to maintain law and order, not to stimulate economic or social development. If Northern Rhodesia wished to expand her social services, then the cost would have to be borne from surplus taxation raised by the Northern Rhodesia Government. True, Britain's first Colonial Development and Welfare Act dates back to 1929, but that was extremely limited in scope, and it was not until the end of the 1939-45 war was in sight that Britain agreed to provide limited funds to assist the development of social services, including education, in her dependent territories.

It followed that the development of Northern Rhodesia's educational system had to be financed from her own resources, plus whatever aid could occasionally be obtained on an ad hoc basis from charitable sources such as the Carnegie Corporation or the Beit Trust.

Details of government expenditure on education in the period 1924-45 are set out in Appendix V. These show that expenditure on African education rose from just under £4000 in 1925/26 (representing approximately 1% of total government expenditure) to £150000 in 1945 (a little less than 6% of total government expenditure). In the years 1924-45, Government spent £875000 on African education, this being 3.5% of its total expenditure during the period.

In the same period expenditure on European education totalled £771000 representing 3.1% of total expenditure.

A few comments may be ventured on these statistical facts.

Nowadays Zambia ranks as one of the wealthier countries of Africa. We must remember that this comparative prosperity derives from the copper mining industry. Until copper boomed, the country was one of the poorest in Africa. No sooner had the copper mines begun to get into their stride than the great depression struck the world, causing a catastrophic fall in the price of copper. In 1931, many mines ceased production and were put on a care and maintenance basis. The effect on the Northern Rhodesia economy was extremely grave and cuts in government

expenditure were inevitable. We noted in Chapter VII the severe economies which were effected within the Department.

By 1937, the depression was a thing of the past, and twenty years were to elapse before copper prices suffered another serious setback. Government revenue increased steadily and so did expenditure on African education. Two constraints, however, had an important influence on the amount of money made available for education. First was the ultra-cautious attitude which the depression had generated in the minds of senior government officials. There was a constant fear that a further depression might develop at any time, and that the phenomenon of a revenue surplus was too good to last. The Acting Chief Secretary told Legislative Council in 1937: 'I am quite certain it would be madness, absolute madness, to recommend to Government any considerable expansion of recurrent expenditure. All of us will recall what happened in the slump which followed such an expansion . . . That must never be allowed to happen again.' (5) When the War brought boom conditions to Northern Rhodesia, and government expenditure rose in 1943 to £1.75 million, Sir John Waddington, the Governor, informed Legislative Council that he thought it unwise to assume that future revenue would exceed £1.5 million. He warned: 'In the expansion of our social services, we have therefore already passed the point where we may reasonably expect to be able to balance our budget in the post-war years.' (6) Government proceeded to restrict the growth-rate of its expenditure and to place its surplus revenue into reserve.

By the end of 1945, these reserves, either in cash or investments, totalled £7.5 million. They included interest-free loans of nearly £2 million made to the Imperial Government as part of Northern Rhodesia's contribution to the war effort. (7) Would not some at least of this money, instead of lying idle against an economic disaster which never materialised, have been better invested in the country's human resources, the future citizens of the 1960's and 1970's? It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that more resolute, imaginative and dynamic men would have used the boom conditions which the war created, and which continued for more than another decade after 1945, to make good some of the leeway of the past and to give Northern Rhodesia educational facilities and other social services second to none in the dependent territories of Africa. By the time more enlightened policies prevailed, Northern Rhodesia had become part of the Federation, and much of the country's revenue came under the control of the Federal Government.

Only a small part of the wealth which accrued from the flourishing copper industry remained in the country. In the first place, many shareholders in the mining companies lived outside Northern Rhodesia and had their dividends remitted overseas. Secondly, because the mining companies were domiciled in the United Kingdom, the British Treasury received half the income tax paid by the companies. Thirdly, and most important, the whole of the mineral royalties paid in Northern Rhodesia were the property of the British South Africa Company. By the end of our period, the Company was receiving

approximately £400000 p.a. from this source. When Sir Hubert Young challenged the Company's title to these rights, which were purported to date back to treaties made with Lewanika at the turn of the century, Malcolm Macdonald, the British Colonial Secretary in 1939, rejected the challenge outright. (8) The B.S.A. Company continued to enjoy its mineral royalties which were running at a figure of £10 million a year by the time the scandalous situation was ended by Dr Kaunda's Government on the very eve of Independence. It is a sorry and humiliating reflection that the mineral royalties, derived from Northern Rhodesia and divided among the absentee shareholders of the British South Africa Company, exceeded many times the money that was spent on the education of Northern Rhodesia's citizens. While the Company's shareholders grew prosperous, the Africans of Northern Rhodesia were deprived of basic human rights, of which education was one.

In order that readers may compare and contrast the development of European education with that of African education, a summary history of European education has been given in Chapter X. Here it is sufficient to note that by the end of our period, education was compulsory for all European children between the ages of 7 and 15, that there were sufficient places provided for all children to proceed as far as Form II, and that bursaries were available to enable the older children to undertake senior secondary studies in Southern Rhodesia or South Africa. Fees were charged for tuition and boarding, but these were heavily subsidised by the Government.

The influence of the white settlers is clearly seen in the story of the gradual development of educational facilities for Europeans. Through voices raised in Legislative Council, in the press, and by personal contact, the settlers were able to convince Government that an educational service must be promoted for European children if the growth of 'a poor white' community was to be avoided. There was the equally potent argument that the development of the country, particularly economic development, depended on the skills and expertise of Europeans.

If the expatriates whose services were indispensable were to be persuaded to come to Northern Rhodesia and to stay there, it was necessary to provide their children with educational facilities comparable to those which they would enjoy in their own countries. This much is non-controversial: the same argument was accepted by Dr Kaunda's Government in the post-Independence era. The point at issue is that many of the Europeans who came to live and work in Northern Rhodesia were not indispensable by any reasonable yardstick. Some had no special skills, qualifications or experience. They were paid salaries out of all proportion to the value of their work for filling posts, such as shop assistants, clerical workers, road foremen, railway workers, or mine operatives, for which Africans could quite easily have been trained. Government yielded to settler influence to the extent of deliberately encouraging the immigration of Europeans in the belief that this would hasten economic development. Two major effects may be noted. By encouraging white settlement, the Government committed itself to provide for the Europeans

a steadily increasing apparatus of costly social and welfare services, including education. On the other side of the coin, the presence of unqualified and semi-skilled Europeans, fearful of losing their jobs, militated against any proposals to prepare Africans for positions of increasing responsibility whether in government service, in commerce, or in industry. More than anything else, it was fear of alienating the white settlers which explains the Government's failure to provide African students with technical training, above the semi-skilled level, which would have enabled them to compete with Europeans.

On occasion, the Colonial Office Advisory Committee urged that increased provision for European children must be matched by wide-scale expansion of African education. Successive governors were criticised for not maintaining a 'reasonable balance' between the two systems. But this long-range sniping did nothing to solve the dilemma. The Colonial Office could not deny the need for European children to be educated. Indeed, the Advisory Committee Report on European Education in Northern Rhodesia and Kenya in 1940 implicitly recognised the need for 'a suitable and effective education for the whole of the European community.' The Committee could only recommend that 'the European community should be educated with the utmost economy compatible with efficiency . . . where the education facilities for the native population are so inadequate.' (9)

How much more effective it would have been if the Committee had advised the British Government to provide funds in order that expenditure per head on African pupils was brought up to even one tenth of that which was spent on pupils in European schools! In 1945, as was noted in Chapter X, Government spent £75000 or £40 per head on the education of 1888 European children. It spent less than £150000, or £1.6.0 per head, on the education of nearly 120000 African children.

Expenditure on European education could certainly have been reduced by concentrating the comparatively small number of children involved into half a dozen or so strategically sited schools. The cost could have been reduced still further, of course, if the Departments of African Education and European Education had been merged and if all schools had been opened to children of all races. Such a radical solution was, however, unthinkable in the political and social climate of this period. As the years went by, the disparity between the two education systems widened. The glaring inequality of opportunity in education did as much as anything else to embitter relations between the races and to make a mockery, in the Federal era, of so-called 'partnership'. It is no wonder that the eradication of racial segregation in the schools, and the integration of the two systems of education, were among the first tasks to be tackled by the nationalist Government in 1963. (10)

### **Western education: A Preparation for Life?**

We saw in Chapter I that traditional education was, in the economic and

social context of pre-colonial society, a good medium for preparing young people for life. Both in its content and in its methods, traditional education was a natural growth. It reflected the needs and limited aspirations of the people of a largely static society. It prepared the next generation for participation in the economic, social, cultural, and spiritual life of the tribe. Whatever its drawbacks, traditional education was a powerful stabilising influence in society.

By contrast, what were the characteristic features of western education which, with its greater breadth and depth of knowledge, its superior resources and techniques, and its more efficient organisation, replaced much of traditional education? There can be no doubt that western education proved a highly disruptive influence in tribal society. It undermined the importance of the spirit world which played so powerful a part in the old cultural pattern. It divided the generations because of the neglect of adult education. By displaying the superiority of western technology, it weakened respect for African achievements. Most important, it aroused aspirations which could not be satisfied within traditional society.

Western education provided the springboard from which Zambia leaped into the twentieth century. The current spectacular advance towards modern statehood is one of the fruits of the educational system which gradually evolved over many decades, and the men and women who now control Zambia's destiny, and contribute to her development, are some of the products of that educational system. But by no means all of those who received a western type of education have been able to make use of their education. There are insufficient employment openings in the mines, on the railways, in the factories, in the uniformed services, on the farms, in the shops or in the offices to absorb more than a comparatively small percentage of the products of the country's educational system. Great numbers of school leavers are to be found idling in the villages or living in shanty towns on the edge of Lusaka, Ndola, Kabwe, Kitwe and other large towns. These are the partially educated unemployed who constitute one of the most grievous and potentially most explosive problems in present day Zambia. Young men and women like them abound all over Africa because the output from the schools has outstripped the absorptive capacity of the wage-earning sector of the economy.

The recent growth of the highly dangerous and seemingly intractable problem of the unemployed school leaver lies outside the scope of this book. Its genesis, however, falls within our period and it is necessary, therefore, to consider whether the education which was provided in the schools was suitable, or whether it must bear some responsibility for producing large numbers of young men and women who are unable to find employment.

The charge is often made that children were 'spoiled' by being given an education that was too academic, or too literary. It is argued that if the schools had provided more instruction in practical subjects, especially in agriculture, school leavers would remain happily in their villages and lead model lives as farmers.

Is this criticism valid? The question does not admit of a simple answer.

We have noted in previous chapters the innumerable attempts which were made during the period to promote agricultural training and industrial training to prominent positions in the school curriculum. The importance of practical work and of preparing pupils for life in the rural areas was stressed by the Phelps-Stokes Commission. It was a cardinal feature of the Department's policy under Latham and Tyndale-Biscoe and their successors. Among the missionaries, Joseph Moreau, John Fell, James Ross, Bernard Turner, and Norman Porritt were just a few of those who devoted many years to encouraging an interest in agricultural and industrial training in the schools. Some success was achieved but, in the main, the results were extremely disappointing. Disspirited teachers and resentful pupils were too often the only harvest of a great deal of hard work. As agents of agricultural development, the schools failed.

Two main reasons may be advanced for this. In the first place, the African villager did not come into contact with a typical cross-section of Europeans. He saw European missionaries, administrators, doctors, teachers, and office workers. He saw few, if any, European farmers, carpenters, miners, or labourers. He attributed the Europeans' power over nature and men, to their being able to read and write, and to manipulate figures, and to their wide general knowledge. It was natural for the African villager, with his incomplete picture of European society, to conclude that education consisted of acquiring the same skills in the same subjects as the European possessed. It was equally natural for him to conclude that the reward for acquiring these skills was a job in an office or store or as a teacher. To suggest to an African parent that he should send his child to school in order that he might learn to take his place in traditional rural society was a contradiction in terms. The whole purpose of education, in the mind of the parent, was to provide a ladder on which to escape from rural society and climb to within reach of the rewards which modern, usually urban, society was supposed to offer.

It is wrong to assume from this that the African pupils were reluctant to work with their hands, and wanted white collar jobs because they were lazy. The pupils of Northern Rhodesia's schools were prepared to devote their full energies to manual labour provided they could be assured of a reasonable return for their work. The plain and regrettable truth, however, is that in many parts of rural Zambia, even to this day, no matter how arduously a farmer may work, he cannot maintain a good standard of living. The dividend from his labour is a very inadequate return for the amount of effort invested. The humblest Form II clerk, enjoying the comparative comforts of life in the town, will receive a higher salary than the average farmer can earn for himself in the isolation of the bush. Preference for academic education resulted not from a dislike of manual work but from a realistic assessment of the employment opportunities to which such an education opened the door.

Government and the voluntary agencies attempted to use education as a means of guiding African development in the direction of agriculture. Economic conditions and social factors caused this policy to fail. Parents and pupils were resentful that African schools were expected to spend time on training in practical skills which were ignored in the European schools. Such training involved a reduction in the time allocated to the academic subjects which offered the most direct road to better paid employment. They therefore rejected as an unacceptable second-best the rural-orientated programmes which were designed for them.

This attitude was not unique to Northern Rhodesia. Indeed, it was, and still is, prevalent in most countries of Africa and in other parts of the world. Education creates the means of social mobility, and arouses aspirations for a better life which cannot be satisfied in the undeveloped rural areas where the vast majority of the people must spend their lives. This unpalatable fact became increasingly obvious in the 1960's as the expansion of educational facilities produced vastly swollen numbers of school leavers who could not obtain employment in the towns and who were dismayed at the prospect of spending the rest of their lives in the traditional rural manner.

Vigorous efforts are now being made in the newly independent countries to re-appraise educational aims and to change the curriculum of the schools so that the educational system will be more relevant to the child and to his environment, will correspond more closely to what are considered to be the economic needs of the country, and will reflect more accurately the national image. It is not an easy matter to re-define educational goals and objectives in such a way that they will be understood and accepted by parents, pupils and teachers. It is even more difficult to translate these educational aims into the practical terms of a new curriculum. Before curriculum development can take place, new syllabuses have to be written, new materials have to be produced, new teaching methods have to be introduced, teachers have to be re-trained, and new methods of testing need to be devised. Further, public opinion has to be convinced of the advantages of the changes so that an acceptable educational system can be created in a receptive national atmosphere.

Much of the criticism which was directed against the curriculum of the pre-Independence period was misguided in that it was based on the assumption that the schools could be a major vehicle for social and economic change. Critics complained that the schools made their pupils dissatisfied with their way of life. In some extraordinary way, the schools should apparently have been the agents for transforming the rural areas into prosperous economic communities into which school leavers would joyfully fit. Alternatively, they should have persuaded the children to accept their humble lot, to forget the exaggerated and unrealistic job aspirations shared by themselves and their parents, and to prepare themselves to spend the rest of their days living at a subsistence level as their forefathers had done before them.

It is unrealistic to expect the schools to have achieved either of these aims. No matter what curriculum had been followed in the schools, no matter how brilliant the teachers might have been, the schools could not have successfully spear-headed an attack on the poverty and malaise of the rural areas. This was a responsibility of other branches of Government. Equally, it is absurd to blame the schools for creating dissatisfaction among their pupils or for arousing antipathy towards the land. Whatever type of education had been offered in the schools, it was bound to open new windows for the children, to widen their horizons, to sharpen their critical faculties, to teach them to reason and to draw comparisons, to fire their ambitions and to encourage them to aspire to a better life. This, after all, is what education is about.

The school can most usefully contribute towards the mobilisation of the rural community by providing a sound general education and through the formation of attitudes sympathetic to development. One would expect to see Zambia's curricula continue to develop cautiously rather than by revolutionary departure from the principles and practices established by trial and error over many years. One would like to see changes introduced after close consultation between the Ministry of Education, the University, the Institute of Education, the teachers, parents, employers as well as those primarily responsible for planning national development. One would hope that in the course of time the traditional subject-dominated approach to the curriculum will be discarded in favour of an integrated curriculum covering broad areas such as communication, environmental studies, practical skills and aesthetic activities. Another valuable innovation would be the development of a closer relationship between the school and the community and the implementation of the community school idea where the school becomes a focal point for all the educational and cultural needs of the community. One hopes, too, that further thought will be given to determining how some of the valuable elements of traditional education can be incorporated into the modern school.

Education is certainly one of the input factors in economic growth but it cannot be regarded as merely an instrument for promoting economic development. Dr Kaunda's Government has recognised that the task of transforming the rural areas is not primarily a responsibility of the schools. Curriculum reform can help but cannot of itself bring about real changes in the aspirations and attitudes of the people towards rural development.

Such changes will be effected only by a revolutionary movement of the rural base. This requires a mammoth and highly co-ordinated effort on the part of Government and all those agencies concerned with the development of the country. The constraints on rural development are many. The problem is not simply one of introducing improved methods of farming. There are complex problems of land tenure systems which inhibit innovation; traditional practices which lead to overstocking; resistance to fencing and early burning; lack of adequate means for capitalising young farmers; uncertain prices for many of the established cash-



earning crops; difficult communications; skeletal marketing systems; pest-control problems; storage difficulties; inadequate extension services. The Colonial Government failed to make any significant impression on these deep-rooted problems.

When these barriers to progress have been overcome — and let us not minimise the difficulties involved — the unemployed products of the educational system will no longer be an embarrassment and source of danger to the Government of Zambia. There will be adequate motivation to settle on the land and to share in the growing prosperity of rural society. The Government is well aware of the importance of erasing the image of agriculture as a dismal, depressed and poverty-ridden occupation suitable only for the least educated people in the country. Strenuous efforts are being made to develop the rural areas, to provide opportunities for earning a good living on the land, and amenities which will make rural living comparable to that in the towns. It will be necessary for this concerted attack, involving agriculture, forestry, water, health, education, co-operatives, community development, transport, communications, commerce, industry and, of course, finance, to continue for many years if Zambia is to meet the aspirations which education has aroused in her people.



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## APPENDICES

- I. Administrators and Governors, 1895-1945.
- II. Northern Rhodesia's Education Legislation, a chronological list.
- III. Agencies, Schools and Enrolment, 1935 and 1945. Primary Schools, Teacher Training Schools and Trades Schools.
- IV. Enrolment in Schools, 1925-1945.
- V. Government Expenditure on Education, 1925-1945.
- VI. Reference Material: the main sources consulted in the preparation of this study.

## APPENDIX I

### ADMINISTRATORS AND GOVERNORS — 1895-1945

#### 1. Administrators

##### North Eastern Rhodesia

1895-1897 Major P. W. Forbes  
1897-1898 Capt. H. L. Daly  
1898-1907 Robert Codrington  
1907-1909 Lawrence Wallace  
1909-1911 Leicester Beaufort

##### North Western Rhodesia

1897-1907 Robert Coryndon  
1907-1908 Robert Codrington  
1909-1911 Lawrence Wallace

##### Northern Rhodesia

1911-1921 Sir Lawrence Wallace  
1921-1924 Sir Francis Drummond Chaplin  
(concurrently Administrator of  
Southern Rhodesia)

#### 2. Governors

1924-1927 Sir Herbert James Stanley  
1927-1932 Sir James Crawford Maxwell  
1932-1934 Sir Ronald Storrs  
1934-1938 Sir Hubert Winthrop Young  
1938-1941 Sir John Alexander Maybin  
(died in office)  
1941-1948 Sir Eubule John Waddington

**NORTHERN RHODESIA'S EDUCATION LEGISLATION  
A Chronological List**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Reference</b>
1918	Native Schools Proclamation	No. 3 of 1918
1921	Native Schools Proclamation	No. 28 of 1921
1927	Native Schools (Amendment) Ordinance	No. 29 of 1927
1939	African Education Ordinance	No. 12 of 1939
1941	African Education (Amendment) Ordinance	No. 18 of 1941
1941	European Education Ordinance	No. 20 of 1941

**NOTE (i):** Subsequent legislation for African Education was enacted in Ordinance No. 26 of 1946, No. 31 of 1948, No. 38 of 1951 (Cap. 163), No. 51 of 1955, No. 10 of 1958, No. 11 of 1959, No. 27 of 1960, No. 41 of 1961, No. 29 of 1962.

**NOTE (ii):** European education was a responsibility of the Federal Government from 1953 to 1963. The main legislation affecting Education was Federal Act No. 15 of 1956. On the dissolution of the Federation, the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council passed the Education Act, 1956 (Amendment) Ordinance (No. 11 of 1964), repealed in 1966.

## APPENDIX III

**AGENCIES, SCHOOLS AND ENROLMENT, 1935 AND 1945**  
**PRIMARY SCHOOLS, TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS AND TRADES SCHOOLS**

1935

AGENCY	Maintained or Aided Schools				Unaided Schools	
	No. of Schools	Males	Females	Total	No. of Schools	Enrolment
Government.....	11*	667	136	803	—	—
Native Authorities.....	1†	465	—	465	—	—
Paris Mission.....	53	2607	711	3318	24	1206
C.M.M.L.....	15	749	371	1120	61	4177
London Missionary Society....	31	1225	427	1652	67	2617
White Fathers.....	54	1842	829	2671	447	20369
Methodists.....	49	1141	376	1517	36	983
Jesuits.....	28	834	674	1508	88	2592
Church of Scotland.....	39	2258	830	3088	247	5468
Capuchin Fathers.....	—	—	—	—	6	259
Dutch Reformed Church.....	31	1202	1286	2488	461	26806
U.M.C.A.....	28	721	398	1119	46	1734
South Africa General Mission	10	202	136	338	36	1058
Seventh Day Adventists.....	25	830	348	1178	41	1805
Brethren in Christ.....	7	261	143	404	12	465
Salvation Army.....	9	284	113	397	—	—
Franciscan Fathers.....	—	—	—	—	14	264
South African Baptists.....	2	71	25	96	4	160
Pilgrim Holiness.....	3	87	34	121	3	145
Church of Christ.....	9	259	45	304	4	89
African Methodist Episcopal..	—	—	—	—	—	—
Scandinavian Baptists.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bible Class Mission.....	4	82	32	114	9	316
U.M.C.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>TOTALS.....</b>	<b>408</b>	<b>15787</b>	<b>6914</b>	<b>22701</b>	<b>1606</b>	<b>70513</b>

In 1935, these were:

\* Lusaka Trades School; Jeanes School, Normal School and Elementary School, Mazabuka, Ndola School and 4 farm schools; Kasama and Abercorn and Fort Jameson Schools.

† Barotse National School

Sources: Native Education Department, *Annual Report, 1935*  
 African Education Department, *Annual Report, 1945*



**AGENCIES, SCHOOLS AND ENROLMENT, 1935 AND 1945**  
**PRIMARY SCHOOLS, TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS AND TRADES SCHOOLS**

1945

Maintained or Aided Schools				Unaided Schools			
No. of Schools	Males	Females	Total	No. of Schools	Males	Females	Total
28	4915	1987	6902	—	—	—	—
23	2835	990	3825	—	—	—	—
113	7287	3658	10945	6	228	166	394
81	6903	2486	9389	35	1651	824	2475
51	4743	1858	6601	48	1917	844	2761
161	11677	4314	15991	302	8431	5025	13456
62	3692	1720	5412	—	—	—	—
64	3217	2326	5543	57	1501	1332	2833
86	8180	2758	10938	145	4005	2206	6211
86	5755	2936	8691	2	70	36	106
63	3173	2112	5285	283	6639	7367	14006
81	3552	1921	5473	34	757	716	1473
46	2115	633	2748	2	67	21	88
73	4465	2008	6473	10	355	176	531
22	789	584	1373	9	325	230	555
17	1424	767	2191	18	838	532	1370
16	842	568	1410	—	—	—	—
7	458	269	727	—	—	—	—
11	425	201	626	8	175	129	304
8	584	223	807	11	551	312	863
3	192	88	280	3	92	43	135
2	192	122	314	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	12	264	246	510
8	3410	1769	5179	—	—	—	—
1112	80825	36298	117123	985	27866	20205	48071

## APPENDIX IV

### ENROLMENT IN SCHOOLS, 1925-45

Year	AFRICAN		EUROPEAN		
	Govt. & Aided	Unaided	Govt.	Private	Total
1925	100944	(undifferentiated)	355	42	397
1926	110368	(undifferentiated)	392	25	417
1927	25413	82700	461	19	480
1928	22695	92650	514	4	518
1929	24244	105310	564	130	694
1930	20246	58790	774	105	879
1931	17080	49393	1008	90	1098
1932	20801	60901	972	92	1064
1933	19495	57487	879	71	950
1934	22323	48284	922	105	1027
1935	22701	70353	943	102	1045
1936	27058	82990	854	131	985
1937	30023	74179	1001	162	1163
1938	35570	86495	1048	200	1248
1939	42674	81710	1237	243	1480
1940	59323	55500	1370	344	1714
1941	71184	64000	1534	380	1914
1942	86325	60649	1477	551	2028
1943	93505	52527	1622	560	2128
1944	102683	59986	1767	633	2400
1945	117123	48071	1888	640	2528

NOTE: These figures are taken from Annual Reports of the two Departments. Those for African Education, particularly for unaided schools, are approximate.

## APPENDIX V

### GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION, 1924-1945

(from Territorial Revenue, but excluding expenditure from the Barotse Trust Fund, the Beit Bequest and the Carnegie Corporation\*)

Year	Territorial Revenue	Total Territorial Expenditure	Expenditure on African Education	Expenditure on European Education
	£	£	£	£
1924/25	309795	340327	348	7722
1925/26	371046	394145	3994	10591
1926/27	421035	455451	6603	13487
1927/28	474683	518866	6594	15801
1928/29	541606	525168	8493	19141
1929/30	672289	554527	12298	20697
1930/31	830254	704986	14448	27001
1931/32	856376	820056	21905	33110
1932/33	649558	790506	20910	30279
1933	646283	745202	20584	28852
1934	693337	712903	20319	27146
1935	833484	806429	24871	29017
1936	863255	852417	24842	29935
1937	981894	909252	28713	34099
1938	1593503	1417776	32889	38786
1939	1674369	1382363	42286	41476
1940	2245084	1726037	55182	44548
1941	2979613	2161365	69453	49394
1942	3072511	1779972	88483	55046
1943	3274177	2157033	99405	66346
1944	3338612	2363827	123200	73530
1945	3433507	2543370	149450	75289
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>30756271</b>	<b>24661978</b>	<b>875270</b>	<b>771293</b>

Source: Blue Books of the Northern Rhodesia Government.

\* Grants from these sources increased the expenditure on African Education by as much as £10000 p.a. in the early 1930's.

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## INDEX

### ABBREVIATIONS USED:

B.C.	Church of the Brethren in Christ
C.C.	Church of Christ
C.F.	Capuchin Fathers
C.M.M.L.	Christian Missions in Many Lands
C. of S.	Church of Scotland
D.R.C.M.	Dutch Reformed Church Mission
F.F.	Franciscan Fathers
J.F.	Jesuit Fathers (Society of Jesus)
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society
M.M.S.	Methodist Missionary Society
P.E.M.S.	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
P.H.	Pilgrim Holiness Church
P.M.M.S.	Primitive Methodist Missionary Society
S.A.	Salvation Army
S.A.B.	South African Baptist Missionary Society
S.D.A.	Seventh Day Adventist Church
S.A.G.M.	South Africa General Mission
U.M.C.A.	Universities Mission to Central Africa
U.M.C.B.	United Missions in the Copperbelt
U.S.C.L.	United Society for Christian Literature
W.F.	White Fathers
W.M.M.S.	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

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Lake, the Livingstonia Institution was started and rapidly grew into the leading educational establishment of Central Africa.

Mweniwanda Mission (near the subsequent settlement of Fort Hill) was opened in 1882 on the Stevenson Road linking Lake Nyasa with Lake Tanganyika, and it was from here that the first extension of the Free Church of Scotland's activities was made into North Eastern Rhodesia. African evangelists had made reconnaissance journeys to the area round Fife, where the African Lakes Company had an important station. In August, 1894, the Rev Alexander Dewar and his wife opened a mission station at Mwenzo, about six kilometres from Fife and on the borders of German East Africa among the Winamwanga tribe. The mission house was completed on January 1, 1895, and the first school was started almost immediately afterwards. For the first few years, however, progress was slow because of staffing difficulties, but in 1900 Dr James Chisholm, a medical missionary, and his wife, who was a trained nurse, arrived at Mwenzo to take charge of the station. Apart from a period in the 1914-18 war when the station had to be abandoned, the Chisholms remained at Mwenzo in charge of the medical, educational and evangelical work of the station for more than thirty years.

Mwenzo rapidly became famous for its medical work; but education was not neglected. It was the Free Church's policy to teach the people, old and young, to read the Scriptures, and teacher-evangelists were employed to open village schools. These early teachers were paid in beads or lengths of calico, but wages in cash, varying from 1/6 a month, were introduced at the turn of the century. Equipment was of the simplest. On large sheets of paper or boards, hung up for all to see, were a series of syllables, A E I O U, MA ME MI MO MU, LA LE LI LO LU, etc. Six such boards covered the work of the first two years, and it was then time to move on to the first reader, based on the Scriptures. To begin with, Dr Chisholm encouraged attendance by making regular issues of salt to the pupils, but as the schools became more popular, small fees were charged. These were usually collected in kind, and pupils would arrive at school bringing their fees in the form of eggs, a bowl of flour, or beans, or sometimes a chicken.

The transition from pupil to teacher was rapid. As soon as a young man attained a fair fluency in reading and was considered morally trustworthy, he was offered employment as a teacher. Those who showed real promise were given further training at Mwenzo Station School, and might later be sent to Livingstonia in Nyasaland for more advanced work.

By 1904 Chisholm could report that 32 schools were in session attended by over 1000 pupils, and that 60 teachers and monitors were employed.

The best of the teachers were appointed as 'inspectors' and tramped through the bush to visit the schools fairly regularly. The turn-over of teachers was high; wages were low and teaching did not appear to offer a worthwhile career to those who had tasted a little of the fruits of western civilization and felt their talents would be more generously remunerated elsewhere. From 1912 onwards, recruiting

of labour for employment further south, particularly in Johannesburg, was encouraged by the British South Africa Company. In the same year, the Mwenzo report noted 'the departure of two school inspectors and a large number of the rank and file of the teaching staff.' (60) Others were found, however, to take their places, but the establishment of a stable and experienced teaching force was impossible.

In 1904, the Church considered seriously an offer made by the British South Africa Company to make a grant of land for the establishment of a mission station at Chitambo, the place where Livingstone had died. Robert Laws urged that the offer be accepted, not merely for reasons of sentiment. He considered Chitambo would be a strategic site for expanding the church's work and rashly forecast; 'There (Chitambo) will spring up one of the largest mining centres in Central Africa. This means an influx of Europeans to be won and held for Christ.' (61) In 1907, Malcolm Moffat, grandson of the great Robert Moffat of Kuruman, and Dr Hubert Wilson, a grandson of Livingstone, founded a mission at Chitambo. The area, however, proved unhealthy and scantily populated, and three years later the station was abandoned in favour of a new site on the plateau 80 kilometres north-east of the present Serenje.

The Mission had still to penetrate the country of the Bemba, the most powerful tribe in the northern part of the country. Young men from Bembaland made the long and hazardous journey to the mission stations in Nyasaland as early as 1903. In the report of the Livingstonia Mission for 1905, a missionary from Bandawe recorded: 'Fully two years ago a Wemba lad travelled from his home near Lake Mweru to attend school here, and at our last communion he was baptised. Last August, four other Wemba came here to study in our schools.' In the same report we learn that 'some lads arrived at the institution from Kasama. No one had sent them, but they had heard that there was an educational institution here and they set off to search for it.' (62)

In 1911, while on leave in Scotland, Dr Chisholm sought the approval of the Home Committee to open a station in Bemba country, near Chinsali. In that area, he could report, there were already 1500 children attending some 20 village schools which had been opened by a remarkable man, David Julizga Kaunda.

David Kaunda first visited Chinsali District, then known as Mirongo, in 1904, when he was one of a band of scholars from Livingstonia taken on an evangelistic tour by the Rev James Henderson. In 1906, having completed his teacher's course, he volunteered for work in the Chinsali area.

He made his way on foot to Chinsali and introduced himself to the Native Commissioner, 'Bobo' Young, who had recently moved the Boma from Mirongo to Chinsali and had built a school and a teachers' house. David Kaunda's report for 1907 recorded:

'Chinsali is growing and is now quite changed from the time Mr