

PART TWO:

THE INCEPTION AND EVOLUTION

OF THE MODERN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: 1906-1945

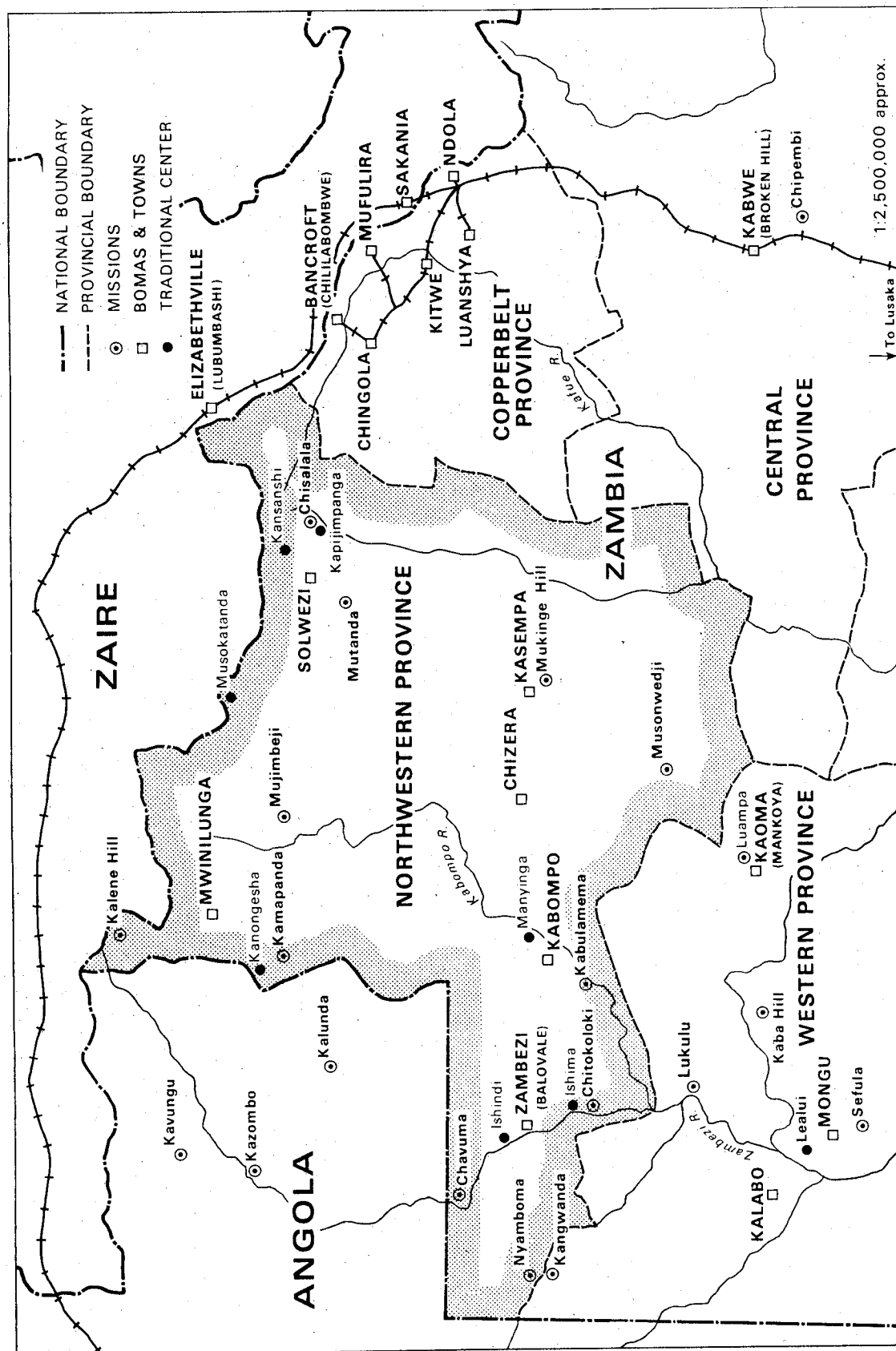
The village school . . . in the bush, or in the forest, or on the veld, is the heart of the African educational system. It is here that the native African gets his first touch with the world of new ideas which is going to transform his life.

A. Victor Murray

The task of the missionary is primarily spiritual and secondarily educational. To reverse the order is to make a fatal mistake. To feed the native brain without regeneration of heart is disastrous both to himself and to the white man in particular.

Genheimer, South African Pioneer

THE NWP IN THE COLONIAL SOCIETY



CHAPTER VIIEDUCATION IN KAONDE-LUNDA PROVINCE, 1906-1924

One boy, whom we have prayed for a good deal, wrote the other day to say he wants to be a Christian. He is not a native of this country, and said that his sole object in coming to us was 'school'; he did not 'even want a wife, nothing but school'. He has made splendid progress here, but this is the first indication that he cares for anything more. {1}

Winifred Hoyte, 1914

Hoyte's story reveals both sides of the dilemma that 'school' created for both missionaries and Africans in the old Kaonde-Lunda District (Province) prior to 1924. During this period, increasing numbers of young African males throughout the south-central savanna decided that above all else they needed education. It was the key to the white man's magic. Christianity was secondary. The missionaries, on the other hand, hoped to save souls. They perceived education as an indirect form of evangelism, a way to attract potential converts and to keep new believers faithful.

Because government provided no aid and established no standards, each mission developed its own educational system. Elsie Burr later recalled that "the school work was not helped by Government money, nor was it hampered by Government regulations." Thus, all the mission programs evolved out of local conditions in a very haphazard fashion

{1} Echoes -43 (Dec. 1914, pt. 1), p. 459.

and today each has its own unique history. {2}

Only when the missionaries and/or the Africans accommodated the others' concept of education by modifying their own could learning take place. This often meant that the success or failure of a school depended on the inclination of a few over-worked missionaries to teach English and other subjects in a manner that induced Africans to attend. Such mutual accommodation was not always possible and, as the following narratives show, success was often limited.

Kalene Hill's Educational Program

It all began on Kalene Hill. The NWP's modern educational system started there in 1906. Eileen Darling, Dr. Fisher's niece, taught the first class in the first little school. On 24 May 1907, in the first written reference to the little school, she told her supporters in Britain, "I am teaching some of the boys English, and two of them are reading now, one very well indeed. He has been promoted to an English hymn-book on Sunday morning, and is quite proud of himself." {3}

{2} Kalene Memories, p. 36.

{3} 24 May 1907, Echoes, 36 (Sept. 1907), p. 335. Darling was teaching adult males, not children. For the use of the term 'boys', see Chap. VI.

English was the most notable and successful subject, and the class pleased both Darling and her pupils. There, a few Africans learned to speak the powerful language of the white man. There, a few Africans learned to read God's Word. Everyone seemed satisfied.

Darling's school was one product of Fisher's evangelical vision. Fisher felt God had called him to cross the new international boundary into the northwestern corner of Northern Rhodesia, which had no Christian missions. So in May and June 1906, he, his family, and numerous African followers traveled from Kalunda Hill in eastern Angola to found Kalene. Fisher's ministry in Mwinilunga began soon after he arrived. It included preaching the Gospel, providing health care, and opening this school. Fisher wanted to provide a rudimentary education for both the faithful followers from Angola and the new people in the vicinity of Kalene Hill. The BSAC officials were irrelevant to his initial comprehensive vision. Since they were only entering the district from the south at this time, Fisher's contact with them was irregular. {4}

Silas Sameta has described the background to Fisher's entry, the entry itself, and the first school at Kalene. He was born the year after Kalene's founding and his parents were loyal followers of Fisher. Sameta is

{4}For details of Fisher's first few months at Kalene, see the following issues of Phees, 34: (Sept. 1906), p. 354; (Oct. 1906), p. 396; (Nov. 1906), p. 435. For Fisher's contact with the BSAC, see Chap. IV and Kakoma, "Mwinilunga," pp. 35-73.

uniquely qualified to tell the story and give it an African perspective. By 1976 as his following narrative reveals, Sameta probably had longer personal contact both with the Fisher family and with education in the NWP than any other individual.

My father was Sameta and my mother was Nyameta. . . . About the years of the Arabs and Livingstone, many people were scattered by the wars and he and my mother were in their villages to the north. When war came they scattered everywhere and they went to the ports, as far as to the sea as slaves. In the years of Livingstone, they made them free and said they should go where they came from. They found it difficult to walk on foot back to where they came from. They came a long distance footing--my father and his son Sapalo, on his shoulders, and my mother with her basket on her head, from Bihe, footing, footing, to follow the missionary, Dr. Fisher, to Kazombo. They stayed there at Kazombo. And then when they heard Dr. Fisher say "I will go to Lunda-land; I found a long hill; I want to stay in Lunda." They said "We must follow him; we must go with him, sometime we will reach where we came from in our country." And they came along with Dr. Fisher like his people--his workers. My father had his son and a daughter. Very difficult indeed to carry a son on his shoulders, plus his gun; my mother with my sister on her back, all came with Dr. Fisher, footing, footing, footing, until they reached Kalene; so they would be with him at Kalene. . . . When they reached Kalene it was 1906. . . . In 1907 my mother gave birth to another son, Nyandu--I myself.

Now I want to tell how education began in the North-Western Province. Dr. Fisher's work was to heal people and second, to preach the Word of God to the people. There was no education in the country. There was only darkness over the country. . . . Miss Darling . . . began to teach a few children at the station. There were no books to read. They taught the children on slates and were using chalk. They were teaching the children only reading and writing and counting numbers with beads. Nothing more. There was no arithmetic, no

English at all no good building, only a shelter. It was very difficult to bring the children to school, because they feared the Europeans. {5}

Sameta telescopes late nineteenth century events, particularly Livingstone and the ending of the slave trade. Without intending to do so, he significantly focuses our attention on Dr. Fisher and his loyal band of immigrants, as opposed to the local people who distrusted Fisher. {6}

By 1906 Fisher was already well-known in Central Angola as a healer and teacher (i.e. preacher). Having served for seventeen years in areas where many people had been scattered by slavery, he created islands of tranquility and stability that Sameta indicates. A man who disliked using his authority to order people around, Fisher preferred teaching by example instead of precept. His gentle and genteel manner conveyed an acceptable form of European power, so he easily replaced traditional ways that maintained law and order and he painlessly introduced the western economy and culture. He not only paid people for their work with salt and calico but also helped introduce money. He exposed people to his religion, health/medicine, and education. People not only heard him speak English, but

{5} Interview with Silas Sameta, Mwinilunga Secondary School, Mwinilunga, 4 Aug. 1976.

{6} The mental telescoping of events is a common phenomenon in interviews. All people do it when recalling the past unless they have consciously memorized major events or have consulted written records. While it can distort time periods, it can highlight key events, people, or places in the past. The historian must expect and account for this phenomenon in oral testimony.

his staff also offered to teach them to read and write both English and two African languages (Luvale and Lunda). As Sameta implied, Fisher did not offer a lot, but certainly enough to tantalize the curious and adventurous.

Because of what he represented, a number of immigrant peoples--probably between one and two hundred--slowly gathered around Dr. Fisher in Angola. These uprooted people became a core of loyal supporters. Trusting him, they readily embraced his western innovations and then moved with him into Mwinilunga. In particular, they attended school and taught their children the importance of doing so. [7]

In contrast, most of the Lunda near Kalene avoided both Fisher and the school. Late in the nineteenth century, slave traders had struck Mwinilunga. Then just after the turn of the century, a few disreputable whites had moved in and further disrupted traditional life in the area while the jurisdiction of the Congo Free State, the BSAC, and Portugal remained uncertain. Remembering these recent events, the people doubted Fisher's stated reason for coming--to teach them Christianity. He also chose to live among the rocks on their highest hill, a peculiar place in their eyes. Thus, Fisher's strange place and strange reason left them unconvinced and even fearful. They became reluctant, even unwilling, scholars. Hence, the 'foreign' Africans

[7] In her letter of 24 May 1907--see fn. 3--Darling discusses the "ex-slaves" and notes that "over 30" had already settled by that time.

initially dominated the school at Kalene, not these local residents.

Local reluctance notwithstanding, the school expanded as rapidly as possible with the small mission staff. By the end of 1907, Anna Fisher had "a morning school of small children, for teaching English, daily, Miss Darling a Lwena school three afternoons a week, and Mr. Sawyer an English school three afternoons a week also." As Sameta indicated, these teachers probably taught little beyond languages except for some writing and counting. {8}

The ability to write a simple letter and to read the Bible satisfied the mission staff and some of the students. Others, however, wanted more. In September 1908, Winifred Hoyte noted that not many students were enrolled, "but some, especially the elder boys, are most anxious to learn English." {9}

In particular, English lured "elder boys"--young men old enough to travel across the countryside on their own. For example, when Dr. and Anna Fisher toured the southern and western areas of Mwinilunga in 1908, they "brought back with them a young native chief who is anxious to learn English. He seems a very bright young fellow. The doctor tells me he has made a profession and done away with all his

{8} Will G. Edwards, 22 Dec. 1907, Echoes, 37 (Mar. 1908), p. 119.

{9} Hoyte, 17 Sept. 1908, Echoes, 37 (Dec. 1908), p. 454.

fetishes. I pray that his being here may prove a great blessing to his soul." Only by speaking English could he, like other young men, converse directly with the white elite. Colonial society most affected such young males by demanding their labor. Speaking English would enable them to better understand, and to function more fully in, this new society. {10}

In 1911 Darling left Africa and Hoyte assumed the greatest responsibility for Kalene's little educational system. Under Hoyte's care, the school still had only the most essential equipment and provided only the most basic instruction. Her vivid description of the children's morning school highlights both its esprit-de-corps and its severe limitations.

A-LUNDA-SCHOOL, CENTRAL AFRICA

I wish you could see all my nice, roly-poly, bright-eyed blackies. They arrive any time between 7 and 8.30 a.m., and look in my room, in the garden and everywhere till they find me. Then I say, "Korenu" (Good-morning), and they clap their hands and say, "Mwane" (thank you). Then I say, "Go and arrange the seats in school," and off they go, We begin with a hymn, which they sing very loudly and out of tune. I practise them with the scale, and some of them are improving. Then we have a short prayer, which is not easy to me, as I know so little of the language. Next I call the register, and these are some of the names: Samaurnu (Cross-eyed), Kawana (Smallest-of-all), Inkoneesha (Fat), Kasonda (Funny Smile), Nyakatamba (Biggest), Muteempa (Blue Beads). There are about eighteen altogether.

All sit down on the seats, which are just sections of tree trunks. They repeat some Scriptures, and then we have a reading lesson with blackboard and chalk. They

{10} For Hoyte's informal policy on teaching English, see her letter of 10 Dec. 1909, Echees, 39 (Apr. 1910), p. 136.

dearly love to come to the board and make letters and syllables. Sometimes I give each a slate, but they squeak their pencils horribly. School only lasts about an hour and a half, and then I say, "Come tomorrow. Good-bye!" and they tear off, making a tremendous hullabaloo.

This children's work is very interesting and encouraging, too, for they love to learn, and we hope that they may become Christians. {11}

Hoyte regularized the operations of Kalene's tiny educational system, but never gave it any clear direction. Her school never enabled Africans to handle the new society's increasingly forceful demands. Nor did the mission, under Fisher's guidance, make any plan or program for doing so in the future. As Benson Kakoma noted, the "Lunda were left to confront the new force single-handed." {12}

At this time in 1911, one missionary correctly observed that all "our people are other tribes." Fisher still labored without much local success. Thus, the missionaries still needed their 'foreign' followers as much as the latter needed them. This continuing mutual dependence led to the arrival of an African teacher from Kazombo. {13}

At this time, Kalene's school needed help. When Darling departed for the United Kingdom, no missionary was available to teach classes in Luvale to the Luvale immi-

{11} Across the Seas, no. 171 (Mar. 1910), p. 26.

{12} Kakoma, "Mwinilunga," phrase taken somewhere between pp. 47 and 53.

{13} Sawyer, Eschees, 40 (Sept. 1911), p. 355.

grants. Consequently, a man arrived from Kazombo, which was flourishing and could spare him. Records do not indicate how long he stayed or if he was a paid teacher. Kanganjo, however, probably came as a 'missionary'--as Mwendela did later at Chitokoloki--and earned his living by farming or other mission-related work. {14}

Kanganjo's arrival as a teacher sheds light on the flexible black-white relationships that yet existed. While large gaps prevailed between the saved and 'heathen' and between Western and African cultures, a firm color bar did not yet plague society. A rough form of equality was still possible.

About the time of Kanganjo's arrival in 1911, Hoyte had fifty-two names on her school roll. She thought the number respectable, given that the population was scattered and "education, as such, [was] of no value at all in the eyes of the people." {15}

Between 1914 and 1917, enrollment peaked for the

{14} While at this time Kalene struggled to survive, the Kazombo Brethren assembly flourished, largely under African supervision. In 1910 when Darling visited Kazombo, she attended an assembly meeting. She reported that the meeting was not only the largest she had attended in Africa, but that it was "totally conducted" by African elders when they 'broke bread'--a function handled by males: 9 Sept. 1910, Echoes, 39 (Dec. 1910), pp. 468-9. Black missionaries from Demarara (Guyana), as noted in Chap. V, had been important at Kazombo. Since Mwendela and Kanganjo left the Kazombo assembly at different times, I have no proof that they knew each other. The chances, however, are good that they did.

{15} 21 June 1911, Echoes, 40 (Sept. 1911), p. 355.

BSAC period. In 1914-15 approximately one hundred students attended some kind of instruction. In 1916-17 the number rose to one hundred and fifty, with half staying at the mission as boarders. Before leaving in 1915, Hoyte observed that "our boys and girls are ready to buy any literature that can be provided for them." This kept Kalunda Mission, southwest of Kalene, busy printing Bible stories. May and Katolo, Dr. Fisher's eldest daughters, continued the success. They even hoped to train several pupils as teachers so they could open out-schools and reduce boarding enrollment. Fisher himself reported that the school was so popular that "it [was] impossible to receive all who desire[d] to be pupils." Providing so much food for pupils strained both the mission's budget and its logistical ability to get enough. {16}

Kalene's school prospered not only because of the mission and its flexible educational program, but also because of the district, territorial, and world turmoil that made Kalene an island of peace and stability. Between 1913 and 1917, Mwinilunga District was in a state of unrest--as much as or more than the rest of the rural Northern Rhodesian countryside. Following BSAC instructions in 1914-1915, Bruce Miller enforced high taxation. After

{16} Hoyte, Echees, 43 (June 1914, pt. 2), p. 240. This article does not make clear whether the mission or the children paid for this literature. Walter Fisher, Links, 5 (1915/6), pp. 192-3. For boarding children, see Walter Fisher, Echees, 44 (Nov. 1911), p. 414. for continued expansion and problems in providing food, see Walter Fisher, Echees, 45 (Feb. 1916, pt. 1), p. 219.

people initially fled and returned, men resigned themselves to migrating outside the district to earn tax money. The direct effects of World War I--then raging in Western Europe--reached the NWP when the government forced able-bodied men into service as carriers.

Soon after, both the mission and its school experienced a rapid decline. Many of the causes lay hidden within the wider social and economic issues that initially made Kalene successful. Taxation and the resulting labor migration removed large numbers of men from the district, reducing the pool of potential male students. The women then had to work harder in the villages growing enough food for survival. The war also depleted both personnel and basic supplies at the mission station.

A strange set of events also contributed to Kalene's decline. The worldwide influenza epidemic that hit the NWP serves as the background. One traveler described the pathetic situation: "In every village people were wailing [over deaths], and we came across dying natives trying, with their last strength, to crawl down river banks in search of water." Yet Kalene remained untouched. Also, a few months before the epidemic swept the area, Fisher had surprised local people by putting a non-toxic grass snake in his rock garden to kill pests. Finally, he built a special baptismal pool. Here he joyfully baptized fifteen men and women, Kalene's first large group of converts. Fisher was pleased because this group included local Lunda people, some of whom

now trusted him. [17]

At this moment of Christian rejoicing, influenza struck. Within a fortnight, seven of the fifteen newly baptized converts died. Unaware of the epidemic's worldwide proportions, the local people looked for traditional causes to explain it. These pointed to Fisher himself. Rumors spread. Many believed he was a deadly wizard fooling them with his kindness. The snake, water, and baptismal immersion all clearly indicated his clever possession and manipulation of a malevolent ilonba, greatly feared by all Lunda. The new trust disappeared and initial fears returned. Kalene's period of success abruptly ended. [18]

Soon after, the missionaries at Kalene stopped teaching English. This action directly contributed to the school's decline by making its curriculum irrelevant to the people. Attendance plummeted. Sameta's testimony that flatly states "no English" was taught probably applies to this period from 1917 to 1920 when he was of school age. By March 1920, the tiny Lunda school attracted only eighty pupils. [19]

[17] Grinstveldt, "Swedish," p. 41; Fisher and Hoyte, Africa Looks Ahead, pp. 178-9.

[18] Ibid. An ilonba is a familiar manufactured by male sorcerers. It takes the form of a huge water-snake that bears the owners's face. Turner gives extensive coverage to this and other familiars in different parts of two works: Drum and Schism.

[19] Bruce Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-Dist., p. 4, in Kasempa Dist. [Prov.] AR 1919 for the year ending 31 Mar. 1920, ZA 7/1/4/6, NAZ.

Existing records do not indicate why Fisher and the mission abandoned English, nor do they even say that the mission made this decision. They simply stop mentioning it and refer only to a Lunda school. English probably was abandoned because of the serious staff and food shortages that developed by 1917-1918, the influenza epidemic, and most significant, Dr. Fisher's philosophical doubts. He always believed that teaching English symbolized 'higher education'. In 1917 Fisher had probably overrated his success and underrated the importance of English to the people. [20]

Fisher believed education to be solely an evangelical tool to help people use the Bible and become and remain good Christians. Thus, he was happy to teach individuals to read and write in their own language. If his school taught more, it was for the pragmatic reasons of enticing Africans or of pleasing the government. He preferred that the government assume the responsibility for 'advanced' learning and became uneasy when forced to continue the task. He strongly believed that he must not become an indirect government administrator, running an educational system through teacher-evangelists. In his eyes, social services could be provided by government and/or missions. Mission-

[20] Dr. Fisher, like most Brethren, seldom stressed staff shortages in published letters. However, Walter Fisher's private correspondence to Singleton Darling is very informative. See his letter of 5 June 1916 (folios 1651-6); with regard to food shortages, also see his letter of 5 Mar. 1918 (folios 1720-3), Walter Fisher Papers, NAZ.

aries, however, must evangelize personally--whether through medical or educational work or direct preaching--or fail in their God-called duty.

Fisher's attitude was possibly reinforced by a tour of mission stations in South Africa in late 1919 or early 1920. He thoroughly disliked what he saw.

Mission work in S. Africa chiefly consists in opening schools and the mission receives Government grants for every scholar; evangelistic work takes a very secondary place (with very few exceptions) and is done mostly by native preachers. These experiences lead us to hope that the character of our work for God in C. Africa will continue to be evangelistic.

Although he added that schools were essential for Christians to read the Bible, he firmly established his priorities: personal evangelism through direct evangelical itineration, medical work, and then education. {21}

Personal preferences and priorities notwithstanding, Fisher allowed English to be reinstated in 1921. In June, one missionary wrote to supporters that they planned to resume teaching English. Pupils who could read and write their own language and who paid a "small fee" would be taught. For Fisher the basic principle was personal evangelism. Continuing African apathy toward the school and an increasingly large mission staff forced his concession. To proselytize the Gospel through the school, the group needed more pupils. Thus, he and his colleagues minimally accom-

{21} 6 Dec. 1920, Echees, 50 (Mar. 1921), p. 65. For an excellent statement of objectives via Fisher's 'healing ministry', see Links, 4 (1914/5), p. 70.

modated the concept of education held by their parishioners. {22}

The restoration of English to the curriculum and confidence in Fisher reaped quick and visible results. The school increased in size and became prosperous. In March 1921 the Native Commissioner noted the spectacular improvement: in less than one year attendance climbed threefold to almost two hundred and forty though only a few of the most advanced probably received English lessons. The school was open to all and free except that "the sixty-two adults receiving instruction [paid] an entrance fee of a shilling." While available records do not indicate the exact proportion, the percentage of local residents to 'foreigners' rose rapidly. {23}

This sudden improvement in attendance pleased local officials though they played very little part. Throughout the BSAC era, government officials ignored Kalene's educational deficiencies. For a number of reasons, they simply allowed the Kalene missionaries to offer what they felt Africans should learn in school and the Africans to respond by attending or staying away. First, they rarely visited the place because it was extremely isolated, even by the standards of that time. A trek from Mwinilunga boma

{22} Ethelwynne D. Marks, 24 June 1920, Echees, 49 (Oct. 1920), p. 230.

{23} Bruce Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District, in Kasempa Province AR for the year ending 31 Mar. 1921, ZA 7/1/5/6, NAZ.

required two or three days. Journeys from Kasempa and Solwezi took two weeks and required porters since this watershed area lacked navigable rivers. [24]

Second, "government officials were more or less dependent on the Doctor in some way or other" so they rarely complained about deficiencies in his educational program. Unlike George Suckling, his more vocal and controversial disciple at Chitokoloki, Fisher did not complain loudly to the provincial and territorial headquarters about the actions of local administrators. More important, he helped stabilize the district's population. At the beginning of World War I when anger over taxation caused people to flee into Angola and the Congo, depopulating the district, Fisher reluctantly served as an intermediary between the people and the administration. Fisher also provided officials with their only source of medicine and hospital care. In addition, the Fisher family helped Bruce Miller, the best and most long-serving Native Commissioner, recuperate from a serious hunting accident; he eventually married Katolo, one of Fisher's daughters. [25]

[24] The records for Kalene are more limited than they are for the SAGM stations. They may not reveal the correct degree of interaction.

[25] Fisher and Hoyte, Africa Looks Ahead, p. 151. For Fisher's direct and indirect assistance to government administrators, see the same, pp. 150-3, 193-5. During the 1913-1914 period, he wrote to Singleton Darling, his brother-in-law, (10 June 1913, folios 1636-7, Walter Fisher Papers, NAZ) saying that he was "anxious not to be involved." Also, see App. G.

Third, Dr. Fisher suavely called the BSAC's bluff when they requested that he improve education. In one of the few government references to Kalene's inadequate educational system, Bruce Miller noted with embarrassment that Fisher would provide better education "were funds available." Of course, everyone knew that the BSAC did not provide Kalene with any financial subsidies. Officials could hardly insist that their only medical doctor also educate everyone throughout the district without receiving any financial support. {26}

Finally, the SAGM's educational system was worse than Kalene's. The BSAC officials reserved their criticism for those missionaries.

The SAGM's Educational Program

The socio-economic environment for beginning education in Solwezi District (1910) and Kasempa District (1911) differed from that in Mwinilunga (1906). Both the passing of time and the geographic locations created differences even though all these missions resided within the same political jurisdiction and shared similar evangelical objectives. In 1906, Fisher entered a district populated by blacks only vaguely acquainted with the new

{26} Mwinilunga Sub-Dist., in Kasempa Dist. [Prov.] AR for the year ending 31 Mar. 1921, ZA 7/1/5/6, NAZ.

world and not yet ruled by a colonial government. In 1910-11, Bailey founded missions in two districts where the colonial government had been in the process of establishing itself for approximately a decade. In these places the black population and the new white elite were becoming well acquainted. For example, Chisalala Mission lay about twenty-five to thirty kilometers from Kansanshi Mine, a place of continuous contact between black and white men since the turn of the century. Employing thirty white and one thousand black miners by 1910-11, Kansanshi had become a northerly focal point for European colonialism/capitalism and for African labor migration. Here, a few whites hoped to become rich and many Africans hoped to earn their tax money of ten shillings a year. Here, Africans came in direct touch with the new color bar designed to keep them powerless. {27}

Meanwhile in 1909, Arnot made one of his lonely treks across Africa. Walking along the Congo/Northern Rhodesia boundary from the end of the railway in Ndola to Kalene and then back again, he surveyed this enormous area as a possible mission field. Solwezi/Kasempa administrators encouraged him. He expressed his surprise at their interest in Echoes of Service: "When leaving I met the Commissioner from Kasempa, who again pressed that district upon me. . . . Strange that the officials should be taking up the

{27} The best comments on, and statistics about, early mining at Kansanshi are scattered through Bancroft, Mining. Also see Gann, Northern Rhodesia, pp. 121-4, 143-5.

Macedonian cry." The situation was unusual for Arnot, but not really "strange" because these Kaonde-Lunda officials clearly knew what they wanted: better basic social services for the area. The mine provided some medical care, but they especially needed educational facilities for training skilled African craftsmen and clerks. {28}

Many Solwezi/Kasempa Africans also knew what they wanted from a Christian mission: new skills that would allow them to get easier and better paying jobs. Then they could pay their taxes without having to leave home for two to four months of the year and/or without having to work only in unpleasant, unskilled positions. Above all, English symbolized these new skills. Thus Africans wanted to learn it and learn it quickly.

When Bailey arrived with Arnot in 1910, Headman Miambo and many other Africans in Chief Kapijimpanga's area welcomed him, probably with the notion of learning 'inglishi'. Young men rapidly gathered at the new Chisalala mission for work and education. {29}

Bailey immediately responded to their enthusiasm. Within a fortnight, he founded a school. He described the first day:

{28} 15 Sept. 1909, 38 (Nov. 1909), p. 432.

{29} Arnot, Echoes, 39 (Sept. 1910), pp. 335-6; Bailey, Pioneer, 23 (Aug. 1910), pp. 115-6. Also, see Bailey, Commission, pp. 5-22.

I began School work yesterday. I have a Luba primer. I typed off several pages of 'pa ba ka' etc., and sailed in. I will learn a lot if they do not. I had eight boys to-day. Our headman--Miambo--was present and helped(?) with sundry exhortations and suggestions to the boys, who are very bright. {30}

About six months later, the little school had about twenty-three students. Bailey reported that he had "never seen pupils so downright anxious to learn. . . . It does one good to hear them in their compound conning over their lessons and helping one another to learn." {31}

Both Bailey and his successor, E. M. Harris, stressed the mission's educational objectives. Harris said, "Too much stress cannot be laid on the importance of the school as being the best means within our reach by which to accomplish [our] purpose Evangelization of the VaKaonde people." This was a standard educational objective for many missions and could have contributed to a good school system. However, it did not. Within a year, the school became ineffective. {32}

Unlike Dr. Fisher, Bailey initially refused to teach English. He discussed the rapid disillusionment of the Africans with him and the school in his first annual

{30} Ibid., p. 115. Arnot was with Bailey between Mar. and 2 June 1910.

{31} Pioneer, 24 (Jan. 1911), p. 5. See also Pioneer, 24 (Apr. 1911), pp. 52-3 and Bailey, Lessons in an African Prayer School (Brooklyn, NY: SAGM, nd, pamphlet), pp. 3-8.

{32} Ernest Harris, "Report for General Conference 1913 from Northern Rhodesia, 20th May, 1913," p. 3, in Correspondence Files, Vol. XI, Wimbledon.

report. Both Bailey and Africans viewed education in different terms.

The difficulty of holding a steady, regular attendance [is] one of the greatest drawbacks. The boys come apparently expecting to be made English-speaking "Capitaos," drawing big pay, and doing no work, and all in the space of a few weeks. When they find that we are not teaching English, and that we are working for heavenly, and not earthly, riches, their educational ambition is likely to suffer eclipse. In such case, their grandmother usually dies suddenly, and they go home to the funeral and forget to return. [33]

Later, many other SAGM missionaries also refused to teach English. They interpreted their evangelical objectives so narrowly that they failed to accommodate those of their pupils. At such times, they made the school meaningless to most Africans.

At the time of this initial disillusionment, Ernest and Emily Harris established themselves at Chisalala. They tried to keep Bailey's school for boys operating and to teach women living near the mission. Though the records are not entirely clear, they may have taught English to a few young men. In 1912 Emily described their efforts.

The school is the most important part of the [mission] work now in hand. At present there are sixteen boys in attendance, fifteen of whom are living on the station with a view to gaining some education. Some have been here for months, others have just come. These, besides learning to read and write, etc., have the Word of God read and explained to them daily. So far none have taken a public stand for Christ, . . .

Since our coming we have been seeking to get hold of the women and girls for Christ. . . . Besides sewing and reading from type-written sheets, they memorize Scripture; this we trust will be as "seed sown in good

[33] Pioneer 24 (Aug. 1911), p. 125.

ground." Some days as many as eight or nine have been present--one day I had twelve. These come in the mornings and stay for the daily mid-day service, after which the boys have their "school"; they have been doing industrial work during the morning. These "boys" are not all small, the majority are young men. We are praying that God will save some . . . to be soul winners of the Kaonde people. {34}

When the Harrises arrived, Bailey moved to Kasempa District and founded a mission on the Lalafuta River. Probably learning from his error at Chisalala, he taught English. This fact probably accounts for the higher enrollment.

In the 1913-14 Kasempa District Annual Report, the Native Commissioner described the first school which then had 48 pupils:

Only boys are admitted. All are boarders with one or two exceptions. It seems impossible to get anything like regular attendance from the villages. All are taught to read and write their own language, and some have begun elementary work in English. Simple number work is given. Daily religious and moral instruction is given, including obedience and loyalty to the Government. {35}

In 1914 Bailey left Roy and Blanche Vernon at Lalafuta. Since he was the cutting edge of SAGM's 'Forward Movement', his move refocused attention from Northern Rhodesia to Angola. By 1920 the SAGM's new Angolan

{34} Pioneer 25 (May 1912), pp. 69-70. For later descriptions, see Pioneer, 26 (May 1913), p. 70 and 29 (June 1916), pp. 70-1. For a description of the Harrises, see Chap. V.

{35} Kasempa Sub-Dist. AR for the year ending 31 Mar. 1914, ZA 7/1/1/6, NAZ. See also Bailey, Commission, pp. 23-9.

endeavors received relatively large amounts of money and personnel. The two mission stations in Kasempa and Solwezi merely received minimal attention and financing from both headquarters and the supporting churches. Joint pleas for more support proved futile. [36]

A number of other problems compounded the situation. First, Bailey located the two stations in isolated areas away from existing government bomas. The Lalafuta site was furthermore surrounded by swamps. Since none of the SAGM missionaries knew the language when they arrived, they could not communicate with the local people. Then, when the Kasempa missionaries began looking for new sites, they were plagued by poor health. Blanche Vernon died and the others were haunted by the same possibility. In addition, only one African, Nelson Hynde from Nyasaland, accompanied Bailey into the country. Unlike Fisher, they brought no faithful supporters with them. Their only parishioners were the local Kaonde/Lamba people. Finally, World War I created shortages of personnel and money, even "cut[ting] off the money which would have paid for [the students'] food." With all these difficulties, the missionaries had little time to

[36] For Bailey's move into Angola, the quick prospering of this new work, and the financial problems of those in Northern Rhodesia, see articles in Pioneer and at Wimbledon, Correspondence Files, Vol. X to XXIII. Also see Bailey, Prayer School, pp. 8-26 and Commission, pp. 30-126.

spend on education. {37}

The nearby African communities quickly decided that the missions could give them little of value. Since the Kaonde and Lamba started new villages every few years because of chitenene (slash and burn) cultivation, they not only stopped attending school, but slowly moved their homes away from the missions. By 1924 a largely uninhabited country surrounded Chisalala and Musonwedji, its Kasempa counterpart. {38}

Long before this extreme isolation became a reality, however, promises fell due. During the first few years, the mission and various missionaries collectively pledged that the mission and the school would expand. Both government officials and Africans expected these commitments to be met. In 1913 Harris described the officials' expectations and why they could not meet them:

The Administration want us to take apprentices, who would be bound for three years. But we do not at present recommend the Government's proposal, on the ground that it is too expensive. We prefer that the boys should make their own agreement. Under the

{37} Pioneer, 28 (May 1915), pp. 68-70. In 1912 when Bailey made his first long journey into Angola, Hynde ran the new Lalafuta station. For references to Hynde, see Hamilton to Wimbledon, 31 Jan. 1912, in Correspondence Files, Vol. IX, Wimbledon, and Pioneer, 26 (Mar. 1913), p. 36 and (Aug./Sept. 1913), p. 158. The latter contains a photograph of Hynde. Luka Yamba says that the people remember him as a harsh, if not cruel man. See the interview with Yamba.

{38} This action contrasted to many parts of the savanna. In many other places, including Kalene, chitenene cultivators moved slowly toward the new missions and then stabilized themselves nearby.

Government proposal we are expected to teach the boys a trade, give religious instruction, schooling, feed and clothe them, and pay them at the rate of 2/- per month for the first year, 3/- per month the second year and 10/- per month the third year. {39}

When they did not meet expectations, the missionaries found themselves in an extremely difficult position. The African population expressed its discontent by moving away and by becoming apathetic and disinterested in the mission's two schools and evangelical campaigns. The government administrators could impose stronger sanctions as described in Chapter IV. They used their considerable formal and informal powers to belabor the missionaries and the mission.

Senior administrator Frank Melland led the attack. From 1912 until he left the area in 1921, he kept relentless pressure on the SAGM and its hapless missionaries. His power, forceful personality, and ideals make him a worthwhile subject of study.

Melland wrote that the missions were "terribly inadequate, to mean well is not enough." He was not the man to accept defeat. By World War I he knew that no other mission wanted or had funding to enter the region. He also knew that the SAGM desired to remain in the region so it could keep the Roman Catholics out. Thus he believed he had to cajole the SAGM to make desired improvements. As a result, Melland and other administrators pressured both the local

{39}"Report for General Conference 1913 from Northern Rhodesia, 20th May 1913, p. 3, Correspondence Files, Vol. XI, Wimbledon.

missionaries and the mission's headquarters. For example, Melland used the visit of Edgar Faithful, the British Secretary, to the province in 1917 to press for a more suitable educational system. Later Bruce Miller, who as Fisher's son-in-law was on good terms with missionaries, discussed mutual problems at Wimbledon while on overseas leave in 1921. These NWP administrators may have also approached Arthur Bowen, the SAGN's American Secretary, during his 1922 visit. {40}

Nothing changed. Different mission officials only vaguely committed the mission to a more comprehensive educational program. They had faith that each coming year would be better, especially for missions in the western part of Northern Rhodesia. But no prosperous times dawned. The mission's general revenues and staffing remained poor. Furthermore, mission work in the Kaonde-Lunda Province simply did not excite either mission headquarter's staff or sponsoring churches. Meanwhile, African apathy and administrative cynicism in Solwezi/Kasempa increased.

{40} DC's AR for the Kasempa Dist. [Prov.] for the year ending 31 Mar. 1921, p. 7, ZA 7/1/5/6, NAZ. For Faithful's visit, see his confidential report (p. 4 of 8 pp.), dated Oct. 1917, Correspondence Files, Vol. XVIII, Wimbledon. For Bruce Miller's description of his visit to Wimbledon, see the Solwezi Sub-Dist. AR in the Kasempa Dist. [Prov.] AR for the year ending 31 Mar. 1924, ZA 7/1/7/6, NAZ. Melland himself left before Bowen's visit. Available records are not clear regarding conversations with Bowen. For the record of his journey, including a large part of his personal diary, see Ezra A. Shank, "Pervert in Spirit": The Biography of Arthur J. Bowen (Chicago: Moody Press, 1954).

Melland tried bullying Harris and other Solwezi/Kasempa missionaries to get improvements. Between 1917 and 1921 two series of clashes occurred over: a) Harris's 1917-18 evangelical campaigns and the Native Schools Proclamation of 1918, and b) the SAGM's reluctance to train teachers at Kafue at the end of World War I. These precipitated an especially bitter exchange just before Melland left the region in 1921.

Harris's evangelical campaigns instigated Melland's initial attack. At this time, the general turmoil in the district resembled that in Mwinilunga: men were constantly on the move because of taxation and forced labor; the women tried and often failed to raise food for everyone; and finally, the terrible influenza epidemic killed uncounted thousands of these already debilitated individuals. Short of money and concerned about evangelism, Harris tried to innovate. Throughout the district he sent a corps of minimally-paid young men who had several years education. These men returned with glowing reports of dozens, then hundreds, and finally, approximately one thousand conversions. Harris was estatic and the mission was pleased.

Yet within two years this campaign would fail when both the evangelists and the newly converted realized that conversion did not solve the turmoil. In fact A. A. Wilson later reflected that many of the conversions were "purely materialistic, 'belief in Jesus' being some new cult that they [were] all keen to join." Nonetheless, the initial

success, not this eventual failure, caused trouble between the mission and the government. {41}

First Melland was unimpressed. News of the Chilembwe uprising in Nyasaland that in occurred in January and February 1915 had slowly filtered into the area, so the Northern Rhodesian government was very jittery. Consequently, Melland did not want largely unsupervised, semi-literate, young 'mission boys' roaming the district, preaching not only about Christ but also about the world's doom and destruction. Instead he wanted a permanent educational system that taught technical skills, trained teachers to run village schools, and inculcated loyalty and respect for the colonial and imperial governments. {42}

In 1917 draft proposals of the Native Schools Proclamation gave Melland an excuse to clamp down on Harris's evangelists and, once again, to pressure the mission for a satisfactory educational program. This Proclamation

{41}For Wilson's quotation, see Pioneer, 33 (June 1920), p. 64. The failure caused considerable intra-mission squabbling and made Harris defensive of his methods. See the Correspondence Files, Vol. XIX, Wimbledon: Hamilton to Middlemiss, 14 July 1920; Middlemiss to Hamilton, 13 Aug. 1920; Hamilton to Middlemiss, 2 Sept. 1920; Middlemiss to Hamilton, 31 Dec. 1920. This last item included a long letter from Harris defending himself with regard to the matter and explaining what happened.

{42}For the Chilembwe rising, see George Shepperson and Thomas Price's classic of historical research in modern Africa: Independent Africans: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958). For a wider perspective of all these events in both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia during this period, see Rotberg, Nationalism, especially pp. 47-92.

correctly recognized the close relationship between Christian evangelism and education, so when enacted, it closely regulated educational and evangelical efforts throughout the territory. It forced missionaries to register their teacher-evangelists. Likewise, they had to register their churches and/or schools. Missionaries then had to supervise African assistants by visiting all registered locations at least four times each year. The regulation served Melland perfectly. He knew that in a district larger than Wales, Harris could not make the required visits to all the villages. Harris would have to abandon his district-wide evangelical campaigns and restrict his work to the mission station's environs, or the mission's headquarters would have to supply more staff. [43]

Like most other missionaries in the territory, Harris was outraged because the BSAC wanted to regulate all Christian charitable organizations without offering any financial subsidies. Moreover, the Proclamation did not even acknowledge the amount of money and time that these voluntary organizations spent on social services. Probably as Melland hoped, both Cape Town and Wimbledon clearly heard Harris's cry of anguish. In one letter, Harris said that the "school has been purposely defined to make it embrace [sic] every form of Christian service, even a prayer meeting." He concluded another letter that it was "nothing

[43] Ragsdale quotes the entire Proclamation: "Development," pp. 383-6. For Harris's and Wilson's interpretation, see the extracts of his letters in App. H.

short of iniquity. My! it is crafty. It makes one's soul cry out and long for the return of Our Lord." {44}

Harris initially tried to register prayer 'schools' in most villages throughout Solwezi District. Then he threatened to spend all his time visiting them if the mission authorities failed to send more staff. Melland condescendingly told him that he attempted to do the impossible. Meanwhile, Harris's evangelical campaign faltered of its own accord. {45}

While Harris fumed about the Proclamation, the SAGM's educational system continued stagnating. In 1919, one official stated the crux of the problem when he cynically explained that the mission's

method of teaching the principles of Christianity and very little else does not appeal seemingly to the native. Industrial training is practically non-existent. The present worker in charge [of Musonwedji], Mr. A. A. Wilson, informed me that the decrease toward the end of year was due to the decision not to teach English, in spite of the fact that knowledge of this tongue was eagerly grasped after by native worker

{44} For Harris's two quotations, see Correspondence Files, Wimbledon: Harris to Middlemiss (Cape Town), 6 June 1918, Vol. XVII and Harris to Faithful, 11 Apr. 1918, Vol. XVI. These appear in App. H. Largely oblivious to territorial events, Fisher was one of a minority of missionaries in Northern Rhodesia who did not object; he had virtually no village school or churches and sent out no paid evangelists. For what is possibly the only existing comment by Fisher and Kalene missionaries on the Proclamation, see Fisher to Native Commissioner, 11 Apr. 1918, B 1/2/370, NAZ, cited by Snelson, Development, pp. 132, 146.

{45} See App. H for the significant correspondence mentioned in this paragraph between Harris and Wilson, the mission headquarters, and Melland. All are quoted from Correspondence Files, Wimbledon.

and pupil alike. It is hardly to be expected that a native will take much interest in his morals or his place in the next world for their own sake, unless he is provided with something in this world to improve him mentally and to lift him out of the ruck as a wage earner. {46}

Even Vernon at Musonwedji expressed the basic conflict between mission interests and African/government interests. He noted: "Desire to learn the language of the white man has overtaken the natives who in Kaondeland have learned to read in their own language; schools on all sides of us are by their better equipment leading these boys off." He did not say, however, that "schools on all sides" lay at least one hundred kilometers away. Since walking along narrow paths was the only way to reach them, these young men's discontent must indeed have been great. {47}

The lack of trained teacher-evangelists underlay this continually inadequate educational system. Harris and Wilson proposed sending several men to Kafue Training Institute in 1917. Despite the desperate need for such trained men, Faithful at Wimbledon had strong reservations. He did not want SAGM "teachers to come under the influence of [Rev. Fell's] teaching." Fell seemingly admired "modern scholarship and criticism of the Bible." When administrative pressure and African discontent finally resulted in three

{46} Solvezi Sub-Dist. AR, in Kasempa Dist. [Prov.] AR for the year ending 31 Mar. 1920, ZA 7/1/4/6, NAZ. The author of this report was either Melland himself or one of his junior officials.

{47} Pioneer, 32 (Aug./Sept. 1919), p. 73.

men being sent to Kafue in 1920, overseas mission officials intervened and forced the missionaries to withdraw them. Melland noted that "the only accessible training institute is discouraged. [Thus,] for all practical purposes, 'the man in the village' has no chance of advancement in this district." {48}

In the midst of the Kafue issue, the local mission staff and policy changed. The Harrises left Chisalala because of poor health and resettled in South Africa. Vernon and Wilson transferred to Angola. Charles Foster and Herbert Pirouet, who took over, closed both schools and concentrated on training a few teacher-evangelists that already believed. Foster and Pirouet decided they were not responsible for providing a 'secular' or 'academic' education and discouraged men from coming to the mission solely for that purpose. Furthermore, their resources had become so limited that they could do no more. {49}

Melland became totally disgusted by this new position. He first attacked both the mission and local

{48} For the 1917 proposal, see Harris to Middlemiss, 9 Oct. 1917, Correspondence Files, Vol. XVI, Wimbledon; for reservations, see Faithful to Middlemiss, 18 Dec. 1917, *ibid.* For Melland's comment, see the DC's AR for Kasempa Dist. [Prov.] for the year ending 30 Sept. 1921, ZA 7/3/9, NAZ. See also the following in the Correspondence Files, Wimbledon: Melland to Wilson, 4 Apr. 1919, Vol. XVIII; Middlemiss to Hamilton (Wimbledon), 13 Aug. 1920, Vol. XIX; "Minutes of District Conference," 19 May to June 1921, Vol. XX.

{49} For the new policy agreed upon at the annual district conference at Musonwedji from 13 to 22 Nov. 1919, see the "Minutes," in Correspondence Files, Vol. XVIII.

missionaries in a frank, logical, and thoughtful letter to Foster. He asserted that the missionaries were obligated to "up-lift" everyone, not just their adherents. While he admitted that the government did little for the people, he accused the SAGM of doing less. Then an even harsher verbal exchange with Pirouet followed. Melland asserted that most of the SAGM missionaries were not capable of being leaders of mission stations. Furthermore, the SAGM should either fund and staff the mission stations properly or leave the province and let some other mission agency enter. In response Pirouet gallantly defended the mission and his colleagues. Foster and Pirouet jointly explained what happened to Cape Town and Wimbleton.{50}

Shortly after these exchanges between Melland and these two local missionaries, Faithful again visited the two stations. Afterwards Pirouet and Foster started a small system of education that more closely resembled those elsewhere in the territory. Using the initial graduates of the seminal training program for teacher-evangelists, they began a few village schools. Everyone near the schools could attend them for free. Under a new plan, the best students from these village schools would later go to Chisalala or Musonwedji for additional education. The plan

{50}The following two items are quoted in App. D.: Melland to Foster, 11 Sept. 1920 and Pirouet to Middlemiss, 3 Jan. 1921, Correspondence Files, Vol. XIX, Wimbleton. Melland probably spoke so frankly with Pirouet because he regarded Pirouet as the most acceptable or genteel of these missionaries--more able and less common than Harris, and esp. Wilson and Foster, who were Americans.

also vaguely included a new central station where a middle school would train mission teachers. But by 1924, this more progressive proposal floundered. Staffing and financing never improved. {51}

Helland left the NWP in April 1922 and the officials who replaced him were more sympathetic to the missionaries' plight. Yet the mission's basic educational inadequacies remained. The mission was simply too poor, understaffed, and unwilling to educate in the manner that the people and the officials desired. Thus, Kasempa and Solwezi Districts' only educational programs remained feeble.

The poverty of the SAGM missionaries and Dr. Fisher and their restricted educational philosophies kept their educational programs provincial, especially when the territorial government did not provide funding or supervision. By the end of the BSAC era, the Kaonde-Lunda region was already becoming isolated and 'backward' in education as well as in other ways. It was falling to the bottom of the heap.

{51}Faithful visited the missions twice: in 1917 and again in mid-1921. For his first visit, see his report for the British Committee, "District and Executive General Report," Correspondence Files, Vol. XVIII, Wimbledon. Faithful's report is exceptionally thoughtful about education. No report was located at Wimbledon for his 1921 visit. See, however, the Minutes of the District Conference from 18 May to 1 June 1921 in which the plan was formulated, Correspondence Files, Vol. IX, Wimbledon. In these minutes, education came under the topic "Evangelization of the VaKaonde." Pirouet later noted that in 1921 under Faithful's "guidance," they had "framed a new policy of work." This same long letter-chronicle by Pirouet shows how the new plans fizzled out by 1924. See: Pioneer, 37 (Feb. 1924), pp. 19-21 and 37 (Mar. 1924), pp. 35-6.