

CHAPTER XI. A CONCLUSION:

THE AFRICAN RESPONSE TO THE NWP'S WEAK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Many [Kaonde] have nibbled at [education in the mission schools] and have found it unattractive, unexciting and largely unintelligible Consequently, word has been passed round that any attempt to absorb this rather dull and alien teaching is a waste of time.

Woods, Kasempa, 1931{1}

Comments from African subjects on the topic of education would be more valid than Woods' impressions, but few are available. Traditional education never required literacy. And by World War II, the new system had not taught most of the people to read, let alone write. Consequently, few Africans recorded the changes taking place or their reactions to them as events occurred. {2}

Today we must glean the African response indirectly. One way is through impressions like those of Woods who, as DC, felt obligated to discover and disclose the feelings of King George's Kaonde subjects. Other ways are by deduction and through the memories of those Africans who lived through the period. Past chapters of this study include some snippets of recorded conversation. This chapter will

{1} Woods, Kasempa Dist. AR in the Kasempa Prov. AR for 1931, ZA 7/1/14/6, NAZ.

{2} More precisely, Woods stated that his "aim [was] to offer an explanation why they do not patronize the local mission school," *ibid.*

contain others. Some men interviewed, however, now have only general memories of the age and others have reshaped events through time and the telescoping of memory. Despite a careful detective-like analysis of available material on the African response, the result is not entirely satisfactory. Nonetheless, since Africans were the focus and cause of mission education in the NWP, this conclusion from their perspective is apt. To say more would be anti-climatic.

Unpopular Educational Programs and African Preferences

Until the mid-1930s and often until 1945, the NWP missions' educational programs lacked inspiration. Because the missions had few trained educators, Africans seldom received education beyond the initial primary grades. This made the programs truly "unattractive, unexciting and largely unintelligible" to most young people. Consequently, village schools opened, declined, and closed every few years as students lost interest. Even the mission station schools attracted and retained only a limited number of students. People often registered their dissatisfaction by not bothering to attend. {3}

In the BSAC era covered by Chapters VII and VIII, total school enrollment was minimal. The total for each SAGM station seldom exceeded thirty, and the actual average

{3} For the quotation, *ibid.*

attendance was lower. In the early war years, two hundred or more attended school at Kalene, and of those three-quarters attended regularly. Before 1914 and between 1918 and 1921, figures dipped below one hundred. The Arnot Memorial School at Chitokoloki enrolled 125 pupils and, with its village schools, had between three and four hundred pupils by the end of 1917. {4}

For the 1924-33 period covered by Chapter IX, enrollment increased slightly when new mission stations opened. But after this initial 1923-24 expansion, enrollment remained almost static because all missions failed to develop a network of village schools. In 1924 approximately 700 students enrolled in some form of mission 'school' or 'sub-school' in both Kaonde-Lunda Province and Balovale District. In 1930 the enrollment had not increased. In 1932 only 850, or less than one percent, of a population that probably exceeded 100,000, attended. {5}

Although the total enrollment figures increased dramatically in the mid-1930s, only a small percentage of children attended school, and the total did not continue increasing. Only in the early and mid-1940s, when

{4}For the statistics in this and subsequent paragraphs, no one document or even series of documents was satisfactory with the possible exception of government A&S. Unless noted otherwise, these statistics have been gleaned from numerous sources, especially consult the sources cited in Chaps. VII and VIII.

{5}For statistics in the 1924-32 period, see the sources cited in Chap. IX.

reliable. Some simple comparisons are nonetheless possible. During the 1924-33 period when NWP enrollments averaged 700, over 3000 pupils were enrolled in the Paris Missions' schools in Barotseland and over 3000 pupils in the Church of Scotland's schools in Chinsali District of the Northern Province. These other programs also trained African teachers, who operated dozens of village schools. [8]

These territorial comparisons are inadequate however, without a broader perspective. Education in Northern Rhodesia compared poorly with that in other parts of British Africa such as Uganda and Nyasaland. Thus the old Kaonde-Lunda portions of the NWP were indeed at the bottom of the territory and much of Britain's African empire. [9]

Despite the small number of schools and regardless of the vacancies in those that existed, many people wanted something. Woods confirmed this desire when he said, "Secular education, divorced from religion, is undoubtedly

[8]For the best comparative statistics on education within Northern Rhodesia, see Bagnsdales, "Development," Snelson Development; and the Northern Rhodesia Government, Native [African] Education Department, Annual Reports, from 1927 onwards.

[9]For two useful, unpublished works on education in Uganda and Nyasaland, the most educationally advanced territories in eastern Africa, see Felice Carter [Gadsden], "Education in Uganda, 1894-1945," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1967) and Roderick J. Macdonald, "A History of African Education in Nyasaland, 1875-1945," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1969). For two equally useful works on Ghana and Nigeria, see Foster, Ghana and Pafunwa, Nigeria.

Chitokoloki's new teacher training college graduated up to twenty new trained teachers per year, did both the total number and the total percentage of children again increase. Even then education in the NWP remained the weakest in the territory. {6}

This weakness is highlighted by the following 1945 statistics. These come from a different government source and use a different method of calculation. Nonetheless, they verify those at the end of Chapter X. The following government estimates indicate that the NWP had a population of 144,000, 75 schools, and 5,243 pupils. Thus one out of every 27.5 people were being educated. This ratio places the NWP below all other regions. {7}

Southern	1: 9.5
Central	1:10
Barotseland	1:11
Western	1:11
Northern	1:12
Eastern	1:22
Northwestern	1:27.5

The NWP's enrollment and attendance totals tended to be the lowest in the territory throughout the colonial era, but specific comparisons between the NWP and other parts of Northern Rhodesia or the rest of Anglophone Africa are difficult to make. Few statistics exist, and they are un-

{6} For statistics in the 1933-45 period, see the sources cited in Chap. X.

{7} Northern Rhodesia Government, African Education Department, Annual Report for 1945, Table D, p. 22.

desired; by some, vaguely, and by a few, intensely." The problem for most individuals was that they did not know exactly what they wanted. They only knew that they needed a functional education that would help them individually and collectively. They also wanted to understand the new world in terms of traditional, understandable social patterns. Most realized that they did not want to fit traditional social patterns into the Biblical-type social system advocated by the missionaries. In a general way, Africans understood that the missionaries' system could destroy the essence of their cultures. {10}

Based on his close observations and intimate knowledge, Woods attempted to explain what his African subjects wanted. Although the phrasing may sound condescending to the modern reader, the analysis is essentially correct.

A smattering of English, the ability to scrawl and read a letter, an increasing knowledge of the world by association with other tribes and types, the development of craft and cunning in dealing with his fellow men. These are the qualities and accomplishments which, to a large extent, constitute Education in the mind of the Bakaonde and which, once acquired, by placing them (as they hope) on a more equal footing with more sophisticated natives and with Europeans, must lead ultimately to wealth. Which, they naturally believe, is the goal and object of education. {11}

A rare visit of the Chief Secretary for Northern Rhodesia to Kaonde-Lunda Province in 1937 further reveals

{10} For the quotation, see Woods, ZA 7/1/14/6.

{11} Ibid.

what the people wanted and did not want. Under the policy of indirect rule, he met with senior Lunda and Kaonde chiefs in the Kasempa and Mwinilunga Districts and encouraged an open discussion. The chiefs responded with verve.

Acting as the secretary, the DC recorded the following: "The chiefs unanimously expressed considerable dissatisfaction with education being given." Chief Kanongesha wanted English taught and less singing. Asked by the Chief Secretary whether the singing meant hymn singing he replied that it did, and further that he did not like hymns at all." Chief Sailunga agreed with Kanongesha and "Chief Mukumbi Katotola added rather vehemently that he didn't like hymns either." The Kasempa dialogue was not recorded, but the DC indicates that the chiefs agreed with their Mwinilunga counterparts. The DC further noted: "The present desire of the people is to be educated rather than evangelized and hence comes the oft repeated request for Government schools." The chiefs expressed popular African sentiments, if not a consensus of the population. {12}

The Chief Secretary questioned the chiefs' blunt assertion that no English was taught in the district. He told them that he believed Kalene taught English in the middle standards. Later correspondence ensued and the Director of Native Education confirmed that Kalene taught

{12} The Mwinilunga meeting took place on 13 Aug. 1937. For the dialogue, see a letter from K. Bradley (for Ag. Chief Secretary) to Director of Native Education, 25 Sept. 1937, C 1/8/4/2; for the Kasempa DC's quotation, see Kasempa District AR for 1937, SEC 2/134, NAZ.

English. {13}

The problem was that 'English' had a much narrower meaning for the Chief Secretary than for the chiefs. The former believed that English was a specific subject in a school curriculum and a precise language skill. These chiefs gave it a wider and more generic meaning. Like the young men who in 1910 gathered around Bailey at Chisalala to learn 'inglishi', they believed English was a set of skills that would help them integrate better into the new society and "ultimately [gain] wealth." Furthermore, Kalene had limited meaning for many because it was several days journey away their homes. For most of them, school meant the nearest 'sub-school'. {14}

Even the chiefs, however, did not represent most of the African population. For them, education symbolized the white man's religion and simply remained part of wider and more pervasive problems, especially taxation and migration.

{13} The Director of Native Education to the Chief Secretary, 19 Oct. 1937, C 1/8/4/2. The latter used this chance to stress the need for better funding so the Department could begin government schools in the Kaonde-Lunda Province.

{14} For the quotation, see Woods, ZA 7/1/14/6.

Taxation, Migration, Self-Help and Education

Before 1924 the all-encompassing colonial government demand of taxation had become inextricably entwined with the African desire for education. After 1924 nothing changed. By the time the BSAC era ended, nobody could reject or avoid paying taxes. One man told Pirouet in 1925 that his people had been "freed from one form of slavery, only to be made victims of another form, taxation." Furthermore, the economic depression hit the NWP, but the prosperity of the 1920s and later of the World War II era generally bypassed it. The NWP remained a large, stagnant, economic backwater in the colony, with hard money remaining an exceedingly scarce and precious commodity. {15}

Migration from rural to urban areas served two specific purposes in this complex situation. When tax money could not be earned locally, one or more men in a village had to 'go look for money' in the towns. Migration also became a totally different and seemingly workable response to the feeble, evangelistically-oriented educational programs in the NWP. As Woods observed:

The young and adolescent Kaonde . . . now realises that a large part of what he wants can be obtained by the simple means of spending a few years in the Mining Area. Here with himself as the principle tutor, he can acquire the kind of education that he covets, and that he

{15} For the Pirouet quotation, see App. E: "the British Empire Exhibition."

believes to be the best for him, and moreover he can earn wages during the process. [16]

In other words, migration became a form of self-help--and the most viable form in the NWP.

During this interwar period, independent schools opened in some parts of the British Empire, such as the Kikuyu regions of Kenya. Interviewees for this study uniformly agreed that such an organized course of action was unthinkable in the NWP. In Kikuyuland, Church of Scotland missionaries had provided a basic education quite different from that in the NWP. Having received this basic education, a new Kikuyu elite could start its own educational program. Furthermore, quite unlike the more compact and heavily populated Kikuyuland, the NWP was large and sparsely populated. Lubinga Mujatulanga, one of Kasempa District's new teachers in the 1940s, explained why no other course of action was possible in the NWP. His reasons agree with Robin Short's observation in Chapter IV that the DCs in the NWP were so strong that "dissent . . . was unknown, unimaginable and unimagined." Mujatulanga stated:

It was not easy for one to know what was happening in other districts. We were completely divided. We did not know what was going on in another province. There were no good communications. Even for those who travelled and saw what was happening elsewhere, it was not very easy for one in those days, to go and protest to the Government--"Who are you? Sometimes you could be

[16] Woods, ZA 7/1/14/6.

beaten, for giving other people this information. {17}

Meanwhile increasing numbers of men, both those who remained at home and those who migrated, taught themselves and others to read and write. Syllable sheets and charts issued by Kalene and later by other missions tapped the self-help spirit. They gave some formal encouragement to self-help endeavors and also enabled bright individuals to learn the most elementary forms of reading and writing. {18}

The following two examples from Solwezi District show that such elementary literacy became widespread. In late 1931 one official noted that of the few adult males who could read, a "large proportion . . . are self taught with hints from friends." Remus Kalepa also explained what he had seen in Solwezi. "Most of the people, although they had no schooling . . . could write what we called in kiKaonde manungo abafu--rough writing--and were able to read

{17} Mujatulanqa interview. Most African interviewees were asked why the people did not branch out on their own when the mission education was inadequate in most places. Mujatulanqa's comment is typical and clearest. For Robin Short's assertion, see Chap. IV and Sunset, p. 30. For Kenya there is now a vast literature on the Church of Scotland's educational endeavors and breakaway African groups. But for a more general account from the perspective of the Presbyterian Church in Kenya which emerged from the Church of Scotland's missionary work, see R. Macpherson, The Presbyterian Church in Kenya: An Account of the Origins and Growth of the Presbyterian Church in East Africa (Nairobi: by the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, 1970). For even earlier work on the Church of Scotland, see Macdonald, "Nyasaland."

{18} For the syllable sheets and charts, see Chap. IX.

something, not in a book, but in the writing."{19}

Although such self-help learning became wide-spread, it could not become effective in such isolated regions and was no substitute for a strong, formal educational system. Cooke's observations, made while serving as DC of Solwezi in 1932, illustrate this basic truth.

Few native letters [are] received and posted at Solwezi. Only 2 native letters were received by the mail which arrived at Solwezi in the 27th December. A big contrast to some North Eastern Districts where native schools abound and as many as 200 to 300 letters are received weekly from all parts of Southern Rhodesia. {20}

After 1933 migration and self-teaching also became increasingly intertwined with the growing number of little village schools. Janetta Forman, an astute eyewitness, described this complex process and showed the consequences of women being left out. She observed that either to earn tax money and/or to have an adventure, men of all ages left for the copperbelt, but the women remained:

The women of course stay behind; someone has to provide food for the coming year and the woman of the family does it nobly but inadequately, for she cannot do the work of two. One unhappy result, noticeable all over the district, of these expeditions to the Copperbelt is that, although the women have more and better pots in which to cook their food, they have less food to cook.

When men reach the copperbelt, they

find that the first step to progress is literacy. They

{19} J. B. W. Anderson, Dec. 1931, Solwezi Tour Report No. 5/1931, Kasempa Tour Reports for 1932, ZA 7/4/24, NAZ. Kalepa interview for the second quotation.

{20} Solwezi Dist., Dec., Tour Report No. 3/1932, Kasempa Prov. Tour Reports for 1932, ZA 7/4/24, NAZ.

find in the compounds men reading in a book called "Shibukeni" ("Wake Up"). This, it is explained to them, is the book of the Adult Literacy Campaign with which people can learn to read in a very short time.

Consequently, when the younger men returned home to Kasempa, they were often much older than "village children" but that did not matter, they have "been awakened up; the school carries on from there." This latter situation became increasingly the case during Forman's time in the last decade of the era. It had not been so true in the three decades before her. Those times were much more gloomy. {21}

For most of the era, such forms of self-help provided short-term panaceas but increased long-term frustrations. With luck a few people learned to scrawl their names or to read the 'Words of God' when they lived far from mission stations, but no more. Individuals in isolated villages who had no books could only learn a little non-traditional knowledge before becoming frustrated. As described in Chapter I, these men who migrated also found town life frustrating because of their low status. Young men discovered that most Europeans who had wealth and power spoke English, French or Portuguese. More important, white men respected and often shared this power and wealth with blacks from regions where these new skills had been taught. In 1925 one young Kaonde told his uncle that the "white man honours the King of the Barotse, because he can speak English." Over several generations, youthful migrants became

{21} Thy Light Has Come, pp. 3-4.

acutely aware of their disadvantages. Without a proper education, they got the worst jobs and the poorest pay. As a result they needed more time to earn tax money and to acquire new material goods than did many men from other regions. {22}

In the days before new mission educators like Forman began to improve the situation in the NWP, these young men had few chances to receive an education when they returned back home. If they 'awoke', they often had little choice but to go back to sleep. {23}

An Ever-Louder African Voice

Self-help also encouraged African leaders to maneuver within the NWP's colonial society to improve

{22} For the quotation, see App. E. "Exhibition."

{23} In the eyes of many white and black 'foreigner' observers in the NWP, this frustration seemed to create a collective inferiority complex. The argument for such a complex, however, is full of pitfalls and the basis of quarreling between conservative/liberal versus revolutionary thinking. Although the NWP was very different, see the scholarly statements of O. Mannoni, best stated in Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization (NY: Praeger, 1956). See the extremely strong and brilliant response of Franz Fanon in Black Skins, White Masks. (London: Paladin, 1970). I am told that this argument has expanded into a much greater literature. I have no desire to explore the psychology of colonialism or to get involved in the controversy. I merely raise the temptation of many people to apply a general theory of a social inferiority complex to the NWP situation.

education. They did this ever more effectively as they learned how the system worked and especially began to speak English and communicate directly with the white elite. These African leaders consisted of an approved traditional elite and a new elite that was a by-product of the new educational system. Before 1945 these two groups of leaders generally cooperated and increasingly overlapped. The need for better education under government supervision helped unite them.

Despite severe limitations and the successful manipulation of the DCs, indirect rule gave Africans their first official voice in the new society. Learning to 'speak', Africans continually requested a better educational system. Ever more skillfully, they agitated for increased government spending and ~~and~~ involvement in education to make the system stronger and less evangelical. These requests in turn increased the strength of this African voice itself.

Government-approved chiefs did not possess autocratic political powers in traditional society, but generally had traditional legitimacy. Thus they received social respect from fellow Africans. Under indirect rule some used their leadership skills with great dignity. They attempted to fit the demands of the new society and the need for better education into older traditional African patterns. As illustrated by the chiefs' meeting with the Chief Secretary in 1937, they pressed the government for what their people wanted and needed. They achieved nothing

immediately, but the government took such requests ever more seriously.

Chief Kasempa provides a more specific example of a traditional ruler who continually used indirect rule for skillful agitation and maneuvering. Living near the bona and the Mukinge mission station, he continually reminded local officers and missionaries of his dissatisfaction with the SAGM's educational program. When SAGM opened Mukinge mission station in 1926, he made his interests clearly known to both missionaries and government officers. When the mission's education did not meet his expectations, he denounced the missionaries. Thus in 1927 Pirouet praised the educational program and its new students while the chief criticized it. Between 1927 and 1930, the missionaries described Kasempa's strong feelings to their supporters. In 1927 and 1928 they referred to his "antagonistic" attitude. In 1929 they said he was "openly contemptuous," and in 1930 they felt that satan, the "enemy," was using the Chief to discourage their mission followers. {24}

Although Chief Kasempa's early maneuvering produced no immediate results, he persisted and changes followed by 1941. In the 1930s the chief's own attitude softened toward the mission's evangelical message, and he actually attended church services. Nonetheless, he continually urged that the

{24} Kasempa Dist., Annexure XV from the AR for 1928, ZA 7/2/2/6, NAZ. See the following articles in Pioneer: 40 (Aug. 1927), p. 97; 41 (Aug./Sept. 1928), p. 106; 42 (Aug./Sept. 1929), p. 107; 43 (Aug./Sept. 1930), p. 110.

government directly control education. Since many nearby chiefs openly or secretly supported the Watchtower movement in the mid-1930s, local missionaries and administrators probably tried not to offend Chief Kasempa. But they were too constrained by the central government and by the lack of staff and money to change the situation immediately. Thus it was no accident that one of the first Native Authority schools came under Chief Kasempa's own benevolent supervision in 1939. {25}

Other traditional leaders agitated skillfully for education before 1940. Some had gained sophistication by traveling as young men. Others took advantage of the education available within and without the province. Nonetheless, a problem existed: a large percentage of the chiefs remained ignorant of the complexities of the new colonial society because they possessed too few of its skills. Very few were prepared for the dual role of representing their people in the colonial society and of providing leadership in traditional society.

By the early 1940s both government officials and leading Africans focused on the problem of the chiefs' inability to bridge the two societies. Education and the skills acquired through it were part of the problem. Since

{25} The governor, Sir Herbert Young, visited Kasempa boma in 1936. At this time government made Chief Kasempa the Paramount Kaonde Chief despite considerable opposition from Solwezi's Kaonde chiefs. One missionary, Frost, spoke favorably of Chief Kasempa at this time, indicating better relations between him and the mission: Pioneer, 51 (Feb. 1937), p. 19.

indirect rule was supposedly progressive, DCs urged the chiefs, headmen and other elders to insure that traditionally qualified candidates also received a good mission education. In principle African leaders agreed that future chiefs needed new skills, especially English, to bridge the gap. Nonetheless, they rejected the European concept of direct patrilineal lines of inheritance. While a chief's sister's son was often chosen in these matrilineal societies, specific appointments could only take place after the existing titleholder's death. These Africans also rejected the notion of schools reserved solely for the children and relatives of chiefs. European concepts of predetermination and exclusiveness conflicted with Africans' traditional sense of justice, equality and democracy. The mutual agreement on the need for better training, however, led to the following resolution. It came just after the end of this era in 1946.

Council resolved that as it was undesirable to pre-select the individual heir, all nephews, grand-nephews, sons and grandsons of the chief should be compelled to attend school so that eventually the successor would be chosen among them. This heir should then be sent to attend a special chiefs' course. All possible candidates from all lines of the family should be educated, but they should attend the same schools as ordinary villagers. {26}

By 1945 new chiefs were not necessarily well-educated men, but times had changed, especially the

{26} This was the first item of the 1946 regional council meeting. See "Kaonde-Lunda Province--Regional Councils: Minutes of Meetings, 1944-1947," SEC 2/230, NAZ.

relationship between Christian and non-Christian Africans. Gone were the days when Pirouet and Pupe vehemently struggled to get a Christian appointed as a headman. African believers and non-believers now often accommodated each other quietly as they sought to adjust to and improve their status in colonial society. By the 1940s well-educated Christian chiefs were sometimes chosen. When absolutely necessary old rituals were abridged to accommodate the new chiefs' Christian beliefs. Such men could better negotiate face-to-face with whites for educational improvements. Thus the missions' educational programs ironically produced a new type of leader who could better provide for the future of their people. In 1940 and 1942 new appointments to chiefdoms in Mwinilunga and Balovale reflected the change. Although they appear in biased mission records, the following examples show that Africans often made conscious, significant changes to ensure the survival of traditional societies. {27}

In 1940 Elsie Burr noted that a former Kalene teacher had been appointed a chief. By 1945 the mission recorded how this chief and one other, who had taken a government-sponsored "chiefs course at Chalimbana," supported the most successful schools. Educational opportunities and success in their areas surpassed those in most

{27} For Pirouet's and Pupe's struggle with leading Africans in Kapijiampanga's area with the chief being caught in the middle, see App. E, "The Gates of Hell Shall Not Prevail."

parts of Mwinilunga. {28}

In 1942 events in Balovale District assumed a dramatic tinge. Suckling had just helped the Lunda and Luvale inhabitants secede from Barotseland. African-mission relationships were excellent. The need for clear channels of communication with the white elite probably seemed obvious. Consequently, when the Paramount Lunda Chief Ishindi died, the people chose a staunch Christian to take his place. George Suckling described the background and the events themselves, though with an obvious religious bias.

Recently the chief of the Lunda died and there were three claimants to the succession. Two were already chiefs and belonged to an older branch of the family, and so were considered to have a prior claim. The third was the late chief's son, who had taken the name of Peter Dawson. He came to us as a boy in 1914. He professed conversion, but got away from the Lord and went to the towns, but came back repentant, and for some years he and his wife have been in fellowship. When the elders of the tribe approached Peter about the succession, he warned them that he could not accept the position if they expected him to join in all the evil practices hitherto associated with inheriting the chieftainship. This was thought likely to put the majority against him. When the time came for the election, three large basins were placed on the ground, one for each claimant, and those entitled to choose were told to put a leaf into the basin of the man they wished to be chief. One leaf was put in for one, and two for the other, while over 500 were put in that of Peter's.

The following day the inauguration took place. We missionaries were asked to be present. Mr. Deubler and I went from here, but our friends from Chavuma with their motor-car were able to come down in strength. The night before the inauguration the newly-elected chief slept with a number of Christians so that no effort could be made to involve him in the works of darkness usual on such occasions. In the morning, when he was ceremoni-

{28}For the 1940 article, see Burr, Echoes, 69 (May 1940), p. 85; for the 1945 quotation, see Charles Nightingale, Echoes, 74 (Apr. 1945), p. 28.

ally bathed, Christians were present for the same reason. A crowd had gathered for the presentation of the chief. He was brought out in a slow procession surrounded by other chiefs and taken to the stool of chieftainship, all the people kneeling on the ground and clapping. I had been asked to address the crowd, and in spite of their numbers, I had quiet attention as I spoke of God's claims and God's King, and then, at the request of the chief, reminded them that the elders of the tribe had for the first time chosen a Christian to be their chief, because they had seen how different was the conduct of one who had the fear of God in his heart. Then Mr. Logan prayed and the local school sang a hymn.

The choice had been made, and the new Shindi has sought to be faithful, but how much he needs our prayers. When he was taken to the temporary new quarters he is to use, he found a fetish ring had been hung in the doorway; he would not enter until it had been removed. As he was about to enter, he saw a piece of wood just in the entrance; it proved to be the top of a pointed stick forced deep into the ground which one of the old men assured him was absolutely necessary as a symbol of the chieftainship; and to remove it would mean a very short period for the new chief, but it had to be dug up and thrown away before the chief would enter, for he said he would rather trust the living God than a stick. On entering, he saw in a dark corner a fetish pole. The old men begged him to leave it. No one would see it in the darkness. It was necessary to guard the life of the chief. Pointing out that it had not prevented his father from dying, the chief insisted on this being removed too.

Thus a clean start was made. {29}

African elders did not necessarily choose to be Christians themselves but they now deliberately chose a Christian leader--a son and not a nephew of the late chief--who was dedicated to change. As events in the post-1945 era would later show, their choice was good: Chief Ishindi helped bridge the gap between the traditional African world and the new colonial one. Furthermore, as

{29} Echoes, 71 (July 1942), pp. 52-3; Logan also vividly described the events to his American supporters, see ~~the~~ The Fields, 5 (July 1942), p. 153.

described in Chapter I, the role of traditional societies, and by traditional practices like nukanda, changed. Men like Ishindi helped guide the process. {30}

Before Chief Ishindi became chief, he used the name Peter Dawson. This Christian name indicates a basic fact: he was already a member of a new African elite that was quietly growing along side the traditional African elite. As elsewhere in Africa, this new elite was a direct by-product of the colonial world's modern educational systems. In the NWP it was comprised of government clerks, mission evangelists and teachers, and a few entrepreneurs--craftsmen, petty traders, and farmers--largely located in Balovale District. Their voice remained constrained, but became increasingly noticeable. Those who were employed generally spoke in ways acceptable to government officers and missionaries. This manner of speaking kept them from being 'given the sack', or fired. But as this group continued to work in close proximity to the European elite, members learned the best ways and times to make their dissatisfaction known. Only the boldest or most dissatisfied openly challenged the officers or missionaries. {31}

{30} My wife and I had the pleasure of meeting Chief and Mrs. Ishindi many times in the 1960s. By this time he was a dignified elder statesmen.

{31} Members of the new African elite are often referred to as 'interpreters' and 'collaborators'. But as the latter has a pejorative tinge today, it is inappropriate.

The following examples from Solwezi and Kasempa Districts show how the efforts of the new elite supplemented those of the traditional elite. These examples also reveal the different ways that the new African voice could be heard: in a loyal whisper, a skillful and pointed letter, or an open and loud confrontation. A militant response also appeared, but most people rejected it.

In 1925 Chief Kapijimpanga asked Pirouet to read a letter from the chief's nephew, a potential heir and ex-pupil of the missionary. At this time the nephew lived in Livingstone, the territory's capital. The letter unnerved Pirouet. It asked that the chief not be "afraid" but "go to the Magistrate [DC] and tell him that you want him to send me to a big school. . . . Say that you will not go on paying taxes, there is no money in the country and refuse to pay." Pirouet discussed the matter with "trustworthy old John." Pupe, the long-suffering, longest-serving, and most faithful African evangelist, was frank, "You see, Bwana, we all think that the white man wants to make us suffer. I suppose it is because we are ignorant and do not understand, but that is what all the Kaonde think." Pirouet concluded that missionaries were part of a living "British Empire exhibition" whose "spectators are brown men" and who

ate. As a group, it appears to me that early teachers were naturally charming men and/or pious. Noxious, or even ambitious and aggressive, men were not mission teachers!

do not necessarily like the "exhibits." [32]

In 1932-33, Sam K. K. Mwase, a non-NWP African, wrote a memorandum which cogly advocated the changes that local people wanted.

As everyone is aware, education is a thing that cannot be disputed upon; and to have the Africans fully understand the ethics of the Government and the benefits therefrom, a better education should be provided throughout the Territory. This is the only possible way with which to solve the native question.

Through lack of better and sounder education most of the Africans have a very wrong idea with regard to the interpretation of the word 'Government'. If asked what it means many will, without hesitation, say that the word 'Government' means to make people slaves, whereas those who have acquired a little good education interpret it as a 'peacemaker' that even our forefathers in their dark ages never witnessed, although in case of self-protection it may mean otherwise.

The Africans are aware of the fact that the Government is spending much money towards their education in this Territory. This is greatly appreciated although it seems that such grants-in-aid do not, in return, bring any fruitful results in some of the Missions. One would be greatly impressed to note that among the thousands of Bakonde people in the Kasempa Province there is but only one native who is said to be educated, namely Simon Chibanza, the Native Clerk Solwezi now on leave, and who is the son of Chief Chibanza in this district.

Does this not show a great drawback on the part of Mission Schools: Can the Government, when things improve not be prepared to put Central Government Schools in places where Mission Schools are not established? If such Schools can be provided, is it not easy for both Government and Missions to import first class teachers from other advanced countries such as South Africa? Nothing else can make the native a

[32] Pirouet, "Exhibition," App. E. Pirouet, referring to the 1925 exhibition at Wembley, used it to make his point on the negative African view that the missionaries were part of the European elite.

useful person and faithful subject to the Government other than education. {33}

The contents are self-explanatory. The poor education offered by the local missions alienated the people from the missions and the government. Only the latter could provide the missing social services.

The contents of Mwase's letter are less important than government's concern for its message. Before responding to Mwase, several senior colonial officials had read it and some had made long comments: the Chief Secretary for Native Affairs, the Chief Secretary (for the whole territory), and the PC in Ndola (the NWP at that time was administered from there). Times were changing. By 1933 the government had begun to notice both the official and unofficial parts of the African voice. The missions also began to take more heed. {34}

Even when the administrators and missionaries did not take much serious notice, some people still addressed the issue of educational inadequacies. One such person was Lumanqula Remus Kalepa, who was then a young pupil at Mutanda School. His own words best describe the education

{33}The heading of the memorandum says this was an extract. What is available is quoted entirely. "Native Education (General), 1st Jan. 1933-13th Oct. 1934," ZA 1/9/119/2, NAZ.

{34}Ibid. All correspondence enclosed in the file was written in Sept. 1933. In his long comment, Thompson maintained that Mwase was "not probably aware of [their] entire lack of desire . . . to acquire an education of any kind." Thompson clearly accepted the idea that NWP peoples were an exceptionally non-progressive group.

that totally dissatisfied him.

Mutanda Mission . . . had no educationalist . . . Most of the work of the mission just . . . preaching the Gospel.

I remember one day we gathered before the missionary, Mr. Nelson. He said, 'No, we want more education; we want to be taught something more.' Then he was not happy with us. He said 'No, you people are wrong, we are here to preach the Gospel of God'. I was treated as a ring-leader. He said, 'You, Remus, you are interested in education, why are you doing this'? We had an argument on that. . . .

Thus, I decided to go to the Copperbelt to find the means to go to other schools. {35}

This altercation and break with the mission was Kalepa's last alternative, one that most members of this new elite tried to avoid.

John Pupe, Chief Kasempa, Peter Dawson (Chief Ishindi), Kalepa, and Mwase all represented the two parts of the African voice that slowly struggled and gained some power in the new society. But another, more amorphous, response also existed, and it is easily overlooked. This response is characterized by the phrase 'Will the bwana help us'?

These words encompass naive attempts to be cunning or manipulative. They were used by less informed traditional rulers and by the people who lacked traditional prestige, the skills of the emerging elite, and the little money possessed by these more privileged people. This group, possibly a majority of the African population, was

{35} Kalepa interview.

partly, but not completely, represented by the voices of the African elite. Consequently, many also attempted to speak on their own. But their voice was squeaky and much less successful.

For this segment of the African population, education and taxation were two aspects of a problem that could not be broken easily into parts, namely coping with a new and difficult world without losing the old one they cherished. Most people simply wanted to earn money locally so they could pay taxes and buy salt and basic clothing without having to migrate.

This problem and these much less sophisticated attempts to solve it are illustrated by the following two examples. In 1928 the very isolated, petty Chief Matebo told the Mukinge missionaries that he had become a Christian and wanted a school. Upon investigation, however, they dourly concluded that his "professed conversion" showed "no result . . . in his living" and that he wanted a school because he desired "a trading centre in his district where his people could buy cloth in exchange for grain." [36]

In 1930 Sims in Chavuma complained that people wanted salt if they went to school. He told his supporters overseas: "If there is work to be done they will come; if we will purchase their meal they will come in their hundreds, but the gospel message is not wanted." The people were not lazy or Sims would have said so. They just wanted

[36] Irene Bartling, On-Trek, 2 (Oct. 1928), p. 38.

to earn money locally through the mission without becoming converts. Education and coping with the new society were different parts of the same problem. This non-elite group was truly the most powerless of all. {37}

Formalized Interaction, 1941-45:

Native Authority Schools and Local Education Committees

Formalized interaction between all three elements finally began. Between 1941 and 1945 Africans started to participate directly in educational decision-making. Local Education Committees signaled the dawning of a new age.

Shortly before, the first Native Authority schools opened: one in Chief Kasempa's capital, one near the Mwinilunga boma, and one in Solwezi District. Two others followed. After the special grant to help this 'backward' region was exhausted, however, no more Native Authority schools opened. The government did not continue its generous special funding. {38}

{37} Sims, 8 Aug. 1930, Echees, 59 (Nov. 1930), p. 251.

{38} The exact opening dates of the first three schools are not known. Mwinilunga was the first to start, probably in late 1939 and in temporary quarters, and the other two in the next two years. The establishment of these initial Native Authority schools was part of a special plan, "Expansion of Native Education, Five Year Expansion Plan, 1938-40." In 1940 Cottrell, as Ag. Director of African

The Native Authority schools made the people gleeful, the missionaries apprehensive, and the officials hopeful but watchful. The missionaries agreed to supervise if the teachers accepted their Christian moral standards. While the DC of Kasempa maintained that Simon Tembo, a 'foreign' African, displeased Mukinge missionaries, most other teachers did better. In fact to minimize tension in Kasempa, Jesse Sandasanda, a staunch Christian and one of Mukinge's first trained teachers, replaced Tembo. As officials continually reminded both chiefs and missions, "the policy of government" was that Native Authority schools "should be complementary to the mission educational work" and should not compete in any unpleasant manner. At least officially, they did just that. In addition, the Mwinilunga school was especially successful. In their first examination, children at this school did just as well as those at Kalene. The school was quickly upgraded to Standard IV. Given the chance, many members of the new African elite quickly proved that they could perform quite well on their own. For the good of the region, educational cooperation continued and expanded. {39}

Education, wrote a progress report describing the territory's 'backward' areas and the specific things that the government had done. The NWP received special block grants and one part of this became the new Native Authority schools. C 1/6/1, NAZ.

{39}For Simon Tembo's hard work but moral lapses, see 2 July 1942, Newsletter No. 8, SEC 2/193. For this pointed government reminder that is quoted, see the 10 Sept.

Within a year of the first Native Authority school openings, the first Local Education Committees met in Kasempa and Mwinilunga Districts. By 1945 they had become a regular fixture in each district, and the African members became increasingly active. Local administrators, missionaries, and African representatives discussed the district's educational problems. These committees advised the government and helped determine local educational policy. Government officials indicated that some discomfort existed between missionaries and Africans as they faced each other on a more equal basis than they had in the past. Although the same officials remain silent about their own responses, the minutes reveal a tendency to harangue. But by 1945 the minutes of the meetings and the administrators' notes on them indicate that the three elements of society increasingly understood and accommodated each other. {40}

The Local Education Committees paved the way for a

1940 inaugural meeting of the Kasempa District Education Committee meeting; see also the 26 Aug. 1940 inaugural meeting of the Mwinilunga District Education Committee meeting; SEC 1/540. The Mwinilunga school was the most successful. Newsletter No 9 of 10 Sept. 1942 states that boys were studying Standard III by that time: SEC 2/193, NAZ.

{40} This government implication is very general and applied to all the minutes of the early meetings. The officials' tendency to harangue is clear in the DC's emphasis on village consolidation; see the inaugural Kasempa meeting, SEC 1/540. Despite increasing the accommodation between Africans and Europeans, one document indicates a stubborn trend in Balovale District. Newsletter No. 21, second quarter 1945, states that the missionaries there did not like the idea of an African majority on the committee.

brighter future. New local policy-making bodies evolved. In education, these bodies were first the regional councils and then local education authorities (L.E.A.s). All of them also became training schools for many future African leaders. They gave some able men a chance to gain self-confidence in the new society and to refine their ability to work with and even manipulate the white elite. For example, at a meeting of the Kasempa Regional Council just after the end of this era, African members, led by Remus Kalepa, strongly protested. These men correctly asserted that the Department of African Education had enacted a new policy between meetings--in this case over teachers' pay--and then confronted the members with a fait accompli. Although Peter Tregear defended the new procedure, African members made a sophisticated attack that kept the administration on the defensive. Such African offenses and the corresponding European defensiveness departed from past patterns of interaction. {41}

A watershed had been crossed, and seemingly entrenched colonial attitudes began to reverse. Blacks and whites started working together in new positive ways, and their cooperation eventually developed into equality in a modern world. Their common status as members of the province's elite who guided others became stronger. Racial divisions decreased in proportion.

{41} For these first regional council meetings and the 1947 discourse between Kalepa and Tregear, see SEC 2/230.

Like the crow of a cock on a cool African morning, such exchanges heralded the dawn of a new age in the NWP. Even the SAGM as conservative evangelicals realized and accepted the changes and their implications. In the May/June 1945 issue, the South African Pioneer ran an article entitled "The Colour Bar and Race" that condemned "discrimination on racial grounds." In the same May/June American issue, the editor's opening article was entitled "The Slumbering Continent Awakes!" It concluded:

Africa is awake! She is shaking off her slumbers! African wars have ceased! Her children and adults are attending school, anxious to learn. Africa is passing through her adolescence. She is rapidly changing into adulthood. Her renaissance has come! {42}

But these last statements on social interaction and change can be misleading. They are too rosy, if not downright Pollyanna-ish. Yes, a dawn had come. By 1945 even the NWP was stirring. But in education, the NWP's fate was already sealed: it would continue to lag behind. In 1947 Remus Kalepa, one of the more vocal new African leaders, prophesied the future:

I remember that about 5th May 1947, . . . there was a meeting, at Balovale, of the African Provincial Council, at which I spoke. . . . On [this] day, a Provincial Commissioner came from Ndola, and he said that the government was changing the system of education. . . . He said that the government had decided to make one equal basis of education in the country. I remember objecting and said that 'Bwana Provincial Commissioner, this is a mistake. If we have the same system of education as in other provinces who already have had

{42} For "Colour Bar and Race," see Pioneer, 59 (May/June 1945), pp. 13-4; for the final quotation, see Pioneer (Am.) No. 21 (May/June 1945), p. 1.

more education . . . it is like giving us a race of which the starting points are different. Others are set up about 100 yards in front and others behind, yet you say start at the same time and the goal is the same. It means that those who are 100 yards ahead will easily reach the goal and win the race'. In other words I meant, . . . we behind, who had a weak beginning, will always remain behind. {43}

And so it has come to pass as Kalepa foretold. Educationally the NWP has remained at the bottom of the heap. Despite more serious efforts by the colonial government after 1945, and especially by the new Zambian government between 1964 and 1970, the most crucial period had been lost. These later attempts came decades too late.