

CHAPTER X:

EDUCATION AMIDST WORLD CRISIS, 1933-45

Village schools have been opened at many important centres during the year and schools have been crowded out.

Cooke, DC, Mwinilunga, 1934{1}

In general I am not at all happy about the prospects of of Native Education in the [Mwinilunga] District. It may . . . prove necessary to establish Government schools.

G. Wilson, 1938
Superintendent of
Native Education{2}

Between 1933 and 1945 education developed through a number of ironies, indicated in part by Cooke's and Wilson's quotations. First educational stagnation ended during the deepest gloom of the world depression. During this inauspicious era, financially strapped educators undertook their tasks more energetically. Within a three year period, they opened several dozen village schools and upgraded the mission school training. Officials like Cooke also began paying close attention to the poor quality of education in their districts although they could ~~not~~ not get the funds

{1}Mwinilunga Dist. AR in Central Prov. AR for 1934, ZA 7/1/17/2, NAZ.

{2}G. Wilson to Acting Director of Native Education, 13 Nov. 1936, covering letter to his inspection report of Kalene Hill mission school, 29 Oct. 1936, C 1/8/4/2, NAZ. Wilson said that this was the first inspection since Cottrell's almost four years earlier.

needed to make basic improvements. In addition, large numbers of men, women and children not only started but stayed in school for longer periods of time. More than ever, education became the key to open the door to a new world. Despite these dramatic changes, however, education in the NWP remained at the bottom of the heap in Northern Rhodesia.

Cottrell's report rapidly catalyzed these educational changes, rang a death knell for the missions' autonomy, and signaled the beginning of a modern system of education. Nonetheless, all three elements of the NWP's society professed dissatisfaction with it. Cottrell's answers did not appear to please them. At least superficially they all agreed that the territorial government should not only guide and fund, but also run the educational system. Undoubtedly the African leaders immediately desired a less evangelical form of western education. As one government officer explained they wanted to be "educated rather than evangelised." But the missionaries feared that the new indirect control would hinder their wider ministry and likewise feared that direct control might mean godless education. Local administrators just wanted to keep both the African population and missionaries contented and to improve education so that their 'backward' region could advance. They realized that such improvements were contingent upon direct government guidance and an infusion of funds. But whatever the real feelings were, the Cottrell

report provided the immediate answer. With a few exceptions, direct government control would not become a reality until the 1950s and 1960s. {3}

The new flurry of educational growth quickly leveled out by 1938. Although old-style stagnation ended with Cottrell's report, the Director of Native Education stated another irony when he stressed the NWP's unfavorable comparative position in the second quotation. Just when education in most of the territory again rapidly expanded at the end of the depression, the rate of expansion slowed down in the NWP. This leveling out resulted from: a) prior government and mission inaction in developing an educational infrastructure, and b) continuing government reluctance^{ce} in funding improvements that it had demanded and was getting from reluctant and poor mission educators. The different dimensions of how past inaction and continued government reluctance combined to hurt new development in the NWP is revealed in several letters by Conrad Oppen, a senior official of the Department of Native Education. In 1936 he fully "agreed that little has been done for this backward country." But he told the PC of Kaonde-Lunda Province that

{3} The quotation is given in the matters arising from the Chief Secretary's visit to the NWP in 1936. See Kasempa Dist. AR for 1947 in Western Prov. AR, SEC 2/134, Kasempa Dist.: ARs for 1935 and 1936, NAZ. This visit is discussed in the next chapter. No government official, missionary, or African directly said that Cottrell and his report were the catalysts for this sudden change. I have surmised this close connection from the events and the responses to them.

the Department could give NWP missions only a little funding. Government had to "rationalise the whole system of payments" to missions. These payments in turn were based on "certain educational standards" that NWP missions did not meet. A year and a half later, he added:

Although the few Missions operating in this area are doing as well as their resources of money and personnel allow, nothing but a comprehensive campaign of Government enterprise will meet the situation. Government schools at Mwinilunga and Kasempa Bomas would be a help, but this brings us face to face with the problem of staffing, a problem that will not find a ready solution.{4}

"Yes," government should provide better educational funding to NWP missions. "Yes," government should take direct action. But "no," it would do neither. Because of inadequate government and mission inaction in the past, the area still had low standards and no properly trained staff. This in turn made the Director of Native Education unwilling to provide adequate current funding for education.

In this manner the NWP's poor-quality education had become self-perpetuating. Education improved, but very slowly with poor reluctant mission educators running the system and with inadequate government funding. Even with rapidly increasing African agitation for improvements, the area languished in comparison to most other areas.

{4}Conrad Oppen (as Ag. Director of African Education) to Sr. PC, Ndola, 31 July 1936, in PC's Conferences, 1929-37, C 1/3/3, NAZ. Oppen, 6 Jan. 1938, AR for 1937, C 4/7/1, Superintendent of Native Education ARS, NAZ.

The Educational Implications of World Crises

When the international price of copper collapsed, the world depression whacked the economy of Northern Rhodesia. Mines throughout South Africa, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and the Belgian Congo closed. Soon, all segments of Northern Rhodesian society were affected, from the industrial and commercial centers to isolated corners like the NWP. The railways and commercial farming enterprises also suffered. As revenues fell, the government made dramatic administrative cuts, even joining parts of the old Luangwa and Kaonde-Lunda Provinces to form an administrative region probably larger than England. As overseas supporters decreased their charitable giving, Christian missions cut their voluntary social services. Northern Rhodesian society collectively shuddered and hoped that times would improve quickly. {5}

The depression affected the African population most. First it hit men who had migrated to the copperbelt to earn tax money. Then it hurt those who depended on the migrants for tax money, clothe and other material goods. By 1933 large numbers of destitute men trudged back to their rural

{5} In the mid-1930s, the Luangwa and Kasempa Prov. (renamed the Central Prov.) included: Broken Hill, Mkushi, Ndola (copperbelt towns), and the Kaonde-Lunda Districts of Kasempa, Solwezi and Mwinilunga. I am not sure of this temporary province's exact size. For a vivid account of what happened to both blacks and whites during the depression when the mines closed, see Fergus Macpherson's historical novel, One Blood (Lusaka: NECZAM, 1970).

homelands, possessing little more than a greater knowledge of the world. The NWP resembled other areas of Northern Rhodesia. In Mwinilunga the DC wrote, "When one sees almost naked women carry their babies in their arms for lack of a carrying cloth, . . . one can realize how really poor the population is." The DC of Solwezi observed the situation from his perspective as tax collector: "The continued depression has exhausted the natives savings and the outstanding current tax is alarmingly high. There is no question of deliberate evasion, the people simply have not got, and have great difficulty getting, the money." {6}

As in other parts of the world, the depression generated social ferment and unrest. In the NWP the demand for new schools increased and the Jehovah's Witness--more commonly called Watchtower or kitawala--expanded. During their sojourn in the towns, men from the NWP encountered successful graduates of the 'little school in the bush'. Meeting better educated men created or renewed education's potent symbolism. Coming into contact with other new sects and religions, they became familiar with Watchtower. When they abruptly returned to the NWP, schools and/or kitawala became their final hope for a better world. In his 1933 reports, the DC of Solwezi District described these two related though divergent phenomena. He found a "changed attitude towards education [with] a desire to learn and

{6}Cooke, Mwinilunga Dist. AR and C. H. Hazell, Solwezi Dist. AR, both in Luangwa and Kasempa Prov. AR for 1933, ZA 7/1/16/2, NAZ.

schools [are] wanted in every native district" and noted "a wave of Watchtower activity spread over the district." {7}

Within the NWP, Watchtower helped mold the attitudes of the people, missionaries, and government officials toward education. With regard to education, Watchtower's influence could be both general and specific. Sometimes it caused village schools to close when parents refused to let children continue attending the mission-run schools. Sometimes Watchtower goaded the missions to open new ones in the hope of hindering its advance. Spreading throughout the NWP, it became especially strong in Kasempa, Solwezi, and southern Mwinilunga Districts, which were areas least helped by medical or educational social services. Because this movement allegedly assumed an anti-government, anti-mission, and sweeping anti-European tone, the government remained vigilant. {8}

The missions became alarmed. Between 1932 and 1938, Watchtower dominated the articles written by Northern Rhodesian SAGM missionaries for the Pioneer. Large numbers of mission adherents backslid. Others were allegedly harassed or isolated by the sect's followers. Watchtower thus became a form of religious competition and ungodliness

{7} Hazell, ZA 7/1/16/2.

{8} For the standard, although now dated, work on Jehovah Witness in Central Africa, see Rotberg, Nationalism, pp. 66-passim. John Cooke at the University of Zambia and others did historical research on this sect during the 1970s.

to the NWP missionaries. According to one missionary, Kitawala "preached a mixture of communism, heathenism and corrupt Christianity." Only in the late 1930s did Watchtower's strength decline.{9}

At the territorial level, the continuing depression forced senior administrators to further cut their recurrent (operating) and capital budgets. The powerful white settlers' lobby prevented severe and harmful cuts to themselves. The small sub-department of Native Education and the missionary educators were less successful. Consequently, the "vested interests of the all-European Finance Commission resulted in a . . . dramatic cut in the native education budget while European education was completely unaffected." Within five years of its inauguration, the government sacrificed Lathrop's progressive plan.{10}

The cuts in the education budget particularly affected the most efficient, effective and visionary mission educators. High quality educational programs had been promised increasing government support. Although their voluntary revenues dropped precipitiously, these missions

{9}For the quotation, see (Miss) M. Goold, Pioneer, 48/9 (Jan. 1935), p. 63. In the late 1930s, Watchtower lost strength only to grow again in the midst of World War II. Banned in the war emergency, it went underground until the war ended and the ban was lifted. It has remained controversial ever since but never again assumed the same strength.

{10}For the quotation, see Ragsdale, "Development," p. 256.

still continued to expand, making government promises the foundation for their new programs. Suddenly in January 1933, the Director of Native Education warned them "that it may be necessary to reduce or even cancel, their grants in 1934-35." Discouraged by subsequent reductions, many mission educators either let their programs stagnate or deteriorate or stopped them entirely. The total number of unaided schools in the territory abruptly dropped from 1979 in 1932 to 1167 in 1934. Then the government added insult to injury by not only cutting mission grants to teachers, but also eliminating them for 'foreign', i.e. Nyasaland, Africans. Since the government continued to employ similar 'foreign' Africans and laid no handicaps on these employees, "an atmosphere of antagonism and distrust replaced . . . cooperation." [11]

Possibly one Methodist missionary, John Shaw, gave the most thoughtful and prophetic condemnation of government. He said that government made a "grave mistake." He further stated the bitterness of many others when he added:

I feel that native teachers are doing the most important work in Northern Rhodesia, far more important than that of any official, from the Governor downwards, for they are moulding the minds and ideals of the permanent inhabitants of the country. . . . I do not like the phrase 'grants-in-aid to missions'. . . . Should it not be 'Payments to missions for doing the educational work the Government ought to be doing for the tax-paying natives'? One wonders just how far we are playing the

[11] For the first quotations and the statistics on village schools, see Snelson, Development, p. 196. For the last quotation, see Ragsdale, "Development," p. 270.

game when we economise at the cost of the natives who have no vote and do not know enough to make a big noise. Discontented teachers are as dangerous as matches in a haystack. {12}

As African education declined in the territory, the Department of African Education became the center of the storm. Officials in this department could do little except spread the pain around because the budgetary chopping occurred in the upper echelons of the territorial government. But since Lathrop left in 1932 and six directors followed in less than six years, the director became less effective within the government bureaucracy and had a harder time getting funding. {13}

Fortunately a core of able young educators quietly operated in the department. They included: Conrad Oppen, Douglas Miller, Dr. John Winterbottom, G. H. Rusbridger, Peter Tregear, and John (Jock) Cottrell. These 'superintendents' of education, appointed by Lathrop, were not dismissed when the worst crunch hit. They continued weaving together the numerous mission programs into a more comprehensive and uniform territorial system of education. When possible, they also reduced the department's general decay

{12} Shaw, 26 Mar. 1935, to R. Caldwell (Director of Native Education), C 3/3/21, NA2; quoted in Snelson, Development, p. 198.

{13} Latham left in June 1931 and Tyndale-Biscoe took over in Dec. 1936. For the story of the depression, African education, and the role of the Department of African Education, see Snelson, Development, Chap. VII, pp. 194-227 and Ragsdale, "Development," pp. 260-75.

and laid the base for further improvements. [14]

The presence of these young administrators partly explains the strange burst of educational activity in the NWP during 1933 and 1934. Their general efforts to regularize the department and spread its influence more uniformly throughout the territory included Cottrell's visit and report. Before their appointment Latham often ran the department with John Keith, and the two men could deal only with the more vocal missionary educators. The new men were able to reach areas lying out of the mainstream and attempted to pull them in. They kept the SAGM and Brethren aware of the department's expectations. By insisting on more uniform standards, they helped break the NWP's isolation and reduce its provinciality.

The overwhelming handicap of the superintendents continued to be the government's parsimony toward African education. So while education in the NWP remained weak, they could not substantially change anything. Wilson's 1936 report on Mwinilunga schools summed up their dilemma: "In general, I am not at all happy about the prospects of native education. It may in time prove necessary to establish Government schools. At present the cost would be prohibitive, and I am anxious to make the best of available opportunities." The officials could only "make the best" of this deplorable situation since government was unwilling to fund

[14] Ibid.

education. {15}

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the Northern Rhodesian government still handicapped its Department of Native Education. As Snelson noted: "By 1939, the depression was a thing of the past. Government revenue had soared to £20,000," i.e., from £29,195 to £47,694. Snelson further uses the Pim Commission's findings to show how parsimonious these figures were. In 1936 the Northern Rhodesia government had spent "25/= per pupil on the roll;" Tanqanyika spent 51/=; the Gold Coast 80/=; and Zanzibar 168/= {16}

Since senior territorial administrators feared both European settlers and new financial crises and African education did not seem essential, funding remained mediocre. Only prodding by the imperial government resulted in better financing. But even by the end of World War II, the Binn's Commission reported that Northern Rhodesia had the highest per capita revenue (£9-4-0) in British colonial territories, but the lowest percentage of expenditure on African education, 3.2%. {17}

{15} G. Wilson, 13 Nov. 1936, to Ag. Director of Native Education, C 1/8/4/2, NAZ.

{16} Snelson, Development, p. 200.

{17} For the strong negative influence of settlers and fear of a new depression, see especially Coombs, "Origins." For the development of the Binn's Commission, see Raqsdale, "Development," p. 319.

Despite such a deplorable lack of government funding, many mission educators continued operating large educational programs at their own expense. Some even expanded. Thus in areas like the NWP, where the missions still did not surge forward on their own initiative, education failed comparatively to improve. Without adequate government funding, the Department of Native Education had to 'make do' with whatever agency could most successfully run educational programs.

In the late 1930s one such agency was the Native Authorities (NAs), an evolutionary outgrowth of indirect rule. NAs gave traditional African leaders new duties and visibility. They expected the newer educated elite, which sometimes became chiefs or more commonly became clerks and councilors, to support traditional leadership. In this manner traditional African leadership was supposedly strengthened. While saving government money by limiting the size of district administrations, the agency permitted a small amount of superficial educational expansion since NA's could apply for allocations to open and sustain new schools. But these funds were small and few NAs had the local revenue needed to supplement the educational grants. Thus the educational endeavors of the NAs could not substantially improve education. As shown later, when the three Native Authority schools opened during 1939 in Kaonde-Lunda Province, special grants were made because of the area's

'backward' reputation. {18}

Late in 1936 Tyndale-Biscoe became Director of Native Education and brought stability and experience back to the department. In 1938 Tyndale-Biscoe and his now experienced superintendents compiled a confidential survey of mission education in the territory. Its frank analysis and thorough comparisons made it one of the most useful reports in the 1930s. The parts of this report that directly or indirectly apply to the NWP or can be used to make comparisons are given in Appendix L. These extracts confirm the conclusion that if the NWP were to improve comparatively, the government needed to intervene directly and to infuse much larger quantities of money. But the government was not prepared to do this. {19}

Although hesitant about spending money, government did adopt more progressive and long-term plans for African education in the late thirties and early forties. The Ordinance of 1939 changed the name of the Department from Native Education to African Education. One of the Ordinance's main provisions was the creation of Local Education Committees in the districts which gave Africans a

{18} For the best references to the Native Authorities' educational endeavors in Northern Rhodesia and also comparative references to East African British territories, see Snelson, Development, pp. 204-6, 274.

{19} Tyndale-Biscoe had been serving in Tanganyika. This experience strongly influenced his recommendations. For the original version of App. L, see "Reports on Mission Societies," confidential, SEC 1/550, NAZ.

more formal voice in education. In the NWP these committees initiated the first formal meetings between representatives of the three social elements over the issue of education. {20}

Like Latham's plan of 1929, these plans became intertwined with world events. In place of the depression's economic cutbacks, World War II brought a severe shortage of trained European administrators and of basic educational supplies like paper and slates. It also hindered the flow of funds to mission agencies from overseas supporters, so the missionaries increasingly relied on the government. The war also allowed Africans into posts and jobs previously forbidden to them. For example, in the absence of European staff, Simon Kibanza became a 'big man' at the Solwezi sub-boma. Other young men got accelerated educational training and quickly advanced. For example Aaron Ngalande became a senior Standard VI teacher at Mutanda. {21}

By 1945 the Department of African Education was

{20} Outside the NWP some Local Education Committees existed before this time, but the seventh clause formalized procedures; see Snelson, Development, pp. 221-4.

{21} For the war's effect on education throughout the territory, see Snelson, Development, pp. 236-40 and Ragsdale, "Development," pp. 292-8. 'Big man' is frequently used in two diametrically opposite ways--one positive and one negative; see the interviews with Silas Chizawu and Gordon Suckling for examples. For fond reminiscences of Kibanza, see the interviews with Tito Kibolya and Aaron Ngalande. The latter interview with Ngalande also describes his advance during this era. The interview with Letchford (21 Nov. 1975 at his home in Loudonville, NY) confirms Ngalande's details.

rapidly expanding, centralizing and standardizing education in the NWP. The Department prepared a basic standard curriculum for all educational programs in the territory. For example, in 1944 Peter Letchford, the SAGM's most notable educator, took charge of Mutanda. He used the Department's basic educational program and properly applied territorial standards. Nonetheless, he felt that he still had considerable latitude with the school curriculum. In addition, the mission still controlled African staff appointments at mission and village schools and laid down regulations for this staff. Until the end of the era, the government still demanded that the missions provide educational services that the Department of Native Education increasingly, though still inadequately, paid for. {22}

Secularization of the educational system, however, occurred later. The September 1940 inaugural meeting of the Kasempa District Local Education Committee illustrates the government's control, but also its determination to have missionaries run most educational programs.

Mr. Foster outlined his Mission's view point as regarding educational work. He stated that the poverty of the Mission had been [recently] stressed. . . . This was not strictly accurate. It was his mission's policy to place evangelisation before educational work. While they desired to co-operate in educational work, they regarded education as primarily the responsibility of Government and of the people who benefit from it. The first claim on the missions' resources was the training of pastors and evangelists and the headquarters of his mission favoured the policy of limiting their commitments regarding educational work. The Chairman assumed that the mission would be prepared to support Native

{22} Letchford interview.

Authorities or any other society or organisation e.g. the Franciscan Mission who might enter the district for the purpose of undertaking educational work. Mr. Foster stressed that while his mission would view with regret the entry of other missionary organisations into the district, they were willing to co-operate with anybody who wished to co-operate with them. {23}

Foster's protestations led to a clear administrative threat. As a result the SAGM continued meekly though reluctantly to follow government directives. In fact confrontations like this one in Kasempa District led to Letchford's arrival in 1944. Thus by 1945, education in the NWP was a variation of the territorial system. Of the territorial variations, however, the NWP was the most 'backward'.

Quantitative Educational Advances:

The Rapid Development of Village Schools in the Mid-1930s

In January 1933 the Cottrell Report ended the SAGM's and Brethren's complacency in educating NWP Africans. As described in the last chapter, the report had wide implications. To the mission educators it meant that if they did not improve their educational programs some other mission agency would do so or the task would not be done. Conversely, it implied that with improvements, the Department

{23} "Local Education Committees: Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1940-41 and 1946," SEC 1/540, NAZ.

of Native Education would try to grant them more money. Education based solely on personal charity was no longer enough. The report had stressed that their unsystematic, loosely organized educational programs should be replaced by more systematic ones enabling NWP Africans to compete with Africans elsewhere in the territory. One way to do this immediately was to prepare its students for the department's new competitive examinations. Mutanda, Mukinge, Kamapanda, Kalene and Chavuma should follow Suckling's line at Chitokoloki. The latter should cap its success and make its little system permanent. {24}

Because of the report Chitokoloki radiated with pleasure, but the other missions felt gravely insulted and recoiled in anger. When being interviewed, two ex-Chitokoloki students, Silas Chizawu and John Mwendela, recalled Chitokoloki's collective delight without even being asked about Cottrell's visit. In a letter to the Director of Native Education, however, the Provincial Commissioner (PC) of Kasempa described Foster's and Mukinge's shock and displeasure, which paralleled that at Mutanda, Kamapanda, and Kalene. The PC also thoughtfully called the Director's attention to the fact that the "amount of finances by the government is so small compared with the expenses borne by the Missions themselves that, I feel all new criticisms of these missions should be most cautiously and tactfully

{24} For the Cottrell report's recommendations, see App. K and Chap. IX.

made." He implied that education officials should strongly criticize only if government paid the bill or was prepared to do better itself. This implication was probably the main bone of contention in the quarrels that followed. {25}

Chavuma and Kamapanda, however, did not want government money, hoping to avoid government regulations as much and as long as possible. When Cottrell's favorable report on the infants' school elicited an unrequested government grant of sixty pounds sterling, Buckland, then in charge of Kamapanda, returned it. He told Cottrell that they had "funds sufficient for the adequate carrying on of the schools." This action astonished officials. Cottrell told the Chief Secretary that this "was the first time . . . such assistance has been declined." But Cottrell continued, "CMML is different from . . . other missions [and] Buckland is more fortunate in his supporters than some of his colleagues who have been very glad to accept grants-in-aid from government." Chavuma also refused government funds. Like Kamapanda--including Buckland's new Mujimbeji Mission--it wished to continue charity-type education. Though Chavuma hid in the shadows for several more years while Chitokoloki blossomed, this became harder to do. DCs began using their considerable powers to insure compliance. Africans were beginning to 'awake'. The report signaled a

{25} For Chitokoloki, see the interviews with Silas Chizawu and John Mwondela. For the Ag. PC's comment, see Russell to Director of Native Education, 28 Feb. 1933, "Kalene Hill, Education," C 1/8/5/2, NAZ.

change for everybody. {26}

Cottrell's report not only criticized Kalene most, but also included several notable errors in this ~~other~~ otherwise fair but blunt analysis. The errors greatly increased the mission's displeasure. Cottrell stressed his unhappiness with the Brethren's non-system and pressed for change, but as implied by the PC, this goal alone was controversial since the mission received little government aid. Cottrell was unaware that Latham had allowed Roseannah Shaw, a trained educator, to receive a grant for men's education. He misunderstood that the mission provided most of the food for a very large boarding school. Thus, he incorrectly reported that all the pupils went home on weekends to collect food although the mission collected a small government grant for boarding. He also undiplomatically questioned the mission's integrity in meeting for the required 150 days in the previous year. Possibly worst of all in Walter and Anna Fisher's eyes, he strongly criticized the mission's hilltop location. {27}

{26} Buckland to Cottrell, 3 Apr. 1933; Cottrell to Chief Secretary, 15 June 1933: "Allocation of Grants, 1932-33," SEC 1/512, NAZ. The sixty pounds sterling was reallocated to Kalene as a non-renewable grant to assist their 'witchery' for old women. They accepted the money. I have no absolute proof that these missions exchanged correspondence, but the actions that followed indicate that they did so. The expression 'awake' is used with increasing regularity from the mid-1930s onward. For Chavuma's static educational policy, see Chap. IX.

{27} For his Kalene report, see App. K. A copy of Latham's letter appears in C 1/8/4/2. This letter was from Latham to PC, Kasempa, 18 April 1931.

A nasty little brouhaha ensued. The Fishers were elderly and the Doctor had become internationally distinguished and honored for his work in tropical medicine. They believed that the report not only threatened the mission's finances, but also strongly compromised its integrity. Greatly offended, the Fishers demanded that the matter be referred to the Chief Secretary for Northern Rhodesia, an unusual and extraordinary strong demand. Before the controversy ended, about ten government officials and missionaries exchanged approximately fifty items of correspondence. {28}

District and territorial officials vigorously attempted to soothe the Fishers' and Kalene's wounded feelings. Cottrell and the Director of Native Education quickly decided that the grants would not be withdrawn and hastened to reassure the Fishers and Roseannah Shaw of this fact. To support Cottrell, however, the Director wrote a detailed eight page letter to the Provincial Commissioner. Cottrell included another three pages in which he reflected on Kalene's education and his own duties. He felt his inspection of the educational programs at the mission "came as a shock to them. . . . Unfortunately it is my duty to inform them of these shortcomings and of the Department's aims and policy." He also felt the matter was resolved. "I

{28} See the first fifty items of correspondence in C 1/8/4/2; especially important is Walter Fisher's initial statement, dated 15 Feb. 1933, of what he regarded as Cottrell's errors.

think . . . the cause of the trouble has been removed--the grants have been paid and perhaps the 'nasty inspector' is not as bad as he seemed on paper and nearly as nice as he was at the mission." {29}

When the Provincial Commissioner himself finally wrote the Fishers and suggested that they not press their demands, they relented. By mid-1933 the "storm in a teacup," as the Provincial Commissioner later called it ended. {30}

In the course of this controversy, government officials and missionaries unintentionally explored the parameters of their relationship and subsequently made some adjustments. Government officials, both territorial and district, were now clearly aware that the "efficiency of the schools . . . compares most unfavorably with educational work of the missions elsewhere in the territory." Nonetheless, until the government could provide support, the Director of Native Education and his superintendents cautiously avoided offending NWP missions. At the end of his very carefully worded Kalene inspection report in 1938, Conrad Oppen still said "no censorious criticism is

{29} For the quotations (Cottrell to L. A. Russell, 15 Mar. 1933) and all other correspondence, see C 1/8/4/2.

{30} For the quotation, see Russell to R. Caldwell (Director of Native Education), 3 June 1933, C 1/8/4/2. The matter did seemingly reach the Chief Secretary but by that time the Fishers had been mollified and the controversy had burned itself out.

intended." {31}

This kind of caution ultimately deterred educational improvements in the NWP, but the missions began to take steps to avoid future confrontations by improving their educational programs. The sudden increase in the number of village schools--from two to twenty-one during 1933-35--demonstrates the change in educational policy by the Mwinilunga missions. Similar increases in the number of village schools in Balovale, Kasempa and Solwezi also compared favorably with Mwinilunga's burst of activity. These collective improvements are astonishing in light of the enormous decline in the total number of village sub-schools throughout the territory. {32}

Kalene was not only the focus of Cottrell's report and of the resulting controversy; it also became an example of the quantitative change that occurred through village sub-schools. Kalene's burst of activity is also especially well documented from different perspectives. E. H. Cooke, the new DC, took the credit for the change and told the story from the government point of view. Elsie Burr, an experienced missionary, narrated the events as the mission educator most involved. And Silas Sameta clearly spoke from

{31}For the first quotation, see Caldwell to Russell, 15 Mar. 1933, C 1/8/4/2. For the second quotation, see Oppen, 1938 Report, "Provincial Advisory Board, Western Province, Rural Areas, 1938," C 3/4/4, NAZ.

{32}For these Mwinilunga statistics, see N. S. Price, Mwinilunga AR for 1935, SEC 2/133, NAZ.

his viewpoint as one of the new teachers. {33}

Shortly after his arrival, Cooke wrote several exceptionally strong reports denouncing Mwinilunga missionaries as the chief cause for the district's 'backwardness'. He especially blamed them for the fact that the "village mission teacher that valuable liaison officer, is non-existent and until established there can be no progress." A year later, however, he was patting both Kalene and himself on the back. By then he believed the problem had been an old misunderstanding between government and the mission. In education he did a "lot of bullying, with very happy results. To-day the schools are proving a boon." Although Cooke started as the mission's antagonist, Burr later specifically recalled he and his wife's hospitality ~~in~~ at the Mwinilunga boma and his kindness in locating and buying her a car when on leave in the copperbelt. {34}

{33} I found it rare to get such a balanced three-way social perspective on events. For Cooke's four most useful descriptions, see the following tour reports (two) and ARs (two), all in NAZ: Mwinilunga AR in "Luangwa and Kasempa Prov." AR for 1933, ZA 7/1/16/2; Mwinilunga AR in "Central Prov." AR for 1934, ZA 7/1/17/2; Mwinilunga Tour Report No. 7/1933, 1933, ZA 7/4/42; and Mwinilunga Tour Report No. 6/34, 1934, C 1/8/4/2. As cited before, Burr's main work was Kalene Memories. She also regularly wrote articles in Echoes, especially see the following: 26 Nov. 1934, 64 (Mar. 1935), p. 73; and 13 June 1935, 64 (Sept. 1935), p. 243. For Sameta's perspective as a Christian teacher, see his interview.

{34} For the two quotations, see the previous footnote, items: ZA 7/1/16/2 and C 1/8/4/2. For Burr's references to Cooke in her book, see pp. 124-5.

Elsie Burr was a self-trained educator who had run the mission station school during part of the lackluster 'twenties. Becoming very ill in the 1930s, she went on overseas leave. When she returned in 1934, Roseannah Shaw had become Kalene's trained, subsidized educator. Thus the Fishers asked Burr to open and expand new village schools throughout the district. (Neither the Fishers nor Burr mention Cottrell or Cooke as direct incentives; the connection has to be surmised.) The Fishers' request pleased Burr because she enjoyed village trekking and evangelization. In her memoirs, she fondly reminisces on how she, "though a mere woman!" supervised the building of several schools herself with the help of African brethren. This was a feat regarded far beyond the capacity of European women in tropical Africa. In addition she was a very short woman. Julyan Hoyte at Kalene and Charles Nightingale then at Sakeji also supervised the building of others. {35}

Sameta also recalls Burr and the initial episodes:

When Miss Burr went to England, she explained about villages around Kalene Mission--plenty of villages, plenty of children, but no schools in the villages. And after she explained in England, they allowed her to return back so [she] could open schools. . . . When she came, she first passed to Ndola to see the Provincial Education Official to talk with him and get authority from him. When she reached Kalene, she explained her plans. 'This year we are going to begin to build new schools in many villages. We need teachers'. But there were no trained teachers.

{35} For Burr's quotation, see Kalene Memories, p. 108; see also pp. 109-13. Roseannah Shaw was at this time also assisted by Peggy Gilmour. Kalene had plenty of staff, leaving no excuse for not opening these outschools.

After this time Miss Burr began to open new schools in the villages. . . . Then she sent uncertified teachers to teach the people the Words of God and how to write and how to read. Every year she called all the teachers to Kalene Mission to spend one month. She taught them how to write well on the blackboard, how to read well, how to exercise--drill. And when they went back to the villages, they could teach the children well. {36}

The mission's failure to train African educators systematically in the 1920s now plagued new endeavors. Hence Burr introduced a vigorous retraining course that worked, at least for a few years. In addition she frequently toured the area inspecting these new schools, at first trekking and later driving. Burr's systematic supervision and training that assisted dedicated African teacher/evangelists were the reasons for Conrad Oppen's incredulity in 1938. When he inspected these schools, he marveled:

that for such poor quality teachers the results were, on the whole, rather surprising. Teachers who it would flatter to call of Standard I attainment somehow managed to get across a large percentage of what they knew and very little seemed lost in the process. In some cases I felt that the pupils knew rather more than the teacher himself which was, to say the least, remarkable. {37}

Burr's energy notwithstanding, the missions' quick village school expansion was not sustained. Between 1936 and 1939 the total number of these village outschools in Mwinilunga rose only from twenty-one to twenty-five. The number in Kasempa and Solwezi Districts actually declined

{36} Sameta interview.

{37} Oppen, 1938 Report, C 3/4/4.

slightly with only nine between them in 1939. But education did not stagnate as it had between 1924 and 1933 because the quality continued to improve. {38}

Five overlapping reasons contributed to this temporary plateau in the expansion of village schools. First, many people still did not see the value of education because of the region's remoteness. In his 1938 tour, Oppen asserted that "the Lunda people do not as yet appreciate the advantages of education. They have not yet seen signs of its economic value or indeed its value in improving conditions of life in their own country." Thus, he felt "the propaganda value of the return to this area of trained Lunda medical orderlies, Jeanes supervisors, teachers, carpentry instructors, clerks, etc. would be immense." {39}

Second, many people still did not like the schools' primary religious function. Chief Kakoma and his area provide an example. In the mid-1930s the chief was not 'progressive' in the eyes of the missionaries and government officials and did not encourage education. H. Vaux, a temporary DC in the region, accepted an accusation that a Kalene outschool teacher ridiculed traditional religious paraphernalia. After investigating the matter, N. S. Price, the regular DC, supported the mission and believed that the

{38} For the 1939 statistics, see the 1939 AR for Western Prov. (rural areas), in "Education Officers, Annual Reports, 1939-40," C 4/3/1, NAZ.

{39} Oppen, 1938 Report, C 3/4/4.

chief and some of his headmen were being difficult. Nonetheless, considerable correspondence was exchanged within government about the matter and even reached the Chief Secretary for Northern Rhodesia. Possibly the exact charges were wrong, but since mission teachers served as evangelists in a locality, clashes between Christianity and traditional religion undoubtedly occurred. For some people schools had acquired their modern symbolic meaning, but for others, they still only represented the colonial society's new religion. {40}

The third reason has to do with the NWP peoples and their relationship with a particular locality. Schools were most successful in areas with both a settled population and a 'progressive' African leader who wanted a school despite its religious orientation. Hence schools remained successful in Chief Ikelenge's area of Mwinilunga after the mid-1930s. Chiefs were either sympathetic to Christianity or Christians and the area had an increasingly large and settled farming population. In contrast, relations between Chief Kakoma and Kalene missionaries were frequently frosty and the population remained more mobile because of their shifting cultivation. Here, schools frequently failed.

{40} For the two conflicting district officials' opinions, see Vaux, 12 Nov. 1936, Tour Report, C 1/8/4/2; and Price, 4 Dec. 1937, Tour Report No. 9 of 1937, "Mwinilunga Tour Reports, 1933-39," SEC 2/953. See also the Acting Director to DC, Mwinilunga, 30 Nov. 1936, C 1/8/4/2, NAZ. This correspondence was pieced together from separate files; unfortunately, reference to the correspondence with the Chief Secretary is missing.

Even Christian chiefs had trouble keeping village schools open in areas with small shifting populations. Thus at the inaugural meeting of the Kasempa Local Education Committee, the DC harangued local chiefs about encouraging people to form larger and more stable villages. {41}

In his 1938 report, Opper stressed that his Mwinilunga tour had helped him understand how the NWP's "remoteness and sparsity of population" generated special educational problems. To visit the district's three mission stations and "19 of its 25 outschools necessitated a seven week's journey of over 1500 miles." The NWP's scattered population and large area hindered the development of a modern educational system. {42}

Fourth and most fundamental, the missions were poor and the government miserly. Few of these village schools received any government financing because they lacked qualified African teachers and had to be officially registered as sub-schools. This disqualified them from receiving grants. In turn, the lack of government funds strained the missions' feeble resources, so they could only

{41} For the DC's harangue, see SEC 1/540. Besides the citation in the previous footnote on Kakoma's alleged awkwardness, see also C. M. N. White (Cadet), Tour Report No. 5/38 and N. S. Price's comments thereon, both written in Jan. 1939, SEC 2/953, NAZ.

{42} Opper, 1938 Report, C 3/4/4. For a more general reflection on the region's low population density and education, see Facey (DC, Kasempa) to PC (Ndola), 30 Sept. 1939, "Compulsory Attendance and Abolition of School Fees," SEC 1/441, NAZ.

pay African teachers and evangelists poorly and reluctantly. Even Chitokoloki was taken to task by Department of Native Education officials for not supplementing its meager grants for trained teachers. {43}

This situation made the lives of teachers in the village schools difficult. While stressing that these teacher/evangelists still did as well as possible with the little they had, Silas Sameta noted that Elsie Burr:

Found it difficult to pay full salaries to the teachers because they had no money to pay them. They were sometimes giving them five shillings. On the other hand, she was helping by giving the teachers' wives some dresses and some children's clothes. Sometimes a jersey for the teacher to help him. But no big salary 'because we have no money. This is God's work, you must go ahead. You can't ask us to give you plenty of money; we are poor, where are we going to find money'? From that time the teachers were working hard, even so, to teach the children how to write and how to read well. {44}

Fifth, only a few trained teachers were available. By the late 1930s all mission educators wanted trained teachers badly for the outschools. Educational costs would decrease with qualified staff as the Department of African Education would provide grants to 'sub-schools' that had been upgraded to 'schools'. In 1938 intradepartmental correspondence between Oppen and the Director reaffirmed that although Kasempa and Solwezi Districts were 'backward' the

{43} Cottrell took Suckling to task on the latter matter as quoted in App. K; see the Cottrell appendix. For the original document, see SEC 1/550, NAZ.

{44} Sameta interview.

SAGM missions could not be given grants to employ untrained village school teachers. The Department believed that this refusal was a necessary carrot and stick to make the SAGM improve. Rather these two officials asserted Kaseempa and Solwezi Districts could "best be helped by special assistance to the [the SAGM's] mission station schools." {45}

The government made its point. Kalene, Mutanda, and Mukinge all took definite steps to improve their quality. But weak educational infrastructures take years to improve. Only late in the 1930s and early in the 1940s did the missions produce qualified students who could upgrade their 'sub-schools'. Even then the focus of this upgrading was Suckling's Chitokoloki. {46}

Qualitative Educational Improvements:

Middle and Upper Primary Schools and Teacher Training

Although the Cottrell report jarred the NWP missions out of their educational lethargy, only Chitokoloki's

{45} Director of Native Education to Oppen, 29 Oct. 1938, attachment to Oppen's 1938 Report, C 3/4/4.

{46} On a short-term basis, the problem of no trained staff proved intractable. Of the few young men who stayed in school long enough, not all met these missions' strict moral standards. The missions also wanted them to be evangelists as well as teachers. Furthermore not all young men wanted to become teachers or had a suitable temperament.

infrastructure was sound enough to permit immediate qualitative advances. Since George Suckling did not have as many qualms as his colleagues about high quality education for Africans, he and James Caldwell, his brother-in-law, did as Cottrell insisted and presented their first Standard IV students for government examination in May 1933. This step and the candidates' success forged a path that led to Standard VI and teacher training in the late 1930s. Eventually, the village 'subschools' became full 'schools' in Balovale and other districts. Despite the difficulty in transportation between Kasempa and Balovale Districts at this time, even Mukinge and Mutanda sent some pupils to Chitokoloki. The Brethren missions at Kalene, Kamapanda, and Chavuma sent Suckling almost all their candidates for 'higher' education and teacher training.

Although Chitokoloki became the educational hub of the region, other mission schools improved considerably within the next seven years. In 1935 even Chavuma sent four ardent young Christians to Chitokoloki for Standard III and IV instruction and teacher training. (In addition to urging by Cottrell, local officials, and the new Roman Catholic mission at Lukulu, a 1935 visit from a Jeanes teacher had proved persuasive.) By the mid-1930s most stations had at least one trained mission educator or used prior educators more 'efficiently'. At Kalene, Agnes Riddell joined Elsie Burr and Roseannah Shaw Kaye. And to placate the government's insistence on a male educator, Charles Nightingale

later transferred from Sakeji to Kalene. Hilda Spong joined the Kamapanda/Mujimbeji missionaries. Edith Shoosmith, though untrained, expanded her initial efforts at Mutanda. She probably received help from Janetta Forman, the SAGM's first trained educator who developed a girls' school at Mukinge. Older women educators also made Kamapanda's and Chavuma's programs more 'efficient' in the late 1930s. {47}

These improvements focused on the mission station schools and the Standard IV examinations, but involved all three elements of the local district societies. Most mission educators sought out the brightest children and young men, preferably those who were Christians, and prepared them for government examinations, especially Standard IV. In the late thirties and early forties, Kalene, Mutanda, and Mukinge presented between four and twelve candidates per year. Kamapanda, Chavuma, and Mujimbeji did not do so until the early or mid-1940s, but adhered to the school code and sent a few men to Chitokoloki to complete Standard IV. With trepidation by many missionaries and with eager anticipation by many Africans living near the mission stations, the first students passed the examinations. For example, Kangasa Mutemba passed Standard IV in 1938; then in 1940 he also passed Standard VI after special coaching by Roseannah Shaw Kaye. Since he was the

{47} For Chavuma's motivations, see the interview with Sachilombo Manuwele at his home in Chavuma, 11 June 1976. For more information on these mission educators, see the last section of Chap. V.

first Mwinilunga man to pass Standard VI, people near the mission became very excited. He clearly remembers the events: "I was carried on someone's shoulders, singing, dancing, and so on. . . . My uncle was very happy and what he did was to load up his muzzle loading gun and [shoot] it off. It was a very happy day." No doubt many did not understand what Mutembu had achieved, but knew that he spoke English and had received an honor in the new social order. {48}

In the late 1930s and early 1940s the government administrators also strengthened the missions' resolve. At least every two years and generally every year, superintendents visited the mission station schools and some village schools. Equally important, local administrators visited all schools as part of their periodic district tours. As a matter of course they reported back to the Department of African Education.

Chitokoloki under George Suckling's overall inspiration continued its leadership role by producing the best trained and most systematically educated students. Under the supervision of Suckling and also Caldwell--and later under the care of Gordon Suckling, George Suckling's son--the regular school was raised to the level of first the Standard IV and then the Standard VI examination. Simultaneously, Victor Reed developed teacher training; and Peggy

{48}Interview with Kangasa Mutembu at his home in Mwinilunga Township, 7 Dec. 1976.

(Gilmour) Reed, assisted by (Mrs.) Nora Caldwell and (Mrs.) Agnes Suckling advanced women's education. George Suckling developed outschool and informal adult programs.

The first examination results boosted the mission's reputation among Africans and its own educational resolve. Six out of eight passed the mission's first Standard IV examination, a respectable pass rate of 75%. Caldwell continued to equal and expand these totals and percentages. In 1939, for example, fifteen passed Standard IV. Then with government encouragement, the mission also offered a Standard VI course of study. Thus some of the brightest pupils went straight into the upper standards. {49}

By the early 1940s Gordon Suckling took over the senior Standard VI class from Caldwell, his uncle. Students continued to receive a well-rounded education: trades training, modern instruction in sports and drill, and training in the arts, especially singing and drama. These endeavors led to success in 1944 when thirty-two young men passed Standard VI, the "highest number in the whole territory. Four of them [were] selected for secondary education at Government expense in a government school at Lusaka." For at least one sparkling moment, Chitokoloki took the NWP to the pinnacle of educational success and showed

{49} For the first examination results in 1933, see the interview with Chizawu. For the 1939 results, see H. Deubler, 22 July 1939, Echoes, 68 (Oct. 1939), p. 270. One 1939 government report indicates that Chitokoloki had six men in Standard VI by 1939: Jones, "Balovale Tour Reports, 1938-40," Tour Report No. 6, 1939, SEC 2/988, NAZ.

what this 'backward' region could do. {50}

Meanwhile enrollment in all the standards continued rising at the mission station school. Although the government refused to provide subsidies for boarders in the lower and middle standards, Suckling took in anxious boys or girls who did not live near a village school. Thus total enrollment at the school rose from 200 in 1936 and 250 in 1939 to over 500 in 1945. Many were boarders. This kind action helped isolated but ambitious young people get an education. But it also strained the mission's budget. {51}

The second advance, Victor Reed's Normal School for training teachers, was intertwined with these improvements in the mission school. Cottrell laid the foundations for this training when he accepted George Suckling's protests against sending young men to the line of rail for training. Ensuing mission-government negotiations resulted in the highly qualified Victor Reed starting this training in April 1935. Teacher training was first an extension to the

{50}For the 1944 quotation, see Suckling, Echoes, 73 (Dec. 1944), p. 93. See also the Gordon Suckling interview. Initially students sat their Standard V and VI examinations after a two year course of study beyond Standard IV. By the mid-1940s Standards V and VI frequently took three years with the latter being divided into 'upper' and 'lower' sections.

{51}For favorable African descriptions of Suckling's kindness in accepting pupils, see the interview with Chizawu and also with Peter Sayila. For the 1936, 1939, and 1945 statistics, see the following three articles in Echoes: Victor Reed, 65 (May 1936), p. 130; Suckling, 4 Sept. 1939, 68 (Dec. 1939), p. 320; and Suckling, 74 (Apr. 1945), p. 28. The last article may have been written in Dec. 1944 instead of Jan. 1945. No exact date is given.

Standard IV examination. But the divisions between teacher training and regular instruction in the standards slowly became more distinct. In 1940, for instance, Peter Sayila passed his Standard IV and became certified primary teacher. He asked to leave school to earn money. Suckling sent him to Kamapanda to become one of the first qualified African teachers at that mission. Then several years later, having earned the needed money, he returned and completed the higher standards. The totals in the teacher training program rose from seventeen in 1939 to "over forty" in 1942, and to sixty in 1944. By the mid-1940s when Peggy died and he left, Reed had developed a sound program that others like Alexander Nisbet continued in the postwar era. [52]

Shortly after arriving at Chitokoloki, Reed married Peggy Gilmour, one of Kalene's young missionary educators. With the help of Suckling's and Caldwell's wives, Peggy Gilmour Reed systematized women's education. Several interviewees especially Silas Chizawu, interpreted these improvements from a man's perspective: the young male students needed wives. While this undoubtedly was a catalyst, these three women and George Suckling realized that only women's education could produce Christian homes,

[52] For Peter Sayila's education, see his interview. I do not know the exact date of Reed's departure, but his name does not appear on a 1948 list of missionaries at Chitokoloki. For these 1939, 1942, and 1944 statistics, see the following articles by Reed in Echoes: 68 (Nov. 1939), p. 285; 71 (Aug. 1942), p. 60; and 74 (Jan. 1945), p. 5. See also the interview with Alexander and Marjorie Nisbet at their home in Sandhead, Stranraer, Scotland on 10 and 11 Jan. 1976.

the mission's long-term goal. Although many non-Christian parents were still unconvinced of the value in educating their daughters, enrollment rose steadily from sixty in 1937, to eighty in 1941, and finally one hundred and ten in 1943. In 1942 the first woman qualified as a teacher. Chitokoloki-educated women began taking a more active role in the new society. [53]

Developments in women's education elsewhere in the province paralleled, though they did not succeed as well as those at Chitokoloki. At all mission schools, enrollment in women's education increased. While homecraft and mothercraft lessons became important parts of this training, these girls soon began competing directly with their male peers in academic classes. Paradoxically, Kamapanda, Mujimbeji, and Chavuma--the missions most reluctant to start 'academic' education--started producing the finest young educated women. Lute, who impressed Cottrell at Kamapanda, became the first. Enforcing rigid conditions on their African adherents, these missionaries' strict standards resulted in Christians not only sending their daughters to school but keeping them from marrying until they were 'mature', i.e.,

[53] For an early letter by Peggy while at Kalene, see Gilmour, Echoes, 61 (Jan. 1932), p. 22. Agnes Yuell Suckling and Nora Yuell Caldwell were sisters. See the Chizavu interview. For the 1937, 1941, and 1945 statistics, see the following articles in Echoes: Suckling, 67 (Mar. 1938), p. 75; H. Deubler, 70 (Jan. 1941), p. 10; and Daisy Wareham, 73 (Jan. 1944), p. 5. For the first qualified woman, see Suckling, Echoes, 71 (May 1942), pp. 36-7.

old enough by Europeans' moral standards. [54]

Possibly the most noted and innovative educator in the NWP during the 1930s was Janetta Forman at Mukinge. Her letters and printed booklets reveal a person who rose above the conventions of her age, much like Melland, Pirouet, and Suckling. Although the scattered population of Kasempa and the poverty of the SAGM severely limited her immediate successes, she not only had an education and training comparable with Riddell's or Shaw's at Kalene, but also the energy of Burr. For example, when early Christians near Mukinge refused to pay three shillings to send their daughters to school, she waved the fee and traveled around the district like the Pied Piper of Hamelin. Having successfully convinced 'heathen' parents to entrust their daughters into her care, Forman tramped into Mukinge with these young 'bush' girls. Christians hastily added their daughters. From this humble beginning, systematic modern education for Kaonde women started. [55]

[54] Janetta Forman said of some of her best girls at Mukinge came from Chavuma and Mujimbeji. See her interview in St. Andrews, Fife, Scotland, on 12 Jan. 1976. The English word 'mature' is used often in modern NWP society to describe adolescent girls and to a lesser degree boys.

[55] For this incident, see her eight page pamphlet, How It All Began. Like the following, this pamphlet was privately printed by SAGM in England and had no date; the approximate dates are indicated below in parentheses. For her two most substantial pamphlets, see the Tent of God in Africa (late 1930s) and Thy Light is Come (late 1940s). She also wrote Meli, an African Schoolgirl (early or mid-1940s). Forman sometimes traveled with Nduwa "the dispensary orderly's wife . . . as guide counsellor and friend." Tent, p. 5. See also Forman's perceptive articles in Pioneer.

Only with such pioneers as these young African women does modern Africa begin. Although many western conventions were confused with good mothercraft, women educators from the missions did instill new hygienic standards. Thus these young African women received a better understanding of germs and disease. In the following decades one visible result was the large percentage of healthy babies who lived through childhood. Another visible result, as Chizawu observed, was that these young women married the brightest, ablest, and most ambitious young men. These pioneers later became models to the female half of the population. {56}

Meanwhile George Suckling not only expanded his village schools but also developed his own particular form of practical adult education. While other missionaries and senior African staff helped him supervise the village schools, he did much of the work himself. Although the total numbers of the village schools constantly changed and few statistics are available today, Suckling probably continuously operated between twenty and thirty outschools during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Some of them had government certified teachers from the middle of 1933, but as late as 1938 Peter Tregear, as Superintendent of Native Education, said that most of these outschools were hardly worthy of the name." Most remained 'sub-schools' like those elsewhere in the NWP. But by the early 'forties, when

{56}Chizawu interview. The large and healthy families of many Christians from the 1930s onward was obvious.

trained teachers emerged from Reed's Normal School, this situation changed. {57}

Concurrently with this supervisory work, George Suckling continued to encourage planting new agricultural crops, retailing and basic skills, printing at the mission and carpentry work throughout the area. Along with African assistants he assumed government building contracts at the boma. All African interviewees fondly recall him as extremely helpful to prospective small businessmen and farmers. {58}

This time between 1933 and 1945 was probably Suckling's best and worst. He suffered deep personal loss when two sons were killed in World War II, but then his remaining son joined him at Chitokoloki. While enjoying his greatest personal and educational successes, he engaged in long-lasting quarrels with both government officials and fellow missionaries. Partly because he was involved in so much and yet wrote so little, Suckling remains an enigma in this period of his life. Nonetheless, even a superficial unraveling of the details shows how his Christian vision

{57} For Tregear's comment, see his own appendix, quoted in App. K. The number of outschools remained very unstable after 1945.

{58} Especially see the Chizawu, Mwondela, Sayila, and Suckling interviews.

caused both Suckling's successes and problems. {59}

From his own perspective, Suckling felt harassed by forces beyond his control. If he was really as fractious and quarrelsome as local officials asserted, this sense of harassment may be the cause.

The first dimension to Suckling's feeling harassed was financial. As a faith missionary, his overseas funding remained tenuous and uncertain. Worse yet, government funding was still grossly inadequate in the late 1930s. While praising his work at Chitokoloki, officials like Cottrell strongly urged him to continue moving forward. But when Suckling expanded his activities, government grants did not keep pace. (Unfortunately, not even accurate approximations of his expenses exist.) Financial dilemmas involved him in local schemes to raise money, such as assuming government building contracts. He often did such work with

{59} Eddie (the eldest) and Kenneth (the youngest) were killed. Will George Suckling still prove to be an enigma in the future? I am not sure. As he wrote very little, this seems likely. It is possible, however, that he only seems this way because of my interviewing techniques and because of the people interviewed. Interviewees who described Suckling's later life, especially in the late 1930s and early 1940s, often had a lot to say but tended to be overly laudatory or vague, thus leaving major gaps necessary in evaluating his total achievements. Both formal and informal interviews with Gordon and other missionaries were politely vague, probably because they felt they might say something to hurt the continuing gospel work in the region or further information was too personal and none of my business, justifiable considerations. Nonetheless this reticence made my evaluation difficult. Africans that were interviewed worked closely with him in earlier periods but did not know his thinking in this crucial period. I realized too late that I should have interviewed several more individuals who worked closely with him at this time.

his African brethren. While these jobs were done in part to help these small African businessmen, government officials also believed that he needed money to sustain his mission work. In addition, Suckling probably exacerbated these financial problems through his old tendency of not carefully planning details nor keeping thorough financial records. With lots of heart he rather eclectically handled current crises. {60}

The Catholic 'invasion' and opposition from his fellow Brethren missionaries' increased his sense of feeling harassed. In 1935 the Catholics settled at Lukulu to the south and planned to move north. As Chizawu recalls, Suckling--like other Brethren missionaries--fought their advance "tooth and nail." For example, he initially refused to sell them Lunda and Luvala books for their schools.

{60} Individually sponsored, Brethren missionaries were very loath to discuss finances. Lammond stated the attitude clearly: It is a point of honour with us (most of us at any rate) not to discuss the matter of income." See Lammond to Director of Native Education, 26 Jan. 1931, "Johnson Falls, Education," C 1/8/4/1, NAZ. Available government references to grants for Chitokoloki are either vague or too specific to make a comprehensive evaluation possible. Silas Chizawu recalls that schools cost Suckling two thousand pounds sterling for at least one year in the mid or late 1930s, but this figure raises questions as to what amount, if any, was recovered from government. See also Cottrell's somewhat derogatory comment in his appendix, contained in App. L. On a very different note, see the following government records: 20 Apr. 1944, Newsletter No. 16 and the comment on the newsletter by Ag. Chief Secretary, H. F. C. Robinson, 25 May 1944, who very unusually commented on a newsletter, specifically defending Suckling. He said: "It appears that activities have been of assistance to Africans." "Kaonde-Lunda Province Newsletter," SEC 2/193, NAZ. Robinson collaborates Africans recollections in fn. 60.

(They wrote and asked him if this was Christ-like.) In 1938 Department of Native Education officials reported that Suckling was testy and hard to handle because he regarded them as pro-Catholic. {61}

By the end of this period other Brethren missions opposed Suckling. For unstated reasons his brother-in-law Caldwell opened Kabulamema Mission. Suckling's old colleague, Hansen, went to Kabulamema after abandoning his small, isolated Nyamboma mission west of the Zambezi. One government official felt that an "unhealthy rivalry" existed between the two missions in 1944. Furthermore, Chavuma and Mwinilunga missionaries disapproved of Suckling's unorthodox Brethren policy and actions, particularly his deep and successful involvement in the Barotseland secession dispute, his business undertakings, and his aggressiveness in expanding his village school program. Many of his specific actions in this period probably resulted from foiled ambitions and hurt pride. {62}

Suckling's implications in educational misunderstandings in the district culminated in a nasty little

{61} Silas Chizawu made thoughtful reflections on this 'invasion' in his interview. Regarding Suckling's belief that government officials were biased, see especially Peter Tregear's appendix in App. I.

{62} For the "unhealthy rivalry," see 10 Jan. 1944, par. 5 of Newsletter No. 15, SEC 2/193. Suckling's role in the Barotseland secession will be described in the next section. For the disapproval of other missionaries see 3 July 1944, Newsletter No. 17, SEC 2/193.

quarrel over the boma school. This came to a head in 1944. An ex-Brethren missionary married a Brethren businessman named Rudge and moved to Balovale township. In 1935 she opened a school that quickly gained popularity. She became offended when Suckling tried to incorporate the school into his outschool program. When in 1944 she withdrew her services, she precipitated a local crisis. Suckling's actions also outraged other missionaries, district officials, and even the new Lunda chief, Ishinde. Blaming Suckling for the crisis, local officials refused to give him control of the school. {63}

Actually the situation was far more complex and involved than this. In the aftermath of the district's secession from Barotseland--discussed later--modern tribal troubles arose in the district. Although many of the pupils spoke Luvale, the boma lay on the eastern side of the Zambezi River that was loosely designated as Lunda. The DC feared disorder could erupt in the region if the new Lunda Native Authority took it over and required instruction in Lunda. The DC urged the territorial government to make it a government school. In this case English could be used as the sole medium of instruction if Lunda or Luvale proved unfeasible. The territorial government eventually heeded the DC's pleas, but the quarrel helped direct the district's

{63} See the following government documents in SEC 2/193: 10 Jan. 1944, Newsletter No. 15, and 14 May 1944, Newsletter No. 17. See also Glennie (Ag. PC), to the Director of African Education, 3 May 1944, "Native Education, Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1944-46," SEC 1/569, NAZ.

new tribal problems toward the schools. {64}

The last dimension of the enigmatic Suckling was his Jeanes teachers. In 1932-33 his fears of moral corruption outweighed his desire to help Africans learn. Consequently, he did not send Jeanes candidates to Mazabuka immediately as Cottrell urged. Suckling did, however, train supervisors to help him visit the outschools. Only in 1939 did he send John Mwondela and Silas Chizawu. While the training that these men and others later received proved useful when they were appointed to positions in the Zambian Government, the Jeanes program by the early 1940s was dying. Suckling had waited too long. {65}

Alleged fractiousness and the Jeanes delay notwithstanding, Suckling's overall success vindicates him. Even these officials recognized him as the most energetic and

{64} In addition to the citations in the previous footnote, see the following government documents. In SEC 2/193, see the following newsletters: 14 May 1944, No. 17; 16 Oct. 1944, No. 18; No. 19; and second quarter 1945, No. 21. In SEC 1/569, see the following correspondence: Director (African Education) to Chief Secretary, 27 Mar. 1944; Ag. Chief Secretary to the Director, 30 Mar. 1944; the Director to Chief Secretary, 22 May 1944. Tribal quarrels that often focused on the schools and engulfed Suckling became a major issue after World War II.

{65} Suckling himself says nothing about why he did not heed Cottrell's strong 1932 injunction to send several candidates to Mazabuka for Jeanes training before 1939. His fears must be deduced from interviews, especially with Mwondela and Chizawu. Although Chitokoloki did not yet have a Jeanes teacher in 1939, the explicit duties of such teachers in Barotseland were outlined in "Advisory Board--Barotseland, 1936-42," C 3/4/1, NAZ.

successful educator in the NWP. As the senior missionary, Suckling deserves credit for Chitokoloki's considerable educational achievements. Its educational program became the largest component in both Balovale's and the NWP's modern educational system. As the upper primary and teacher training schools turned out increasingly qualified men and women, Suckling not only was able to convert his own 'sub-schools' into 'schools' but also was able to help other missions throughout Balovale, Kabompo, Mwinilunga, and even parts of Solwezi and Kasempa Districts.

An Era Ends

Six significant events affected education at the end of this era. The first four were very specific: the 1942 secession or excision of Balovale District from Barotseland; the 1941 appointment of the first government superintendent who lived within the province; the 1943 draft of a remarkably progressive five year development program for education; and the 1944 arrival of the SAGM's full-time male educator. The last two were more general: the beginning of mission competition and most important of all, the opening of Native Authority schools and formal inclusion of African representation on the Local Education Committees. Together these six events closed the period covered by this work.

The excision of Balovale from Barotseland had an indirect effect on education. This 1942 secession delineated the most significant boundaries of the eventual NWP. While Mankoya (Kaoma) District remained part of Barotseland, Balovale's educational as well as political and economic ties were redirected from the north-south Zambezi Valley toward Kasempa, Solwezi, Mwinilunga and the Copperbelt. By 1954 this reorientation led to the present-day NWP, with Solwezi as its headquarters.

The secession is also indirectly tied to education because Suckling's and Caldwell's successful representation of the Balovale peoples. With a genuine desire to help, Suckling included the secession in his general scheme of action for the district. In 1939 one DC observed that "Chitokoloki mission appears to have identified itself closely with the life of the district and the relations between it and the native chiefs are on a sound footing. Barotse elements in the district, however, tend to suspect the mission because they feel it has encouraged the local chiefs in their opposition to the Paramount Chief and the Lealui Kuta." But Suckling's motivation was probably deeper. African interviewees felt that government disliked him playing this active role as representative. Thus his misunderstandings with government and his feelings of harassment may have motivated him. Just as his evangelism included formal educational programs, it seemed also to include protecting the district from the Lozi. In the

process, Suckling broke a basic Brethren maxim: "The missionary embarks on no political reforms or agitations; he preaches the Gospel." As a result Suckling eventually even traveled to England to justify his actions to supporters. He permanently etched his name on the region's history, however, by helping to change the region's political geography. {66}

Before the secession climaxed, the Department of African Education stationed D. B. Roberts at Kasempa as the African Education Officer (a new title for Superintendent). Roberts immediately began organizing seminars and refresher courses for missionary educators and African village teachers. But his presence was more important than what he actually achieved. His arrival suggested that the territorial government had serious intentions about education. As indicated in Foster's initial statements during the ~~the~~ first meeting of the Kasempa Local Education Committee, many missionaries rejoiced that they could soon wash their hands of 'academic, higher' education. Others feared, however, that when education left their control, it might become merely godless training. Government officials, on the other hand, felt that more concrete educational advances could be made and the region's educational future could and would be much more rosy. African leaders were

{66}For the first quotation, see Jones, Tour Report No. 6, 1939, "Balovale Tour Reports, 1938-40," SEC 2/988, NAZ. For the second quotation, see the introduction to Chap. V.

delighted. For them, Robert's arrival heralded education without evangelization. {67}

The government's new five year development plan for education--given in Appendix M--was closely related to Robert's work. He wrote the plan after considering suggestions by the DCs. It proposed lifting the NWP out of its rut and vastly expanding its educational system.

The Provincial Commissioner wrote a supplement that accompanied the plan and this provides an exceptionally insightful and modern analysis of the region's educational problems, particularly those related to its 'backwardness'. Like Cottrell, the Provincial Commissioner defended the people against the claim that they lacked ability. Instead, he chided all three elements of society for the problem. First, he asserted that the missions had not been "whole-hearted in their educational work" and also had been monopolistic. Then he blamed the government for administering the region on unduly "paternalistic" rather than on progressive lines." He believed:

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

{67} For the Kasempa Local Education Committee meeting, see SEC 1/540. Especially see the interview with Remus Kalepa, who shared an office with Roberts.

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. [68]

While Roberts and the new plan signaled the dawn of a bright new age, clouds quickly gathered. Roberts left abruptly at the end of 1944 and was not replaced within the province despite the Provincial Commissioner's frantic telegram that ominously warned, "AFRICAN OPINION REGARDING NEGLECT VERY STRONG." First the war made replacement difficult and later policies were modified when the provincial headquarters was moved to Ndola. The implementation of the five year plan was only partly completed. Four years of education for all children in the province became an endless dream. Despite the fact that Africans themselves later picked up the 'backwardness' argument and boldly proclaimed that they were truly behind other provinces and thus required disproportionate funding to catch up, the required funds were never allocated. [69]

While the government first signaled a new age and then reneged on its promise, the NWP missions improved their performance. First, Peter Letchford, with his perceptive

[68]C. (or E.) Munday. See "Five Year Development Plan: Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1943," SEC 2/279, NAZ. Quoted in App. M.

[69]For the telegram of 14 July 1945, see SEC 1/569. For an example of Africans' use of the 'backward' theme, see a letter from Chief Kasempa for Kaonde Native Authorities to the governor on 2(?) Sept. 1946, "Redistribution of Districts: Western Province, Inclusion of Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1945-7," SEC 2/46, NAZ.

leadership and with appropriate government grants, immediately helped the mission fulfill government requests. The SAGM suddenly made advances paralleling those at Chitokoloki in the previous decade. With the return to the region of two of the best trained Lamba- and Kaonde-speaking men, Tito Kibolya and Aaron Ngalande, Letchford raised the school to a Standard VI level and included teacher training. John Wright and more African staff later followed. Suckling and Letchford even conferred about the possibility of a new secondary school. While this plan for a mission-run secondary school failed, education rapidly became systematized throughout the province. [70]

The two more general series of events that closed the era are the cause of the missions doing much better even though the government reneged. The Local Education Committees in which leading Africans and the missionaries started to meet formally on an equal basis is the most significant on a long-term basis. It is a focus of the next chapter. The other, competing missions, was more important as a short-term catalyst for educational expansion in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

In 1934 the Capuchin Fathers settled just south of Chitokoloki, enormously upsetting Chitokoloki and Suckling. The spiritual war that ensued goaded Suckling in establish-

[70] See the interviews with Aaron Ngalande, Tito Kibolya, Peter Letchford, Alexander and Marjorie Nisbet. For the aborted plans, see the Nisbet and Letchford interviews. For Letchford's first impressions, see "Is He Wrong?" in Pioneer, 59 (May/June 1945), p. 10.

ing and ~~the~~ improving outschools throughout the district. It also helped motivate Chavuma. In addition, this new competition in Balovale correctly indicated what was going to happen in other areas.

While World War II hindered Catholic missionaries settling prior to 1945, sites were chosen in all districts and plans were made. In the meantime, men like Letchford hastened these evangelical Protestants' educational work. Africans were to benefit from the fact that the period ended amidst a flurry of religious competition, a new phenomenon.

Despite this flurry of educational activity by the missions in the early 1940s, the following 1945 statistics of children between the ages of eight and sixteen who attended school clearly show that education in the NWP remained at the bottom of the heap in Northern Rhodesia. The highest district percentages were Livingstone with 93%, Chinsali with 75%, and Kawambwa with 71%. The lowest district percentages outside the NWP were Namwala with 24%, Mumbwa with 20%, and Fort Jameson with 19%. In the NWP Kasempa had 19%, Mwinilunga 16%, and Balovale 16%. The provincial percentages for the whole territory were: {71}

Northern	47%
Western	47% (i.e., Copperbelt)
Southern	46%
Barotseland	44%
Central	41%
Eastern	26%
Kaonde-Lunda	16% (i.e., NWP)

{71} Chief Secretary to Director of African

Past chapters have provided several explanations for these deplorable statistics; but by 1945 NWP society was no longer to blame. Despite the missions' general philosophical reservations and poverty, leading mission educators like Suckling and Letchford were prepared for and capable of making great advances. Local officials were likewise prepared to do their part. And, as will be described in the next chapter, African leaders were anxious to change the situation. Once again, the territorial government did not properly finance African education by allocating funds to make up for lost time. This time the reluctance proved fatal. From the government's perspective, the people and the resources of the NWP were best forgotten and left for future development.

Thus the NWP became the Cinderella province. Or perhaps it was actually a Sleeping Beauty province which needed only a rich prince to awaken it. If the latter were true, either the new territorial boundaries stopped him, or the journey from the line of rail was too great, or the tsetse killed his horse. In any event the prince never came. The NWP's educational system, like its economy, remained in a sleepy stupor.

Education, 15 Jan. 1946, "General Scheme for African Education, SEC 1/510, NAZ; these statistics appear in schedule D entitled "Assisted Mission and Native Authority Schools." Although in 1945 twice as many students attended school in Balovale as in Kasempa District, the former's population was much larger.