

CHITAMBO MISSION: A HISTORY OF MISSIONARY
EDUCATION AND ITS IMPACT ON LALA SOCIETY
OF SERENJE DISTRICT, 1906-1964.

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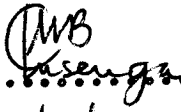
BERNARD MWAPENTHEEMBE CHISENGA

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY
OF ZAMBIA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
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ARTS (HISTORY).

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DECLARATION

I BERNARD MWAPENTHEEMBE CHISENGA, hereby
declare that this dissertation represents
my own research work, and that it has not
been previously submitted for a degree at
this or any other University.

Signed: .....
Date: 20/11/87.....

APPROVAL

This dissertation of BERNARD MWAPENTHEEMBE CHISENGA is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in History at the University of Zambia.

Examiners

1. *S.O.M. Zilombo*
2. *Balan Nyeko*
3. *Fay. Cadedu*
4.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the impact of mission education on Lala society between 1906 and 1964. The mission engaged in academic, industrial, medical and agricultural education. In addition the mission played a commercial role in the district by buying and selling African surplus of agricultural produce and its own surplus to a local market and by running a general store. The mission was also a source of employment. The interaction of these mission activities and mining capital in the Southern African region hastened the development of Serenje district into a labour reserve and seriously undercut the aims of the mission in the district.

The mission's activities contributed to the entrenchment of a cash economy and resulted into a reorientation of the commercial patterns and trade relations in the district that undercut indigenous trade patterns and relations.

The mission through its educational activities and employment undermined the traditional patterns of social status and prestige in the district contributing new social categories hitherto unknown in the area such as teachers, clerks, and the clergy.

The mission's educational system had the impact of producing a new political leadership pattern in the district that came to the fore on the local and nationalist politics, between 1930 and 1964. Having backgrounds that were not tied to the traditional elite this new leadership represented not a continuity but a break in the district leadership.

PREFACE

This study investigates the impact of Chitambo Mission's educational activities on Lala society between 1906 and 1964. When the Mission was established an education system was set up that offered academic, industrial, agricultural and medical education. The aim was, apart from creating a cadre for mission service, to create an educated segment that would live in Christian communities and engage in cash crop farming. Within these communities the trained artisans would settle and provide services to their communities. It was hoped these elements would be agents of social and economic change that would contribute to a transformation of the Lala society and economy. The study examines how far these aims were realised in Serenje District.

Serenje District is inhabited by the Lala and Ambo people who form a complex of peoples found on both sides of the Zaire and Zambian border and form part of the people inhabiting a part of Mkushi district. The area was settled by the Lala before the 17th Century as a sequel to the Luba-Lunda diaspora. They established a Chitemene agrarian economy embodying subsidiary activities such as iron working and trade. The chiefs and headmen assumed political, administrative and religious powers. By the late 19th Century eight chieftaincies had emerged, namely, Muchinka, Mailo, Kabamba, Serenje, Chibale, Muchinda, Kafinda and Chisomo. These chiefdoms represented a confederation of the 'Lala Nation' in which a large measure of autonomous jurisdiction existed.

During the process of data collection for this study a major problem encountered was lack of comprehensive and consistent statistics in written sources. Quantification in oral testimonies

PREFACE continued

was also largely vague. Another problem encountered and which slowed down the research process was the transfer of written documents from Chitambo Office Archives to the Theological College Archives at Mindolo. At Chitambo I was informed that a large quantity of material had been removed for depositing at Mindolo. My trip to Mindolo revealed that this 'large quantity' of material had not arrived as by January 1987. Further investigations through my informants led me to Kabwe where I found the Chitambo material still on transit to Mindolo. I had to make several trips to Kabwe to borrow and return these Chitambo Files.

In research of this nature one feels indebted to several people who rendered assistance in the course of the data collection process. I am indebted to the staff of the National Archives of Zambia and the University of Zambia Library. At Chitambo I express my thanks to the Deaconess of Chitambo Church, the hospital administration for providing me accommodation and meals, to Dr. Annet Dekker for her hospitality and thought provoking discussions, to Mr. and Mrs. M.E. Chisulo for their hospitality. At Serenje Boma my gratitude goes to Mr. Mawuko for providing me with information that enabled me locate my major informants. I also thank my informants for sparing time off from their rainy season agricultural chores to discuss with me. In Kitwe I extend my thanks to Mr. Felix Chansa for the hospitality readily and kindly extended to me.

At Charles Lwanga Teachers' College I appreciate the assistance of Mr. B.K. Nshinbi, Mr. A.B.M. Nzala and Reverend J. McGloin S.J.

PREFACE continued

At the University of Zambia my sincere and profound gratitude goes to my academic supervisor, Dr. F. Gadsden for her untiring guidance. To my wife Yombe and children Nchawaka, Mwapentheembe and Chisenganamakani, I express heartfelt gratitude for their perseverance. To Miss Bertha Lukungwe, I say thank you for typing this dissertation.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work out of my own sweat
to my parents William Chisenga Mumba and
Agness Mwapontheembo for their sweat and
sacrifice to raise me.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.L.C.	African Lakes Company.
A.N.C.	African National Congress.
B.S.A. Co.	British South Africa Company.
D.C.	District Commissioner.
D.N.E.	Director of Native Education.
L.M.	Livingstonia Mission.
L.N.A.C.	Lala Native Authority Council.
L.S.N.A.C.	Lala Superior Native Authority Council.
N.A.	Native Authority.
REV.	Reverend.
U.A.T.S.	Unified African Teaching Service.
U.M.C.A.	Universities Mission to Central Africa.
U.N.I. P.	United National Independence Party.
Z.E.N.	Zambia Enrolled Nurse.

CHANGED NAMES

Fort Jameson	Chipata
Fort Rosebery	Manse
Northern Rhodesia	Zambia
Nyasaland	Malawi

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INTRODUCTION

The establishment of Chitambo Mission in 1906 by the United Free Church of Scotland was an extension of the influence of this church into North-Eastern Rhodesia from its Nyasaland Mission¹. It was established on invitation from the B.S.A. Co. which wanted a medical mission set up in memory of David Livingstone in the area where he had died in 1873.

Studies on the other Livingstonia missions of Lubwa and Mwenzo both also extensions of the Nyasaland Mission, indicate that the impact of these missions on societies where each operated was substantial². Chitambo Mission as a Livingstonia mission has remained neglected, hence this study.

The subject of this study is the impact of missionary education on Lala society between 1906 and 1964. The area of study is Serenje District. The study has two major objectives. The first is to trace the development of mission education examining the constraints on its development in an effort to assess the impact of these constraints on the pace, nature and direction of educational growth of the district. Secondly, to analyse the economic, social and political impact of mission activities in Serenje District.

METHODOLOGY

The research process for this study consisted of three phases. The initial phase involved data collection from primary and secondary sources published and unpublished held in the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) and the University of Zambia Library (UNZA) between September and November, 1986.

The second phase was field research in Serenje District where I spent December, 1986 collecting further data from written sources and oral testimonies. Oral evidence was collected in informal interviews and the target group consisted of former mission teachers and workers, former pupils especially those who had worked in the colonial district administration and chiefs and headmen. However, due to the vastness of the district and communication obstacles I was unable to interview all the chiefs in the district. Written documents were secured by the courtesy of the Deaconess in charge of Chitambo church.

The third phase consisted of further interviews in Mumbwa and Kapiri Mposhi and a trip to the Theological College Archives at Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation in Kitwe. I spent January, February and March, 1987 on this phase of research.

To enhance understanding of this study, the analysed data has been presented in three chapters.

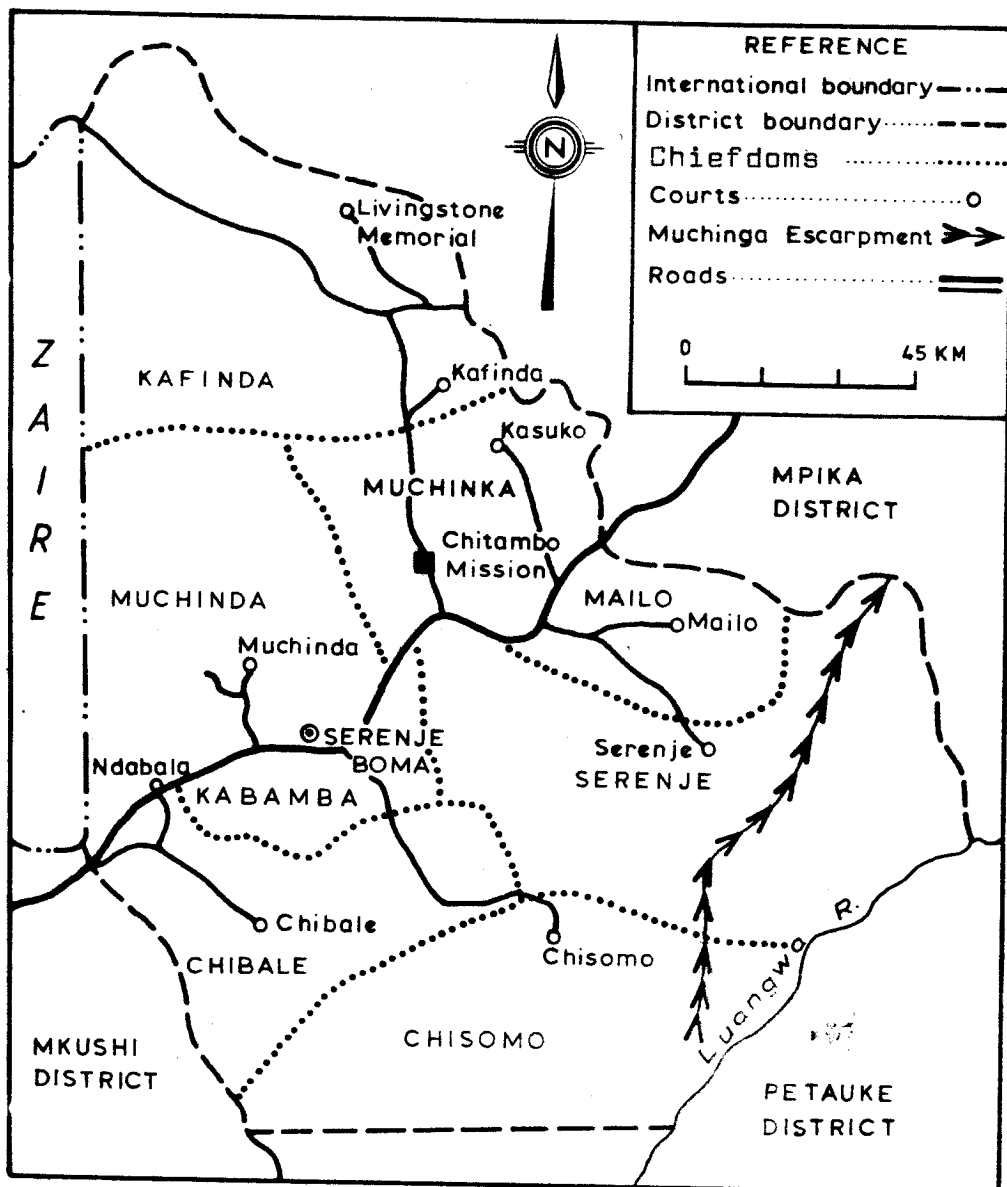
Chapter one provides a background survey of the development of mission education in Serenje District between 1906 and 1964. The chapter explores three broad themes, viz, African participation, the nature of the impact of the other Livingstonia missions on the character and direction of education development at Chitambo, and how the colonial political economy affected the development of education at Chitambo.

Chapter two examines the nature of the economic impact of the mission on the economy of Serenje District. The analysis emphasises the failure of the mission to transform the economy into a peasant economy. The chapter shows that the major obstacles were the periphery relationship of the district as a labour reserve, and mission education.

Chapter three examines the social and political impact of the mission on Lala society. In terms of its social impact the study examines the social differentiation that occurred in the district due to the contribution of education and wage employment. The study draws attention to the unequal relationship **between men and women**. The chapter also examines the impact of the mission on the political processes in the district as it relates to the contribution by the mission to the growth of an educated political leadership.

NOTES:

1. R. Laws, Reminiscences of Livingstonia (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1934).
 2. C.C. Guthrie, 'The Emergence and Decline of a Mission Educated Elite in North-Eastern Zambia 1895-1964', Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana University, 1978.
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MAP 1: SERENJE DISTRICT SHOWING LOCATION OF CHITAMBO MISSION.

SOURCE: Buckle, A.G., Serenje History Notes - Manuscript 1976.

CHAPTER ONE

ESTABLISHMENT AND GROWTH OF MISSION EDUCATION IN SERENJE DISTRICT 1906-1964.

THE MISSIONARY AIMS.

Chitambo Mission was established in 1906 as an offshoot of the Livingstonia Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland in Nyasaland. Besides Chitambo, the Livingstonia Mission established Mwenzo and Lubwa Missions in North-Eastern Rhodesia in the years 1895 and 1905 respectively.¹

It is this link with the Livingstonia Mission which provides the framework within which the missionary aims can be discussed. The Livingstonia Mission was inspired by the ideals of David Livingstone conceived out of his African experience as an explorer. The core of his ideals was to bring 'Christianity and Commerce' to East-Central Africa as a solution to the social, economic and religious malaise that he thought existed in the parts of Africa that he visited in the late 19th Century. He was interested in bringing the East African slave trade to an end.² He saw 'legitimate trade' as vital in undercutting the activities of the Arab slave traders by providing alternative trade goods which were to be made available by the establishment of cash crop economies and European trading companies in East-Central Africa. Livingstone argued that by integrating East-Central Africa into the world capitalist system, the impact would be the uplifting of the low living standards of the African peoples in the region. According to Livingstone the work of the missionaries to be established in Christian missions in the region was also

going to uplift the low moral and spiritual standards.

With financial support from some rich Scottish industrialists the Livingstonia Mission (LM) was established in Nyasaland in 1875. The stated aims of LM were "'to act as an auxiliary to commercial ventures; 'to smooth away obstacles in the path of economic progress', 'to educate Africans in technical skills and in the qualities of thrift, self reliance and hard work'." ³

"It is in the context of these aims that education as a vehicle of proselytisation assumed great importance. Notable in these efforts was the establishment of the Overtoun Institute in 1895 in Northern Nyasaland where academic, religious and industrial education was provided.

This education was to aim at producing agents who would, possessing the new literacy skills, knowledge of the scriptures, vocational skills in agriculture and in industrial crafts, exert a christian and innovative presence in their communities. Agricultural skills and knowledge imparted would ensure the success of the new cash-crop economy and were expected to exert great influence on this process of the reorientation of the rural agricultural economy.

Therefore, these educated African Christians were to function as agents through which a Christian civilisation and a cash crop peasant economy would penetrate these hitherto subsistence economies of East-Central Africa. In the final analysis the African church would in this way possess an inherent ability of self-extension, self-support and grow into an independent church in terms of financial and human resources.

It is in the light of these aims that the Livingstonia Mission in Nyasaland established a network of churches, an educational system and experimented in agriculture.

The United Free Church of Scotland missions in Northern Rhodesia as an extension of the influence of the Nyasaland mission embraced these aims and set up institutions of Christian social service in the societies where they established themselves.

THE INITIAL YEARS: SETTLEMENT AND THE BEGINNING OF EDUCATIONAL WORK, 1906-1925.

SETTING UP THE MISSION:

"Njelesa Livingstone arrived sick from the Bisa country in Chimese's area. After crossing Lulimala river he arrived at Chitambo (Nsumsya Visinga village). After two or three days Njelesa died. This caused the mission in Scotland to erect a mission in his memory at Chitambo."⁴

This expresses local enlightened opinion of the coming of the United Free Church of Scotland to Chitambo. Codrington, the B.S.A. Co. administrator of North-Eastern Rhodesia offered to the Livingstonia Mission 1,000 acres of land around the site where Livingstone's heart was buried so that a medical mission could be established in the memory of the explorer-missionary-doctor who had died in 1873. Malcolm Moffat and Dr. Brown were chosen to come and open Chitambo Mission, perhaps because of their varied educational and practical skills.⁵ They arrived with the Moffat family of wife and two children at old Serenje Boma in May 1906 and found Mr. Croad (Chendananseko) the District Commissioner. They rented the house of a trader, Creed.⁶ They stayed here for two years.

The original intention of setting up the mission at the exact spot where Livingstone's heart was buried was frustrated by the presence of tsetse flies and mosquitoes in the area.

An alternative site at Mabonde was chosen. This area was in the vicinity of Chimponda and Katikulula villages and lay between the Mabonde and Changulube rivers. A tract of land incorporating Chimponda's village and the head waters of the Mabonde river, to the extent of 3,000 acres was secured for Chitambo Mission.⁷

The two years spent at Serenje Boma by Moffat's group marked the beginning of Mission education. The District Commissioner wrote;

"The Livingstonia Mission bought Werhams buildings at Serenji (plot two acres on quit rent £1.00 per annum). Opened by G.M. Moffat in May 1907, - also Dr. Brown, native school at Serenji"⁹(sic).

We also get a glimpse of the type of students enrolled in this school from the 1908 annual report;

"The Livingstonia Mission opened at Serenji in June and have done good work. The station Gs and Police who have attended school have made good progress"⁹ (sic).

The records throw no light on whether the first students attended of their own free will or were coerced by the D.C. The nature of their employment would suggest that they were coerced. The fact that their progress was monitored strengthens this view. The mission employed five teachers and seven monitors.¹⁰ Out-schools were not begun immediately.

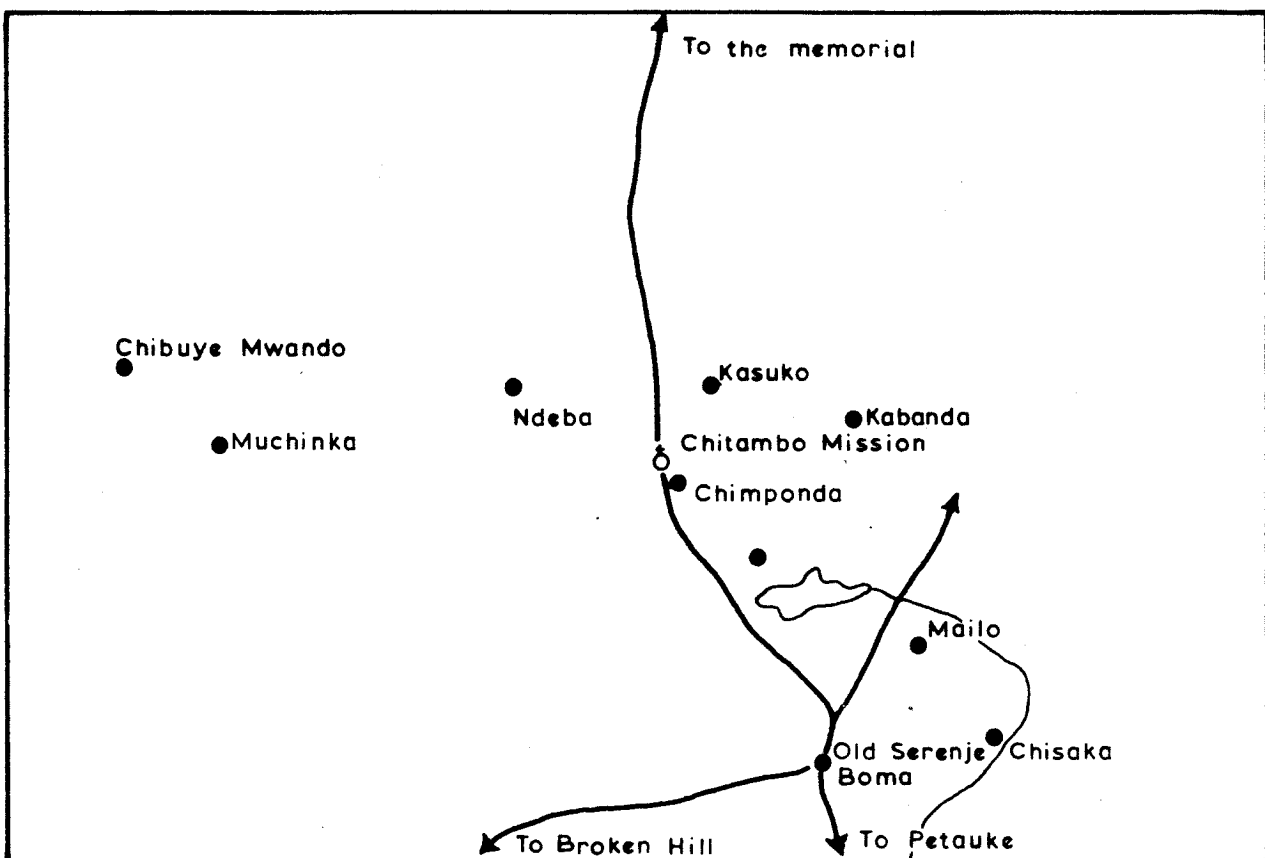
In 1908 when the mission moved to its present site close to the Mabonde river the educational work was expanded further. African participation also grew both in scope and numerical strength. When the out schools were established in 1908 the total strength of the teaching force stood at 42 by December 1908 and total average enrolment at 846 scholars.¹¹ The boarding school at the mission station for boys was established at this time and a number of outschools as shown on the sketch map. This reflected a concentration of schools in the Chiefs Muchinka and Mailo areas. From a teachers deployment schedule of December 1910 listing teachers' names, 21 out of 54 can be

positively identified as local Lala.¹² The majority of the teachers were Nyasas from the Livingstonia Mission in Nyasaland. The integration of the Lala cadre by use of a monitorial system gave impetus to a relatively fast expansion of educational activities. The teacher at this time functioned as a spiritual leader of the Christian community in which he lived and was responsible for both the teaching and proselytisation. However, the educational system was fragile and rudimentary and was characterised by the temporary nature of the schools.¹³

African community participation was mainly in the construction of schools or clearing of spots where school could be held and also the community assumed the responsibility for the welfare of the teacher who lived among them. Also the community was expected to encourage children to attend school regularly. The attitude to these responsibilities by the community or communities associated together in the school, and the ability of the teacher to make himself acceptable in the village determined to a large extent the success of the school at this time. However, the community did not control the school directly or its curriculum.

The incorporation of the Lala into the mission cadre was intended to consolidate the work of the mission in Serenje. However, availability of teachers continued to be an obstacle that had to be tackled if the mission was to expand into other chiefdoms. Moffat in his 1910 report of the mission noted;

"The only permanent school is at the mission station, difficulty having how to get teachers for the village schools."¹⁴ (sic)



MAP 2: THE SCHOOLS AND ROAD IN 1908.

SOURCE: Buckle, A.G., Serenje History

Notes - Manuscript 1976

By the end of 1910 eighteen schools had been held requiring fifty four teachers. Therefore, the need for teachers was acute if this rate of expansion was to be sustained. In terms of the curriculum, which was adopted from the Livingstonia Nyasaland Education Code, only modest advances had been made in terms of subjects and the mission still offered Vernacular, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Scripture.¹⁵ The problem of obtaining sufficient local teachers was compounded by the lack of training facilities for this category of the mission cadre. Also the mission had no qualified European educationist until the arrival of Miss Irvine in 1925 from Nyasaland. It was also difficult to get sufficient numbers of scholars who stayed long enough to obtain a middle primary education to be sent for training at Livingstonia Mission in Nyasaland. Out of thirty-five boarders in 1913, fifteen left school by the end of the year by desertion.¹⁶ The 1914 annual report by the mission has this to say on the nature of schools and teachers at this time;

"Our 36 village schools are all in the vernacular and quite elementary. We are, however, gradually raising the standard but at present teachers are selected more especially with regard to character"¹⁷

The need to raise the academic and professional standards of the Lala teaching cadre was felt more after 1914 when it became necessary to raise the levels of education. The mission adopted a two pronged strategy to redress the situation which already was generating negative response from the people as it was later reported by the D.C. thus;

"Villages usually prefer an Angoni to a local teacher, and in one or two cases have made it a condition of their application for a school."¹⁸

In view of the people's attitude of looking down upon the Lala teachers because of being less qualified, refresher courses were begun during school recess at the mission station.

Secondly, the mission began in 1915 sending promising students to Overtoun Institute to complete their academic education and teacher training. The first batch of such students consisted of Timoti Masupeti, John Chisulo, Paulos Bwembya, Joseph Muleba and Benesi Chisi. These were drawn from assistant teachers who had undergone the in-house training at the mission and had been listed as teachers for 1910¹⁹. However, the 1st World War interrupted their studies and they subsequently returned home. Then there was a forced break in this programme due to the war.

The impact of the war on the educational work at Chitambo Mission was initially minimal.²⁰ The beginning of labour recruitment for war portering work from 1915 led to a decline in attendance in schools as many men engaged for work. The generally unsettled war conditions and portering work decreased food production which consequently reduced educational work due to a general hunger situation in the district. There were upwards of 2,000 men involved in the war effort. The situation was made worse by an outbreak of influenza which affected about 60 per cent of the population in the district.²¹ However the death toll was low. Dr. and Mrs. Wilson left to join the medical corps. Their absence "entailed the closing of a number of schools which could no longer be supervised."²² Attendance dwindled from the 1915/16 total of 1,800 to an average of 389. according to the District Annual Report of 1918.

When the war ended the mission renewed its training contact with Nyasaland. Perhaps the high Nyasa turnover, in the form of migration to lucrative jobs, and the need to raise the quality and level of education served to make the mission determined to train a local cadre. In 1920 a second batch consisting of Thomas Kayenze, Visake Kaluba Kamekela and Simon Vibeti was sent to Overtown Institute. This group returned in 1923 after successfully completing a teachers' course. Two more batches were sent to Nyasaland consisting of Yakobe Lusuma, Noah Kapika, Damaseke, Lazaro Muleba, Saulosi Kalonde and Amon Kaluba.

After the war the education system began to show signs of recovery from the slump. Enrolments rose to 1,146 boys and 708 girls in 1921 according to the years' District Annual Report.

The industrial training also began to train more local men and the quality of the training received is reflected in the comments about their performance when they constructed the station church at Mabonde recorded in the annual report thus;

"The church at Mabonde has been completed and the work has been very well done, notably the carpentering."²⁵

The development of education fluctuated considerably at this time. The number of schools had dropped to 39 by 1923 and the teaching force to 79. The 1924/25 District Annual Report throws light on the character and reasons for these fluctuations;

"The attendance of small children in the lowest classes was excellent, but the higher classes were poorly patronised even by those in the village who could have benefited by them. To this there were marked exceptions,

but the general impression left on ones mind was that those who had learnt a smattering felt that it was not worth their while to learn more - if money could be acquired in the South, education had no mercantile value to them."²⁴

This report points to the now developed periphery relationship of the district as a labour reserve and the entrenched money economy in an hitherto subsistence economy. The labour migration was affecting the prime section of Lala male population.

There were two other significant features of educational work during this period. Firstly, a process of the differentiation of the social roles between the teacher and the evangelist began. From 1916 intermittent efforts to train evangelists began for the specific duty of proselytisation.²⁵ Secondly, the 1924 Annual Report indicates that some African teachers were elevated to posts of school supervisors which had hitherto remained a domain of European mission workers. The names of these first African school inspectors are difficult to determine from the records.

In 1925 with the arrival of Miss Irvine a girls' boarding school was started. This boarding school was named 'The Moffat Girls' Boarding School' in the 1930's. However, the attitude of the people towards education continued to be a militating factor hindering education development. The 1925 mission Annual Report illuminates this factor thus;

"It became apparent that progress was greatly retarded by the attitude of the headmen or elders or perhaps their inability to make the slightest effort or sacrifice for the good of the younger generation."²⁶

Thus, this attitude which discouraged sustained attendance

in school and denied support for girls education was an important factor that undermined missionary efforts in developing the Serenje education system.

The response of the youth in areas surrounding the mission station was more positive. The incentives such as free uniforms, soap and other school requirements attracted the youth to the boarding school. The response of the girls to Western Education was slow. Factors such as infant betrothal, ignorance of parents and their negative attitude towards girls education and lack of employment opportunities within the mission framework in the early days hindered girls participation in education. The role of women to 1925 remained marginal in the establishment and development of the mission.²⁷

GOVERNMENT AND MISSION CO-OPERATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF
EDUCATIONAL WORK IN SERENJE DISTRICT TO 1938

Further educational development at Chitambo Mission took place within the context of three important developments. Firstly, the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission when implemented shaped to a large extent the character and curriculum of the educational system in the post 1925 period. Secondly, the visit of Frank Ashcroft, Secretary of the Foreign Missions Office of the United Free Church of Scotland to the Central African Missions, resulted in recommendations that when implemented at the beginning of the 1930's determined the collective direction of the educational growth of the Livingstonia Missions in Northern Rhodesia. Thirdly, the handover on 1st April, 1924 of Northern Rhodesia by the B.S.A. Co. to the Colonial Office for future administration of the territory determined future Government participation in the educational system.

In 1925, as a result of pressure from the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia, the Colonial Office and as a recommendation of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, a sub-department of Native Education was set up within the framework of the department of Native Affairs. G.C. Latham was appointed Director of this new sub-department. This development resulted into the setting up of an Advisory Board, salary grants and grants-in-aid to missionary societies for their educational work.²⁸ The fundamental impact of these changes was the introduction of Government control in the education sphere in the territory.

In 1927 the Native Schools (Amendment) Ordinance was issued. This ordinance laid down criteria for the classification of schools in the country. Out of 1958 outschools in the country only 495 were classified as schools by the sub-department of education, 204 of these were owned by the United Free Church of Scotland. This indicated the relative advance made and also the quality of education this mission was providing. The annual report of 1927 on Chitambo reflects this classification. Out of 42 schools in 1925, nine were classified as schools and the rest as sub-schools.²⁹

The total attendance was reported as 1,765 and the class level had reached standard IV. There were 17 boys and 40 girls in the boarding schools in standards II, III and IV. There were only two girls in standard III, which was the top class for the girls. These more advanced girls acted as monitors and took part-time instruction and also attended the teachers' refresher courses. The increase in girls enrolment was mainly due to the efforts of Miss Irvine, the first European educationist at Chitambo. The 1928 Annual Report showed a slight decline in the number of schools. Out of nine schools and 33 sub-schools there were only seven schools located as follows: at the Mission Station, Kapika, Mununka, Nansala, Chilubula, Kanonesha and at Serenje Boma. The report does not indicate the number of sub-schools for the year.³⁰ Attendance declined to 1,465 students. The explanation for this decline in the late 1920's is to be sought in the economy of the district. Labour migration

had accelerated with the average pegged at 50 per cent of the male population. ⁵¹ The impact of this process was a gradual reduction in agricultural production whose effects were observed by the D.C. thus;

"The inhabitants of this district have less surplus to dispose of than any other natives I have known."⁵²

The small local fishing and tobacco industry also began to slump due to the general economic crisis in the territory noticeable from 1929. Tax was also increased from the 1920 level of 10/- to 12/6 in 1929. The mission reported the impact of this situation on its work thus;

"Work is being very much affected by the exodus of men to mining centres, very few young men are now to be found in the village schools. In the same way a great number of teachers have left with a consequent reduction in the number of schools."⁵³

The factors mentioned above contributed to the labour exodus from the district which seriously impinged on the smooth development of education work of the mission. Therefore, the development of education was being hampered by lack of scholars and teachers brought about by the declining district prosperity and the penetration of the capitalist economy which made the district a supplier of labour.

There were other factors that thwarted educational progress at Chitambo after 1929. These were the world economic depression, the Watch Tower Movement and the Mchape Movement.

The impact on Chitambo and indeed on other missions in the country of the world economic recession which began in 1929 can be seen in the financial implications it had for the development of the mission and the local adjustment to the general

decline in the prosperity of the capitalist mining enclave of the urban areas. The depression had set in when the educational level in the district had reached standard IV at the station boarding school.

In terms of area the education system had begun to extend Southwards into Chibale's and North-West into Kafinda's areas. The Government response to the depression crisis was a general reduction of expenditure on African social services and welfare. Latham's plan of expansion of African education had to be postponed. While Latham's plan had estimated expenditure on education to rise from £32,179 in 1931 to £71,346 by 1936 Government committed £29,195 in 1931 decreasing it to £28,359 in 1936.³⁴ Regarding African education the Government either suspended or reduced allocations of grants to various aspects of mission education. The Government withdrew salary grants to honorary teachers. These were long serving teachers who had not passed Government examinations. Salaries of certificated teachers were cut down and the option left to the missions to maintain the salaries of such teachers at the levels reached. In 1932 boarding grants for scholars in the sub-standards and over age scholars were withdrawn. Building and equipment grants were suspended. Caldwell as Director of the Department of Native Education wrote to J.C. Howie at Chitambo in these terms;

"Every penny counts these days and I have cut our direct expenditure on education right to the bone."³⁵

In addition the Government withdrew its salary grants to alien African teachers. These measures taken by Government had

considerable effect on progress at Chitambo. In terms of staff the mission had a considerable number of Nyasa teachers. In addition the new salary scale was detested by African teachers and contributed to resignations and apathy. By 1936 the mission due to lack of staff could only man nine out of the 15 schools.³⁶ The funding of mission work in general was further hampered by the decline in the economy of Britain where external funds were procured by the Foreign Missions Office. Figures of such funding could not be found in the sources consulted. The staff problem was a compound problem in that staff resignations could not have immediate replacements because of difficulties in procuring new replacements in view of the general apathy towards the teaching profession generated by reduced remuneration.

In this climate of general economic hardships the mission had to contend with the problem of the Watch Tower Movement. The advent and relatively rapid spread of this movement in Serenje District from the late 1920's determined the direction of expansion of mission educational activities. The Watch Tower Movement seems to have grown to such proportions in numbers, strength and influence in the Central, North-Western and Southern areas of the district that the position and influence of the Scottish Mission in the district began to be seriously threatened and undermined. The 1933 annual report commented:

"The Watch Tower Preachers have been active towards the latter part of the year, baptising many, presumably by confronting them with the supposed near end of the world, and so working on their fears, instilled by themselves. They have also been fairly successful in Serenje's area in persuading children to boycott the mission school".³⁷

Their influence was relatively extensive and had managed to penetrate even areas of older mission influence such as Serenje's, Kabamba's and Muchinka's areas, the latter being the base of the mission. It was not only the mission that was challenged but also the entire structure of native administration in the district. The 1934 Tour Report commented on this Watch Tower encroachment in the district;

"This movement has adherents in Chief Muchinka's and Kabamba's areas. Since the promulgation of an order under Section 12(20) of the Native Authorities Ordinance by the two former chiefs the activities have considerably decreased."³⁸

Therefore, the use of the state legal machinery was necessary to undercut the activities and influence of the Watch Tower Movement. The mission on its part began to initiate decisive actions to salvage its influence and prestige in the district. Beveridge in the mission annual report of 1934 indicated this;

"Early in 1935 we hope to quietly do something towards tackling the Watch Tower Movement by (re.) establishing a school in Serenje's village this being one of the biggest centres of that movement."³⁹

Another related problem was that posed by the Mchape Movement. This movement began in 1925 in the Northern sections of Mkushi District and was led by a former Watch Tower preacher Tom Nyirenda. This movement combined Christian, political and witchfinding aspects in its message. The UMCA mission at Fiwila under Rev. Hewitt came under the full impact of this movement. It is argued here that its incursions in areas of South and North-West Serenje revealed the need to expand and strengthen schools as basic units of proselytisation to counter 'pseudo-Christian' evangelism. Secondly, the congenial response by

the people to the witch-finding aspect of this movement in areas where it made its appearance revealed to the mission just to what extent Christian beliefs and conversion had taken root in Lala society.

However, to comprehend the successes of these two movements, their development and message should be viewed also in the light of the crisis in the capitalist world economic system in general and in Northern Rhodesia in particular. The closure of a total of five mines during the slump of the 1930's released surplus labour into the district which increased pressure on the rural economy of Serenje especially in terms of food consumption. Most of the returned migrants had to depend on the hospitality of their village kin since they had made no advance preparations in form of cultivated fields. The ravages of locusts in 1932 and 1933 on agricultural food crops reduced the food available in the district.⁴⁰

With the slump in the industrial areas also went a slump in the district's tobacco and fish industries which had begun supplying dried quantities of these items to the urban population. Therefore, the activities of these movements found ready ground within this situation of harsh social and economic conditions.

Another significant development was the opening of a UMCA mission in the Mushi district. The UMCA had expanded from the Fort Jameson area into the Luangwa Valley establishing a school at Jaidi's village in 1911.⁴¹ Upset by this Rev. Dr. Brown of Chitambo and Rev. Pauw of the Dutch Mission Church had called on the Anglican Bishop at Fort Jameson to

reiterate their claim to the Luangwa Valley as their sphere of influence. Chasefu Mission was established in this connection to safeguard the Presbyterian interests in the Luangwa Valley where Chitambo Mission had established schools before 1911. The UMCA then moved to the Mkushi area and had by 1924 established Fiwila Mission under Rev. Hewitt.

This UMCA threat was a contributing factor to the development of the mission into Southern areas where the mission previously had remote influence.

The expansion efforts which began towards the close of the 1920's into areas of hitherto insignificant mission influence in the district were taking place within the context of other developments. The implementation of the recommendations of Frank Ashcroft mentioned earlier resulted into a joint training school for the Northern Rhodesia Livingstonia Missions when Lubwa Normal School was set up in 1930. This school consisted of academic education to standard VI and teacher training.

Secondly, the Livingstonia Missions began to organise central schools to achieve some economies of scale and rationalise their operations. Central schools in the district began to be built in 1933, first at Muchinka's village, then Kasuko and Nakutambo. There was delay in Chiefs Kafinda's and Muchinda's areas mainly due to the educational backwardness in these areas. These central schools were weekly boarding schools. The chiefs had earlier raised queries on the security and discipline in these schools which were co-educational. These central schools became centres of community

social interaction. Local communities became strongly identified with these schools from the beginning. Mr. Chibuye, a former Chitambo teacher, illuminated the situation thus;

"These schools became a source of information to children, for every Thursday night, there used to be a camp fire where all came for singing, story telling, acting stories and all sorts of amusements. Chiefs and parents did not like to miss these social nights because there was a lot to see and learn. On certain evenings elders were asked to give a talk on tribal history or events to pupils."⁴²

However, centralisation of schools was a response to the harsh realities of the economic crisis. Howie wrote:

"We have reorganised the village schools this year with a view to economy and more efficient work. The main idea is a centrally situated school where children from several villages can be gathered, and so far the results are very encouraging, the average attendance at these schools being 80-100 pupils."⁴³

The centralisation of schools was an innovation that was taking place in all Livingstonia missions in Northern Rhodesia at this time.

The process of centralisation of schools was of considerable importance in terms of its innovative character. It set in motion processes that were of particular note in the educational development of Serenje. Whilst the missionaries had employed some Nyasa women in the formative years of the education system between 1908 and 1914, their impact had remained limited and their role ambiguous. However, due to the organisational nature of the central schools as weekly boarding co-educational units, the need to extend employment of women helpers as from the early 1930's became of particular importance in spite of the stringency of the economy. It was based on two assumptions. Firstly, it was hoped this would demonstrate to the communities

that women had opportunities of employment in the money economy. Secondly, the nature of their duties, such as keeping an eye over the general discipline of the girls outside school hours, instructing older girls in womanhood and marriage, was hoped would allay the fears of parents entrusting this crucial traditional responsibility to an alien educational institution⁴⁴ dominated by men. This it was hoped would encourage parents to send their girls to school with confidence. By the end of 1937, when the central school system was well established there were 16 such women in employment in the Serenje region.⁴⁵

Another development was the incorporation of a medical side to the central schools. This took the form of a 'decentralisation' of medical work of the mission. Head teachers were instructed in elementary medicine by the mission's Doctor Beveridge in 1933. Medicine boxes were then prepared and given to central schools with a supply of simple medicines such as quinine, cough mixture, ointment, salts and dressings. Initially, those to be in charge demanded extra pay for this work, but were persuaded to take this as a service to God. When effected this system of 'district dispensaries' had immediate success. The mission doctor commented;

"The response to this by the natives has been amazingly good.....teachers brought back enthusiastic and encouraging reports as to the work done with these medicines, one having recorded as many as 1,160 attendancies and the average being 550."⁴⁶

The mission Doctor was also now required to go on ulendo to visit these dispensaries. These 'dispensaries' existed into the late 1940's.

The establishment of Lubwa Normal School in 1930 added another dimension to this overall development in education. It gave impetus to the process of creating a local cadre. The other Livingstonia missions in Northern Rhodesia were given a quota of eight students each at Lubwa school. By 1936 about 27 Chitambo cadres had benefited from the academic and teacher training at Lubwa.⁴⁷ This represented a significant qualitative improvement whose impact was immediately evident. The 1932 report on progress at Chitambo expresses 'delight with the work of these teachers' and the 1933 inspection report of the Government Provincial Education Superintendent illuminated the qualities of some of these teachers thus;

"Napoleon, the Headmaster, is due much credit for the smooth running of the school (station Boarding School). He and Mashon have strong personalities, their teaching and class management is well above the average. Lando knows his work well. Gibson's class is up to standard...."⁴⁸

The most senior African teachers were appointed to supervisory positions earning an average salary of £30 per annum, which was quite substantial for Africans in the late 1930's. This crop of supervisory cadres was drawn from Livingstonia and Chalimbana Jeanes School trained teachers who had entered mission service in the first decade and first half of the second decade of the 1900's. For example Simon Vibeti was appointed to supervise the Masenga area (Kafinda), Isaac Kaluba was supervising the Muchinka area, Eilemon Kamanga was supervising the Nsenga area (Luangwa) and one David Changwe was on the staff of Lubwa Normal School.

However, the impact of these innovations in the short term did not alter radically the educational situation in the district more so in terms of the character of enrolment and its distribution. The 1936 inspection report of the Department of Native Education says that enrolment in the district had fallen drastically owing to lack of community participation in the management of schools.⁴⁹ In 1936 Local Education Committees were formed at Ghinsali and Broken Hill.⁵⁰ On recommendation by the Provincial Education Authorities these committees were formed in Geronjo district as a way of sustaining community interest in education. These committees were entrusted with collection of school fees and authority to use such monies on school requirements.

They also were given power to report absenteeism through the chief to the Boma so that parents of such culprits could be punished. These committees were ideally constituted by the chief, headmen, teachers and where necessary a Watch Tower adherent. The latter case was intended to encourage members of this movement to co-operate with educational authorities. However, these committees do not seem to have had the desired impact on the school enrolment. Howie wrote in this connection;

"I am sorry to have to report that our district schools have been poorly attended this April-July term. The usual excuses of harvest etc. are given, but probably the real reason is that we have thrown the responsibility for feeding, accommodation and attendances, more than ever on the people themselves and they have not shouldered their responsibilities."⁵¹

These early fears do not take due consideration of the time needed for the assimilation of new ideas and the gaining of practical experience in matters of this nature. Howie's

comments seem more to ridicule the Government efforts especially since the Government was gradually gaining more control over an hitherto missionary domain of education.

In the period between 1925 and 1938 education development was hampered by lack of scholars and the attitude of parents to education more so that of girls, the economic depression which was manifested by reduction of Government financial commitment to the development of education and by labour migration. The ravages of natural disasters and the challenge of the Watch Tower Movement in the district also were crucial factors in the development of education in the Serenje region to 1938.]

However, in spite of the state of the economy the 1930's were years of progress for the Chitamba schools in terms of educational standards.

middle school course. This group represented only a small minority estimated at a progression rate of 20 per cent of all standard II scholars each year.⁵³ Further wastage occurred in this 20 per cent for only eight scholars were quoted for at Lubwa.

This rate of progression proved to be unsatisfactory to many of the mission elites who turned to the Lala Native Authority Council (LNAC) and used it to press for the establishment of upper primary education in the district beginning in the early 1940's.

The Local Education Committee of the LNAC lodged a complaint to the Northern Rhodesia Committee of the Livingstonia Missions. At this meeting the following resolution was adopted in response;

"The Committee received a suggestion from the Local Education Committee for the establishment of Standards V and VI at Chitambo. It is considered that the time is not ripe for this work. The mission policy is that standard IV should be the general intellectual standard till a much larger proportion of children pass standard II."⁵⁴

This resolution was received with great indignation by the enlightened elements in the LNAC. The D.C. Clark, noted to the Director of Native Education Cottrell thus;

"There is a minor stink building up here: re: Upper School at Chitambo. As far as I can see J.E. Howie has turned down everything that you and Mackay decided. If so, the Lala Council will be fractious! I fear there will be some tiffs at Chitambo shortly."⁵⁵

The missionaries were therefore not only opposed to the wish of the educated people to have upper schools established in Borenje but were also not responding to Government policy of raising education levels. In addition their position was

divided. J.T. Howie's sentiments as representative of those opposed to raising education vertically were based on the following points registered in his letter to the Director of Native Education, Mason;

"Everywhere the Africans are shouting for higher education. Those who think they will materially benefit by it demand standard V and VI at their mission stations. Two things strike me...that the people as a whole take little advantage of the elementary education at their disposal - second is that those students who have passed standard IV might do so much to raise the standards of living in the villages, but they never stay in them."⁵⁶

Mason's reply that he was scared of the African desire for higher education perhaps suggests the intensity of the African desire in general to have improvements in their education in the territory.

Figures show that in 1944 there were an estimated 4,000 scholars in the district schools. In view of the **sparse** population where the estimated school age population was between 5,000 and 6,000 children, this desire was real.⁵⁷

At the beginning of the Ten Year Territorial Development Plan in 1947 there were 30 schools under Chitambo Mission in Serenje and Southern Mpika of which only three had reached the lower middle primary level. However, in the context of Government plans and African agitation the upper school was established at the Mission Boarding School in 1947 with an initial intake of 20 scholars. This represented a 60 per cent increase in scholars entering the upper primary course.

Another direction of expansion was at the level of teacher training. It was a two pronged process, pre-service and in-service training. This was necessitated by the growth

in the educational system both horizontally and vertically to reach standard VI in 1948. Training contacts were established with the Jeanes School at Chalimbana, Kafue Training Institute, Mindolo - Kitwe, Lukashya Industrial School, Munali Junior Secondary School and Livingstone Memorial Training School at Mbereshi. These contacts were rather limited in the period to the mid 1940's owing to the mission's links with Lubwa but by 1954 students in training totalled 22 scattered in these institutions. The number of trainees rose to 35 in 1955 when a batch of 11 students were sent to Mbereshi.⁵⁸ Training levels ranged from vernacular teachers course to junior secondary school course. These trainee teachers were now required to sign a contract which bound them to return to teach in their mission area.

These developments should be viewed in the context of other developments in the territory. The 1952 African Education Ordinance had led to the formation of Local Education Authorities in urban and rural areas which took over the running of schools alongside the mission bodies. There was one such authority created in Serenje district. In addition, the Ordinance created the Unified African Teaching Service (UATS) by 1954. The introduction of the UATS considerably eroded mission control over their African teachers even at Chitambo.⁵⁹ However, the contract system seemed to have been paying dividends at Chitambo compared to other mission areas. Bonomy wrote;

"At Chitambo we have been fortunate in the number of higher trained teachers that have been returning

from training. Because of this it has been possible for us to go ahead with development plans in accordance with the wishes of the Government and the people."⁶⁰

It should be pointed out that the participation of women in this staff development plan was limited. Out of the 33 attending courses between 1953 and 1955 there was no single female trainee. It would appear that the education\ work of the mission had limited impact on the female population. In addition the distances travelled to alien milieus for such training was a factor that militated against professional advancement of women in the district. Marriage plans also account for the lack of women's participation in education taken beyond the immediate environs and also their continued employment in the cash economy.⁶¹

However, some progress occurred over this period in the employment of women helpers, domestic science teachers and other literacy agents. Alice Chewa, daughter of Yakobe Lusuma and wife of Paison Mwila, both Chitambo teachers, after training with Mrs. Hay at Mindolo was appointed Mass Literacy Supervisor in June 1946 at a salary of 20/- per month. A full time Handcraft instructor was employed to boost work with the girls in the Boarding school in 1947. Two qualified\ female teachers, Dinah John and Chilufya Alifeyo, who had gone to Lubwa were back in mission service by 1944. These two were the first trained female teachers at Chitambo about whom Miss Pike had written in 1943;

"This year for only the second time we had girls - three - in standard IV our top class. Two of them decided that they would go to Lubwa (230 miles away...)

to do a one-year Girls normal course and come back as teachers. They went despite the fears of many who laughed at their parents for wasting money on girls. As I saw them safely on to the lorry, I felt as proud as the pioneer headmistress who sent her first students to Girton in the early '70's. Here is a tangible result of all the years work among girls here."⁶²

The total number of women employed during this time cannot be ascertained exactly, but reached not more than 30. What is clear, however, was the tendency to employ such women at central schools and the Moffat Girl's Boarding school.

The employment of women had a decisive impact on the enrolment of girls in the lower middle and upper schools which became more noticeable from the early 1950's. The appointment of Miss Miller in 1953 as a woman educationist added to this trend. Girls education had slumped after the departure of Miss Pike in 1945, until the arrival of Miss Miller in 1953. The mission annual report of work at Chitarbo commented;

"When it was known that Miss Miller was coming more girls came forward to join the higher classes in the school. This session there are 69 girls as against 29 of last year. This was a piece of work which had been sadly neglected for many years."⁶³

Another factor contributing to this upsurge of girls enrolment was the entry of the LMAC in the financing of education. The LMAC began to pay $\frac{2}{3}$ of the total fees levied on all boarders.⁶⁴ The LMAC source of funds was the central Government and what they retained from local sources of revenue such as licence fees and court fees. Fees as noted earlier were a constraint on the education of girls. The study could not establish why the LMAC took this step at

this time. What is clear is that the Bisa Native Authority Council was similarly paying for scholars in the Boarding School from its area. Girls also began to enter secondary school. Mary Jackson Chipulu seems to have been the first student to do so when she was admitted into Form I at Chipembi Girls School in 1954.⁶⁵

However, mission education policy had gone into a state of crisis before the 1950's. The roots of this crisis lie in the period after 1945. Factors identified as causing this were peoples demands for higher education and Government control which severely undercut missionary education aims and seriously undermined their influence and dominance in their areas of operation.

The emerging debate on mission education and mission policy in general was succinctly put later in the mission annual report in 1957;

"Chitambo station, like the others in the Northern Rhodesia field, has had a difficult year. Some of the difficulties have grown inevitably from the deep root problem concerning basic mission policy which faces - and divides - us. What in theory, is the future goal at which we are aiming? Are we getting there? And is that in fact what we should be aiming at?"⁶⁶ (sic)

The imposition of stricter control by Government over curriculum and staff matters especially the UATS in 1954 removed doubts that Government had effectively taken over the shaping of the character and direction of African Education. The missionary fraternity in general was indignant at this severe encroachment on educational systems that they had done so much to establish.

Two positions in this debate can be identified. First was that which advocated for a continuation of Christian social service. In this view there was need to maintain and even expand such services as schools and medical work. The second position advocated for a reduction of missions participation in social services. In this view medical and educational work had drained the financial resources of the mission at the expense of the growth of the Christian church.⁶⁷ This debate had by 1951 officially ended and the official mission policy adopted embraced the second position. The position was adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh in 1951.⁶⁸ However, this gave no consensus among field missionaries.

The introduction of the UATB in 1954 provided the timing for the handover of medical and educational facilities to the Government by the Northern Rhodesia Livingstonia missions. On 10th November, 1955 the mission's position on the handover was formally presented to the department of African Education.⁶⁹ The Government's initial response was to offer more financial support to the Livingstonia missions in the hope that they would reconsider their withdrawal from educational work and medical work. This overture was spurned by the mission.⁷⁰ The African reaction to this handover can at best be described as of mixed feelings. The handover process was not without complications. The annual report for 1957 noted.

"The storms which have arisen over the handover of the district schools and the transfer of girls standard III from Chitamba make one tremble at the prospects of the trouble involved in such a move."⁷¹

However, it appears the educated class, mostly teachers welcomed the handover decision and were happy that at last they

would be free from the dominating character of the missionaries and would enjoy Government conditions of service. This appears to have been the spirit of the teacher's action recorded;

"Council agreed to transfer Mahonde school to the Local Education Authority as is the wish of the school staff."⁷²

The handover process began with the handing over of schools on Native Trust Land and Crown Land to the Local Education Authority on 1st July, 1956. Released also were the teachers in these schools. The boarding schools continued with upper streams of standard V and VI with seven members of staff to 1959 under the mission since they were located on mission land and there were no facilities for such education levels anywhere else in the district. With the transfer of standard IV girls and V boys to Serenje Boma School in 1960 education at Chitambo at the level of primary education ceased. The mission turned its efforts to medical education.

DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL AND MEDICAL TRAINING
AT CHITAMBO MISSION, 1906-1964.

AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL AND MEDICAL TRAINING 1906-1929.

The initial structural growth of the mission from 1906 to 1910 depended largely on the presence of Nyasa artisans. However, from 1912 onwards the Lala began to take an increasing interest in vocational opportunities offered by the mission.

The mission developed into a strong agricultural mission. The domination of Moffat and J.C. Howie of the mission for almost five decades between them, gave Chitambo mission its agricultural character.⁷³ In the initial years training organised in form of an apprentice system concentrated on turning out a local cadre that was vital for the growth and maintenance of the mission.

Two areas received attention in this programme, agriculture and industrial (carpentry, bricklaying and printing) during this time. Medical training over this period was not pronounced. The 1911/12 mission report indicated that no trades were taught to scholars but that ten men were employed in agriculture and the carpenters shop.⁷⁴ A constraint on the expansion of this work at Chitambo was finance. On this obstacle Moffat wrote in 1916;

"Our mission is not a real industrial mission, and we receive no grant from home for such work, but try as far as we can with what local help we can get to give training in carpentry, building, printing and agriculture."⁷⁵

Another feature of this period is that training was geared and determined to a large extent by the work and its volume being undertaken at the mission. For instance printing

training became a feature of the industrial work at the mission when the hand press became operational in 1914. Its volume of work depended on the requirements of the church and schools.⁷⁶ These programmes remained limited by factors such as finance, volume of work such as building and printing work needed for the station and the lack of qualified instructors in these departments. Equally limited were the aims of such programmes which was to train a cadre for mission service and imbuing industrial discipline to a limited number of people. By 1925 the mission had trained between 60 and 100 men.⁷⁷

Among the well remembered names of the mission Iala cadre trained at Chitambo during this period are Chisosa, Yafeti Chungamali, Sauti Mulumba, Changwe Lesford (carpenters), Lupenga Lukonteka, Timothy Chintu Chikulanya (Bricklayers), Ackim Ndeghya, Bartholomew and Amos Mufwayenda (Printers).⁷⁸ There was a tendency for these trained men to migrate from the district as George District developed into a labour reserve for the mining industries of the Southern African region. It is significant to note the absence of women in these training programmes more so in agriculture where men were being trained in ploughing and use of oxen, and also the absence of a training programme tailored to the needs of women in the district.

GROWTH AND DECLINE OF AGRICULTURAL TRAINING 1930-1964.

In 1929 the Government chose Chitambo Mission as one of the seven grant aided agricultural training schools in the country. The grant covered course requisites and salary of

the agricultural instructor. J.C. Howie was appointed agricultural instructor and he arrived the same year. The setting up of an agricultural school at Chitambo distinguished two levels of agricultural training. Initially, agricultural training had concentrated on the on-the-job training on the mission farms. With the setting up of this agricultural school training was to involve both theoretical instruction and practical work on the farm for a three year duration. The school was to cater for Lubwa and Mwenzo and students to be admitted had to have at least a standard II education. The aim of the three year course was to train agricultural demonstrators and school instructors to be employed by Government and missions. The course began in 1930 with an intake of ten students, three apiece from Lubwa and Mwenzo. This three-year course collapsed at Chitambo when the students protested over rations and quit the course. The failure of this course and at similar centres in the territory in part was due to the adverse agricultural policy of the Government. It was the view of the colonial Government's agricultural department that Africans were not sufficiently advanced to train as agricultural demonstrators and was therefore reluctant to employ them. Secondly, it was argued that insufficient study of African agricultural systems had been done, and this being a technical field missions were ill equipped to turn out adequately trained technical men to work effectively in extension services.⁷⁹

The missions were advised to concentrate on training men to organise and supervise school gardens in line with the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes commission of 1925.

By the end of the 1940's and with the departure of J.C. Howie agricultural work at Chitambo and in the schools declined. School gardens no longer received attention as before.⁸⁰ The impact of the ideals of the Phelps-Stokes commission left minimal impression on a school system that was competing with the labour market.

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING:

This department flourished in the 1930's and thereafter began to decline. The major constraint on its development was finance. Neither Government nor the Home Committee of the mission allocated funds for its operation. Coupled with this was the problem of staff. This problem was cited by the end of the 1920's as hindering progress.⁸¹ These problems were partly solved by generating some cash through commercial ventures such as the sale of products from its workshop, profits realised in the shop and agricultural sales and by employing a carpenter craftsman from Nyasaland at a salary of £3.10.0 which was increased to £4.0.0 a year later. The staff problem was aggravated by the fact that the department's trained men readily migrated away from the district. Moffat commented on this thus; "Trained men are drawn by the high wages to be obtained elsewhere"⁸²

The intakes were usually small, on an average of 5. The courses offered spanned three years between 1930 and 1934. The courses offered basically continued to be those offered in the pre-1930 period.

This department was also faced with the problem of tax. It was difficult to find apprentices who were below the tax age. Therefore, in the absence of Government exemption regulations for this category apprentices were expected to pay tax.⁸³ Apprentices had to be paid a wage out of which they met their tax commitments. The emphasis in the curriculum on hand-work in the schools and not technical subjects of carpentry and building was another factor that led to the collapse of the department in the late 1930's. Chitambo began to send its students to the trades school opened by Government in Lusaka. For instance three Chitambo students completed their course in 1937 and were seeking employment as technical instructors in the Chitambo schools.⁸⁴ There is no evidence that the industrial courses continued after 1937.

MEDICAL TRAINING:

The mission had no official policy on medical training at Chitambo until 1958 when Chitambo became officially designated as a training hospital. It appears that the training of medical orderlies prior to 1958 depended on the availability of a doctor at the hospital to whom apprentices could be attached. The shortage of medical staff at the level of nurses influenced decisions to select and apprentice African cadres. The growth of an African cadre in this branch of mission work was slow and efforts were intermittent. The non-availability of adequate numbers of academically suitable scholars prior to the establishment of lower middle and upper schools also accounts for this

negligible advance between 1926 and 1958.⁸⁵ The development of the hospital also had a bearing on the medical training at Chitambo. Absence of finance committed to training of medical orderlies accounts also for the intermittent and limited progress of medical training to 1958. By 1951 less than ten medical orderlies had been apprenticed at Chitambo Hospital and all were male.

Efforts to train Africans began in 1952 when three students were enrolled. Two were female students taking a course in Midwifery and Welfare. The intake rose to 11 in 1955 with five paramedical students, three in general nursing and three female students in the Midwifery and Welfare course. There is a further slight expansion in enrolment in 1956 when the student intake rose to 15.

Mission policy regarding the medical work of the three Livingstonia Missions in Northern Rhodesia was formulated in the 1950's. This policy when implemented led to the withdrawal of the mission medical work at Lubwa and Mwense and the turning of Chitambo into a Doctor and training hospital.⁸⁶ Government also in 1960 gave Chitambo recognition as a training hospital. The reaction of the people to this development was to demand that the mission accepted only Bala students at the medical school.⁸⁷ This should be seen as a continuation of earlier agitation for higher education in the district. In addition the contribution of free labour at various phases of the development of the hospital had given the people a feeling that it belonged to them as much as it did to the missionaries.

To augment staff requirements for the training programme sisters Moore from Mwanzo and Ross from Lubwa were transferred to Chitambo in 1959, the latter retired in 1960 and was replaced by sister Smith from Lubwa.

By 1961 student enrolment rose to 20 of whom seven were female students. The increase was due to the transfer of students from Lubwa and Mwanzo.⁸⁸ The student enrolment had by 1963 grown to 22 consisting of five female and 17 male students. The course offered was a three year Medical Assistants course which led to the award of a Government certificate. In 1964 the course was changed to a two year Zambia Enrolled Nursing course (ZEN) by Government. The missions affected protested at this change but Government went ahead and asked those church hospitals interested in the Medical Assistants course to continue if they so wished. However, the Government was not prepared to recognise the status of such trainees as Medical Assistants other than that of ZEN plus one year experience. There was no alternative for the mission but to co-operate with this new policy by the UNIP Government. By 1967 Government had completely taken over the running of the hospital and the training school.

Over the period considered mission work in education and training was hampered by several factors. This study has identified the attitude of the Lala, labour migration, finance and the impact of the other Livingstonia missions on Chitambo. Some of these factors were a result of the impact of mining capital in the Southern African region in general and Northern Rhodesia in particular. However, the mission had

considerable success in training a male cadre for service in its institutions. The impact of its educational work on the female population was limited to 1950.

An important element that assumed significance over time was the introduction of Government control in education in terms of staff, curriculum and the philosophy of education.

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4. Chitambo Office Archives (C.O.A.), Benjamin Mpande et al, Narrative of the Origins and Growth of Chitambo Mission - Manuscript 1963.
5. Moffat was a trained administrator who had worked in the Civil Service in South Africa and worked later as an Agriculturalist at Lovedale Institution in Nyasaland. Dr. Brown was a medical doctor and both were ministers of the church.
6. Creed had established a rival trading company to the A.L.C. established by John and Frederick Moir in 1878 for trading on the Lake Nyasa.
7. NAZ/KSK 3/1 Serenje District Notebook, Vol. I.
8. NAZ/KSK 3/1 Serenje District Notebook, Vol. I.
9. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1908.
10. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1908.
11. C.O.A. Station Accounts Book, 1910.

12. C.C.A. Station Accounts Book, 1910.
13. Enos Chibuye, A Background Brief Early History of Education in the Lala-Bisa Area. Manuscript 1987.
14. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1910.
15. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1911.
16. NAZ/KSK 3/1 Serenje District Notebook, Vol. I.
17. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1914.
18. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1917.
19. C.C.A. Station Accounts Book, 1909.
NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1915.
20. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1915.
21. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1916.
22. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1917.
23. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1920.
24. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1924.
25. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1916.
26. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1925.
27. Mhoswa has argued that the response of the youth was determined by curiosity and presence of incentives in the initial years. On the response of girls to education Nyeko has advanced the lack of trust by parents in a foreign institution, absence or smallness of a European female missionary element as having been obstacles in the advancement of female education. Also the marginal role of women in the expansion and consolidation of the 'spheres of influence' created a tendency to overlook the needs of the female population.

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J.A. Nyeko, 'The Development of Female Education in Northern Rhodesia, 1925-63: the case of Central Province', M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1983.
28. Snelson, Educational Development, 191.

29. NAB/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1927. Out schools were those outside the mission station.
30. NAB/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1927.
31. NAB/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1929.
32. NAB/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1927.
33. NAB/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1929.

The mission annual reports were incorporated in the District Annual Reports.

34. Anelson, Educational Development, 195.
35. NAB/RC 1693 Caldwell to Howie, 1/2/1933.
36. NAB/RC 1693 Presbytery Minutes of Mission Council Meeting. 1936. Records had no figures of mission funding from abroad.
37. NAB/KSK 6/1/7 District Tour Report, 29/12/1933.
38. NAB/KSK 6/1/7 District Tour Report, 16/7/1934.
39. NAB/KSK 6/1/7 District Tour Report, 16/7/1934. Report incorporate Mission Annual Report of work at Chitambo, 1934.
40. NAB/KSK 6/1/7 District Tour Report, 1933.
41. NAB/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1923.
42. Chibuye, Early History of Education - Manuscript 1987.
43. NAB/RC 1693 Howie to Caldwell 1/3/1933.
44. Interviews,
Enos Chibuye, Kapini Mwechi, 13/1/87.
Headman Katikalula, Katikalula village, 22/12/86.
45. See Appendix II.
46. NAB/RC 1693 Annual Report of Medical Work at Chitambo, 1933.
47. C.O.A. Chitambo Mission Annual Report, 1944.
48. NAB/RC 1693 Inspection Report on Chitambo Mission, May 1933.
49. NAB/RC 1693 Inspection Report on Chitambo Mission 6/8/1936.
50. Ipenburn, Ibuba, 22.

51. NAE/RC 1693 Howie to D.N. E. 16/6/1937. Reasons for decline in community interest not clear, from the records.
52. Ministry of African Education. Triennial Survey for the years 1958-1960. 2.
53. NAE/NR 2/277 Howie to Tyndale-Biscoe 23/8/1943.
54. NAE/NR 2/277 Mackay to Cottrell 6/12/1945.
55. NAE/NR 2/277 Clark to Cottrell 25/1/1946.
56. NAE/NR 2/277 Howie to Mason 31/1/1946.
57. NAE/HM 42/1/1 Annual Report on women's work at Chitambo, 1944.
58. C.O.A. Education File, 1954-1956.
59. C.O.A. Education File, 1954-1956.
60. C.O.A. Education File, 1954-1956.
61. Interviews.
 Harrison Chisemba, Terenje Boma, 10/12/86.
 Saphira Mdeghya, Katikulula village, 22/12/86.
 Headman Katikulula, Katikulula village, 22/12/86.
 Enos Chibuye, Kapiri Mposhi, 13/1/87.
62. NAE/HM 42/1/1 Report on Education with special reference to girls and women's work at Chitambo, 1943.
63. C.O.A. Education File, 1954-56.
64. C.O.A. Education File, 1956-61.
65. C.O.A. Education File, 1954-56. Bonomy to Warwick 21/6/54.
 Warwick to Bonomy 20/7/54.
66. NAE/HM 28/UN/8/2 Chitambo Mission Annual Report, 1957.
67. NAE/HM 28/UN/8/2 Chitambo Mission Annual Report, 1957.
68. NAE/HM 28/UNI/22/1 Mackenzie to Franklin 7/2/1956.
69. NAE/HM 28/UNI/22/1 Mackenzie to Franklin 7/2/1956.
70. NAE/HM 28/UNI/22/1 Mackenzie to Franklin 7/2/1956.
71. NAE/HM 28/UN/8/2 Chitambo Mission Annual Report, 1957.
72. NAE/HM 28/UN/6/8 Church of Scotland Northern Rhodesia Council Minutes, 3/6/1957.

73. Both had worked in Agriculture at the Livingstonia Mission in Nyasaland. Moffat was the agriculturalist at Overton Institution who attempted to grow coffee and Mlanje cedars on commercial basis. Howie had worked as an artisan/agriculturalist after the departure of Moffat.

McCracken, Politics and Christianity, 138.

74. NAE/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1911/12.
75. NAE/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1916.
76. NAE/TCK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1922.
77. See Appendix I.
78. C.C.A. Mpanje, Origins and Growth of Chitambo, Manuscript, 1963.
79. NAE/CI/8/8/2 D.N.E. to Howie 18/6/1931.
80. C.C.A. Chitambo Mission Annual Report, 1948.
81. NAE/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1928.
82. NAE/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1928.
83. NAE/RC 1693 Report on Work at Chitambo station, 1931.
84. NAE/RC 1693 Howie to D.N.E. 16/6/1937.
85. C.C.A. Chitambo Mission Annual Report, 1953.
86. NAE/HM 28/HM/1/9 Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee Minutes. 6/03/1959.
87. Interviews.
 Wright Ngoma, Loranje Roma, 12/12/86.
 Morton G. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
 C.C.A. Station Committee Minutes 18/5/1953.
88. C.C.A. Chitambo Mission Annual Report, 1960.

CHITAMBO MISSION AND THE ECONOMY OF SERENJE DISTRICT, 1906-1964.

This chapter examines the impact of the mission on the economy of Serenje District. It is an analysis of the interaction of mining capital and mission's rural economic activities on one hand and the economy of Serenje on the other. It is argued in this chapter that the mission's aim of creating prosperous peasant Christian communities in the district was seriously undermined by the nature of capitalist penetration into the Southern African region in general and into Northern Rhodesia in particular. The chapter examines the contribution of formal mission education to economic change of the Serenje region.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY OF SERENJE DISTRICT ON THE EVE OF COLONISATION BY THE B.S.A. CO.

The economy of the Serenje region on the eve of colonisation was predominantly a subsistence agricultural economy based on the small circle chitemene system. The Lala also employed six forms of subsidiary gardens to grow food crops other than millet, the staple food, such as ground beans, groundnuts, sorghum, maize, beans, sweet potatoes, cassava and Livingstone potatoes.¹ The major implements in use were the hoe and axe. However, the Lala were active in subsidiary economic activities such as iron working and trade. They had a reputation of being fine iron craftsmen and seem to have evolved a relatively large scale industry by the 19th Century.² They also participated in trade in ivory and slaves.³ When the first B.S.A. Co. administrator arrived to set up an administrative post in Serenje he found a relatively prosperous trade being carried out with European

traders such as Albert Bulle and William Ziehl in Chief Serenje's area, finding 922 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of ivory on the latter.⁴ The internal market in the Serenje region was at Musamani in Chief Mailo's area. Here iron products such as axes, hoes, spears, arrow heads and knives were bartered for livestock (mainly goats), fish, game meat, skins (for kilns), beads, salt and cloth with surrounding people such as the Batwa who supplied this market with fish. With the arrival of the B.S.A. Co. administration trade items such as slaves and ivory were no longer offered for exchange at this market due to company legislation. The trade was still in existence by 1905 about which the Annual Report noted;

"The iron trade has been up to the average - a good amount of axes and hoes being traded north for salt etc. The Batwa (Batwa) have carried on their old trade in fish with all the surrounding villages."⁵

This indigenous trade was carried on side by side with European commerce which had penetrated the Serenje region by 1898.

However, with the coming of colonial administration and the penetration of European merchant capital into the Serenje region new interesting changes began to take place. In these early days European trading interests in the region were characterised by several small and temporary trading stations. In 1902 the African Lakes Company (ALC) opened a store under the management of F.B. Crawford at the Boma from where the company withdrew in 1904 when it was taken over by an independent trader, Werham. Highfield had one at Mzasa, at the junction of Luangwa and Mpupushi rivers. H. Fernandez was trading in Chief Muchinda's area by 1901. The B.S.A. Co. regulations which imposed licences

to hunt elephants for ivory and further penetration of European merchant capital had seriously undercut indigenous trade by 1910. Between 1904 and 1910 European commerce was centred at the Boma, Lukulu river, Mabonde, Chibale's area and Mzaza. The estimated average daily takings at this time was £5.0.0 per day for most European stores. Due to restrictions on ivory trade and competition from European commerce offering new exotic wares indigenous trade had seriously declined by 1908. The Annual Report for 1908 comments on native trade and industries thus;

"Practically none - a few hoes, axes and spearheads are made in all the villages and are traded for salt which again is sold."⁶

Tax levied by the administration was in 1905 fixed at 3/- cash. The annual report for the same year in connection with tax attests to an abundance of cash among the Africans in Serenje as follows;

"Tax being paid in cash, difficulties in obtaining tax money. There is a good deal of money amongst the natives but they like to keep it in hand."⁷

Therefore, the need and the use of cash had by 1905 penetrated Serenje district. The year tax was collected in cash labour migration was noted thus;

"There has been sufficient labour for all district needs and a good deal has gone on to the mines."⁸

This process was noted to have accelerated to an estimated total of 2,000 men to the Southern mines and another 1,000 men employed elsewhere in North-Eastern Rhodesia by 1907.⁹ Therefore, by 1905 when 3/- tax in cash was enforced, labour migration had already begun from the district. This has been generalised for the whole country by Gann in the following words;

"Whilst thus encouraging labour migration to the South, taxation did not constitute its original source or only cause. Taxation only speeded up a process that had already begun."¹⁰

It was within the context of these developments that the mission was established in the district and began to exert considerable influence on the economic processes from 1906.

THE MISSION AND THE RURAL ECONOMY TO 1935:

From 1908 the mission developed farms and an orchard along the Mabonde river. The crops grown included beans, wheat, coffee, flax, linseed and fibres. Apart from non-traditional food crops, the mission grew sorghum (masaka) for African consumption. In addition, the mission introduced animal husbandry in an area lacking a pastoral tradition. Animals kept were mostly cattle and pigs. The orchard was of citrus and mango fruits. The construction of an irrigation system, completed in 1923 greatly extended agricultural work at Chitambo mission.

This mission farm was aimed at providing food for the mission and as an area of agricultural practical training in new methods of farming. Mission agricultural workers were trained in the use of the plough and oxen, crop rotation and contour farming and manuring of fields. In this way the mission began to create a group of African agricultural workers equipped with new agricultural skills. Also the mission was able to exploit the labour of the boarders at the boarding school on the station. These boarders were paid in food which they consumed in the boarding school. By 1911 the mission was able to harvest one ton of beans, two tons of masaka and a little wheat.¹¹ Farming work began to expand away from traditional

crops to cash crops such as wheat and coffee, the latter being in production to 1930. By 1918 the mission was able to harvest two tons of wheat, four tons of beans and other cereals, besides the produce of a large vegetable garden and orchard. That this increase in output was achieved under war conditions perhaps indicates the success which agriculture at the mission had achieved and its viability. Similarly, the mission herd had grown to 120 by 1918.¹²

The mission, because of its contact with a wider market, became a focal point of African agriculture and was able to stimulate local agriculture to produce some surplus for sale to the mission.¹³ The district had not developed a marketing infrastructure and the mission assumed the role of a market for this surplus from African agricultural production.

Thus, the mission placed itself as a mediator between African agriculture and its potential market. Using its contacts and organisational advantage it began to cash in on this African surplus production in traditional food crops by in turn selling purchased food crops to the wider market.

This response of the Lala to the presence of the mission is similar to what was noticed by Muntimba, Morrow and Bundy in their studies of other societies.¹⁴

This commerce in agricultural surplus between the African cultivators and the mission was further stimulated by war portership work, mineral prospecting in the Mulembo area and labour recruitment to which the mission was the supplier of food. There was a general increase in the prices of 'native produce'

during the war period. This suggests the extent to which the cash economy had penetrated the district as well as the extent to which Iala society had become integrated into the colonial economy. The war brought an inflationary situation in the district due to the substantial amount of money in circulation among the African population that had been earned in portage work. However, due to the large numbers of men engaged in the portage work agricultural production slumped and a scarcity of food was experienced.¹⁵ This scarcity contributed to the increase in the prices of 'native produce'.

The mission, apart from buying produce from African producers also produced for an emerging market in the post war period which comprised of the Europeans for non-traditional food crops and labour recruitment agencies. The annual district report noted;

"Chitambo Mission is the sole scene of agriculture. Last years crops at the mission were 12 bags of wheat, 6,000 bags sorghum, 3,000 bags of beans. This was raised principally for the feeding of R.N.I.B. recruits travelling to and from the South."¹⁶ (sic)

However, the European market was small and that of the labour recruitment of diminishing importance in the long term. In the first three months of 1925 the mission raised £22.1.8 from the source of rations for labour recruits alone.¹⁷ The increase in the activities of labour recruitment agencies in the district from the early 1920's further increased the sale of produce by African producers. The mission alone could not satisfy the food requirements of the labour recruiters. In this way the missions agricultural activities by 1928 were

geared to respond to the demands of labour requirements of the mining activities in the Southern African region. Moffat wrote to Thomson, a labour recruiter thus;

"Thanks for your cheque for \$12.11.6 in settlement of your account. Food is now plentiful, so from the 1st May (1920) we will revert to the old rate of charges for rationing. Have you any idea as to whether there will be a large number of recruits this year? I would like to know so as to know whether to buy in a lot of food while it is plentiful."¹⁸

The participation of the mission in activities related to the labour requirements of the mining centres greatly enlarged Chitambo Mission's capacity as a local market for African surplus produce. Chitambo Mission was the mid point rations centre on the labour route, recruits and repatriated migrants were first rationed at Fort Jameson, then Chitambo and finally Fort Rosebery.¹⁹ This route was for the Congo mines. However, even the recruits from the District and the Northern parts of the country were rationed at Chitambo.

The European market included a wide spectrum of people but was in the main Government officers, big game hunters, labour recruiters, mineral prospectors and traders. Wheat flour, butter and maize flour was sold to these men. For example, in July 1920 the mission realized from the sale of this produce \$35.2.4 from wheat flour, \$12.1.0 from butter and \$19.10.6 from maize flour. The 1925 district annual report commented;

"Excess quantity of very good wheat flour is available for sale by the Chitambo Mission."²⁰

However, it is difficult to give statistics that reflect the quantities involved in the sales of African surplus produce.

The extension of land cultivated at Chitambo set in motion a complementary process, that is, the creation of a group of agricultural workers. These people still retained their land rights. Sources abound with evidence of the creation of this category of people in Serenje District, especially among Chief Muchinka's people where the mission station was located. These were in two categories, the permanent agricultural workers such as herdsmen and temporary workers. The latter were hired during the peak periods of agricultural work. It is significant to note that these temporary workers were not migrating from other areas but were locals and that they included women and children.²¹ They were a variant of what has been called 'target workers' in the sense that they hired themselves out to secure some cash to purchase or satisfy immediate needs. In 1923 the mission had 130 people in employment hired for varying periods of time.²²

Up to 1935 the impact of the agricultural work of the mission was evident in terms of being a market for African surplus agricultural production and as a centre for employment in agricultural work. The new technology of plough and oxen made little headway in this non-pastoral society. Garvey has reported a similar situation among the Bemba in terms of markets and employment opportunities in the area of the Catholic mission.²³ The Lala also had adopted no new food crops from the mission. The case of the failure of the wheat irrigation scheme at Chief Muchinka's village illustrates this situation.²⁴ It would appear the Lala were unwilling to take risks with new crops whose cultivation and value had not yet been properly understood,

and therefore favoured the chitene and traditional crops to which they were accustomed. In terms of growing cash crops there were obstacles which the 1928 District Annual Report illuminated thus;

"Two experimental patches of flax, one of linseed, one for fibre also did very well. If a market could be found, and assistance given in the disposal of the crop, this seems a thing that natives might grow with considerable success."²⁵

However, the report did not say that the absence of a market was due to the remoteness of the district from the urban market and that the development of European agriculture had first priority in Government policy over the development of African agriculture, a position which persisted to the post 2nd World War period.²⁶

THE MISSION AND INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL WORK.

The mission never grew into a large industrial training centre. The aim of the industrial training and work at the mission and its development have been discussed in the first chapter of this study. From its inception the industrial work of the mission offered opportunities for a number of Africans to gain skills in carpentry, bricklaying and printing. Some of these trained men found employment with the mission especially during the time when the mission underwent its institutional structural development between 1908 and 1920. However, such employment opportunities fluctuated in response to the demand for work at the mission station. Therefore, such trained artisans were compelled to seek work elsewhere. In view of the development of the district into a labour reserve, the mission

trained men for this capitalist economy. The district migration estimate for 1908 was 3,000 and had grown to 3,400 by 1926.²⁷

It is difficult to determine how many out of the 1926 figure were skilled men from the sources. The 1908 figure is unlikely to include trained men because industrial training began in the same year.

From its workshop the mission turned out furniture for sale to its workers and also to the Europeans within and without the district. This commercial aspect of industrial work of the mission becomes noticeable from the early 1920's when it was reported,

"A certain amount of furniture is turned out to order"²⁸

Such furniture consisted mainly of doors, window frames, beds, tables, stools and chairs. Industrial work in this way began to compete with traditional crafts for a market among the population and opened new demands especially among the mission workers.²⁹

Apart from limited employment opportunities within the mission and district trained artisans were discouraged from working for the mission or in the district on account of the relatively low wages offered as compared to those obtaining in industrial centres along the line of rail, the Copperbelt, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The district mission annual report attests to this tendency:

"Trained men are drawn away by the high wages obtained elsewhere."³⁰

The mission was unable to compete with these industrial centres and could only offer an average pay of 12/- per month to artisan workers nor was any employer in the district able to offer more.

The industrial work of the mission, despite the migration of some trained artisans and relatively poor conditions of service, was able to retain some artisans in its service. The continued employment of artisans by the mission was contributing to the overall process that it had initiated of creating a rural category of paid workers whose increasing dependence on wages differentiated them from the mass of the people in the district. Similarly, the migration of its trained men to areas of more economic advantages was contributing to the overall process of creating a 'working class' in the territory.³¹ Few if any of these artisans returned to their village communities to stimulate industrial life therein.

With the successful establishment of a school system and the church in the district, support activities became necessary. These activities were printing and book selling. The book store was established as early as August 1907 and was followed by a general store in October of the same year. The initial stock for these stores was purchased from the A.L.C. shop at Fort Jamson, £8.11.4 being spent on calico, also bought were 68 slates, six boxes of pencils, three dozen readers, three dozen hymnaries and 12 dozen Bibles.³²

By 1914 the development of the Bookshop became tied to the printing work at the mission. Training of Printers noted in the preceding chapter enabled the mission to print school textbooks, gospels and related literature mostly in Lala-Bisa for school requirements and to stock the Bookshop.³³ The efforts of Moffat and Munday had made the Lala-Bisa language a written language by 1914. The mission had three printers at work at the mission press. Printers at Chitche were not trained in large numbers,

and those trained did not exceed three for mission employment. Printing work was further boosted with the putting to use of the Everett Press in 1918 which replaced a smaller press. This activity expanded such that by 1928 the missions book store had incorporated a postal selling service extending as far as South Africa, servicing mostly labour migrants from Chitambo. The Account Books provide ample evidence for these links. Moffat wrote to one such migrant, Buanga in the following words;

"I have received two letters from you. You sent me 3/- for grammar and Hymn books and 1/9 for Gospel. The grammar and Hymn books are finished, so I am sending you back 3/- and I am sending the Gospels." ³⁴

Similar correspondence and transactions took place with Ezekiel Banda (Wankie), Isaac Tshilo (Johannesburg), Danson Kalikunka (Transvaal) for example. ³⁵

With the production of the trimonthly newspaper 'Ilyashi' by the mission press the Bemba and related languages areas were effectively covered. ³⁶ However, the newspaper publication slumped badly by 1930 and went into oblivion after 1931. The collapse of the Ilyashi venture was due to the fact that it was economically unviable in a depressed economy. The mission also printed school material that was sold to the other stations of the Livingstonia Mission Lubwa, Kwenzo and Chasefu.

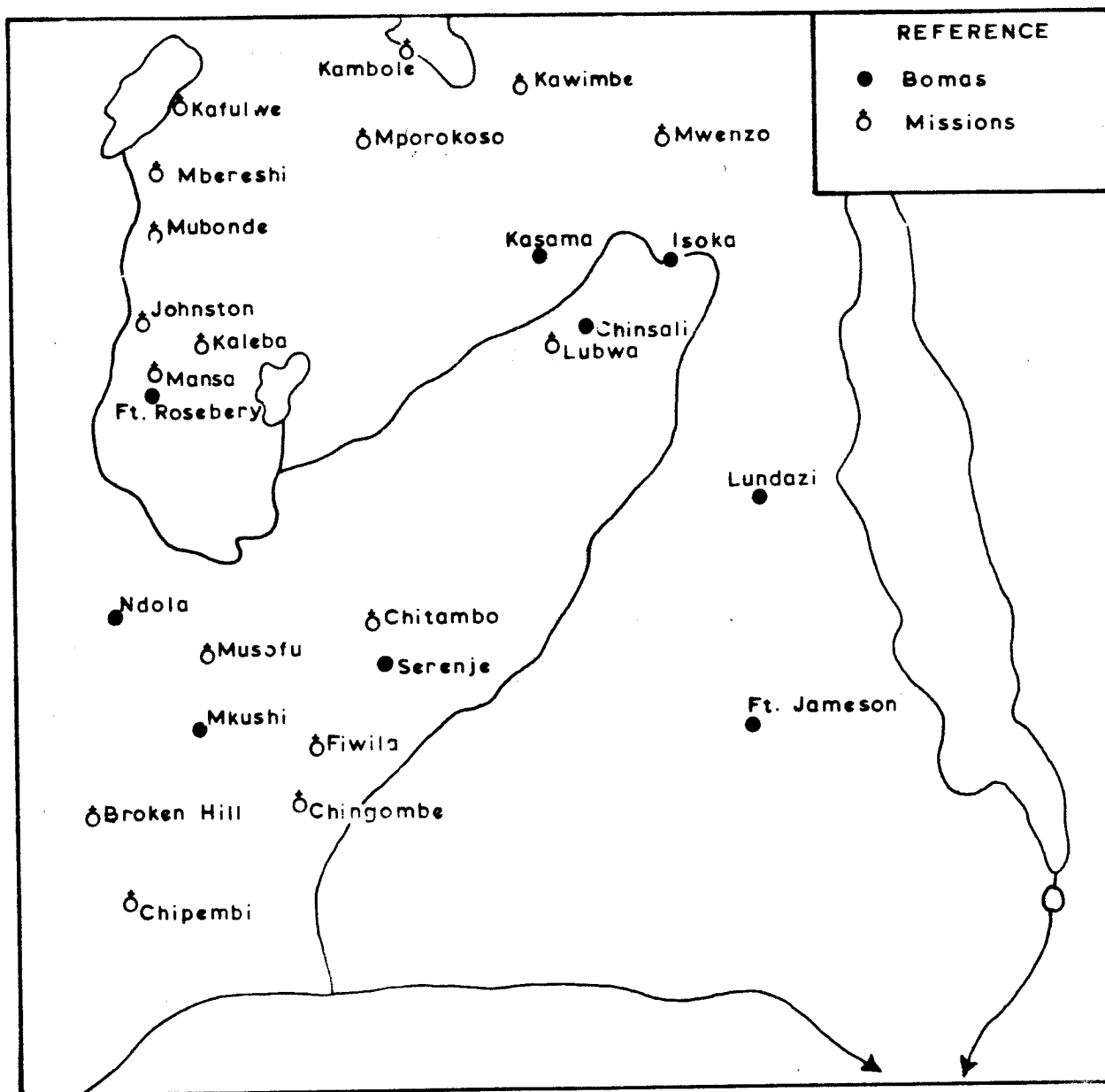
The general store first established at the Boma was transferred to Mabonde. The commercial aims of the mission were stated as;

"To provide enough silver for the monthly payroll of the mission, to enable mission employees to buy what they need of decent quality, at moderate prices and on the spot and to supply books and stationery to the natives." ³⁷

The general store was established in conditions of competition with other European traders. This represented a significant contribution to commercial capital in the district. The mission, therefore, contributed to the fall of commerce in traditional commodities in the district and the replacement of pre-capitalist exchange relations. Thus, this missionary contribution helped in the entrenchment of the cash-based market economy in the district. Africans by 1934 had adjusted to this new pattern of commerce by establishing 180 'stores' in the villages throughout the district.³⁸ Commercial participation by the mission was a force that contributed to the entrenchment of new demands for European commodities and the attendant values, a phenomenon also observed by Garvey among the Bemba.³⁹

Some scholars have argued that the need for cash in African societies by the 1920's had gone beyond the desire to pay hut tax.⁴⁰ Africans needed cash to purchase things like blankets, pots and clothes which had become a necessity, and other industrial wares. Thus the decisive feature of colonialism was the exposing of local population to new goods and services, a role that the mission at Chitambo participated in through its commercial activities. In this role, therefore, the mission contributed directly and indirectly to the labour exodus from the district in search of cash earnings for tax requirements and for other needs.

The mission introduced another capitalist institution in the district that contributed to the development of African commercial capitalism. In place of a pensions scheme for



MAP.3 : THE DISTRIBUTION OF ILYASHI 1928.

SOURCE: Buckle, A.G., Serenje History
Notes - Manuscript 1976

mission employees, Moffat introduced the 'Native Bank' around 1910 to function as a savings Bank for these employees. An examination of the 'savers' list reveals that they were mostly drawn from the teaching cadre. On December 28, 1925 the total savings in the 'Bank' reflected a sum of £102.74.12.. The total number of 'savers' being 56. What is more significant, however, is the idea of having a bank. With the retirement of Moffat to Kalwa Farm in 1930, and the departure of alien African teachers owing to the withdrawal of wage subsidies paid to them by the colonial Government during the depression, the Bank's account statement, which had showed an all time low just before the departure of Moffat from mission service of £14.9.3, collapsed.⁴¹ It would appear all the savings were withdrawn by the 'savers' forcing the folding up of the Bank. There is no further mention of the bank after 1933 which suggests its collapse during this time of the economic depression. At the same time we notice unprecedented African commercial activity on the mission station and the environs of central schools and in the district in general. This tentatively suggests a link between the collapse of the 'Bank' and African investment in commerce. Although there is no written evidence for this link for the 1930's, oral evidence points to the ascendancy of the mission elite in commercial capitalism in mission areas.⁴² However, it should also be noted that the redundant migrant workers from the mines due to the closure of some mines owing to economic unprofitability in the depressed economy of the 1930's brought considerable savings into the district that contributed to

the intense commercial activity by 1934 when 180 African stores are recorded as in existence. Long also observed this investment pattern in his study of Chibale's area.⁴³ In this way the mission contributed to the revitalisation and reorientation of African commercial energy. However, this commerce substituted effectively the earlier African commerce whose market had been at Musamani. The period to 1935 was marked by the replacement of pre-colonial trade relations and intensified the penetration and entrenchment of the colonial cash economy. It is also significant that mission institutions, in the main schools, the Boma and the road to the Northern districts became focal points in this commercial activity. The period to 1935 marked the completion of the reorientation and establishment of new commercial patterns in the district.

In the period between 1906 and 1935 the mission developed into a centre of market oriented farming, introducing the plough and cattle into the non-pastoral society of Lerenge District. Also it became a centre of market oriented industrial activities. These two simultaneous processes created a local rural working category of people dependant on wages although maintaining some connections with the village and land. Its aim of creating local prosperous peasant elements living in their communities as a bulwark of Christian life and innovation was seriously undercut and undermined by the nature of industrial capitalism manifested in labour migration of both educated and skilled and the uneducated male segments of Lala society, a phenomenon which reached alarming proportions in the 1920's.⁴⁴ Thus a good deal of potential leadership was lost

to other areas of relatively more challenging economic opportunities in the emergent industrial centres of the Southern African region.

The mission was also able to stimulate surplus production in African agriculture in traditional food crops and effectively established itself as a mediator between African producers and the wider market. In this role it was able to cream off profits to finance its unfunded activities. In terms of adoption of new cash crops by African producers the mission's influence remained limited. Lack of capital to acquire oxen and the new tools such as ploughs, and the non-pastoral tradition of the Isala formed complex obstacles to the development of a cash crop economy in Serenje which the mission was actively encouraging in a climate of negative colonial and settler ideology regarding advancement of African commercial farming. The mission's commercial activities during the period contributed to the entrenchment of the cash economy in the District, stimulating in the process unprecedented African commercial activities resulting into new commercial patterns, market systems and trade relations that undermined and replaced indigenous trade in traditional commodities. During the period the mission actively facilitated labour migration as a ration point and through its education and training funnelled labour into the wider capitalist economy, a role that appears contradictory to the mission's aim of creating stable Christian and prosperous rural communities.

THE MISSION AND THE RURAL ECONOMY, 1936 TO 1964:

During this period the mission changed its emphasis from agricultural training in a centre to improvement of African agricultural systems in the district. The mission was to be concerned with agricultural extension work and the development of markets for surplus African production.⁴⁵ This involved also renewed encouragement of African cultivators to adopt cash crops. This was in line with agricultural work begun earlier. For example a start had been made at Chief Muchinka's village where an irrigation scheme from Poye river had been constructed. It was envisaged that an African Christian farming community would settle along the canal and produce wheat for sale to the wider market.⁴⁶ Undaunted by lack of success in creating a revolutionary influence on African agriculture in the 1930's, the mission began to readress itself to this task again in the 1940's. It was particularly interested in the school leavers. This was in response to the problem of 'school dropouts' and labour migration which the educational system had created and was contributing to in the latter case. Howie illuminated the problem thus;

"Under present circumstances say about 20 per cent of Standard II go on to I.M. school. What about those who stop at Standard II, rather a large proportion? I want to try out a years course of practical work to fit them for work in their villages - to enable them to make money, to attract them to stay at home instead of swarming to European centres."⁴⁷

The 'drop out' problem equally existed at standard IV. The main idea was to have such 'drop outs' set up on their own farms chosen with Rev. Howie's assistance and the mission was

to give support in seeds and further technical advice. The whole philosophy behind this scheme was expressed by Howie as;

"The idea is simply to get business started - money making - among the ordinary people."⁴⁸

The failure of this scheme of introducing cash crop farming among the African people in Serenje was mainly due to the continued undermining of village life by finance capital in the industrial centres of the Southern African region which had intensified after the opening up of the copper mines in Northern Rhodesia after 1925 with a brief arrest of growth during the economic depression of the 1930's. The now entrenched cash economy and the influence of missionary education which had acted upon and changed the Iala attitudes and values compounded and strengthened the role of Serenje District as a periphery area functioning as a reserve of cheap labour. These new social attitudes were equally important. It was later reported by Howie regarding the agricultural scheme;

"This all looked very encouraging, but the parents and the old people in the villages soon got at the lads, asking them if the Bwana was going to give them pay, and if not, then 'surely he was pulling your legs'. In three months the lads had all skipped off to jobs on the line (of rail), they could not stand up to the ridicule of the old folk."⁴⁹

The new attitudes demanded that the young men get a return on their education through wage employment and not to waste their education on farming.

Watson, Coulter and Garvey have agreed that cash played a central role in the lives of the people. They express a similar position that cash and education wrought changes on traditional customs and values that affected the conduct of traditional village social and economic life.⁵⁰

Thus, the interplay of the cash economy and the changes wrought on Iala society by education rendered the agricultural schemes non-starters in Terebe District and mission sponsored agricultural transformation to cash cropping a failure by 1949. Chadika gives the average annual outflow rate of labour from Terebe District between 1940 and 1964 to the copper mines alone as 19.30 and a share of 54.40 per cent of Central Province labour on the Copperbelt mines labour market.⁵¹ And Hovic lamented:

"The general idea was to find attractive and useful employment in their home district for at least some of those pupils who had passed standard IV who were a surplus to the quota provided for at the training school. It seemed a pity that lads who had reached this stage in general education should be allowed to drift into any odd job, while there was so much need for their ability and young strength among their own people in the villages."⁵²

Therefore, the mission was ineffective in holding back the rural-urban migration that it was contributing to stimulate through its formal education and training. This marked its ineffectiveness in restructuring the rural agricultural economy and in the creation of a prosperous and educated rural agricultural peasant segment drawing its strength from its participation in cash crop farming. The annual report of the Department of African Education for 1951 puts across this dilemma thus;

"So long as life outside the towns and railway strip holds no prospect but the scratching of a bare living from the soil, so long will every boy of education above his fellows seek salaried employment, whatever the bias to rural pursuits that may be encouraged at school. Except for the few who become teachers, such boys are lost to the country districts."⁵³

Thus, formal education due to the high value placed upon it by the colonial economy was a factor that influenced migration

of the 'cream' of rural populations. Similar findings on the significance and relationship of education and labour migration in the Congo by Gugler and Maquet do exist.⁵⁴ McCracken's study of Livingstonia mission in Nyasaland reveals the crucial role that education played in the migration and employment of Africans in skilled capacities and the linkage of this to the clamour and unprecedented demand for education and its rapid development at the turn of the century.⁵⁵

A change in Government policy towards African agriculture occurred from 1946. The Colonial Office committed itself to the task of developing African territories. In Northern Rhodesia African agricultural development received attention. From 1948 the agricultural initiative passed on to the Government and resulted in the creation of agricultural schemes in Serenje and other districts.⁵⁶ The aim of these 'peasant farming blocks' was to 'anchor the African to land, to concentrate population, to improve agricultural practice and soil conservation and so to open the way to further development.'⁵⁷ The ideology behind this Government scheme differed slightly from that which the mission had been pursuing to 1946 on grounds of the mission's emphasis on religion and in the method of implementation. The overall idea was to encourage a transition from subsistence to commercial production in African rural areas as a way of promoting rural development. At Chitambo we notice an adjustment to the demands of this Government scheme and a reactivation of the agricultural work in the schools. The mission annual report for 1948 commented;

"Through the cooperation of the school boys and Government officials large gardens have been REOPENED. It is hoped to train the boys to handle oxen and to plough, irrigate, etc. This is being done as part of the school curriculum to assist the agricultural development plan which is being followed in this area"⁵⁸ (emphasis mine).

This indicates that agricultural interest at the mission after the departure of J.I. Howie had seriously waned and declined. However, this should be viewed also in light of the uncertainty of the future role of the mission in education and training whose debate has been touched upon in chapter one. Agricultural production in the mission farms continued. The surplus from these farms was being offered for sale to the African population in the environs of the mission station. By 1955 when mission policy of pulling out of education work was well known, the mission began to sell off its livestock, cattle being priced at \$45.0.0 in 1956.⁵⁹ In terms of cereals the mission sold millet and maize. For example in 1953 a 100 bags of cereals were offered for sale.⁶⁰ The market for such produce was predominantly the wage earning categories in the area. In an earlier survey, Peters had concluded that in the agricultural situation prevailing in Serenje in the 1940's the land carrying capacity could no longer support the population and the 'normal surplus' which is a safeguard of subsistence agriculture had disappeared.⁶¹ It is, therefore, in this situation that the African population to a limited extent provided a market for the mission in the late 1940's and in the 1950's.

THE INDUSTRIAL IMPACT OF CHITAMBO MISSION 1936-64:

The setting up of the Hodgson Trades Centre in 1933 by the Government took over the initiative from the Missions' similar centres in the country, Chitambo being no exception. The training of school leavers in carpentry and bricklaying was abandoned at Chitambo by 1935.⁶² This changed the industrial outlook of the mission, and in fact Chitambo had not developed into a big industrial centre. The role of the mission of training artisans for the wider capitalist economy ceased by 1935. Thus the aim of having artisans settle in their communities and act as agents of change could no longer be entertained in these circumstances where in addition labour migration of such trained men had made deep inroads. The District in relative terms, had by this time made little advance in terms of social and economic conditions and the gap between the rural and urban conditions was still wide, if not increasing. Thus, the demand for artisans had remained very low within the District and such demand was growing slowly and even when engaged the relative economic benefits were meagre compared to industrial centres on the line of rail.

After 1935 the mission had this department geared more towards the station maintenance work, with a small number of artisans continuing to exist for this purpose. At the time of the handover of the mission's educational facilities to the Local Education Authority between 1956 and 1960 these artisans were transferred to the Boma administration as seen from this correspondence from the Education Secretary of the Livingstonia

Mission Rev. Mackenzie to Franklin;

"Some mission carpenters who have been making furniture for schools at Chitambo are being transferred to Serenje Boma where they will continue the same work."⁶³

This marked at the same time the diminishing role of the mission as an employer of labour.

THE COMMERCIAL IMPACT OF CHITAMBO MISSION, 1936-64:

The post 1935 period witnessed the weakening and decline of the mission's impact on the rural economy. By this time the money economy was well entrenched in the district and the investment pattern in commercial enterprise was well established. The main commercial areas in the district were at Serenje Boma, Chitambo and at centres along the road to the Northern areas such as Ndabala and Kanona.

African investment in commerce had grown very much to reach 300 stores. However, it is difficult to determine the total capital input involved. The A.L.C. popularly known as 'Mandala' store provided wholesale facilities to this commerce to 1955 when its business plot in Serenje lapsed.⁶⁴ Oral evidence attests that most of these African businessmen in the district were educated at Chitambo and some had worked or were working for the mission while others were labour migrants 'machona' returned home.⁶⁵

Generally, African stores were characterised by their smallness and limited range of commodities which were mostly non-perishables. The mission's contribution to the growth of African commercial activities from the 1940's mainly was the granting of mission land to these African entrepreneurs. Their ties with the mission in most cases was a factor operating in their favour.⁶⁶

The impact of African commercial capital in the district could be said to have been profound in terms of ownership and location. However, these stores tended to have shorter life spans compared to alien commercial capital. The impact of the extended family on African business was in most cases negative and has been cited as a factor that contributed to their shorter business life spans.⁶⁷ The owners were usually absent from their stores at posts where they were required to work or serve. Zulu society, it must be pointed out, is matrilineal and normally matrilineal nephews are expected to get their uncle's inheritance. Thus, the tendency to regard their uncle's stores as their own fostered lax financial discipline and control.⁶⁸ Other factors cited include the difficulties and costs in transporting store goods especially to those located far from the main road and low profit margins.

In the long term this African commerce did not have an impact on the periphery relationship of the district to the industrial centres. What is crucial in this African rural capitalism is the manifestation of African initiative away from consumption to investment.

Equally significant during this period is the gradual withdrawal of European commercial interests and their replacement by Asian business interests in Serenje District. Out of the six big European business concerns in 1931 there were only two left in 1953 and none by 1955. It would appear that the economic depression of the 1930's and the rise of militant African nationalist politics from 1948 were the major factors

that contributed to the diminishing presence of European commercial capitalism. The fact that nationalist politics engulfed even rural districts like Serenje was a cause of insecurity to European commercial capital in Serenje District. European commercial interests were replaced by Asian commercial capital such as that of A.I. Baber and Co., Y.M. Badat and V.V. Patel.⁶⁹ Foreign capital to a limited extent contributed to the creation of a wage earning class of people living mostly away from their villages. These were mostly store employees.

THE IMPACT OF CHURCH MISSION ON LABOUR IN THE DISTRICT, 1936-64:

The mission's attitude towards labour migration changed in the post 1935 period. To 1935 the missionary attitudes can be described as 'laissez faire'. The mission played a mediating and facilitating role in the integration of the district into the world capitalist system at the level of labour migration. Migration from the Serenje region had increased in scale after 1928, hampering the growth of the church, the education system and the emergence of a rural leadership for the district. Evidence abounds in the written sources of the negative impact of this labour exodus on the rural economy and family life in the district.

From a 'laissez faire' attitude the mission's position gradually moved to that of counteracting the labour exodus especially after the retirement of Moffat in 1930.

The impact of labour migration on the activities of the mission after the mid 1930's retarded progress in its work.

For instance, out of the 47 teachers to pass the first Government examination in 1928, all but two had left mission service by 1931 for stints in Government service and the mines; of the 47 teachers listed in the 1932 annual returns of the mission eight had left by the following year for Government service and mine employment.⁷⁰ The impact of this on the smooth running of the educational system, more so when in addition the migration of students is also considered need not be over emphasized. The mission abandoned its function of rationing labour recruits and its subsequent programmes such as agricultural schemes attempted to curtail the outflow of educated men and youths from the district. As already noted the agricultural schemes were an attempt to promote cash cropping to earn cash so that the youth and men in general could be anchored to the rural area.

However, the continued provision of formal education and also the African realization of the value of such education in the context of the colonial economy rendered agricultural development through mission sponsored schemes non-starters by the mid 1940's. The deteriorating agricultural conditions at home observed by Peters in 1946 gave impetus to this migration and to difficulties of retaining men in the district.⁷¹ Active labour recruitment by agencies had subsided considerably during this period but comparatively the labour migration rate continued to rise. Migration of the educated such as teachers and artisans also began to mount from the late 1920's and intensified in the 1930's and 1940's.⁷² Over the same

period labour migration from the district in general reached unprecedented proportions without any indication of subsiding.⁷³

Explanations of the causes of labour migration are unanimous on the central role of the economic factor.⁷⁴ Tax has been identified as a subtle coercion that contributed to labour migration if it did not cause it. However, the Serenje data introduces an element that the tax explanation fails adequately to explain. The migration of salaried teachers cannot be explained by tax money requirements. Similarly, as early as 1913 the migration of scholars who were exempted from tax payment is noticed. Out of the 35 boarders in 1913, 15 left and out of the five picked to be assistant teachers two left although they were entitled to a wage.⁷⁵ Therefore, in the light of this the tax explanation should be seen as inadequate. Similarly, Garvey's causes of labour migration, that is tax, consumer goods and status is equally inadequate.⁷⁶ A rural job and an education provided both status and consumer goods. The explanation of labour migration should take cognisance of the relative value of education and modern skills in rural and urban centres. In this way migration of educated and skilled labour, more often after returning from a rural job, was basically a result of the difference in economic returns on the individual investment in education.

By providing formal education the mission was contributing to the migration of the members of the 'prime age group' and 'prime ability' to the urban centres leaving Serenje District

denuded of its best male population in labour qualitative terms.

Education and skills as important developmental factors were, therefore, transferred to areas of industrial growth.

However, cognisance should be taken of some other sociological explanations. In Lala society marriage was secured by payment of dowry in form of farm implements such as hoes and axes. In addition the suitor gave free labour to the in-laws by cutting trees for chitemene. With the entrenchment of the cash economy and changes in values due to education and the impact of European wages cash became a new form of dowry payment. So men had to migrate to urban centres to secure cash for this purpose. However, it should be noted that not all men who migrated in search of urban employment were unmarried. The demands on an individual of tribal discipline has also been cited as a factor for labour migration⁷⁷ Evidence for this in the Serenje data is absent.

However, labour migration in the Serenje region took place within a social and economic context that had undergone considerable changes in values and attitudes.

In this way the mission contributed to the rural stagnation in Serenje district through the 'brain drain' effect that took away much of the potential African leadership in a situation of economic imbalance. Miss Irvine writing in 1941 at Chitambo lamented;

"practically no village in this district contains ex-standard IV pupils other than teachers, and I have yet to meet a well educated African who is content to return to village life without being paid for it."⁷⁸

Thus the mission's economic impact between 1936 and 1964 failed to alter the pattern of economic development in the district that had been shaped by a compound of factors in the period to 1935. Its efforts to curtail labour migration over this period floundered and collapsed having achieved little or nothing to 1964.

The mission between 1906 and 1964 played a significant role in the development and establishment of new economic patterns in the district. This chapter has shown the role of the mission in the pattern of labour migration, in the development of agriculture and in the development of African commercial **activities**. The mission in several ways facilitated and fostered the integration of Serenje District into the world capitalist system. However, the mission's agricultural work did not have a fundamental impact on the condition of the rural agricultural economy in the district to 1964.

NOTES

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9. NAE/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1907.
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17. C.C.A. Station Account Book, July 1924-December 1927.
18. C.C.A. Moffat to Thomson 25/4/1928.
19. Changed names, Chipata to Fort Jameson, Fort Rosebery is now Mansa. Chitamba has remained unchanged.
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21. C.C.A. Cash Book 1907-1918 p.51. Here women are indicated to have received pay for casual work in December 1911.
22. NAE/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1923.
23. B. Garvey, 'The Development of the White Fathers Mission Among the Bemba-speaking peoples 1891-1964', Ph.D. Thesis, London University, 1974. 209.
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29. Interviews
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 - See also Morrow, 'Policy and Practice', 17.
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31. Similar observations have been made in
 - Garvey, 'White Fathers Mission', 212.
 - John McCracken, Politics and Christianity in Malawi 1875-1940. The Impact of the Livingstonia Mission in the Northern Province. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 148.
 - Gann, Plural Society, 39-40.
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 Morton Zombo Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86.
 Enos Chibuye, Chibuye Farm, Kapiri Mposhi, 13/01/87.
 Mama Ndesha, Katikulula village, 22/12/86.
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44. See For Example, G.C. Nathan, 'The Government and Native Education', The Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference (Lovedale: Lovedale Institute Press, 1928), 69.
45. NAB/RC 1693 Inspection Report on Work at Chitambo Mission, 1933.
46. NAB/RC 1693 Inspection Report on Work at Chitambo, 1932.
47. NAB/WR 2/277 Memo to Tyndale-Biscoe 23/8/43.
48. NAB/WR 2/277 Memo to Tyndale-Biscoe 23/8/43.
49. NAB/WR 2/277 Church of Scotland Mission - Chitambo Mission 1939-54.
 Memo to Tyndale-Biscoe 3/3/1944.
50. Garvey, 'White Fathers Mission', 214.
 W. Jaton. Tribal Colonialism in a Money Economy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), 39-47.

51. Patrick O. Ghadika, Development of and Factors in the Employment of African Migrants in the Copper mines of Zambia, 1940-66 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), 10.

Rate = Average annual flow (1940-64) ÷ Middate male population 15 years or more.

See appendix for Labour Statistics IV.

52. NAZ/MR 2/277 Howie to Tyndale-Biscoe, 3/3/1944.

53. Northern Rhodesia African Education Triennial Survey 1955-57, 19.

54. See for example Joseph Gugler, 'The Impact of Labour Migration on Society and Economy', African Social Research 6 (Dec. 1968), 470.

A tendency noticed in the Serenje data was for the well educated migrants to stick to elite jobs in the urban areas. For instance Chisulo after being apprenticed and working at Chitambo Hospital as a medical orderly migrated to Chinola where he got a job as a Pathology Laboratory Assistant at Nkhanga Hospital. Similarly in the army during the 2nd World War he enlisted in the medical corps. Enos Chibuye, a Chitambo teacher, migrated to the urban area and got a job as a teacher at a Government school.

55. McCracken, Politics and Christianity, 116-120.

56. The peasant blocks were located at Bulila, Munsala, Mulembo, Lupamba and Masala.

Long, Social Change, 16.

57. Long, Social Change, 16.

58. C.C.A. Mission Annual Report of Work at Chitambo, 1948.

59. C.C.A. Station Committee Minutes 28/11/52, 18/5/53, 24/5/53, 13/6/56.

60. C.C.A. Station Committee Minutes 28/11/52, 18/5/53, 24/5/53, 13/6/56.

61. D.F. Peters, Land Usage in Serenje District (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951), xv.

62. NAZ/RC 1693 Report on the work at Chitambo, 1933.

This report indicates industrial work to have become very limited. Thereafter no further mention is made.

63. NAZ/HM 28/WNI/22/1 Mackenzie to Franklin 17/5/56.

64. NAZ/KEK 3/1 Serenje District Notebook Vol. I.

65. Interviews

Mama Ndesha, Katikulula village, 22/12/86.
 Chibale Chimo, Mumbwa, 15/3/1987.
 Patson Musakula, Mumbwa, 15/3/87.
 Norton Zombo Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86.
 Robinson Misalo Chita, Serenje Roma, 11/12/86.
 Saphira Ndesha, Katikulula village, 22/12/86.

Notable among the businessmen mentioned in these interviews are:

Bicycle Chikoko, Simon Viboti, Yakobo Lusuma, Enos Chibuye, Mateo Kalumbi (late), John Benosi, John Kalindi, Thomas Kaendo, Levenia Mukochya, Nathan Chipata, David Kapika, Noah Masakulula, Mr. Chiyabwe, R. Kalulany, R. Chanswe, Mr. Kaposo and E. Chanswe.

66. C.S.A. station committee minutes 1953, 1954.

1953 - Cases of Alifayo and the Consumer Cooperative were considered.
 Alifayo was pronounced.
 1954 - Similar applicants were considered. Sources indicate no success.

67. Interviews

Norton Zombo Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86.
 Saphira Ndesha, Katikulula village, 22/6/86.

See Long, Social Change, 166-199.

68. Interviews

Norton Zombo Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86.
 Saphira Ndesha, Katikulula village, 22/6/86.

Long, Social Change, 31-32.

69. NAZ/KSK 3/1 Serenje District Notebook, Vol. I.

70. NAZ/KSK 3/1 Serenje District Notebook, Vol. I.

NAZ/RS 1603 Inspection Report Miller to Caldwell 4/8/31.

71. Peters, Land Usage, xv.

72. Of the 1914 teachers 78 left by 1932 and of the 1931 figure of 43 by 1932, 22 had left mission employment.

73. Ministry of Labour and Mines. Origins of Labour Employed in principal industries 1940-64.

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 Mitchell J. Clyde, 'The Causes of Labour Migration',
Bulletin of the Inter-African Labour Institute, 6, 1 (Jan. 1959), 12-47.

75. MAD/KAF 3/1 Temanga District Notebook, Vol. I.
76. Garvey, 'White Fathers Mission', 212.
77. Gugler, 'Labour Migration', 465-470.
78. Ministry of African Education Annual Report, 1941. 2.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMPACT OF CHITAMBO MISSION ON SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AND POLITICS IN SERENJE DISTRICT, 1906-1964.

This chapter examines the relationship of the mission to the process of social differentiation and politics in Lala society. It is argued that the social differentiation that occurred in the district was a product of mission education and employment on one hand and Government policy and employment on the other hand. Further, it is argued that the process of social differentiation had little impact on the traditional relationship between men and women due to the basically unfavourable mission and Government policy towards women. The chapter also examines the impact of Chitambo Mission on the political process in the district from 1930 when the Native Authority became operational in the district. It is argued that the mission's contribution was the creation of a new political leadership pattern in the district through its educational activities. The focus on politics in the district is not from a grassroot perspective.

SOME ASPECTS OF PRE-COLONIAL SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION IN SERENJE DISTRICT.

The Lala people of Serenje District did not evolve a highly centralised state. Social stratification was closely tied to the politico-administrative structure.¹ The chiefs' authority was politico-administrative and was further strengthened by their control over the slave and ivory trade in their chiefdoms. The title umwine mpanga merely underscored their political position in their chiefdoms. Their judicial functions consisted of handling serious cases such as murder

and intervillage conflicts. They served as an appeal authority in the judicial structure. The chiefs had a right to labour of their subjects and enjoyed privileges of tribute of agricultural, game and village industrial products. The chiefs were the supreme religious authorities in their respective polities. Succession to chieftainship was matrilineal in principle and usually fell on the chief's maternal nephews.

The chiefs were assisted by a retinue of councillors whose function was to advise the chiefs. This advice was not binding on the chief. Their social power and status rested in this state function. Their economic power was derived from the tribute that the chief was expected to dispense among them generously. These councillors had an important obligation of ensuring that the right candidate succeeded to the chieftainship.

A further category in this politico-administrative stratification was that of the headman. The headmen either belonged to the ruling Nyendwa clan or to a commoner clan. They were elected by the people and the chief's duty was either to veto or sanction their election.² The headman's social status and prestige rested on the number of followers he was able to have in his village. On this Long has said;

"Status was largely measured by the number of adherents a man could claim....some headmen, by engaging in trading activities, (e.g. export of iron hoes and axes in return for salt or such commodities) by acquiring domestic slaves and receiving substantial prestations from their followers, could achieve higher economic status,

but most redistributed this wealth to their followers, or used it to attract more dependents. Wealth in itself did not confer high social prestige but was more a by product of, and a way of maintaining a position of leadership in the society."³(sic)

Therefore, customary behaviour hampered accumulation in Lala society by headmen.

At the bottom of this social hierarchy were the mass of the people. These were subsistence cultivators. However, within this group could be found some specialised groups such as hunters and iron workers. These were subsidiary activities and did not contribute to economic differentiation since accumulation was not the intended goal.

The position of women in this pre-colonial structure was subordinated and generally they had no social or political power. However, Munday points to a specific political role of women of the Nyendwa clan in the election of candidates to chieftainship.⁴ In case of a conflict over succession these women could veto an aspirant. The traditional social training of women effectively prepared them for this overall subordinate position.⁵

The development of the mission at Chitambo had an impact on this social structure in the district. Hitherto unknown social elements were introduced during this period of general reorientation of social and economic patterns in the district.

However, the social reorientation process in Lala society had begun with the establishment of the B.S.A. Co. administration in the district by 1900. The mission therefore reinforced

this process and provided a more versatile force to this process. In the period to 1915 the Boma administration created a wage earning category of people who included policemen, mailrunners, messengers, prison warders and clerks. What is significant is that these categories were dominated by alien Africans and non-local people with the exception being the mailrunners and messenger categories.⁶ It is doubtful whether education or literacy was widespread within those categories. Nevertheless, these men enjoyed a new social status unknown in the district before owing to their participation in the new administration and their steady income.

It should be realised that the status and prestige of the chiefs were being simultaneously eroded by company rule which usurped their major functions in their polities.

The establishment of the mission which has already been explored in this study widened the wage earning category in Lala society. New elements introduced were artisans (carpenters, bricklayers and printers), medical workers, agricultural workers, evangelists and teachers. The creation of these new elements was an inherent process of the development of formal education in the district.

The mission was an important force in social differentiation at two related levels. Firstly, it became a source of wage employment. Secondly, it provided education and training that enabled some to obtain wage employment with the mission, the district administration and in the wider economy. Education as an avenue of social mobility and its

relationship to social differentiation have been demonstrated by scholars such as Scudder and Colson, Peters, Guthrie and Kaniki in their studies of different areas of Zambia and aspects of education.⁷

Acquisition of formal education as a channel to elite jobs and status in the district was influenced by a number of factors. This study has identified implicitly in chapter one the following: physical access to school, missionary attitudes and attitudes of parents. I comment here briefly on each of these factors.

Chapter one has shown that all chiefdoms did not immediately benefit from formal education and the benefits subsequently were unequal between chiefdoms. The nature of the direction of educational development in the district created the problem of unequal physical access to schools in the district. The absence of higher primary education above standard IV in the district before 1947 exacerbated this problem, for students at Chitambo had to travel to Nyasaland and later to Lubwa for their higher primary education. Overall, students in Chiefs Muchinka, Kailo, Kabamba and Kafinda had greater advantage over others in entering into the professions that the mission was preparing a local cadre in, and this contributed to a more pronounced process of differentiation and presence of the emergent intelligentsia in these areas.⁸

The missionary factor determined precisely who benefited from the quota system introduced in higher education institutions of the Livingstonia Mission. Missionaries favoured students who had demonstrated acceptance of Christian values or

who had become Christians at least nominally.⁹ Even when Government institutions were opened there is evidence that apart from the student's academic record missionaries recommended students to these institutions.¹⁰ This factor was equally important in the maintenance of social stratification. However, this factor was of diminishing importance after 1950 and applied to elite categories where the missionaries had a strong and direct control and influence such as the teaching profession and church ministry.

The third factor determining initial Serenje social differentiation was the attitude of sponsors. This factor becomes pertinent to the understanding of the relatively low numbers of girls in the school enrolments, more so in the period to the end of the 1940's. Important is the fact that elite groups were more willing to sponsor their offspring regardless of sex. The attitude and background of students determined to a large extent the level of formal education attained by a scholar. It is due to the influence of this factor that there was a predominant presence of students from elite backgrounds at the boarding schools at the mission station. However, the significance of this factor in the 1950's became less as more parents saw some point in educating their children and the assistance of the Lala and Bisa Native Authorities in the payment of $\frac{2}{3}$ of the school fee for each child at the boarding schools had a deciding impact on the education of the less fortunate.

The initial impact of the Government administration and the mission to 1925 was the creation of a proto-elite whose life styles were still close to the village life. These tended also to live among the villagers and to socialize therein. For instance teachers still stayed in the villages and had their welfare catered for through village hospitality. Teachers were posted to isolated schools which limited the chances of members of the profession to interact frequently. At the Boma these proto-elite had more interpersonal contacts and they lived in the same environs. However, the Boma group on average had lower educational backgrounds than those for example at the mission station. The mission proto-elite at the same time was predominantly Nyasa to 1915. With the introduction of artisan training and the monitorial system Lalas began to join the ranks of the emerging elite segment which intensified with the utilisation of educational links with the Overtoun Institute in Nyasaland. Guthrie in his study of Mwenzo Mission to 1914 has said about this new type of African ;

"With the founding of Mwenzo Mission in 1895, there began to appear in the district a small body of men whose elevated social and economic position was related to the emergence of the mission..., and the high value which colonial Authorities placed on education.... Their newly acquired position set them apart as a special advantaged segment of local society."¹¹

Members of this new segment were marked by the fact that they had acquired some formal education and occupied intermediary positions between the European elements and institutions and the Lala people in the district.¹² Equally, their newly

acquired values were translated into practice by sending their offspring to school more readily and by participating actively in the life of the Christian Church.¹³

Women found in this category to 1930 were mostly those married by these 'new men' and their female offspring. The first generation of the Lala elite continued to take spouses of inferior educational backgrounds although the tendency was for elite men to acquire such spouses in families where at least a member had achieved elite status. This signified a tendency towards the creation of a 'class'. Mission influence is also observed in the emphasis on Christian marriages among this 'new class'. Dowry was paid in cash and traditional marriages - ubwinga and its variant ichombela nganda were being shunned due to Christian influence of the mission. Generally, the majority of the Christians who were uneducated preferred traditional or customary marriage ceremonies with a later registration in the Church of such marriages.¹⁴

The centralisation of schools in the early 1930's in the district enabled some women to get employment in the mission education system as Helpers. This theme has already been developed in Chapter One. What is significant is that most of such women were those already with ties in various ways with the elite segment of Lala society and with the mission as Christians. For instance Saphira Ndeshya, the daughter of Ackim Ndeshya, a mission printer, was employed as a helper at the Moffat Girls Boarding School. She had attained a standard II education at the same school before being married.¹⁵ This

tendency in women employment acted to reinforce the emerging social class. In addition the centralisation of schools broadened interpersonal relations among this 'new class'. From in most cases single-teacher-schools, the centralisation of schools widened the scope of interaction for teachers who now began to live in communities around the schools. This tended to reduce their social contacts with village life. The training of Lala teachers at the Overtoun Institution in Nyasaland from 1915 greatly elevated the educational standing of the 'new class'. The overall impact of these processes was a tendency to refine the elite group.

The establishment of Native Authorities in 1930 in order to consolidate indirect rule extended the avenues of employment for the educated. This marked to some extent the fusion of traditional and educated elites in the district. However, the two groups continued to draw their power and prestige from different sources.

To restore their source of wealth, chiefs began to receive allowances. This considerably enhanced their position vis-a-vis that of the educated elite in the district economy. The Pim Commission recommended annual allowances for chiefs in the territory ranging between £60 to £3.0.0.¹⁶ The Pim Report had also indicated a hope that the remuneration in the Native Administration would provide an opportunity for the younger and educated men to participate in Native Authorities.¹⁷ Employment created for the educated was clerkship, councillorship and Kapaso.

Oral evidence suggests great interaction of the tradition and educated elites in the district and Mateyo Kakumbi is pointed out to have had great influence over the Serenje chiefs owing to his participation in local and national politics and his affiliation with the mission.¹⁸

Therefore, to 1935 education and employment provided the major variables in the process of social differentiation in the district. The traditional unequal relationship between men and women underwent no changes. The proto-elite of the first decade of the 1900's had by 1935 assumed elite characteristics in life-style that reflected modernity, they socialised and intermarried among themselves and readily educated their children.¹⁹

Towards the close of this period, 1906-1935 the mission's commercial impact had begun to have manifestations such as the rise of African stores. The second chapter of this study has developed this theme. Suffice it to say that in the early 1930's this contributed to and reinforced the economic differentiation within the elite group and also in relation to the wider society.

THE MISSION AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION, 1936-1964.

The pattern of social differentiation was established in the period to 1935. What is observed after 1936 are broad continuities and expansion of opportunities for social differentiation. The elite in the district still consisted of Lala and Nyasa elements although the latter had decreased substantially in numbers. Social differentiation continued to be influenced by education and wage employment.

The process of the refining of the proto-elite into a proper elite was by the beginning of this period almost complete. However, this process continued into the 1950's and its scope was what is significant after 1935.

From 1935 the process of social differentiation received impetus from the impact of labour migrants on the rural economy in terms of investment in commercial activities. This theme has been elaborated upon in Chapter Two. However, it is significant in that apart from being a trend and continuity observed in the period prior to 1935 and post 1936 it broadened the scope of social differentiation. It was no longer only mission employment and Government employment that acted as an avenue to elite status. Commerce in form of stores began to contribute to the process of social and economic differentiation in the district. However, it is difficult to ascertain quantitatively how many returned migrants were involved or their levels of education, but they certainly had some education. The investment in stores or commerce to a certain extent contributed to intra elite class differentiation. Some elites who had invested in commerce emerged as a more prosperous fraction of this social class and enjoyed added status and prestige. This represented some form of elite economic differentiation to 1964.

The traditional hierarchy that subordinated women underwent no changes even in households where couples were educated. Mission and Government policy continued to reinforce the subordination of women. In this situation of

bias accumulation by women was limited. For instance the mission's pay package favoured men. Women earned 1/6 in 1912 which was the same as a male monitor's salary. This wage package had remained static since 1908 and was equal to the pay of a fresh male entrant in 1912 in the monitorial system.²⁰ The Colonial Government salary structure was equally structured in favour of men. For instance, the pay for uncertificated teachers fixed the men's commencing salary at 25/- per month for Standard IV and 30/- for standard VI whereas women started at 15/- for standard IV and 25/- for Standard VI.²¹ Other studies have shown that such general colonial policy bias had a negative impact on the status of women.²² The Serenje data revealed that women regardless of their educational attainments or employment in the money economy continued to be subordinate to men although the status of the educated vis-a-vis that of the uneducated women folk was higher.²³

In terms of employment there was a continuity regarding the employment of helpers. But in the 1940's Lala women were for the first time employed as teachers. Cases in point are those of Alice Chewa, Dinah John and Chilufya Alifeyo. The female element engaged in mission employment in the 1940's had relatively high educational attainments. What is significant about mission employment from the 1940's is the maintainance of a continuity that reinforced the new social class. All the above female teachers were either daughters of mission elites or spouses of these men. This tendency is equally observable among the male elements gaining entry into mission employment.

For instance Pirie Kapika and Harrison Chisenga were sons of the mission elite who in turn became teachers.

There were only intermittent efforts from 1916 to train a Lala Clergy in the district. Church work up to 1945 depended heavily on European missionaries and a non-Lala clergy. African Clergy who had worked at Chitambo includes Rev. Mushindo who left in 1950 and was succeeded by Rev. Mugara. The first Lala clergyman Rev. Jackson Mwape was appointed in 1953. The number of evangelists trained at Chitambo had only reached 11 by 1951.²⁴ What is significant about this process was the differentiation of social roles between the teachers and the evangelists and its contribution to social differentiation. However teachers in terms of remuneration were better off than the evangelists.

District administration records suggest that to 1935 the Lala were restricted to manual work. After 1935 Lala men took over jobs of interpreters and clerical work. For instance L. Matafwali (now Chief Kabamba) and Moses Bwale (now a prosperous businessman in Serenje) took up jobs in the D.C.'s Office as clerks, in 1936 for the latter. The former rose to the rank of Assistant D.C. before district administration was reorganised after independence in 1964.²⁵

In the Native Authority Administration the role of the mission elites became pronounced over this period. For example at the chiefs' indaba with the Governor of Northern Rhodesia head teachers Noah Kapika and Paison Mwila acted as advisors to the Serenje chiefs.

Their influence at this meeting is indicated by the educational issues raised by the chiefs such as the teaching of English in schools.²⁶ In addition the educated elites occupied various positions within the LNAC structure. Those who were active in the LNAC included Paison Mwila (Administration Councillor), Mateyo Kakumbi (member), Enos Chibuye (member), Patson Nyemba (Councillor for Administration), Matati Chisaka (Councillor for Education) and E. Tayali (Secretary).²⁷

Long's study of the Chibale area in 1963 revealed that chiefs still commanded high status in the eyes of the ordinary people. The emergence of the educated elite into prominence had not eroded the status and prestige of the chiefs. Long's analysis of the changing patterns of social status and prestige indicated that the chief was closely followed by the teacher and then the religious leader. The village headman continued to enjoy some status higher than a store keeper.²⁸ Thus by 1964 the new educated class had made substantial inroads into the traditional hierarchy of social status and prestige and had come to the fore of the new leadership pattern that emerged in the district.

MISSION ELITES AND SOME ASPECTS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN SERENJE DISTRICT, 1930-1964.

To 1940 the channel open to the elites for participation in the political life and administration of the district was the LNAC. The Native Authority structures set up in 1929 had by 1930 become operational in Northern Rhodesia as instruments of indirect rule. This was at the same time an effort to restore some authority to the chiefs which had been

usurped by the B.S.A. Co. administration. With the assumption of the administrative responsibility of the territory by the colonial office in April, 1924, the policy of indirect rule was adopted in Northern Rhodesia.

In Serenje District the Lala Native Authority was set up in 1929. It was composed of the eight chiefs and a back-up of clerical staff and councillors. The Native Authority (N.A.) in general was expected to foster local development and co-operate with the colonial Government in the implementation of Government sponsored development schemes as well as to enforce law and order. Evidence suggests that educated elite participation begins in the 1940's.

The co-operation between the traditional and educated elite in the LNAC was fostered by the economic expectations that the Colonial Government generated in the territory in general by its support of improvements in African agriculture in the 1940's. For instance at the indaba held in 1945 at Serenje Boma with the Governor, a common front between these two elite groups unanimously requested for agricultural extension workers to improve Lala agriculture. In 1948 the Colonial Government established grouped individual land holdings termed Block Farming Schemes in the district similar to others set up in other districts.

The issue of higher primary education also provided a basis for co-operation between the traditional and educated elites in the district in the 1940's. This theme has been elaborated in Chapter One. The negative missionary position on this issue alienated the mission elite and caused them to

use the LNAC as an instrument of agitation. On the regional level the mission elites representing the LNAC on the Central Province Provincial Council (CPFC), Mateyo Kakumbi and Alifeyo Chisenga, voiced their concern over the lack of educational improvements in Serenje at the CPFC meeting of 1944.²⁹

Local politics in Serenje after 1947 began to centre on the issue of the senior chief. A similar process was taking place among the Mkushi Lala. In the case of Mkushi Chief Mboroma was elected senior chief. The Serenje Lala elected in 1948 Chief Muchinda as the senior chief.³⁰ However this election result was rejected by Chief Muchinka on the grounds that few delegates from his area were present to cast their votes. In addition Chief Muchinka had been hitherto regarded as the senior chief by the B.S.A. Co. and the colonial administration.³¹ The mission elites supported this movement aimed at enhancing ethnic prestige of the Lala. By 1950 this movement increased in dimension when the eastern and western branches of the Lala of Serenje and Mkushi requested for union under one paramount chief, Kankomba-we-Lala, and a single Native Authority Council.³²

The educated elite were active in this movement, a fact that the DNA report for 1952 noted in connection with one of the elites thus;

"There is little doubt that the driving force behind this movement is an eloquent orator and forceful personality who is a member of several bodies from the African Representative Council downwards."³³

The report was referring to Mateyo Kakumbi, a Chitambo teacher. When elections were held in 1952 to choose the Kankomba-we-Lala

the Mkushi delegates voted for Chief Mboroma and the Serenje delegates for Chief Muchinda. After an appeal by Mateyo Kakumbi one delegate transferred his vote to Chief Mboroma. The Colonial Government refused to recognise Chief Mboroma as the Kankomba-we-Lala because the vote was so close and did not warrant the amalgamation of the Lala Native Authorities of Serenje and Mkushi. In addition the Colonial Government was apprehensive of the secessionist tendencies that were likely to arise, about which the D.N.A. report of 1950 had cautioned thus;

"If so widely scattered a society were politically united on foundations of sentiment alone, the authority might be amorphous and too feeble to curb the secessionist tendencies which would probably arise amongst those dissatisfied with whatever paramount chieftain might be appointed."³⁴

The refusal of Chief Muchinka to accept Chief Muchinda as a senior chief of the Eastern Lala and also the fact that the 1952 elections had sharply split the votes between the Mkushi and Serenje delegates were indicators of the potential presence of secessionist tendencies. The educated supported this ethnic movement on grounds of unity. It had become evident to them that united and big ethnic groups were in a better bargaining position with the colonial authorities than fragmented ethnic groups. Also the colonial authority paid attention to grievances of big ethnic groups. The question of ethnic prestige and pride cannot be ruled out.

The issue of the Kankomba-we-Lala was finally resolved in 1958 when Chief Muchinda was elected by the Lala Council and duly recognised by the Colonial Government as the paramount chief of the Mkushi and Serenje Lala.³⁵ In October 1959 he was formally introduced to the Mkushi chiefs.³⁶

However, events in the territory such as the Benson constitution, the split in the nationalist movement and the growing militancy of the African political movement overshadowed this local event. In fact the N.A.'s in the territory were no longer free from the influence of the political movement in the territory. In the district the political leadership had incorporated from 1955 militant elements.

In 1960 the D.W.A. reported a crisis in the LNAC, now renamed the Lala Superior Native Authority Council (LSNAC);

"In most native authority councils the elected members have proved to be progressive and the Lala Superior Native Authority Council in Serenje proved to be the exception. This was certainly due to the personal and family feuds coloured by an increased interest in party politics."³⁷

By 'progressive' the colonial authority referred to co-operating elements in the Native Authorities. These 'feuds' were part of the potential secessionist tendencies about which the 1950 report had earlier warned. The dividing lines of these tensions in the LSNAC and in the traditional establishment in general was the continued contention of the Muchinka and Muchinda chiefly houses to seniority and title of Kankomba-we-Lala. It should be pointed out that the Lala people are ruled by the Nyendwa ruling clan to which both these contending chiefs belong. The alignment of the educated elements in this crisis was determined by their area of origin.

The political tensions were caused by the shifts in party allegiances as UNIP became established in the district.³⁸

The role of the educated elites in the Native Authority structure was one that facilitated the politicization of a structure established as an instrument of indirect colonial rule.³⁹

MISSION ELITES AND NATIONALIST POLITICS IN THE DISTRICT
1940-1964.

The early channels through which nationalist politics entered Serenje district were the Central Province Provincial Council (CPPC) and the African Representative Council (ARC). The Provincial Councils (PCs) were established in the early 1940's in the territory. These councils were to give a forum where African discontent could be expressed and thereby assist the Colonial Government tap the African mood.

The CPPC was set up in 1943. Representatives were sent from the Urban Advisory Councils of Lusaka and Kabwe and the rural NAS of Lusaka, Kabwe, Mkushi and Serenje. The combination of rural and urban representatives gave this council a special feature which was to be crucial in the later years when it was observed, for example in 1950, in the DNA report thus;

"The most interesting feature of the proceedings and one which may be indicative of future trends was that leadership and initiative within the Council was largely assumed by the non-traditional element within it and more especially by those from the urban areas."⁴⁰

The Serenje representatives were Mateyo Kakumbi and Alifeyo Chisenga. When the ARC was set up in 1946 Mateyo Kakumbi was nominated to the ARC by the CPPC. The impact of the PCs on Native Authorities was the increasing interest in the Native Authority Council in nationalist politics in the territory from 1948, the year the first African political party was formed called the African National Congress (ANC). Mateyo Kakumbi was the first elected General Treasurer of ANC.

Mateyo Kakumbi was elected the first General Treasurer.

The coming into being of ANC led to a domination of the PCS and ARC by ANC men. This accounted for the growing anti-colonial positions adopted by many of such bodies as well as the unanimity of opinion which began to exist in such bodies. For example, Mateyo Kakumbi was a member of the LNAC, CPPC, ARC and the ANC from 1948. Such ties facilitated a congruence of views on territorial issues such as the Federation issue. Penetration of nationalist feelings in the rural Native Authorities was evidenced by the strong opposition to the Federation by traditional elites in many Native Authorities.

Oral evidence suggests that the interaction and co-operation of chiefs and the new district political leadership created a unity of political purpose in the district.⁴¹ Further, this evidence attests that all the chiefs were covert supporters of the new political party.⁴²

The first ANC branch in Serenje district was opened in 1949.⁴³ The founding role of Kakumbi in the ANC was crucial in the early entry of the ANC into the district, a role that oral evidence overwhelmingly acknowledges as being significant for the political developments in Serenje.⁴⁴

This new political initiative was centred in areas of highly educated elite presence, the Boma and Chitambo being the noted areas of early political activity.⁴⁵ However, at Chitambo the party had to contend with an ambivalent position of the mission at this time. This position of the mission

contributed further to the realignment of forces noted earlier. In fact the mission had ceased to represent in the eyes of the educated elite the type of progress they envisaged necessary for the district. The fact that the mission allowed an ANC branch at Mabonde only in 1955 is indicative of their attitude towards African politics.⁴⁶ This attitude is further indicated in a report of the Superintendent of African Education in these words on Rev. Bonomy;

"It is due to his firmness with his staff that outbreaks of political activity among teachers in the Serenje schools have been few."⁴⁷

However, this was not entirely representative of the United Free Church of Scotland's position. The mother church in Scotland issued in 1953 a communication on the Federation of Central Africa in which its opposition to the creation of the Federation was made known.⁴⁸ In spite of the support the ANC was able to amass among the rural and urban people the Federation was set up in 1953.

With the setting up of Federation ANC lost a lot of support in a situation of general apathy and indifference. This contributed to the slow growth of the party noticed after 1953. Another factor that retarded the growth of the party was what came to be regarded as an insult to the tribe by chiefs and enlightened people in the district. Nkumbula as ANC leader in response to an invitation to address the LNAC replied that he would come after he had finished business with big tribes since the Lala were a small tribe.⁴⁹ This alienated the district political leadership from the ANC national leadership. The ANC national leadership's disapproval of Kakumbi and Dauti Yamba in favour of Paskale Sokota

and Donald Siwale in 1953 as the nominated ARC members to the Federal Parliament further reinforced this alienation.⁵⁰ These factors contributed significantly to the future growth of ANC in the district.

Thus, between 1953 and 1958 political activity in the district was characterised by a loss of morale among the supporters and a sluggish party growth. It is difficult to determine with certainty the total number of branches that the ANC had in the district in this period of decline. Membership was open to all, but civil servants and teachers were usually covert members.⁵¹ Party leadership in the outlying areas of the district usually fell on those with a modicum of education. It is difficult to ascertain the total party membership at this time in the district.

The coming to the fore of new men in the district leadership contributed to a resurgence of political activity after 1958. These men included Mathew Chibuye, Morton Zombe Chisulo, Pirie Kapika and Wright Ngoma. The educational backgrounds of these men presents a wide spectrum of traditions. Ngoma attended Government school in Kabwe and the Jesuit Canisius College, Pirie Kapika attended Chitambo and then Munali and Chisulo attended Chitambo, then Government school in Chingola before war service in the Medical Corps.

Due to lack of attention to the growth of the party, issues of tactics in the political struggle, the personal leadership methods of Mr. Khumbula, his lack of asceticism and his willingness to give the Benson Constitution of 1958

a try, the nationalist movement split in 1958. This split occurred when white settler politics, having achieved the Federation, was fighting to secure dominion status for the Central African Federation by 1960 when the Moncton Commission was due to review the Federation.

It was, therefore, clear to the militant and younger politicians that the nationalist Movement needed to be meticulously organised as a mass party to effectively counter white settler aspirations of permanent domination of the African people. The breakaway grouped the young militants into the Zambezi African National Congress, shortly afterwards the Party changed its name to Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) in 1958.⁵²

Before this new party could spread it was banned in March 1959 by the colonial authorities and 50 of its leaders detained. However, a new party was formed in June 1959 called the United National Independence Party (UNIP). With the release of the national leadership in January 1960 events moved swiftly such that ANC branches in Serenje registered under UNIP en masse.⁵³ The change in party allegiances produced no significant changes in the district party leadership.

The 1959 Constitution dissolved the PCS and ARC as channels of African agitation for majority rule. Therefore the new party represented in Serenje political thinking an alternative better than Mr. Nkumbula's ANC.

The former party network and machinery of ANC underwent a thorough reorganisation under UNIP. The district was divided into political constituencies. The North Constituency was led by Mateyo Kakumbi. The South Constituency was led by Pirie Kapika. The map indicates the areas falling within these two divisions. Other organisers coming to the fore included John Subwa, Paison Mwila, Boston Chisenga, Sam Ngosa, Bedford Changwe and Mutiba Daka.⁵⁴ These men in the main were Chitambo educated.

These two constituencies fell under the central division under the charge of Ben Kaputi and R. Kombe. National leaders began to visit the district among whom were Kenneth Kaunda, Simon Kapwepwe, Reuben Kamanga, Ben Kaputi and R. Kombe.⁵⁵

It was at this time that leaders like Chisulo began to tour the areas of their constituency selling UNIP Party cards. He remembers having sold 6,000 cards in the Kafinda area on one such visit.⁵⁶ This could be taken as an indication of widespread support for UNIP among the people. In addition these visits were utilised to set up branches in the chiefdom areas.

UNIP in its organisation strategy emphasized the importance of the participation of women. In the context of the reorganisation which took place Women Brigades were formed as a way of further strengthening the grassroot support for UNIP. The leadership of these brigades equally reflects a preponderance of Chitambo educated women and women married to Chitambo mission elites, a notable exception being Mary Fulano whose husband

had come from Mkushi and set up a tailoring business in Serenje.⁵⁷ It was the task of the Women Brigades to raise additional funds for the party. This was mostly done through the selling of beer and hiring themselves out as work parties. In times of a district party conference they went out door to door begging for foodstuffs to feed the delegates.⁵⁸

The missionary position was in general more favourable to the nationalist movement in the district in the 1960's. The Chitambo missionaries had begun to take an interest in African politics and showed sympathy with the African cause. The Chitambo missionaries at this time were Dr. and Mrs. Musk, Rev. and Mrs. McLees, Miss M.A. Moore and Miss I.M. Ross. Missionary sympathy was shown through substantial cash donations and use of missionary buildings for committee meetings. In connection with the latter Rev. Anderson at the Boma was cited as having been congenial.⁵⁹ Also the missionaries adopted a lax disciplinary attitude towards the African staff at Chitambo which enabled them to take part in nationalist politics overtly.

In August and September 1961 the country experienced the chachacha disturbance during which Government property was destroyed and communications sabotaged. In Serenje the Kamona Action Group burnt a Government Road Grader and at Serenje Boma a herd of cattle at the Area Training School was destroyed.⁶⁰ Police from Kamfinsa were brought in to quell the disturbance. The police assaulted people indiscriminately especially in the Nansala area of the district.

Local leaders like Chisulo were arrested and detained in Kabwe.⁶¹ The chiefs and the mission reacted strongly to this police brutality. Chiefs Muchinka, Muchinda and Mailo were cited in oral evidence to have declared open support for the nationalist movement.⁶² The mission Annual Report of 1961 said about the disturbance;

"Retaliation by Government forces was indiscriminate and unjust and the Chitambo Station Committee lodged a protest with the District Commissioner condemning violence of both sides. Since then the Government has made a real effort to improve relationships and to compensate innocent sufferers."⁶³

However, this disturbance reveals to us that in terms of tactics the district leadership of the party was divided. This division basically was on the question of violence. Wright Ngoma a local leader at that time still maintains that;

"Violence was intended to demonstrate the seriousness of the African demands."⁶⁴

Leaders like Kakumbi opposed violence in the same way that Kenneth Kaunda still opposed violence at this time. This was seen in the way he severely censured the younger party leaders like Chisulo for unleashing destruction bent Action Groups on Government property.⁶⁵

UNIP spread and established itself as the sole party in the district between 1960 and 1962. Long in his study observed that the first party branch opened in the Chibale area of his study was a UNIP branch which was opened in 1962.⁶⁶

Under the MacCleod constitution of 1962 elections were held in which no single party won a clear majority. A coalition Government of UNIP and ANC was formed in 1963. This also marked

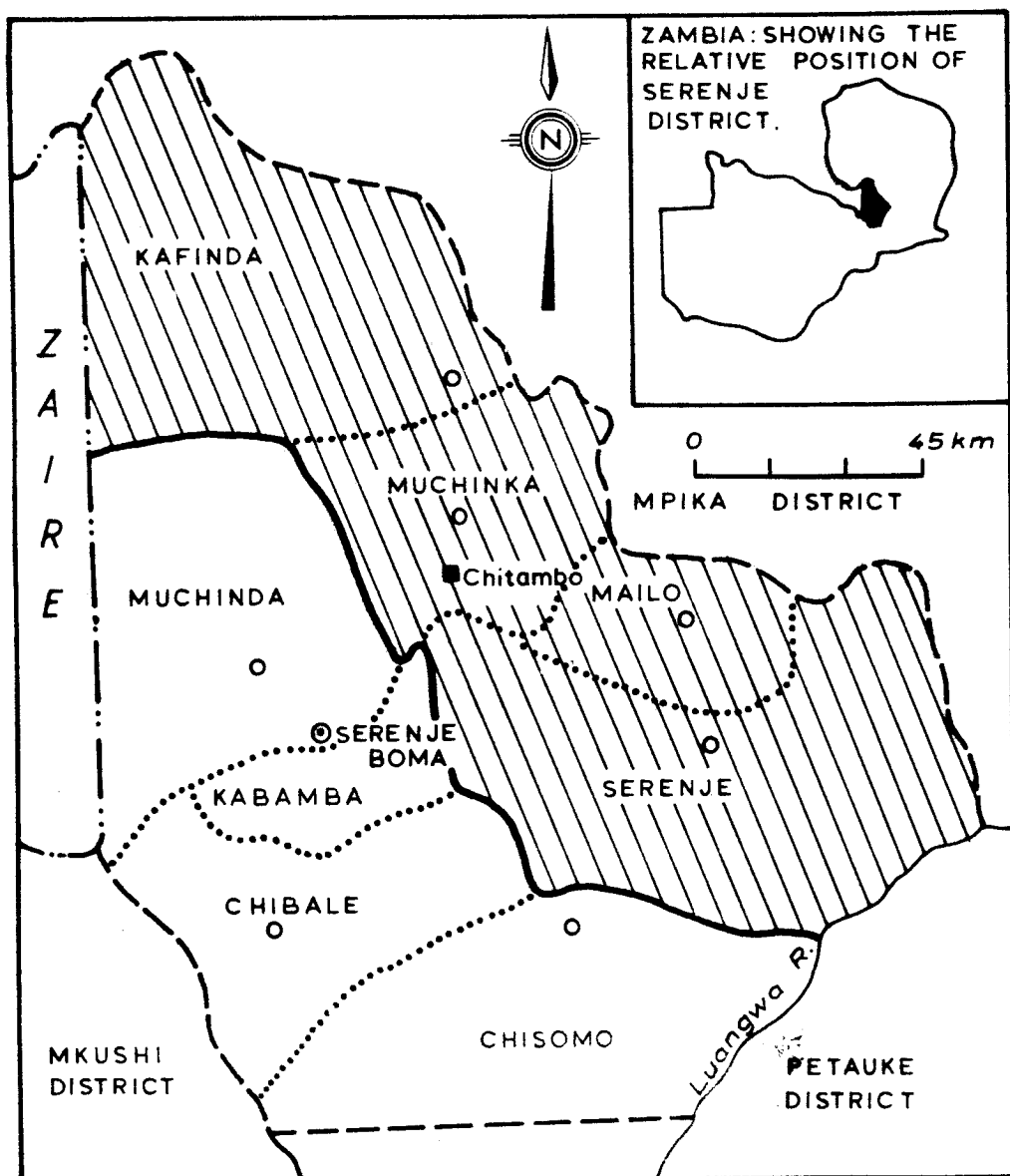
the end of the Central African Federation when Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia seceded from it. At Chitambo a missionary report sums up the atmosphere of the following months thus;

"The uneasy alliance between UNIP and ANC (coalition Government) has been strained by innumerable acts of violence between members of the rival parties in the major towns of this country, but in this rural area of Serenje District there has been peace, mainly because politically the people of this district are solidly behind UNIP..."⁶⁷

Mateyo Kakumbi was elected to parliament but before he took his seat he died. Political leadership in the district then passed to Pirie Kapika, son of a Chitambo teacher, and also himself a former Chitambo teacher. Women also had made significant strides in the nationalist movement. Mary Fulano was coopted into the regional echelons of the party as a women's regional secretary. In the 1964 national or general elections UNIP registered a resounding victory over ANC and the National Progress Party (Formerly United Federal Party). The Republic of Zambia was proclaimed on the 24th October, 1964 under a UNIP Government. Pirie Kapika was appointed Cabinet Minister for Central Province.

This chapter has examined the contribution of Chitambo Mission to social differentiation and the changing patterns of social status and prestige in the district. Access to Western education provided the avenue through which social differentiation occurred in the district. It is the contention in this chapter that social differentiation and the rise of the elite occurred unequally in the district.

The mission through education contributed to the changing patterns of political leadership in the district. The new leadership pattern represented a break rather than a continuity in district political leadership.



MAP. 4 : SERENJE DISTRICT SHOWING DIVISION OF
POLITICAL CONSTITUENCIES 1960-63.

SOURCE: Buckle, A.G., Serenje History
Notes - Manuscript 1976.

NOTES

1. J.T. Munday, 'Some Traditions of the Nyendwa clan of Northern Rhodesia', Bantu Studies 14, 1 (1939-40), 435-454.

Norman Long, Social Change and the Individual: A study of the Social and Religious Responses to Innovation in a Zambian Rural Community. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968), 132-142.
2. Munday, 'Traditions of the Nyendwa Clan', 439.
3. Long, Social Change, 139.
4. Munday, 'Traditions of the Nyendwa clan', 436.
5. This is similar to what has been observed among the Tonga by Elizabeth Colson, Marriage and Family Among the Plateau Tonga. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958) 285.
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Emos Chibuye, Kapiri Mposhi, 13/01/87
Patson Changwe Musakula, Mumbwa, 15/03/87

Harrison Chisenga, Serenje Boma, 10/12/86
 E.L. Matafwali, Kasumbu, 11/12/86
 Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
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9. NAZ/KSK 6/1 District Annual Report, 1914.
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11. C.C. Guthrie, 'The Emergence and Decline of a Mission Educated Elite', 69.
12. This aspect is discussed for example by T.D. Beidelman, 'Social Theory and the Study of Christian Missions in Africa.', Africa 114, 3(1974), 247.
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 - Harrison Chisenga, Serenje Boma, 10/12/86
 - Chibale Chimo, Mumbwa, 15/03/86
 - Saphira Ndeshya, Katikulula village, 22/12/86
 - Robinson Miselo Chita, Serenje Boma, 11/12/86.
14. Interviews
 - Harrison Chisenga, Serenje Boma, 10/12/86
 - Saphira Ndeshya, Katikulula village, 22/12/86

Written sources indicate that Yakobe Lusuma's daughter Chipulu married a Teacher. Saphira Ndeshya, daughter of the mission printer Ackim Ndeshya, married Boston Chisenga when she was working as a Helper at the Moffat Girls' Boarding School, who later became a nationalist politician. Wright Ngoma, a nationalist politician married Mr. Moses Bwale's daughter who is a teacher. Mr. Bwale was a clerk in the D.C.'s Office after having worked as a stores clerk at Chitambo.
15. Interview
 - Saphira Ndeshya, Katikulula village, 22/12/86
16. A. Pim, Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the Financial and Economic Position of Northern Rhodesia (London: H.M.S.O; 1938.)
 - Serenje chiefs got low allowances owing to the fact that they were regarded as 'smaller' chiefs.
17. Pim, Financial and Economic Position of Northern Rhodesia, 187.

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 Moses Bwale, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
 L. Matafwali, Kabamba, 11/12/86
 Enos Chibuye, Kapiri Mposhi, 13/01/87
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19. P.C. Lloyd (ed), The New Elites of Tropical Africa
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 50-58.

20. C.C.A. Station Accounts Book, 1908-1924.
 There was an increase in pay given by the
 mission but the pattern remained the same
 in the post 1935 period.

21. NAZ/HM28/UN/8/2 Salaries of Aided Teachers and Conditions
 of Service. 1946.

22. Muntimba has argued that the status of women deteriorated
 and their dependence on men increased in general. Nyeko
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 Harrison Chisenga, Serenje Boma, 10/12/86
 Enos Chibuye, Kapiri Mposhi, 13/1/87

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25. Interview

L. Matafwali, Kabamba, 11/12/86

26. NAZ/KSK 3/1 Serenje District Notebook, Vol. II.

27. NAZ/KSK 3/1 Serenje District Notebook, Vol. II.

28. Long, Social Change, 150.

29. D.N.A. Annual Report, 1944.

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31. J.T. Munday, 'Kamukumba' Rhodes-Livingstone Communication
No. 22. 1961. xvii.
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33. D.N.A. Annual Report, 1952.
34. D.N.A. Annual Report, 1950.
35. D.N.A. Annual Report, 1958.
36. D.N.A. Annual Report, 1959.
37. D.N.A. Annual Report, 1960.
38. Interviews
 - Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
 - Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
39. Interviews
 - Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
 - Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
 - L.E. Matafwali, Kabamba, 11/12/86
 - Robinson M. Chita, Serenje Boma, 11/12/86
 - Moses Bwale, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
40. D.N.A. Annual Report, 1950.
41. Interviews
 - Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
 - Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
 - Robinson M. Chita, Serenje Boma, 17/12/86
42. Interviews
 - Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
 - Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
 - Robinson M. Chita, Serenje Boma, 11/12/86
43. Interviews
 - Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
 - Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
44. Interviews
 - Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
 - Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
 - Harrison Chisenga, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
 - Enos Chibuye, Kapiri Mposhi, 13/01/87
 - L.E. Matafwali, Kabamba, 11/12/86
 - Moses Bwale, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
 - Robinson M. Chita, Serenje Boma, 11/12/86

45. Interviews

Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
 Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
 Harrison Chisenga, Serenje Boma, 10/12/86
 Moses Swale, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
 L.E. Matafwali, Kabamba, 11/12/86

46. C.O.A. Minutes of the station committee meeting 24/2/1955. Present at this meeting were Rev. Gonomy (Chairman), Miss Miller, John Bobo, Ackim Ndeshya, Nelson Chisenga, Mariya Jericho and Rev. Jackson Mwape. The Africans present were elders in the church and were either in mission employment or were former mission employees.

47. NAZ/HM 28/UNI/22/1 Report Upon the Problems Involved when Local Education Authorities assume Responsibility for Management of Schools at present managed by the church of Scotland mission in Isoka, Chinsali, Mpika and Serenje Districts. October, 1955.

48. NAZ/HM/28/UN/1/10 Circular letter 1953.

49. Interviews

Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
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50. David C. Mulford, Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1957-1964 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 38

51. Interviews

Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
 Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
 Enos Chibuye, Kapiri Mposhi, 13/01/87
 Harrison Chisenga, Serenje Boma, 10/12/86

52. Richard Hall, Zambia (London: Pall Mall, 1965), 183. The young militants included Simon Kapwepwe, Munukayumbwa Sipalo, Justin Chimba, W.K. Sikalumbi, Paul Kalichini and Reuben Kamanga.

53. Interviews

Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
 Morton Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86

Mulford also notes that Serenje district had become closed to ANC after 1958. Mulford, Zambia, 241.

54. Interviews

Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
 Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86

55. Interviews

Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
 Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86

56. Interview
Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
57. Interview
Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
58. Interviews
Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
59. Interviews
Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
60. Interviews
Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
61. Interviews
Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
62. Interviews
Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
Morton Z. Chisulo, Chitambo, 19/12/86
Robinson M. Chita, Serenje Boma, 11/12/86
63. NAZ/HM 28/UN/8/2 Chitambo Mission Annual Report, 1961.
64. Interview
Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
65. Interviews
Morton Chisulo, KChitambo, 19/12/86
Wright Ngoma, Serenje Boma, 12/12/86
66. Long, Social Change, 154
67. C.O.A. Chitambo Mission Annual Report, 1963.

CONCLUSION

Between 1906 and 1964 Chitambo Mission was a vital force in the history of Serenje District. A central conclusion on the educational impact of the mission must be that the nature of its educational penetration and development divided Lala society. There were unequal educational opportunities between the chiefdoms, four of them having less than three schools apiece by 1956. In these four areas 92 percent of the schools offered education only up to Standard II to 1956 when the mission handed over the Serenje schools to the Local Education Authority. These imbalances between chiefdoms in terms of the number of schools and levels of education had a potential danger of domination of local affairs by the well educated from the favoured areas of Muchinka, Mailo, Kabamba and Kafinda areas. Thus, when the schools were handed over there was haste by the Local Education Authority to redress these imbalances at least in the short term by raising educational levels in the backward areas to at least standard IV. The educational impact of the mission on the female population was limited to 1950.

In terms of its impact on the economy of the district the mission contributed to the new character that the district assumed of being a labour reserve for mining capital in the Southern African region in general and Northern Rhodesia in particular. Its commercial activities contributed to the entrenchment of a cash economy in the district and its overall impact was a reorientation of commercial patterns, market

systems and trade relations which undercut indigenous trade in traditional commodities.

In Serenje District few people could accumulate wealth as farmers. Access to Western education provided the main means through which social differentiation took place. The educational imbalance, therefore, had important implications in the process of social differentiation. The domination of mission employment and Government employment by elements from areas with comparatively advanced educational infrastructure resulted in an unequal process of social differentiation in favour of the Muchinka, Mailo, Kabamba and Kafinda areas. The new social categories that emerged in this process such as teachers, clerks and the clergy made major inroads on the traditional pattern of social status and prestige in the district. Although the chiefs continued to enjoy high social status and prestige the traditional structure and its attendant attitudes and values was seriously undermined resulting into the relegation of some traditional elites such as the headmen to lower social rank. However, the subordinate social position of women remained unchanged.

The missions political impact was, undoubtedly, its contribution to the changing political leadership pattern in the district. Through its educational work a new educated political leadership was created that assumed district and national leadership of modern political movements. Although there was remarkable cohesion of the traditional and educated elites that fostered the rise of modern political

movements in the district this new leadership represented a break in district political leadership. This new leadership was essentially not revolutionary but liberal and Christian in its world outlook.

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Kapanbara, Darnis (Mrs): Chitambo, 23/12/86
Katikulula (Headman): Katikulula village, 22/12/86
Matafwali, E.L. (now chief Kabamba): Kabamba, 11/12/86
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APPENDIX I

STATISTICS FOR CHITAMBO SCHOOLS

AR	SCHOOLS	LEVEL REACHED	SCHOOL ENROLMENT		TEACHERS	INDUSTRIAL STUDENTS	MEDIC. STUDENTS
			OUT SCHOOLS	BOARDING SCH.			
06							
07							
08	14		816		42	6C 4A	
09	16		434		63	- -	
10	18		1120		54	- -	
11	24		982	-	82		
12	21		1078	23M	64		
13	32		1339	35M	93		
14	35		1886	36M	100	-	
15	-		1179	17M	-	18C 5B 6A	
16	-		1800	-	-	-	
17	-		839	20M	-	3F	
18	32		825	23M	-	-	
19	-		541	30M	-	-	
20	30		1171	30M	-	-	-
21	39		1854	22M	71	8C	1
22	79		2210	24M	80	6A	-
23	41		1560	19M	-	-	
24	39		2267	35M	-	20A	
25	42		1765	38M	-	11A	
26	-		2391	38M	-	-	
27	41	IV	2791	33M 27F	117	12A	
28	36		2483	35M 36F	207	-	
29	-		1166	41M 48F	-	-	2
30	30		580	44M 32F	-	5C	3
31	-		719	44M 32F	43	-	-
32	42		779	54M 44F	52	8A	-
33	-		2187	52M 42F	44	5C 4B	2
34	-		2279	- -	59		-
35	-		1270	17M 16F			
36	-		-	- -			
37	18		694				
38	-		1677	- -			
39	-		1622	- -			
40	13		-	- -			
41	-		2314	- -			

AR	SCHOOLS	LEVEL REACHED	SCHOOL ENROLMENT		TEACHERS	INDUSTRIAL STUDENTS	MEDICAL STUDENTS
			OUT SCHOOLS	BOARDING SCH.			
42	-		-	-			
43	-		-	-			
44	-		3540				
45	-		-				
46	-		-				
47	23	V	3061				
48	-	V I	2450				
49	-		1630M 720F	120T	118		
50	-		1808M 754F	84T	125		-
51	24		2388M 993F	96T	115		1
52	-		2182M 940F	121T	113		3
53	-		2511M 1153F	92M 10F	121		11
54	-		2642M 1274F	92T	108		-
55	23		4099	162T	127		13
56	-		526	-	20		15
57	-		140	142T	7		-
58	-		72	67T	6		21
59	-						18
60	-						19
61							22
62							10
63							6
64							16

Y:

Total

Male

Female

Agricultural students

Bricklaying students

Carpentry students

Printers

SOURCE: 1. Mission Annual Reports.

2. Student register & File 1961-64

ZEN School - Chitambo

3. Buckle, Serenje History Notes - Manuscript (C.O.A.).

APPENDIX II

LIST OF FEMALE HELPERS AND TEACHERS 1944

<u>NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>FEMALE HELPERS</u>
Chitanbo (Lower middle)	Mariya Chisenga
Chitanbo (Elementary)	Mwape Akim
Kasuko	Jenara Tenbo
Muchinka	Enoti Mukomena
Mailo	Agnes Mpeta
Koloba	Mandalena Chisenga
Koloba	Chisenga Alifeyo
Kafinda	Belita Mibenje
Kabamba	Monica Kunda
Chintankwa	Esnati Kabamba
Chibale	Keti Sauti
Mulilima	Dioneti
Muchinda	Nellie Musili
Litobela	Eli
Chiundaponde	Janet Ngulube
Mpumba	Rebeca Chibisa

C.M. Pike B.A.

Diploma in Education (Oxford)

No. of christian teachers: 17.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF SAVERS IN THE NATIVE BANK 1925

Mundala	Mwanje
Makaka	Musyalala
Mateyo Kakumbi	Banyo J.
Edward	Kunda Ndaulo
Akim Ndeshya	Kunda
Mwami	Muchili
Yesaya S.	Musonda
Timote	Kansayi
Makosa	Masaula
Simon K.	Samuel
Simon M.	Robert
Mulilo	Bwale
Mpundu	Marko
Yamba	Solomon
Wale	Mjilika
Yafet	Makobe Lusuma
Meshek	Kolala
Jonathan	Pakeni
Moses	Chapa
Mkomekasyo	Kasoma
Mukawisi	Jacob Chimya
Kisibawo	Ndashye
Simuma	John Bobo
Sikabawo .	
Chibuye K.	
Mukoshya C.	
Yasele	
Chitanbo	
Chilabi	
Mwape I.	
Boma	
Udeshya	
Safwali	

SOURCE: C.C. A. Accounts Book
1924-1928.

APPENDIX IV

LABOUR STATISTICS FOR SERENJE DISTRICT

AR	OUTSIDE TERRITORY	INSIDE TERRITORY	WITHIN DISTRICT	TOTAL	REMARKS
05					Annual Report indicates 'a good deal' gone to mines in the South
06					
07	2000	1000	500	3500	
08	2500	600	500	3600	
09	2000	1000	500	3500	
10	2500	2000	400	4900	
11	2500	1500	300	4300	
12	199	300	200	699	
13	100	2000	Same as inside territory	2100	
14	-	-	-	-	1 World War
15	-	-	2000	-	War service
16	-	-	-	-	
17	-	-	5685	-	"
18	400	500	2000	3700	
19	600	-	1500		
20	3150	87	2350		district work only portu rage for short periods.
21	206	2199	2772		district employment main as carriers for short periods.
22	1784		1217		district employment main carriers for short period
23	1501		5751		" " "
24	-	-	-	-	
25	490	3000	1842		opening of mines in N. Rhodesia.
26	400	3000			
27	-	3672	-		
28	150	2350	855		
29	-	1800	2990		Carrier work in district
30	-	-	-		
31	-	-	-		
32	-	-	-		
33					
34					

AR	OUTSIDE TERRITORY	INSIDE TERRITORY	WITHIN DISTRICT	TOTAL	REMARKS
35					
36					
37					
38					
39					
40					
41		2870			
42		2308			
43		2515			
44		2354			
45		2208			
46		1780			
47		2693			
48		3033			
49		2965			
50		2882			
51		3158			
52		2881			
53		2687			

APPENDIX V

SCHOOLS AT THE TIME OF HANDOVER 1ST JULY 1956 AND LEVELS REACHED.

CHIEF MUCHINDA

Lupiya	Std. II (recommended to III 1960) (Std. IV opened 1964)
Ngamaita	Std. II
Chumbwa	Std. II

CHIEF KAFINDA

Mpelembe	Std. IV
Kafinda	Std. II
Chipunda	Std. II
Pumba	Std. II
Mapepala	Std. II

CHIEF CHIBALE

Chibale	Std. IV (VI 1964)
Nchimushi	Std. II
Kaseba	Std. II
Mukopa	Std. II

CHIEF SERENJE

Serenje	Std. III (IV opened 1960)
Katota	Std. II
Kalunga	Std. II
Masase	Std. II

CHIEF CHISOMO

Chisomo	Std. II (Std. III 1962?)
Kaombe	Std. II

CHIEF MAILLO

Maillo	Std. IV (V 1960)
Nansala	Std. II

CHIEF MUCHINKA

Mabonde	Std. IV (recommended Std. V opened 1960)
Kasuko	Std. II
Yoram Mwanje	Std. II
Muchinka	Std. III
Moffat Girls Boarding (Upper)	
Chitambo Boarding (Upper)	

CHIEF KABAMBA

Serenje Boma	Std. VI
Kabamba	Std. II

Source. Serenje District Notebook, Vol. I 1958/9 entry.
Missions

DETAILS ON SCHOOL COHORTS AT TIME OF TAKE OVER

22 schools in district excluding mission station school.
composed as follows:
25 elementary streams (3 schools) have double streams)
4 middle school streams
1 upper stream.

Note: The levels of education in brackets were introduced in the years as accompanied or shown.

APPENDIX VI

UNIP OFFICIALS IN 1960-61 SERENJE DISTRICT

SERENJE (SOUTH) CONSTITUENCY OFFICIALS - Main Board

Mr. Pirie Kapika	Chairman
" Morton Z. Chisulo	Vice "
" Jackson Mpezeni	Secretary (From Kabse)
" Mwansa Chipepe	Vice "
" Wright Ngoma	Treasurer
" Jere Bwalya	Vice "
" Banabas Chinonda	Publicity Secretary
" Thomas Mtawale	Vice " "

WOMENS BRIGADE

Learner Chilufya	Chair person
Damarise Chunga	Vice "
Fanny Ngoma	Secretary
Mrs. Chinonda	Vice " (left)

(This list is incomplete)

SERENJE (NORTH) CONSTITUENCY OFFICIALS - MAIN BOARD

Mateyo Kakumbi	Chairman
Edson Jonas Chola	Vice "
Morton Z. Chisulo	Secretary
Skywel Chisenga	Vice "
Bedford Changwe	Treasurer
J.S.H. Chita	Vice "
Redson Mukoshya	Publicity Secretary
Herrings K. Kapika	Vice " "

APPENDIX VI continued

CHITAMBO WOMENS BRIGADE

Mrs. Ellah Kakumbi	Chairperson
Miss Kuada Doroba	Vice "
Mrs. Emma Z. Chisulo	Secretary
Miss Agaess Mwelwa	Vice "
Mrs. Chilongoshi Mwanza J.	Treasurer
Miss Saphira Mwape Ndoshya	Vice "
Miss Lina Chanda Chipepe	Publicity Secretary

