

CHAPTER IX:

EDUCATIONAL STAGNATION, 1924-1932

Chief Katambi: What about schools? Will the government provide the schools for our people? We want schools.

DC: That is a good thing you have asked. The government is giving this matter a good deal of attention and is anxious to do all it can for you. It is assisting the missionaries to give industrial training and for medical work. The matter is not one that can be arranged quickly, but I think you will find that much more will be done for you in the future than in the past.

Chief Katambi: I am very glad.

DC: Those people who want to learn should go to the missionaries. The missionaries are good people and will teach them. To learn to read and write only is not good enough. There are many other things to learn. You would learn to look after your children better; to keep your villages clean; to grow better crops. The white man is here to show you the way to acquire civilization. Remember you require him to guide you. Do not reject your guide. You will need him for a long time.{1}

Mwinilunga, 1925

This dialogue between Mwinilunga's DC, C. R. Rennie, and Chief Katambi reveals some crucial questions regarding education that needed clear answers in the NWP between 1924 and 1932. Who would control education? How would the educational system be run? The answers to these questions indicated a need for basic changes in education, and these

{1}5 Sept. 1925, "Minute Book for 2nd to 8th September 1925," Dist. Inspection, Mwinilunga Sub-Dist., Kasempa Dist. [Prov.], KDD 4/1/1, NAZ.

changes raised a third question. How much time would it take for these basic changes to occur?

Even though no doors had been unlocked during the BSAC era, the three elements of the NWP society increasingly believed that the 'little school in the bush' was the golden key that would open the way to a bright future. The problem, according to local government officials and the African peoples, lay not with the key but with those who held it--the missionary educators of the schools. The latter disagreed, arguing that education was not really their primary task. They felt that education was at least the government's financial, if not its total responsibility. Partly because of these divergent opinions, satisfactory answers to the basic questions eluded NWP societies throughout the period, and a social stalemate occurred.

New Hopes, Little Change:

The Educational Situation in the Territory and in the NWP

In 1924 a new era began when the territorial administration changed from the BSAC to the Colonial Office. The dialogue between Rennie, DC of Mwinilunga, and Chief Katambi reflects the prevailing hopes and promises for a better future. No one regretted the change of administration. This merger of regional and world resources would benefit

everyone, or so all Europeans and many Africans believed.

The dialogue, however, not only indicates the dreams of the age; it also shows Katambi and Rennie playing two-bit acting roles in the feeble NWP version of the new British colonial melodrama, indirect rule. New imperial policies demanded that a select few of the regions's traditional leaders and the district's administration attend the meeting. The imperial and territorial governments wanted the chiefs, as traditional rulers, to assume more active and supposedly more progressive roles in the new political order. Indirect rule provided a new forum for a more frank exchange between some leaders of powerless Africans and the local colonial officials. {2}

At the meeting, Rennie carefully stated the government's intentions regarding education. Though he had been in charge of the district for only a year, he had served elsewhere in the territory. He clearly understood the government's general desire to assist and thus improve education, but to do so only by subsidizing the educational programs of the Christian missions. With this arrangement, the Northern Rhodesian government hoped to postpone a much greater expense. The cost of starting a territorial system directly under its own officials and opening its own schools was much larger than subsidizing mission programs. Hence, if Rennie was implying--even vaguely promising--improve-

{2}For indirect rule, see Chap. IV. See also Gann, Northern Rhodesia, pp. 227-31 and 290-4.

ments, he was also restraining the chief's expectations.

What Rennie politely avoided was governmental commitment to providing what Katambi wanted. When asking "Will the government provide the schools for our people, Katambi stressed the word government. He also expressed the people's chief concern: the need for 'schools', or an education that would help men get better jobs when they went to the towns to earn tax money. Katambi and the other chiefs attending this meeting wanted direct government involvement in opening and running schools.

These chiefs already knew the educational limitations of the little mission schools. And the DC's statement notwithstanding, they knew that their most curious, eager, and adventurous kinsmen had wanted to learn and had gone to the missionaries. They had, however, become so discouraged that attendance at the mission schools frequently "dwindled to nothing" within several years. One outside observer noted that the novelty simply wore off. "The pattering of scriptural passages, and the singing of hymns [became] less attractive." In other words, these chiefs firmly believed that mission education would not help their people in the new colonial society. {3}

The Brethren missionaries, who served as the school administrators in Mwinilunga, were missing from this meeting. But they believed even more strongly that

{3}R. B. Drapier (DC), Kasempa Dist. [Prov.] AR for 1926, ZA 7/1/10/6, NAZ.

education was a needed golden key. To them, however, it unlocked the Bible, gained converts, and kept them faithful. While they had voluntarily established and continued to operate autonomous systems of education, they firmly believed that providing education beyond this rudimentary stage was not their responsibility. Nor to most of them was providing education as important as providing medical services. While they did not object to Rennie's idea of the government assisting their programs or to Katambi's request for government schools, they maintained a strong and rather rigid sense of philosophy, policy, and procedure (their three 'p's'). These constrained their actions when they held the key.

Two years later, this rigidity and the government's vague and general plans led Bruce Miller to lament:

If it is true that a sound education is the surest way of killing the Africans belief in witchcraft and similar harmful kindred superstitions then it must be admitted that little has been done to raise the local native in the scale of civilization during the 20 years that this district has been occupied.

Neither from the missions nor the government are the natives of this sub-district receiving any education worthy of the name, and there seems to be no prospect of any improvements. {4}

Bruce Miller's gloomy and regressive monologue, which reflected on the past and predicted the future, contrasts sharply to that of the Rennie-Katambi dialogue. In writing this passage, he was simply bemoaning the static

{4}Mwinilunga Sub-Dist. AR in the Kasempa Dist. [Prov.] AR for 1927, ZA 7/1/11/6, NAZ.

situation, neither accusing the government nor the missions. By 1927 Bruce Miller had become the region's most experienced government representative. He was uniquely interested in Mwinilunga, the colonial government, and the missions. As described in previous chapters, he introduced and slowly enforced taxation on behalf of the BSAC, married Dr. Fisher's daughter, spoke Lunda, and more or less made the district his home. As a benevolent ruler operating under the constraints of his mission in-laws and government employer, he wanted his people to advance. Nonetheless, he realized that he had little hope of accomplishing this latter goal.

Bruce Miller knew that Mwinilunga had exceptional medical missionaries, led by Dr. Fisher. Yet while administering in other districts, Bruce Miller had seen much better educational work being accomplished by far-sighted mission educators. He further realized that unlike the White Fathers and Church of Scotland in the Northern Province or the Paris Mission in Barotseland, the NWP missions would not use their own initiative to systematically develop and organize education. He also knew that the '3 p's' of the missions also provided excuses for missionary inaction due to money and staff shortages. Without proper government support of education, the missions probably could not and certainly would not expand and

improve in the near future. {5}

But as Bruce Miller also knew, the territorial government was not willing to adequately support education. It had been and would remain the foremost constraint on the region and its population. Despite promises and plans, the government had little serious interest in this isolated corner of the territory. It continued to restrict local administrators by providing^{ing} too little money and staff. Refusing to provide financial assistance to the missionaries, it could not induce more satisfactory educational programs. Above all, it refused to invest the money required for satisfactory alternatives to the missions' programs.

Bruce Miller's lamentation in the 1927 Annual Report (AR) and Rennie's comments at the 1925 meeting with Chief Katambi are best understood in the context of the local DC's role within the joint territorial and colonial administrative system. In 1925 Rennie knew the territorial government's general intentions regarding education. He could safely make promises but could not guarantee anything concrete, because no definite policies had been worked out. In turn Bruce Miller could only lament that by 1927 the government's initial intentions had not produced any results and seemed unlikely to do so. As a result, he felt little

{5} By 1927 Bruce Miller had served in all parts of the Kaonde-Lunda Prov. and also in Balovale (Barotseland). Thus he had not only seen Suckling's early educational endeavors and problems but also the educational work of the Paris Mission.

more could be demanded from the missions. Like these two men, DCs frequently became dispassionate observers because they were unable to change the local situation. In this case Bruce Miller saw his uneducated African subjects becoming the 'uncivilized' exhibits in the living museum of the NWP. {6}

In spite of the realization that the missions were unwilling and/or unable to do more, these administrators still occasionally resorted to pushing the missions. When they did so, they played a Melland-type game of bluff. But if they demanded specific action and the missionaries replied that they had insufficient money or staff or felt strongly that the job should be done by the government, these officials created an even more insoluble dilemma. Since the central government did not want to take direct action, and no other mission agencies had both the inclination and the resources to enter the province, the administrators had one final alternative. They could threaten to close or restrict the mission. As the following example shows, however, this approach did not work because most believed an inefficient mission was better than none.

In 1926-27 younger missionaries at Mukinge, Kamapanda, and Kalene asked for permission to open three new mission stations at Katandana in Solwezi District and at

{6}For the general idea of regions being living museums, see Edward H. McKinley, The Lure of Africa: American Interests in Tropical Africa, 1919-1939 (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1974). For a more specific application, see Caplan, Elites, pp. 142-64.

Mujimbeji and Kakoma in Mwinilunga District. The provincial administration demanded that before permission was granted, each party agree to provide better and continuous social services, especially educational programs. None of the missionaries would do so, and the administrators refused to allow the new stations to open.

The government officials searched discreetly and could not find another mission to take over. The missionaries could not stand the pressure of the threat. Both groups had to compromise quickly to save face. Hence, when SAGM made a new request for a site at Mutanda later in 1928, the government agreed, but only if the mission followed the school code and provided some agricultural instruction. The missionaries agreed and Mutanda opened in 1929. Later in 1933 Mujimbeji also opened. Neither government officials nor missionaries had won. No new mission society entered, and the programs of the missions already there improved only marginally. {7}

{7} No copy of the government's exact conditions has been located. For the Katandana plot, see L. J. Tweedy, Solwezi Dist. AR in the Kasempa Prov. AR for 1929, ZA 7/1/12/6, ZNA. The most comprehensive description of the government's conditions for leasing the land at Mutanda to the SAGM is given by Pirouet in the children's magazine On Trek: 4 (July 1930), pp. 26-7. For the initial 1929 rejection of Sydney W. and Antonia Buckland's application to open Mujimbeji and of A. D. Fisher and W. W. Revington-Fisher's application to open Kakoma, see the following letters in Echoes: W. W. Revington-Fisher, 7 June 1929, 58 (Sept. 1929), pp. 207-8; Buckland, 21 Sept. 1929, 59 (Jan. 1930), p. 13; Revington-Fisher, 20 Dec. 1929, 59 (Mar. 1930), p. 64; Buckland, 11 Dec. 1929, 59 (Mar. 1930), p. 65; A. D. Fisher, 59 (Aug. 1930), p. 173.

While these DCs observed educational stagnation in the NWP and/or bickered with the missionaries, large parts of the territory took a more progressive course. The promises that Rennie made in 1925 typified those that government made elsewhere in the territory, and these promises brought new expectations to the better-informed, tiny but growing, African elite throughout the colony. More important at that time, these promises encouraged the most progressive and active mission educators to optimistically expand their educational programs. Many of them had been previously stimulated by members of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, who met with the General Missionary Conference of 1924, and the group's subsequent report. Many endeavored to prepare their parishioners for a more useful and productive life in the new colonial society. In education these new hopes caused educators to continue pressing the government for a Department of Native (African) Education. While refusing to go that far, the territorial government established a sub-department under the jurisdiction of the Department of Native Affairs in 1925. {8}

{8}The Phelps-Stokes Commission did not visit the NWP. Only Pirouet makes a passing reference to one of its members whom he presumably met at the conference. See Pioneer, 38 (Jan. 1925), pp. 7-8; quoted in App. E, "British Empire Exhibition." For descriptions of its work in Northern Rhodesia, see Snelson, Development, pp. 138-40; Ragsdale, "Development," pp. 158-65; and Mwanakatwe, Growth, pp. 16-7. Despite the usage being technically incorrect, the sub-department was generally referred to as "the Department of Native Education" at that time. The text will hereafter reflect that current usage.

During this time of high hopes, Geoffrey C. Latham became^{me} the first Director of Native Education. An active and capable Advisory Board, which had some key educational missionaries as members, worked with him. Together they drafted a promising plan for improving education. It provided financial support and supervision by the government and ensured close cooperation and coordination with existing mission programs. It also lightened the heavy administrative and financial burden of the most enthusiastic missions, without discouraging more meager educational efforts. [9]

As part of the new plan, the government carefully defined 'schools' and 'sub-schools'. These definitions established clear educational standards that would be significant for future improvements. The 'schools' were high quality institutions administered by missionaries and supported by government grants or subsidies. They had to meet for more than 120 days a year and follow a new school code that standardized the curriculum throughout the territory. The majority of mission schools that did not meet this standard became 'sub-schools', and the government did not usually subsidize them. The missions could operate them at their own expense, however, and they continued to do

[9] For good descriptions of Latham, the first Advisory Board, and the new educational system, see Snelson, Development; pp. 134-70; and Ragsdale, "Development," pp. 165-206. It seems that the Brethren were represented on this Advisory Board from the earliest times, first by Charles Stokes from Luapula, then by Victor Reed and finally George Suckling in the 1940s. Little information is, however, available.

so. {10}

In principle this territorial plan pleased all segments of the new colonial society except the most racist settlers. It assured government officials of the steady flow of skilled clerks and artisans needed to build a glorious empire. It perpetuated the missionaries' moral training of the young scholars. Most important it expanded and improved education for the indigenous African population. At least the new African elite could acquire the necessary skills for assuming a more substantial role in the territory's economy and general development.

This new government plan started successfully. In his educational history, Ragsdale notes that a "period of intense mission activity in education followed the establishing of the Department of Native Education." The territorial government steadily increased subsidies to mission educators. Expenditures for African education rose from £348 (pounds sterling) in 1924-25, to £3994 in 1925-26, to £6603 in ~~in~~ 1926-27, and then to £14,448 in 1930-31. These were, however, still paltry when compared to the £27,001

{10} Latham defined 'schools' and 'sub-schools' in his draft of the Native Schools Bill. First he presented it to the Advisory Board. Then at the end of 1927 his definition was confirmed when the government passed the Native Schools (Amendment) Ordinance. Both Snelson (Development, pp. 159-62) and Ragsdale ("Development," pp. 184-7) describe the school code and the activities of Latham. In addition, Ragsdale gives the complete school code in an appendix, pp. 387-96. See also the Northern Rhodesia Government, Report Upon Native Education for the Year 1927 [Native Education Department AR].

spent on only 774 white children in 1930-31. {11}

Latham's plan even foretold a brighter educational future for the NWP. The government designated this region as the largest of several 'backward' areas and proposed to improve it. When the plan became fully operational in the NWP, the government would give the weak missionary programs in such areas disproportionate financial aid to get these agencies to conform with new territorial standards. Furthermore, Latham, like the local officials in the NWP, believed that government itself had to run a middle primary school in Kasempa. If it did not, he correctly believed that no pupils would reach a high enough standard to be sent elsewhere in the territory to teacher training or trade schools. Unfortunately, the world depression destroyed Latham's plan before it was fully enacted. {12}

Much of the NWP had unknowingly stagnated during the crucial period of 1924-33. Hindsight reveals that in the

{11} Ragsdale, "Development," p. 188. For useful statistics on government educational expenditures, see Snelson, Development, p. 297.

{12} For Latham's plan for the NWP, see his "School Scheme for African Education in Northern Rhodesia," pp. 4-9, and Schedule III, "Native Education, School Schemes, 22 Nov. 1930--23 Aug. 1933," ZA 1/9/119/4, NAZ. On 5 Sept. 1928, Latham wrote to the Resident Magistrate of Barotse Prov. He hoped the territory would be divided into five educational areas. But he felt also that both Mankoya and Balovale Districts should be included with the Kaonde-Lunda Province. Several items of the ensuing correspondence exist. Finally on 2 Nov. 1928, the Resident Magistrate wrote to Latham that his officers did not agree with this proposal. For this correspondence, see: "Missions, General: 1924-9," KDE 2/30/4, NAZ.

pre-World War II era these years were the most favorable time for mission educators to get government funding, a time when government had some resolve to aid education. Suckling wisely tapped these resources in 1928. In the larger Kaonde-Lunda area, however, nothing happened because the leading Brethren and SAGM missionaries did not agitate for, or necessarily welcome, assistance. Because of lost time during this era, the NWP's educational patterns became a distinct and negative variant of those in the whole territory. Old built-in government and mission limitations continued to restrict the region.

Sketches of Autonomous Stagnating Educational Programs

Africans seldom saw the governor who represented the territorial government and never saw the king who represented the imperial government. They only saw the DC. By 1924 he had clearly established his local power, and they seldom overtly contested it during the next decade. If taxes were paid and no murders were committed, he seldom interfered with their traditional life. He often judiciously listened to African grievances about mission education and Rennie's soothing promises to Katambi were repeated in many forms, places, and times. Thus the government often presented a benevolently bequiling or forcefully paternal face that deflected criticism to the

missions. Annoying many Africans by condemning and interfering with traditional ways of life, the missionaries kept themselves visible. Consequently, the missionaries rightly or wrongly were blamed when the territorial government did not open new schools.

Between 1924 and 1933 only Brethren and SAGM missionaries continued to occupy the NWP. These missionaries opened new stations in 1923-24, but their work did not really expand substantially because of perpetual staff shortages and under-funding. Despite strong belief in personal evangelism, regular contacts with Africans were limited to people living near the mission stations. Occasionally African soul-, medical-, and education seekers came to the mission station, and the missionaries irregularly toured the district's 'heathen' villages, tainted by "unspeakable sin." Such contacts kept Africans aware of the missionary presence but limited their social influence. {13}

Afraid of hindering their personal evangelism, almost all missionaries resisted involvement in formal educational or other development projects. They also refused to face a reality: they had become the NWP's version of an established church and, as such, had special social obligations. Thus, missionaries at both old and new mission stations only maintained elementary and tiny educational

{13} For "unspeakable sin," see Frederick Barnett of Chavuma, Echoes, 60 (Mar. 1931), p. 62. He was alluding to ukanda. Similar quotations were made by many missionaries.

programs. These had little relevance to and impact on those who lived in the surrounding district. Even Chitokoloki's once promising school system stagnated in the mid-1920s.

These stagnating educational programs fall into three groups: the SAGM's stations in Kasempa/Solvezi; the Brethren's two Mwinilunga stations at Kalene and Kamapanda along with Chavuma in Balovale District; and Chitokoloki, which always charted its own erratic course. The following sketches of these programs show how and why education remained so provincial throughout this crucial time.

John Cottrell visited all these mission stations at the end of 1932, becoming the first senior official from the Department of Native Education to tour the whole region. His comprehensive tour and remarkable report seemingly resolved the major educational issues that caused stagnation; it also divided the NWP's educational history into two phases during the interwar era. His comments conclude each sketch. {14}

(1) The SAGM at Mutanda and Mukinge

After failing to provide the education that Africans wanted prior to 1924, the SAGM did no better in the next decade. Short periods of improvement and decay alternated.

{14} The report's controversy early in 1933 and its long-term consequences are discussed in the next chapter.

The SAGM lacked enthusiasm for its own programs. They wanted the territorial government to take over education so they could concentrate their meager resources on evangelizing and on running a Bible school. They tried no new innovations and made only marginal improvements when local administrators badgered or threatened them. Even geographical problems handicapped their programs: this enormous area had a small population; shifting cultivation patterns severely limited the value of permanent school buildings; little surface water and the tsetse made large areas uninhabitable and unpleasant to cross. Thus educational advancement was static until 1933.

Although the mission recognized their value, village outschools remained a failure. The total of these village schools seldom exceeded seven or eight in both districts together and often consisted of only two or three. The number of pupils in each school often averaged only ten or twenty, with over forty being rare. The schools opened for a maximum of 120 days and generally much less. [15]

For a specific example of their feeble village school program, consider the 1927 and 1928 situation. In

[15] For statistics about and descriptions of these village schools, the most important source of information is the NAZ series of ARs for Kasempa [Kaonde-Lunda] Prov.: ZA 7/1/7/6 (1924), ZA 7/1/10/6 (1926), ZA 7/1/11/6 (1927), ZA 7/1/12/6 (1929), ZA 7/1/13/6 (1930), ZA 7/1/14/6 (1931), ZA 7/1/15/6 (1932). Other useful NAZ records are: Annexures for 1928, Kasempa and Solwezi Districts, ZA 7/2/2/6 and L. J. Tweedy (DO), Tour Report No. 1/1929, Kasempa Prov. Tour ~~Report~~ Reports, ZA 7/4/6. For information by missionaries, see: Pioneer (Am.) 5 (1924-25) and 6 (1925-26).

1927 Pirouet and Foster reported that each district had two village schools: Kapandula and Sandangombe in Solwezi and Mpala and Kajilambinga in Kasempa. They also said that the mission had six 'certified' teachers (not educationally 'qualified'). In 1928, the DCs of Solwezi and Kasempa dispassionately observed that attendance at these schools was "very spasmodic" and "the effect . . . negligible." {16}

The biggest problem with the village schools was that the SAGM made neither teaching nor attending attractive to Africans. Although unable to pay the teacher/evangelists much money, the mission required them to be dedicated evangelists and expected them to live largely by faith. As a result, teaching remained an unacceptable option for most capable young men. Furthermore, many who tried teaching felt caught between two cultures. Some of these either backslid or resigned after several years to seek 'higher education' in other districts. Only a few of the most faithful, such as John Pupe, valiantly continued to teach and preach in the humble 'bush' schools. {17}

Nor did the missionaries make village schools

{16} For the two DCs' comments, see Annexures for 1928, Kasempa and Solwezi Districts, ZA 7/2/2/6, NAZ. See also Kasempa, Solwezi and "Prov." AR for 1927, ZA 7/1/11/6, NAZ; and the following two mission reports: Pirouet, Pioneer, 40 (Mar. 1927), pp. 33-4; Pirouet and Foster, Pioneer, 40 (Aug. 1927), pp. 97-8.

{17} For the loss of teachers in 1926 as an example, see both Shoosmith, Pioneer, 39 (Dec. 1926), p. 143 and Pirouet, Pioneer, 39 (Aug. 1920), pp. 112-3. For general sources, see fn. 15.

appetizing to their students. They required their poorly-trained teacher-evangelists to follow their example and place primary emphasis on preaching, especially on denouncing sin, rather than on teaching. Most pupils found the evangelical regimen uninspiring and even obnoxious. Few stayed for more than several years. Individuals generally dropped out when the village shifted to a new area, or when men were old enough to earn tax money, or when women were old enough to bear children. If fortunate, the pupil learned to read and write in Kaonde well enough to read the Bible, to write simple 'missives' (letters), and to count to 100. {18}

Educational programs at the mission station schools fared only marginally better. Education at Chisalala ended in 1925 except for a tiny village school sustained by John Pupe for several more years. Musonwedji likewise closed early in 1926. The last available statistics for Musonwedji's school indicate that 48 pupils enrolled, 13 in the senior and 35 in the junior sections. In mid-1926, the mission consolidated Chisalala and Musonwedji and opened Mukinge to placate local officers. But by the end of the year, the DC gloomily described the new school as grossly inadequate.

Education . . . is elementary. Reading and writing in the vernacular and the rudiments of arithmetic. Native teachers are of a low standard of education themselves and, as they find they are unable to increase their own knowledge, they are in some cases, leaving to seek

{18} For general sources, see fn. 15.

further education elsewhere. School pupils have fallen off in numbers and some schools shut down for lack of interest. . . . The curriculum is not, perhaps, sufficiently "attractive: . . . No recreations or games for scholars. No industrial training. No English taught. The elementary education and the singing of hymns do not appear to satisfy the rising generation. {19}

Despite the fact that Mutanda opened in 1929 because of continuing local government pressures, education improved only slowly afterwards. In 1927 both an influenza epidemic and a general food shortage continued, periodically closing the schools during the next several decades. Although incomplete, enrollment figures seldom exceeded one hundred for Mutanda and Mukinge together and probably dropped as low as fifty or sixty. The new territorial school code adopted in 1928 became the only permanent improvement. This adoption occurred after the first visit by a representative of Latham's new Department of Native Education in Kaonde-Lunda Province. {20}

As elsewhere, the basic problem dividing the missionaries and their African parishioners was the school with its clashing symbolic meanings. Several quotations by

{19} For the quotation on Mukinge, see Ansley, Kasempa Dist. [Prov.] AR for 1926, ZA 7/1/10/6, NAZ. For Pirouet's last months at Chisalala, see Pioneer, 39 (Aug. 1926), pp. 112-3; for other details, see Pioneer, 37 (Feb. 1924), pp. 19-21. For Musonwedji, see Pioneer, 39 (Aug. 1926), pp. 112-3.

{20} For Mukinge in 1927, see Drapier (DC), Kasempa Dist. [Prov.] AR for 1927, ZA 7/1/11/6, NAZ. See also Shoosmith, Pioneer (Am.), 8 (June 1928), p. 106. Unlike Cottrell's report, John Keith's inspection reports have not been located and probably have been destroyed. For general descriptions and statistics, see materials cited in fn. 15.

Charles Foster illustrate this clash from the mission's perspective. After adopting the school code, Foster reassured overseas supporters about the mission's priorities.

The aim of our educational work is to train pupils to be workmen who "need not to be ashamed," and who will "rightly divide the Word of Truth" (2 Timothy 2. 15). Out of seven school periods, three are given to Scripture, viz., Old Testament, New Testament, and reading. The subject of reading develops into a Scripture lesson, because all text books but the Primer are either Old Testament stories, or some portion of the New Testament. {21}

In a very different manner in 1931, Foster grumbled to the DC that "the value of education is not at present appreciated." And a year later he called the DC's attention to the high drop-out rate; he complained that the Kaonde had no "perseverance," so there were no "qualified teachers" and only one village school. For this reason, the station school had to teach beginners. Foster ignored the probability that the school's very strong religious emphasis made it unappealing to pupils. {22}

In his attempt to exonerate himself and the mission for the failure of education and to fix the blame directly on the people themselves, Foster also asserted that "the greater number of the natives of this District are not particularly capable or bright." In his 1932 report, he even

{21} Pioneer, 42 (Aug./Sept. 1929), pp. 107-8.

{22} For the years 1931 and 1932, Foster's ARS for Mukinge were attached to the Kasempa Dist. ARS in the Prov. ARS, ZA 7/1/14/6 and ZA 7/1/15/6, NAZ.

gave way to self-pity: "The results achieved are by no mean commensurate with the effort which has been put forth, and one sometimes feels that educational work under present circumstances is of small value and productive of very little in the way of permanent results." {23}

John Cottrell, as a government officer, ignored government policy as the ultimate cause of poor education. Instead he placed the primary blame on the missions. As quoted in Appendix K, Cottrell found education at Mukinge unimpressive and only marginally better at Mutanda. His most serious but fair indictment of the SAGM was: "The missionaries have, I fear, yet to gain the full confidence of the people." More specifically, he felt the lack of trained African teachers gravely handicapped the program because they were needed to staff village schools. Thus large numbers of beginners attended the mission stations' boarding schools. Cottrell recommended that "boarding grants be given in respect of boys in the Standards only. In these times of depression sub-standard education of the type given at this Mission does not warrant boarding grants." {24}

{23} Ibid.

{24} "Native Education Tour Report: Mr. J. A. Cottrell," par. 8 and Mukinge Report, Recommendations, ZA 1/9/119/5, NAZ. The most significant parts of Cottrell's report appear in App. K. The Cottrell Report has a general section with 38 numbered paragraphs. As in the originals, this part is followed by individual reports of 4 to 10 pp. Future references to the first part will be by paragraph number and to the individual reports by the mission's name.

Cottrell's suggestion that government cut its new grant to Mukinge probably had elicited Foster's 1932 attempt to defend and exonerate the mission's abysmal record. As the depression rapidly eroded overseas support, the mission desperately needed government funding. But Foster was unfair to blame the Kaonde for lack of ability and perseverance. As described in the earlier Kafue correspondence between Melland, Foster, and Pirouet, the mission had refused to send teachers to Kafue for teacher training despite strong government and African pressure. [25]

Once again, the SAGM simply found itself involved in a conflict that pitted the need for trained teachers against the desire to maintain religious purity. The mission continually feared doctrinal tainting. Rev. John Fell was in charge of the colony's Jeanes school at Mazabuka. Nonetheless, Cottrell personified a new form of government pressure. Consequently after 1932, the SAGM made better attempts to break the old repetitive cycle. [26]

After SAGM began following the new school code in the late 1920s, a small group of able and tenacious young men gathered around the two mission stations. They had just completed or were completing the full primary course (Sub-

[25] For these men's correspondence, see Chap. VII and App. D. Since Cottrell's report was circulated in late Jan. 1933, Foster had probably read it before writing his 1932 AR.

[26] For Fell's rocky career in government, see Snelson, Development, pp. 157, 220.

Standards A and B and Standards I and II) that often took more than the four years laid down by the Department of Native Education. They were ready for new opportunities and provided a foundation for new growth. Cottrell noted that "Jesse Sandasanda [had] been sent to the Normal School and Briggs [Makinka] and Pandwe [?] to the Middle School at Mazabuka." At least four interviewees from Kasempa and Solwezi also started school during this period. When trained, these men and their classmates led to an educational breakthrough for the two districts. As the first few who 'made it', they became models for others to follow. Because of them, education slowly assumed its modern symbolism for greater numbers of people in Solwezi and Kasempa Districts. {27}

(2) The Brethren at Kalene, Kamapanda, and Chavuma

By the time of Cottrell's visit, the educational programs at Kalene, Kamapanda, and Chavuma were as weak as, or even weaker than, at Mukinge and Mutanda. Consider the 1933 report of a new DC, E. H. Cooke that applied specifically to Kalene and Kamapanda.

{27} Cottrell Report, "Mukinge," App. K. These interviewees were: Tito Kibolya and L. Remus Kalepa at Mutanda and Lubinga Mujatulanga and David Mukimwa at Mukinge. The records for those attending schools during this crucial period are too incomplete to give exact numbers let alone other successful students' names.

The two missions, established here for upwards of 25 years, cannot be described as anything else but moribund. After all this time Kalene Hill has not a single outschool or village church and Kamapanda has but two, in charge of evangelists who can barely write their own names. . . . Real Christian converts can be counted on the fingers of one's hands and after 25 years not one native capable of carrying out the duties of a junior clerk has been produced. {28}

The adoption of the school code provides another comparative illustration of their weakness. Mukinge and Mutanda adopted it by 1928. Kalene and Kamapanda reluctantly did so between 1930 and 1932. Chavuma refused to do so until the mid-1930s.

The government theoretically exerted the same pressure on the Brethren and the SAGM throughout this period. However, the Brethren's extreme autonomy and the government administrators' focus on the SAGM in the center of the province created differences. Kalene, Kamapanda, and Chavuma were more isolated from the government bomas than Mukinge and Mutanda. They did not so frequently come under the careful scrutiny of the DCs. Although better staffed and financed, these three Brethren mission stations were even less inclined than SAGM to provide: a) any instruction beyond Bible reading and letter writing in the local African language, b) salaries for African teachers out of overseas funds, c) systematic planning for improvement, d) follow-up instruction, e) guarantees to government about priorities for and the continuity of any program. Isolated in their little

{28} Mwinilunga Dist., in Luanqwa and Kasempa Prov. AR for 1933, ZA 7/1/16/2, NAZ.

outposts, they placidly assumed a mediocre sameness until jolted by Cottrell's visit and criticism.

Though started in 1906, Kalene's formal school program remained as unimaginative and as minimal as those of the other missions. The routine and curriculum changed only slightly prior to 1933. In 1931 Roseannah Shaw still portrayed the school in terms resembling Winifred Hoyte's 1910 description about "black eyed beauties." Despite considerable government pressure, the school curriculum did not include agriculture. But by 1932 older students did receive training that enabled them to become carpenters and medical assistants. As in earlier days, the school often contained sections of junior and senior pupils and/or of younger and older. A 'senior' school only evolved by the late 1920s. Even after this fewer than five students per year completed the basic primary course, i.e., passed Standard II. Only in 1932 or 1933 did the school develop a five day week and meet for 150 days as expected by the school code. {29}

{29} For two slightly different versions of Shaw's description of the mission school, see Links, 20 (no. 252, 1931), pp. 180-1 and Across the Seas, no. 442 (Oct. 1932), pp. 170-2. In early 1931, the senior or advanced class consisted of thirty males: H. B. Waugh, Report No. 1/1931 (Feb./Mar.), Kasempa Prov. Tour Reports for 1931, ZA 7/4/24, NAZ. Government was determined that Kalene should offer special agriculture education. In 1928 the DC observed that Wilfred Revington-Fisher and Digby Fisher were capable of starting such training. Government even offered Kalene 1000 acres. See: Annexure XV, Mwinilunga Dist. AR in the Kasempa Prov. for 1928, ZA 7/2/2/6, NAZ, and Anna Fisher, Across the Seas, no. 460 (Apr. 1934), pp. 122-4. Cottrell in his section on Kalene describes the other practical training, see App. K. Whether the mission school met 150 days was part of the controversy over his report,

Compared to SAGM, however, attendance at the mission school was high. After 1928 attendance stayed fairly steady, ranging from about 150 to 200 pupils. About thirty to forty of these were girls. Average daily attendance remained high, about eighty to ninety percent, possibly because a large number were full or weekly boarders. In mid-1932 the number of pupils had gone "over 240 . . . with over 100 boarders." {30}

Four village schools briefly opened and closed between 1924 and 1928. These met for four days a week. None had trained staff. Attendance figures are unknown. These initial out-lying schools closed down when the school code was published in 1928. Either an over-zealous DC and/or the mission believed the village schools violated the new code since the mission had no trained African teachers. Permanent village schools started only after

see the next chapter and also "Kalene Hill, Education," C 1/4/8/2, NAZ.

{30} C. H. Hazell (DC), Mwinilunga Tour Report No. 2/1932, in Kasempa Prov. Tour Reports, 1932, ZA 7/4/33, NAZ. Other basic statistics were gleaned from the following AR in the NAZ: Annexure XVII to Mwinilunga Dist. AR in the Kasempa Prov. AR for 1929, ZA 7/1/12/6; K. S. Kinross (DC), Annexure XVII to Mwinilunga Dist. AR in the Kasempa Prov. AR for 1930, ZA 7/1/13/6; C. H. Hazell (DC), Annexure XVII to Mwinilunga Dist. AR in the Kasempa Prov. AR for 1931, ZA 7/1/14/6; K. S. Kinross (DC), Mwinilunga Dist. AR in the Kasempa Prov. AR for 1932, ZA 7/1/15/6. The following mission records were helpful: Burr, Echoes: 57 (Apr. 1928), p. 94; 58 (June 1929), p. 124; 59 (Aug. 1930), pp. 183-4. See also Walter Fisher, Echoes, 62 (Jan. 1933), p. 5.

Cottrell's visit. {31}

Besides this mediocre formal educational program, Kalene made two educational innovations between 1924 and 1932. The first benefited the African population in a broad but limited way. The other only served as a standard for measuring the weakness of the educational system.

The first innovation was the creation of syllabus sheets and charts that were placed in villages with one or more literate people. These sheets contained basic syllables and helped the literate teach illiterate friends to read. With them, an intelligent person might learn to read the Bible in Lunda. In addition, they encouraged a general desire to go to school. In 1930 one man came to the mission "begging for admission to the boarding school" because he had "learned all the syllables on the sheet [and] longed to know all the words in the Book of God." {32}

Mission reports to home supporters between 1928 and 1932 stressed the educational value of the sheets in glowing terms. The DCs ignored them. They wanted Kalene to offer a

{31} For a reflection on the uncertain closure of village schools, see Cooke, "Mwinilunga Tour Report 6/34," C 1/8/4/2, NAZ.

{32} Burr, Echoes, 59 (June 1930), pp. 141-2. For these sheets and self-teaching, see also the following in Echoes: Wilfred Revington-Fisher, 6 Nov. 1928, 58 (Mar. 1929), pp. 64-5; see also A. D. Fisher, 14 Dec. 1928, 58 (Apr. 1929), p. 89; Burr, July 1930, 59 (Nov. 1930), pp. 251-2; A. D. Fisher, 9 July 1931, 60 (Oct. 1931), pp. 230-1; Wilfred and Georgina Revington-Fisher, 26 Feb. 1932, 61 (June 1932), p. 135. For a comparative note with Balovale and Chitokoloki, see E. H. Sims, Echoes, 63 (Feb. 1934), p. 45.

few pupils a high quality education, rather than assist many in such a rudimentary fashion. In other words, these government officers wanted a formal system, not haphazard charity work. The following complaint about Kalene's formal program applied even more to this attempt to combat village illiteracy.

Anyone who succeeds in convincing the Missionaries in this district that it would be more to the advantage of the natives if they trained say six Alunda each year as efficient outschool teachers, than sixty indifferent readers of a few pages in the New Testament, will be deserving well of the people. {33}

The second innovation was the opening of Sakeji School for missionary children. Inspired by Dr. Fisher and founded in 1924, it grew steadily. At the beginning of the school year in 1933, some 32 students were expected. Most of the parents were evangelical missionaries in nearby areas of Northern Rhodesia, Angola, and the Congo. The aim was to provide a "sound education based on the requirements of the South African Educational Authorities." {34}

Missionaries regarded Sakeji as a godsend. It kept them from leaving the mission field while educating their children or from sending the children to the home country or to South Africa. But it continually demanded and got the

{33}Cooke, "Mwinilunga Tour Report, No. 7/1933," ZA 7/4/42, NAZ.

{34}C. R. Nightingale was in charge of Sakeji in 1931 and thoroughly described the school and its aims in Links, 21 (no. 252, 1931), pp. 279-80. For Sakeji's expected 1933 enrollment, see Suckling, 26 Jan. 1933, Echoes, 62 (May 1933), p. 108.

first attention of the local missionaries. In 1933 Cooke made one of the few comparative notes. "Contrasting with Native education, which . . . is virtually NIL, Sakeji European boarding school was visited. There five European teachers, two men and three women spent their full time teaching and caring for 24 children." {35}

Like Cooke, Cottrell found Kalene's educational program severely wanting. By the end of 1932, Kalene's medical program was famous throughout Central Africa. Because of Fisher's advanced age and reputation, Cottrell probably expected to find a dynamic elder statesman or strong leader of Brethren missionaries. As shown in Chapter V, this was not Fisher's style nor was it possible with Brethren autonomy. Fisher was a spiritual model or example, the most senior man among diverse equals. Failing to appreciate the Brethren's non-system and Fisher's non-leadership role, Cottrell became displeased and submitted a frank, somewhat harsh report. {36}

Cottrell criticized Kalene's general lack of organization and direction. He stressed that the mission trained no teachers nor sent any for training. The African men and women who helped the missionaries teach had a Standard II education at best. To correct this, he urged

{35}Cooke, tour report, ZA 7/4/42. As African and European education came under different government departments, Cottrell forwarded his favorable report of Sakeji to the European Education Department.

{36}App. K, both pars. 12, 14-7 and "Kalene."

that the missionaries take immediate steps to reduce the high percentage of dropouts ("wastage") in the basic elementary course. Increasing the number would lead to better qualified students, who could be properly trained as teachers by the mid-1930s. Cottrell repeated the assertion that he had made after discovering the same problem at Mutanda and Mukinge: only well-trained African teachers would break the old cycle. {37}

Cottrell's criticisms involved more than just the mission's honor. Like Mukinge, Kalene had just started receiving educational grants from the territorial government: 150 pounds for the services of Roseannah Shaw and eleven pounds for boarding. In light of the program's deficiencies, Cottrell found these grants "very generous." He specifically advocated the "boarding grant be withdrawn" and that the "European teacher grant be continued only on condition that at least three boys are passed through the School Leaving certificate in the course of the next three years and that thereafter three every year." With the depression hitting overseas mission revenues, this was a lot of money. Thus Cottrell's criticism not only stung the pride of the mission, but his proposed cuts posed a threat. He stirred up a hornet's nest, the consequences of which are discussed in the next chapter. {38}

{37} App. K, both pars. 14-7 and "Kalene."

{38} Cottrell, "Kalene Recommendations," App. K.

Kamapanda. Immediately after Kamapanda mission opened in July 1923, a school started. The large number of people accompanying Cunningham from Angola included many eager students. In fact, both the missionaries, who at the time of leaving Angola were not permitted to teach these people in Lunda, and the Africans seemed anxious to begin. Furthermore, the missionaries only allowed African followers to settle on the mission station if they sent their children to school. {39}

The initial bustle continued in 1924 when the mission opened two village schools. Progress then stopped. The mission simply maintained its tiny program. In March of 1926 Bruce Miller noted that Kamapanda made "no effort . . . to improve the school curriculum or standard of native teachers." In December 1927 he stated:

No attempt has been made to conform to the suggestions that emanated from the Native Education Department in 1925 . . . everything appears to be subordinated to religious teaching, which . . . is not sufficiently popular by itself to attract and keep any number of natives at the schools. [Unlike Kalene] it cannot be pleaded as an excuse that the staff at Kamapanda is wholly occupied with medical work. {40}

{39} Clara Perkins describes the missionaries' arrival, the new station, and the African followers and plans for a school: 25 July 1923, Echoes, 52 (Nov. 1923), pp. 253-4.

{40} Bruce Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-Dist. AR in Kasempa Dist. [Prov.] AR for the year ending 31 Mar. 1926, ZA 7/1/9/2 and Mwinilunga Sub-Dist. AR in Kasempa Dist. [Prov.] AR for the year ending 31 Dec. 1927, ZA 7/1/11/6, NAZ. For the initial village schools, see Clara Perkins, Echoes: 15 July 1924 in 53 (Nov. 1924), p. 256; and 26 Sept. 1924 in 54 (Jan. 1925), p. 15.

Extensive information about Kamapanda's educational system is not available for the years prior to 1931. The mission school, however, had few boarders, so it probably did not have even the limited effect on the surrounding area that Kalene had. Likewise, as the quotation by Cooke at the beginning of this section indicated, the two village schools remained extremely weak. {41}

By 1930 badgering by local government administrators generated some improvement. Janet Cunningham described their program and at the same time rather defiantly assured her supporters overseas that the missionaries minimized new changes.

Our schools go on as usual; we are now compelled to take the children up to the second standard. Gone are the old days when we only taught them reading and writing, for the sake of their reading the Word of God for themselves; however, we just give the same time to school work. We begin morning school at 8.30, finishing at 11.0; after lunch we have the gospel meeting and the afternoon school from 12.0 to 2.0 p.m. We have a fair attendance; always over one hundred scholars. Now we have more subjects to teach we cannot take quite so many scholars as formerly. {42}

This improvement probably meant minimal compliance with the school code. Kamapanda missionaries remained reluctant to improve the school, despite the fact that Africans had no other source of the new education and many wanted more. The Cunninghams worried that with more

{41} Hughes-Chamberlain (DC) describes the feeble program at Chibwika in 1929, Tour Report No. 1/1929, Kasempa Prov. Tour Reports, 1928-29, ZA 7/4/6, NAZ.

{42} 24 Feb. 1930, Echoes, 59 (June 1930), pp. 135-6.

education Africans might not just migrate briefly to the cities to earn tax money but remain there.

Despite this unprogressive attitude and lackluster picture, several parts of the Kamapanda program pleasantly surprised Cottrell. Having just left Kalene, where unsystematic methods and lack of organization disturbed him, he felt that Kamapanda Mission was more organized and the missionaries' work was efficient. More specifically he was delighted by the infants' school and by the success with women's education. {43}

Children between four and six years of age came to the infants school from the homes of African Christian families living on the mission station. Fifty or sixty attended daily and were supervised by the missionary ladies. This innovation became successful before 1929, when it appeared in the district's education statistics, and continued into the 1930s. Cottrell enthused that:

This is a unique and most successful effort to run a real infants school and is the first of its kind I have seen in the country. I listened to action songs, lessons in number games, and syllable and word games. I also saw the children at play. They thoroughly enjoyed every minute of the time and, I am told, hate missing school. They were alert, polite and natural. They are taught habits of cleanliness and order. {44}

{43} In the 1930s, these inspectors frequently used 'efficient' to praise mission educators.

{44} For Cottrell, see "Kamapanda," App. K. For statistics, see DC, Mwinilunga Dist. AR in Kasempa Prov. AR for 1929, ZA 7/1/12/6, NAZ.

This high ratio of girls in Kamapanda's educational program also pleased Cottrell. The best of Kamapanda's untrained teachers was a fourteen year old woman. This sex ratio contrasted sharply to that in many early mission schools in the NWP and Northern Rhodesia. There, a large percentage if not all pupils were boys and men. The infants school partly explains the equitable sex ratio. Here boys and girls alike acquired an early interest in non-traditional African education. The nucleus of immigrants living on the mission station also caused a larger number of girls to attend school. Being Christians under the missionaries' watchful eyes and being new to the region, these Africans were willing to innovate. In 1928 the DC commented on the situation:

The Alunda women in the neighbourhood of this Mission station seem to be keener on learning to read and write than is usually the case. And what, in my limited experience, is more unusual is that the elders insist that their grown up daughters attend the school regularly--having discovered that the young men are willing to pay more for a bride who is 'educated'. {45}

The available statistics for Kamapanda's schools show that the exceptionally high ratio of women continued over many years. (These totals include the village

{45} Annexures for 1928, Mwinilunga Dist. AR, ZA 7/2/2/6, NAZ. See also the interview with Peter Sayila.

schools.) {46}

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Enrollment</u>			<u>Average Daily Attendance</u>		
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
1927	145	95	240	60	40	100
1929	118	94	212	77	56	133
1930	100	105	205	70	65	135
1931	114	98	222	78	57	135

These statistics also illustrate the static nature of the system: totals never increased beyond the maximum enrollment of 1927. They also show a low ratio between enrollment and average daily attendance. Kamapanda might be comparatively innovative, but its educational program remained small and mediocre between 1924 and 1932.

Chavuma. Chavuma's little educational system in Balovale District was still weaker. The station opened in 1923; and by the end of the year, 59 men and 58 women enrolled at its school. At this time and for the four years that followed, this station school and all village schools met no more than three days a week. In 1925 a total of 160 pupils were enrolled in all schools and had a total of seventy days of classes during the year. Their curriculum,

{46} For statistics on Kamapanda, consult the government documents listed in fns. 30 and 40.

which changed very little prior to 1933, consisted of learning to read the Bible, to write simple letters, and to count to one hundred. {47}

At first the Chavuma missionaries did all the teaching in the mission and village schools. By 1927 when the maximum number of three village schools had opened, one African evangelist resided at Chinyi. In the following year Sims reported that two new schools would be maintained by two Christian couples. They would "cultivate wheat and European vegetables in order to be self-supporting." {48}

In 1925 Mowat, one of the mission's founders, felt encouraged by the people who were keen "to learn to read." All these early students received small amounts of salt as 'presents' to encourage them. The missionaries, however,

{47} For the 1923 to 1932 government statistics on both Chavuma and Chitokoloki, see the following ARs in the NAZ: Barotse Dist. [Prov.] AR for the year ending 31 Mar. 1924, ZA 7/1/7/2; Balovale Sub-Dist. AR in the Barotse Dist. [Prov.] AR for the year ending 31 Mar. 1925, ZA 7/1/8/2; Balovale Sub-Dist. AR in the Barotse Dist. [Prov.] AR for the year ending 31 Dec. 1926 [government ARs hereafter followed calendar years], ZA 7/1/10/2; Balovale Sub-Dist. AR in the Barotse Dist. [Prov.], ZA 7/1/11/2; Annexures from ARs, Balovale Sub-Dist. for 1928, ZA 7/2/2/6; Balovale Dist. AR in the Barotse Dist. AR in the Barotse Prov. AR for 1929, ZA 7/1/12/2; R. S. Hudson (DC), Balovale Dist. AR in the Barotse Prov. AR for 1930, ZA 7/1/13/2; Balovale Dist. AR in the Barotse Prov. AR for 1931, ZA 7/1/14/2; H. A. Green (DC), Balovale Dist. AR in the Barotse Prov. AR for 1932, ZA 7/1/15/2. These reports will hereafter be referred to as "Balovale or Barotse AR," along with the year. Chavuma Mission used the Peep of Day series of readers after 1928.

{48} Sims, Echoes, 57 (May 1928), p. 118. See also Balovale AR, 1927. Likewise see the interview with Sachilomba Manuwele, Chavuma in Zambezi Dist., 11 June 1976.

soon regretted the action. In 1929 they reported to the DC that they had abandoned the practice and pupils were reluctant to attend. A year later Sims grumbled to his supporters:

The vast majority of the people in this neighbourhood have not the slightest desire to learn to read. From the out-schools comes the cry, "Give us salt and we will send our children to school." There are only about eighty children at the three out-schools and here, being taught to read and write. In the adult school here there are some forty. If we adopted the Government Code and accepted financial help, the children would be forced to attend school, but I am not sure whether this would be for the real good of the work. {49}

The mission created an unresolved dilemma for itself and the people by neither continuing to induce children with salt nor improving the curriculum. Nonetheless, by the 1930s, many people wanted the new education badly and the enrollment began to rise to 262 (152 men and 110 women) in 1931 and to 304 in 1932. {50}

Sims' refusal to accept the school code reflected Chavuma's policy throughout the period. In 1928 the DC pressed the missionaries to improve. They replied the time was "not ripe for further education." In 1929 the DC again stated that they "refused to cooperate with the government in the work of Native Education." He compared their negative attitude with the more positive one at Chitokoloki. But

{49} For Mowat's letter, see 2 Apr. 1925, Echoes, 54 (July 1925), pp. 159-60. Balovale AR, 1929. For Sims' letter, see 8 Aug. 1930, Echoes, 59 (Nov. 1930), p. 251.

{50} Balovale AR, 1931; Balovale AR, 1932.

between 1929 and 1932 the DCs reduced pressure on Chavuma. They probably believed that hassles were not worthwhile since Chitokoloki's program was expanding rapidly. Thus Cottrell tersely noted: "No attempt is made to follow the Government Code." {51}

In the eyes of local administrators, however, Chavuma had some educational merit. The missionaries attempted a vigorous, informal adult education program. Though not unique--Kalene, Chitokoloki, and Kamapanda also attempted similar things--Chavuma's was undertaken more vigorously. Missionaries frequently traveled on both sides of the river. While evangelizing they advised individuals about growing new crops, especially wheat, rice, and fruit trees. In addition, they encouraged people, who had begun settling permanently on both sides of the river, to build substantial and comfortable homes made with walls of kimberley (large, sun-dried, clay) bricks. Last they built "excellent all-weather roads" connecting the mission station with many of these village schools. {52}

In contrast to the local administrators, Cottrell

{51} Balovale AR, 1928; Balovale AR, 1929; and Cottrell, "Chavuma," App. K. See also R. S. Hudson (DC), "Tour Report No. 10/1928," Barotse Prov. Tour Reports, ZA 7/4/2, NAZ. These two missions, at the northern and southern edges of the district, are approximately 100 km. apart, but connected by a navigable stretch of the Zambezi.

{52} For the quotation on roads, see Tour Report No. 1/1932 for Balovale Dist., Barotse Prov., 1932, ZA 7/4/29, NAZ. See also Balovale AR, 1930; Sims, 16 May 1930, Echees, 59 (Aug. 1930), p. 183.

found Chavuma's educational program totally unsatisfactory and the missionaries' attitude toward education displeasing. He agreed that the men at the mission had built good roads and buildings as well as evangelizing, but he strongly disagreed with priorities. He felt it wrong to leave education "entirely to the women." [53]

Extremely blunt and frank for that era, Cottrell used his final "General Remarks and Recommendations" to evaluate Chavuma's educational program and the missionaries' attitude toward education as a more general criticism of Kalene, Kamapanda, and Chavuma. He also made a remarkable defense of the people.

There should be an organised system for all the Missions of this Society in the North West. I was told by a member of the Staff that this Mission prefers to run the school in its own way and be independent of Government grants and the undesirable regulations and restrictions attendant upon their acceptance. I know of no such regulations. Those which are in operation are enforced with the full approval of the Missionary Board of Advice on Education and are calculated to ensure a reasonable standard of efficiency in the schools. A day school open for only 6 hours a week, employing no qualified African teachers and teaching no systematic manual work would, of course, not qualify for a grant. There is a difference between half measures and a full time educational programme which of necessity must be regulated.

Here, as at other missions in the area, the people were said to be the most difficult, backward and primitive people in the Territory. I do not agree. I found the Luena of Angola and the border area (though perhaps rather impatient of control) living in good villages, successful agriculturists, bee keepers and fishermen, knowledgeable about animals and trees, intelligent and anxious to learn. The fact that so many girls attend

~~the Chavuma Schools is surely not the mark of an unprogressive people!~~{54}

(3) Suckling at Chitokoloki

Chitokoloki's educational program continued to follow a different path. Unlike other NWP missionaries, Suckling integrated his evangelism and educational aims. Nonetheless his educational programs remained weak until his fortunes revived. Chitokoloki's educational program was thriving again by the time of Cottrell's visit at the end of 1932.

Suckling's educational program reached its nadir in the mid-1920s. By this time his broad educational dream had failed, especially the practical industrial program centered on carpentry. Even boarding at the mission school had become impossible. An unfortunate but appropriate symbol of this period was the collapse of Suckling's home on him and his family in 1925. After this accident, Suckling took his family to Britain.{55}

Despite Suckling's problems in the mid-1920s, student enrollments at the mission and village schools were often no worse than at other places. In 1924 for example, the Chitokoloki station school enrolled 144 students (100

{54}Ibid.; the underlining is mine.

{55}The exact date of the accident was not given, probably Jan. 1925. Echoes, 54 (Mar. 1925), p. 53.

men and 44 women); Kangwanda--an autonomous satellite station--enrolled 117 students (99 men and 11 women); three village schools survived (at Kakonga, Chinono, and Mukena); and a fourth reopened in 1925. These village schools had 196 pupils (150 men and 46 women). Thus in 1924 approximately 450 students attended the formal school programs of Chitokoloki and Kangwanda together. {56}

Returning from Britain in 1926, Suckling rebounded. When Hansen abandoned his own first mission station at Loze and returned to Chitokoloki, the two men rebuilt the mission and revitalized its educational program. By 1927 the mission school had four terms of eight weeks each. Instruction was given three hours a day, five days a week. The curriculum again assumed a practical bias with printing and carpentry being taught. In addition Suckling encouraged people to grow wheat, rice and nuts. {57}

Until the mid-1930s Suckling's Achilles heel was his irregularly-run village schools. These schools opened and closed every few years due to a combination of three factors: their early evangelical orientation, Suckling's own attitude, and an unusual attempt to initiate compulsory education. Until 1928 these outschools were primarily evangelical and religious instruction centers, probably just

{56} Barotse AR, 31 Mar. 1924; Balovale AR, 31 Mar. 1925; H. L. Davey, 14 Aug. 1925, Echoes, 54 (Dec. 1925), pp. 274-5; Jean W. R. Hume, Voices, 20 (July 1925), n.p.

{57} Balovale AR, 1926; Balovale AR, 1927.

marginally better than those elsewhere in the NWP. The teachers were described by Silas Chizawu as "just literate men, who could read and write." Standards were indeed low. In 1928 Suckling closed these initial village schools. {58}

With government support from the Barotse Fund and under new government regulations, four new village schools opened in 1929 and 1930. To the consternation of the central government, Suckling and the DC made an additional agreement. The latter promised to use government 'kapasos' (messengers or tribal police) to ensure good attendance. Suckling agreed not only to apply the school code to these schools and provide periodic refresher courses for the staff, but also to let the DC inspect them whenever he wished. All started off well. The Schools even provided carpentry training. Attendance at each ranged from 17 to 42 in 1932. {59}

{58} Chizawu interview. For details of the schools between 1924 and 1928, see the following: Balovale AR, 1926; Balovale AR, 1927. See also 1927 reports by Hume and Suckling and 12 Jan. 1928 letter and report by Suckling, all in "Barotseland, Missions, Schools, 1926 Jan.--1929 Feb.," KDE 2/30/9, NAZ. For mission reports, see: Hume, 11 Oct. 1926, Echoes, 56 (Feb. 1927), p. 42; Suckling, 1 Nov. 1926, Echoes, 56 (Mar. 1927), pp. 63-4; Suckling and Thomas Hansen, 1 Jan. 1928, Echoes, 57 (Apr. 1928), p. 87.

{59} The Balovale AR for 1928 details the agreement between the DC and Suckling; at the territorial headquarters someone added in ms. "procedure? . . . attendance cannot be enforced." It is unclear who financed these new village schools. Hansen, Echoes, 58 (Sept. 1929), pp. 206-7, aid that government did not help. For government details, see Balovale ARs for 1930-2. For school and attendance statistics see the 1932 AR. See also Suckling,

After this initial success, however, the village schools failed amidst controversy. Explaining their failure, the DC blamed Suckling.

This mission has had to close its four outschools. Mr. Suckling appears to experience difficulty not only in obtaining pupils, but keeping these at school. It became impossible to send our Messengers after recalcitrant pupils (a procedure which Mr. Suckling seemed to expect) and he therefore closed all outschools, bringing such pupils as wished to do so to Chitokoloki as boarders. In spite of the good work done by this Mission, there seem to be more complaints about pupils etc. from Chitokoloki than from other missions with which I have come into contact. I am of the opinion that, as regards outschools, the chief source of trouble is that they are very rarely visited. None have been visited this year. If pupils are left entirely in the hands of a native teacher, I believe they come to think that the "muluti" has lost interest in them, and under these conditions, I very much doubt whether all the blame is to be attached to the pupils. {60}

Cottrell later summed things up. He believed enforcing attendance "was a mistake. . . . It is bad policy to coerce an unwilling minority until the wants of the willing majority have been met." {61}

The village school program failed because Suckling

18 Jan. 1930, Echoes, 59 (May 1930), pp. 109-10; Dr. Walter Fisher (who had just visited Chitokoloki) Echoes, 58 (Feb. 1929), p. 45; and Gaunt, Tour Report No. 8/1930, Balovale Dist. Tour Reports, Barotse Prov., 1930, ZA 7/4/11, NAZ; and the Chizawu interview, App. J.

{60} Balovale AR, 1931. See also G. E. Noad, Balovale Tour Reports, Barotse Prov., 1931, ZA 7/4/20, NAZ. Compulsory education has subsequently been a total failure. The Native Authorities tried it again in the 1940s without success. Today local officials still regard it as an unreachd ideal.

{61} Cottrell, "Chitokoloki," App. K.

again over-extended himself. As in the BSAC period, Suckling's personnel and financial resources did not necessarily match his educational dreams. He did not have enough staff to handle all the mission's activities. As he worked hard making his mission station school successful, Suckling did not have enough time for, and thus temporarily lost interest in, the village school program.

The educational programs that blossomed in the 1930s and 1940s were conceived in 1926. When Suckling returned from overseas, he went to Mongu to meet Latham. Then in 1928, he became involved in discussions between the Balovale DC and the Principal of the Barotse National School in Mongu. The latter proposed sending teachers to Chitokoloki to open a school. As in 1914 Suckling objected "on religious grounds," fearing religious contamination. The DC agreed with Suckling, although not on religious grounds; Lozi was not spoken in Balovale.{62}

This government proposal served as a new catalyst, stimulating Suckling's old determination. In a counterproposal Suckling offered to apply the school code to all his schools and also to add a normal school for teacher training at the mission station. He assured the government that "[we are] quite prepared to put our whole heart in the work and to be judged by the results." Consequently, agreements were made and the Barotse Fund gave grants to Chitokoloki. The

{62}Balovale AR, 1926; Balovale AR, 1928. For this correspondence, see the following file, "Barotse Missions, Schools, Jan. 1926--Feb. 1929," KDE 2/30/9, NAZ.

DC believed that with Suckling's "energy and capability" education in the district should improve. [63]

Although the village schools failed, education at the mission school began to steadily improve. Suckling kept his word and added able staff. In 1930 James Caldwell joined to teach the upper class. By 1932 the school enrolled 76 boarders and up to 70 day pupils, including 45 women. Chitokoloki once again reached a standard well beyond other educational programs. [64]

Besides providing a high quality basic education, the mission school heeded the other aspects of a well-rounded formal education. In 1932 the DC noted that "specimens of carving, weaving, mat-making, etc., sent to Kafue Show received commendation." Cottrell asserted that the fame of Hansen's carpentry training had reached him in Mazabuka. He felt that it lived up to its reputation and enthused: "most important . . . I was pleased to note that the industrial and handicraft work was not conducted on the lines of 'forced manual labour' the invariable result of which is not character training but planting in the boys a

[63] Suckling to Hudson (Balovale DC), 30 Jan. 1929, KDE 2/30/9, NAZ. For Suckling's energy, see the Balovale AR, 1929. Suckling in 1928 initially applied for 334 pounds sterling in the 1929-30 financial year: KDE 2/30/9. He did not get this full sum and the records are not clear about how much he initially got. He received a grant of 250 pounds sterling for 1930-31: Hudson, Balovale Dist., Report for the quarter ending 31 Mar. 1930 in "Quarterly Reports," ZA 7/3/12, NAZ.

[64] For the statistics, see the Balovale ARs for 1930-32.

dislike of and a tendency to avoid manual work at home and in after life." Cottrell further commended Caldwell for his work with singing, stating that he had "not heard better . . . at any Mission in Northern Rhodesia." Time was also given to organized sports and drill. {65}

Having established this basically sound educational program, plans could be made for a high quality normal school and teacher training. Cottrell especially noted that Chitokoloki, like the other Brethren and SAGM programs, was "up against the qualified teacher problem." Without necessarily agreeing, he accepted the fact that as regards the best senior students Mr. Suckling "is wholly against sending the lads to the Railway line where he thinks they will be spoilt and may not return." In accepting Suckling's argument, Cottrell tacitly agreed that Chitokoloki could start teacher training with government support, but he refused to accept Suckling's objection to advanced Jeanes training. He strongly recommended that "one candidate be selected from this Mission for training at the Jeanes School in 1935 and subsequently to serve as Jeanes supervisor to the four Missions of this Society in North Western Rhodesia." Both issues would become significant after 1933. {66}

{65} Balovale AR for 1932 and Cottrell, "Chitokoloki," App. K. See also the Chizawu interview, App. J.

{66} Cottrell, "Chitokoloki," App. K.

Chitokoloki was the last station that Cottrell visited in the NWP. As the above quotations indicate, it had the only educational program that satisfied Cottrell. He highly praised the mission: "The general tone, order and discipline of the school is excellent. The boys are well-clothed, well-fed, well-housed, well-cared for and happy." Cottrell also directly contrasted Chitokoloki's program with the others. He noted that it was the only mission station "of the group at which the men put their backs into the educational work." But more specifically he praised Chitokoloki and damned the others for their help or lack of help to Africans:

At one of these Missions when being shown round I heard to oft repeated expression 'This is only to whet their appetites for something more'. The words rang true: This was the very phrase I wanted to describe the work of the Mission I had been seeing. 'And it's high time they were given their dinner', was the thought that passed through my mind.

In truth, Chitokoloki, . . . was the only one about which I felt that a 'square-meal' was being given. The diet too [sic] is good. The boys are not merely being trained to take a subordinate part in European industrial life. They are given that real interest in life which 'a proper education suited to past history and present condition' can stimulate. {67}

Cottrell's Visit and the Birth of the Modern Educational System

In this first complete government inspection, Cottrell evaluated all of the autonomous mission programs. While recognizing the government's lack of help, he felt the existing situation demanded an honest and open analysis. Cottrell's report delighted Chitokoloki but shocked and offended most missionaries. In addition his thorough and comprehensive report was not only concerned with school inspection, but also with wider educational issues.

During his tour Cottrell talked with an extraordinary number and range of Europeans and Africans about general educational problems. These conversations brought him face-to-face with two interrelated questions that the region's European elite both raised and answered about the African population: a) Why did pupils generally leave school after they learned to read and write? b) Were they "backward and inferior?" Regarding the questions as significant, Cottrell addressed them several times within the report. In his concluding paragraph to the Chavuma section, he firmly rejected the pat racial answer that this elite asserted and accepted as true. In concluding his Chitokoloki report, he reaffirmed and expanded the earlier contention:

The Lunda and Lwena peoples are considered to be backward and inferior. In my opinion they are not so. The value of Education is not as obvious to them as to those who live in the industrial areas and therefore the desire for it is not strong. . . . I am convinced that generally speaking, to the native mind learning is not

acquired in schools for its own sake but for that of getting work under Europeans. And so in this area, the white man's magical gift is sought by the few not so much for the material gain it brings but to attain the distinction of being able to read the vernacular Scriptures and write and receive letters from friends. . . . Consequently, the "school life" of the majority of pupils is short lived. {68}

In refuting assumptions of backwardness and inferiority, Cottrell revealed his vision. But his rejection of this stereotype forced him to find a new reason for so many pupils dropping out when so few schools were available in the first place. Part of his answer was a condemnation of the existing school programs. But as the above quotation shows, he also pointed the answer toward its logical conclusion: industrial capitalism as an economic system by-passed the NWP and left it a stagnant backwater. As a result, education still lacked poignant symbolic meaning for a large segment of the African population. Even the new colonial world still had no positive meaning to the bulk of the NWP's Africans. This world remained only a negative force since they paid taxes. Without widespread meaning, voluntary interaction over modern education remained more limited than in many parts of the territory. Many of Cottrell's recommendations pointed toward ways to make education more meaningful.

Above all else, Cottrell's report became the handwriting on the wall for the NWP's white elite and best informed Africans. The answer to the basic two questions

{68} Balovale AR for 1932 and Cottrell, "Chitokoloki," App. K. See also the Chizawu interview, App. J.

was clear: the government and its officials would control education but the missions would operate it completely or in part, as government dictated. The autonomy of missions' educational programs quietly ended. His report became the inception of a modern unified system of education.