

THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND ACTIVITIES OF
THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH MISSION IN
ZAMBIA UP TO 1976

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation presented is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for a degree at the University of Zambia or another University

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This dissertation of Richard Shadreck Lupiya Banda
is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for
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A B S T R A C T

This study attempts to investigate the educational policy and activities of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Zambia from 1899 to the time it handed over to the government its primary schools and the only secondary school, Katete, in 1976.

The Afrikaners of South Africa have for long been associated with racial discrimination and oppression of the black people. It is interesting to ascertain why and how members of the same people, now in the name of the Dutch Reformed Church, pursued policies that were intended to enhance African advancement through education. Secondly, bibliographic inquiry does not reveal any previous comprehensive inquiry into the educational work of the Dutch Reformed Church in Zambia. It has been a neglected area of study and this makes the study not only significant but even more so urgent and imperative if we are to fairly assess the contribution the church has made to the educational development of the country.

Chapter One centres on the geography and population of the Eastern Province; the cultural, social, economic and political position of the people in the area on the eve of the arrival of the church and the brief history of the

origin of the Dutch Reformed Church and its activities in Central Africa.

Chapter Two makes an inquiry into the education policy of the church. The origins of the policy are discussed in relation to the mother-body in the Orange Free State. A further investigation is made to ascertain the relevance and suitability of the policy to the local conditions.

Chapters Three and Four attempt to make an assessment and comparison of the policy set and what actually went on in the field. And Chapter Five discusses the establishment of a secondary school at Katete. This, to a large extent, represented a change of policy for the church. The church had previously believed in providing only elementary education to the people.

The study concludes with an evaluation of the educational work of the church and finds out if it managed to establish a local church which would be self-supporting, self-governing and which could expand from its own inner strength as was its ultimate aim.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

It is with much gratitude that the results of this study are hereby presented. While it would be impossible to mention every single body or individual, whether relative, friend or even complete stranger who at one stage had rendered assistance, a few should be singled out.

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I would like to express my heartfelt thanks and gratitude to Gertrude Masiye my wife who not only encouraged me to continue when she was in great pains herself but proved a good mother to our six children, Betty, Agness, Victoria, Shadreck, Simon and Edward. Her pride and reward is the presentation of the dissertation. To our children, I would like to say that their perseverance in my long periods of absence from home has been the driving force behind my efforts.

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NOTE ON SOURCES

The documentary record of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Zambia is sparse. A large number of valuable documents which would have been of help to the study, were transferred to Bloemfontein in South Africa. It is believed that most of these documents were written in Afrikaans, a language I do not know. A research visit to Bloemfontein was not possible for reasons which perhaps need not be elaborated.

Furthermore, it is believed in church circles that, on the eve of their departure for South Africa in 1970, the white missionaries, out of frustration and disappointment, destroyed a large amount of varied and valuable documents.

It will be noted therefore that the production of this dissertation depended largely on the files in the National Archives of Zambia and on the collection of the University Library. Admittedly, I managed to get some useful notes from the few remaining archives of the church in Katete and personal interviews with some old teachers and scholars of the church. I was unsuccessful in getting clearance for a research visit to Nkhoma Mission in Malawi, where considerable material of interest to the early years of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Zambia would have been consulted.

Nevertheless, I trust that though based on incomplete sources, my study is essentially accurate and provides the most comprehensive account of its subject to have been prepared thus far. I would welcome the efforts of later scholars with better access to the mission's records than I have been able to achieve.

C O N T E N T S

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CHAPTER ONE

THE SETTING, AND THE ORIGIN OF THE MISSION

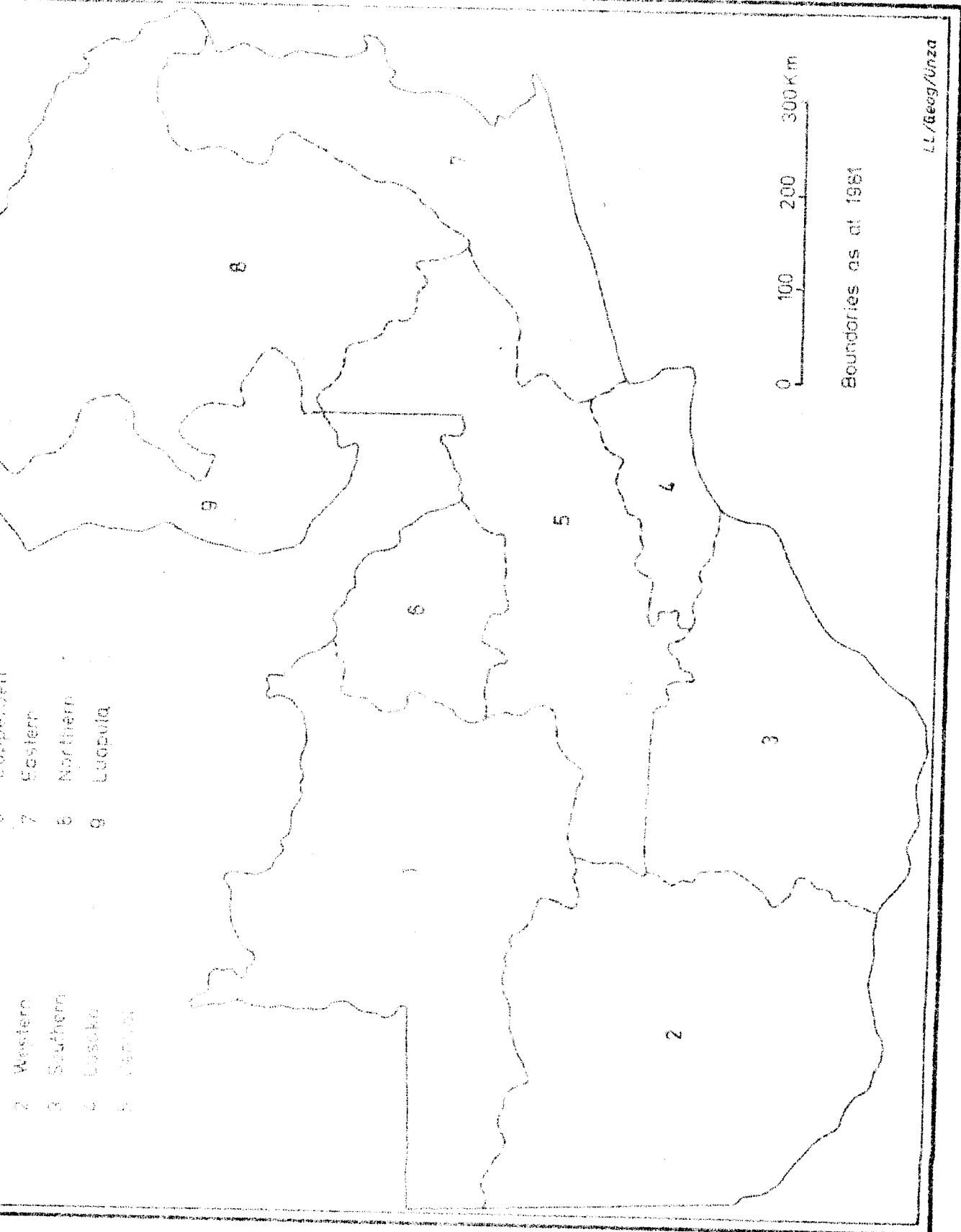
CHURCH IN CENTRAL AFRICA

This chapter attempts to give an outline of the geography of the Eastern province and its population from the early modern period, around 1910. It also endeavours to give a brief history of the origin of the Dutch Reformed Church in Central Africa with its base in South Africa. The church's first encounter in Zambia was with the Ngoni, hence the need to give a short cultural description of the Ngoni then and show how and for what purpose the British authority was established amongst them.

Geography and Population

Zambia with an area of 753,000 sq. km. is made up of nine provinces (see map 1, p. 2). Eastern province borders Malawi in the east and Mozambique in the south, and Luangwa river provides a natural boundary in the west with Central and Northern provinces. The province is generally a plateau with isolated highlands. The plateau stretches continuously from lake Malawi in the east to Luangwa river in the west and from Isoka in the north to Zambezi river in the south. Luangwa river with its tributaries Lutembwe, Lundazi, Msandire, Nyimba and many other smaller streams form the major drainage system.¹

Map 1



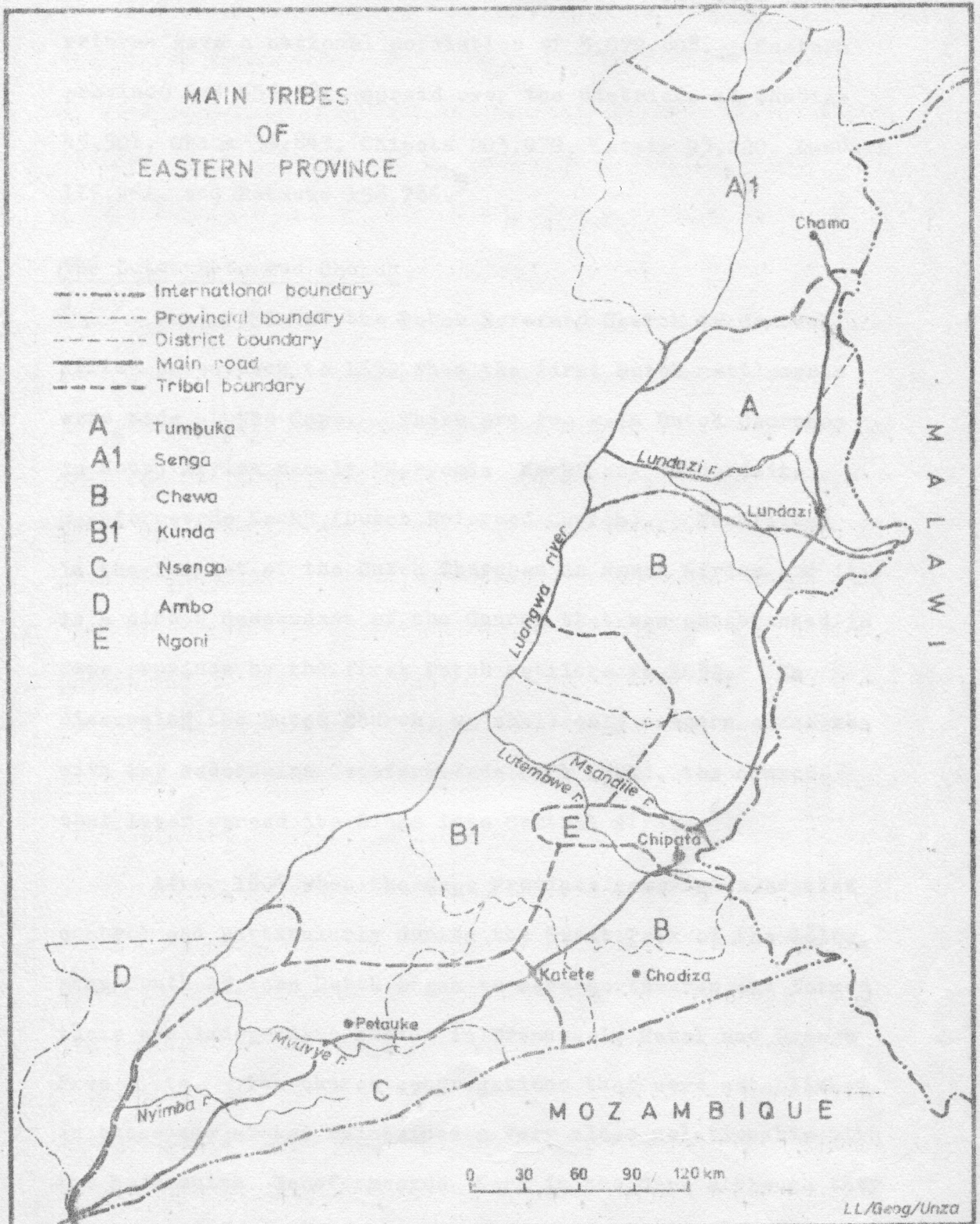
Eastern province covers an area of 69,106 sq. km. and is made up of six districts namely Chadiza, Chama, Chipata, Katete, Lundazi and Petauke, each with its Boma or district administrative centre. Jumbe, Nyimba and Sinda are sub-district centres. Chipata is the provincial administrative headquarters. The province is linked with the rest of the country by the Great East Road and by weekly air services. The province is an agricultural area mainly growing maize, groundnuts, cotton and tobacco and rearing cattle. It is also famous for its game reserves in the Luangwa valley.²

The peoples found in the province are: the Senga who are chiefly settled in Chama district; the Tumbuka in Lundazi; the Chewa who are the largest single group found in north-eastern part of Chipata, Chadiza and Katete; the Kunda mainly in Jumbe area west of Chipata; the Ngoni around Chipata; the Nsenga covering Petauke and Nyimba areas; and the Ambo who are a small population along the southern Luangwa valley (see map 2, p. 5).

In 1912, East Luangwa which was made up of Ft. Jameson, Lundazi and Petauke districts had an estimated population of 147,687. It should be noted that the mentioned districts covered large areas. Lundazi covered the present Chama and Lundazi districts. Ft. Jameson covered the present Chadiza, Katete and Chipata districts and Jumbe sub-centre. Petauke covered the present Nyimba and Sinda sub-centres and Petauke district. By 1935, however, Eastern province had an estimated population of 245,000.³

More reliable figures became available in 1963, with the first full census of the African population. However, the 1969 population census was better supervised and covered the country more effectively. The returns for this census gave a national population of 4,054,000. Eastern province alone had a population of 509,515 spread over Chadiza 32,221, Chama 30,887, Chipata 148,658, Katete 80,616, Lundazi 92,247 and Petauke 124,886. It was estimated in 1979 that the population

Map 2



in the province had increased to 65,000.⁴ The 1980 census returns gave a national population of 5,679,808. Eastern province had 656,381, spread over the districts as Chadiza 45,501, Chama 36,843, Chipata 203,970, Katete 93,220, Lundazi 117,961, and Petauke 158,786.⁵

The Dutch Reformed Church

The origin of the Dutch Reformed Church in Central Africa dates back to 1652 when the first Dutch settlements were made at the Cape. There are two main Dutch Churches in South Africa namely "Hervomde Kerk" and "Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk" (Dutch Reformed Church). The latter is the largest of the Dutch Churches in South Africa and it is a direct descendant of the Church that was established in Cape province by the first Dutch settlers in 1652. In discussing the Dutch Church, we shall only concern ourselves with the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK), the church that later spread its wings into Central Africa.⁶

After 1806 when the Cape Province came under British control and particularly during the Great Trek of the 1830s, many South African Dutch began to move northwards and formed their own independent states in Transvaal, Natal and Orange Free State. The church congregations that were established in these new states maintained a very close relationship with the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk in the Cape although they later seceded from the mother body and established independent

synods. Nevertheless, candidates for the Ministry of the church were trained at the NGK. Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch. All four independent churches of the Dutch Reformed Church, it should be noted, have had the same doctrine and since 1906 have had a common bond of union in their Federal Council.⁷

The activities of the Dutch Reformed Church in Central Africa were controlled by two provincial synods of the same church, each having its own mission field. Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia became the responsibility of the Cape Synod while Northern Rhodesia was administered by the Orange Free State synod. This development needs to be borne in mind should we wish to understand the sometimes different policies that arose between the church in Nyasaland and that in Northern Rhodesia.⁸ The differences are not discussed here because it is a theme outside the scope of this study.

In the 1880's "the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape Colony was stirred by a deep growing religious awakening"⁹ and in 1886 a Ministers' Missionary Society was formed in which every member undertook to contribute between £5 and £20 annually to support a missionary abroad, outside Cape province. It had an initial membership of forty ministers. Almost at the same time at the Dutch Reformed Theological Seminary in Stellenbosch, a students' society was formed also aimed at extending religious work into the outer

world. The establishment of these religious bodies marked the inauguration of a new era in the history of the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa.

The Dutch Reformed Church of the Cape first started its Central African work in Nyasaland. The ministers' mission society with the approval of the Cape Synod decided to send one missionary, Andrew Charles Murray, to Nyasaland in 1887. The decision to send a lone missionary to Nyasaland was influenced by, among other factors, the Free Church of Scotland, which "offered" the Dutch Church a vast area which was not occupied by other Churches in the country. It was also due to the willingness of the Free Church of Scotland to take the Dutch mission under its wings. It was possible for the Free Church of Scotland to come to the assistance of the Dutch Reformed Church because both churches were of the "reformed" church persuasion stemming from John Calvin. In August 1887 in an open letter, the ministers' mission society stated that:

"We should not venture to recommend that a single missionary be sent to a new sphere of work situated at such a distance, were it not that the Free Church of Scotland is prepared to receive him as a brother in the midst of its missionaries as though he was one of them".¹⁰

The United Free Church of Scotland established the first mission station in Nyasaland in 1876 at Cape Maclear.

The station was in 1881 transferred to Bandawe. This mission station which had a school, a church and an industrial workshop was named Livingstonia in memory of Dr. David Livingstone. It was headed by Dr. Robert Laws. When the Dutch Reformed Church arrived in Nyasaland in 1888, Livingstonia mission had made headway in its educational and religious work and was in a good position to assist the new society. This was manifested in the invitation it extended to the Dutch Church.

The Dutch Reformed Church mission's venture into Nysaland was its first outside South Africa. This helped to awaken greater interest in mission work among the Cape Church. As Pretorius has commented;

"A mission outside South Africa would help bring the Church into contact with a completely pagan society and this would widen the vision of the Church and stimulate interest in mission work".¹¹

Andrew Charles Murray arrived in Nyasaland in 1888 and the following year was joined by T.C. Vlok. Mvera Mission, their first mission station in the country, was opened in 1889. The Dutch Church used Cicewa books prepared and used by the Free Church of Scotland in its stations. The success of Andrew Murray in establishing his Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland is greatly owed to the encouragement and help he received during the initial years from Dr. Robert Laws and the Livingstonia mission.¹²

On the Northern Rhodesia side, the Dutch Reformed Church mission's first encounter was with the Ngoni of Mpezeni. The original homeland of the Ngoni was what is now Zululand in South Africa. They left it with their leader Zwangendaba in about 1820 after a quarrel with Shaka. They moved northwards, swelling their numbers with captives as they went.

The death of Zwangendaba in about 1845 led to the split of the Ngoni. Mpezeni, however, managed to create a permanent Ngoni settlement in Northern Rhodesia when in 1880 he killed Mkanda, the Chewa Chief, and overran his kingdom.¹³

The Ngoni and European intrusion.

Unlike their opponents, the Ngoni were deliberately organised and trained for war. As Roberts (1976) puts it, "the Ngoni were a warrior society. Fighting was thought to be the only proper occupation for men". While this was so, the Ngoni warriors were not full-time soldiers but they spent much time in agriculture and cattle herding. They also obtained grain and cattle by imposing tax on their Nsenga and Chewa neighbours and by sending out raiding parties. Through these methods Mpezeni was able to get most of what he wanted and thus attached very little importance to long-distance trade.¹⁴

Like the Zulu, the Ngoni developed a system of age-regiments, where every few years all the boys of a certain age-group would be recruited to form a new regiment. These would train and go to war together fighting in Zulu style with the short stabbing spear. The Ngoni increased their numbers by incorporating war-captives in their regiments. The captives became Ngoni. The military organisation of the Ngoni was a strong force for unity among the people. It was seldom that other tribes would organise themselves into a large force to defeat the Ngoni.¹⁵ Elmslie (1970) has drawn terrible pictures as eye witness of the havoc brought by the Ngoni upon other people:

"When it is remembered that every year during the dry season... the Ngoni armies were engaged in raiding expeditions, sometimes to the Southward against the quiet and industrious Chewa.... It may be imagined that the condition of these people was anything but happy and secure. I have seen an army, ten thousand strong, issue forth in June and not return till September, laden with spoil in slaves, cattle and ivory and nearly everyman painted with white clay denoting that he had killed some one"¹⁶

The imposition of European rule over most of Africa should be seen as the result of many factors among which were the growing rivalry among the European states as they became fully industrial powers and secondly their increasing need for cheap raw materials. They wanted raw materials such as cotton and rubber, and minerals (especially gold) and they needed these in large quantities. To satisfy

these demands it was only logical for the governments concerned to ensure that business was safe from African interference and that adequate security was provided for the lives and property of the whites.¹⁷

Many European powers were interested in the area into which the Mpezeni Ngoni finally moved in the 1870's. The plateau bounded by Luangwa, Shire and Zambezi valleys with its healthy climate, good pastures and alleged deposits of gold, attracted many travellers and was considered a very suitable area for European colonisation. The Ngoni country also flanked several trade routes from the Zambezi and lake Malawi inland to the sources of slaves and ivory. It was, however, appreciated that the Ngoni army was quite formidable and had to be neutralised in some way if European settlements were to be safe.¹⁸

By 1885 a German, Carl Wiese, was in Ngoniland and Mpezeni allowed him to trade and hunt in his country and also gave him a large mining concession. Wiese gained some influence over Mpezeni and hoped to turn it to the advantage of the Portuguese. In 1889, Rhodes persuaded the British government to grant his new company - The British South Africa Company - a Charter. This allowed Rhodes and his company to use the authority of the British government in making claims upon African rulers and gave his company powers

of administration. But in 1890, Mpezeni refused to make treaties with either Thompson or Sharp, official representatives of the B.S.A. company. Instead, Wiese sold his mining concession to the North Charterland company and in 1896 prospectors for minerals were sent and Mpezeni allowed them to begin work but was not prepared to submit to British rule.¹⁹

By 1891, the British South Africa Company was recognised by other European powers to have rights to occupy areas north of the Zambezi. Through persuasion and making of treaties with many African chiefs, the company came to terms with the Lozi, Bemba and the Lunda. This enabled the company to gain authority over a very large part of Northern Rhodesia. Interestingly, much was gained with remarkably little use of force. This was not the case with the country east of Luangwa river where the company came into contact with the Mpezeni Ngoni, as we shall note shortly.

It was here in Ngoniland that the only large-scale armed resistance to British occupation took place. The British South Africa Company intrusion as perceived by the Ngoni, posed a threat and challenge to their very existence as a people and their ways of life. The Ngoni had formed a small state of their own and organised it on the basis of segments. As stated earlier, the Ngoni were a warrior society and fighting was thought to be the only proper

occupation for men, and they could not see any future for themselves if war was prohibited. They regarded it as their right to raid their subjects. Hence, the Ngoni reacted very differently from the Bemba and other tribes to the European intrusion. The Ngoni united behind their leaders and went to war. It was war for survival. On the other hand, the Europeans themselves saw no alternative to fighting. They were determined to take over Ngoniland which many believed was rich in gold. They also wanted to subdue the Ngoni for easy recruitment as farm labourers on plantations that were emerging on the other side of the border in Nyasaland. Achieving these two objectives only meant defeating the Ngoni.²⁰

In 1897 a chance offered itself when reports reached Nyasaland that the Ngoni threatened the lives of Wiese and a British South Africa Company official. The Commissioner in Nyasaland gladly gave the company military support and on 19th January, 1898, the British launched an attack against Mpezeni who on 9th February surrendered. His son Nsingo, who was the army commander, was captured and shot. Ngoniland was subdued and it was now feasible for the British South Africa Company to establish its administration in North-East Rhodesia.²¹ This in brief was the position of the people in the Ngoni area on the eve of the arrival of the Dutch Reformed Church in Northern Rhodesia.

The Dutch Reformed Church in Northern Rhodesia

Prior to the attack and defeat of the Ngoni, Mpezeni in 1897 had requested the Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland to come into his area to establish itself among his people. Why chief Mpezeni who was considered fierce and unfriendly to the whites asked for missionaries is a mystery which requires some investigation. At present we are only able to speculate. Mpezeni himself might have realised his fate in the event of a confrontation with the colonial soldiers. Hence, his calling missionaries might have been a desperate strategy to prevent the attack. Roberts (1976) has observed:

"Mpezeni himself does not seem to have favoured war with the British, but his son Nsingo, who was the Ngoni war-commander, led a large group who were bent on fighting".²²

On the other hand, he might have lost control of his warriors and hoped that missionaries would help him regain control over them, since there was strong belief then that white missionaries had magical powers. This proposition is probable, especially when we realise that the Ngoni social system was based on segmentation. In due course, the various segments of the state acquired and developed different interests and gradually the power of the paramount chief declined. Furthermore he might have acted on advice from travellers as to what benefits he and his people would derive from the co-operation with missionaries.

Whatever the reasons, Mpezeni made his request to missionaries.²³

By 1897, the British South Africa Company had spearheaded the occupation and administration of Nysaland. Part of Northern Rhodesia too fell under the administration of the same company. Naturally when the Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland got the request from Mpezeni, they turned to Cecil John Rhodes, not necessarily to seek permission from him as head of the company, but rather to seek assurance of security and protection of its missionaries in the event of attacks or interferences from the Africans. They were advised to wait since trouble was about to break out between the Mpezeni Ngoni and Chartered Company.²⁴

After the unsuccessful resistance to British occupation in 1898, Mpezeni made yet another request to the Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland to start mission work amongst his people. Realising that their financial resources were limited and manpower force small, the Dutch Reformed Church of the Cape found it impossible at that time to open up a new mission field in Northern Rhodesia. It was not long after they had started work in Nysaland and Southern Rhodesia that Mpezeni's request was forwarded to the sister church, the Dutch Reformed Church of the Orange Free State. It was accepted and the Church decided to take Ngoniland for their sphere of operation.²⁵

However, due to the uncertainty the white missionaries felt over the sincerity of Mpezeni especially since the Ngoni had just surrendered in a war with the whites, the Orange Free State Synod decided, as a first move, to send two African evangelists to Mpezeni's country to ascertain the request and assess the situation before sending white missionaries.²⁶

It is very unfortunate to note that no records can be found of the two African evangelists who did so much to lay the foundation of the church. We do not know who they were, their original homeland and where they got their training as evangelists. The two evangelists reported favourably of Mpezeni's request when they returned to Nyasaland and in 1899 the first two white missionaries, Rev. Piet J. Smit and Rev. John M. Hofmeyr were sent out. On 5th July, 1899 they started mission work at Magwero²⁷ (see map 3, p. 40).

The period of the Boer war between 1899 and 1902 was a very sad period for the young church. Since the Orange Free State, a Boer Republic, was at war with the British this had adverse effects on the development of missionary work in the British territory of Northern Rhodesia. For several years work was almost at a stand-still since no further reinforcement was forthcoming into the field. The Dutch church in Nyasaland, which had been established by the Cape Synod, did everything to help their sister church in Northern Rhodesia. It was only after 1907 that new

missionaries from the Orange Free State began to arrive in the field, such as Rev. C.M. Hofmeyr, Rev. J.H. van Schalkwyk, F.J. van Eeden, Rev. C.P. Pauw and a medical doctor, Dr. J.K.A. Hofmeyr.²⁸ Until 1909, the missionary field of the Dutch Reformed Church in Northern Rhodesia was an integral part of that of Nyasaland. Thereafter, the Northern Rhodesia church had its own executive council but with representatives from Nyasaland.²⁹

The Dutch Reformed Church of the Orange Free State in Northern Rhodesia began its work at a time when the atmosphere was not very conducive both at home and in the new mission field. First, the aftermath of the Ngoni resistance to European occupation of their area, made the white missionaries very vulnerable to African suspicion. Second, the 1899 - 1902 Anglo-Boer war temporarily caused financial constraints on the missionary work and also cut drastically the supply of much needed manpower to lay a firm foundation. Third, the war greatly strained working relations between the British Company administrators in Northern Rhodesia and the Dutch missionaries who had all come from the Orange Free State.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE MISSION CHURCH

In this chapter we shall outline the educational policy of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission. We shall attempt to discuss the policy in three of its main dimensions, namely evangelisation, cultural preservation and language. The implementation of policy is left for the next chapter.

The educational work of the Dutch Reformed Church in Northern Rhodesia falls into four stages. The first stage covered the initial period up to 1909 when the church worked very closely with Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland and the Dutch Reformed Church of Nyasaland. The second stage lasted from 1910 to 1924, when the church was fairly established and began to develop its education on its own lines and gradually raise its standards. The Livingstonia Mission and the Dutch Church in Nyasaland, however, continued to influence the activities of the Dutch Church in Northern Rhodesia. The third stage began in 1925 when the colonial government set up a department of education for Africans and sought to co-ordinate the work of the various mission societies and set certain standards. The fourth stage began in the 1940's when further government organisation of education work especially for higher education, prompted the Dutch Church to adapt its policy and methods to these new developments.

Evangelisation

Ostensibly, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission's sole aim in coming to Central Africa was to spread Christianity among the people. The move, as earlier stated, was inspired by the invitation of the Free Church of Scotland into the unoccupied area of Nyasaland and also by the gradual religious awakening among Dutch people in South Africa to spread the Gospel.

The church looked upon the evangelisation of the people as the base upon which all other activities were to emerge. Retief (1958) echoed this consideration when he pointed out that mission work usually fell into three departments namely evangelisation, education and medical work but that evangelisation was the most important since it was the pivot upon which all mission activities should turn.¹

The policy of evangelisation was not only important to the work of the Dutch Reformed Church but it was the driving force to all its activities. William H. Murray, who in 1901 became the Head of the Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland, gave a policy statement on education to the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, in 1910:

"The primary objective of the mission school is to lead the pupils to an intelligent grasp of the Bible truth and through that . . . to a saving knowledge of the way of Salvation. To this all else is subservient . . . all our school work should tend to and be handmaid to this supreme purpose . . . the place of the Bible must be that of unchallenged pre-eminence."²

The close relation between school and evangelisation remained one of the basic principles in the work of the Dutch Reformed Church. The church never saw its task as providing secular education, but as providing an education permeated with and serving the interests of Christianity. Village schools were the vehicle both for evangelisation and mission education.³ We would say perhaps that the educational value of village schools was probably not very great, but in their primary purpose, namely to be centres of evangelisation and to spread knowledge of the Bible, the schools did fulfil the expectations of the church. van der Merwe (1929) in his assessment of the usefulness of village schools commented that "The Dutch Reformed Church soon found elementary education a very powerful method of evangelisation".⁴

In its pursuance of the policy of evangelisation, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission encouraged its church members to have, each, a Bible of his own and be able to read it with understanding. The church strongly considered that should secular education be attempted, it should be a mere tool with which to evangelise the people and that it was to be aimed at the masses in order to provide basic reading and writing skills to as many as possible, for Bible reading.

In 1924, an independent observer, Thomas Jesse Jones, leader of the Phelps-Stokes Commission on Education in Eastern Africa, commented on the educational policy and work of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa and elsewhere by saying:

"In the eyes of the Dutch Reformed Church mission . . . the education of the Native is a matter to be proceeded with cautiously and the school is always the handmaid of religion. The main objective of their schools is to instil a thorough knowledge of the word of God into the minds of the scholars old and young.⁵

Basically the policy of the church on education remained unchanged although its methods improved over time. Evangelisation which was directed to the greater masses still remained the pivot to all mission work. However as the colonial administration took a keener interest in African education, the Dutch Church no longer was to operate in isolation but rather became part of the wider British administration. The 1925 British policy on education for example, the details of which are left for the subsequent chapter, proposed many new educational practices and these proposals prompted the Dutch Reformed Church to make some adjustments to its policy on evangelisation.

The Church which considered elementary education as the only essential tool for evangelisation, was now compelled to include better and more advanced education for its scholars. This was a complete diversion from its original policy. It also had to differentiate between secular-school education and religious or Bible work, which previously were one. The Dutch Reformed Church was also forced to divert from its long standing policy of teaching the masses old and young together. It had to separate the young from the older scholars.⁶

In 1929 Krige, the principal of Madzimoyo school, tried to justify the mission's policy on mass evangelisation irrespective of age when he stated that:

"The young generation is not ripe for our scheme, whereas the older people realise the value of education. I have no doubt, however, that the time is coming when the youth will be more eager than their elders to procure the best we give them."⁷

The policy of evangelisation remained fairly consistent in the activities of the Dutch Church. Though government officials and even private individuals expressed dissatisfaction with the policy and what it offered, all acknowledged its success in enabling as many people as possible to read and write. For instance, in 1936, the Acting Director of Native Education, C.J. Oppen, expressed dissatisfaction with the policy which neglected education. At the same time he admitted that evangelisation had succeeded with the Dutch Reformed Church:

"The mission's policy based on religious and racial convictions, is to curb rather than to accelerate native development. Here again evangelisation is a clear winner. Education comes into the picture because one cannot know the Bible without being able to read."⁸

Their neglect of secular education earned them such blunt criticism, which according to the observers was a deliberate act by the Dutch who considered Blacks to be inferior to them. Two years later, in 1938 an educational superintendent, J.M. Winterbottom, repeated the sentiments of the Acting Director when he reported that:

"This policy has resulted in relatively very high percentage of population being able to read and write, but it has disgusted the better educated Africans."⁹

In pursuing the policy of evangelisation, the Dutch Reformed Church aimed also at developing an autonomous and indigenous church. The church used local Africans in its work of teaching and evangelisation. The church leaders avoided isolating the converts from the common life as was the case with some other mission societies who allowed and encouraged Christian colonies to be established at their mission stations. The church delegated as much responsibility as possible to the African church elders especially in respect of the spiritual and material welfare of their own congregation. In due course, the policy of evangelisation acquired more sophisticated dimensions. Pretorius, who for a long time had been an Educational Secretary of the Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland and once a teacher in Northern Rhodesia, expressed this policy in 1957:

"Its aim has always been to establish a local church which would be self-supporting, self-governing and which could expand from its own inner-strength. For this reason, it exerted itself to teach the people to make better use of natural resources at their very door. At the heart of the story of the D.R.C. lies the aim: A Bible-loving, industrious and prosperous peasantry."¹⁰

Closely linked to evangelisation, therefore, was the encouragement of industrial education. Industrial training was not aimed at turning out skilled artisans. The missionaries

were happier to see one of their scholars setting up for himself as carpenter in his own village than have him enter the employment of a European and ultimately compete with him.¹¹ This implicitly meant that the missionaries deliberately gave the scholar some rudiments of industrial craftsmanship to enable him to utilise the natural resources at his disposal to better his life and that of his people. It was not employment-oriented training but rather one that was meant to fit the individual usefully in his home environment. This policy was as true of agricultural training as it was of industrial learning. Population drift to European centres affected missionary work in that the rural areas were being deprived of young men who might become scholars as well as teacher-evangelists to help spread mission work. Lack of food in the Native reserves, because of poor soil and poor farming methods, and the need for money to pay tax were some of the many factors which encouraged this migration. To some extent the Dutch Reformed Church Mission embarked on agricultural training to improve on the food supply and help minimise the drift. The church considered permanent African settlements vital for their task of successful evangelisation. As Pretorius (1972) put it:

"In order to achieve its aim of building up a self-supporting self-propagating church, and to persuade the men to stay at home, the mission mounted a three pronged attack. Rapid expansion of village schools; village industries and agriculture and christian wives and mothers...."¹²

It was never the prime intention of the Dutch Reformed Church mission to provide secular education but it came in as an inevitable consequence of the expanding goals of the mission in relation to African society.

Cultural preservation and racial equality

Cultural preservation among the people was another salient aspect of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission policy. This policy affected the missionaries' attitude towards the Africans. The Dutch Church has been characterised by relative conservatism and an adherence to traditional morality. It has always supported the policy of independent cultural growth of different races.¹³ While the Church's policy was to encourage the preservation of African culture, it did not favour or allow those aspects of the African culture which the missionaries believed militated against Christian principles to be practiced by its adherents. While the policy on paper sounds favourable, what guarantee did the African culture have for a fair and just judgement? Rev. C.P. Pauw of Madzimoyo, rightly pointed this out in his address to the General Missionary Conference in 1924, when he appealed to fellow missionaries to appreciate the African and his culture if his nationality was to be preserved, by sparing no effort to understand him (African) and his ways of life:

"You cannot change the religion of a people without changing other things as well. Many missions do not confine themselves any longer to the conversion of the Natives but concern themselves also with education and other secular matters. For this task, of difficulty,

what is needed above all is such a thorough knowledge of Native life, of Native customs and their meaning and of Native ways of thought... as will enable the worker to know what are likely to be the ultimate results of his efforts in different directions and what are the surest and simplest means by which to bring about any result he desires."¹⁴

In 1935, the Mission Council of the Federated Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa formulated a policy which was accepted by all the respective synods. Among other aspects of the policy, the Council declared that:

"Evangelisation does not presuppose denationalisation. Christianity must not deprive the Native of his language and culture, but must eventually permeate and purify his entire nationalism.... Racial customs which do not militate directly against Christian principles, should not be condemned, but rather be preserved and enabled by the influence of Christianity."¹⁵

It is most probable, however, that much of African culture was condemned by the missionaries as a result of ignorance and racial prejudice.

The aims and activities of the Dutch Reformed Church wherever it operated were profoundly affected by its political as well as cultural philosophies. Some of the missionaries who came to Northern Rhodesia had been farmers in South Africa and most had grown up on farms and as a result they brought with them an appreciation of the importance of agriculture and simple village industries.¹⁶ Racially, these Dutch did not consider the Africans as equals. Andrew Charles Murray, the pioneer of the Dutch Reformed Church in Central Africa, quoted by Douglas (1925), said that "the Native individual was not to

be raised beyond his social class."¹⁷ This meant among other things that the African was to be seen as a child and needed in many respects to be treated as such. The African was not to be raised to a level where he would regard himself as equal to the whites. This cultural differentiation carried with it the implication that one race was superior to the other. In 1925 a Dutch Reformed Church missionary expressed the Church's stand on racial equality by saying:

"Our Church is composed of farmers, the Boers. We grew up with the Native and had an idea that the Native was the servant of the whiteman; that was wrong. We believe they have souls to be saved. Other people say to the Native, 'Oh', my brother. . .! We say that we must preach the Gospel and educate him too. He is not equal to us and we cannot make him so."¹⁷

Their racial feelings and their wish to segregate themselves from the Africans were not in the long run helpful to the development of their mission work. A Dutch Missionary in Northern Rhodesia expressed to Victor Murray that "we must educate and Christianise the Africans, but cannot have anything to do with them socially."¹⁹ This again was definitely attempting a quite impossible dualism. The missionaries failed to appreciate that their task of educating and evangelising the Africans entailed mixing with them socially. The approach would have given the missionaries an opportunity to win the confidence of the Africans and be able to understand them better and mobilise efforts to minimise differences. The whole movement

of social change that was bound to come because of the racial contacts, but which the Dutch Missionaries deliberately chose to delay, had to proceed together - trade, politics, religion and social interaction - and separating them is attempting the impossible.²⁰

African Language

Closely connected with cultural preservation was the policy on language to be used in their missionary work. The Great Trek in the 1830's in South Africa was, among other factors, a result of Boer resentment of being compelled to use English as an official language. They migrated to the north in search of independence from the British. These Boers, among whom some later became missionaries and church leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church, extended this resentment into their new fields. In 1924 William H. Murray, the head of the Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland, put in a very strong plea to the government for the use, preservation and development of the Native language. The plea was, however, strongly opposed by the Director of Education who said that the educational language of Nyasaland should in future be English.²¹

In 1931, addressing the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia, Rev. J.G. Strydom, who was the General Secretary of the General Mission Committee of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Orange Free State, made a contribution to the mission's policy on language. He stated in part that the

best method of a child's education in the beginning was his mother-tongue, therefore, no other language should take the place of the vernacular. When later on European language become the means of higher education, he emphasized that the vernacular was not to be neglected. He went on to say that the African should be educated as an African: "do not try to make Europeans or White people of them to copy and mimic the Europeans in everything. Their skin cannot be made white nor can their minds", he concluded.²² Not surprisingly, Strydom's policy statement was compounded with racial overtones.

The church's language policy was not always welcomed by the people themselves. Most people interviewed for this study such as Amon Banda, Teras Tembo, Jeremiya Banda and Matiya Tembo, pointed out that missionaries taught them in Cicewa and that they were not prepared to teach English. The missionaries made it known to the scholars that they did not come to teach English but to spread the word of God.²³ Many scholars were not happy with it. Teachers themselves wanted to learn English and in fact many left the service of the Dutch Reformed Church to go elsewhere where they could learn it.²⁴

This dissatisfaction was a threat to missionary work lest the church lose its influence on the people. The result was the introduction of teaching of English as a subject in their schools in 1929. Notably, the neglect of teaching English in their schools for almost thirty years of their

educational work was not to the best interest of the Africans and the development of education in the country. This was a big complaint against the church, manifested in what Tyndale-Biscoe, Director of Native Education, reported of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1938:

"We have been unfortunate in the quality of men sent to this country. They have not, on the whole been interested in the uplift of the African...."25

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CHAPTER THREE

POLICY AND PRACTICE: FORMATIVE YEARS OF MISSION POLICY AND ITS APPLICATION, 1900 - 1925

This chapter looks at how the policies were put into practice. The chapter begins with a discussion of what the Dutch Reformed Church aimed at making of the people, namely Bible-reading, industrious and prosperous peasantry with an ultimate goal of creating an independent indigenous church. The village schools which were the backbone of the mission's work are discussed in the context of their organisation, recruitment of teachers and the relation which existed with the customary authority. The second part of the chapter deals mainly with the period after 1918. It centres on the effects of government education policies on those of the Dutch Reformed Church. The discussion is first on the Native School Proclamation of 1918, then the 1925 Education Policy in British Tropical Africa.

Bible - reading society

It is most probable that the early missionaries understood little of the African religion and traditions and may have adopted less sympathetic attitudes towards what was good and worth preserving in the old customs. But we should appreciate that their efforts were made in the great

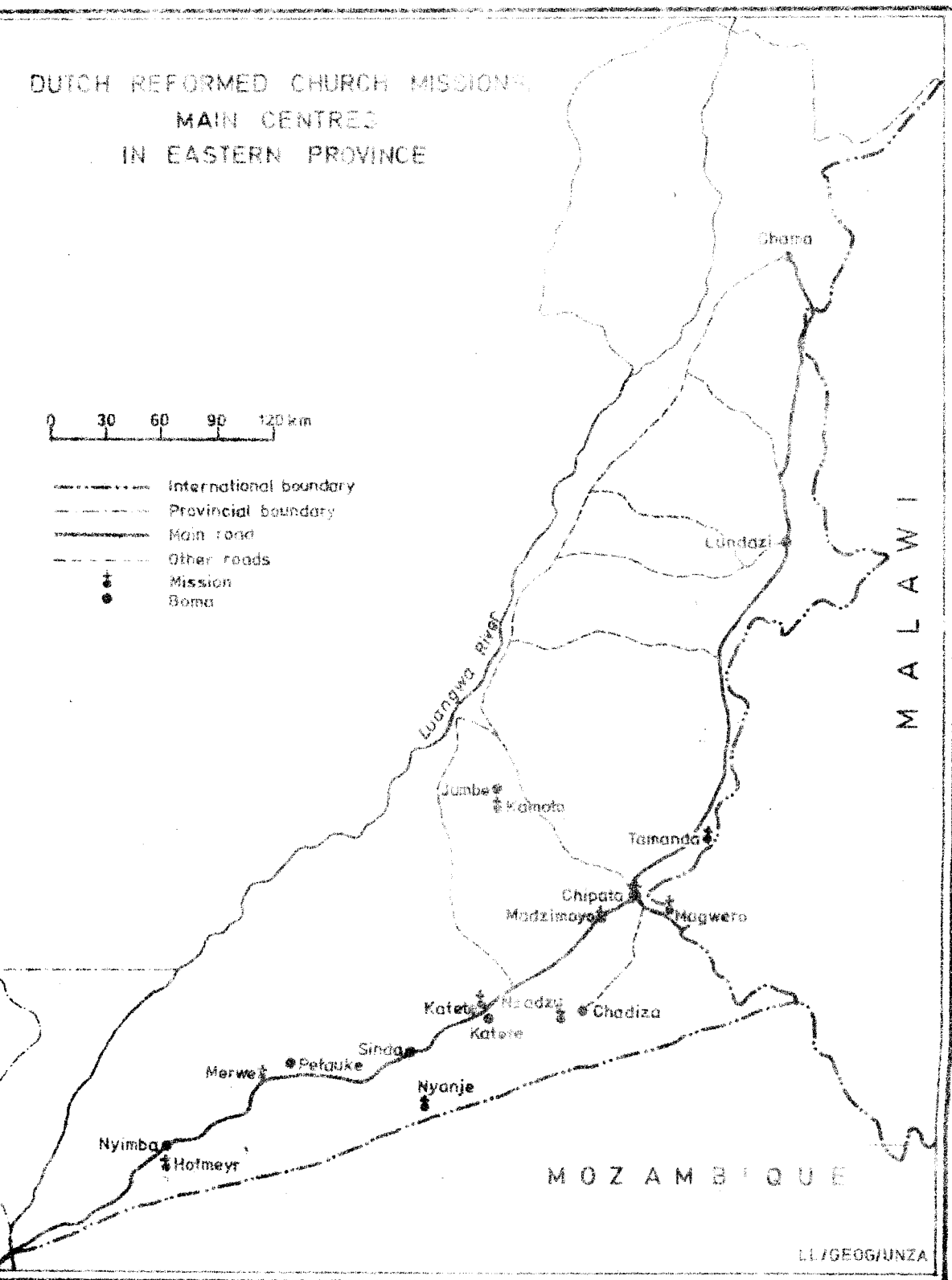
faith they had in the Gospel they hoped to spread and instil in the people. Christianity they considered was the better of the two and they felt it their responsibility to establish it among the Africans.

The Dutch church establishment put great emphasis on elementary education, the main aim being to spread the gospel to as many people as possible. During the first fifteen years of its establishment in Northern Rhodesia, the Dutch Reformed Church opened some six stations, namely Magwero in 1899, Madzimoyo in 1903, Nyanje and Fort Jameson in 1905, Nsadzu in 1908 and Hofmeyr in 1914 (see map 3, p. 40).¹ African teacher evangelists were given elementary training in these mission stations and later sent out into villages to establish village schools.

Village school classes were mostly conducted under a big tree. Scholars irrespective of age were accepted, and these scholars were mostly with only one teacher who did all the work including school administration, teaching and supervision of manual work. In some cases buildings were put up by villagers as classrooms and teachers' huts. The teaching in the village schools and in training centres for the teacher-evangelists was in Cicewa. Initially they used materials and books that were prepared by the Church of Scotland.² After 1907, however, when a printing press was installed at Nkhoma, most of the teaching materials and books were got from there.³ Nkhoma is the headmission station of the Church of Central Africa

Map 3

DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH MISSIONS
MAIN CENTRES
IN EASTERN PROVINCE



Presbyterian, formerly Dutch Reformed Church Mission of the Cape, in Malawi. The station is situated some 92km. south-east of Lilongwe. The recruitment of men who were to be teacher-evangelists was at the discretion of a white missionary-in-charge of a station. In the course of teaching a group of scholars, those who were able to grasp the skills of reading and writing quickly and were of good conduct were themselves given other groups of the same class to teach. The training of these teacher-evangelists, which usually lasted for a few weeks, covered reading, writing, arithmetic, Bible study and rudiments of hygiene. On completion of their training the teachers were given handbooks - Maphunziro ("Lessons" or "Education") - which had daily lessons for the year. The lessons were mainly concerned with scripture. The teachers were then sent into villages to establish village schools.⁴

The establishment of village schools was mostly with the consent of the people. As Rev. C.P. Pauw of Madzimoyo pointed out in 1914, his mission built no school or teachers' huts in the villages. Everything was erected by the villagers themselves. This was a proof that people in the village wished to have the schools.⁵ The mission's practice was to accept an individual as a Christian only if he were able to read the Bible on his own. The village schools in no time became centres of evangelisation and also centres from where to spread the knowledge of the Bible and the fundamental teachings of Christianity. Thus, the village school system

became the foundation and back-bone of a Bible-reading society. Snelson has commented that "more village schools were opened by the Dutch than by any other missionary society".⁶ This is a fair indication that there existed good relations between the local chiefs and the church and demonstrated the villagers' eagerness to learn. This assessment can be justified firstly, by the statement Rev. Pauw made in 1914 that school buildings and teachers' huts were erected by the people themselves; secondly, by the conditions that were laid down by the 1918 Native School Proclamation, that no school was to be established in a village without the chief's and the people's consent; thirdly the period up to 1945 saw a rapid increase in number of village schools established and enrolment in the D.R.C.M. Details will be found in Chapter four. We should note, however, that village schools were not intended to offer more than a rudimentary education.

The village school system encouraged decentralisation, because each school was expected to be supported in most of its needs by the local people, yet it maintained uniformity in education. All schools followed the same work through the use of prepared Maphunziro handbooks. The system enabled a considerable number of people to have a school within easy reach. Education took place in a person's home environment and within this cultural circle, so that the individual was expected to be evangelised but not alienated from his society.

Industrial society

The majority of the Dutch missionaries were born and grew up on farms in South Africa. They were convinced that people had abundant natural resources such as forest trees for timber, fertile soil for agriculture and soil for brick-making, animals and animal skins and many others which they were capable of utilising more fully. The missionaries appreciated that given some training and skills the Africans would profitably use these resources to make different items which would help better their lives. This objective was to be pursued through the establishment of simple village industries. As Pretorius (1975) once put it, "For this reason the church exerted itself to teach people to make better use of the natural resources at their very doors."⁷

In the missionaries' attempt to give the Africans industrial training and some skills, it never occurred to them to produce highly skilled workers able to use sophisticated equipment. This would have been a self-defeating policy for a number of reasons. First, the trained artisans would have been encouraged to migrate to European centres to seek employment, for these were the only places where sophisticated machinery were in practical use. Second, the training would have been useless as a means to better the people's life in the villages for people could not afford to purchase such ~~equipment~~. Third, it would have been too expensive for the church. Instead the missionaries encouraged their scholars to acquire skills which would enable them to lead

a meaningful life by use of simple local tools. This training, it was also hoped, would lessen the impetus to go to European centres for employment because it would make many self-reliant.

The Dutch Reformed Church embarked on industrial training in most of its establishments. One cannot exclude the possibility of influence from the United Free Church of Scotland whose work in Malawi had been summed up in 1876 by Dr. Stewart as follows:

"We are going as civilisers and preachers. The reasons and objectives of our industrial training are not (economic) value of the labour, but the principle that Christianity and idleness are incompatible".⁸

While we are aware that Livingstonia Mission had influence on the Dutch Church both in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia for a long time, and that the Dutch Church operated under the Free Church wing for a period in its early years in Nyasaland, we should bear in mind that the first Dutch Missionaries came to Central Africa in full knowledge and force to give people industrial and agricultural skills together with Bible knowledge, with a view to better people's ways of life. This was as a result of their home background and belief that it was the best way to approach their task of evangelisation.⁹

At Magwero, their first centre in Northern Rhodesia, the Dutch began teaching carpentry, brick-making and building of brick houses. In the Annual Reports of 1913-1914, Hugh C. Marshall and E. Sharpe, the Department of Native Affairs officials, reported that Magwero was conducting

industrial training. Agricultural and industrial work were carried on under the supervision of F.J. van Eeden, who superintended the carpentry, building and boot making departments.¹⁰ After 1920 when the mission was established well enough to undertake and spread its industrial training to other centres, Madzimoyo became the main industrial training centre with a well equipped carpenter's shop. An annual report of 1926 on Madzimoyo industrial centre said:

"At Madzimoyo a carpenter's shop and smithy are in full swing. Making furniture, black smithing, repair of wheels, carts, wagons, motor cars and bicycles are undertaken."¹¹

The centre also provided training in house building, wagon building and repairs. Work here was supervised by an instructor, a Mr. Dippenaar. At the end of 1922, industrial training was established at Nsadzu. The main activity was wagon and plough making. Carpentry and building were also conducted but were not as elaborate. Nyanje had its share of industrial training later in 1930.

Apparently, there is no record of the enrolment of trainees in these centres nor is it stated how these were recruited. We would assume that recruitment was open to their adherents who showed interest and were of good conduct as was the case with teacher-evangelist training. The majority of trained artisans, however, were taken on by the mission as instructors in new centres and others as mere mission workers. Others got jobs in their various fields

in the emerging European farms especially around Fort Jameson. It is interesting to see how useful the training was to people when one saw Mtalachiwa and Simon villages, close to Magwero, with neat brick houses built by local builders who were trained at Magwero. And Mr. Matiya Tembo, an old instructor, is still running a carpenter's shop at his place in Zimema village and making simple furniture.¹²

Industrial training did not remain solely a men's activity. The Dutch Church provided useful training to women too. "In girls' boarding schools at Magwero, Madzimoyo and later Nsadzu and Nyanje, women were taught soap, candle and pot making and needle work."¹³ It was the church's conviction that if they were to create an industrious society both male and female members should be given training in a trade that would enable them contribute to the betterment of life and encourage the use of local material for that purpose. The missionaries considered that giving people some elementary industrial skills and allowing women to acquire skills in homecraft, would have the effect of not only equipping them with useful skills but also invoking their creativity and encouraging them to make the best use of local material by providing for themselves better houses, better furniture, better food and proper family care. Through such training the missionaries hoped the people would find no need to go into European centres for employment or compete for employment with whites. It was a two-sided policy.

The first was one of training people to be self-reliant and useful to their community and the second was an attempt to keep the Africans within their tribal home areas.

Prosperous peasantry

The European conquest of the Ngoni in 1898 greatly altered the activities of not only the Ngoni but African people generally in the Eastern Province. The Ngoni in particular had to readjust their society and economy to the changed circumstances. All along, the Ngoni depended for their living on warfare and raids on their neighbours but now with warfare prohibited, the Ngoni had to take a more serious interest in cultivation in order to survive. On the other hand the neighbours, namely the Chewa and the Nsenga, no longer lived in fear, and they too took cultivation seriously. Kay (1965) summarised when he said the loss of cattle after the war left the Ngoni virtually dependent on cultivation for their livelihood.¹⁴

Tax was introduced in 1901 in North-East Rhodesia. As cash became more and more essential to pay the tax and buy other requisites, the African people had to look to wage labour in the employ of Europeans. Large numbers of people went down to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa to work. Others managed to get employment within Eastern province as the European farming industry was slowly developing. Interestingly, in an effort to stimulate local trade and because money was virtually non-existent, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission introduced its own currency known as Chamkono.

This was a tin disc the size of a penny, punched with two holes and stamped MM (Mvera Mission). One disc was worth about 2d. The currency was withdrawn in 1909.¹⁵ This is to show that long before the introduction of tax, missionaries had introduced the idea of money and buying with it.

The location and development of the first European farms in the Eastern province were determined largely by the site of Fort Jameson which was the capital of North-East Rhodesia. This trend meant the removal of people who were settled in what were considered European farmland to some new areas. In 1904, hardly five years after the establishment of the Dutch Reformed Church in the country, an area south-west of Fort Jameson was set aside for the sole occupation of Africans, into which people from European farmland were to be moved. This was the first "Native reserve" in the province. In 1913, 19 reserves were proposed, six in Fort Jameson district, nine in Petauke district and four in Lundazi. In Fort Jameson district in particular which had a larger European population than Petauke and Lundazi, vigorous efforts were made to concentrate the African population into the reserves.¹⁶

The creation of these Native reserves caused a lot of hardships and suffering to the Africans. The areas were too small for the large population, to an extent that there was overpopulation and overgrazing which contributed greatly to the impoverishment of the soil. The situation

affected the food cultivation and ultimately food supply, so that many young men migrated to European centres for employment.¹⁷ But were the Dutch Reformed Missionaries to remain passive observers while many young men went to European centres? This migration, unless controlled, would affect greatly the development and activity of the church. The immediate step to arrest food shortage in the reserves was to teach the people better farming methods. It was in this context that the Dutch Reformed Church Mission vigorously embarked on agricultural training in most of its centres and this was open to all, young and old. While it is very possible that the church had responded more to the situation and circumstances than following its laid down policy, we should, nevertheless, appreciate that the church had a policy which encouraged the teaching of agriculture to the people. We should not forget too, that most of the early missionaries were either once farmers or were born and had grown up on farms and had an interest in farming.

By 1913, Magwero had established training for people in agriculture. At Dirika station near Magwero, training was given in the theory and practice of agriculture and animal husbandry. Text books were translated into a local language, Cicewa, and where it was difficult to translate, simplified English was used. Under van Eeden, the missionary agriculturist, Dirika became a centre for specialised agricultural training.¹⁸

In 1925, an official of the Native Affairs Department had this to report:

"An agricultural school was started in October at the Dirika estate with 15 pupils and two experienced European agriculturists in charge. The estate is 60 acres of land under irrigation, fruit trees, 90 heads of cattle. The estate is eminently suited for the purpose and good results are expected.¹⁹"

Between 1918 and 1922, agricultural training was also introduced at Madzimoyo and Nsadzu. After 1925, Nyanje too offered training in agriculture. People were also encouraged to use locally built ploughs. It is important to acknowledge the fact that agricultural training was conducted in centres that provided teacher-evangelist training. The graduates of these training centres were expected to go into the villages to teach. Giving these scholars such training and instilling into them a liking for farming was considered the surest way to spread better farming among the people. These teachers were to live and work with the people and their influence on the lives of the villagers and their participation in better farming were expected to be considerable. In this way, the Dutch Reformed Church hoped to create a prosperous peasantry, a society with enough food and stable village life, with the sole aim of having a self-reliant society dependent on agriculture. Surveying the agricultural education given by the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, Snelson later commented:

"Was it purely by coincidence that the most progressive and prosperous peasant farmers in the country, supporting the wealthiest co-operative marketing unions, grew up in the areas of Katete and Petauke where the influence of the Dutch Reformed Mission was strongest?... it is probable that the education provided for adults in the D.R.C.M. schools sharpened their intelligence, aroused their ambitions and made them more responsive to schemes to develop their agricultural skills."²⁰

Eastern province was one of the three provinces in the country where African commercial crop farming was carried on. Other provinces were Central and Southern. Peasant farmers and the "improved farmers" under the African Farming Improvement Scheme, which was begun in 1946, were engaged in growing such cash crops as maize, tobacco and groundnuts.²¹ The marketing of these crops on cooperative basis developed and the marketing cooperatives in the province were the Petauke Co-operative Marketing Union, Katete Co-operative Marketing Union, Alimi Co-operative Marketing Union and the Valley Marketing Scheme.²²

Colonial government and missionary education

Until 1924 when the B.S.A. Company rule ceased, African education and its development depended on the initiative and financial resources of missionary societies. This was an effort worth praise especially when we consider that they worked under very testing conditions with very little finances and limited manpower resources. We note, however, that in all the missionary educational work, there was little uniformity, central control of activities and any clear direction of

purpose. Some missionary societies favoured introducing more advanced education for the Africans when others including the Dutch Reformed Church thought it unnecessary.

For sometime the colonial administrators were getting concerned with the religious splinter groups that were emerging in the country and what they stood for. In 1900 in Barotseland, an "Ethiopian" Church was established by Mokalapa. Willie J. Mokalapa was a Sotho who came to Barotseland with Coillard as a Paris Missionary Society evangelist. He had first come into contact with African Methodists and the African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa who influenced him into joining them. He went back to Barotseland with radical religious ideas such as that Africans could direct religious and secular ventures as successfully as Europeans and preached the equality of the white and black races. By 1904 Mokalapa had a large following.

Lewanika also supported his movement. Lewanika's support arose out of his hopes that in the movement he had found agents of modernisation. This Ethiopian Church constructed a number of small schools where English and other subjects were taught.²³ The Paris missionaries naturally condemned this development;

"Our field of labour has been lately invaded by the Ethiopians whose leader is one of our former Basuto teachers. They have got the ear of the King; our schools are seriously threatened, our Christians partly won over and disturbed and our teachers give no small

amount of trouble and anxiety. Thus the work of twenty years, in one of the hardest parts of the mission fields, is threatened with destruction at the very time when we expect the harvest."²⁴

On 3rd January, 1905, Robert Coryndon the Administrator of North-West Rhodesia, cautioned Lewanika to beware of the dangerous influence exerted by the Ethiopian Church.

"I have told you plainly that the Ethiopian Church is not a good Church.... I can see that the Ethiopians have been telling you what to say... and putting bad thoughts into your mind.... Once I find that they have been teaching you bad things I will send them out of the country."²⁵

By 1908, however, this early movement of protest which provided a channel for the expression of African discontent slowly declined. Mokalapa had left for South Africa the previous year and never returned. It was, nevertheless, an early pointer to both the colonial administration and missionaries that not all was well. The government blamed missionary education for it.

In the remote North-East Rhodesia a few Africans formed a protest association. Mwenzo mission, which had been established by the Free Church of Scotland in 1894, was the centre of activity. Those who did well at Mwenzo were sent to Livingstonia in Nyasaland where they met with students from other parts of Central Africa. The students here developed a sense of common identity as Africans. This was strengthened by Dr. Robert Laws' belief in training

Africans to take full part in church leadership. He allowed them to debate on race relations in Africa and elsewhere.²⁶

In 1904 David Kaunda and Donald Siwale opened a Free Church of Scotland school at Chinsali. They were sensitive to European racialism and Siwale expressed these feelings:

"What we want is a fair play and equality because we read in the Bible that every human being is the same."²⁷ In 1912 Siwale and Kaunda formed a Mwenzo Welfare Association aimed at bringing African views to the attention of the government. Though it did not take root and withered in 1914, it was a bold move and an indicator to the government of the African resentment of racialism. This too, was seen as a product of missionary education.

The 1915 Chilembwe uprising in Nyasaland confirmed the government's and settlers' suspicion regarding the type of education the missionaries gave to the Africans and the effect it had on them. Its significance was not in the number of whites and blacks killed or injured but in rather what the uprising manifested. The Nyasaland government together with the settlers blamed the missionaries and the mission education for the uprising. But Dr. Robert Laws, the head of Livingstonia mission and a member of the Legislative Council in Nyasaland replied to the accusations on behalf of other missionaries with care and dignity, refuting all the charges.²⁸ But the governments of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia felt compelled

to exert control on the teachers and the education given to the Africans to avoid similar uprisings. The teachers by the very nature of their work were left on their own for a greater proportion of the year and they exerted considerable influence upon the societies where they worked. The first world war intensified the government's distrust of the mission teachers who were seen as a potential source of subversion. The 1915 Chilembwe rebellion just added to the administrators' fears and many began to consider seriously the best way to introduce a measure of control over schools and their teachers.²⁹

It was in this social and political atmosphere that the Native Schools Proclamation, the first educational legislation in the history of the country, was enacted on 16th April, 1918. The Proclamation defined both "school" and "teacher." The Administrator was given power to accept or reject the opening of a new school and the registration of an existing one. He had power too to close a school on the grounds of the general conduct of the teacher or pupils. No person was to be a teacher in any school unless duly qualified, and no person was to be deemed to be qualified unless he produced such a certificate of efficiency and good conduct as the Administrator might prescribe. In the case of schools without European supervisors, there was need to have proof that the teacher was married and living with his wife at the village where he was

teaching. Punishment of not more than £25 or three months imprisonment was to be meted out to any unqualified teacher.³⁰

The Proclamation was the first direct government intervention in African education. Naturally it was received with mixed feelings by missionaries who for a long time now had carried on their work with minimal interference. Protests from missionary societies were aired. The Anglican Bishop Alston May said:

"No one denies the right of government to control schools and teachers but the revolution effected and the state control precedent set ought to have been introduced only after the fullest consultation with the missions."

And Malcolm Moffat of Livingstonia commented that:

"The general impression one received is that missionaries instead of being looked upon as fellow workers are regarded as potential criminals."

Dr. Robert Laws of Livingstonia also, a man who contributed considerably to the advancement of African education in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, reacted negatively by saying:

"These regulations look upon education work of the missionary with suspicion instead of recognising such work as an important asset in the process of civilisation in the country."³¹

Rev. C.P. Pauw of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission wrote of the Proclamation that:

"The Proclamation was an unreasonable encroachment on the work of mission schools. Such encroachment is, to say the least of it, unBritish."

Surprisingly enough, some missionary societies like the Paris Mission and the Roman Catholics hailed the Proclamation as containing wise and equitable provisions.³² On the whole, the rather harsh reaction to it was well founded. The missionaries who had been involved in the education field should have been consulted before enacting a Proclamation that was to affect them so much and shake the very backbone of their work, the African teacher.

The Dutch Reformed Church Mission was affected greatly by this Proclamation. In 1918 the Church had 293 village schools, the largest number of which were manned by uncertified teachers. It also had too few European staff to visit and inspect these schools as regularly as the Proclamation stipulated.³³ Before the Proclamation the Dutch missionaries had recruited young men into their service as teachers only after acquiring skills of reading and writing. These were expected to open village schools. Since the aim was to reach as many people as possible, it did not matter whether young teachers were married or not. In fact the church discouraged early marriages of immature young people.³⁴ A large number of the D.R.C. teachers had no recognised qualifications; therefore, if the church was to conform to the new regulations, which it did, many village teachers would have to be relieved of their jobs.

Others simply resigned because of the regulation that compelled them to be married and live with their wives. In 1921 Rev. C.P. Pauw of Madzimoyo reported to the Fort Jameson District Commissioner that the regulation compelling every teacher to be married and live with his wife at his working place had been the chief cause of teachers' resignations and the inevitable reduction in number of village schools.³⁵

Education Policy in British Tropical Africa

The 1925 Memorandum on education in Africa issued by the Colonial Office was a deliberate attempt by the British government to establish guidelines for colonial education for the Africans and to use general principles as guides for positive action by both governments and education agencies in the various colonies. The impact of the Memorandum varied from colony to colony and from agency to agency. During the previous four years, 1920 to 1924, and prior to the publication of the Memorandum on education, the Phelps-Stokes Commission led by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones had toured West Africa in 1920-1921 and then East and Central Africa in 1924 observing what went on with regard to African education. The Commission's reports made a remarkable impression upon the British government and greatly influenced the Memorandum on African Education in 1925.³⁶ The Memorandum enunciated the principles and policy on which educational work in British Africa could be carried on. Among other things, it suggested the adaptation of education to African ways of life; the

introduction of grants-in-aid to alleviate the voluntary agencies' financial difficulties and make government control effective; the encouragement and use of vernaculars in education; the use of African teaching staff and establishment of teacher-training programmes.³⁷ We shall attempt to discuss these points and see how they affected the policies and work of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Northern Rhodesia.

Adaptation to Native Life

It was proposed in the Education Policy that the education given to the Africans should be adapted to their culture. Its aim too, was to render an individual member of the society efficient so as to help promote the advancement of his community. This policy concurred very well with the sentiments and desires of the Dutch Church. The church advocated giving to Africans education that would help make individuals useful and productive members of their society. Agricultural and industrial training was introduced early in the Dutch schools for that purpose. The Dutch Reformed Church considered it very important to safeguard against the isolation of so called educated Africans from their society and depriving them of their culture. Provision of elementary education and the preservation of African culture was quite fundamental to their mission work.

Grants-in-aid

The voluntary agencies found difficulties in expanding their educational activities because of financial limitations. The British government had realised the burden and the Memorandum suggested the establishment of a system of grants-in-aid. This financial assistance was to be given to voluntary agency schools which conformed to government regulations and attained the necessary standards. Examination results, however, were not considered important for the provision of the said aid. The Dutch Reformed Church Mission, just like many other societies, depended for its financial requirements on contributions from abroad, and in its case, from the Orange Free State in South Africa.³⁸ Limited finances and at certain times non-availability of money was a great constraint on the development of its education work so that the introduction of grants-in-aid was welcome. These grants were to help to equip and raise the standard of education in the Dutch schools. Better qualified teachers were needed to raise education standards, and this in turn compelled the mission to provide higher than elementary education from where better qualified scholars would be selected for teacher training. This marked the humble beginning of primary education in the Dutch Church schools where previously elementary education had been prominent. This was a remarkable shift in policy.

Use of vernacular

In its attempt to preserve the African culture through its new education provisions, the British Memorandum encouraged the use of vernaculars in education. It suggested too, the preparation of textbooks, the methods and contents of which would be relevant to the conditions in Africa. The Dutch Reformed Church Mission's policy was to teach its scholars in vernacular, so that the suggestion contained in the Memorandum was an encouragement to the Church. It should be noted in any case that the Church was not ready to introduce the teaching of English at any level of its education system.³⁹ On the production of literature and textbooks suitable for use in schools, credit should be given to the Church which had embarked on this long before the Memorandum. Between 1900 and 1910, two Cicewa books, Mkhweri, a little reader for schools, by Andrew C. Murray, and Mwambi Wakale, a collection of stories for children, by Robert Blake, were published. In 1909, the Church founded a magazine Mthenga, under the editorship of Dr. W.H. Murray. The greatest contribution the mission made in those early years, was its major share in the translation of the Bible into Cicewa. Between 1903 and 1918, Dr. W.H. Murray, Dr. Hetherwick, Rev. Napier, Mr. Nathan Sunday from Blantyre, Mr. Ismail Mwale of Ncheu and Mr. Willebes Chikuse of Mvera, translated both the Old and New Testaments into Cicewa.⁴⁰

Native teaching staff and teacher-training

It was pointed out in the Memorandum that the key to a sound system of education lay in the proper training of teachers. It was further suggested that the Native teachers should be adequate in number, qualifications and in character, and their numbers should include women. This was an important demand which needed serious consideration by the voluntary agencies. The Dutch Reformed Church Mission provided rudimentary training to its village school teachers in most of its centres, namely Madzimoyo, Nsadzu and Nyanje. After 1926, however, only Madzimoyo conducted this training. Scholars with Standard II qualifications were admitted for a three year training programme staggered over a period of seven years. Scholars came in for a year, then went out to teach for two years, came back for one year and went out for two, came for a third year then completed the course altogether.⁴¹ This training arrangement was to help maintain close links with the community and ensure that their teachers were all linked to the church.

The church did not have a policy on teacher training as such but responded accordingly to the demands and circumstances. When the teaching of English was finally made compulsory in schools in 1929, Madzimoyo training school had to comply. The neglect of English in Dutch schools was revealed when in 1929, 26 African teachers sat for examinations

at Madzimoyo and all failed. The teachers had not learnt English before but the examinations were in English.⁴² The teaching of English was a complete deviation from their language policy. And in 1932 the government recommended that only scholars with a Standard IV pass should be admitted into training schools.

While the 1925 Memorandum on education affected mission policy in a number of specific areas, in major respects it consolidated and endorsed what the Dutch Reformed Church Mission was already doing in the field. Despite the anticipated changes in its policy, the Dutch Church was determined to co-operate with the government in this venture. A letter written in 1927, by Krige, principal of Madzimoyo school, states:

"I wish to remark that the visits to Madzimoyo during the past year of His Excellency the Governor /Sir Herbert J. Stanley/ and the Director of Native Education /G.C. Latham/ have been very greatly appreciated by us. The interest His Excellency showed in the educational work which is being done here at Madzimoyo and in our mission work in general has been a source of inspiration to us and has made us feel that in him we have a real friend. We also feel very much indebted to the visit afforded of personally discussing our natural problems with him and for his candid criticism of our work, which he may be assured has not fallen on deaf ears."⁴³

A later letter from Madzimoyo, further stressed the need for cooperation and benefit the mission derived from such relations:

"The interest taken by the Provincial Commissioner and the District Officer in our work is a material help to us and a source of encouragement to go on inspite of the difficulties."⁴⁴

The later educational policy declarations by the Colonial Office, made no substantial modifications to the initial 1925 policies as far as the Dutch Reformed Church Mission was concerned. The British government had set the stage for African education upon which government and voluntary agencies were to play their role in its development.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE PEOPLE'S RESPONSE, INTERMISSION RELATIONS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION WORK

Having dealt in the previous chapter, with what the church hoped to create of the people it worked among, this chapter attempts to examine in general what the response of the people was to the educational work of the church in the social, economic and political context of the time. Secondly, the chapter discusses the mission "spheres of influence." While the Dutch Reformed Church Mission was the first society to operate in Eastern Province, it did not remain so for long. The chapter tries in particular to analyse the working relations between the Dutch Reformed Church and the Roman Catholic White Fathers in their spheres of influence. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the development of educational work of the church.

The response

The Dutch Reformed Church Mission established itself in areas that were comparatively heavily populated, as was shown in Chapter one. We need to note, however, that the Fort Jameson district described here was composed of the present Chipata, Chadiza and Katete districts and Jumbe sub-boma. Petauke district on the other hand was composed of

the present Petauke district and Sinda and Nyimba sub-bomas.

The Dutch Reformed Church Mission's policy to provide elementary education to all, young and old, helped to attract many people to their schools. Naturally the initial period up to 1908 had its own problems. Firstly, people were not sure whether the white missionaries were genuinely in their area to help. The Ngoni particularly were suspicious since it was hardly a year (1898) since they were defeated. Secondly, the white missionaries were too few to effectively diversify their activities, and this was partly because their country, the Orange Free State, was at war with Britain, which made it difficult to reinforce manpower for mission work in the new field. And thirdly, the very attempt to begin a new thing in a completely new environment with very limited local knowledge, posed a problem to the first missionaries.

Since the mission's goal was to introduce and spread the Word of God to as many people as possible, it considered the provision of elementary education the surest way because many people would be enabled to read the Bible on their own. We should, however, be careful in interpreting the enrolment *figures the church gave for its schools because it did not distinguish between schools, Bible houses and Sunday Schools.* To the missionaries all were schools since they taught similar things - Bible knowledge, reading and writing.

Secondly, the church did not indicate separately the adult scholars and the young children. To them, people's attendance was important, not their ages.

The people's response was affected by the method the church adopted in its work and the general attitude towards the ways of life of the people. At first, out of curiosity which later developed into interest, many people went to these schools to find out what they could acquire. The people were encouraged when they discovered that the missionaries taught them Bible knowledge in a language they could understand, Cicewa.¹ Coupled with this point, the use of African teacher-evangelists first from Mvera in Nyasaland and later picked from among the local people was a strong and effective attraction to the population. Bolink (1967) points out that "the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, instead of bringing in African evangelist-teachers from outside as other societies did for a long time, very soon made extensive use of local African helpers."²

Improving the material conditions of the people on the basis of the available resources but at the same time avoiding the transplantation of the people from their ways of living, was the church's approach to its educational work. It introduced both industrial and agricultural training. In its industrial work, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission emphasized the development of skills in traditional crafts

such as pottery, basket and mat weaving together with innovative trades such as carpentry, brick-making and brick-laying. Its agricultural teaching was related to the gardens and fields of the people with a hope of improving from there.³ This approach minimised the possible clashes with the people in their ways of living but instead encouraged a large number of people to join the schools. The reading and writing they learnt and the industrial and agricultural skills they acquired did not alienate them from the rest of the society but helped to incorporate them into the village life.

The church's attitude towards Africans was one of avoiding the creation of a different Christian society within the customary one. The people were to be educated in order to fit into their community and become useful and productive members. The church did not entertain any practice that purported to uproot the people from their ways of life. Africans were to be taught as Africans rather than as imitations of Europeans. The church preoccupied itself much with the preservation and development of the traditional structures, which made it acceptable to the people in its early years.⁴

By 1908, three missionary societies operated in the Fort Jameson area. It is important to note, however, that while Fort Jameson area was the first field for the Dutch Reformed Church in the country, the Roman Catholics and the

Free Church of Scotland were already established in other parts of the country, notably Northern Province. Their establishment in Fort Jameson area was an extension of their activities and not a new beginning. The three missionary societies in Fort Jameson area compared thus:

Table 1: Mission Education in Fort Jameson Area, 1908⁵

MISSION SOCIETY	NO. OF SCHOOLS	NO. OF TEACHERS	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE
White Fathers	9	12	400
Church of Scotland	3	12	367
D.R.C.M.	40	160	3,430

The Dutch Reformed Church Mission Schools were administered by the three headmission stations namely Magwero, Ft. Jameson and Madzimoyo (see map 3, p. 40).

In 1912, mission societies working in the Eastern Province increased to four, with the arrival of the (Africans) Universities Mission in Central Africa. These societies compared as follows:

Table 2: Mission Education in Eastern Province, 1912⁶

	NO. OF SCHOOLS	NO. OF TEACHERS	AVERAGE BOYS	ATTENDANCE GIRLS	TOTAL
U.M.C.A.	4	11	200	300	500
White Fathers	35	28	400	300	700
Church of Scotland	74	168	1600	1400	3000
D.R.C.M.	130	414	5200	4400	9600

During the First World War period, 1914-1918, the number of schools of the D.R.C.M. and the attendance of scholars decreased.

This trend was attributed to the government's recruitment of young men as war carriers. The recruitment exercise was intensified as the war dragged on. Since the church had adults among its scholars, this exercise affected it considerably. Secondly, the recruitment of young men for the war deprived the African families of the able bodied men and therefore most of the cultivation duties and other home responsibilities fell upon the younger boys and girls who might otherwise have been free to go to school.⁷ This made their attendance irregular but also led to many stopping altogether. Thirdly, it was a period when white farmers were establishing their farms in the Ft. Jameson area and hence required labour. Fourthly, it was also a period when Native Reserves were demarcated and Africans forced into them.⁸ Due to poor

conditions in the reserves and the government tax obligation, many young men opted for farm work where they were paid more money than by being a mission teacher. Teachers under the Dutch Mission used to get 8d per month whereas government farm labourers got 4s 2d a month. Snelson (1970) contrasted the situation of the D.R.C.M. teachers and government workers in about 1910:

"There was little financial reward for the early teacher-evangelists who were expected to spearhead the mission's attack on superstition and illiteracy. They received no pay for their first six months.... Thereafter they were entitled to 8d a month. The government rate for labourers in 1910 was 4s 2d including ration."⁹

By the end of the war the D.R.C. Mission had closed over 62 of its schools in the Ft. Jameson district alone.¹⁰

After 1925, when a Director of Native Education was appointed and regulations and procedures to run schools were in force, the Dutch Reformed Church began to differentiate between prayer houses and actual schools. Adults were slowly being eliminated from children's classes especially after the Native Education Advisory Board's recommendation in 1929 limiting the age of entrance to school. The oldest entry age was to be 17 years.¹¹

The grant-in-aid principle meant the provision of financial assistance to voluntary agencies whose schools acquired the defined standards. The Dutch Church had a large

number of village schools, most of which did not meet the minimum requirements of a school as defined by the Department of Native Education, yet these schools enrolled the largest number of scholars according to mission records. The table below shows the increase of aided and unaided schools under the church up to 1944 and the sudden decrease of these village schools after 1954:

Table 3: D.R.C.M. Aided and Unaided School Enrolment, 1927-59¹²

YEAR	AIDED	ENROLMENT	UNAIDED	ENROLMENT
	SCHOOLS		SCHOOLS	
1927	8	731	415	23,602
1936	30	2,404	416	31,720
1939	33	3,184	496	35,726
1945	63	5,285	283	14,006
1950	83	7,450	84	4,402
1959	84	12,061	-	-

NOTE: Unaided schools were phased out by 1955.

As an agency of evangelisation, the village schools were the missionaries' prime concern. However, after 1945 these unaided schools conducted by the Dutch Reformed Church were sharply reduced in number, as a result of a number of factors. Firstly, during the Second World War the financial contributions from mission supporters in South Africa was reduced. Secondly,

the Dutch Missionaries and African church members who were better educated began to question not only the educational value of these unaided schools, which was minimal, but also their usefulness as a means of spreading Christianity. Thirdly, the local people acting through the local educational committees were determined to raise the standard of education and accordingly resented the perpetuation of the inferior unaided schools.¹³

Enrolments in schools and the number of schools established as shown in Table 3 (p. 76) are indicative of the people's responses to the mission's educational activities. It is important, however, to take the figures as estimates and not absolute for there would have been some exaggerations. There is no evidence in any case to suggest that the mission used force on people to join schools. The missionaries persuaded people to join their schools if they wished to learn how to read on their own a Bible. Most important is that people joined schools because of what the mission gave. Though industrial and agricultural training were not given in prayer houses and outschools, we should appreciate that scholars from these schools too had a taste of the skills through their teachers who were products of centres that offered the training. Simple traditional crafts such as basket and mat weaving were conducted. Improved methods of agriculture were taught by the teacher through example. The teacher's influence on the villagers with whom he lived was considerable.

Government - mission relations

While the Dutch Reformed Church Mission preferred co-operation with the colonial administrators as well as other mission societies in the area, the mission encountered a number of problems with the government and the Roman Catholic White Fathers. Hardly fifteen years after its establishment in Northern Rhodesia, teachers of the Dutch Reformed Church were accused of a serious breach of peace. The Ft. Jameson Magistrate, P.C. Cookson, on 6th October 1915 wrote to the principal of Madzimoyo, bringing to his notice the complaints which chiefs had levelled against the behaviour of the D.R.C.M. teachers. First, it was alleged that teachers of this mission used their influence to hinder recruitment for the Police and carriers for war purposes. Secondly, it was asserted that some of the teachers were involved in immoral activities with women whose husbands were away in Southern Rhodesia or South Africa. Thirdly, it was said that the mission often established schools in villages against the wishes of the chiefs. Finally, the chiefs complained that the teachers' influence was often used to undermine their authority and that teachers attempted to arrogate to themselves the authority of chiefs.¹⁴

The above accusations in Northern Rhodesia were in many ways similar to what the church was accused of in Nyasaland in 1899 and later. Pretorius (1972) put it that the D.R.C.M.

was charged with inciting the Africans not to pay their taxes or volunteer their labour. The church was said to use the pulpit for the furtherance of its objections to the administration's policy of labour and taxation.¹⁵

The context of these accusations is instructive. The relations between the colonial governments in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia on one hand and the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in both countries, on the other, had grown worse as the Anglo-Boer war progressed. For example at the end of 1899, the youngest brother of Dr. W.H. Murray, the head of the mission in Nyasaland, was shot dead - treacherously, according to Pretorius - by British soldiers in South Africa. Under such circumstances there was considerable tension and mutual suspicion between the South African missionaries and the colonial administration.¹⁶

During the 1915 episode P.E. Hall, the acting Magistrate of Ft. Jameson, made his own observation on the activities of the Dutch Reformed Church and gave a report to the Secretary of Native Affairs which read in part:

"The policy of the mission is to discredit and destroy the influence of the Native Chiefs, Indunas, and village headmen. The natives are encouraged to regard the teacher as the ruler of the village and to address him as the "bwana" giving the European missionary the title of "Mfumu"... They established schools of sorts in almost every village...."¹⁷

In his conclusion, Hall said that the root cause of the trouble between the mission and the Africans was its hostility to the

whole African social system. Unfortunately there is apparently no record of the reaction of the mission to the accusations - a rather strange occurrence. Nevertheless it is necessary to attempt an assessment of their origin and validity.

The accusations levelled against the D.R.C.M. first by Cookson and later by Hall, revealed in some way the tension and suspicion that there was between the Dutch Reformed Church Missionaries and the Administration. The strained relation between the Boers of South Africa and the British because of the 1899 - 1902 Boer war could easily make the Dutch missionaries disinterested in the 1914-1918 war. But should we ignore the reaction of the Africans to the war itself? How were the Africans convinced that the war they were recruited for was actually their war? It was not long ago that the Ngoni of Ft. Jameson (Chipata) were discouraged from waging tribal wars as bad practice yet now they are being prepared for war. Probably this conflict of ideals and the Africans' lack of commitment to the war led to their refusal to be recruited but not necessarily influenced by the D.R.C. missionaries.

The period between 1900 and 1920 saw the establishment of Native reserves. However, by 1915 no major reserves were created though people (Africans) were aware of the move of the Administration to take them away from their homes. It was natural therefore for people to resent anything to do with the very administration that was to deprive them of their home.

So that the difficulties the administration faced in recruiting young men for the Police and war carriers were possibly a visible reaction of the Africans to it and not really influenced by the missionaries.

On the question of immorality, between 1914 and 1915 it was reported that twelve teachers of the mission were involved in adultery cases. At this period D.R.C.M. had over 420 teachers. It is unfair that the twelve teachers involved could justify a wholesale condemnation of the mission for immorality.¹⁸

The preservation of the Africans social system was of primary importance in the mission's activities. The Dutch Reformed Church missionaries did not approve attempts of other missions to "turn Africans into Europeans" in their ways of living. It was, however, unfortunate that they failed to appreciate the fact that their very contacts with the Africans were bound to bring about social change. The mission did not intend to discredit or destroy the influence of the Chiefs, Indunas and Headmen though it was opposed to certain practices within the traditional society and culture. First, beer brewing and beer drinking played a significant role in the social and political life of the African society. It was used for social gatherings and to liven up traditional ceremonies. Beer was used as a gift to leaders, as a sign of respect and token of appreciation for their leadership. The missionaries of the D.R.C.M. on the other hand discouraged the brewing and drinking of beer. They felt that it encouraged

idleness and laziness. It was considered as a serious offence for an adherent to drink beer. A number of followers either failed to be confirmed as Christians or were excommunicated for the offence. There was reason for the chiefs to complain because the mission's action to discourage beer drinking reduced the amount of beer given to the chiefs together with the respect which went with it.

Secondly, it was an appreciated practice in the African customary society for a leader to have more than one wife. The more wives a leader had the more powerful and the greater the respect he got from his subjects. This was very much opposed by the Christian principle of monogamy. People with more than one wife were not admitted into the D.R.C. as members. Coupled with the fight against polygamy, the Church discouraged early marriages among their followers. Discouraging of polygamy was felt more by Chiefs, Indunas and Headmen who generally had more wives. The missionaries alienated chiefs from their subjects. Church meetings that preached against beer drinking and polygamy were an indirect attack on chiefs and this reduced chiefs influence on their people.

Thirdly, initiation ceremonies for girls, Cinamwali, were tolerated by the church with modifications. The period of confinement which was usually long was shortened and any cruel practices abandoned. The church adherents were encouraged to continue with the initiation ceremony on Christian teachings and principles.

The D.R.C. was very opposed to the Nyau dance among the Cewa, because of the alleged beatings and generally unchristian practices that went with it. Nyau dances were performed during communal female initiation rites, Cinamwali, and at funerals. The dancers dressed in costumes representing animals or wore masks. The dancers did their preparations at a burial place. Songs accompanying the dances were usually obscene. Only men were to dance it. Traditionally Nyau behaved in a violent way, molesting women and stealing chickens.¹⁹

Nyau was a secret society which through time evolved as part and parcel of the Cewa culture but over which chiefs could not exert direct control. The initiation into the society was reserved to boys over the age of puberty. The society brought together men of different status and from different villages. Politically, the society greatly undermined the authority of the village headman. Men, old and young gave more respect to their Nyau leaders, than the headman. An offence committed by a Nyau dancer upon an ordinary villager during the festival was outside the headman's jurisdiction. It was the duty of the Nyau committee-bungwe - to take appropriate steps in redressing the offence. Should an ordinary villager commit an offence against the Nyau people, then that fell within the headman's jurisdiction to settle it. Missionary societies opposed the Nyau society because they considered it a threat to both Christianity and missionary education. This was true when we realise that the Nyau societies, like the missionaries, concentrated

their activities among the youths. Nyau was a secret society. This made it difficult for the missionaries to initiate any change of some of the bad practices, through education and christian teaching. It also made it very difficult for the missionaries to work among the Cewa people because the known leaders--chief-or-headman-had very little control over large number of youths. In fact missionary opposition to Nyau was supported by Cewa chiefs. It was to help restore the chiefs' control over the youth. Incidentally now (1981) Cewa areas namely Tamanda, Chadiza, Katete and Nyanje are the strong of D.R.C.M now Reformed Church in Zambia (RCZ). In essence, we find that the Nyau societies became indigenous institutions through which people, especially the Cewa, channelled their discontent against both colonial rule and the missionary influence.²⁰

It was in the context of opposing the above practices, that mission influence through its teachers was thought to undermine the authority of chiefs and headmen and the influence of the bungwe among the Cewa. Chiefs Nzamane, Mazimawe and Sayiri in Fort Jameson area were the main leaders who complained against the Dutch Church and these are Ngoni Chiefs, whereas headman Choma of Petauke, did complain against the opening of a school by the Dutch Church in his village. He preferred the White Fathers.²¹ Despite these complaints, the Dutch Reformed Church continued to enjoy support from people in its areas of influence.

After the First World War, we note a good turn in the relationship between the administration and the mission. The Native School Proclamation of 1918 and later the 1925 education policy, compelled the Dutch Reformed Church to conform to the government requirements if it was to continue its work of providing education to the people. Apparently, after 1918 there is no record of substantial colonial administration and mission confrontation as was the case during the First World War period. Instead co-operation was forged, as shown in Chapter three, pp. 63-64. We should note here, however, that officials of the Native Education Department expressed **impatience** with the "bush school war" between the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and the White Fathers: (see pp. 89-90).

The spheres of influence

Between 1901 and 1905, Robert Edward Codrington, the Administrator of North-Eastern Rhodesia, realised that there was need to demarcate areas of operation or spheres of influence for the various missionary societies. It was thought desirable that societies preaching different creeds should confine their activities to certain agreed areas and should refrain from encroaching upon a sphere in which another denomination was working. It was considered that given specific areas of operation, each society would expand considerably with very little interference from other societies. The village schools were to be the vehicle and means of claiming

territory by the societies.²² This policy had already been anticipated by the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Nyasaland. In 1902, du Plessis of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission wrote to Lord Lansdown, the Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, on the need for separate spheres of influence:

"experience has shown that it is highly undesirable that churches whose tenets differ so widely as those of the Roman Catholics and Reformed Presbyterian churches should labour in close proximity, as their teachings tend to bewilder the mind of the native."²³

The idea of "spheres of influence" was not only paradoxical but difficult for all societies to adhere to. All the societies were Christian missions aiming at evangelising as many Africans as possible. But because of differences in their creed and doctrine, they became rivals in the field. Demarcating spheres of influence assumed that the African population was dormant or passive followers. It also assumed that no society would be allowed to encroach upon the territory of the other, thus eliminating competition. The people were deprived of freedom of choice in respect of alternative forms of worship and religious teaching. The Africans reaction to the new phenomenon was not considered seriously by all the societies. What preoccupied them most was the acquisition of as much territory for their societies as possible.²⁴

In consultation with the representatives of the White Fathers, the Livingstonia Mission, the London Missionary Society and the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, Codrington in 1905 laid

down definite spheres for the societies. This system seemed to work well until after 1910 when the White Fathers became impatient of any restrictions and denounced it. The Anglican Church too, became hostile to the arrangement mostly because they were late-comers in the area and adhering to the government rule would have given them a very small area for operation. In Petauke area, the Magistrate was placed in a difficult position between the protests of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission against the encroachment of the White Fathers and the fixed determination of the White Fathers to retain and reinforce their emissaries in the area. This explosive and religiously unhealthy situation was appreciated by the Secretary of the General Missionary Conference, Mr. Fell, a Primitive Methodist, who also formed the conclusion that the system of spheres of influence had ceased to be capable of universal application.²⁵ It was in this cloud of uncertainty and tension that the General Missionary Conference passed a resolution in 1922 concerning missions' spheres of influence:

"... while recognising that spheres of influence may only be temporary, the conference yet holds strongly that at this early stage in the development of mission work, there is ample room for missions to occupy distinct areas, and it would therefore remind all the missionary societies of the waste and friction that result from overlapping and urge them to avoid this evil wherever possible...."²⁶

In reply to the above resolution, the government pointed out that the subject of spheres of influence was largely a matter for the missions themselves to decide. The government would always refer to the conference any new society that applied for permission to work in the country.²⁷

The resolution did not ease the tension that was building up between the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and the White Fathers in Petauke area in particular. On 20th May, 1922 J. Moffat Thomson, an official in the Department of Native Affairs, expressed his disappointment by saying:

"The overlapping of missionary work tends to create confusion in the native minds... leading to discussion, arguments and even quarrels... disturbing the village life of the people.... I suggest the discouraging of grants of land to any missionary society in an area where there is already an established mission carrying on good work."²⁸

While the above opinion was intended for the good of both parties concerned, the Roman Catholic Bishop M. Guilleme, who was stationed in Nyasaland, was quite adamant about Nsengaland. On 9th June, 1922, he stated that the Roman Catholics proposed to establish a mission station in Nsenga district, at a distance from the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, so long as water was available. A year later, on 20th June, 1923 the White Fathers applied for land grants in Petauke area for the establishment of a station around Minga stream. In reply to the request, the Magistrate, E.A. Jones, refused to allow the White Fathers to establish any mission station in that area which was already under the D.R.C. M. influence.²⁹

The row between the Dutch Reformed Church and the Roman Catholics over the spheres of influence, especially in the Petauke area, worsened and on 3rd August, 1923 G.H. Vetman on behalf of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission wrote to the Native Affairs Commissioner abhorring the behaviour of the Roman Catholics:

"As a missionary and also a mission we feel deeply grieved through the action of the Roman Catholics. They are invading our field and have taken possession of several of the Hofmeyr schools.... We consider that the behaviour of the Roman Catholics is not only a shame for the Christian Mission but also an insult against the Union Jack.... It is a shame the way they have been stuffing the headmen and people with lies."³⁰

The Native Affairs Commissioner, H.A. Sylvester, promptly wrote the missionary-in-charge, Father Julien, to withdraw all his teachers who were posted in villages and to stop touring the Petauke district until the matter was finally settled. At the end of 1923, the Native Affairs Department rejected the White Fathers' application for land. Instead they were advised and encouraged to consolidate work already begun in Kachebele and Mpangwe areas before extending into Petauke.³¹

However, the spheres of influence policy was soon to be abandoned by the government. On 19th September, 1924 the new Colonial government gave missionary societies freedom to operate anywhere within the territory. This was contained in a Native Affairs Department statement which read in part:

"... but where the missionaries cannot come to any agreement, the wisest course probably would be to leave any society at liberty to establish schools where it likes, provided that the local headman and his people desired it, that the teacher-in-charge is a man of proved good character and that adequate European supervision is guaranteed."³²

While the 1924 statement constituted an official policy that gave missionary societies freedom of operation, the freedom

hinged on the society fulfilling the three conditions, to have the headman and his people's approval, to have a school manned by a teacher of good character and to guarantee regular supervision of schools by European missionaries.

The hostility between the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and the White Fathers was not confined to Petauke area alone though records show that it was tense and much more open in Petauke than in other areas where the two operated. In 1932, The District Commissioner for Petauke made a report to the government on the relations between these two societies:

"It is sad to have to report that the acrimony between the D.R.C.M. and the White Fathers, so far from abating, appears to have become intensified. Books have been published in the vernacular for native consumption, in terms that are bound to give offence dealing with what are alleged to be the heresies of either religion. Sermons have been preached calculated to discredit the other party and antagonism of the principles had been communicated to the natives... it is most regrettable that they should also impart the spirit of dissension."33

Whatever the heresies and discrediting sermons were, the report signified the seriousness and magnitude of the differences and how damaging these were to both the aim and purpose of Christianity on the one hand and the credibility of white missionaries in the eyes of the Africans on the other.

In 1936, C.J. Oppen, the acting Director of Native Education, in his report to the Secretary of Native Affairs

commented on the relations of the two societies. He strongly felt the D.R.C.M. was to blame for it had been frittering away its strength and resources in a perpetual guerrilla warfare with the White Fathers, instead of consolidating work already established. He further stated that the church attempted to open many inefficient schools just to keep out the Catholics and provide unnecessary competition.³⁴ In a situation however, where every society was free to operate in any area in the country, it was not the D.R.C.M. alone which competed with other societies with a purpose to acquire more areas and have a large following.

The conflict between the Dutch Church and the Roman Catholics spread even to national meetings. In the African Education Advisory Board meeting of 1945, J.P. Bruwer, the representative of the D.R.C.M., bluntly stated that he had been instructed by the church's council not to support any scheme which involved direct co-operation with the Roman Catholics. As he said: "It was his unpleasant duty to state that his society could not co-operate with the Roman Catholics"³⁵ This was in connection with the establishment of an interdenominational secondary school.

Most of the people interviewed for the present study confirmed the hostility between the two societies. One cause, according to the D.R.C.M. adherents, was that the Catholics influenced by the White Fathers missionaries, went round villages discrediting the Dutch and claiming that theirs were the only true church.³⁶ There was corresponding anti-Catholic propaganda from D.R.C. adherents. However, the inter-mission rivalry and competition through out-schools enabled many people to be exposed to the rudiments of education though its quality is questionable.

Because of the high competition, the White Fathers closed the wide gap between themselves and the D.R.C.M. The table below shows the comparative educational figures from 1927 to 1952:

Table 4: Mission Education in Eastern Province, 1927 - 1952

YEAR	WHITE			FATHERS			DUTCH REFORMED			CHURCH	
	AIDED SCHOOLS	ENROLMENT	UNAIDED SCHOOLS	ENROLMENT	AIDED SCHOOLS	ENROLMENT	UNAIDED SCHOOLS	ENROLMENT	UNAIDED SCHOOLS	ENROLMENT	
1927	17	1,325	N/A	N/A	8	731	415	23,602			
1930	28	2,071	N/A	N/A	13	810	420	24,335			
1935	22	1,051	358	17,467	30	2,424	416	31,720			
1938	22	1,493	355	23,817	33	3,184	496	35,726			
1946	48	6,290	102	5,114	64	5,285	283	14,006			
1950	56	5,585	79	4,764	83	7,450	84	4,402			
1952	53	5,119	30	1,501	79	6,922	86	4,697			

NOTE:

1. Number of Unaided Schools and their enrolments for 1927 and 1930 for the White Fathers not available.
2. The 1950-1952 period saw a reduction in the number of aided schools for both agencies. Local Education Authority schools were created in 1951.

The development of educational work

The development of education in Eastern Province under the Dutch Reformed Church Mission will be discussed in two stages: firstly, the teacher training programme from the initial period, and secondly, the development of the primary school system from its village school origins. The development of a secondary school is left for the next chapter.

Teacher training

"The Dutch Reformed Church Mission, instead of bringing in African evangelist-teachers from outside as other societies did for a long time, very soon made extensive use of local African helpers."³⁸

Early in the history of the mission, it was felt that the masses could only be reached effectively by taking the Word of God to the village. Preaching the Gospel at the station alone meant that only a few people heard it, whereas if trained African teachers could be sent out to villages many would be reached. It was also considered equally important for people to be taught reading so that the Bible might be an open book to many.³⁹ This explains the use of local Africans as evangelist-teachers in their work.

The training of these early helpers was rudimentary, probably because they were to provide only elementary education, but chiefly because the church was "in a hurry" to reach as many people as possible within a short period.

The criteria for selection to undertake evangelist-teacher training was good conduct coupled with quick grasp of reading and writing skills. Each of the mission stations that were established before 1914, namely Magwero, Madzimoyo, Fort Jameson, Nyanje and Nsadzu, trained its own village teachers. The training usually lasted for a few weeks and covered reading, writing and arithmetic lessons, some rudiments of hygiene and especially scripture. On completion the teacher evangelists were sent into villages to open village schools. Admittedly, the training was not very systematically organised and this apparently explains why there is no record of early training school enrolments.

In 1915, Madzimoyo became the central training school for the Dutch Reformed Church. The other centres continued to provide elementary training as before. The best students from all these other centres were sent to Madzimoyo for a two year teacher training course. It was reported in 1917 that Madzimoyo training school had begun with thirteen students. These selected students came with **their** families and belongings and built their own huts.⁴⁰ The training at Madzimoyo was a step higher than what they had received from their earlier centres. Apart from improving their reading and writing, the trainees were introduced to the instructional alphabet they would use as teachers. The alphabets were put on large sheets of paper commonly called "Board" or Bolodi in village schools. Each board contained twelve sheets with alphabets and combinations of the letters

to form words, e.g. a e i o u, ta te ti to tu, ma me mi, etc. On completion, they would have covered twenty-four word sheets. Academically they were brought up to pass Standard II level and were able to read some books such as Mkhweli, Mbiriyakale and Mfulu. They were also taught arithmetic, hygiene and scripture (Bible study). Also the training was Cicewa. Good conduct was a cornerstone to successful completion of training. Every afternoon the trainees were involved in manual work and other training skills. In 1921 Rev. C.P. Pauw, who was the principal of the training school, reported that there were eighty students with their families at Madzimoyo.⁴¹

In 1926, all other training centres were closed and Madzimoyo remained the sole training school for teachers of the D.R.C.M. because of the new system brought in by the Native Education Department including the policy of grants-in-aid to upgrade the standards. A three year training programme was introduced. Only scholars with Standard II qualifications were admitted. The students were taught new teaching methods and school organisation. Agricultural and industrial training were also conducted.⁴² When English was made compulsory in 1929, it was immediately introduced at the training school. Jeremiya Banda, was one of the first to pass his course conducted in English in 1929 (see copy of his certificate together with those who got theirs from Jeanes school later at Appendix I).

Later, government reduced the teacher training period to two years. This followed a government ruling in 1932 that all training schools in the country should only enrol students with Std. IV qualifications. At the time, Madzimoyo had twenty-two trainee teachers who were preparing for the 1933 government examinations.⁴³ From 1934 a new regulation that required all candidates for the "Elementary School Teachers' Certificate" to have two years' professional training after passing Std. IV and those for the "Lower Middle School Teachers' Certificate" to have two years training after attaining Std. VI was put into force. Madzimoyo Training School complied and by the end of 1934 it had fifteen candidates with qualifications for the Elementary Teachers' Certificate.⁴⁴ Between 1939 and 1944 enrolments at Madzimoyo Training School were as follows: In 1939 there were 22 male students and in 1940 the number was low at seventeen. In 1941 it reached its lowest at fourteen. In 1942 the enrolment rose to twenty and in 1944, it stood at thirty-nine.⁴⁵ At the end of 1944, the training school was moved from Madzimoyo to Katete, first because Madzimoyo area was depopulated as a result of resettlement in Native reserves and secondly there was not enough land for future expansion.

By 1946 there were three main groups of teachers and teacher training courses in the country. First was the one year Junior Teachers' Certificate Course that was instituted

in 1944. This was earlier known as Ungraded Teachers' Course with Std. II entry level. The second group was the Elementary Teachers' Certificate course for two years. Only candidates with a pass at Std. IV were eligible. The Higher Teachers' Course, was specifically for teachers of the lower middle course, namely: Std. II and IV, and those serving teachers who had Elementary Teachers' Certificate. Katete Training School was able to conduct training courses for the Junior Teachers' Certificate and the Elementary Teachers' Certificate. Katete Training School had eighteen students with Std. IV qualifications for the Elementary Teachers' course and fifty-two male and six female students for the Junior Teachers' Certificate course.⁴⁶

In 1954, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission started a scheme for the re-training of T.5 teachers at their training school. Those selected from among the D.R.C.M. teachers were given a one year special course to enable them to pass Std. VI. On passing the examination they then formed a special stream and took the normal T.4 course as in-service training. It was an upgrading course and was quite a popular programme among the T.5 teachers.⁴⁷ T.5 was a designation given to teachers with Std. IV academic qualifications and T.4 was for teachers with Std. VI qualifications.

The Dutch Reformed Church Mission, like all other missionary societies that conducted teacher-training courses in their institutions, responded and adhered to the government regulations governing teacher training in the country rather than following their own policy. The church co-operated with the government in this venture until 1962 when it closed the teacher training wing of its institution at Katete and finally in 1965 when it closed the Domestic Science training wing. The closure was as a result of the envisaged establishment of a government teacher training college in Eastern Province. The White Fathers also closed theirs at Minga almost at the same time.

Primary education

The development of primary education under the Dutch Reformed Church Mission was in two stages: firstly, the elementary education that was given in village schools and secondly and at a later stage the middle and upper primary education that was provided in aided schools.

The effectiveness of the village schools as a means of evangelisation and their educational value were much questioned by the better educated people, yet the missionary society looked upon these as vehicles not only for evangelisation but also as a means to contact a larger proportion of the society. This explains why the Dutch Reformed Church Mission stuck

tenaciously to these schools until after 1945. Up to 1945, the number of these schools increased from 40 with an enrolment of 3,430 and 160 teachers in 1908 to 496 schools with an enrolment of 35,726 and over 1,00 teachers by 1942.⁶⁰ After 1945 the number of schools was reduced and in 1950 there were only 84 such schools with an enrolment of 4,402.

The 1925 Memorandum on African education encouraged the establishment of aided schools which conformed to government regulations and standards. The purpose was to provide higher and better education through the adoption of a uniform government syllabus.

In 1932 the government issued a regulation affecting teacher training. It was stated that only students with Std. IV qualifications were to be trained for Elementary School Teachers' Certificate and Std. VI qualification for the Lower Middle School Teachers' Certificate. If the Dutch Reformed Church Mission was to remain in the race to train teachers, it had to conform to the new demands. This necessitated the birth of primary education in their schools, as a sure way to remain in the teacher training programme by having their own primary schools from where to draw the trainee students. It was also a way to strengthen ties with their adherents if trainees were selected from among students in their schools.

By 1934, Madzimoyo and Tamanda schools offered Std. IV primary education. And in 1939, Nyanje, Magwero and Kamoto joined their ranks, while Madzimoyo and Tamanda produced their first Std. VI scholars, Madzimoyo with 16 scholars and Tamanda with 12.⁶¹ Jessee Banda, a respondent, was one of the early people to obtain the Std. VI qualification at Madzimoyo, in 1941 (see Appendix 1).

In the 1940s a number of aided schools under the Dutch Reformed Church Mission offered Std. IV primary education and a few, namely Madzimoyo, Tamanda, Magwero, Nsadzu, Nyanje and Katete, offered Std. VI.

The enactment of the African Education Ordinance in 1951 marked a completely new turn in the administration and development of African education in the primary sector in the country. It laid the foundation for the creation of the Local Education Authorities.⁴⁸

The 1951 African Education Ordinance was a result of the government's financial commitment through the introduction of the grants-in-aided scheme as was suggested in the 1925 Education policy. This grants-in-aid policy meant additional and increasing government expenditure. When the going was good in the early years to 1931, the government revenue was able to sustain the financial assistance to the missionary agencies. However, the economic slump of the 1930's had suddenly adverse effects on government's financial support for African education. The government's tax revenue was low and it became increasingly difficult for it to meet

its financial obligations.⁴⁹ In 1936, the Governor (Sir Hubert Young) summoned the elected members of the Legislative Council to a private meeting where he told them that in three years time Northern Rhodesia would be bankrupt.⁵⁰

The experiences of the economic depression bit deep into the minds of the Northern Rhodesia officials and remained lingering well after the slump had ended. The government did not now favour development schemes which it thought it would not be in a position to support financially. African education was one programme that was affected by this attitude. Charles R. Lockhart, the government Treasurer pointed out in 1936, "It is useless to develop schemes which we shall not be in a position to sustain."⁵¹

The government did not suddenly withdraw financial support for African education. Instead, it began to examine possible avenues for the ever increasing expenditure on African education. Africans themselves were to be involved and Native Authorities were considered possible partners of the central government which would become a new source of revenue to finance African education. The Native Authorities which came into force in 1930, were African local government bodies that offered Africans in the country an opportunity to participate in the development of African social welfare. The Native Authorities were used as tools of the colonial administration to implement the indirect rule policy.

Whatever projects were carried out in the reserves, the decision was made by the administration and then orders given to the Chiefs. To facilitate the principle of indirect rule, the Native Treasuries Ordinance was instituted in 1937. Native Authorities were given the responsibility to collect taxes within their respective areas. The Native Treasuries were to retain ten percent of the revenue collected for development projects in their areas.⁵² The first Native Authority school in the country was Ngoni School, near Kazimule in Eastern Province, opened in 1938. It was built by the Ngoni Native Authority.⁵³

As Data (1976) put it, "the total revenue of the Native Treasuries in 1946 amounted to £84,408 (excluding Barotseland). Out of the total expenditure of £63,072, Native Authorities spent 75 per cent on routine administration, mainly staff salaries. The local service for which they catered most was education on which they spent roughly 11 per cent of their expenditure". She went on to say that "what the Native Authorities were themselves interested in was the spread of educational and medical facilities for their people." They spent 16 per cent of their budgets on education in 1948.⁵⁴

In 1947, an arrangement between the Department of African Education and Native Authorities over their financial responsibilities was made. The Department of African Education was to be responsible for the payment of salaries

for certificated teachers, training for teachers for Native Authority Schools and capital grants for school buildings and equipment. The Native Authorities were to be responsible for uncertificated teachers' salaries, maintenance of boarders and administration of African education in the Native Authority Schools.⁵⁵

In 1949, the Director of African Education, put before the African Education Advisory Board a proposal for the administration of African primary education. This was to be the creation of Local Education Authorities in the country. The proposed scheme was designed to retain the active interest of missions in the primary school system and their guidance in training local communities to manage their own schools. The Local Education Authority for each province was to be called the "Provincial Development Team" and was to comprise local members of the Legislative Council, members of African Provincial Council and mission representatives.⁵⁶

The Local Education Authorities were empowered to establish, maintain and to ~~assist~~ primary schools. Government schools and Native Authority schools were to become Local Education Authority schools. Schools established by other bodies such as missionary societies were to be called "Voluntary schools," and these were to be sub-divided into

three categories namely controlled, aided and special agreement schools. Mission-managed village schools which were conducted in buildings erected with public funds, and on common land were to become either Local Education Authority schools or controlled schools only after reaching agreement with the party concerned. Should the school fall in either category, the financial and administrative responsibility would fall on the Local Education Authority. Aided schools and the special agreement schools on private property remained free of direct control of the Local Education Authority, (L.E.A.). These "aided schools" were to be responsible for the capital and maintenance expenditure on buildings and furniture, though they would be assisted by building and furniture grants from the L.E.A. Aided Schools would get fifty per cent, and special agreement schools, seventy-five per cent of the total cost.⁵⁷

The Dutch Reformed Church Mission was to be affected by this new move. First, a large number of the church's village schools were built on communal land and with public funds, through the grants-in-aid system. Second, the scheme was very much in line with the church's policy of giving responsibility to the Africans with an ultimate goal of making them self-supporting and self-governing and minimise dependence on the church. This was manifested in the support the Dutch Reformed Church gave to the scheme.

Bruwer of the D.R.C.M. felt strongly that African authority should be increased at once and missionary societies should take pride in being able to give more control to the Africans. He felt that time had come for the missions to give local communities more say in the management of their schools, in order to develop self-helping African communities.⁵⁸ On 2nd May, 1949, Bruwer wrote a memorandum on African Education which he submitted to the Cartmel-Robinson committee which was looking into the development of African local government. In support of the proposal, this is what he said:

"The thoughts which I wanted to express in this Memorandum are based upon my belief in development and progressiveness of the indigenous population of this country. The African must develop and will develop culturally and economically if given the chance. Therefore my opinion is that their education must not, as is at present the case, be apart from real life. It must under all circumstances join, as a functional unit within the community and tribal pattern."⁵⁹

When in 1951 the African Education Ordinance was enacted and the Local Education Authorities created in the country, the Dutch Reformed Church willingly handed over a number of their village schools to the new education authority. This was true of other mission societies. It should be noted that the relinquishing of schools by the mission societies to the Local Education Authority was gradual.

By 1955 the church had 83 aided schools at varying levels. In 1960, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission still had the largest number of aided primary schools in the Eastern province. Table 5 (p. 108) shows the enrolment per class for all agencies that were involved in the provision of primary education in the province:

Table 5: School Enrolments in Eastern Province, by Agency, 1960⁶²

AGENCY	SUB A	SUB B	STD I	STD II	STD III	STD IV	STD V	STD VI	TOTAL	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
R.C.M.	2918	2815	2719	2314	435	411	228	221	12061	84
F.M.	2254	2043	1931	1752	444	367	346	298	9435	71
M.C.A.	716	545	581	506	189	147	42	37	2763	21
E.A.*	2710	2749	2765	2266	651	653	403	352	12749	83
TOTALS	8798	8152	7996	6838	1719	1578	1019	908	37008	259

* Local Education Authority Schools.

At the time of the handover of its primary schools to the government in 1976, the D.R.C.M. admittedly had contributed considerably not only to the development of the level of education but to the supply of better educated citizens who were needed in many spheres of national development.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF KATETE

SECONDARY SCHOOL, 1957 - 1976

This chapter concentrates on a single institution, Katete Secondary School. This was the only secondary school run by the Dutch Reformed Church Mission. The chapter attempts to show the mission's intentions in opening the school, in the context of the church and the nation as a whole. The development of the school is analysed in terms of enrolments from 1957 to 1976. The reasons and circumstances that led to the Dutch Reformed Church Mission handing over the school to the government provide the conclusion to the chapter.

Secondary education in perspective

The provision of secondary education for the Africans in the country was, as Coombe (1967) put it, "utterly inadequate: it was began late, advanced hesitantly and encountered frequent and exasperating delays".¹ The government's educational policy on the provision of secondary education for the Africans was unclear. First, the colonial administrators in the country did not see the need for it. Any thought of secondary education was limited to providing it to a few

young men only, to meet the need for medical assistants, teachers, post office workers and agricultural assistants. The Northern Rhodesia government's attitude towards secondary education for the Africans was exposed by the Director of Native Education, Robert Caldwell, when in his 1934 Annual Report he wrote:

"It will be some years before an appreciable advance in mass literacy can be perceivable, yet it is the advance of a great multitude of villagers rather than the higher education of a selected minority, that must be our aim".²

The years later in 1936, Conrad Oppen, the Acting Director of Native Education reiterated the earlier statement:

"The policy of this government has always been to build a sound foundation of village education, to improve and develop the primary school and diffuse education as widely as possible among the people, rather than concentrate attention and expenditure on the higher education of a selected few."³

These two policy statements made by administrators who were directly involved in the promotion and advancement of African education, illustrate and illuminate just what the position was in the 1930's. This attitude did not develop from a vacuum. Firstly, colonial administrators did not consider secondary education essential to the advancement of Africans. Apart from a few positions that required secondary education, primary education was all that was needed so as to spread literacy to the largest possible population. Secondly, the white settlers had a general feeling that

education made the African "cheeky" and look down upon manual labour. Thirdly, giving Africans education above primary level would create competition for jobs with the poorly educated Europeans and in the end lead to white unemployment. Fourthly, though some missionaries recognised the desirability of junior secondary education, many, however, felt that their limited resources for education should be directed to the primary aim of evangelisation through village schools.⁴ The fear of the missionaries that they might not retain in their employment better educated Africans haunted them also.

The Latham Scheme

A form of post-primary education was first proposed in 1928 by the first Director of Native Education, Geoffrey C. Latham and was approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1932. In his proposal, Latham did not favour separate secondary schools, but preferred government schools that would be known as "Upper Middle Schools" which would offer an eight year primary course and be followed by two years of vocational training for clerks, telegraphists and interpreters.⁵ The 1928 proposals included a junior secondary education syllabus in English, Mathematics, Geography and History. The Upper Middle Schools were to open at Ft. Jameson, Kasama, Kasempa and Lusaka.⁶ When Latham retired in 1931, his forward-looking plan suffered setbacks. First,

his immediate successors did not recognise or appreciate the need to extend educational facilities into the field of secondary education. Secondly, the economic slump of the 1930's placed financial constraints on the government to implement the scheme. Thus, Latham's plan remained academic for a long time.

By 1935, the Northern Rhodesia government had not yet given serious thought to the question of secondary education and had no definite policy for dealing with it.⁷ However, pressure from the Colonial Office in London on the provision of a modest scheme of secondary education in the country stirred the government into action. In June 1935, representatives of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland met in Salisbury to discuss their educational policies. J.B. Clark, Acting Director of Native Education represented Northern Rhodesia. The conference agreed that there was need for secondary education for some Africans in each territory and recommended the establishment of a secondary school in Nyasaland to cater for all the three territories.⁸

This rather unsatisfactory arrangement was criticised in 1936 by J.H. Thomas, the Secretary of State for the colonies. The Governor of Northern Rhodesia (Sir Hubert Young) was requested to give a definite educational policy and to formulate a scheme to expand educational facilities for the Africans. Tyndale-Biscoe was appointed as the new

Director of Native Education in 1936, as a calculated step to help to revitalise the country's educational policy.

The De La Warr Commission, 1937

The De La Warr Commission was appointed by the Colonial Secretary to examine higher education in East Africa, but it helped to prompt the provision of secondary education to Africans in Northern Rhodesia. The Director of Native Education, Tyndale-Biscoe travelled to Uganda to meet the commission and explain the country's educational policy. He met difficulties in explaining why Northern Rhodesia lagged far behind the East African territories in the provision of secondary education. The commission strongly urged the expansion of educational facilities to the African:

"Generous provision must be made for the complete education of the future teachers and leaders of the African people. Such a policy is in the interest of the masses themselves."⁹

As a result of outside pressure and the government's own realisation of the need for secondary education, in 1938, the Director of Native Education, Tyndale-Biscoe proposed and obtained the government's approval to provide bursaries to five students for secondary education outside the territory, preferably East and South Africa. These five, Moffat Mpasela who went to Cape Province; Hubert Siwale to Kenya; Cephas Kabeta to Uganda; Alfred Hambayi

to Tabora in Tanganyika and Kenan Ng'ambi to a government secondary school in Tabora, were the first African pupils to be provided with secondary education by the Northern Rhodesia government.¹⁰ In the same year, 1938, an imaginative missionary of Lubwa mission, Rev. Maxwell Robertson, with the support of the Director, Tyndale-Discoe, opened a Std. VII class with nine students. This school closed in 1940. This was the first junior secondary class in the country.¹¹

The Nyasaland scheme to establish a central secondary school did not take off. The Northern Rhodesia Advisory Board and the Colonial Office pressurised the government to provide junior secondary facilities within the country. The government succumbed to pressure and in 1939, Lusaka Training Centre (Munali) enrolled its first students into Std. VII. Fifteen were accepted but only eleven reported. Four other students were enrolled in Std. VII at Kafue, the Methodist School. The Kafue class was, however, absorbed into Munali in 1940. So that by end of 1939, Northern Rhodesia had three institutions which offered junior secondary education namely Lubwa, Munali and Kafue, though only Munali was considered permanent.

Dutch Reformed Church Mission and secondary education

The participation of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in the provision of secondary education in the country can be seen as a response to circumstances which

involved a change in its policy on education. The mission pursued a policy of providing elementary education to as many people as possible only as means of evangelisation. Higher education to secondary education level was inconceivable in the mission circles.

In 1944, five years after the establishment of the first junior secondary schools at Munali, Kafue and Lubwa and at a time when only Munali offered secondary education since Kafue and Lubwa had closed their secondary classes in 1940, the Jesuit Fathers applied for permission from the government to open a junior secondary school at their Chikuni Mission near Monze in Southern province. The Department of Native Education was at first well-disposed to the application, but there was strong opposition from other missionary societies. If the Jesuits' application was granted, other missionary societies would have argued that preferential treatment was being accorded to one agency to enable it to carry out its own ideas. J.P. Bruwer, the D.R.C.M. representative on the African Education Advisory Board, suggested instead, the establishment of inter-denominational secondary schools to avoid division among the Christians.¹² His proposal implicitly meant that government should support one for the Catholics and another for the Protestants. A policy of balancing was necessary to maintain harmony among the missionary societies. This is

just what took place when in 1948 the government decided to increase the number of junior secondary schools. Chikuni for the Jesuits, the Anglicans' Mapanza near Choma in Southern province for the Protestants and Chalimbana east of Lusaka for the government, were to open the following year in 1949.

By 1949, there were four junior secondary schools in the country namely Chikuni, Chalimbana, Chipembi a Methodist girls' school near Chisamba and Mapanza, with Munali as the only centre that offered senior secondary education.¹³ The same year, the government proposed to open two additional mission secondary schools and applications were invited by the Department of African Education from the various missionary societies. Bruwer applied for an inter-denominational secondary school for the Eastern Province to be established at Katete, the Dutch Reformed station. In the African Education Advisory Board's resolution on establishing secondary schools, Katete was included.¹⁴ In 1955 instead, a government secondary and trades school was opened at Ft. Jameson (later Chizongwe Secondary School.) This in a way fulfilled Latham's proposal of 1928 to have an Upper Middle School in Ft. Jameson.¹⁵ The 1949 resolution still stood for future action.

Between 1950 and 1954, a number of mission societies applied to the government for establishing junior secondary schools. The Christian Missions in Many Lands wished to

open one at Chitokoloki in North-Western province while the White Fathers wanted a school to be opened in Malole, near Kasama in the Northern province.

The 1956 Advisory Board on African Education expressed strongly the need to expand secondary education in the country. Among other reasons advanced, the Board stated that to achieve the expansion of upper primary and trades education envisaged, candidates with junior and senior secondary qualifications were required for training as teachers and instructors. Secondly, it was pointed out that many government departments and training schemes found Std. VI qualifications inadequate for their needs. Thirdly, an expansion of secondary education was necessary to meet the demands of trade, commerce and industry and to ensure a firm basis for higher education. Lastly, it was realised that children passed Std. VI at a tender age of 14 or 15, too young for vocational training. Consequently, a recommendation was passed for the opening of more new junior secondary schools.¹⁶ And in August, 1957, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission opened its first and only secondary school at Katete in the Eastern Province. Chassa for the White Fathers was also opened in the Eastern province.¹⁷ Not surprisingly, the government took the step of opening two junior secondary schools in the province to balance and avoid divisions among the old rivals and their adherents. J.M. Badenhorst became the first Headmaster of Katete junior secondary school.

We note that the Dutch Reformed Church Mission's participation in providing secondary education was first a response to pressure from the colonial government and the missionary societies through the General Missionary Conference and the Advisory Board on African Education. Secondly, it was a strategy not to allow their rivals, the Roman Catholics, to out play them in the field of secondary education. Thirdly, it was the mission's realisation of the need for higher and better education if their missionary work was to advance and compete well with other societies. In other words, the Dutch Reformed Church was reacting to the inter-mission competition for influence very strongly. Fourthly, a secondary school would provide better educated candidates for the teacher training school and eventually improve the quality of teachers in their schools.¹⁸

Development of the school

Katete secondary school was to be part of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission complex that already had a primary school, teacher training and domestic science schools and the mission's local head offices. New buildings for the secondary school were not needed, since there were sufficient buildings to accommodate one class and its candidates.¹⁹

Katete opened with 35 boys in Form I. Teachers who taught in the teacher training school were also assigned work in the new secondary class. In 1958 the Form II class had 32 boys whereas Form I had 19 boys and 11 girls. The girls were accommodated together with female trainee teachers. Thus Katete junior secondary school became a co-educational institution only a year after its establishment. If examination results are one measure of the success of the school, then in the first three years, Katete was reasonably successful. To merely illustrate this assessment, the 1961 Form II examination results are shown in Table 6:

Table 6: Katete Secondary School: Junior Secondary Examination Results, 1961.²⁰

SUBJECT	ENTERED	DISTINCTION	CREDIT	PASS	FAIL
English	31	0	10	21	0
History	31	3	12	15	1
Geography	31	0	6	17	8
Science	26	0	4	15	7
Health Science	5	0	0	1	4
Mathematics I	31	0	3	6	22
Mathematics II	26	0	2	0	24
Civics	26	0	10	15	1
Woodwork	10	2	1	7	0
Chinyanja	31	1	9	20	1
Needlework	5	0	1	4	0
Latin	1	0	0	1	0
Agri. Science	6	0	2	4	0
Homecraft/Cookery	5	0	0	5	0
Art	10	0	3	7	0
Totals	275	6	63	138	68

Apart from Health Science where results were unsatisfactory and the two Mathematics papers where the results were disastrous, the rest of the subjects had encouraging results.

The development of Katete Secondary School, like all other secondary schools in the country, was regulated by government. Up till 1963, Katete ran only junior secondary classes. The first senior class of Form III was enrolled in 1963 with 24 boys and 6 girls. The development of the school in terms of enrolment is summarised in the Table 7:

Table 7: Katete Secondary School Enrolment, 1963-1976²¹

YEAR	FORM I		FORM II		FORM III		FORM IV		FORM V		TOTAL	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
1963	77	23	47	17	24	6					148	46
1964	77	28	77	27	23	7	24	5			201	67
1965	73	32	77	28	46	14	12	4	24	4	242	82
1966	73	32	73	32	44	16	43	15	26	5	258	100
1967	73	34	74	31	49	20	43	13	36	12	275	110
1968	72	72	74	34	59	13	50	19	42	10	297	148
1969	66	78	72	73	58	15	52	14	37	16	285	196
1970	59	28	70	74	51	19	55	12	53	12	288	145
1971	105	33	80	34	54	40	47	17	50	8	336	132
1972	108	146	129	36	80	35	38	35	51	15	406	167
1973	101	60	117	44	127	36	37	15	40	23	422	178
1974	107	61	102	59	116	43	57	15	42	13	424	191
1975	101	62	108	57	102	59	56	22	58	15	425	215
1976	106	58	101	59	118	55	63	21	57	21	445	215

Note: No explanation has been found for the sudden increase in girls' enrolment in 1968 and 1969, which was not sustained.

School administration

The Education Secretary of the D.R.C.M. based at Katete was the immediate supervisor of the D.R.C.M. schools. He ran primary schools with the help of Managers of Schools, who were answerable to him. Between 1954 and 1958, J.M. Badenhorst was the Education Secretary and when the secondary school was established in 1957, he became the Education Secretary and Headmaster of the new secondary school.²² It is hard to understand the arrangement but one would assume it was deliberate to give the Education Secretary opportunity to plan and establish a firm foundation and pattern for the new school.

When Mr. Badenhorst left in 1958, the two offices were separated. In 1959, Mr. A. Miles became the Head of the secondary school and Mr. P. Botha the new Education Secretary. The Education Secretary was the head of the educational wing of the D.R.C.M. activities. He was the link between the schools and the Department of African Education on one hand and between the church in Northern Rhodesia and the D.R.C.M. executive council in South Africa. The head of Katete Secondary School was under the authority of the Education Secretary. Among other duties of the Education Secretary, he was responsible for the recruitment of teachers for the secondary school, mostly from South Africa. Secondly, he was responsible for applying for government grants for both primary and secondary schools. He was also responsible for soliciting for funds from South

Africa. It was a silent policy of the church, as a later Education Secretary Rev. F.D. Sakala put it, to recruit all its secondary school teachers from South Africa, firstly, as a sure way to maintain close church links with the mother-body, and secondly, to get financial support from South Africa.²³ The Dutch Reformed Church Mission converted to the African Reformed Church in 1957. In 1966 Rev. Foston D. Sakala became the first local African to be the Education Secretary, taking over from P. Botha. Interestingly, later in 1978, Rev. Sakala was appointed Principal of the church's Theological College, taking over from Rev. W.A. Krige. He holds a B.A. degree in Education of the University of Zambia.

The handover

Between 1959 and March 1960 there were many disturbances in schools. Munali Secondary School was closed in November 1959 because of the unrest. And in March 1960, Hodgson Technical College, Ft. Jameson Secondary School, Ft. Rosebery Trades School, Kitwe Trades School, Chalimbana Training College and Canisius Secondary School (Chikuni) were closed because of student unrest. The commission that was set up to investigate the causes, established four main ones. Firstly was politics - the infiltration of African nationalism into schools. Secondly, the poor and dull diet given to students. Thirdly, it was a protest against the appointment of a United Federal

Party member, as Minister of African Education (Mr. G. Musumbulwa). Lastly, lack of social contacts between the staff and students left the students with no alternative to air out their grievances.²⁴ It is in this perspective that we would also look at the events of Katete Secondary School.

A sequence of events that took place at the school, coupled with the financial difficulties the missionary society was facing, ultimately led to the handing of the school to the government in December 1976. In January 1963 Form II students demonstrated against a science teacher, Mr. Jordaan. They considered him a poor and incompetent teacher, which the Headmaster refuted in his report. In the same year girls boycotted Miss Brandt's class of Domestic Science. The Headmaster, in consultation with the Education Secretary recommended the expulsion of the ring leaders, a move which the Provincial Education Officer of the Eastern Province supported.²⁵

No further disturbances occurred until July 1966, when Form IV students boycotted classes on the ground that their teacher Miss Terblanche was incompetent to teach them English. However, the Provincial Education Officer (Mr. P. Simooya), managed to persuade them to resume classes. The Headmaster in his submission, proposed the expulsion from school of six students who were alleged to be ring leaders.²⁶ In reply to the head's report, the Permanent Secretary said:

"The charges against Julius Mbewe, Zefinati Banda, Andrew Mwanza, Stephen Zulu, Janet Kalonga and Salatiel Njobvu, are I am afraid, very vague and reflect that the school is not administered efficiently.²⁷

Within months the school was embroiled in another controversy. On 11th November 1966, the Headmaster of Katete Secondary School (Mr. Miles) organised an alleged farewell party for the Form V students as was the school tradition at the end of the school year. It was badly timed. The Unilateral Declaration of Independence (U.D.I.) in Rhodesia had taken place exactly one year previously. U.D.I. was considered a threat to Zambia's peace. Zambia was hardly two years old as an independent state and any country or group of persons who supported or sympathised with the illegal government in Rhodesia or seemed to do so through their actions were regarded by Zambians as enemies of their country.

The Head should have been responsive to the political situation in the country. All teachers, white and Africans were invited to the party, though only few African teachers attended. The Education Secretary (Rev. F.D. Sakala) did not attend. White teachers wore placards one of which read "All the words are there except You and I". The African teachers and students became suspicious, first because it was the first time that teachers who came to such a party wore placards, and secondly, the wording of this one placard was conspicuously suggestive of U.D.I. The students concluded that the party

was in fact deliberately organised to celebrate Rhodesian U.D.I. There were some disturbances and the Education Secretary was called in. He advised the Head to cancel the party immediately.

Some students had run to Katete Police Station to report the incident.²⁸ Katete Police in turn cabled Ft. Jameson Police and the Provincial Education Officer. Through this channel, the Resident Minister for the Province was informed. The party of 11th November, 1966, had serious political repercussions on the school. Political leaders reacted harshly to the school authority. The Resident Minister for Eastern Province (A.J. Soko) at once wrote to the Minister of Education (J.M. Mwanakatwe):

"The purpose of writing is once more to express my anxiety about mission schools with teachers from one country and perhaps one province of either Orange Free State or.... I feel, that we must make some drastic changes in staff if a lot of the trouble is going to be avoided. Government during the coming school year should provide the school with teachers we can directly control instead of government being daily threatened by so called Christian teachers".²⁹

This was the first open suggestion by political leaders to take control of Katete Secondary School. The government had become suspicious of the white teachers and missionaries from South Africa. Although the Minister of Education replied cautiously: "I will keep a vigilant eye on the operation of Katete in the coming months",³⁰ The option of removing the

Dutch Reformed Church influence from Katete Secondary School came under consideration in the Ministry. Apparently, there is no record to show any expression of regret for what happened by the church or school. On 30th November, 1966 an Assistant Secretary (P.D. Snelson) had written the Provincial Education Officer, inquiring why the head of the school had not yet submitted a report on the incident. Instead Mr. Miles stepped down as head and left the country in 1967.

The following month an Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Education (Mr. Siwale), suggested to the Permanent Secretary, the take-over of the school to minimise trouble:

"Unsatisfactory human relationship among staff and students exists and I believe this has contributed to a rather unsatisfactory performance of the students in "O" level examinations..... It must be appreciated that most of the staff are recruited from the Republic of South Africa - they are products of a system that does not recognise an African as a fellow human being.... In the circumstances, I suggest the take over by government of the school from the A.R.C. as soon as practicable.³¹

In 1967, the African Reformed Church appointed an African (J.C. Madzivanyika) from Rhodesia as the new head replacing Mr. Miles. No explanation was given for such an appointment which overlooked all potential Zambian candidates. However, the unrest at the school between the staff and students continued, and on 5th March 1968 the head (Madzivanyika) reported to the Ministry on renewed strikes and violence at the school. The causes of the unrest, according to the Head's

report, were the students' rejection of teachers whom they said were unqualified and incompetent and the racial discrimination which the students alleged was practised by the white teachers.³² Since there was no subsequent refutation of the allegations in the letter, we would assume these were true.

Things at the school did not get better. The student - teacher confrontations went on. These happenings at Katete Secondary School continued to draw the attention of the Ministry of Education and the higher quarters of the government. This led to the government deciding that the recruitment of teachers from South Africa and their stay at Katete was a security risk which would not be allowed to continue. Hence, in 1970 the Minister of Education (W. Nyirenda) issued a directive to the Education Secretary of the African Reformed Church that as from 1st January, 1971 no teachers were to be recruited from South Africa and that those at Katete from South Africa were to terminate their services on 31st December, 1970 and leave the country.³³ Naturally, the missionaries reacted to the directive and tried to persuade the government to change its stand. It was in vain. It was during this crucial period, crucial in the sense that they were being expelled from the country more or less as criminals who had done more harm than good to the country, that the missionaries, out of frustration and disappointment, destroyed

or removed most of the valuable documents and records of their work in the country. This was discovered at Katete Archives of the A.R.C. when a number of empty files were found in the former Education Secretary's cabinets (7.7.80).

31st December, 1970, marked the end of effective participation in secondary education by the Dutch Reformed Church. Financial assistance from South Africa was cut drastically and this was the strongest blow Katete received to its survival as a mission institution. As though to demonstrate the government's determination to take control of the school, in 1971 Madzivanyika was transferred by the Ministry of Education to a school outside the province and in his place, without consulting the Education Secretary, a new head from the Copperbelt (Mr. Sibanda) was brought in. This was a deliberate and calculated move to forestall any attempt by the mission to reassert its control of the school. The church protested very strongly against the appointment of Sibanda and his alleged bad beer drinking habits. He was transferred in 1973. But then, the precedent was set, and subsequent heads of the school were appointed by the Ministry with little consideration of the church's interests. For example in 1974, a Mr. Kafuta, a teacher of Chadiza Secondary and a Roman Catholic was appointed Head of the school. He originally came from North-Western Province. The Ministry of Education, through the Chief Education Officer, had direct dealings, financially

and administratively, with the Head of the school and in many cases ignored the Education Secretary.

In 1975, the Permanent Secretary for Eastern Province (E.G. Sampa), expressed strong views in favour of the take over of all schools under the African Reformed Church:

"The Reformed Church would like to play its role in the education field but unfortunately the agency has no funds to fulfil this important task.... In the circumstances, I would urge that consideration be given as to how the schools under this agency will run and I am of the view that government should really take over the responsibility."³⁴

This is just what happened the following year, 1976, when the government took full responsibility for both the mission's primary and secondary schools.

Mr. K.S. Phiri, the last Education Secretary for the mission society, believes there were two main underlying reasons for the government's take-over of Katete Secondary School, financial problems and political pressures. By January 1976 Katete Secondary School owed the National Education Distribution Company of Zambia (NEDCOZ) some K166,513.69 and the Education Secretary's office owed the same company about K10,000.00. All this was supposed to be paid by the church. But the church could not raise the money and was even unable to pay the 25 per cent contribution towards the maintenance of the school to match the government's 75 per cent recurrent grant. In political circles, the

Katete District Development Committee and the Provincial Development Committee criticised the mission for failing to provide such services as electricity to the school and staff houses and also for failing to complete buildings or merely maintain the old ones. There was general stagnation at the school. If a new source of financial assistance had been available, the church would have continued to run the secondary school.³⁵ But there was none.

On 29th May, 1976 the Church Synod made a final resolution:

"The synod conference unanimously resolves that Katete Secondary School should be handed over to the government by 1st January, 1977."³⁶

The office of the Education Secretary was officially closed on 31st December, 1976. This marked the end of over seventy years of active participation in education work in the country by the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and its successors.

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CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION: EDUCATION AND CHURCH ORGANISATION

An attempt is made in this chapter to evaluate the educational work of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and ascertain if it has managed to establish an independent, self-supporting local church.

Education

The primary objective of the mission's educational work was to convert people to Christianity, to which the demands of secular education took second place. Although secular education was considered less important in the mission's activities, it was evident as time went on that educational work could no longer be viewed as an auxiliary of evangelisation, but rather as a means to consolidate the Christian principles and teaching among the adherents. The central mission stations were the nucleus of the religious and educational activity whose influence and success were symbolised by the number of out-schools established and people enrolled in them. The assessment of the success or failure of the educational work of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and its successors need to be discussed in the light of its aim of establishing a local church which would be self-supporting

self-governing and which could expand from its own inner strength.¹

The Dutch Reformed Church put great emphasis on elementary education for both the old and the young as a means of creating a Bible-reading society through which mass evangelisation would be possible and village schools were the vehicle through which this could be achieved. As Snelson has commented, the Dutch Reformed Church was the society that established the largest number of village schools in the country with the greatest out-reach to the people.²

From 1925, the educational system in Northern Rhodesia developed as a result of active co-operation between missionary societies and government through the Department of Native Education. It was the government's duty to assist the missionary societies through the payment of grants, to run the country's primary schools. By 1945, Northern Rhodesia had 1,112 schools, 1,061 of which were run by the various missionary societies.³ The standard of education provided in mission schools gradually and systematically improved through the implementation of the government syllabus and in order to qualify for government grants. In addition to the 63 aided schools which the Dutch Reformed Church ran by 1945, it also had over 280 unaided schools which enrolled some 15,000 pupils. Despite their many faults, the hundreds

of little village schools, which were extended to the remotest villages, became the vehicle by which not only the Gospel but also literacy were brought to as many people in Eastern Province as possible. Adults as well as young were given equal opportunity to achieve the rudiments of education. Snelson inferred that the better agricultural activities that were going on in Chipata, Katete and Petauke areas were a result of the adult education that was given by the Dutch Reformed Church, which sharpened people's intelligence, aroused their ambitions and made them more responsive to whatever schemes were introduced by the government to develop their agricultural skills.⁴

While this contribution was noteworthy, we should remember that the areas in question are the more fertile parts of the province and with concentrated population. Secondly, it was in these areas that the Native Reserves were established, hence it became essential to apply better methods of agriculture for the people's survival. We should not rule out the influence the White Fathers had on the development of agriculture in these districts because they too had a similar programme among their adherents of encouraging the use of better agricultural methods.

The introduction of industrial training just as that of agricultural skills was never intended to train very highly skilled artisans. The sole aim was to offer

rudimentary skills which would enable people to make the best use of their resources. While we apparently do not have any figures to show how many people went through this programme since it started and how many either got employed by the missionary society or migrated to European centres, we do appreciate that the mission's attempts were worth the effort. We find today (1981) examples in the province, of villages with brick houses constructed by builders trained by the church. We also find small carpenters' shops operated by people trained in the Dutch institutions. Those employed on white farms helped to build tobacco barns, many of which still exist today.

The rivalry that developed between the D.R.C.M. and the White Fathers in the province was very unhealthy for the development of Christianity and instead created mistrust between the adherents of the two societies. On the other hand, however, the rivalry created very high competition. This led to each church attempting to open as many schools as possible as a way of claiming more area under its influence. This enabled many people to have the chance to acquire rudimentary education and spread literacy. The use of local people as teachers and evangelists by the D.R.C.M. attracted many people to their church. Katete Secondary School was a product of this competition since the D.R.C.M. did not want to be left behind by the White Fathers. By the time of the handover of all primary schools to the

government in 1976, the R.C.Z. (D.R.C.M.) had 86 out of 430, the largest number of schools run by a single missionary agency in the Eastern province.⁵

It is important to mention that few missionaries in the country made a more valuable contribution to the relief of human suffering than those of the D.R.C.M. As early as 1905, only six years after the establishment of the church in Northern Rhodesia, Mrs. Issie Hofmeyr, wife of the missionary-in-charge of Magwero, made an attempt to teach blind children. She had a class of five. Unfortunately she died in 1910 and her work was at a standstill until Ella Botes re-opened the blind school at Madzimoyo in 1914. She had twelve pupils. The school was finally transferred to Magwero in 1930 after having been transferred to Nyanje at one time in 1923. Cicewa reading sheets and some parts of the Bible were transcribed into Braille. By 1963, 27 blind pupils from Magwero had passed Standard VI and some had been trained as teachers for the blind, telephone operators and as evangelists. While the number of pupils who passed Standard VI was so small, we need to evaluate the success of the efforts, not in terms of number but rather in the valuable training it gave to the blind and the hope it created among them that they too could lead valuable and useful lives for themselves and the society as a whole.⁶ Magwero School for the Blind, is now run by the government. In 1964 Ella Botes opened a class at Magwero for the deaf and dumb with five

pupils. The class has since grown into a full primary school which is now also run by the government.

Ella S. Botes was born on 18th January, 1890 at Boshof in the Orange Free State. In 1912, at the age of twenty-one, she completed her teacher training and came to Zambia, where she worked for over 53 years. Her great work among the blind children was honoured first in 1946 when King George VI personally awarded her the M.B.E. at a ceremony in Livingstone. Fifteen years later the University of the Orange Free State conferred on her an honorary Doctorate Degree in Education, and in 1971 the South African Council for the Blind gave Botes the Bowen Medal for her distinguished service. She retired from active service in 1966 at the age of 76.⁷

Church organisation

"Its aim has always been to establish a local church which would be self-supporting, self-governing and which could expand from its own inner strength."⁸

The aim of the D.R.C.M. to plant and develop an autonomous and indigenous church wherever they worked was pursued vigorously. There were several reasons for this. Firstly, it was felt that it would make the work of the white missionary easier since he would be helped by the local people. Secondly, the church could use the wisdom and advice of the African elders and evangelists with regard to African customs. An important aspect of mission work was to understand people

and their ways of life to effectively evangelise them. Thirdly, since the aim was to create an indigenous church, people should be given the chance from the beginning to understand rightly their responsibilities and duties in the church. In this way the church hoped to encourage independent development of the Africans in their culture and traditions and enable them to determine their own destiny within it. This approach was within the church's racial policy of "independent cultural growth of different races". Incidentally the small Afrikaner community in Zambia still runs its own church with the same name "Dutch Reformed Church" and conducting their services in Afrikaans. This is perhaps not unusual in a country where freedom of worship is upheld.

While the church evangelists were locally trained, the training of ministers was done in Malawi at Nkhoma. The first African of Northern Rhodesia to be ordained as a church minister of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission was Justo Mwale in 1929, almost 30 years after the church had been established in the country. Justo Mwale was born in 1894 in M'cewere village near Chipata. He began his education at a village school, Mphuzuzu, in 1907. In 1911 he became a village teacher after completing Standard II, and the following year he was baptised as a Christian. In 1915 he was sent to Madzimoyo for further teacher training which he completed in 1916. In 1921 he was sent to Nkhoma in Malawi for two years

training as a lay preacher. On completion in 1923 he was posted to Madzimoyo and worked with Rev. C.P. Pauw. In 1927, Justo Mwale was sent again to Nkhoma, now to train as a Minister, and was ordained on 29th September, 1929. He died in December, 1955.¹⁰ It was decided in 1939 to establish a preacher's training centre at Nsadzu. The first intake was in 1940 under the guidance of Rev. T.A. Theron.

All policies and decisions pertaining to missionary work in Northern Rhodesia were made by the Synod in the Orange Free State. This could not continue if people were to learn to manage their own affairs. So in 1943, the Synod of Northern Rhodesia, the highest policy making body of the church, was constituted. The Synod was made up of all the white missionaries-in-charge of stations and one church elder from each station. Representatives from the Orange Free State and Malawi attended Synod meetings. And in 1945 a bold decision was made to open a theological college at Madzimoyo and stop sending people to Nyasaland for training. Due to inadequate funds the construction of the college was slow and it opened in February 1951 with 10 students.¹¹ The entry qualification was Standard IV, though in 1956 it was raised to Standard VI.

Eighteen years after its establishment at Madzimoyo, in 1964, the Synod decided to move the theological college to Lusaka. Since more congregations had been established

along the line of rail, it was considered logical to have the college in Lusaka serve both the Eastern province and the line of rail fairly easily because of better communications. It was also considered simpler to contact the outside world from Lusaka than from Madzimoyo. A new college was constructed at Chamba Valley, 10 kilometres east of Lusaka, near Kaunda Square township. It was officially opened in 1975 with a new name, "Justo Mwale Theological College", after the first African to be ordained as a minister in the church. Entry qualifications were raised to Form III. Between 1979 and 1980, the college enrolled 25 students. It is reported that as from 1982 only candidates with Form V qualifications are to be accepted.

One sad note is that between 1951 and 1978, a period of over 25 years, only 51 persons have been trained and ordained as ministers of the church. The reasons are not far fetched. First, the profession did not attract many better educated people because of the poor conditions of service and salaries. In the 1950's ordained ministers were receiving £5.00 per month. Secondly, the church failed to produce its own better educated people from its own schools because of its insistence, till late, on providing elementary education only.

The church organisation is in three stages. First, the Synod is the highest policy making body of the church. It

is composed of all church ministers and one church elder from each congregation. It meets regularly, at least every three years. A General Secretary, who is also a church minister, runs the day to day affairs of the Synod and is stationed at Katete. Presently, there are 44 congregations in the country and each is requested to contribute K450.00 per year towards the running of the Synod. The Synod gets no financial or personnel assistance from outside, except in respect of the theological college.

The second stage is the Presbytery. A Presbytery is made up of a number of congregations. One minister and one church elder from each congregation that forms a Presbytery makes its composition. Within the membership, an executive committee is formed with a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and his vice and two members. The Presbytery deals with matters concerning the congregations in its area, and may make recommendations to the Synod. Presently (1981) there are four Presbyteries in the country. The Copperbelt Presbytery covers all towns on the Copperbelt, Lusaka Presbytery covers the area from Kabwe to Livingstone. Eastern province has two: Nyanje Presbytery which covers an area from Luangwa to Sinda whereas the Magwero-Tamanda Presbytery is from Katete to Chipata including Chadiza and Jumbe areas.

The last stage is the "church elders council". This concerns itself with its congregation. It is made up of the church minister who is the chairman and church elders. This council discusses financial, disciplinary and administrative matters of their congregation. All decisions if need to be, are passed on to the Presbytery for approval. Should the matter be controversial, it is referred to the Synod for a final decision.

To a large extent, the church in Zambia has become self-supporting. All payments of church ministers are made by the local congregation. Presently church ministers are paid K180 per month. Any development is planned and financed by the congregation itself. In areas where piped water and electricity are provided to the minister's house, congregations have taken it as their responsibility to pay for these services and not the minister. As stated earlier, congregations contribute K450 to the Synod. The congregations are also to contribute any amount to the Justo Mwale Theological College. The college now gets 75 percent of its financial needs from the D.R.C. of the Orange Free State and only 25 percent is raised locally. Last year, 1980, the college received K30,000 from South Africa.¹² Manpower for the local church is 100 percent localised but lecturers from South Africa are still recruited for the Theological College. Presently there are six lecturers of

whom three are white missionaries from the Orange Free State. This recruitment is always done on request from Zambia. The church is, however, badly hit by lack of adequate transport which could be used not only to co-ordinate work of various congregations but also to transport manpower to areas that need it as quickly as possible.

The church is self-governing since all decisions and church policies are made through the three bodies which are all led by local leaders. There is no reference made to outside advice or interference. It is noted, however, that whenever the Synod meets, the Orange Free State Synod sends its representatives to the conference by invitation as observers.

By 1951, the church had 19 congregations in the country.¹³ At the end of 1964, these had risen to 30 and in 1981, the congregations stood at 44 with 47,000 adherents.¹⁴ The increase of the number of congregations in the country is a manifestation of the church's own expansion, which could be attributed to a number of reasons. Firstly, it could be as a result of well-coordinated efforts by the church leaders to reach as many people as possible. Secondly, it could be as a result of religious revival among the church members who have tried to bring in their friends. Thirdly, the Reformed Church for a long time has been

associated with the people of Eastern province. Since many from the province have scattered in the country, this has tended to spread the church to many new places. It is interesting to note that the church has opened congregations in Kasama, Mbala, Mkushi, Solwezi and Mansa as well as on the Copperbelt, Kabwe, Lusaka and Livingstone.¹⁵

Despite its shortcomings in the field of education, especially its lack of enthusiasm to introduce the teaching of English in its schools early and its cultural policies which were too easily identified with racial inequality and segregation, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission laid a sound foundation for the creation and development of a local church that would be self-supporting, self-governing and that which could expand from its own inner organisation. The development of this church with its unique system of organisation was very slow because the church was late in providing higher education to its members and because of the lack of foresight to train as many church ministers as possible who in turn were to offer church leadership. The lack of an adequate number of ordained ministers in the church is and shall be a problem for the church for a long time to come, but with the vigorous interest the church shows in the Theological College in Lusaka, it is hoped that the problem will be lessened and better educated and better trained church leaders will emerge to carry forward what was started in 1899.

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Mrs. Mewe,
please give the enclosed
papers to Mr. R. L. Bam-Ga.
There are (15) fifteen papers only.
and the charge is K4.50.
Let him give you K4.50
before he collects the papers.
Thanks!

B. Afterger

23/11/82

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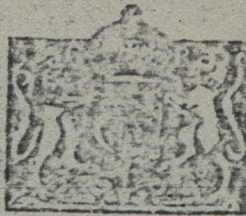
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Government of Northern Rhodesia.

Department of Native Education.

CERTIFICATE FOR TEACHERS.

This is to certify

that Ceremiah Banda
of Pulazi Village
Mbang'ombe District, trained at Medzi Moyo
has passed the Examination for Teachers Certificates held in 193¹ 29

Date 11 Sept., 1933

Director of Native Education.

Government of Northern Rhodesia.
NATIVE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

JEANES SCHOOL.
MAZABUKA.

Certificate

This is to certify that *Justice Mubwa*
sent by *Native Reform Society*
commenced his training at the Jeanes School,
Mazabuka, on *September 1st 1932* and
obtained the provisional certificate. On the
recommendation of the Provincial Superintendent
he is now granted the final **Jeanes School
Certificate** in respect of the work for which he
was trained, viz. the Supervision of Village Schools.

Signed :

[Signature]
Principal, Jeanes School.

[Signature]
Superintendent of Native Education.

[Signature]
Director of Native Education.

Date

Feb 27th 1935



Government of Northern Rhodesia.

Department of African Education.

UPPER MIDDLE SCHOOL
CERTIFICATE (STANDARD VI.)

This is to certify

Name (in full) Jesse Banda

Village Tsumbwi

District Fort Jameson.

Educated at Madzimovo

has passed the Government Upper Middle School Examination
in the year 1941

[Signature]
for Director of African Education.

Number 753

Date 28th July, 1941.