

APPENDICES

Note: In the text, frequent reference is made to oral and written materials that were essential in writing this dissertation. Some of the least accessible are presented here in separate appendices, and each one is preceded by a brief introduction.

APPENDIX A:

BRETHREN MISSIONARY PRINCIPLES

[A. R. Short, a prominent brother in England, wrote an historical memorandum on Brethren missionary work. Writing for Bible Study Classes, he describes the model used by the early Christian church, of going forth on faith, and argues that it is still appropriate in the twentieth century. God's anointed missionaries do not need the hierarchical structure found in most missionary societies.

When he was writing in 1919, Short was especially concerned about the Brethren mission fields. Though not in the field himself, he expressed beliefs shared by missionaries in Central Africa, like Dr. Walter Fisher, Hugh Cunningham, and George Suckling. Furthermore, Short's model seems to have influenced later missionaries. {1}]

Supposing we wish to make a modern experiment in missions on Apostolic lines, what is the pattern we have to follow?

We have learned that there must be the reaching out to regions empty of the gospel. That the main method and purpose of the work must be evangelism, the raising up of a local church and native eldership, and imparting the written word of God. That the missionary's call comes from God, either directly or voiced by the invitation of a older

[1] A. R. Short, A Modern Experiment in Apostolic Missions (Bristol: W.G. Harris, [1919]), 19-20. For a more recent and comprehensive statement of Brethren mission principles, see A. Pullenq, Go Ye Therefore. 2. 2. (London: Paternoster Press, 1958).

missionary; that it is recognized by his fellow Christians in his own assembly as well as by himself, and by a neighbouring church (Iconium, as well as Lystra; Jerusalem as well as Antioch). That the Holy Ghost sends forth, and the Church acquiesces with full fellowship, but does not seek to exercise any control over the worker in the field. That younger missionaries are subject to elder. That financial support may come in part from the missionary's secular occupation, but that usually it is the duty and privilege of the believers who send him out also to forward money to support him. But that there is no promise or guarantee of a salary, and the worker looks to God, not man, to keep him.

No doubt objections can be raised to following such a model--that there is no sense in it, or reason for it, that other methods of doing foreign missionary work have been wonderfully successful, that it is altogether too idealist, impracticable, that the workers will be in a state of chronic financial anxiety, that they and the work will inevitably starve.

Well, everything goes back to the main question, have we any right "to go beyond the things which are written"? Is not the New Testament example for us like the "pattern in the mount" to Moses? Why does the inspiration of God include so much personal detail, even to a few books and an old cloak left at Troas, if it is not that we too may learn how best to please our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in our service for Him? That missionary work conducted on other lines has been immensely blessed is true, and we rejoice in the success obtained and the souls saved; we wonder at and admire the splendid heroism of the pioneers of the gospel in India, and China, and Madagascar, and Africa, and Greenland, and the South Seas. But, once more, success is not the principal test of being pleasing to God.

That we may not here and now see a sufficient reason for God's laying down a particular programme for carrying out His work does not matter in the least. We can afford to wait to learn His reasons later. But this, at least, may be said: nothing would be more hopeless than for a few exiled Britishers to expect to shake the ramparts of heathenism, or win souls out of its terrific bondage, apart from the factor of Divine Power working with them. Everything depends on mobilizing the Divine factor. And if the missionary has a daily education in looking to God, trusting in God, for his financial needs, and in getting answers impressive and easily understood when God steps in to meet those needs, how much easier does it become to learn to look to Him and trust in Him also for needs in the much more difficult spiritual realm--for power over besetting sin, daily guidance, conversion of the unsaved, preservation of converts from backsliding, overcoming of the hostility of devil-possessed priests and the like!

Again, if the worker in a foreign land looks to God alone for supplies, it greatly reduces the danger of one entering or continuing in the field whom God has not sent. Scattered through "Echoes of Service" there are a very few notices of such, who, led by enthusiasm, mistook a call, found out the mistake only after spending a year or two in the mission field, and quietly dropped out or returned home.

Whether the ideal is impracticable, when God has called a man or a woman, it is the purpose of the following chapters to elucidate.

APPENDIX B:

A LINGUA FRANCA?

ALTERNATIVE BRETHREN POSITIONS ON AFRICAN EDUCATION

[As non-conforming, conservative evangelicals, most Brethren tended to be suspicious about providing charity school-type education in their overseas mission programs. They feared any programs that might result in their mission endeavors developing structured, hierarchical, systems--like those of formal missionary societies. They believed that this was not Biblical and could endanger their emphasis for personal evangelism. Their mission stations in Central Africa, however, faced the problems of multiple indigenous languages. As they firmly believed that everyone in the world had the right to read God's Word, they created for themselves a significant dilemma. They either had to help in a large educational endeavor when the government neglected to do so or engage in a Biblical translation task of gigantic proportions. The five Brethren extracts that follow first put this unresolved controversy into historical perspective and then give the alternative views that affected the NWP in the 1910s and 1920s.]

An Historical Perspective by A. Pulleng

[In 1958, A. Pulleng, one of the long-term editors of Echoes of Service, wrote a new guide for mission work, "Go Ye Therefore . . ." He used historical hindsight to show the lack of consensus about the place of education in mission work. What was their Christian duty? Just teach basic literacy that enabled converts to read the Bible, or something more? A secondary question and duty was involved in this issue. If they only taught basic reading, then they had to become translators and place the Bible in numerous African languages. He also notes the different colonial situations in Angola and the Belgian Congo, as well as in the English speaking British ruled areas.][2]

[2] "Go Ye Therefore . . .": Missionary Service in a Changing World (London: Paternoster Press, 1958), pp. 84-91.

From the earliest days of Protestant missionary work there has been a sharp difference of opinion amongst missionaries as to the value of this work. . . . When A. N. Groves visited India he came into contact with Alexander Duff in Calcutta in 1834. Duff had then commenced the educational work which was subsequently to make him so well known. . . . His biography records the impact which Duff's work made. . . . Mr. Groves 'confess[ed] I left England an avowed enemy to education in connexion with missions; but I now tell you, and frankly, that henceforth, from what I have seen today, I am its friend and advocate'.

On the other hand another well-known missionary of the same era, Adoniran Judson, held quite different views. [He concluded that] while schools diffuse knowledge, improved the intellect, hasten the progress of civilization, and are therefore benevolent and philanthropic, they are not the missionary work which Christ committed to His disciples. That they have done good who can doubt? But, as a means for converting men, that they have fallen very far below the simple preaching of the Gospel is, I think, beyond a question.

Notwithstanding his position, the very mission which Judson formed was subsequently largely taken up with educational work from primary schools to university standard. In India, too, many missionaries followed Duff's example but not with the same spirituality nor with like spiritual results. In consequence, many have been led in the conclusion that, while education will tend to remove ignorant superstitions, unless it is accompanied by conversions it will result in a materialistic outlook and make the educated more difficult to reach with the Gospel than the primitive heathen. . . .

In Central Africa the results achieved in educational work have been almost spectacular. Seventy years ago when the intrepid pioneers entered the vast territory they found tribes which while they had a wealth of folk tales, legends and history, handed down from generation to generation, had no written language and therefore no literature. The first task of the missionaries was to reduce languages to writing, and give the people the Word of God to read for themselves. This has proved a monumental task and all praise is due to the men and women who, in various ways, have laboured to achieve its accomplishment.

As soon as the various languages were reduced to writing school were started and boys, girls, men and women began to learn to read. In the early days these schools were very primitive and simple in character, and though many of the missionaries were not qualified teachers, remarkable results were achieved.

In the beginning there was no alternative to engaging in school work. In addition to the effect on

assembly life of ability to read the Scriptures, individuals would thus gain a knowledge of God and the Saviour which would enable them more effectively to overcome the fierce opposition of the enemy, and to shake off the shackles of witchcraft and the superstitions which had held them in bondage for centuries. If the work is to spread, it must be largely through the medium of native evangelists. If assemblies are to be built up and become self-propagating, teachers and pastors must be raised up. These cannot do their work properly unless they can read the Word of God. In civilized lands Government undertake the work of education. In the pioneer days in Central Africa, Governments had barely become established and could not undertake an educational programme.

The schools in Central Africa fall into three categories--Bush schools, Regional schools and Central Boarding schools. The missionary selects some of the brightest boys in the area, who have been converted, and gives them further instruction and training in the hope that they will be exercised to become teachers in the bush schools. Chiefs have been most anxious to see such schools established in their villages. The bush-school teacher may know little more than reading and writing, his school and equipment being quite primitive. Yet, his influence on the children of the village will be immense. He is able to impart simple instruction in the Scriptures and inculcate habits of discipline to which the child in the village has been totally unaccustomed. The school period is usually of one and a half hours duration followed by drill of which the African boy is very fond. The teachers live by the school in a simple hut of their own construction, cultivating their own plantations of manioc and grain. They may receive gifts from the parent assembly. After school, adults are gathered to hear the Gospel, and such schools have been the means of the foundation of most village assemblies.

Regional schools are better equipped than bush schools and take the boys to a higher educational standard. They are manned by African evangelists, assisted by Christian schoolboys taught at the boarding school on the mission station. At these schools the boys bring their own food on Mondays and stay during the whole week as boarders, often returning home at the week-end for more food. Such schools are equipped with blackboards, charts, exercise books, and rough tables where the boys can write more easily than they do on their knees in the bush school.

Instead of merely learning to read and to write, as in the bush schools, they have simple lessons in arithmetic, geography, history, general knowledge, and may even learn a little French or English. Bible instruction follows very much the same lines as in the ordinary bush school. The early morning prayer meeting and Bible reading is followed by a more thorough Bible exposition or Gospel message at the

afternoon school, being sometimes backed up by a camp-fire meeting at night. Where a regional school exists there is usually a thriving assembly.

In the same areas because of the desire of youth for better education Central Boarding schools have been established. The boys attending these schools do not go home at weekends and are thus under Christian influence for several consecutive months. The day commences with a period of prayer and Bible reading. Part of each day is spent in manual work such as cutting trees and ripping planks for building operations and the clearing of the long grass which rapidly envelops the mission station; others are engaged in cultivating gardens for the production of their own food. The manual work and gardening are reckoned towards the cost of their food.

The authorities are particularly anxious that boys should be engaged in manual work, as there is a tendency for the African to regard it as demeaning, and to aspire to do only clerical work. Thus the trend is away from the rural areas to the large towns, which from a government's standpoint is not altogether satisfactory.

The boys in these central boarding schools not only derive greater benefit in the matter of education, but there is also a greater prospect of their conversion, and of their becoming potential leaders in the assemblies. In Angola the Portuguese authorities require that before an African Christian can be allowed to preach or "catechize" he must qualify for a special permit. This is only given when he has reached what they consider to be a satisfactory standard of education which includes ability to speak Portuguese. This is in keeping with their efforts to raise the cultural standards of the people and has many advantages.

Thus it would be impossible for Africans to engage in public work in Angola, were it not for schools for teaching and the training of African believers. It is also important to realize that, so far as Angola is concerned, each main mission centre is required not only to engage in school work, but also to employ a European teacher of Portuguese nationality to be responsible for it. As there is no subsidy from the Government, missionaries are put to considerable expense, but it is a condition of continuing evangelical work of any kind, and in any case the missionaries consider the results justify the expenses. D. B. Long, for example, states that in a period of two years seventy per cent of those baptised were the direct result of school work.

In the Belgian Congo the position is quite different from that in Angola. It is the deliberate policy of the Congo Government that education shall be in the hands of Christian missions, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic,

since it considers that if the education of Africans is divorced from religion it will lead to Communism. Thus apart from certain "lay" schools in the large towns there are no government schools. This means that if the children cannot be taught by Protestant Missions they will all go to the Roman Catholics. The government grants generous subsidies towards the cost of school work, but the schools must be in charge of a teacher possessing a Belgian diploma which can only be obtained after studying for twelve months in Belgium.

Charles A. Swan, 1912-

[Charles A. Swan, one of the earliest Brethren missionaries to follow F. S. Arnot into Central Africa, took a contrary view to the prevailing Brethren opinion on education. Because of people's high regard for him, he was permitted to argue his case for good education in Links of Help, the main publication of the Men's Study Classes. In the following article, he argued for good educational programs that taught in English, French and Portuguese--the new colonial languages. While the modern reader may question his "natural order," history has proven him an accurate prophet with regard to modern education.]{3}

Only those who have attempted it have any true idea of what it means to reduce an African language to writing, and then to attempt to translate the Scriptures into that language. And when we consider that there are something like one hundred and sixty-eight languages and fifty-five dialects of the Bantu family alone, one can imagine what an incalculable amount of labour must be spent before all these tribes can have the Scriptures in their mother tongue.

Then, again we are bound to confess that all the translations made by the missionaries must be very faulty, and, in many instances, quite misleading to the native mind. If any enthusiastic missionary who has been engaged on this work think otherwise, let him ask his fellow-missionaries for their opinion about his work. The faultiness of such work may not in any way be due to the missionary's imperfect knowledge of the language, but rather to the poverty of the language itself. Language is the medium by which thoughts are conveyed from one to another, and where the thought does not exist there is no word to express it. This is the

reason why it becomes necessary to introduce so many foreign words to express certain abstract ideas concerning God's attributes, [and so forth]; not only because of the wrong ideas which the natives associate with them, even when they, to some extent seem to represent the abstract ideas which we seek to convey to them. The words they use for God often fail to suggest to the native mind a true impression of that Holy and loving Being, such as the word suggests to us, and sometimes it conveys the idea of a cruel monster, even though they may think of Him as the Creator. Some missionaries have therefore questioned the wisdom of using any of the native names to represent the persons of the Godhead.

Now what is the missionary's object in going to a land like Africa? You reply at once that it is to carry out the great commission of Matthew 28.19, 20. That is, he goes to make disciples, and to teach them all that Christ commanded. And in order to do this it is necessary not only to preach to them, but also to put the Scriptures into their own language that they may be able to read them for themselves.

Face, then, for a moment, what the problem would mean, and ask yourself the question, Will the thing ever be accomplished? I think you will be forced to the conclusion that the Scriptures will never be translated into all these languages and dialects. If not, we are inclined to ask, Was it ever intended that it should be attempted? Perhaps some will say, No, not into all, but into the strongest--into those which cover the largest extent of the territory.

But don't you see that if we conclude that it is impossible or unnecessary for any one of the tribes to have the Scriptures in their own tongue, the ground immediately crumbles away beneath the feet of those who insist any one of the tribes must have them.

You object, and say, Yes, but the Gospel must be preached to those of every kindred, tongue, people, and nation. Yes, but I have yet to see the passage which says that the Gospel will be read in the language of every tribe.

Now one probable way to gain time and to save work, in order to accomplish as much as possible in the short period left to us before the coming of the Lord--which some think is very near--is as follows: instead of attempting the impossible--translating the Scriptures into so many languages--let the educational or school work of the missionary be in a European tongue. All Africa is now divided out among the European nations, so that English might be taught in English territory, French in French, Portuguese in Portuguese [and so forth].

With the knowledge of the European language, the new missionary could begin at once, to some extent, this educa-

tional work, and his knowledge could be obtained before entering the field. All preaching should, of course, be done in the native language, both by missionaries and native converts; but when once the native evangelists have acquired a good knowledge of the European language it might be well to use that language as the medium for instructing and preparing them for their work. They would then go forth and tell out in their own idiomatic phrases the wonderful Words of Life.

Some may object and say that having a knowledge of the white man's language would lead the native to go off and serve the non-Christian white, and thus become exposed to grievous temptations. Possibly; but this is bound to come sooner or later, even without a knowledge of the European language, and it has already come in many parts of Africa, as letters from missionaries on the field clearly show. How much better that when they go they should carry with them a complete copy of the Word of God to strengthen them to resist these many temptations.

Some of the advantages of such a method would be:

As soon as the native could read in the European language, a comparatively perfect translation of the whole Bible would, without delay, be put into his hands.

All kinds of useful literature would at once become available for him, the missionary seeing, as far as possible, that only good wholesome reading came within his reach.

The very serious difficulty of how to teach arithmetic, owing to the very crude methods of calculation which prevail among the natives, would solve itself.

All the Christians of the different tribes included, say, in the territory where any one European language is taught would be able to communicate with each other and mutually help each other in the things of God. Whereas under the present modus operandi when you have taught a number to read in each of the different tribes these cannot communicate with or help each other, nor read each other's Bible, for the simple reason that they speak and read in a different language.

I think also that the natives would be much keener to learn the European language than their own.

Should it take ten times as long to teach the European language as it does to teach the native tongue, the end in view would be very much more quickly accomplished, as all the tedious work of translation would be done away with.

The missionaries would thus be following the natural order of things, for in new countries where the white man settles, it is not the settlers who learn the native tongue; the weaker must give way before the stronger, and the native learns the white's language.

Sooner or later the European Governments will compel missionaries to do what I am here advocating, i.e., they will be compelled to teach the European language. This is being advocated in the Portuguese Government.

Let it be remembered that all that is here said only applies to the numerous unwritten languages and dialects in Africa, and not to any language in which the missionary finds a literature already in existence.

George Suckling, 1915

[Suckling applied Swan's line of argument to his own plans in a letter published in Echoes of Service. The editors felt that he overstated his case, however, and rebuked him as noted at the end of his letter.]{4}

Some say that to teach English should be our chief educational aim out here, so that the native Christians from all the stations should have a lingua franca in which to talk together, and also that they may have the English Bible put into their hands. The chief difficulty lies in the length of time required for the natives to master the language sufficiently to talk of spiritual things and to read the Bible intelligently. Many of the adult (though not necessarily old) Christians would find it absolutely impossible to do so. Therefore preaching and translation work in the native languages seem essential. On the other hand, the native languages not only have much smaller vocabularies, but, I think it will be agreed, much less adaptability than English for expressing spiritual truths, so that I often wonder whether some of the most familiar truths to English Christians are not quite hidden from even intelligent African believers. It is possible that these young Christian boys, by commencing thus early to learn English, may acquire a fair knowledge of it. Only a few will get on really well, so our native schools and translation work not be effected, but, if these few really acquire a good working knowledge of English, I believe the results will fully

{4} Echoes, 44 (Sept. 1915, pt. 2), pp. 356-7.

justify our trouble. There is the danger that a slight knowledge of English may lead to go and work for other white men, and thus our labour may be in vain. Please pray that it may no be so with these boys, but that what knowledge of English they may obtain may be for their real good and the blessing of others.

[Editors] We may remark that, even if possible, it would be inadvisable to attempt to make English a lingua franca for the native Christians of all the stations, as a number of these are in Portuguese or Belgian territory, and the respective Governments would naturally desire the natives, if they learn a European language at all, to acquire Portuguese for French.

Adams and Bromley, 1915

[Swan's and Suckling's statements expressed a minority opinion within Brethren circles. Possibly as a reply to Suckling, these two missionaries in India state a more orthodox view. Few outspoken statements like Swan's and Suckling's again appeared in Brethren mission publications for many years.]{5}

The Lord imposes no obligation whatever upon His missionary servant to provide secular education. The great scholar [Apostle Paul] of the early Church subjected his pre-eminent intellectual attainments to the stern discipline of the Cross, as is abundantly manifest by his language, and it is not without significance that he did not include schools amongst the methods of missionary work followed by himself and his associates. Hence the missionary must refuse to have this responsibility saddled upon him by the Christian community. That schools can be a very useful gospel agency goes without saying, and all will agree as to the desirability of all converts and their children being taught to read the Scriptures. But with this all responsibility ceases, and higher education is only justified as a means of bringing the Word of God to souls. In these remarks we do not wish to deprecate education for Indian Christians; we only wish, as missionaries, justly to repudiate responsibility for it.

{5}E. Charles Adams and Eustace B. Bromley, Echoes, 44 (Nov. 1915, pt. 1), pp. 403-4.

J. Alexander Clarke, 1923/1924

[In this article, Clarke applies Adams and Bromley's argument to missions in the Beloved Strip. School must not become the proverbial tail--of Christian evangelism--that wagged the dog.][6]

Four times in the Holy Scriptures are written the words "The just shall live by faith." This strange reiteration, surely emphasises the importance of the principle enunciated. School-work is an important branch of missionary endeavor in uncivilized lands, and should be the expression of a keen desire to teach the young people to read the Words of God in their own language. Of late years, however, it has taken a much larger place in missionary life and work than formerly, shewn in the very extensive opening of schools, mostly erected and supported by foreign monies. In this the serious danger, for both white and coloured workers, of departing from the above fundamental principle of entire dependance upon God, must be guarded against.

Already the common practice of the missionary's carrying the entire burden of these schools, which involves not only the erection and upkeep of buildings, but also monthly salaries, is creating a situation fraught with peril to the young Christian teachers. Thereby they are made, perhaps unconsciously, to look to him for all supplies both spiritual and material, and expect the missionary alone to take the initiative in all the future development of the work. But, on the other hand, to encourage and teach the local church to carry the responsibility of any gospel-school work in the district is to impress upon the individual members the fact that it is not solely the foreigners business supported by monies he receives, and would also lead to exercise of heart in this respect, and strengthening of faith. Progress might not appear to be so rapid but great spiritual blessing to the church would result, in that it would no longer depend on the (to the natives) unlimited foreign supplies through the white-man, but would constantly be cast upon God for all that is needful for the furtherance of His cause. . . .

The purpose of God in this age is recognized to be not the civilizing not the christianizing of the world, but rather the gathering out of both Jew and Gentile through the evangel, God's dynamic, a people for Himself.

[6] Links, 12/13 (1923/4), p. 285. For other important articles reflecting on education in Africa, see those by Mrs. Anton in Links, 18 (1928/9), esp. pp. 10-1, 14-5.

APPENDIX C:

MELLAND AND GOVERNMENT UNDER BSAC CONTROL

[In 1921, just before Frank Melland left office, he wrote a long introduction to the provincial annual report. In it, he candidly describes the serious flaws of the government under BSAC control. His insight and experience makes the analysis as perceptive, critical, and thorough as any that could be done by a modern historian. {7}]

On the surface the past year has been most uneventful. There is, however, a regrettable undercurrent which is difficult to analyse. The fact that it is indefinite as yet does not, in my opinion, remove the obligation that rests on a District Commissioner to report it. It is better to call attention to the first signs of smoke than to wait for a fire to blaze out. I made references to this undercurrent twelve months ago, and again at the half year, and I will endeavour not to repeat myself more than is unavoidable.

There appears to be a tendency towards dissatisfaction with the Administration--or, rather, with white domination and "interference"--which either did not exist some years ago, or else was more subdued. The latter, I believe, chiefly but not altogether.) The Kasempa sub-district {*} has given evidence this year of a fairly

{*} I attribute the prevalence of this in one sub-district to the fact that this particular sub-district is very large in area, and is under-manned, as I have stated often in asking for a third official for it. I have removed one Chief's group to Solwezi, which will alleviate this though it will not remedy it.

widespread--though apparently unorganised--tendency to passive resistance to the Government. This has shown chiefly in what amounted practically to a refusal to pay the tax by an appreciable proportion of the natives. (This "refusal" has been on these lines:--"If the Government will provide us with work close at hand we will pay: if not, we won't. We will not go to Broken Hill or Lusaka: we will

{7} "Report by the District Commissioner, for the Kasempa District [Province], for the Year Ending 31st March 1921", pp. 1-7, ZA 7/1/5/6, ZNA.

not go to the Congo. We would rather go to gaol as defaulters.")

Also there has been a visible tendency to neglect openly and even defiantly obligations such as road-clearing, which have always been considered by the natives to be reasonable calls upon them. It is very important in this connection to remember that in all native affairs the interpretation of a word like reasonable should depend largely on what is reasonable to the natives. The essence of good government is to be effective without being oppressive--that laws should not be felt too much. So long as our laws appear reasonable to the natives they are not felt. It is hard for Europeans to realise that laws which are most reasonable in our eyes are least so in the eyes of the Bantu, and vice versa. e.g. it is accepted officially that the suppression and prohibition of slavery in all forms is reasonable (need I add I am not querying the righteousness of this suppression?) whereas compelling the natives to work for, or supply food to, the Administration is not: anyone acquainted with the local natives realises how absurd these two axioms appear to them.

So, when we find an old custom--road scuffling--which has not only never been resented, but has been publically endorsed by natives as reasonable, purposely left undone; when this accompanies an alarming failure to pay tax; a complete neglect of minor orders about villages etc, it is time to take notice--to admit that all is not well--and to ask why.

The answer is not so easy to find. As I said at the start the trouble itself is hard to analyse. However, the following are contributory causes. Different observers place them in different order; and I have not attempted to place them in order of importance.

1. Present prices. The fact that the natives' chief commodity, their labour, has depreciated in value. The native in these parts gets no more and often less pay (coin) than he got in 1914: he has to go further to get it; and the money he earns buys barely a quarter of what it used to buy. Taking the rate of pay as the same: if a native earns 15/- p.m. (minimum rate Kansanshi 1914) in three months he gets 45/- having had to travel much further to get it. This is divided as follows:--

Tax 10/- . Balance 35/- . The 35/- represented in 1914 70 yds grey calico, or 52 yds of blue, or 20 shirts. In 1921 it represents 23 (20 most of the year) 17, and 5, respectively. (In practice it is even worse, for a large part of the 35/- would go to pay the tax of a relative not strong enough to go far away to work; part goes to pay arrears--ever growing since local employment ceased--in marriage

and succession dues--urgently claimed nowadays, because the creditors want the money for their taxes.

The natives are therefore more and more disinclined to part with this commodity (labour) and with their only other commodity (produce), for which the price (coin) has remained at pre-war level, so that 120 lbs grain, instead of representing 10 yds calico, fetches but 3 1/2 yds (2 1/2 most of last year). "It's not worth while going to work. It's not worth while growing food for sale".

ii. The natives have paid tax for years, and they do not see any adequate return. This is largely our fault administratively. We can enumerate the benefits of our rule, but we have not taken much trouble to demonstrate them. And the dissatisfaction is an undeniable fact. It is useless to confer "benefits" if they are not appreciated as such; and the logical result is that the plausible spreader of discontent finds no one to contradict him in the villages, so restlessness spreads easily.

iii. The unreasonableness of our laws (from the native point of view as outlined above). The natives do not object to commonsense laws made by a Government for itself (e.g. compulsory war work) but our general outlook on life is quite incongruous to them, and we have done little to enlighten them or elevate them.

To give a few examples, by prohibiting slavery, which they say (as did Aristotle) is a natural condition; and witch-finding (they say we do nothing against the witches themselves--because we deny their existence) we have interfered with two customs that are part of the bedrock of their society. Again, "taking the death off a body" is a custom we cannot even recognise as it is repugnant to us. It happens to be the mainstay of their laws of succession, on which hangs so much else; this is incomprehensible, besides being provocative of indignation and irritation as interference with, or scorn of, peoples' religious ideas always is. So far we have nothing to offer them in exchange for these things.

iv. Lack of medical assistance. The need for this has been urged so often that I will not emphasise it. It is a prominent deficiency. If one studies a map of the territory between the railway and Angola, one sees some Medical Officer posts on the railway and one on the Southern border at Mongu. There is not one in the whole interior of this area. The absence of medical skill handicaps us in much of our work: it typifies in the native mind the unreasonable nature of our laws (supra.3.) e.g. we prohibit them stopping sickness and death in a village by witch-

finding and--killing; and we provide no alternative. There are many other aspects, but this is not the place for a treatise on them; a reference must suffice.

v. Lack of opportunity for education. Any natives here who want education have to go as far as Dr. Pell's Kafue Mission to get it--becoming exiles temporarily. Nothing is done to remedy this. The demand is not very widespread yet, owing to lack of understanding, but it does exist and it becomes more noticeable every year.

vi. That native labour is but a commodity to be used for the benefit of Europeans (nothing is being done to direct it for the benefit of natives); and that there is no real freedom of contract (the ordinary native knows that he cannot really fix, or bargain about, his rate of pay--which has, in his eyes decreased: and he thinks the Government, to which he pays tax, could help him and does not.)

Minor causes can be omitted, but the above cannot be ignored. We have given the natives law, freedom, order and discipline. We probably pride ourselves most on the first two; but it may pay us to examine them from the native point of view.

Our law often seems unjust to them, and they do not like it. Our procedure is often so incomprehensible to them that it tends to counter-balance the great faith they have in our impartiality and probity. It has all been imposed upon them (as was our taxation) without any demand for it by them, so naturally they cannot understand why they should submit to one "nasty" thing (taxation) to pay for another (our law).

Freedom--not liberty. Our "freedom" consists largely in stopping slavery (in their eyes a natural domestic institution, and a fabric of life). Except to the slaves this is no benefit. We, in effect, demonetised the chief wealth of many, and have made it very hard for them to discharge succession dues, "friendship" fees, death payments, and old debts--liabilities which were formerly reckoned in slaves. (This has been aggravated of late by the fact that money is so hard to come by). Because a man cannot pay a debt or a due, with a slave, he may be mulcted of all his guns etc., and still fail to satisfy his creditor.

So much for LAW and FREEDOM from the native point of view. There remains ORDER and DISCIPLINE; these they do not mind so much, they even appreciate parts, though parts are undeniably irksome. If there were anything constructive in our work, I believe they might be widely welcomed, and then their objections to law and freedom would also decrease.

There is another point on which a report dealing with the past year cannot be silent; though as the Native Commissioners refer to it, I will be brief. As will be seen from the reports from the sub-districts, tribal control--control by chiefs and headmen--has decreased and is decreasing, each year more speedily. The very order and discipline that we have established accelerates this tendency, since discipline reduces responsibility. This tendency is not confined to this district--the supplanting of communalism by individualism is common to most parts of tropical Africa--but that does not detract from its importance. It is a serious matter, and unless we are prepared to rule the natives directly (which is unthinkable, at present anyhow) tribal control must be supported now, and a substitute prepared to take its place when necessary. It is not an impossible achievement, but it needs constructive policy. Marking time will not suffice.

I have been in this district for ten years, and have had charge of it for five; I may be entering soon on my last year (the Regulations lay down that one may have to retire after 21 years) so I feel that I should be failing in my duty if I did not record the above matters. This is a native district of great area, bounded on two sides by foreign territory and susceptible to outside influences. The present undercurrent of discontent and restlessness is an existing fact.

It can be stopped from growing into a danger by a realisation of our responsibilities, and by some constructive work. We have laid the foundation stones, but they appear meaningless to the native population (and so long as we content ourselves with the foundations and make no effort to build thereon, they are meaningless; they may even be harmful--as if a man bought a field for building, but having dug or built the foundations did not more, thereby destroying any possible value as pasture or arable that the field might possess, while not turning it to profit as a building estate.)

The fact that we collect tax, keep order, suppress crime, is nothing in itself. It is essential as a start, but it is not a result; and surely it is not our "aim"? If we proceed no further it appears to be the negation of our right to rule.

A brighter side of the picture may be seen in the continuing and increasing immigration from foreign territories; a testimonial of which our Administration may be proud (though it is not an unmixed blessing)....There is nothing really illogical in this preference for our rule by those outside, and the growing dissatisfaction felt for it by those inside. After some years of it the peace and security seem less weighty in the scales against loss of liberty (not freedom) and irksomeness. It is natural

evolution.The Belgian and Portuguese natives who reside outside our borders area also given at times to come in and seek our help, which is also gratifying.

The response to our local efforts to build up old local industries (Mr. Miller's work with the blacksmiths is most praiseworthy) is encouraging. Also there has been the effort to establish stock in the North West corner (fly-free) so suitable for it, which has so far only started in small stock, though perhaps cattle may follow later, and so add greatly to the wealth of the district. I think there is also a chance of getting cotton growing, spinning and weaving established. Some cotton seed is being sent up this year from Headquarters; and I am trying in three directions to get families who know the craft to come here to teach. The idea is welcomed by some of the natives (driven latterly to wear skins and bark-cloth) and others, now apathetic, may approve if the industry is established. At present, however, all these efforts depend entirely on local (district) initiative, and the cost of them is born (voluntarily) by the officials to whom these things appeal. Obviously, but little can be done on these lines; and the effort may die still-born with a change of personel [sic]. It will however be persevered in on the present modest scale in the hopes that some day it may be possible to use this preliminary work as a basis for something more substantial.

APPENDIX D:

MELLAND VERSUS SAGM

[In 1920 and 1921, Frank Melland stated his thorough disillusionment with SAGM in a letter to Charles Foster on 11 September 1920. Later Melland expanded his view. Herbert Pirouet described the latter in a report to their Executive Secretary in Cape Town. This correspondence raises interesting points about the relationship between the missions and the government administration.]{8}

Frank M. Melland to Charles Foster: 11th September 1920

After our talk yesterday you asked me if I would put certain parts on paper and I do so herewith. I must, however, make it quite clear that although these opinions are those which I have as District Commissioner yet they are, necessarily, only my own opinions, and must not be taken to represent the views of the Administration.

I think the best way to begin is to state my aims as regards the natives are justice, elevation, education and medical attention: and I do not believe that any of these can stand alone. At present the Administration gives only the first (justice, law, order). Your society aims practically at giving only elevation in a religious sense: the natives in this district get no education to speak of and (except for Dr. Fisher) no medical attention. Put shortly: I do not consider that the natives in this district are getting a fair chance. In a striking speech on his return from Canada in 1910, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales said that 'every baby born should have a sporting chance'. That is my policy: any missionary society that helps actively in this policy can count on my whole-hearted support while I am in this district. I do not consider that, to date, the S.A.G.M. has been an active help.

Wherein has the S.A.G.M. failed? In my opinion primarily (1) through insufficient staff partly due, it seems to me to having pushed on into Angola when you had only a nominal occupation of the Kaonde country, which has made the work disconnected and ineffective: (2) lack of

{8} Melland to Foster, 11 Sept. 1920 and Pirouet to Secretary, Cape Town, 3 Jan. 1921. Both items appear together in Vol. 19 (1920-1), Correspondence Files, Wimbledon.

direction: a kind of aimless drift--or pious hopes not materializing; (3) absence of education; (4) absence of medical attention.

(1). At present the S.A.G.M. is the only Mission operating among the baKaonde: it seems to me that it should either get sufficient staff to carry on effectively, or else close down and leave the country open to some other society. By 'effective' I consider you need double your present staff on each station, and at least four stations instead of two. (5 or 6 would be better). That is to say I think you need ~~at least~~ four times the present European staff: also to render this staff effective you seem to me to need a doctor and nurse (this is apart from the natives' need of a doctor to which I will come later): so as to prevent closing down a station, or curtailing your work, when some of your staff need medical attention--e.g. maternity cases. It is important to emphasize the fact that your staff requirements cannot be measured only by 'counting heads'. Distance is as relevant as population: a population of 1000 in 1000 square miles needs a bigger staff than 1000 in 100 square miles. From my point of view I cannot see that the natives should be denied guidance and help just because they are scattered, especially as there are several centres well enough populated to justify Mission 'stations' in them.

(2). As your Mission here is so far from your Executive I consider (as I told Mr. Faithfull when last he was here) that it needs a local headquarters, with a local head with powers for directing and controlling the policy and work of all the local staff: otherwise there is too much waste energy, and consequent inefficiency. I do not believe the S.A.G.M. will ever justify itself locally without this.

(3). I am aware that the S.A.G.M. does not aim at higher education (English, clerical, or industrial). Personally--i.e. in my own opinion after 20 years working for the natives--I consider this a great pity. I think it is our duty to try to educate the natives. Just as I am opposed to giving natives a religionless education so I am opposed to giving the natives an educationless religion. The two should go together. I hold strong views (which I urge in the proper quarters) on the state's duty in educating the natives but that does not affect the present issue: which is that I consider it is a Mission's duty to elevate the natives generally and ~~not only~~ spiritually: raise them socially as well as morally (in this connection I consider industrial training more important than clerical): to help them to stand on their own legs--in fact to advance them towards citizenship. I consider conversion is incomplete and, relatively valueless if it does not do so. (Please understand that I am not in any way wishing to dictate to your Mission, but all through, am merely stating my own views as a keen student of native problems.)

Another point as regards education. I believe, with you, that the evangelization of Africa must be done by native evangelists. To get these in sufficient numbers I think that you need to attract natives to your mission. When you open a station in a fairly populous centre you do not want the population to drift away: you want it to remain and increase steadily ever attracting others. Natives have a natural disinclination to living too closely packed and also to staying on one spot for long. This can be overcome (I know heaps of examples) but only by making the attraction of the Mission more than counterbalance the attractions of their accustomed lives. You (2 colleagues of yours) have told me that if you give training in English, or in crafts, the natives will come to the Mission not for Christianity but for material gains. I grant this; but it seems to me immaterial what they come for so long as they do come. (Moreover one cannot blame backward peoples for wanting to improve their material position: its natural and healthy sign. And one cannot blame them, who are pagans when they come in, for not coming with a view to Christianity, nor even if they pretend to come with this high motive when it is not so: it's only natural. Further the whites should try to help natural evolution and not retard it, for we have a duty to our black wards as a white race in Africa as well as Christians.) If the natives don't come you cannot get enough native teachers. If they do come, even for purely material ends, you get a chance of teaching them; and if you fail to get the message of Christianity into their hearts when you have them near you for a long spell, it will not be the fault of the Message but of the teachers. To be logical you should refuse to preach to labourers who have only come to your mission to earn their tax money. I do not believe you will ever get sufficient results to justify your mission up here unless you can attract sufficient people (the raw material of which future Christians may be made). One can make or do nothing without material. Again, this is only my opinion.

(4) I dealt above--in Section (1)--with the need of medical attention for your European staff. I consider that a mission should also be able to minister medically to natives. (e.g. witchcraft--divining and so on will never be put down without medical attention--free dispensaries--hospitals. Our side (the law) can do part. Your side (Christianity) can do part but both need medical help to drive out the biggest curse in Africa. Testimony is available from all over the continent on this point.) Just as a Mission ministers to the souls of the natives, it should, I believe, minister to their minds (education) and to their bodies (medical attention). The three go together and are like a tripod, which is a fine support when joined; but merely three (relatively) useless sticks when separate. If the S.A.G.M. really wants to influence the baKaonde for good and do its share (up here) in the regeneration of the continent I believe it should grasp these essentials.

Also I believe that the S.A.G.M. should cut its coat according to its cloth and should not try to cover more ground than it can undertake adequately. Thorough work localized is of greater and more lasting value than casual work over a big area. For instance while not presuming to criticize I hope I can say without offence than it is beyond my comprehension why you should think of spreading to the Mankoya tribe when at least three quarters of the Kaonde/Lamba (who are too mixed to be separate) are entirely untouched by your work.

I trust you will accept these written words in the same spirit as (I believe) you accepted the spoken version yesterday--namely as the honest opinion of one whose aim in life is the welfare of the natives. Anyone who works whole-heartedly for the good of the natives has my support, but if I consider anyone (or any Society) is only blocking the way by "occupying" an area inefficiently and is, thereby stopping the natives having as good a chance as other tribes have elsewhere--then I am opposed to that person, or society.

These views, let me repeat, are my personal views and I do not expect you to agree with all of them--our point of view is different--but I have lived 20 years among natives and am prepared to live the rest of my life amongst, and for, them: I have studied the subject, and cognate subjects, deeply and am acquainted with nearly every book on the subject, so I hope this expression of my views may prove of some assistance. Again my sole object in giving my views is to help--if I can.

Herbert J. Pirouet, 3rd January 1921

About a month ago I had a conversation with Mr. Melland which covered just the ground covered in his letter to Mr. Foster. With regard to shortage of staff he spoke in the same terms. I pointed out to him that his strictures on this point were hardly fair, seeing that the unavoidable illness of Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Vernon had robbed us of four of the number who should be here. To this he replied, and I quote his words as nearly as possible, "Mr. Pirouet, let me tell you that the presence of these workers would not have made any difference to my opinions. The fact of the matter is that your Executive choose and send up here entirely the wrong class of man, and put men in charge of stations who have no right to be in charge. Some of them might be of some use on stations where there are many other workers and they would be in subordinate positions, but they are no good in charge of stations" Further remarks which Mr. Melland made revealed the fact that his ground of objection to some of us is that in his opinion certain of our number are men who are entirely unfitted to lead and develop natives, as he considers they have neither the gifts, character or education necessary. I venture to say this as

I consider it throws a valuable light on all Mr. Melland wrote to Mr. Foster. I have written to Mr. Foster and told him what Mr. Melland said to me. I am more than ever of opinion that it would be well for Mr. Faithfull to come here early in April, before going to Musonwedzi. Mr. Faithfull himself suggested that it might be better for him to wait for Mr. Wilson's return. In my own opinion this would be a mistake, as by so doing he would miss Mr. Melland. I should very much like Mr. Melland to repeat to Mr. Faithfull exactly what he said to me about the choice of workers, and I am sure that he would be willing to do so. I cannot help thinking that it would be of the greatest assistance to the Executive to have the first hand opinion of the Government officials with whom we come in contact, who are none of them backward in their criticisms of us. Personally I do not feel much disturbed when officials criticize our objects and methods, but when they begin to pass adverse criticisms on our characters, then I feel it deeply, and for that reason I write as I have done above.

APPENDIX E:

PIROUET IN KAONDELAND

[Herbert G. Pirouet's first assignment for the SAGM was at Chisalala in 1920. Later, he worked in Kasempa District and opened Mutanda Mission before going to Cape Town to assist at headquarters. Prior to World War II, he made comments on the NWP that were as interesting as those of Frank Melland and George Suckling. While he was a careful observer, he also believed in meddling directly with African traditions although he admitted it was risky. The first four extracts here were written during his first two years in Kasempa/Solwezi.]

Kaondeland

[In stating the mission's evangelical aims in the area, Pirouet attempts to get his supporters to have a good feeling for geography of Solwezi District and to see the Kaonde as a "gentleman" and not a "savage".][9]

Kaondeland is not marked on most maps, but it is that part of Northern Rhodesia which lies in almost the extreme north-west. It is a territory about the same size as the midlands of England, bounded on the north by the Belgian Congo border, and therefore on the watershed of the Zambesi. The greater part of the country is over 4,000 feet above sea level, and it is therefore never excessively hot. The whole country lies within the forest belt of Central Africa, and it is also within the tsetse fly area, so that no cattle live in it. On the whole, it can be called a healthy country.

The VaKaonde tribe numbers about 30,000 people, who are scattered over the whole of this area, so that you will realize that villages are few and far between. The villages consist of anywhere from ten to forty huts, and are often found in groups of three or four. They are mostly situated on the bigger rivers. The tribe is semi-nomadic in character. This is due to the fact that their system of agriculture is bad; they never rotate their crops, so that their gardens cease to yield sufficient produce to feed them after a few years, and they are compelled to move to a new site; this they cannot do until they have had the sanction of the Government officials. It may not be known by all that this country is under the jurisdiction of the British

[9] Pioneer, 33(May 1920), pp. 55-6.

South Africa Company, commonly known as the Chartered Company; To evangelize this tribe is the object of the S.A.G.M., and with this in view two stations have been established in the country, separated from one another by a distance of about 160 miles (Chisalala and the Blanche Memorial Mission Station at Musonwedzi). But, though these two stations are so far apart, the work is essentially one. The people are always on the move from place to place, and boys on one station are in constant communication with those on the other station, and compare notes with one another.

To man this field we have at present seven workers, four more being on furlough. We must always allow for that number being away from the field, therefore you will see that we are very short-handed, and our first need is reinforcements. But if reinforcements are to be forthcoming it is necessary for you at home to know something of the opportunities offered and of the people amongst whom we are working, and also something of the difficulties with which we have to content. I think I will put the difficulties first, because I have an idea that English speaking people are far more likely to volunteer for an enterprise when it possesses a good many obstacles to success.

I think you would like me to be perfectly frank about these difficulties and hindrances, so I will come straight to the point.

In this country the white population is very small, and consists entirely of officials, storekeepers (of whom there are two), and missionaries in about equal numbers. A native has only to go to the magistrate and say that his wife does not do his work properly, and the officials will give him a divorce. Taxation is on the hut basis, and this means that the native pays a ten shilling tax for each wife that he has, so that the Chartered Company profit by polygamy.

The native is an apathetic individual in whom it is difficult to raise any enthusiasm; he is accustomed to having white men in his country, so that we are not even objects of curiosity to him. But I would say here that he is a gentleman; is seldom discourteous and has great powers of endurance (he can easily do forty miles in a day carrying a load of thirty or forty pounds). He is not a savage; his moral character is not one whit worse than that of many Europeans; indeed, there are certain sins committed by white men which the native does not dream of practising, and only knows of as he comes into contact with "civilization." He is ignorant, and he has not got a high standard of living, but he is no more dirty than a great many of our fellow countrymen. Personally, I do not consider he is idle; but it is only fair to state that some of my fellow-workers who have much more experience than I have do consider him so. My own idea is that it is wonderful that

he works as well as he does, seeing that it was only about twenty years ago that white men came into the country; till then the native had no need of money, his wants being very few, and those easily supplied. His need of working was created by the demand for tax from him, i.e., a demand that he should pay tax for the privilege of having his country administered by the white man, a privilege which perhaps, he does not altogether appreciate. The idea of steady, sustained work is quite foreign to the native; he sees no need to get through with a job, for all his traditions help him to think that there is plenty of time; moreover, why should he hurry? The longer the job takes the more money will he get to buy cloth; and he will have no bother about getting a sufficiency of food, for it is up to his employer to feed him.

In Praise of the Vakaonde

[Pirouet continues his descriptions of the Kaonde and makes useful comparisons with the working classes in Britain. In addition, he explains why many customs were "evil". He concludes with brief sketches of individuals, including John Pupe.]{10}

I have just come in from a visit to a near by village, and feel that I must sit down and write nice things about the Vakaonde; not that anything very particular happened in that village. I merely sat and talked with the people for a short time, but every fresh contact I have with them makes me like them better. You all know Proverbs viii. 30, 31, "I was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him; rejoicing in the habitable part of His earth; and my delights were with the sons of men." I think those verses are delightful in every way. Certainly I rejoice in this "habitable part of the earth"; and so would you, if you could see its beauty. It is just putting on its spring coat. Hundreds and hundreds of trees are putting out their new leaves, and these are red; the effect is beautiful beyond all words to describe. Then I can truly say that my "delights are with the sons of men" in this "habitable part of the earth." Not only has God set me in a delightful part of His world, but He has set me amongst a specially delightful people. I have only been in the country fifteen months, it is true, but in that time I have never experienced anything but courtesy and kindness, with one or two exceptions, which it would be ungenerous to think about. From the first trek I took I have found travelling with carriers the most delightful way of travelling. I should imagine I have done as much trekking as most people in a similar length of time, and not once have I had the smallest

bother of any sort with the carriers; they have done their tiring work cheerfully and uncomplainingly, even when we were short of food, as was once the case. I am writing this because I want you to know how very well worth while work amongst these people is. . . . I want you I want you to be thoroughly enthusiastic over them, but I want you to realise that the devil is doing much work amongst them. We see the very best side of them. I am very glad we do, because we see the side that God delights in. But there is a very bad side to them. It is not that they are more cruel than Europeans, they are not. These people are not savages. They are no more savages than Europeans. Perhaps not so savage as some! They are not living under any dirtier conditions than exist in many a so-called English "home." I have never been into huts here that are so dirty as many English houses. They are not as dirty in their bodies as many English are. They are not more superstitious than the English, for though they go in for appeasing the evil spirits and those of the dead, a large number of them do not believe in their rites, any more than a large number of English believe in Spiritism. Their spirits worship, if it can be called worship, is exactly as poisonous as spiritism in England, not a bit more so and not a bit less so. The only difference is that they have not the advantages of education which English people have, and are therefore not so culpable. They are not as avaricious as Europeans; for they learned the love of money from them, and they have not mastered the lesson yet. True! they always want a "reward" for work done. But have you never found your own countrymen dissatisfied with what they receive? Have you never heard the railway porter say, " 'Ere, Lidy (or Guv'nor), what do you call that?" Then I do not know that they are any lazier than Europeans; they have reduced the art of sitting still, doing nothing, to a very fine one, but they are no worse than the bricklayer who accused his mate of having so distracted his attention from the job in hand that he had laid four more bricks than his Union allowed him to (vide Punch).

All these things they share in common with their European brother. All these things are the work of the devil, who is doing all he knows to corrupt and destroy those sons of men in whom the Son of God takes His delight. But just as there are special sins amongst the more civilised peoples, so are there amongst the Vakaonde. And just as it is not the most gross sins, but the most subtle, that it is difficult to make the European see are sin, so it is amongst the Vakaonde. There are with them certain things which make it difficult for them to become Christians. Certain customs which are inimical to the Faith, which the devil has introduced. These have in some cases a show of good which makes them all the harder to combat. For instance, women will not speak in front of a lot of men in school, neither will they listen at a meeting in the village where there are a lot of men; so that it is impossible for

a man to get a proper hearing for the Gospel message from them. It would be a matter of "Bumvu" (that is "shame") for them to listen, or to lift their eyes to the speaker. It was a difficulty to get the only baptised Kaonde woman to come to the Lord's Supper with men, and sit on the same bench with them; certain of the men she might not sit next because she was connected with them by marriage; to do so was a matter of "Bumvu." One can understand how such laws tended to combat immorality in a community where there is little privacy and scanty clothing, but they are a barrier which requires breaking down and which must be broken down with care lest the doing so destroys the restraint there is in them. Then take another matter. It is a sign of weakness in an individual to confess that he is guilty of any offence. It may be quite well known that a particular person is guilty, but he will not confess, though he knows that all know his guilt, lest he be thought to be weak: another clever piece of work on the devil's part. Now consider another thing. A man may help his relations in cases of sickness but it would be weak of him to help any member of another family. The other day a man arrived here having carried his younger brother, a full-grown man, on his shoulders for twenty miles, in order that we might treat his ulcerated leg. He was pretty well done up when he arrived. The other side of the picture we saw a short time ago, strikingly illustrated, though I only tell you this instance of what is common. I went to a village and was asked by the headman to see a man who had a bad ulcer. I went into the hut and there I saw the poor fellow sitting with blood and matter slowly oozing from his leg, and as he sat there he groaned with pain. Of course I could do nothing for him there, but I went outside to where a dozen men were sitting, and told them that if they would carry him to the Mission, a distance of about 50 miles, we thought we could cure the leg. They replied that there were no men to do it. I said to them, "But what about you? You have nothing to do but sit still." Oh! they belonged to another village, and all the men of his village were away, they could not possibly help him! I told them something of what I thought of them and only wished I knew the language a little better so that I could put it more forcibly. That man will probably die in agony because of the devil's plan that they should only help their own relatives. I need not point out what hindrances such things are to the acceptance of all the teaching of Christ and how hard it is for them to break away from such customs. I could tell you of the poor old woman in another village who was too old to work in the gardens and had no relatives, so only got food occasionally. It is not "the custom" to waste food on the old. It simply "isn't done." Let me tell you how we tried to combat that custom. It has been the white man's custom to give meat to any headman whose village he happens to be visiting should he kill a buck. The men and the headman always come off well. It instituted another custom when I found out their plan. I gave instructions that, when my hunter killed, first of all

the old, the sick and the poor were to receive meat, then the women and children and those who could not fend for themselves, and then, if any meat was left over, the headman could have some, and I made my Christian boys the almoners. It was quite a new idea to all, and not exactly a popular one with the headman and other men of the village!

I have tried to show you some of the many good qualities of these people, and I have tried to show you how the devil is tying them down and making it hard for them to become Christians. I should like now to try to show you what they can become when Christ comes into their lives and rescues them from the power of the devil. We have amongst our evangelists here one of Mr. Bailey's earliest converts, by the name John. If you want to meet the perfect type of Christian gentleman, then come out here and get to know John. He is not deeply taught in the doctrines of the Bible; he would pass no examination in theology; but he walks with God. I am sure it is no exaggeration to say that he has one desire only, and that is to be a good servant of Jesus Christ. I wish some people we all have met would take a lesson from John in the way to pray in public. His prayers are never long, but every word comes from his heart and is uttered with the deepest reverence. In two minutes he says more than lots of people say in twenty, and you know he has spoken to God and not to the other people present. John is probably the best educated Kaonde there is, but he is absolutely minus "side." He is humble without being "oily." He never steps out of his place. He has a most delightful twinkle in his eye which betrays his keen sense of humour. With the sick he is as gentle as a woman. I saw him with a dying man the other day and was lost in admiration, and the dying man was one of another tribe. I should like to tell you of Mukanqwa, another delightful evangelist; of our Peter, for he is always "butting in"; and of Karilanda, a charming schoolboy, who is in dead earnest if any one ever was (none of them are, to use Rudyard Kipling's expression, "plaster saints"); and of Kilemberu, whom I baptised the other day. To my mind, Kilemberu always prays as if he was holding God's hand; but I must stop. Please become very enthusiastic about my Vakaonde. . . . I am very jealous for my Vakaonde. If you don't know them you don't know the tribe in Africa.

"Musonwedzi---Kasempa---N. Rhodesia"

[This detailed narrative tells of an unusual journey to the Kaimbwe salt pan to visit an aged European man, who was living as a 'native'. By this time, Pirouet's knowledge of kiKaonde was improving and he was shocked by what the evangelists were telling the villagers to convert them. He ended this safari by visiting the boma and exchanging ideas with government officials about their differing philosophies toward life and Africans.]{11}

I have been out on a fortnight's tour from which I returned yesterday. The object of this trip was to pay a visit to an old man names Severts. Severts has lived in N. Rhodesia for the last twelve years, having drifted up here in search of gold, or any other paying proposition he could come across; here he fell on evil times, all his cash having gone in foolish speculations; some natives led him to some salt-pans; these he pegged out as his claim and now rents them from the government at a purely nominal rental, and makes a precarious living out of the salt he sells. Salt is a luxury to the natives and you can often buy food in the villages for a handful or two of salt when they will refuse to part with their grain for money.

We had sent some men to Severts to bring in some salt to us, and when they returned they brought a letter from him saying that he was old (76) and ill and did not expect to live much longer. We came to the conclusion that I ought to go to visit him and to carry the message of salvation to him. His place is five days journey from here so I sent out for carriers and on April 8th, I started off with seven carriers. I traveled along across country paths; that is to say that there were just the very slightest footpaths worn by native feet. . . .

On Saturday I reached a very big village, the biggest I have yet seen out here, and in close proximity to it were three other villages, and I learned that none of these had ever been visited by a missionary before, though the evangelists I had with me had preached in some of them. Never did I feel my lack of knowledge of the language more acutely. On Sunday I collected all the people of two of the smaller villages in one place for service (I had first been into the big village and found that all the men were out in the bush and had arranged for a meeting in the afternoon). Then I tried to preach, but very soon came to an end for want of vocabulary; so my evangelist began and I sat and listened to him with dismay, for his theme was, "Hurry up and be afraid of the big fire; that is where you will go if you do not obey God, and there is no water to drink there."

As I listened to this parody of the Gospel I realized that the preacher was the only man from whom they had ever heard anything of the Gospel at all, and I longed to be able to speak. Under this "message" four men stood to say they "believed" and I wondered just what they did believe. Then a very nice boy of about eighteen stood up and said, "I want to believe. I don't want to be punished and go into the fire." This was too much for me and I told my evangelist to sit down. Then in the simplest language possible, I tried to tell them of the love of God in Christ Jesus. Surely, I was given the language for I was able to speak for about ten minutes in spite of the fact that I had broken down twenty minutes before, when I tried to give a prepared address. What I now said was without previous preparation of the language and I am sure the people understood me. In the afternoon in the big village I had a very similar experience except that I did not try to speak until my evangelist had spoken.

On the Monday I went on my way again and reached Severts about mid-day on Tuesday, having traveled about ninety miles from Musonwedzi. I found the old man in a deplorable state of dirt. When we arrived there neither my boys nor I were able to recognize which was his dwelling house and which his chicken house. I sent some boys to cook for him and they found him in the garden and brought him to me. He was dirty beyond all words to describe, his clothes were little more than filthy rags; however, he seemed quite pleased to see me and took me to a good site for my tent. Whilst I was having this pitched, he disappeared and presently returned looking quite respectable in a good coat, a clean shirt and a new pair of trousers. We had tea together and he told me that he had been living in native fashion as he had run out of food. After tea he went off to do his evening work and presently returned to have supper with me. But for some reason he had taken off his good clothes and sat down to supper in his filthy rags! I do not believe he had had a decent meal for a long time for he ate ravenously.

That night I was not able to approach the old man at all on spiritual matters; every time I opened the subject, he fenced and turned the conversation. The next morning I went round his property with him. As we walked, I tried to speak to him about Christ, this time making a direct attack, but he simply replied that he knew he ought to consider such things and then drew my attention to his crops. His conversation was largely about some mine which had pegged out some time ago, which has never yielded him a pennyworth of gold and never will, yet all his hopes seem fastened on it.

By the next afternoon, . . . I had learned that he imagined that every man's hand was against him; all day long his voice was raised in shouts of anger to his boys and

he had not a good word to say for any white man in the country, except the District Commissioner, Mr. Melland, whom I have not yet met, but whom black and white men seem to admire, and Mr. Williams, one of the native commissioners of whom I have told you something in previous letters. No one else meets with his approval at all.

When supper was over I went straight at him about his personal salvation, telling him there was no other object in my journey but to seek to bring him to Jesus. . . . To this he replied that he thanked me for what I had said and that he would remember to call upon Him. I do not believe the old man was capable of giving a more definite answer than this, . . .

The next morning early, I started on my way back to the Mission Station, feeling that my time had not been wasted. This time I traveled by a different route, and after two days trek reached the Boma and found Mr. Parsons, the Assistant Magistrate, and Mr. Griffiths. As usual, I received great hospitality, staying with Mr. Parsons. The Boma officials are by no means the easiest part of our flock; a remark Mr. Parsons made to me will help you to see the difficulty of dealing with them. In the course of conversation, Mr. Griffith said to me, "I would not like your job at all; it must be a thankless task and not at all encouraging"; whereupon Mr. Parsons said, "I will tell you who make it hard, Pirouet; it is the white men; we swear, we drink, we smoke, we live immorally and do all those things which are telling the natives are wrong; then they see that we do these things, yet that we are the men that live in the greatest luxury and that we have the power. I do not know a single white man in the country who is a Christian. if there is one I have never met him." What Parsons says is perfectly true, and I am glad he said it to me, for it shows me where we stand. These men always do all that is possible for our comfort when we pass through the Boma, yet how to reach them is a serious difficulty.

Kapijimpanga

[Pirouet tried to convince Chief Kapijimpanga, near Chisalala, that the girls' puberty ritual was sinful and should be stopped. When the women strongly objected, the chief backed down and felt that he must discuss the matter with the boma officials.]{12}

The past three months have been devoted to work in the neighbouring villages. The most important of these is the one in which chief Kapijimpanga lives. This old

{12} Pioneer 34 (Oct. 1921), pp. 111-3.

gentleman is, perhaps, the most influential chief in the tribe. He has won his way to chieftainship by right of conquest, having defeated all the neighbouring chiefs and usurped the "throne."

Just after Christmas we started a school in his village. We sent John, our best evangelist, and his wife, Kurimbwa, to live in the village, and made John responsible for the school. We built a hut for ourselves exactly similar to those in which the natives live, with the exception that ours has windows and a proper door. In this hut we have spent more than half the time since Christmas; a week on the station and a week in the village has been the order of the day.

The school consists of 19 men and 17 women, so that John is kept busy. Kapijimpanga makes earnest endeavours to learn to read, but he is past it. However, the old man professes that he desires to be a Christian, and verily I believe that there is a change coming over him. He is not an easy person to gain the attention of, so I have hit on a scheme by which he must at least pay attention to some Christian truths. His desire to read is my opportunity. During our last visit to the village I typed out a portion of Scripture every day (one day the story of the sick of the palsy, another day "The Son of Man came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance"), and these I spelt out to our chief syllable by syllable, and he repeated the syllables after me, pointing at them (or near them!) with a pencil. When we got to such a sentence as "The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins," or "Son, thy sins are forgiven thee," by one means or another we went through it many times till he knew it by heart. He fondly imagined then that he was reading it, but at any rate he had something he could hang on to.

While I am doing this sort of thing my wife is devoting herself to school work and to the women. We are tremendously encouraged by the responsiveness of the women. There are 12 who have expressed their desire to "believe." Let me at once say that these 12 have no knowledge at all of what is involved in believing. One day the chief came along for a talk with my wife and myself. During the course of conversation he told us that three girls were to be initiated on the following Tuesday. This ceremony of initiation is accompanied by many loathsome practices. We at once pointed out to Kapijimpanga that, as one who was expressing a desire to follow Christ, he should do all he could to put a stop to such practices in his villages. My wife went off to see the mothers of the girls about it. Now, you must remember that we are attacking practices centuries old. The women honestly believe that if they do not go through these hateful ceremonies they will not be able to bear children. They also believe that death will visit the village if they are omitted; and, further, they

say the men will drive the girls from the village if they are not initiated. These things are very real to them; all preceeding generations have followed such customs, and who are they to break away from them? Moreover, whilst they admit that objectionable customs are connected with such ceremonies, they believe that the customs are good, on the whole. After interviewing the mothers, my wife spoke to all the women, and I to all the men. From the way they took our remarks it was quite evident we had fired a big bomb into their midst. Presently the chief came along to our hut. He came to tell us that the women said that if he did not allow them to initiate these girls in the village they would go off to another village and do it there. We advised him to let them go, saying that would be better than for him to consent to the custom. But he did not like the idea of this saying that it was very hard. He added, "the women say that as soon as the initiation of these three is over they will stand up and say that they believe." We pointed out that this was because they knew the custom was evil, and that therefore they dare not stand up first. Moreover, we told them that we should not regard such a standing up as being very genuine. He went away much exercised in mind. The next day we left the village to come back to the station, but not without going well into the subject again. Kapijimpanga told me that he would go to the District Commissioner as soon as the initiation was over, and ask him if he thought the customs as evil as I thought it. If the District Commissioner said the custom was bad he would ask his aid in stamping it out. "But why wait until it is all over," said I; "if the custom is so bad try to save these girls from it?" He considered a bit, and said he would go to the Boma next day. The following day I received a note from him which he had dictated to the evangelist John, to say that it was no good his going to the Boma, as the women were determined to carry out the initiation.

We were defeated in this particular battle, but I think heathenism has had a nasty jar in that village. I believe those who say they "want to believe" are quite genuine, but they have to be lifted up out of awful depths.

Some of you at home do not know what you are missing by not being out here as missionaries. There is not a finer life anywhere. It is all compensations and big rewards. There are no drawbacks, only enormous advantages.

"The Gates of Hell Shall Not Prevail."

[This letter was written several years after the other four. In it, he tells of persuading Kapijimpanga to appoint a Christian as a headman without requiring him to follow the traditional ceremonies. He considers this a victory for Christianity. John Pupe is again important in the story.][13]

Some few months ago one of the headmen under Kapijimpanga, our biggest chief, died, and the election of the new man has just taken place.

When a man succeeds to a headmanship, there are many customs with which he has to comply; for instance, he inherits his predecessor's wives, whether he is married already or not. You will at once see that a Christian could not become a headman without cutting across tribal customs of very ancient standing, or committing sin. We were, therefore, very interested when John [Pupe] told us, a few weeks back, that the man who would probably be asked to take this headmanship was a Christian, by name Kimengwa; he added that the elders were making things difficult for Kimengwa.

One day we had a talk with Kimengwa, and told him that we would back him up with prayer, and with any other help we could give him, for a missionary cannot deliberately interfere with tribal custom. He told us that one thing was hindering him; the elders wished him to place his gun at the crossroads, then to invoke the dead man whom he was to succeed, asking him to give the gun power to kill animals (the killing of meat comes into the ceremony of succession). This he refused to do, saying that if he could kill in his own strength he would, but he would have nothing to do with invoking the dead. We just mentioned these things to Kapijimpanga, but it was impossible to do much as the name of the successor is supposed to be secret till the actual day of his installation. Kapijimpanga made promise that when the day came he would send a messenger to let us know.

Three days ago the messenger arrived, saying that all the local men and many people had assembled at Kapijimpanga's village, and the chief would be glad if we would join them. I went out accompanied by Mr. Rhinehart and two native teachers, Mukanqwa and Maluva. We found a great crowd assembling. There must have been by sunset some 150 people, which is a crowd here. Ten headmen and all the most important people in the country were present.

At sunset Kapijimpanga called the headmen and elders

together, and said they wished to hear why I have come. On his invitation I addressed them, saying that, as we had assembled to appoint a headman, it would be right to pray to God to guide the minds of those responsible for the choice, that they might choose one who was worthy. After prayer, Kapijimpanga gave me further opportunity to address them. I spoke briefly, pointing out that if they chose one who was a Christian it would be impossible for him to follow their old customs, that for him to marry the widows would be adultery, if he was a married man. I said that as a Christian it would be his duty to see that the widows were never in want for food, clothing, and all the necessities of life; but that they could not become his wives. I further urged them to choose a Christian.

When I had finished speaking, Kapijimpanga said to me "You and Mukangwa may choose whom you like." I said, "Oh! no; it is not for me to choose. I come here with God's message to you; it is for you to hear and to choose in the fear for Him." Thereupon much discussion arose. These are some of the arguments which were put to us, and which were tackled admirably by Mukangwa and Maluva, who throughout were splendid. One said, "If a man marries a woman, a widow, whom he inherits, it a public act, done with the approval of all; therefore he does not commit adultery. Adultery is that which is done in secret." This was answered, and another question brought up. "If the man does not inherit the wives there will be difficulties later on; people will say that it was not a real inheritance, because he did not inherit the wives, and the customs which we learned from our forefathers have been broken." Then it was said, "You are asking us to do a hard thing in breaking these ancient customs of ours; why should we do so?" It was pointed out that their forefathers had broken away from God, and we were only asking them to go back to God, and to that which was in the beginning. Then it was urged that the man might be allowed to inherit one wife, a proposition which was at once turned down.

At this stage Kapijimpanga said he was willing to let the customs go, and the others agreed. They then chose Kimengwa. Once he had been named, there was nothing more that we could do, so Mr. Rhinehart and I returned to the station, leaving Mukangwa and Maluva in charge of the situation.

These two boys put up a splendid fight. As soon as we were gone some of the headmen began trying to make Kimengwa consent to follow their customs. They told Kapijimpanga that it was very bad that he had consulted the missionaries and Christians, and that we should wipe out all their customs. Some of these men had themselves made profession. Mukangwa and Maluva debated with them, but made no impression. They then went aside and prayed for power; when they returned Kapijimpanga yielded, and from that

moment he was their ally. The fight went on all night. At one time Kapijimpanga saw a headman talking to Kimengwa, and he told Mukanwa to go and help him, saying, "Sandanonbe will talk him over." (Kimengwa is a young Christian with very little knowledge.) For the rest of the night these two boys stuck to Kimengwa. Kyombe, Kipijimpanga's heir, backed them up, and one other man supported them. Curiously enough, this last man has never made any pretence of being a Christian. The rest either were active in their opposition or kept silence. The morning came and the hour for publicly making the appointment. Kapijimpanga over-ruled all the others, and it was decided that Kimengwa would inherit, and that he should not marry either of the widows. The old woman he will look after, and Kapijimpanga has decided to look after the young one himself. Kimengwa said, "There is one thing, if you want me to invoke the dead I will not do it; I will throw away the headmanship before I do such a thing." Kapijimpanga replied, "You shall be made to follow no other customs but those of God." So the matter ended, all agreeing in the end that, as he was a Christian, the customs of the people might be dispensed with.

Our boys are delighted, for they have seen in operation the power of God to deliver. No such thing has ever before happened in the villages. This is the fruit of the faithful witness of John [Pupe]. It is, we feel, a big thing, and we have much to give praise for. Every effort will be made by the people to turn Kimengwa back to evil, and we know the fight is not yet near an end.

The British Empire Exhibition

[Using the Exhibition at Wembley in England as his starting point, Pirouet describes to supporters the Africans' negative attitudes of all whites in Africa. It is remarkably candid and objective.]{14}

Many of our English readers will have paid a visit to Wembley to see the Exhibition of which we have read so much in the papers. Suggestions are being made that the exhibition should be re-opened next year, but have you realized that the biggest part of the exhibition is never closed? What you have seen in England is but a side-show. You have seen the shop windows, beautifully dressed, and have taken in something of what the empire means, but only a

{14} Pioneer, 38 (Jan. 1925), pp. 7-9.

very, very little.

In Rhodesia the Exhibition is always open. The spectators are brown men; Kaonde and Lamba, Barotse and Wemba, and other natives tribes are always inspecting the exhibits. The exhibits are Magistrates and Government Officials, Planters and Traders, Miners, Railway workers and Missionaries. It would be most interesting to know just what the spectators think of the exhibits; I remember Dan Crawford's saying to me that many white men have written books about the black man, but that he expects to have the laugh of his life when the black man writes one about the white man. I do not think that the black man thinks much of the exhibits as a whole; and we should probably receive a severe blow to our pride if we heard all that he thinks about representatives of the British Empire. This affects us as missionaries, for, as a member of the Phelps-Stokes education commission said to me, "One of the greatest difficulties that you men have to contend with as missionaries is that you are members of the conquering race and you cannot escape from that fact."

We get occasional glimpses into the thoughts of the black man. Not long ago I was talking to a local headman named Mbonge, and pointing out to him that the Kaonde owe their freedom from slavery to the work of a missionary, Livingstone, who aroused the conscience of the British to their responsibility in this matter. Mbonge looked at me and said very quietly, "Yes, we were freed from one form of slavery, only to be made victims of another form, taxation." Another conversation with the same Mbonge only a few days ago. He was explaining to me that, before the white man came to this land, the native did not travel very long distances in a day as they do now. I asked what made them alter. He said, "Oh! it was because the white man changed us into their beasts-of-burden and made us carry their boxes very long distances in a day."

The white man represents untold wealth to the African. He looks at us missionaries and regards us as the owners of fabulous riches. We have everything that man can desire, and he rather thinks that we do not "play the game," because we do not provide him with everything that he wants free of cost. From his point of view we live in luxurious houses and have good clothes, we buy all that heart can desire; and, as one said to me the other day when I did not see my way to make him a present of my dental forceps, we do not think twice before we buy what we want. Be quite sure of this that the missionary in N. Rhodesia, at any rate in this part, is no hero in the eyes of his flock.

Then the black man looks round at many of our countrymen and he is puzzled. He sees what appears to him inequality in the moral standards for white and black, and wants to know why his womankind is to be held less in honour

than the white man's. The half-caste children whom we find in the villages are British Empire exhibits which it is more than unpleasant to see, to have your attention drawn to them and to hear their fathers named.

The native is a little puzzled about our industries, to. Said one to me a few days ago: "Of old we used to work the copper at Kansanshi, but one day one of your countrymen came along and said we were not to work it any more. They made a big mine there, and for a few years we used to go there and work. Then you had a war, and you closed the mine. It has been closed ever since; you do not work it yourselves and you will not let us get the little that we want."

Clothing; that is another thing that makes the black man wonder. The store man comes along and sells him a women's cast-off clothing of all sorts, just to make money for himself. Then he laughs at the black man for dressing in such an idiotic way, and despises him for it. The black man knows this, but does not understand why he should be despised for wearing the things that the white man has sold him.

The other day our chief asked me to read him a letter which he had just received from a nephew at Livingstone, who used to be at school here. This is the drift of it: "Now, Uncle, do as I tell you and do not be afraid, for the words that I bring you are wise. In this village (Livingstone) the white man honours the king of the Barotse, because he can speak English. All the people in your country are just foolish; they cannot speak English. Do as I tell you and do not be afraid; go to the Magistrate and tell him that you want him to send me to a big school Say that you will not go on paying tax, there is no money in the country and you refuse to pay. It would be wise to do this, do not be afraid." And there was a lot more of this sort of thing. That native has seen things at Livingstone; his mind is in a whirl. And numbers more, as they look at the "exhibits" and consider their ways, also wonder. John, our trusty old John, said to me yesterday when I was talking to him about these things: "You see, Bwana, we all think that the white man wants to make us suffer. I suppose it is because we are ignorant and do not understand, but that is what all the Kaonde think."

These are the things that we have to reckon with in our teaching. We have all the time to try to know what the pupil thinks of us. We realize that we are here on sufferance, and that the pupil is out to get all that he can out of us. On the whole he would rather be without the white man's God, for he has no love or admiration for the white man himself. It is to this native that we preach Jesus Christ, Who was not a white man. If anyone doubts the age of miracles, let him come and see the native Christian, who

is a Christian despite the fact that his missionary is a white man.

One more example of what they think of us. I was present at a village trial not long ago. The prosecutor wanted the culprit to be taken to the magistrate for punishment, despite the fact that one punishment had already been inflicted in the village. Said the chief, pointing to me, "What! punish her twice? Why, ~~even the white man~~ knows better than to punish a person twice for the same offence."

Mutanda Bridge

[In one of his last articles written as a missionary in Northern Rhodesia, Pirouet described the new mission station at Mutanda: its geography, the condition under which the government allowed the SAGM to open it, and their plans and hopes.](15)

The BaKaonde tribe occupies a country roughly the size of Ireland. In that area there are only some forty thousand people, and these are scattered all over the country in small villages. Through the country there runs a motor road which only came into existence four years ago. It runs for 100 miles along the northern border, then turns south-west for 130 miles, and then due east for another 100 miles, when it passes out of the territory in which our work lies. Apart from this road there are only native paths to connect up the villages, so you will understand something of the difficulty of getting in touch with the people.

Till 1926 the northern half of the tribe was worked from Chisalala, and the southern half from Musonweji. In that year it was thought by the Councils that it would be possible to work the whole tribe from one station, so all workers were concentrated at Mukinge Hill, which is in a very central position. The attempt proved unsatisfactory, and we obtained permission from the Councils to open another station, and this site which is just 100 miles north-east of Mukinge Hill was chosen. My wife and I came here last October, and have been living in a temporary house doing evangelistic work in the neighbouring villages. The site is about thirty miles from the old Chisalala site. In that neighbourhood there are a certain number of Christians, but the villages round here are practically untouched. We are

on the motor road and about half a miles from a steel bridge which is in course of construction across the Mutanda River.

At present we are encouraged by the attendance of people at our meetings. We average about 70 adults per Sunday; and on Wednesday our Hearers' Class is attended by about 50 people. These numbers may seem small to you, but you must bear in mind that the population is very scattered. . . .

It has now been definitely decided that a station of the Mission shall be established here. The Government have made known the terms on which they will grant a lease, and the Executive Council have decided to accept those terms. We are granted a 14 years' lease on condition that during the currency of the lease, and of any subsequent lease, we conduct a school for children during eight months of every years, the school to be conducted as far as possible on Government lines, and to be under continuous European supervision. There is to be an experimental garden in which the principles of agriculture taught in the school can be put into practice. From this you will see that an urgent need is for a missionary who will be willing to run, and capable of running such a school to the satisfaction of the Director of Native Education, who will inspect the school, report on it, and say whether he considers that we are doing such a work as would justify the renewal of the lease. When I had interview with the Governor last May, he told me that as Governor of the Territory he did not take spiritual work into consideration when granting leases for Missions. It will not matter how good a spiritual work we do, the renewal of the lease will depend on our satisfying the Government that we do a good secular work. Of course we do not expect Government to take spiritual work into consideration, for the "natural man does not understand" such work. A new worker will be required for this school as it is essential that the evangelistic work should not be robbed of workers to meet the demands of the Government. In addition to a worker for school we need a young energetic man, full of the Spirit, who will be willing to devote the whole of his time to district work.

We shall not be able to start school for some months, but we shall

have a large number of workmen here who will be taught daily. Concerning this we ask your prayers that there may be nothing to hinder the manifestation of the saving power of God. Of all work amongst these people, I believe that industrial work calls for most patience on the part of the missionary. To exercise discipline and to reprove loafers earns for the Missionary the reputation of being bad-tempered. Will you therefore pray for any of us who have any part in the oversight of these men, that we may show them that God is Love, and be enabled to get the best

out of them, so that there may be no waste of money through idleness? The men will come from many parts of the tribe, and we hope will return to their villages sufficiently well-taught to carry back the Gospel message.

Then will you pray about the school? The Governor told me that he had no use for young men who entered school at the age of 16 or 17, that it was impossible for them to make good. My experience teaches me that we have had the best results from those who entered about that age. All those who are doing well now entered when they were 16 or 17. The lads stay a year or so and then clear off. But it is the lads that the Governor says we must take in.

We look to you for your help in putting the work in this district on a sound spiritual basis, so that white and brown alike may know that Christ is all in all to us.

APPENDIX F:

AN AFRICAN MESSIAH

[Writing on 11 November 1913, George Suckling described the effect of a proclaimed Messiah on the southern part of Mwinilunga District. Six to eight months later, Ernest Harris wrote a post mortem of the events. Despite their hostility, their accounts are the best available.]

George Suckling, 11th November 1913

Very soon after leaving Kalene Hill, we began to be told by the people: "Jesus has appeared." A native of another tribe, some 200 or 300 miles to the south-east, had professed to be the Lord, and was calling the natives from far and near to come to him, the healer of diseases and the destroyer of death, to accept him and to pay him tribute. It was impossible at that distance to ascertain accurately what he was actually teaching, but it seems clear that he had no direct influence from whites, though he must have heard something of the Christian message, and that surrounding himself with much mystery, he was professing himself to be, and by many was accepted to be, a manifestation of Deity. Thousands of people must have gone to where he was; in several villages we passed we found practically all the men had gone there. An enormous interest was being thus created, yet in it all surely we must see the activity of the powers of darkness.

One day we reached a village on the Lunga River. Late in the afternoon I went out hunting, and only got back after dark. On my return I found all the people arranging their sleeping mats outside the huts. Two messengers, who had been sent to enquire of the self-proclaimed god, had returned, and the people were obeying the instructions they had brought. A long pole was raised in the centre of the village, the ordinary fetish marks were made all round it, and the fetish offering of blood made to it. Then the people were gathered together in one compact mass with the two messengers in the rear. Turning their faces towards the afterglow of the sunset, they proceeded to chant their song, with each new phrase swaying their bodies and stretching out their arms to the west. The messengers led off with: "We will believe 'Jesu' for rain." The people: "We will believe." "We will Jesu for fruitful fields." "We will believe." "We will believe" for corn, beans, potatoes, success in hunting, children, cloth, and all the things they so much desire. All this was several times repeated, the while they swung out their arms and swayed their bodies rhythmically with the time of their low, solemn chant. In the thick darkness, only relieved by the faint flickerings

of a fire, it left an indelible picture of Ethiopia stretching out her hands to--what? Had their hearts been turned to seek the Living God? Alas! no. Ere long the messengers changed their song; in a while they were dancing and singing the old spirit-songs, and in this the people joined. {16}

Ernest Harris, October 1914

Many months ago a native man arose in the Mashukulumbwe country, some 100 miles South from here. He called himself Jesus, and his fame went through all the land for hundreds of miles. I am told that he is a leper, and lives alone. He is supposed to have had a dream. He declares that he was caught up to heaven and found that there were many gods there, not one God. One was very fierce and had a bowl of blood, which he was going to pour out on the earth, but another god who was full of mercy said he was not to do so. After a time they said they would send this man back to earth to tell the people to erect poles in their villages and smear them with blood: then a god would come down on the top of the pole, and they must worship him. If they failed to do this, the god of wrath would cause a great rain to come down on that village and drown them all. People went to this man from all over the country, taking with them money, guns, ivory, etc. Ten shillings was the price of eternal life. Five paid for a little sawdust, which secured abundance of rain and a full crop of corn without the labour of digging and sowing. In obedience to him, blood-smeared poles, with some old bones tied on the top, were put up in nearly every village. At the foot of each pole a little house [Nzubu ya Munkishi] was built. A Munkishi is an idol, or a fetish of some kind.

Some of those who paid ten shillings for eternal life have since died. The rain did not come at the usual time, and was not so abundant as other years; the ants are eating the poles; the village dogs sleep in the sacred "Munkishi" house during the heat of the day; the people who did not erect poles in their villages were not drowned, and those who paid five shillings for rain medicine, and neglected to sow, have not reaped, and, I am told, are now wanting the man who deceived them, in order to kill him, because they are hungry. In one village I noticed a heap of firewood at the foot of a pole arranged for kindling, but the god does not light his fire, and the white ants are quietly turning it into a heap of clay. Multitudes of people believed on this man. {17}

{16} Echoes 43 (January 1914, Part I): pp. 13-5.

{17} Pioneer 27 (October 1914), pp. 149-51.

APPENDIX G:

TAXATION INTRODUCED

[Between 1911 and 1920, Dr. Fisher and George Suckling wrote many letters to relatives and supporters, describing problems that arose when the BSAC tried to impose taxation on the Mwinilunga and Balovale [Zambezi] Districts. They believed in the right of all governments to levy taxes but, at the same time, did not want the lives of their parishioners unduly disrupted. Extracts of four letters by Dr. Fisher and two by Suckling are given in chronological order. These letters show the major dilemmas that taxation posed.]

Dr. Walter Fisher: 7th August 1911

This year the country is very much upset because a census has been taken, and the natives fear that the hut-tax will soon follow. Since our return [to the territory from overseas leave] several chiefs have come to protest, and none have commenced new fields, so determined are they to go elsewhere rather than pay the tax. [18]

Dr. Walter Fisher: 20th September 1912

For months every one has been quite unsettled, the chief cause being a hut-tax which was about to be imposed, and which the natives considered an impossible one. Ten months ago the District Commissioner was advised not to come, being told all would flee into the bush. Three days ago representatives of all the surrounding villages met him at his request, over nine hundred people presenting themselves and bringing abundance of food for his large police force, messengers and carriers. He told us afterwards that they listened patiently while he explained to them the five demands of Government: (1) Give up killing one another, (2) Give up burning witches, (3) Abandon slavery, (4) Build together in large villages, (5) Pay a 10s. hut-tax. His reception, he says, surpassed his greatest expectations. . . . We trust that the country will now become more settled, and the work of seeking to preach the gospel be helped rather than hindered. [19]

Dr. Walter Fisher: 10th June 1913

[18] ~~Echoes~~ 40 (November 1911), p. 414.

[19] ~~Echoes~~ 41 (Dec. 1912), pp. 467-8.

Last week we had the Acting DC here and our local official. He had asked me to try and collect runaway chiefs to meet which with some success we did. Of course I told him I was anxious not to be connected at all with political matters but as a favour he asked me to be present while he listened to their grievances and explained his concessions as he felt we had the confidence of the natives and they had not and that if we helped them to get more in touch with the natives they may be willing to remain in British territory. {20}

George Suckling: 15th June 1913

Before I went away [on a local tour] the long-feared exodus of the people of this neighbourhood began. The arrival of a number of white men in connection with the Boundary Commission led the people to imagine the hut-tax was to be immediately imposed, and consequently the inhabitants of several villages crossed the borders into either Belgian or Portuguese territory. Though the tax is imposed in the former, so much higher prices are paid for labour that it is not felt to be a burden there. Moreover, there rubber is plentiful, whereas here there is practically none except what is smuggled across the border. At one time we feared that nearly the whole population of this district would leave us, but great efforts were made by all concerned, the officials made several concessions, and we are glad to record that, in answer to prayer, it seems likely that a considerable proportion of the people will remain. {21}

Dr. Walter Fisher: 30th September 1915

Seasons of radical changes amongst primitive people are always times of anxiety. During the last eighteen months we have had an experience of this, the result of the levying of a 10s. hut-tax by the B.S.A.CO. In February last year [1914] a visit round our district gave one much pleasure, as nearly every one was busy cultivating, and all were cheerful and hopeful. Within a week all was changed! The hut-tax was announced, and they were told it was due in four months and must be paid, or defaulters must leave the country. All cultivating ceased, and numbers prepared to flee, selling their fields if possible. It was hopeless to attempt to converse on spiritual things in the villages; the tax alone occupied the thoughts of the people. Finally two-thirds of our villages were deserted. The Government then made certain concessions to encourage the remainder to pay, with some success.

Many were the superstitions connected with the tax,

{20} Walter Fisher to Darling, 10 June 1913, Fisher Papers, folios 1636-7, NAZ.

{21} ~~Echoes~~ 42 (September 1913), pp. 335-6.

which slowly disappeared when it was found that no terrible calamities befell those who were foolish enough to pay. Favourable reports reaching the deserters, by no means happy in their retreats, slowly village after village returned, so that only a third of those who fled are still absent, and these may come in yet. {22}

George Suckling (Balovale District): 4th March 1920

The Lovale people are more numerous than any others in the district, and probably number thirty thousand at the least. They are the worst of all as regards tax; probably not a hundred of them have paid the current tax. I was constantly asked to open schools amongst them, but it is impossible to ignore the difficulty created by the tax question. So far, the problem has been too big for the [local] officials to handle, and they have been content to get what tax they can and to make examples here and there. But this is obviously very unfair, and this year a much more determined effort is to be made to deal with defaulters, so that unless the people pay they are sure to get into trouble, and this means breaking up of villages and general confusion. In our immediate neighbourhood we are not worried, because any native here can now earn the money for his tax, but we should be unable to avoid the question altogether should we open an out-school on the Lungvunqu. Unless the people are really going to settle down and make an effort to pay their tax, the work could never have any permanence. Unfortunately, such is the fatalistic outlook of the natives, and they have so long been unable to pay the tax that they have come to look upon it as a matter beyond them. {23}

APPENDIX H:

NATIVE SCHOOLS PROCLAMATION OF 1918

[This proclamation greatly agitated and offended SAGM missionaries like it did most other missionaries in Northern Rhodesia. Conversely, it gave Frank Melland, these SAGM missionaries' nemesis, a tool once again to try and force the mission to improve its educational programs. The following eight extracts-- given chronologically --reveal not only the emotions and opinions of Harris, Wilson, and Melland, but also the complex, wider issues the the Proclamation raised. All extracts are located in the Correspondence Files, Wimbledon.]

14th April 1918. Ernest Harris {24}

Under the new regulations even a bibleclass [sic] is counted as a school and must be visited four times a year by the European in charge. You will notice the definition of a school given in the proclamation [sic], it can be made to embrace even a service for preaching the Gospel, that is the way Mr Melland interpreted it yesterday to me. My conversation with him yesterday left two vivid impressions, 1st that the proclamation [sic] is the result of SCARE. 2nd that it is intended to hinder the preaching of the Gospel as much as possible. It can be made to mean (according to Mr. Melland) even a preaching service and whether held once a year or 365 times, under the proclamation [sic] consent in writing must be obtained. That a proclamation [sic] capable of being so interpreted should have been signed in the name of the King and made legal by the High Commissioner is nothing short of iniquity. My! it is crafty. It makes ones soul cry out and long for the return of our Lord.

17th June 1918. A. A. Wilson {25}

The Devil is . . . using various means to thwart God's work. For instance there has just come into force a new proclamation that restricts instruction of any kind except by duly qualified and registered teachers and evangelists. The regulations governing the qualifications are not yet gazetted and until they are we cannot send out any

{24} Harris to Faithful, Vol. 16.

{25} Wilson to "Fellow Helpers" [supporters overseas], Vol. 17

preachers, for preaching is claimed to be "instruction" under the meaning of the proclamation.

29th June 1918. Ernest Harris{26}

NATIVE SCHOOLS PROCLAMATION. This is now in force in its original form. This means that all our christian classes and every village where our Evangelists preach must be registered before the 5th of July. This I am doing, sending in two lists under the headings of "Regular Schools". This list contains the names of fifty-five villages in forty-eight of which there are christian clases. List B. "Occasional Schools" will be a much larger list. All of these villages must be visited by the European in charge at least four times a year or be abandoned. Our men can only preach in villages so registered and visited as above. It takes a Boma official eight months to cover this District once a year. We have to do it four times. It costs the Boma 118.16 [pounds, shillings] a year for carriers for this work when the official uses a bicycle and 32 [pounds] extra if he has to use a machila. I want you to see clearly the problem we are up against from NOW ON. It cannot be shelved, it cannot be played with, it must be met and met NOW. To meet the present need we must have another man immediately. It is surely possible to release someone out of all the workers in the South. You know there are workers who wanted to come up and probably still want to come. What is the good of talking . . . for years of "letting go", whne you wont "let go"? Now the question that must be settled is - What are you going to do, release someone to come and meet the present urgent need, or abandon the work God has given the Mission in this District? Think what this means. Since last November there have been nearly 850 converts. They are not on the station, but scattered over a very side stretch of country. Ar they to be abandoned, left to drift? Has the Mission a similar work in any other part of the field? Is there as great a need anywhere else in the whole field? If these questions are honestly answered we feel that you, without any delay whatever, will send the needed help. I feel sure God will not hold the Mission blameless if no effort is made Now in face of what confronts us in this district.

Further if we are forced to abandon any of these villages now, it will be difficult to re-enter them later. It will mean much trouble and delay. The District Commissioner emphasised [sic] that point when talking with me

{26}Harris to Cape Town, Vol. 17, Underlining as in the original.

yesterday. Once more I implore you, for God's sake make an effort to send someone to our aid at once, if only to tide over the time till new workers can be got from home. We must be three men on the station. The work can't be done with less.

1st July 1918. Frank Melland (27)

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt, with thanks, of your letter of the 29th ulto covering list of villages for registration in the terms of the Native Schools Proclamation.

I note that the number of villages in your lists is very considerable and I presume you have not lost sight of the fact that the schools must be inspected by a European member of the mission at least four times a year? I mention this because with your present staff I do not see how you can carry this out. I know that with two men here, and eight months travelling it takes us all our time to visit all the villages in this sub-district a minimum of once each, (say an average of 1 1/2 visits per village); and your lists cannot be far short of the total number of villages. The population is so scattered that a great deal of ground has to be covered to get the visiting done, and to visit all these villages four times a year, in my opinion, would mean about twelve months' travelling.

Trusting that you will not object to these few remarks.

6th September 1918. Ernest Harris (28)

I note what you write. . . . There is only one possible solution to this question and that is to make an immediate effort to get two men to meet the need. I am persuaded that prayer and effort will remove the difficulty and men will be found to send up for this work. Of course if no effort is made to get men, you can hardly expect to get them. The sending of lady workers cannot meet the need. There are now over a thousand christians connected with the work at Chisalala most of them are but babes in Christ, and to abandon them will be criminal. I cannot think that you can for one moment entertain such a course. Yet if men are not sent that is what will happen. . . . I have been

{27} Melland to Harris, Vol. 17

{28} Harris to Cape Town, Vol. 17.

through the whole matter most thoroughly with the Magistrate [Frank Melland] and know just what his mind is on the subject. That he will enforce the law there is not the least doubt. But I think he will be perfectly impartial and fair in all his dealings.

16 September 1918, Ernest Harris {29}

I wrote you very fully on this matter last week, but . . . it seems clear from your letters that you have not yet grasped the gravity of the situation and the urgency for the help for which we have asked. If that help is not forthcoming by the end of the rains, when Vernon leaves for his furlough, I shall be faced with an impossible task and I assure that I shall let everything else go, station a/cs, letters, station work, everything in order to save as many of these young converts as possible.

18th September 1918, Ernest Harris {30}

I have just been to the Boma, where I had a talk with the Visiting Commissioner, who, as you know, ranks next to the Administrator of Northern Rhodesia. The subject of conversation was the N.S.P. and he made it clear that the word school in the Proc. "was purposely defined so as to include every form of Christian service. And that every village where services are held must be registered as schools. . . . This need is urgent, probably more urgent than any similar need the Mission has had to meet during the whole of its history. It is the crisis of the work in this field and what is done now will either make or mar it for all time. I wonder to what extent you (the Executive) have grasped the situation. "Very interested", but that is not sufficient. Has the need gripped you? Does it keep you awake at night? It does me. Does it bring tears to your eyes and a great pain to your heart. . . . I have done all in my power to make the situation clear to you. I can do no more. I have "delivered my soul". God bless you as you take the matter in hand. . . . He knows the need and He knows I have not overstated it.

{29} Harris to Cape Town, Vol. 17.

{30} Harris to Cape Town, Vol. 17.

June 1919. Ernest Harris {31}

[The last statement by Harris was very different. Harris wrote this while in South Africa on sick leave. By this time, he had lost the struggle with both the mission headquarters and Melland. The mission did not send more staff and Melland was unrelenting. Time moreover had cooled his strong emotions. He was resigned to following a new approach, even though it lead to fewer conversions. Nonetheless, after this he was permanently transferred to South Africa.]

Under the Native Schools Proclamation of Northern Rhodesia the word school is defined to mean and every form of Christian service. We cannot here enter into all the provisions of the N.S.P. but we regard the regulation for the regulation for the regular supervisoion by a European missionary as a wise one, one that will make for effective work.

APPENDIX I:

GEORGE SUCKLING AND EDUCATION

~~"Sun-Dried Bricks in the Arnot Memorial Schools:~~~~The Question of School Work in the Kabonpe District"~~

[In 1915 and 1916, Suckling had several chances to describe Chitokoloki's first two years to the Men's Study Classes through Links of Help. This is his longest and most comprehensive article in this magazine. It is not one of Suckling's best statements, but does explain both Chitokoloki's new educational program and many of Suckling's new hopes and fears.]{32}

Some friends may doubt the wisdom of educational work from a missionary point of view, so let us consider the alternative possibilities in the district.

There is one school for the children of Africa into which millions are introduced in infancy, and to the unholy influence of which millions are irrevocably doomed. To become but superficially acquainted with African village life will scarcely emphasize the disastrous consequences of this training. The youngsters look so happy as they play about their villages, seemingly so free from care, with no clothes to soil, no windows to break, and no clocks to consider. The girls seem so capable, as in quite early life they accept their share in the responsibilities of the home, preparing the ground for cultivation or pounding the meal that forms their staple food. That they are usually wives and mothers before the age at which English girls generally leave school does not impress us in that land of sudden development and rapid decay. The boys seem so manly, too, as while quite little chaps they follow their father, or more often their uncle, carrying his gun or his spear, and prepared to walk fifteen to twenty miles a day without a murmur. Or perhaps they go out with some little chums, with tiny bows and arrows to shoot small birds, or to trap squirrels, the rats, or the moles that will make the dinner so much more tasty. Or they may have followed the sure guidance of the honey-bird, and come back laden with the welcome spoil. A good school this, surely, teaching the children to be self-reliant, resourceful, and observant. Why interfere with such happy, carelss, innocent lives?

{32} Links, 5 (1915/6), pp. 109-11.

Learn, however, the language, observe closely the customs of the people, get into real contact with the village life, and how different the matter seems. With the exception of the limitations imposed by etiquette and superstition, there is practically no restraint placed upon the actions of the girls and boys in their villages. This school knows nothing of discipline, and its curriculum includes the teaching of no virtue. The wisdom inculcated is the wisdom that descendeth not from above, but is "earthly, sensual, devilish." Those who come to know the inner lives of these young scholars can appreciate how well they learn their lessons. Day by day and night by night these boys and girls by the example and precept of their elders, are being nurtured in vice and trained in iniquity. Not only so, they are also brought up in constant dread of malignant spirits, they are taught to trace the source of sickness and trouble to the unsatisfied claims of the departed spirits or of the power of witches and wizards, who must be searched out and dealt with. Though now in British territory it is scarcely possible for a man to be put to death on a charge of witchcraft, such charges are still made, and lead to endless trouble. The initiation ceremonies, the spirit dances, and indeed all the social habits of the people are steeped in superstition, and have their outcome in degrading fears and terrible immoralities. When a boy or girl is constantly ill in early life he or she is often dedicated to a certain spirit, and in deference to his will (discovered by divination), the patient must consider certain foods taboo. Though drunkenness is not prevalent among the children, a most pernicious habit of smoking is very general, and this often leads to various physical ills, for the habit is acquired in early childhood.

Try to imagine the ordinary life and the normal conversation of children brought up under such circumstances. Think of them in the evenings as darkness comes upon them, and they have nothing holy or pure to occupy their minds, and no books to divert their attention. Remember, too, that millions of Africa's children have at present no hope of anything better, that no true light pierces the darkness and ignorance in which they dwell, and that in very many districts there is no hand stretched out to draw them to a holy life. And may we be shamed before our God at our lukewarmness and indifference when we remember that these children, for whom Christ died, have never heard His name, and are hastening to eternity without a knowledge of Him!

Such was the condition of all the children in the Kabompo less than two years ago, and we have now to consider the efforts for dealing with the situation.

When the late Mr. Arnot tried to reach the district, more than thirty years ago, he was prevented by

the refusal of the paramount chief to allow him to go there. Twenty-five years later the Roman Catholic White Fathers sought permission from the Rhodesian Government (who had by then secured the administrative rights to the country by treaty) to allow them to open up the district by the introduction of schools and mission centres. Such activity would undoubtedly have had a civilising effect upon the natives, but the change would have been merely superficial. In place of the worship of the spirits of the dead would have been the worship of reputed saints; in place of charms and fetiches, crosses and relics; instead of prayers to the dead, prayers for the dead; and in time of sickness, instead of the rattles and charmed medicines, the rosaries and holy water. While we admire the devotion and self-sacrifice of many of the Roman Catholic missionaries, we must not forget their failure to bring the natives into right relation with God through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

When, in order to frustrate this desire to introduce such a system, Mr. Arnot himself went to the Kabompo district and started preaching the simple Gospel, illness compelled him, after six months' labour, to return to his home.

It was then that another agency prepared to enter the district. In the Barotse Kingdom, to the south of the Kabompo, a large school had been opened, according to treaty, under the direction of the Government. The education therein is purely secular, and the aim is to fit the natives who attend the school for work in the offices and the mines, or on the farms near the railway to the South. This training does not fit the natives to return to their villages to seek the general uplift of the community. It tends rather to the breaking up of tribal life, and to the drifting of the natives into a worse condition morally and spiritually than they were in before, by introducing them to the example and influence of degraded white men.

In connection with this school the Government proposed opening an out-school in the Kabompo district by sending a trained native teacher to give rudimentary education. His life and teaching would have been irreligious and his influence generally bad. Soon after Mr. Arnot had settled Mr. Rogers and myself in the district we heard of this suggestion and in order to make the opening of such a school with all its possibilities of evil unnecessary, we proposed starting a school ourselves. I went to see the Resident Magistrate about the matter, and he promised not to open a rival school in the district so long as ours proved to be efficient.

We were thus allowed to be the first to introduce education into this large district, wherein, when we went there, not a single native could read or write. A rough

school-room was built, and small huts provided for the boys. About twenty-five scholars were got together and in a period of less than a year four of these boys learned to read and write, while others made good progress. A few have been introduced to the mysteries of carpentry, gardening and the saw-pit, while all are made to respect the "dignity of labour" by being kept occupied when not in school in useful work about the place. Our aim is to teach the boys enough for them to be able to read and understand the Bible as it is translated for them, and by means of carpentry or gardening to be able to support themselves in their villages, when they are ready to go back there and open small schools among their own people. Thus we hope to see the influence of the mission station extended to all parts of the district.

By living constantly on the mission station the boys are not only brought out of the sordid surroundings of their villages but they are definitely brought under holier influences. Into these young minds, so early tainted and corrupted, are instilled the cleansing principles of the Bible; their tongues, in earliest years "set on fire of hell" and already deplored used to vilifying and cursing, are taught to repeat the glorious words of the Gospel, and their young hearts, so soon shut close in the darkness and degradation around them, are by the Spirit of God being opened to know and love the Saviour.

What shall I more say? The need is enormous, the opportunities are extraordinary. This new little mission station, manned by two young workers only is situated in a district hitherto quite unreached with the Gospel, and is more than a hundred miles from any other station. Apart from Mrs. Arnot, no lady missionaries have worked in the district, and many of the villages have never yet been visited by a missionary. We seek to make use of every opportunity for itineration and Mr. Rogers, especially has been able to explore the district, discovering in some directions thickly populated areas, village crowded on village, and never into any of them had the Gospel been carried. May God in His mercy raise up workers, particularly young married couples, for the work in this needy field!

A circle of influence, however, like any other circle must have a centre, and hence our desire to establish the station and especially the school work, and to this end has the Arnot Memorial School been planned. The memorial would take the form of a large sun-dried brick building suitable both for school work and for evangelistic meetings, and also of house accommodation for the scholars. It may interest some to know that the boys themselves have promised to collect five pounds towards this building.

The school teaching will, God willing be resumed next April and we hope we shall be able to increase the number of scholars, though the expense involved in upkeep of a boy (3 [pounds] a year, ie., 2d. a day) has hitherto necessitated our limiting the number received. On this account we have had the sorrowful experience of having to refuse admission to boys who have desired to enter the school. Imagine such a boy leaving his village, sometimes fifty to seventy miles away, tramping through the forest, wading through rivers and crossing the plains, and arriving at the mission station to seek work and admission to school. When he is refused on the ground of our having as many boys as we can undertake, he stays on throughout the day hoping through importunity to obtain a happier answer. In the evening, as the day draws in, sad and disappointed he goes away. Back to his village, back to the heathenism, the superstition, the shame, and the sin. Ask yourself what future lies before such a one.

APPENDIX J:

SILAS CHIZAWU ON EDUCATION, BALOVALE, 1930S

[On 15 June 1976, I formally interviewed an old associate, Mr. Chifuanyisa Silas Chizawu, in Kabompo township. His memory is amazing. The following includes extracts from that interview, especially those that focus on George Suckling and the expansion of Chitokoloki's educational system in the 1930s.]

I started my first schooling in October 1927 at a primary school called Makondo, which was a mission school established by the late Mr. George Robert Suckling. . . . That school was called Makondo out-school, because all the village schools in those days were not called the way we do now-a-days; they were called out-schools. Their main purpose was not to educate the people in the sense we understand the word education today, but the main purpose was to enable people to read and write so that they could read the Bible. Perhaps in those days we did not know very much the word "Bible," but to read the "Word of God." The first headteacher of that school was Mr. Moses Sangambo, who now resides in Mize. . . .

That school opened in October 1927 and it closed early in 1928. Then from that time came a system of out-schools, which were sponsored by the government, because by that time the government had felt the time had come when village schools should be opened in many places where children, boys and girls, from many villages would have access and the government said that any missionaries who were unwilling or refused to open village schools would have their rights as missionaries forfeited. Or rather they would call the Roman Catholics to open schools. So in this way they were rather frightened. Because as far as the doctrine of C.M.M.L.[Christian Missions in Many Lands] goes, they feared the Catholics; they did not like to work hand in hand with the Catholics. They feared that they would interfere with their doctrine. So Mr. Suckling took up the job. He agreed to open the schools, although other missionaries in the denomination opposed this "teeth and nail." They did not like the Africans to be educated. They said that missionaries did not come to educate the Africans but rather to teach them the Word of God and tell them the Gospel of Jesus Christ. What they wanted to do was to teach them to read and write, to enable them to read the Word of God. . . .

In 1928 the government wanted more out-schools. Schools were therefore opened in places like in what is now known as Mukandakunda, but in those days the school was known as Ishindi Out-School. That school was near the place of the graveyard of the old Ishindi Kazanda, who is the father of the present Chief Ishindi. And another school was opened at Mapachi, which is near Mize, the headquarters of Chief Ndunqu. Another school was opened at Chief Ishima's village which was just on the banks of the river rapids [Lwatembu]. Another school was opened at Kasaka, the village of a Luchazi chief, who used to live there. These four schools were opened in those places. This was mostly in October 1928 and I was one of those first enrolled with Ishindi School. . . .

Now if we move forward. In 1930, another step was taken. The government said: "Well, now we have village schools all right; we must have teachers." (For your information, those teachers who taught us were not trained, neither were they educated to the standard that was required. Just literate men, men who could read and write. But don't forget to remember that their main work, the main purpose for putting them in the field was to preach the Gospel. The main aim of the missionaries was not to educate people in the sense of education as we know it today--to enable people to read the Book of God and the Gospel so that they could be converted.) . . .

Then in 1930, the government policy changed. They said: "We want to have the bright boys"--I am afraid we had no girls--"selected from all these out-schools and bring them into one place." In other words into a central place and that central place was the Chitokoloki Mission Station and then open a boarding school where these people would be kept--fed and taught--until they reached a certain standard. In that mission the first examination was conducted in March 1930. . . . So the examination was conducted and boys were selected. We from Ishindi were eight; from Mapachi, seven; from Chitokoloki, eleven; from Ishima, four; from Kasaka, three. Then we and two other young men; I am not certain of their age--Mr. Moses Bongo, . . . and a Luzendu . . . came from Angola solely seeking education. . . .

[Question: Was there anyone from Chavuma at this stage?]

No. Chavuma was bitterly opposed to that system of education. Chavuma felt Mr. Suckling was making these people become proud. We had no one, therefore, from Chavuma. Now our first boarding was a house of the missionaries, Mr. Hansen. He had a house, a big one and they had left it because he had moved to another station on the other side of the Zambezi at Lungevungu. That station at Lungevungu was opened by Mr. Sharpe who had left and went back home. . . .

Then that was the first boarding house. That house had no use. So the missionaries, rather Mr. Suckling, decided to use it for a boarding school. I think, if I am not mistaken, that we were 35 boys. I was one of the first group. In that examination--and I do not want to boast--I did so well that I was given a book, Pilgrim's Progress, in Lunda and two other young men received 5/- each.

The boarding started. In fact to begin with, it started in small huts which we built by ourselves and then in May, when we came back from holidays, we started sleeping in that good house. We were given very good blankets and very big light and so forth. We had happy days. We were properly fed and Mr. Suckling was very much interested in that work. In fact, he devoted himself so much to that that other missionaries began saying this and that about him. That was about the boarding.

Now we move. In November 1932, a government inspector from Lusaka came to inspect the school. He was Mr. J. C. Cottrell from Mazabuka. . . . After he had inspected the school, he said to Mr. James Caldwell, who was our teacher at that time, "I think this class has learnt so much, it is now Standard IV. And as a Standard IV class prepare it to sit for the examination. That was the government examination, they called it a "School Leaving Certificate Examination. (Mr. Caldwell was assisting Mr. Suckling in the missionary work and so he was given the responsibility of the school. He took the top class. We were in the top class so he was our teacher. He was the principal, or as we say now-a-days, the manager of the school, and at the same time the class teacher.) In that class we were about seven: Silas Chizawu, John Mwondela, Samuel Mbilishi, Jeremiah Sakatengo, Jotham Luhila, Moses Mbongo and Luzendu.

In May, we walked all the way from Chitokoloki to the boma. This examination was so important, it had to be invigilated by the District Commissioner--at that time was G. S. Green. So we sat for that examination. We completed it and the papers and the manuscripts went to Mazabuka for marking. When the results came, all of us passed, but two: Mr. Luzendo and Mr. Jeremiah Sakatengo failed.

That examination was a combined one. It was school leaving and at the same time, teachers leaving examination. Those who passed, passed as both Standard IV candidates and as teachers. So we who passed were allowed to start teaching. There was a proposal--although I just recollect a bit of it--by the government that those who passed and who were young would go to Mazabuka for further studies, up to Standard VI, and then take the training too. But I think--I may be wrong--Mr. Suckling objected to it. He was such a strong man that if he wanted to object the government would

agree. So we started teaching: Silas Chizawu, John Mwondela, and Samuel Mbilishi. We started on the first of June, 1933. That was after the examination and the results had come back from Mazabuka. What the government did was to send lectures. Unfortunately, the man helping us study these was untrained himself. Anyway, it helped us gain knowledge. . . .

We were all teaching at Chitokoloki. Only an old man, married, could go out and teach in an out-school.

I have just thought of another one, Daniel Ndumba, who later became the headmaster at Chitokoloki. So we were eight. Two failed and six passed.

We were all teaching at Chitokoloki. The government started giving grants to the missionaries for the salaries of teachers. But the salary we started with was six shillings and three yards calico. We were also being given uniforms and soap to wash the uniforms. Married men like Yotamu Luhila and Daniel Ndumba were receiving more than ten shillings. At that time this was purely from the missionaries' pockets. But in early 1934, the government started paying grants towards teachers' salaries. The salary for men like ourselves was twenty-five shillings per month. You may be surprised, but from experience, when I compare what I am getting at the present time and twenty-five shillings, I can see that we used to get more or could buy more than with what I am getting now. A shirt like the one I am wearing would cost only three and six pence or four shillings, where as now-a-days, this one cost me six kwacha.

There came another time in 1935 when the missionaries felt some of us should go to teach in the out-schools. I went to Makondo, my original school, and my home too. In fact, my home is in Mukandakunda. So I went to Makondo, just two miles from Mukandakunda, on the other side of the Makondo, just going a bit towards the confluence of the river. Mr. Daniel Ndumba went to Lwatembo, the old headquarters of Chief Ishima. But we two went out to the village schools. I went there in 1935 just a week after my marriage. That was the school I taught from 17th July 1935 to mid-August 1940 when I was sent to Chalimbana for training as a Jeannes supervisor. Mr. Mwondela and I were the first young men to be sent from Chitokoloki to Chalimbana for the training as Jeannes supervisors. . . .

When I returned from Chalimbana in 1942, I found my friend, Mr. William Nkanza, teaching at that place [Makondo]. Both of us were teaching there for a year. Mr. William Nkanza then left me there and went to Chalimbana for the same course. . . .

I forgot one other important point in our discussion: the opening of the teachers training college at

Chitokoloki. In April 1935, we received a man who had been teaching in South America, Mr. Victor Reed. He came to join the mission work. But this man was educated. He was an M.A. The government agreed [to open teacher training]. Mr. Suckling had been asking for this and that, but we had no suitable man. Now that we had this man who was an M.A. for the opening of a "normal school" as it was then called, the first teachers training college was opened late in 1935. That was the college, or the normal school, as we used to call it, which trained Mr. William Nkanza as a teacher. He and others completed their course in 1937, after two years. So that was another step in the direction of development of education in the province.

APPENDIX K:

JOHN COTTRELL'S REPORT, JANUARY 1933

[John Cottrell's report of his tour through Barotseland and Kasempa Province from 17 October to 10th December 1932 was as remarkable as Melland's earlier reports. Like Melland, Cottrell was one of the handful of men that saw through the conventions of his age. The following extracts are the most relevant portions to the present NWP.]{33}

Plans of work.

3. It was impossible on the time at my disposal to visit more than a small proportion of village schools but in both provinces all Mission Stations, with the exception of Luampa (South African General Mission) in Barotseland, were inspected. Further, I took every opportunity of consulting Government Officers of experience, the European Missionaries and Doctors, Traders, Chiefs, African Teachers and other Natives, thus acquainting myself with the opinions of many people directly or indirectly interested in Native Education. I was also able to be present at the meeting of the Director of Native Education and the Provincial Commissioner, Monqu, with the Paramount Chief and Lealui Khotla. A day in Livingstone on the return journey afforded a valuable opportunity of discussing with the Hon^{ble} the Secretary for Native Affairs some aspects of the work of the Missions visited.

4. The chief Mission Societies operating in the area covered by the tour are the South African General Mission, the Christian Missions in Many Lands, and the Paris Evangelical Mission. (I do not include the Seventh Day Adventists on the Zambezi the Capuchin Fathers' on the Loanja who have a few village schools in the Sesheke District but have not yet established Stations).

5. Since the Stations visited fall conveniently into three distinct groups corresponding to the Societies mentioned above I shall discuss in this covering report general questions concerning each group and summarise points worth of special notice from the reports.

6. Individual reports on each Station are attached. I did not mark schools in any way, contenting myself with general

{33} "Native Education Tour Report: Mr. J. A. Cottrell's Tour Report to Kasempa Province and Barotseland," 24 Jan. 1933, ZA 1/9/119/5, NAZ. The underlining of full sentences for emphasis is mine.

impressions under the heads of :-

- (a) Educational Value and General Influence of the Station.
- (b) Site, Buildings and Equipment.
- (c) Adequacy and Efficiency of Staff.
- (d) Examination of Teachers for Certificates.
- (e) Teaching Methods (dealt with on the spot).
- (f) Work of pupils.
- (g) Provision for Agriculture and Handicrafts.
- (h) Syllabuses, Schemes of Work, Length of Sessions.
- (i) Organization, Discipline and Health.
- (j) Boarding Arrangements and Recreation.
- (k) Fulfilment of Conditions governing Grants-in-Aid.
- (l) Medical Work.
- (m) Outschool System.
- (n) Vernacular Text-books.

METHODIST SCHOOLS

7. My objective was beyond Mumbwa, but in passing I called at the Methodist outschools. . . .

SOUTH AFRICAN GENERAL MISSION

General Remarks.

8. In this group are included Mukinge Hill and Mutanda Bridge in the Kasempa Province. Both are fairly new Stations where Elementary and a little Lower Middle School education is attempted. The apathy of the people towards education and the lack of trained African teachers are serious handicaps. The missionaries have, I feel, yet to gain the full confidence of the people beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the Stations.

Outschool System

9. The importance of good outschool system, under qualified teachers, for the achievement of this end seems to have been overlooked. The first schools should be built near villages of important chiefs and when the latter are won over, expansion to other villages will be desired by the people themselves. Two Ba-Kaonde boys from Mukinge Hill are now at school in Mazabuka and two more, from Mutanda, will be admitted, I hope, in September. It should be firmly impressed upon these lads that they are destined for future service amongst their people.

Medical Work.

10. The foundations of medical work round Mukinge Hill have been laid by Miss Kupferer and I am certain that the newly acquired enthusiasm for serious educational work by these Missions will prove to be an epoch in their history.

Grants.

11. Mukinge Hill received a Boarding Grant of 43.10.0

[pounds, shillings] last year and a Medical Grant. Mutanda Bridge promises well and deserves encouragement and Government assistance as soon as funds are available. These are the only two Mission Stations existing in the Kasempa and Solwezi Districts - an area of roughly 20,000 square miles.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN MANY LANDS

General Influence.

12. Kalene Hill and Kamapanda in Mwinilunga District, Chavuma and Chitokoloki, in Balovale District, serve the backward peoples of the North West - chiefly Ba-Lunda and Ba-Lovale. This branch of the Society was established in North Western Rhodesia as early as 1897 and its most fruitful spheres of activity have been its efforts in the early days to bring peace amongst the turbulent border tribes and its success in the Medical field. The surrounding tribes must have benefited greatly by long contact with these sincere and often cultured people. One notices well planned villages and houses after the European style and a respectful attitude towards Europeans. How much the Mwinilunga Boma officials are responsible for this I cannot say. Educationally it has lagged behind and seems, until recently, to have been left high and dry by the wave of education which has penetrated the more accessible parts of the Territory since 1926.

Attitude of the People

13. Although labour for the Copper Belt and the Lobito Bay Railway must at times have been recruited from these parts, the area itself is practically untouched by European industrialism and the number of farms and trading stores are almost negligible. There is therefore little desire on the part of the natives for education. I am convinced that, generally speaking, to the native mind learning is not acquired in schools for its own sake but for that of getting work under Europeans. And so in this area, the white man's magical gift is sought by the few not so much for the material gain it brings but to attain the distinction of being able to read the vernacular Scriptures and write and receive letters from friends. Many youths come to school with the sole purpose of learning to write letters to friends and even then have not the staying powers to see it through. Consequently the "school life" of the majority of pupils is short lived.

Wastage.

14. This fact struck me most forcibly in connection with Kalene Hill and brings me to an important criticism. Of a total average of 260 weekly boarders in attendance an average of only 3 reach Standard II. This big percentage of Wastage indicates that the majority of pupils should not receive costly boarding education. The building up of an outschool system is the obvious solution.

Type of Education Required.

15. The creation of village schools in close touch with village communities and the mass of the people as a means of improving character and good citizenship is what is required and what is most suitable for this area, the conditions of which have already been described. The new policy places this idea in the forefront of educational effort the result of which, it is hoped, will be to produce good Africans and not imitation white men.

Teachers.

16. But we cannot get away from the vicious circle. Good village schools pre-suppose good African teachers of which there are none. I have urged these Missions most strongly to send a few picked youths for teacher - training at the Society's Training School at Johnston Falls.

Organisation of Education Work.

17. The above criticism, however, applies more strongly to Kalene Hill only. Of greater account because of its wider effect is the lack of a unified educational policy for this group of Missions. The cause may probably be traced to the fact that the individual Missions are loosely affiliated, often drawing their funds from quite independent sources. There is real need for some central administrative authority in educational matters to organise the work and bring about uniformity of aims, policy and method in closer touch with the Department. I would suggest an Education Committee like that of the Paris Evangelical Mission, or, if distances are too great, an educationist like Mr. Stokes at Johnston Falls should be given authority to direct the educational work.

Place of Education in Mission Work.

18. Furthermore, the educational work seems in all cases except Chitokoloki, to be left almost entirely to the women. The making of roads and odd jobs about the Station have their place, but education is surely a more important duty of the Missionary?

The "Mission Boy."

19. At Kamapanda I had to sound a note of warning regarding the need for discipline and firmness when dealing with the "raw" Native. The Missionary who allows his servants to work for just as few hours as they please and no more, to wander about when and where they like and to come at any time with their trifling business is neglecting valuable opportunities for character training, is creating what is known as the "Mission Boy", and laying his profession open to hostile criticism.

Half Measures.

20. At Chavuma I was surprised and annoyed to find a "man on the veld" who expressed the opinion that the acceptance of a Government grant brought unwanted restrictions: I had

to point out the difference between a full time educational programme and half measures. Indeed one is forcibly made to realise at times that it is only the Native ignorance and his blind and almost pathetic belief in the white man's education which induces him to send his children, and even to come himself, to the only place within reach bearing the name of school. It is sometimes necessary to remind missionaries in the outlying districts that the Department has a definite policy and that it aims at giving the Native a fair deal, and that regulations (usually passed by the Missionary Board of Advice) are, unfortunately, necessary.

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

On Sound Lines.

22. In truth Chitokoloki, the last seen Mission of this group was the only one about which I felt that a "square-meal" was being given. The diet too [sic] is good. The boys are not merely being trained to take a subordinate part in European industrial life. They are given that real interest in life which 'a proper education suited to past history and present condition' can stimulate. The fame of Chitokoloki for its carpenter-training in the days of Mr. Hansen's instruction reached me through Natives at Mazabuka. I saw too that Native handicrafts of the District were being studied and discovered and taught. A few boys were being trained in the printers shop, others as builders.

23. But most important of all was the method and spirit in which the work was done. There was no driver and no time-keeper and a complete absense of the "hated manual task" spirit about it which has the invariable result of creating men who in after life hate manual work as humiliating and avoid it whenever possible. "Manual task" as a means of "character training" is a harmful idea when applied to African education.

24. Chitokoloki prints and supplies vernacular books.

25. Chitokoloki is the only Station of the group at which the men put their backs into the educational work.

Compulsory Education.

26. Unfortunately owing to over-enthusiasm on the part of one or two chiefs who tried to introduce a form of compulsory education, the outschools have had to be closed down; but, I hope, only temporarily. Time is not ripe for coercion of the few when the willing majority cannot yet be provided for.

Qualified Teacher Problem.

27. Chitokoloki is also up against the qualified teacher problem. This I have discussed fully in the report. A solution will be found when I have consulted the Director of Native Education.

Jeanes Teacher.

28. It would be an excellent thing if a Jeanes Teacher who could speak the Lunda language were sent to the four Stations in this group so that the value of his work might be appreciated by the Missionaries. A Jeanes Teacher should be trained for them as soon as possible.

European School at Hillwood Farm.

29. On October the 29th we looked over and stayed for lunch at the school for missionaries' children on the Sakeji River near Hillwood Farm. The site is healthy, the accommodation and equipment most satisfactory, and the Staff qualified and well chosen. The Principal, Mr. Nightingale, is assisted by two lady teachers, a matron, and his wife, who is a trained nurse. The Children are extremely well fed and cared for: The lines on which the school is conducted and the happiness of the children make one feel that this is a real "home from home" for them. They are fine stock - a fact of which I was all the more convinced after meeting some of the parents - Fishers, Hoytes and Sucklings. Although the parents of only six children (out of the total of about 25) are at present resident in Northern Rhodesia, the missionaries are constantly transferred from territory to territory and it is probable that the majority of the children will settle in Northern Rhodesia, the only British territory of the group, when they grow up. Many of them will complete their education in England and this school is designed to prepare them for that purpose. . . .

PARIS EVANGELICAL MISSION. . . .

32. The educational work of this Society is excellent and follows closely the policy of the Department. The main features may be summarised as follows:-

(a) The Mission has a self-contained system providing elementary, middle, normal and industrial education for boys and elementary and middle education for girls.

(b) The work is well organised under an Education Committee causing uniformity of aims and methods.

(c) The importance of outschools for providing elementary education for the masses is recognised. In each group of outschools is a central out-school teaching up to Standard II. Outschools are closely supervised.

(d) A large percentage of the teachers employed are qualified. . . .

(h) In policy and method the Barotseland branch of the Society has profited by the experience of the older branch in Basutoland and they realise the importance of beginning at the fountain head by winning over chiefs after which

expansion to the villages under the chiefs is easier.

(i) Quality rather than quantity in education is a respected maxim. . . .

MUKINGE HILL

Morning School: Standards

Five boys in Standard II and four boys in Standard I (all boarders) are in the classroom between the hours of 7.30 and 12.00. They are taught by Mr. Foster who, however, spends much of this time on building and general Station matters. There is no Native teacher. Standard II is using "The Natal Explicit Arithmetic" Standard II (An excellent book). They worked seven problems involving multiplication and division of money and got 75% correct. They read the Chisanga Bible and a Standard II English Reader Satisfactorily.

Standard I worked some examples from McDougall's Arithmetic with satisfactory results and wrote well.

The work of both standards in other subjects was very elementary.

Practical work. In the afternoon the Standard II boys assist with teaching in the Sub-Standard school and together with Standard I boys work in the vegetable and fruit gardens and grow their own food. Only the hoe can be used since there are no cattle in the district. The Ba-Kaonde are very conservative in agriculture. Boys who leave the school do not put into practice any agriculture they learn at the Mission. This is probably due to the frequent moving of villages and gardens. Other Manual occupations are carpentry and brick-laying and building work generally.

Sub-standard School. . . .

These classes are taken by Mrs. Foster assisted by the Standard II boys from 1.30 to 4 p.m. They have in addition an hour in the morning with the Standard school for drill and singing. They spend most of the time learning Scripture, reading from the Scriptures, Writing, and doing Arithmetic. The work done is of an elementary nature but is thorough. The assistant teachers are of very limited capabilities.

Girls' School.

The girls' school has been closed since Miss Slater went on furlough.

General.

As may be seen from this report the educational work of this Mission is of a most elementary nature. The Mission has until the last two years held only, "Reading Classes" in connection with their religious work and educational work has never been seriously undertaken. No European is giving his or her full time to education and there is no African Staff. It must be kept in mind, however, that only in the last years have the Ba-Kaonde desired education and even now the boys do not "stick" to their school work for longer than 2 or 3 years.

The mission will benefit by the employment of certificated African Teachers. With this aim Jesse Sandasanda has been sent to the Normal School and Briggs and Pangwe to the Middle School at Mazabuka. By means of good Native assistants the Mission should be able to get a better grip on the surrounding people and advance the educational work.

Outschools.

There is only one outschool 70 miles West of the Mission Station which has an average attendance of 25 pupils under an unqualified teacher. The "outwork" at the evangelist centres is supervised by Mr. E. S. Frost whom I was unable to see. . . .

Fees.

Each boy bring 5/- worth of food a year. He is supplied with a uniform of khaki shorts and tunic.

The food consists of Mealie Meal, of Kaffir Corn meal, beans, pea-nuts and Meat or fish when obtainable. The boys eat in five groups. They wash regularly in the garden stream. . . .

Recommendations.

I recommend that boarding grants be given in respect of boys in the Standards only. In these times of depression sub-standard education of the type given at this Mission does not warrant boarding grants. The boys in the sub-standards should bring their own food. There is no need for them to wear uniforms.

MUTANDA MISSION

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Classes [Sub-A through St. IV] are taught for 4 1/2 hours daily by Mr. and Mrs. Nelson assisted by an uncertified Evangelist, John Pupe. The boys are all boarders except 5 and the girls are daughters of servants and station workers. Many of the boys are over-age.

Work.

I inspected the work of all classes including the exercise books of the Standards. The Vernacular Reading was good in all classes but English Reading and pronunciation rather poor although the pupils understood the meaning of what they read. Arithmetic was fair but Writing was definitely weak throughout the school. Geography-History and Hygiene were fair. I did not see the Drill since Mr. Nelson was away. The showing of the work generally was at a disadvantage owing to his absence. Standard IV was a very weak class and I advised that they should be grouped with Standard III this year since Standard III was a good class.

Manual Work.

The boys work in the vegetable garden and the plots in which food is grown for the school. I was surprised to hear that they are not taught carpentry. . . .

General Remarks and Recommendations.

The boys appeared happy and well cared for. They should be admitted at a younger age if possible.

This is a new Station. I consider that a good start has been made and that the educational work will develop owing to the enthusiasm of the workers. As in the case of Mukinge Hill it is essential that some certified African teachers be employed as soon as possible. I requested that two boys be selected for training at Mazabuka.

When times improve a small grant might be given since the work is greatly handicapped by lack of funds. Educationally this Station is more promising, I think, than Mukinge Hill

KALENE HILL

Site, Premises, etc.

Kalene Hill is a high, rocky bluff originally well named "Border Craig". From it one has a commanding view of a strip of Northern Rhodesia to the South and East and the Congo and Angola borderlands to the North and West

respectively. On account of the havoc wrought by sickness and death in the ranks of the early missionaries working amongst the Ba-Lunda this was chosen as a bracing site for a rest resort and nursing home for sick and tired missionaries. It is far from an ideal site for a mission station school, lacking the essentials of agricultural land, water close by, space for playing fields and for future expansion. Personally I found it not altogether free of mosquitoes and hot in the evening because of the retention by the rocks of the sun's heat. No satisfactory layout plan is possible: the buildings have been erected wherever space can be found between the rocks over which one has to scramble to get from one building to another. The Native quarters are too close to the Europeans' houses and the main buildings. The boys' dormitories are on the North end of the hill and the girls on the South. . . .

Schools.

The Sub-standard school is held from 7.30 to 10.30 am from Monday to Thursday. The Standard school is held from 2.30 to 4.30 p.m. on the same days. Both schools are under Miss Shaw (M.A.) and Miss Gilmour who was in charge of the schools until Miss Shaw's arrival a little more than a year ago. They are assisted by 8 unqualified Native teachers of Standard I and II attainments.

Sub-standard School.

Sub A is divided into five classes and Sub B into 4 classes. Various vernacular primers, books containing Bible stories and a Hygiene reader are progressively used leading up to the New Testament in the upper sections of Sub B. The work of the classes taken by the ladies is very good indeed. Both are competent and enthusiastic teachers and Miss Shaw's methods are up to date.

But incompetent teaching by some of the African teachers was reflected in the work of their pupils. . . .

Standard School - Boys only.

Miss Shaw and Miss Gilmour are getting good results with these [Standard I and II] classes. English is particularly well taught. Money problems of a really practical nature seem to have been neglected in the Upper section of Standard I. Otherwise the complete Elementary School Syllabus is carried out.

Practical and Manual Work.

During the mornings these boys have various occupations. Two Standard I boys are being trained as medical orderlies, some teach in the Morning School, one is being trained as a teacher, some learn to be domestic servants in the European houses and others assist with building, carpentry and in the Fruit garden on the hillside. No agriculture or vegetable gardening is taught. All these boys are rather old to remain very much longer in school: Training in these

occupations is an excellent thing for them.

Number of School Days and Hours Per Day: Staff, Etc.

It will be noted above that the Morning School is in session for only 2 hours and 50 minutes and the Afternoon School for 2 hours only in addition to the time given for manual work. The result is that progress is slow and the pupils take nearly twice the normal time in each class and eventually become over-age before they reach Standard II. They must then leave school to find tax. In addition to this there are only 4 school days a week and therefore the schools are in session for only 120 days a year instead of the regulation 150.

The two schools should have separate staffs and separate buildings and the respective time-tables should be drawn up giving at least 4 1/2 hours work daily. Miss Shaw and a fully qualified Native teacher should run the Standard School. Miss Gilmour and five qualified Native teachers should run the Sub-standard School. As an alternative, until teachers can be trained, another European should be brought in and a separate Girls' School created.

Native Teachers.

There is a great need for properly qualified Native teachers. It should be remembered that any teacher with a Government certificate would automatically receive a Government grant for 2/3 of his salary. Promising boys should immediately be entered for training at Johnston Falls or Mazabuka.

From what has been said above it is, of course, obvious that the regulations and conditions on which Educational grants are given, are not being fulfilled.

Wastage, Government Policy: Out-Schools, Grants.

The registration and classification figures show tremendous wastage or leakage. Out of a total registration of 263 in the two schools only 3 have reached Standard II. I have already partly accounted for this the previous paragraph. I was informed by a member of the Staff that when a compulsory entrance fee of 1/- was levied recently on boys in the Standard School a number of them immediately left. This shows that there is no real desire for literary education, or rather, education for a definite purpose beyond the ability to write a letter to a friend and read in the vernacular. And there is no reason why there should be in a purely Native area; but the point is that Government cannot maintain expensive boarding schools for children such as these. They can get all they want in elementary village day schools which cost only the teachers' salaries and consumable equipment to maintain.

If the children go home every week end to fetch their food, their villages cannot be far away. Surely it would be

better to open a few out-schools under Native teachers which could be supervised from the Mission? The children would then remain in the home circle and thus the mission would be freed of the responsibility of looking after them during the week.

The boarding school should be reserved for 30 to 40 selected boys in the Standards who desire to carry on their education with some definite aim in view. Boarding grants and grants for European teachers are given, as a rule for the type of school just described.

Grants. A grant of 150 [pounds] per annum is given on account of Miss Shaw. This is a very generous grant seeing that only Elementary education is given. Every effort should be made to pass pupils through the Standard IV School Leaving Certificate in the next two years. The annual Boarding Grant is 11 [pounds]. But since the pupils provide their own food and clothing a grant must be used for general stationery and equipment expenditure and the maintenance of the Evangelist in charge of the boarders.

Boarding Arrangements, Fees, etc.

There are 120 boys and 23 girl boarders in addition to the 42 orphans who are cared for. The boarders come from Monday to Thursday and go home during the week-ends to fetch their own food for the week. No fees are charged since food and uniforms are not provided. An entrance fee of 1/- is compulsory for boys in the Standard School. The boys' and girls' dormitories are on opposite sides of the hill with the European houses, hospital and school buildings between. The boys are under the control of an Evangelist and the girls under a Christian woman. They seemed happy and healthy although very crowded. I was surprised to hear that they were taken down to wash in the stream at the foot of the hill only twice a week. Although it is rather far to the stream, they should be taken down daily. I suggested that they trot down first thing every morning. This healthy exercise could, to some extent, replace physical drill and marching. A cleanliness and health parade is held every morning at school. It would be better to take it outside the dormitories after the morning wash and to inspect the dormitories, airing of blankets, etc., at the same time, a matter to which more attention might be paid. The inspection should be especially thorough on Monday mornings when the boys return from their villages. The arrangement whereby the boys go to their villages every week end is liable to increase the possibilities of the spread of infectious disease in the school. There seems to be a lack of any organised games, such as football for the boys.

General Control of Boys.

The facts mentioned above all show the need for the control of a man over boys and the school. At the moment everything to do with the school seems to be left in the hands of the

two ladies. It should be the duty of one of the male members of the European Staff to be responsible for the discipline, games, drill and general oversight of the boarders and even to take a lesson such as Scripture in the school now and again. There are some big boys in the Standard School and the disciplining of them cannot be easy for ladies. It has already been pointed out that the Staff requires an additional European. The new member should if possible be a man. . . .

Recommendations.

1. That the boarding school be reserved for selected pupils in Standard I and above.
2. That outschools be opened for elementary education.
3. That a man be made responsible for the general discipline, the boarding arrangements and the organisation of manual work and games.
4. That some qualified African teachers be employed as soon as possible.
5. That the European teacher grant be continued only on condition that at least three boys are passed through the school leaving certificate in the course of the next three years and that thereafter three every year.
6. That the boarding grant be withdrawn until the school has bona fide boarders.
7. That no grants be given unless the school is in session for at least 150 full school days.
8. That if the present large attendance continues the pupils be divided into three schools (a) Boys Elementary, (b) Boys Standard, (c) Girls. This should be necessarily if outschools are opened.

KANAPANDA MISSION

Schools.

1. Infants' School. Held from 8.30 to 10.30 a.m. daily. All children are under 4 years of age. . . . This is a unique and most successful effort to run a real infants school and is the first of its kind I have seen in the country. I listened to action songs, lessons in number games, and syllable and word games. I also saw the children at play. They thoroughly enjoyed every minute of the time and, I am told, hate missing school. They were alert, polite and natural. They are taught habits of cleanliness and order. . . . [The teachers] are to be heartily congratulated.

2. Girls' School.

[The Standard I] class consists of girls aged 11 and 12. They read the Vernacular New Testament fluently and intelligently, knew all the multiplication tables and worked

three figure sums involving the 4 rules. They should complete the Standard I syllabus in the 3 R's by the end of the year. The work of Sub B and Sub A was up to standard.

The "Beginners" were taken by "Lute" a girl of 14 years, who is the daughter of an Evangelist and has passed Standard II. I heard her take lessons in word building and number work and was favourably impressed with her intelligence and the effective and sympathetic manner in which she worked with her class.

Miss Spong, who is new to the work, is a good teacher and should get good results later on.

3. Womens' School.

Twenty-four married women are taught Sewing, Vernacular Reading, Simple Number work and Religion and are given talks on Hygiene and Child Welfare by Miss Perkins and Miss Spong for two hours on Mondays, Wednesdays and Friday.

4. Boys's School.

Under Miss Stephenson assisted by three unqualified Native assistant teachers of Standard II attainment. Four hours each morning. . . . This school was disappointing. Standard I [4 pupils] being the only class which was up to standard. Teacher Mafufu set a copy of writing on the blackboard without using lines. His writing lacked uniformity and the boys wrote extremely badly. . . .

5. Mens' School. Taken by Miss Stephenson for 1 1/2 hours on three afternoon a week. (For domestic servants, etc.). . . . The 3 R's, Religious Knowledge, Singing and Geography are taught. Hygiene and Health talks are given. The work was fair. I suggested that all classes should be grouped for a lesson in Oral English including simple conversations, statements, commands, questions and answers about daily affairs in the house and in the school.

Outschools.

Kamapanda has only two outschools, one at Chibwika with an average attendance of 12 and one at Mushidi with an average attendance of 30. Sub-Standard work only is taken by evangelist-teachers of Standard II attainment. . . .

General.

There are no boarders at this Mission but most of the pupils come from the Mission village. I understand that the inhabitants of this village are Balunda who migrated with the Cunninghams from Kalunda in Angola when they came to open Kamapanda in 1923. One of the conditions on which they were allowed to build on Mission ground was that they should send their children to school. This I think accounts for the good attendance of girls in the Schools. Behind the work of the Mission in all spheres from the planning of the Station to the organisation of the daily routine, the

division of the pupils into their respective "schools" and the internal classification there are evidences of a sound practical mind.

In Mr. Cunningham's absence the educational work seems to have been left entirely in the hands of the women. The discipline of the Natives on the station was not all that one desires to see. They appeared to be allowed to wander about the front gardens of the European houses and to come with their petty business at any time and in any place. One of the most important lessons the African has to learn is that there is a right time and a right place for all things. The African understands sternness and is all the better in character for it. Pampering and too much kindness often leads to a loss of respect and prestige.

As in the case of other Stations of this Society there is a great need for a few properly trained and qualified African teachers.

Grants for Educational Work.

No grants are received. I recommend that when times improve this Mission be given a grant in respect of the work of the European Staff. Grants for qualified African teachers would, of course, be automatically given as soon as such teachers were employed.

CHAVUMA

Morning School [for boys and girls] . . .

The 8 classes are taken by Miss Richards and Miss Mitchell assisted by 8 unqualified Native teachers between the hours of 9 and 11 a.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays only. They are taught the 3 R's singing, Scripture and Drill. No English is taught. The Number Work is very simple. Although a very elementary nature the work is thorough owing to the enthusiasm of the two ladies. Singing is particularly good. No attempt is made to follow the Government code or classification system.

Manual work has no sufficient importance attached to it. For example the carpenters shop is never used by the school-boys.

Afternoon School (adults - men and women).

. . . The men and women divided into 13 classes are taken by Mrs. Logan and Mrs. Barnett assisted by 13 unqualified Native Teachers of very limited capabilities for two hours on three afternoons a week. They are taught Reading, working up to fluent reading of the Scriptures, Writing,

Singing, simple Number work involving the four rules and the drawing and printing of Scriptural Texts in crayon. A fair assortment of primers and text books includes Bible stories, a translation of "The Peep of Day" and a Hygiene Reader. These are printed at Chitolokoki Mission in the Lwena and Lunda dialects.

I spent a couple of hours dodging about between classes of youths and bearded men, young women, mothers and babies. All except the babies were deadly in earnest about their Reading. The Singing was good though a little harsh. Eight hundred men and women are, I am told, able to read and understand the Scriptures through the work of this "Readers School".

The women should be separated from the men and should receive training in sewing and domestic work.

Fees, etc.

No fees are charged but there are no boarders. The pupils come daily from the many villages near the Mission. Books are given free of charge. . . .

Outschools.

Three outschools at Sewe, Kalasa and Cingi under uncertificated teachers are closely supervised by the ladies on the Staff. The average attendance at each is 25 pupils; I saw the building and teacher at Sewe. The former was of poles and daub and thatch, about 40 x 20 x 10 in dimensions and suitably furnished. The teacher had passed Standard II and knew a little English.

General Remarks and Recommendations.

The lack of qualified Native teachers is a serious handicap. More serious is the fact that the educational work seems to be left almost entirely to the women. The men occupy their time in building and general evangelistic work on the Station and in the district. Two excellent roads have been made leading to the main centres of the outwork. Motor cycles are used. But to improve the educational work the men should take a more active interest in the work of the schools especially in Drill and Moral Instruction, in the organisation of manual work and in the general discipline of the pupils. Leading Missionaries of today look upon the school as the most valuable servant of the church. As regards the organisation of the school, nothing but good could come of a proper system of classification instead of the present muddle.

There should be an organised system for all the Missions of this Society in the North West. I was told by a member of the Staff that this Mission prefers to run the school in its own way and be independent of Government grants and the undesirable regulations and restrictions attendant upon their acceptance. I know of no such regulations. Those

which are in operation are enforced with the full approval of the Missionary Board of Advice on Education and are calculated to ensure a reasonable standard of efficiency in the schools. A day school open for only 6 hours a week, employing no qualified African teachers and teaching no systematic manual work would, of course, not qualify for a grant. There is a difference between half measures and a full time educational programme which of necessity must be regulated.

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

CHITOKOLOKI MISSION

SCHOOL WORK.

Registration and Classification. All Boys.

School from 8 a.m. to 11.45 a.m. daily plus 2 hours for manual work. I inspected the Reading, Writing, Spelling, Arithmetic, Scripture, Singing, Geography, Drill and games of all classes and the English, Exercise books and test papers of the two senior classes. In addition I looked through the old exercise books of the 6 pupil-teachers mentioned above.

Lessons in Scripture, Singing, Hygiene and Geography were given by the European teachers to the whole school assembled together. Both teachers have attractive personalities. They held the attention closely and elicited the best the pupils had to give.

Mr. Caldwell has been especially successful with the Singing. I have not heard better singing at any Mission in Northern Rhodesia. In connection with Hygiene a song is sung about what one should do every morning to keep clean and healthy. On the day of inspection this was followed by a lesson and questions on "how to keep fit" comprising simple Hygiene. A cleanliness and health inspection is held every morning. It is quite obvious that the boys are made to observe all the essential rules. The Native teachers take them to bathe in the river first thing every morning. With regard to Geography, I have two chief criticisms to

offer. Firstly, it should not be taught to the Sub-standards. They are too young to appreciate and be interested in the subject. They may pick up knowledge from the letters of the older boys; but work which has little interest is better left alone. Secondly, the beginning and foundation of Geography should be entirely local and what is already partly known e.g., plans of the schoolroom and station leading to idea of a map, and then extension further afield to district, country and the world beyond. Similarly in economic geography the first lesson should be on the products brought and sold in the local store, then to new and unfamiliar conceptions of trade. This principle was being observed with regard to History and I was glad to notice that the African teachers were giving lessons on tribal History which, I am told, has aroused keen interest amongst the pupils.

The three R's are well taught. The majority of pupils have made good progress in the short time they have attended school. Good apparatus for teaching Arithmetic and Reading is freely used in the lower classes and the vernacular reading material printed on the spot and used by other missions is suitable. Writing, which was good in all classes showed that attention had been paid to uniformity of size and letter formation. The pupil-teacher, Muluchi used his apparatus well and taught with force. I singled him out as the best teacher and character amongst the African teachers and was pleased to note that he took the "Beginners" class. Later in the day Muluchi took the whole school for drill. He managed well and gave clear and deliberate commands which were promptly and effectively obeyed by the boys. I noticed that he did not pick out and correct a few individual faults, but he was probably anxious to avoid interrupting the exhibition. A good selection of exercises, six in number, were performed smartly and in quick succession once the start was made, yet each exercise was given adequate time.

Games, Native and European, followed in which I was glad to see that all the Native Staff and Mr. Caldwell took part. They gave vigorous exercise, enjoyment and excitement. Mr. Caldwell organises sports, games, and jumping every Friday afternoon.

Top Class.

A class of four boys. . . . I paid special attention to the top class taught by Mr. Caldwell. This is the only class learning English, which is not much required in this area yet untouched by European industrialism. It is fitting that it should be taught to a few senior boys who, it is hoped, will become teachers and perhaps printers in the case of one or two. For them English will open the gates to a wider field of knowledge and literature beyond the ken of vernacular text books, but essential for any man, African or non-African, who is to be a successful teacher and leader of

his people. The standard of English done by the two best pupils (in spite of their using only a Standard I Reader) was equal to a good Standard II at the average Mission School. The work was good throughout. The aim of quality rather than quantity has brought this result. The English of the other two boys in the class was equivalent to Standard I work and was good. This class has completed Standard V arithmetic (Weights and Measures, Fractions, Decimal Fractions, Profit and Loss) and is doing examples of Standard VI Arithmetic from "Juta's Suggestive Arithmetical Examples" by J. C. Jones (For Native Schools in the Cape).

They worked intelligently and with fair results a number of problems which I set for them. A recent test paper and the exercise books which I examined showed satisfactory work. It has already been mentioned that the two senior pupils are doing useful work in the printing office. They will be mentioned again under the heading "African Teachers".

Classification.

Although the general management and organisation of the school is sound the classification and division of work amongst the staff seems to be at sixes and sevens. The practice seems to be to give a number of new boys to one of the African assistant teachers who, under the supervision of the European Staff, takes them on as far as he can. The result is that the classes taken by the weaker teachers benefit less than the classes under the better teachers. In addition there seemed to be little idea of classifying the pupils under the Government Code. This is not surprising since the school is never inspected. . . .

There should be a proper system of promotion bi-annually class and a new teacher.

If possible one lesson per week in each class should be taken by one of the European teachers. At least two of the African teachers are quite competent to take Vernacular subjects with the top classes so as to free the European teachers.

African Teachers.

The six African Assistant teachers are used as pupil-teachers constantly under the eye of the Europeans. Although they have not been trained at a Normal School, regular teachers courses are held by Messrs Suckling and Caldwell in the holidays (Three periods of one month each per annum). All are quite competent to run village schools. Three of them together with the two senior boys in the school would, I think, have no difficulty in passing the Government examination providing they had a little extra coaching in English and School Methods. The two senior pupils are bright lads who would go far if sent to Mazabuka but they are only 14 years of age. The teachers Muluchi, Kakoma and Saulu would make good Jeanes teachers. Mr.

Suckling, however, is wholly against sending the lads to the Railway line where he thinks they will be spoilt and may not return. He has a good case and I would recommend that under the circumstances Chitokoloki, although not a recognised normal school, be allowed to enter some candidates for the Teachers Certificate Examination next year. They should certainly be entered for the Standard IV school Leaving Certificate. In spite of Mr. Suckling's reluctance, I strongly recommend that one candidate be selected from this Mission for training at the Jeanes School in 1935 and subsequently to serve as Jeanes Supervisor to the four Missions of this Society in North Western Rhodesia. In the meanwhile a Jeanes Teacher from the Barotse National School should be sent round to these missions that they may see the value of his work.

Outschool System: Compulsory Education.

Chitokoloki had 4 outschools last term with an average attendance of 30 pupils each. They have now unfortunately all been closed down as the result of attempts on the part of chiefs to fine parents who would not send their children to school. This was a mistake. The time has not yet come for compulsory education in this territory: Natives as a rule are anxious for their children to obtain education. There is no need to bring force to bear; it is bad policy to coerce an unwilling minority until the wants of the willing minority have been met.

Manual Work.

Every boy spends his afternoons in some manual occupation. In the case of the small boys this is confined to sweeping, tidying up, grass cutting and weeding but the senior boys a variety of very useful and semi-skilled work is done.

Printing. The two senior boys are able to print any vernacular material from a given copy. I saw them setting the type and printing off some Pages of the local Reading Primer. These copies were for distribution to other missions e.g. Chavuma. . . .

Typewriting. One of the senior boys is making good progress in learning to use a typewriter.

Carpentry. Training in carpentry at Chitokoloki has had very successful results. A high standard of work set by Mr. Hansen and resulting in the Mission receiving in the past large orders for furniture from Bulawayo, is being maintained by African instructors and old hands on the Station who teach the present generation of schoolboys. The Church, School, Dispensary, European homes and dormitories are all equipped with good and attractive furniture made in the station workshop and from local woods.

Blacksmithing. A number of boys have been taught smithy work but they do not take to it as eagerly as they do to

carpentry.

Native Arts and Crafts. Arts and crafts which are of a high standard amongst the local people, are encouraged and fostered by the Mission. I saw specimens of very good work in Sisal fibre weaving and rush weaving artistically coloured with local dyes. I was presented with a length of dyed sisal cloth for a deck chair, some dyed rush trays and a knife of local iron made by schoolboys. Exhibits from Chitokoloki drew special attention at the last Kafue show.

General Building.

The schoolboys assist in any building operation which are going on e.g. the new School Room which has been built this term.

I was pleased to note that the industrial and handicraft work was not conducted on the lines of "forced manual labour" the invariable result of which is not character training but planting in the boys a dislike of and a tendency to avoid manual work at home and in after life.

General.

The general tone, order and discipline of the school is excellent. The boys are well-clothed, well-fed, well-housed, well-cared for and happy. Each boy is given a khaki tunic and a loin cloth and a blanket (some of the smaller boys share one blanket between two).

The Mission provides their food consisting of Cassava meal and occasionally fish, meat and vegetables.

Fees.

Each boy pays a fee of 6 [pence] and some of the senior boys 1/6 per annum. . . .

Grants-in-Aid.

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) For Boarders | 200 [pounds] (75 boarders). |
| (2) For Outschools | 60 [pounds] |
| (3) For Medical Work | 50 [pounds] |

Item no. 2 will no doubt be withdrawn since there is now no outschool system.

General Recommendations.

- (1) Recommendations regarding Teacher Training and a Jeanes Teacher have already been made.
- (2) A closer following of the Government code regarding classification is advised.
- (3) Better division of work amongst the staff is essential.
- (4) That Government be asked to consider the question of giving this Society representation on the Education Board at Monqu.

Conclusions.

I consider this a most successful school especially when one

considers that none of the pupils whose work has been reported on has had longer than three years in school and that the majority are very young. I understand that several bigger boys including some of the better pupils were recently turned out of the school to work for tax by a visiting District Officer. The Missionaries complain that the pupils never stay long at school and often leave as soon as they can read and write. This is the case generally in the North West. The people do not come into contact much with Europeans: Consequently they have no need for education beyond the desire to write letters to their friends and read in the Vernacular. The parents have little say in the matter: the boys come to school if they wish to and leave again of their own free will. This makes it hard for a school to show good results. The Lunda and Lwena peoples are considered to be backward and inferior. In my opinion they are not so. The value of Education is not as obvious to them as to those who live in the industrial areas and therefore the desire for it is not strong.

APPENDIX L:

EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS, 1938

[This lengthy confidential report gives a very candid and comprehensive evaluation of educational missions throughout the territory. The first part also explains how policy towards mission educators evolved after the days of Latham. The portions relating to the NWP are given here, along with enough of the other sections to make some comparisons possible. C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe wrote the main text. His superintendents wrote appendices about the regions that they knew best. A copy of the report was sent to Major Vischer in London.]{34}

Since my arrival in this country I have been somewhat astonished by the great contrasts which exist between the various missions receiving Government grants for educational work both as regards their efficiency and their attitude towards education. On the one hand we have probably the finest educational mission in Africa and on the other, missions whose activities bring disrepute on educational work to the detriment of the work of the others.

2. I considered it advisable as a preliminary to the formulation of any general scheme for native education to ascertain the potential capacity of the various missions working in the country.

3. Independent reports were asked for from Superintendents of Native Education giving their estimates of the educational value and efficiency of the missions of whose work they were in a position to judge. These reports give such a clear picture of the various missions in the country that I attach them as appendices to this survey. The information in the reports closely accords with the estimates I have formed.

4. The following missions which are, or have until recently been, receiving grants from the Government, have been placed as far as it is possible to do so, in order of the value of their educational work:-

{34}C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe, Director of Native Education, with his Superintendents of Native Education, 18 Jan. 1938, "Educational Missions of Northern Rhodesia," confidential, in SEC 1/550, NAZ. This lengthy report by the Director and his Superintendents composed most of this file.

1. Church of Scotland (Livingstonia) Mission.
2. White Fathers Mission.
3. Paris Evangelical Mission.
4. Methodist Mission.
5. London Missionary Society.
6. Brethren in Christ Mission.
7. Capuchin Fathers Mission.
8. Jesuit Fathers Mission.
9. Universities Mission to Central Africa.
10. Salvation Army.
11. Christian Missions in Many Lands.
12. Dutch Reformed Church Mission.
13. Seventh Day Adventist Mission.
14. South African General Mission.
15. South African Baptist Mission.
16. Franciscan Fathers Mission.
17. Bible Class Mission.
18. Church of Christ Mission.
19. Pilgrim Holiness Mission.
20. Scandinavian Baptists Mission.
21. African Methodist Episcopal Church (African Organization).

The last seven should be grouped together as having little capacity for or interest in education. Grants to them have been or are about to be discontinued.

5. Departure has in the past been made from the principle recommended in the Latham plan that grants should be given "to enable those missions which from past experience are considered capable of good educational work to develop on the lines desired by the Department". Grants have been paid to missions irrespective of their qualifications to conduct educational work. The Government helped those lacking resources, first by training teachers for them and then by giving them grants in respect of those teachers. In several cases the missionaries could not supervise or help these teachers since they themselves had but scant education and could not speak the local language. The result has been that they have prevented progressive missions from establishing efficient schools in those areas. In one District (the Mazabuka District) there were until the middle of last year, no less than 9 different missionary societies receiving grants from Government. In spite of this, this District which is on the line of rail and well favoured economically is one of the most backward (educationally) in the country.

6. The system in force of giving grants in accordance with the number and salaries of certificated teachers possessed by missions irrespective of the schools to which they were posted has led to considerable rivalry in certain areas since some missions posted their teachers in accordance with the dictates of denominational strategy rather than of education. There have been numerous instances of the

unfortunate results of this rivalry. Africans are often bewildered and chiefs disgusted with what they have come to understand as 'education'. The following is an extract from a missionary's report received by a Superintendent of Native Education:-

"I had a very hard time with the - Missionaries at Mpanshya: we conquered 12 villages and have 8 teachers there".

This rivalry however is by no means universal and several 'gentlemens agreements' exist between missions. In the proposed new Grants in Aid regulations, grants, although based on the salaries of qualified teachers, will only be given to schools that are considered to be necessary and are efficiently run.

7. The Reports of the Superintendents of Native Education which are attached give a clear estimate of the missions listed in para. 4, but the following notes are made in amplification:-

No 1 The Church of Scotland (Livingstonia) Mission

The educational work of this Mission is outstandingly the best of any that I have seen either in this country or Tanqanyika. The Mission recruits a fine type of man, whose concern for the development of the African transcends any narrow parochialism. It is due to them that the areas in which they work are in advance of the rest of the country and that there exists such cordial co-operation with the Government officials and with other missions. If they are prepared to extend their work it would be to the advantage of the country for the Government to give them every financial encouragement to do so.

No 2 The White Father's Mission Although this Mission placed second on the list it is because of the excellence of the work of the Bangweolo Vicariate which, under the inspiration of that broadminded man Father Tanguy, has made great strides and works in remarkable harmony with the Livingstonia Mission. The Luanqwa Vicariate is in its infancy while the East Luanqwa Vicariate has been carrying on a bitter struggle with the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in the Eastern Province to the detriment of education there.

No 3 The Paris Evangelical Mission

This pioneer mission has good staff. It has been handicapped owing to the grants it receives from Barotse Treasury being proportionately, a good deal less than the grants received by missions working in other Provinces which are paid from the general revenue.

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No 11 Christian Missions in Many Lands

This mission consists of independent units sited at the extremities of the country. The efficiency of the stations is entirely dependent on the personality of the man for the time being in charge.

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No. 14 South Africa General Mission

Two small stations in the Western Province are well reported upon.

Nos. 15 to 21. Cannot be considered as educational missions.

(Appendix I: J. A. Cottrell, 7 1/2 Years in Northern Rhodesia: Superintendent of Native Education, Barotse Province 1934, 5, 6 and now Principal Jeanes School)

C.M.M.L. [Chitokoloki].

The efficiency of the station schools is up to grant standard. That of village schools has not been but there have been practically no trained teachers up to date. The Normal School, opened in 1935, should rectify this. Educational influence has been confined to the station chiefly. Mr. Reed in charge of the Normal and Middle Schools and his wife in charge of the girls' work are genuine educationalists.

Unfortunately the missionaries have no regular source of funds and the Senior Missionary [Suckling] has occupied himself with money getting and has crossed the District Officials on occasions, I understand, with regard to trading without licence and such matters.

On questioning Mr. Suckling in 1936 as to why his certified teachers were receiving only the equivalent of the government grant his reply was that the teachers voluntarily gave back to the Church the one-third of their salaries which is contributed by the mission.

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(Appendix III: C. J. Oppen, 7 1/2 Years in Northern Rhodesia: Acting Director of Native Education 1936, now Superintendent of Native Education, Western Province)

~~C.M.M.I.~~ The autonomy exercised by the separate stations of this Society makes it difficult to negotiate with the mission as a whole and renders a common educational policy almost impossible. The mission has always placed evangelisation first, medicine second and education a rather poor third. Mr. Stokes, the subsidised educationalist at Johnstone Falls is such a charming person to meet and so sensible to talk to that one is surprised at his narrow intransigence in certain religious and ethical matters. The personnel of the mission is of a superior type and their general influence is for good.

~~S.A.C.M.~~ Although this Mission has two stations in my Province I have as yet no first hand knowledge of its work. It is one of those Missions which, owing to the policy it has adopted, or to the inaccessability of the area it operates, or to the natural backwardness of the people therein, or to a combination of these reasons, has had a late start as far as education is concerned. Recently there has been a welcome revival at Mutanda and Mukinge and it may be that with special nursing, these stations may become centres of real educational development among the Bakaonde.

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(Appendix IV: P. S. Tregear, 5 1/2 Years in Northern Rhodesia: Superintendent of Native Education, Barotse Province)

~~C.M.M.I.~~

The educational work of this mission is now definitely expanding, probably under the stimulus of the threatened Roman Catholic 'invasion'. I understand that Chavuma station is now starting to operate schools following the Government Code, and that a new station will shortly be established near Balovale Boma.

The Mission undoubtedly wields a strong influence among the Balovale and Balunda, and in view of the present political tension in Balovale District, I should consider them the best people to work there.

It is difficult to assess the value of the work done. As a mission, they are primarily evangelistic - and fundamentalist. They state that they would like to see Government undertake all educational work, but view with

suspicion any suggestion of the establishment of Native Authority schools. In spite of protestations, it is difficult to believe that they are whole-heartedly in sympathy with the Government programme for education.

During my visit I found the various members of the Mission difficult to work with and suggestions made with a helpful intention were regarded as unfriendly, even hostile, criticism. Mr. Suckling has a grievance against Government. He considers the Roman Catholics are favoured officially, all difficulties in their path being immediately smoothed.

Another difficulty is that there is no central Mission fund, even on the separate stations. All contributions are made to individuals. Mr. Suckling has agreed, however, to open an education account for Chitokoloki. Should grants be extended to Chavuma, a central fund at Chitokoloki would be of advantage. Careful check must be kept on the applications for grants as I have suspicion that the end justifies the means with this mission.

Mr. Reed the educationist at Chitokoloki is very efficient. The schools should improve as trained teachers become available. It is probable that boys will pass Standard VI before entering the training course. I consider judgement should be suspended on the work of the Mission until the five years trial is completed. The work at Chitokoloki is satisfactory but the outschools seem hardly to be worthy of the name. After twenty years an effort is being made to improve them.

Capuchin Fathers

. . . . Their work at Lukulu (Mongu District) is very promising. At present the novelty of the Mission is attracting many teachers and pupils from the Paris Mission. Already a dozen outschools have been established, which received good reports from the visiting Jeanes teachers. The buildings are simple but most effective.

The coming of Rome has caused consternation among the other missions - more especially the C.M.M.L. and S.A.G.M. There is no evident desire to encroach on the field of influence of the Paris Mission. I consider the Capuchins could well confine themselves to the northern part of Mongu District and Mankoya and Sesheke Districts. There is ample undeveloped territory for them. . . .

South African General Mission. [Luampa and Kaba Hill]

I have not seen the work of this Mission but District Officers reports (and Mr. Cottrell's) are without exception unfavourable, to say the least. Mr. Jakeman insists that

he is eager for educational work, but his acts belie his words. Moreover, his personality is such that few fellow Missionaries are able to work with him. . . . I understand that Mrs. Jakeman is a good teacher and may be relied on. . . . Considerable friction is likely to develop when the Capuchins open their station in Mankoya District.

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APPENDIX M:

FIVE YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN: KAONDE-LUNDA PROVINCE, 1943

AFRICAN EDUCATION

by C. Munday, PC

The success or failure of any development scheme will depend on the part the African can take in it and he will not be able to do his share unless he is properly equipped. This he cannot be unless he has had sufficient education to teach him to use his brains, his labour and his energy. Any two without the third will not equip him to take his full share, which will be the greater share.

It appears to me that the Kasempa and Mwinilunga natives are more backward than any others I have worked with and this is not because they have not ability, but because they have not had the opportunity or facilities for keeping pace with those of other tribes. Missions in these two districts have not been wholehearted in their educational work and have resented the coming of missions of other denominations into their 'preserves'. The natives too, it has seemed to me, have been administered on 'paternal' rather than on progressive lines and there has been little to upset this complacency by both natives and officials, as the country has never been as poor as are many parts of the Northern Province owing to fair soil, a local mine and its proximity to the Northern Rhodesia industrial centres.

The result has been that boys have not been interested in education, except to give them a smattering to enable them to earn good money with which to buy clothes. At the same time one must not lose sight of the fact that most of the cream of the population has gone to live in industrial areas and these are more or less lost to the tribe. Therefore boys who have gone to school have not been subject to the discipline they should have had, and are inclined to be lazy and to have an inordinate high opinion of their abilities.

Mr. Roberts, Education Officer, has drawn up an education plan for the next three years after having read the three district plans. Unfortunately he was not able to be present at the District Commissioners' Conference, but his plan was laid before the meetings and accepted in general. Balovale rather felt that it was not getting its fair share of new schools, but as the other districts are so behindhand in schools and in trained teachers or embryo teachers it was fully realised that new Balovale teachers must be diverted to the other two districts. It was also felt by the District Commissioner that sufficient attention was not given to the provision of technical schools, and they rather

favoured technical schools which taught handcraft, farming and animal husbandry. Personally I do not feel that such schools can be founded within the first 5 Year Plan, that technical education is a subject apart from farming and animal husbandry and there are no men available to give an education in all three at one school. Boys who have a tendency to take up farming or animal husbandry as a teaching profession will have to go to separate schools which specialise in these subjects, and boys who wish to specialise in engineering and other trades will have to be trained at special schools. I do not in any way mean that handcraft, farming and animal husbandry must not be taught at schools, and it is intended that education in these subjects must be in the curriculum of Upper schools, as well as to minor degree in the other schools. What I and the other District Officers do insist on is that boys must be taught to work with their hands and if they are not prepared to do this must not be given state aid to further their education. With the curriculum laid down I understand that much time is being given to labour and the teaching of handwork and I consider that it should be possible to give boys attending Upper and Middle schools demonstrations and instruction at model farms, nurseries and experimental farms established in the vicinity. The policy of government is to fit each boy to take his or her part in the work of keeping the people fit, healthy and as prosperous as conditions will allow, and not to be a race whose desire is to work for aliens and to be hewers of wood and drawers of water!

There are upper and teacher training schools at Chitokoloki (B), and middle schools at Mukinge Hill (K), Mutanda (K), and Kalene Hill (M), all of which have girls boarding schools.

There are 93 elementary schools in the province of which 12 are in the Kasempa district, 35 in Mwinilunga district and 46 in the Balovale district.

There is a native authority school at Kasempa and one at Mwinilunga, the former teaching up to St. II and the latter up to St. III and IV. Roughly Mr. Roberts' plan is to establish a new upper school in the Kasempa district, probably in the northern part of the district, to serve the Mwinilunga and Kasempa districts, to enlarge Chitokoloki school to be the second upper school in the province, to establish 4 middle central schools in the Kasempa district, 7 in the Mwinilunga district and to establish 15 new elementary schools in the Kasempa district, 7 in the Mwinilunga district and 28 in the Balovale district. The present middle schools in the Kasempa and Mwinilunga districts to be closed down and to put the whole of the middle school teaching of girls in the hands of the missions by maintaining the present girls' schools and establish two new mission girls boarding schools, one in the Mwinilunga district and the other in the Balovale district. Elementary

and upper schools to be co-educational.

Technical education is to be given at the upper schools, where in addition one year's special courses will be given, to include gardening, handwork and craftwork for those who are not in paid employment in the schools. Post-Standard VI education will have to be ex-provincial for the next 5 years.

It is estimated that the output of St. VI boys from the schools during the next 5 years will be 70 in 1944, 78 in 1945, 104 in 1946 and some 160 during each of the following 2 years. There will be available for further education 35 in 1944, 39 in 1945, 52 in 1946 and probably 80 during each of the following 2 years.

It is estimated that there will be 272 St. VI boys required as a minimum to carry out the proposed 5 year plan in the province, and of these 252 can just about be produced from the provincial schools during the next three years. However, in order for these boys to be available much propaganda work will have to be undertaken to make boys at schools know and see that there will be these vacancies and opportunities.

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Women's Education:

Little has been said on this subject in the plan, but the necessity for educated girls is realised in the 5 Year Plan. Their demand as wives still exceed the supply, but propaganda will have to be undertaken in girls' schools to fill vacancies in the nursing services and to provide welfare workers in clinics in the Centres. Wives of Centre officials could fill some of these latter posts which will be badly needed.

Printing Press:

The Head 'Education' seems to be the best place for including this sub-head. The recognition of one or two of the languages spoken in the province is the subject of correspondence with the Director of African Education. None of the 4 recognised languages are known to the majority of the people living in the province and the spread of news and education by the written word is rapidly becoming a matter of first importance. Many of the workers in the mines and on the farms come from the West and are quite out of touch of what is going up in their country and in places of work, owing to there being no written publications in their own languages. They too, have no literature to read. It is proposed that a small monotype press be established at Kasempa. This press might well act as a agent for 'Mutende'

by inserting in it sheets of news in one or more of the local languages before distribution. These sheets could also be sent to Lusaka for distribution on the mines and in the farms.

The press could also publish books in one or other of the local languages at cheap prices. Natives cannot afford to spend more than a few pence on a book which often as not gets lost or damaged and is heavy and difficult to carry. These booklets should be small, with paper covers and of a convenient size to carry in the pocket or in the load.

In addition the press could be used to print sheets for sports, of reports of meetings and of other matters of local interest.

Post-Standard VI Education:

Although it is recommended that post-Standard VI education will have to take place ex-provincially during the next 5 years, there will be many employed natives in the province who will not be able to get the time to attend these courses and so will have little opportunity of furthering their education and be able to advance in their professions. It is suggested that the African Education Department sponsor correspondence courses, to enable those men to further their education. Large sums of money are being spent by Africans on correspondence courses, many of which are ramps, and this does show that there is a demand for further education. It would be much preferable if these courses were directed by those who know the conditions of the country and what is wanted by those who seek this form of further education rather than by people of other countries who are often not able to earn a living except by promoting these courses.

Plan by D. B. Roberts, Education Officer

A. Introduction:

i. The following program is a result of comparisons of plans submitted by District Commissioners, with my own detailed 5 year scheme. The result has been shaped into a fairly balanced development for the whole Province.

ii. As educational development is dependent on the number of children already in training at various stages, I have tried to make the plan practical rather than ideal. Doubtless extensions can be made in the

second 5 years.

iii. Costs are based on previous actual experience. Capital costs will not vary much. Recurrent expenditure is of course, based on the assumption that salaries will not change.

iv. Development will extend fairly evenly over the 5 years, with extensions at upper levels lagging a little behind those at lower levels, though intensive efforts will have to be made to provide adequate personnel for other departments of developmental activity, almost immediately.

v. I hope it will be remembered that, owing to the fact that with one recent exception the whole province has been unfortunate in having a very much less vigorous mission service than elsewhere, very much less money has been spent on education here than in other parts of the territory. The expansion required, and expenditure involved will be proportionately the greater.

B. General Policy for 5 Years:

i.	Universal education to Sub. B.	(2-3 years schooling)	
	50%	"	St. II.
	(4-5 " ")	"	"
	12 1/2%	"	St. IV.
	(6-7 " ")	"	"
	4%	"	St. VI.
	(8-9 " ")	"	"

Expansion beyond this would form part of the second 5 year plan.

ii. This policy requires the following increases in attendance.

Sub A and B	100%
St. I and III	400%
St. III and IV	275%
St. V and VI	400%
Post St. VI and specialised training	100%

iii. For reasons which have appeared in various reports from this office, the missions in the Kasempa and Mwinilunga Districts have not got the resources to undertake the customary mission share in this expansion. Government and Native Authority will have to be responsible, utilising such missionary co-operation as is forthcoming in the same manner as is the present practice on the Copperbelt. i.e. Total cost are borne by Government and Native Authority, and mission-help in supervision is subsidised.

Co-education up to St. II, St. III-IV girls in large boarding schools on or near mission stations, doing courses with a strongly domestic bias. St. III-IV boys in Central Village N.A. Schools. Post St. IV courses co-educationally at Upper schools.

v. Provision, for fostering of local arts and crafts, and for training of artisans etc. in technical schools attached to Upper Schools. Technical and Upper (academic) training to proceed side by side to avoid "Black-coat" complex.

vi. Post St. VI academic training to be done extra-provincially, e.g. at Lusaka.

C. Provision and Costing:

i. Capital Expenditure. (Each item worked out in relation to existing provision, and to child population.)

. . . [detailed listing totaling L23,580 sterling] . . .

ii. Recurrent Expenditure.

. . . [detailed listing totaling L15,434 sterling] . . .

Conclusion:

This programme represents a capital investment of L1 per head of the population of school age, and a recurrent expenditure of 13/- per annum per head of the child population of school age, or L1.10.0 per head of No. of 'places' the school system will then provide, as outlined in paragraph B, i. and ii.

I believe it represents the minimum we ought to aim at in 5 years, and also the maximum we can achieve, if other development schemes are going to make a simultaneous demand on personnel, ie.g. many St. IV and VI boys who might become teachers will have to be diverted to other occupations.

An improvement in the quality of our education is as important as, if not more so, than an expansion in quality. (See separate memorandum).

This programme represents a 375% increase in recurrent costs for an increase of 250% in school attendance; but it provides a foundation on which to build in the second 5 years, when a much greater increase in school

population can be produced with a much smaller increase in recurrent costs.