

CHAPTER ONE

This chapter presents the study's background, research problem and the purpose. This chapter states the research objectives, research questions, significance, delimitations, limitations and operational definitions for the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

The impression that Christian missionaries (henceforth simply referred to as missionaries) in Africa supported colonial rule is pervasive and historians as well as students of mission history seem to have taken it for granted that missionaries were agents of colonialism. The Catholic church which from the 1990s to the present has been charged with promoting human rights and democracy in Africa is not exempted from this 'charge'. As Haynes (1996:53) pointed out, "mainstream Christian bodies were initially opposed to, then skeptical and finally won round to the idea of African independence."

The occupation of Northern Rhodesia by the British was a direct result of David Livingstone's explorations in the territory. Following his death in 1873, eighteen missionary societies had by 1945 entered and established themselves in the area (Snelson, 1974: 10). A few more Protestant mission churches such as the Lutheran Church of Central Africa, Apostolic Faith Mission and Pentecostal Assemblies of God arrived afterwards in the 1950s and 1960s (Henkel, 1989: 39, 40).

The eventual colonial occupation of Northern Rhodesia is often attributed to John Cecil Rhodes whose ambitions resulted in the occupation of Barotseland. In 1890, Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) had succeeded Frederick Stanley Arnot of the Plymouth Brethren, the first European to settle in Northern Rhodesia, and with their coming, Zambia was colonised when the Lochner Treaty was signed between Lewanika, King of the Lozi and the British South African Company (BSA Co) which gave exclusive rights to the BSA Co. In 1890, the territory of Northern Rhodesia came under the control of the BSA Co whose administration lasted until 1924 when it handed over the territory to the British Colonial Office. Murphy (2003) describes the BSA Co state's administrative structure (by 1924) as follows:

the Territory Administrator at the capital and District Commissioners, Native

Commissioners and Assistant Native Commissioners at district centres or towns and local centres or areas. There were also (District) Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates to take care of legal and other matters in the territory.

Upon taking over the administration of the territory, BSA Co introduced a foreign and different pattern of government. The country was divided into North Eastern and North Western Rhodesia in 1895 for administrative purposes. In 1911, the two artificial parts were merged to be called Northern Rhodesia under the British Administrator, Sir Lawrence Wallace.

In 1924, the British Crown as agreed upon with the BSA Co, assumed the administration of the country in order to make it a protectorate, the first being Sir Herbert James Stanley on 1st April, 1924. The British Colonial Office took over the administration of the territory from the BSA Co. Unlike the BSA Co state, the British colonial administration was more elaborate. Under the British Colonial Office in London was the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, who was assisted by the Secretary of State at the capital. There were Provincial Commissioners at Provincial headquarters and District Commissioners, District Officers and Assistant District Officers at district and sub-district centres. There was a High Court Judge assisted by other judges, Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates at lower levels to provide judicial services, and a Legislative Council (Legco) with European settler representatives and European representatives for Africans to ensure some checks and balances. Additionally, there were Native Authorities built around chiefs through which the colonial state administered the people. During Colonial rule, Zambia was administered through indirect rule whereby chiefs assumed subordinate roles. As such, there was a creation of western educated auxiliary elite and recourse to chiefs and other so called traditional authorities to help administer the colony (Chipungu, 1992). As a way of financing the administration of the territory, measures such as native taxation were introduced.

Colonial rule was characterised by the domination of political, social, economic and all other spheres of life by British nationals from the metropole and European officials had a privileged position. This was based on the fact that the colonial rulers had the civilising mission of the Africans who were seen [as being] backward or uncivilised. This also explains why Africans were not given political and civil rights as society was divided into the rulers and subjects. Africans being the subjects had to work for the Europeans, thereby modifying their traditional life.

Colonial rule in Zambia was successfully established due to many factors, among them the fact that the weaker ethnic groups sought protection from the Europeans and in the process, the Europeans colonised them. Meebelo (1971) for instance, traces the beginning of colonial rule in Zambia to the desire of the weaker ethnic groups for protection against stronger ethnic groups. What is important to note is that the Africans were not passive in the colonial enterprise.

In 1953, Northern Rhodesia became part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland by an Order in Council and Sir Roy Welensky, a Rhodesian politician, was very instrumental in the creation of the federation. The federation lasted for ten years with Zambia becoming independent in 1964 after its collapse. Did the Catholic missionaries play any role in the collapse of the federation and eventual overthrow of the colonial regime? This is going to be addressed in the subsequent chapters.

It is crystal clear that Christian missionary work and colonial rule coincided, and it is this fact which has conditioned some scholars to take the position that missionaries were supporters of colonialism (Tiberondwa, 1978). But there are African scholars such as Magesa and Zablon (2003:86) who argue that Christian missionaries in colonial Africa served a mediating role between the rulers and the governed. It is for this reason that the colonial authorities saw missionaries as partners in the mission to 'civilise the natives' and Africans saw missionaries to be partners in the maintenance of the colonial state.

Tiberondwa (1978: xv) charges that missionaries actively participated in the political, economic and cultural exploitation of the African people and effectively paved the way for the initial occupation and formal colonisation. Though it is true that in the case of Zambia, the occupation of the territory began soon after the death of David Livingstone, it is also true that David Livingstone opened the way for missionary societies to come to Central Africa to plant Christianity. A lot of missionaries came to Central Africa following a dramatic call by David Livingstone in 1853 to 1956. He had appealed to the Missionary communities to sacrifice their lives for Africans and urged them to come to Africa to introduce Christianity, Civilisation and Commerce. Missionary societies responded positively by sending different missionaries. Indeed,

if these were the wishes of Livingstone, then any atrocities committed by missionaries can only be taken as incidental. Tiberondwa's perception is also a generalisation from the Ugandan context. Despite this, Tiberondwa's view that missionaries actively paved the way for the initial and eventual occupation of Africa is valuable as it forms a benchmark where genuine missionaries and those who were selfish can be drawn from. This study thus sought to investigate how true the assertion that the missionaries in this case, the Catholic missionaries supported colonial rule in Zambia is. It investigated both the extent, and which missionaries served as agents of colonialism and why they did so. This was in light of fact that not all missionaries agreed on many issues as they were individuals belonging to the different societies with their own rules and regulations.

Beidelman (1982) also notes that the missionaries supported colonialism as they sided with the colonial masters due to the fact that they came from the same background. His argument is based on the fact that missionaries had developed friendships administrators and indeed some administrators were seen visiting the mission stations. The missionaries shared a common culture and in many instances, a common language, they were far from home, and it was natural that they could spend their free time together. Though this is the case, it would be unfair to conclude that all missionaries in colonial Africa supported colonial Thus Beidelman's work frameworked this study by providing a backdrop of an analysis of how some Catholic missionaries despite having a common culture with the colonial administrators were never supporters of colonial rule especially in Zambia.

The Catholic church had a seemingly ambiguous position in the colonial era had time and again been taken to have supported the colonisers. For instance, Carmody (2001) notes that the 1953 Pastoral Letter addressed to all Catholic missionaries and members of the African clergy in Northern Rhodesia stated that the church ought to be above politics and be non partisan. Komakoma (2003:33) records that:

...recall the strong prohibition included in Can.139, th regard to the participation of the clergy in the political affairs of any country. Par.4 of this canon strictly forbids all members of the Catholic clergy to assume official functions in the Legislative body...

This stance of the church to be above politics may give the impression that the Catholic

missionaries supported colonial rule, yet there are some missionaries who went against this for the sake of human dignity and played an important role in nationalist politics. This study thus clarifies this assertion that missionaries supported colonial rule in Zambia and shows how the Catholic missionaries contributed to Zambia's struggle against colonial rule.

This study was not undertaken to exhume an old and outdated topic in history or missiology, but revisited the early Catholic missionaries in Zambia to find out how they had positioned themselves during colonial rule. Most research albeit little in the area of mission history in Zambia hardly delve into depth concerning early missionaries and colonialists. As a matter of fact, the history of Catholic missionaries in Zambia and their contribution to the withdrawal of the British colonial masters from the colony has not yet been examined by scholars.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Studies on early Catholic missionaries and colonial rule concentrate on the view that missionaries supported colonial rule from 1890 to 1964 in Zambia. This study has revisited the work of the early Roman Catholic missionaries to establish whether they supported colonial rule in Zambia or not. It provides an alternative framework by arguing that the early Catholic missionaries in Zambia did not support colonial rule.

1.3 Purpose

Using the qualitative method, document analysis or review of secondary data, the purpose of this study was to revisit the views which seem to suggest that missionaries supported colonial rule in Zambia by examining the work of the Catholic missionaries. It was proposed that an in depth study that seeks to re-examine the early Catholic missionaries as supporters of colonialism be carried out. The study was a historical exploration of the work of the early Catholic missionaries during colonial rule in Zambia.

1.4 Research Objectives

The study had the following objectives:

1. To investigate the nature of colonial rule and missionary work in Zambia.
2. To examine how the Catholic missionaries related with Africans on one hand, and the

colonial administrators on the other.

3. To explore the reasons why the early Catholic missionaries have been associated with colonial rule in Zambia.
4. To find out the contribution of the early Catholic missionaries in dislodging colonial rule in Zambia.

1.5 Research Questions.

This study sought to answer the following research questions based on the research objectives.

1. What was the nature of colonial rule and missionary work in Zambia?
2. How did the Catholic missionaries relate with the Africans on one hand, and the colonial administrators on the other.
3. Why have the early Catholic missionaries been associated with colonial rule in Zambia?
4. How did the early Catholic missionaries contribute to the dislodge of colonial rule in Zambia?

1.6 Hypothesis

The hypothesis of the study was that Catholic missionaries did not support colonial rule in Zambia as they were agents of social and political change.

1.7 Significance

The study is significant because of the following reasons:

1. It will verify the conclusion that the Catholic missionaries were supporters of colonial rule in Zambia.
2. It will add to the existing body of knowledge and literature in mission and church history in Zambia.
3. It will bring to the fore why Catholic missionary work has been associated with colonialism.
4. It will also show how the Catholic missionaries in Zambia contributed to Zambia's development in the colonial period.

1.8 Delimitations and Limitations

The study was only confined to Catholic missionaries and the freedom fighters in order to establish how the Catholic missionaries positioned themselves during the colonial period in Zambia. It was also limited to secondary material on the work of the early Catholic missionaries in colonial Zambia.

The challenges encountered in the study included the following:

1. Financial constraints. The research funds allocated to the study were not given in full and on time as expected. And this made it difficult to be able to carry out the research at the expected time.
2. Limitations associated with secondary data and archival material. Secondary data is associated with limitations which may have biases deriving from the reporters of the information was also another challenge as the research largely used document analysis.
3. Finding Respondents. It was also not easy to find the Catholic missionaries and freedom fighters who lived in the colonial period. Many of the freedom fighters and early Catholic missionaries who worked in colonial Zambia have either died or left Zambia. This made it difficult to find respondents.
4. Untranslated mission diaries. Some of the mission diaries are still in French, Polish and other foreign languages. It was difficult to find interpreters.

Despite all these challenges, I by all means used the available resources so as to ensure the success of the study.

1.9 Operational Definitions

In this dissertation,

Catholic missionaries refer to all Roman Catholic clergy such as the White Fathers, Jesuits, Franciscans, Capuchins and all the other Catholic societies which operated in Zambia in the colonial period.

Colonial rule means the governing of Northern Rhodesia by the British colonial state from 1924 to 1964 which began in 1890.

Missionary work refers to the mission activities or works of the Catholic missionaries only.

This chapter has provided the background of the study, the statement of the problem, purpose, objectives and the research questions for the study. It has also shown the significance, delimitations, limitations and the operational definition used in the study. It has thus established why this study was undertaken. The subsequent chapter reviews the literature for the study.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reflects the literature that was reviewed on the Catholic missionaries and colonial rule. Kombo and Tromp (2006:62) define literature review as an account of what has been published on a topic by other scholars and researchers. I examined literature on Zambia, and other African countries so as to situate this study more broadly and make it more meaningful and systematic. Zambian studies provided a precise background on which this study was established while African country studies, apart from giving additional general background to this study, were a good source of comparative material on how the Catholic missionaries positioned themselves in the colonial period.

African Country Studies

Boahen (1987) describes African perspectives on colonialism and argues that on the eve of colonial rule, Africa was far from being primitive, static and was in the mood of change. When colonialists came, Africa was conquered due to military reasons as Africans had weaker armies and primitive weapons. As colonial rule got established, hospitals and other social services were provided as a way of safeguarding European interests, and social discrimination was a common feature.

Boahen makes an observation that many European historians are of the opinion that all classes and groups of Africans with the sole exception of the educated elite readily accepted colonial rule and it was only until the return home of those educated abroad that the reaction against colonial rule was set in motion. While disputing this fact, he notes that most people revolted and colonial rule had a lot of effects on Africa. In noting the roles of the Africans in the struggle, he does not dwell on the role of the mission churches and only examines the rise of African independent churches as an expression of African resistance. My study shows the role the Catholic missionaries played in the decolonisation of Zambia.

Gray (1990) discusses how Africans have transformed Christianity and far from meekly accepting western practices and interpretations, Africans have appropriated the Christian insights of their

own. He observes that one way of explaining the far greater impact of the missionaries during colonial rule is to see them as agents of the transformation of Africa by western capitalism and technology. Missionaries preceded or accompanied traders, soldiers, administrators and settlers so that for many Africans, they were indistinguishable from the aliens who were challenging and changing their values. This study though anchored in the Black and White missionaries does not reflect the critical role these missionaries played in dislodging colonial rule or indeed in transforming Africa. Therefore, my study has clarified the fact that though the work of the Catholic missionaries coincided with colonial rule in , it does not mean that they supported colonial rule in Zambia.

Laws (1976) shows the contribution of mission Christianity to the development of African societies by exploring missionary activity in Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia. He argues that with the setting up of many educational, medical and social projects and after World War I, the encouragement of the formation of Native Associations, the Africans were enabled to fight against the ills of colonial rule. He also points out these efforts led to the development of Christian communities of around 60,000 including African pastors and founded over 700 schools around Livingstonia mission. Laws also acknowledges that missionary efforts played an important role in fighting against the continuing Arab Slave Trade, and helped to reconcile local ethnic groups and played a leading role in educating and encouraging local individuals such as David Kaunda, whose son Kenneth was to become Zambia's first president. This work covers important aspects of my research as it shows the many tried to uplift the living standards of the Africans. Indeed, if the missionaries helped to translate the scriptures, help abolish slave trade and many other projects, then the missionaries did not support colonial rule as they sided with the governed, the Africans. Laws' work helped in evaluating the work of the early Catholic missionaries in the colonial period.

The White Fathers (1982) documented their identity by tracing the history of the society and point out from inception that the society has always been co with the socio-political welfare of the people and even Cardinal Charles Lavigerie (founder of the society) contributed a great deal to the anti-slavery campaign. As colonial rule became established the 1890s, the situation changed as the missionaries saw the colonisers as offering the conditions of peace, order and

tranquillity which would allow them to peacefully dedicate themselves to the religious mission. As such, there was never criticism of the 'right of conquest'. The missionaries thought that their mission could benefit from collaboration with the colonial powers. Because they were unaware of the political realities and systematically ignored the political sphere, they were often manipulated by the colonial regime. Consequently, the missionary enterprise, which sought to be exclusively religious, contributed toward reinforcing the control of the colonial administration in Africa.

The work of the White Fathers is valuable to my study it helped to explain why the Catholic missionaries in instances where they seem to have sided with the colonial administration did so. I have extended this explanation by showing that the instances where the Catholic missionaries were manipulated by the colonial administration elsewhere should not be the basis of seeing them as agents of colonial rule because by providing education and services, they contributed to the demise of colonial rule in Africa.

Zambian studies

Murphy (2003) gives a history of the Jesuits in Zambia by tracing a mission which became a province. Primary and secondary sources were combined in order to trace the history of the Jesuits in Zambia and I find this to be very helpful. His work is set against the background of the history of Zambia from 1890s onwards and covers missionary activity in the area and how the Catholic church has been established in Zambia. He gives biographies of some of the Jesuit brothers which I found very helpful as most of the missionaries have no documented biographies.

Murphy points out that the colonial period was accompanied by African nationalism and generally discusses nationalism without reference to the role of the Jesuit missionaries in the process. My study therefore has filled this existing gap in knowledge by bringing out the contribution of the Catholic missionaries such as the Jesuits in the rise of nationalism in Zambia.

Hinfelaar (2004) further documents the history of the Catholic church in Zambia from 1895 to 1995 and this is actually from the arrival of the first French missionaries to its establishment as one of the major Christian churches in Zambia. In the colonial era, he notes that towards the federation, the Catholic population was hardly aware of their political and civil rights, and many

of them were indifferent to the African National Congress (ANC) movement. The Catholic clergy in Northern Rhodesia were not speaking with one voice – some advised that church leaders, catechists, and teachers should not become members of political parties, others suspected all political activity as subversive, while others encouraged the Catholic elite to be involved as much as possible.

Hinfelaar states that the Catholic Church was commended by Kenneth Kaunda for helping to dislodge colonial rule in Zambia, and notes that the statement of the Bishop's conference of 1958 strongly criticised the political system for failing to respect the rights of individuals regardless of race or colour and this was an important landmark.

Hinfelaar's work which does not discuss the Catholic missionaries' role in dislodging colonial rule in depth was important to my study as it helped to analyse the position of the Church in the colonial era. The fact that some missionaries supported nationalists and the publication of the 1958 Pastoral Letter can only be explained as helping Africans do away with colonial rule. Therefore, it would be unfair to argue that all the Catholic missionaries supported colonial rule in Zambia.

Other than this, Hinfelaar highlights the reluctance of the Catholic missionaries to get involved in politics and notes that the church was preoccupied with touring centres, and attracting converts to the faith. There is no way this can be attributed to the fact that the Catholic missionaries were agents of colonial rule in Zambia. My thinking is that Hinfelaar, in stating that the Catholic missionaries were reluctant to take part in politics underplayed the crucial role education played in the liberation struggle which the church provided. My study has shown that the Catholic missionaries were involved in politics directly and indirectly; thus were not in support of colonial rule in Zambia.

O'Shea (1986) relates the history of the beginning of the Catholic church in Zambia with specific reference to the Copperbelt in the book *Missionaries and Miners*. The data for the study was collected mainly through interviews and questionnaires which I find suitable due to the nature of the study. The history of the Catholic church on the Copperbelt is set against the background

the lives and fortunes of the indigenous people by bringing out the social developments which were taking place when the Catholic church was being established on the Copperbelt. The early missionaries arrived before the merchant magnates and missionary colonists. He further points out that the missionaries had individual personalities and idiosyncrasies coupled with missionary zeal to preach the word of God, while the African's lifestyle was changing as Zambia became the second producer of copper in Africa. He notes that the progress of the Church paralleled that of the mines. In this history, O'Shea documents the activities of the Catholic missionaries as well as the Protestants who worked on the Copperbelt from the initial work of Father Siemenski (Jesuit) and Fr Francis Mazzieri (Franciscan). It should be noted that much of the work was done by the Conventual Franciscan Friars and later Dominicans by setting up stations such as Ibenga, St Mary's, St Joseph's and many others.

O'Shea's work is important to my study as it brings out the social conditions in which the Church emerged and thus helped to assess the role the missionaries played as the effects of industrialisation were felt among the Africans. By highlighting the many concerns which the missionaries voiced out on the Copperbelt including among other things labour problems and wages, O'Shea's study helped to see the relationship the Catholic missionaries had with the Africans and the colonial administration.

O' Sullivan (n.d) narrates the history of the Capuchins in Zambia from 1931 to 1981 by describing the work that was carried out in the Zambezi mission. The material used was gathered largely from the Friars, especially Brother Andrew who compiled a collection of materials drawn from Father Matthew Record, and the Capuchin Annual reports. Materials written by Bishop O'Shea and other fathers were also consulted.

O'Sullivan describes the history of the Capuchins by tracing the history of the people of today's Zambia's Western province, how the explorers explored the territory and indeed how the province was opened up to mission Christianity. He points out that in order to spread the gospel; the Capuchins used the schools as the cornerstone of their missionary work.

O'Sullivan's work is valuable to my study as it brings out the role the Africans played in the

success of mission Christianity. He states that the Africans contributed either labour or material to the mission and this should have made them see the success their contribution made to the church. This helped in assessing the perception and trust these missionaries had in the Africans by allowing them to aid the spreading of the gospel. In the end, there is no doubt, this empowered the Africans and their self esteem was boosted, and this was a very important aspect in dislodging colonial rule. This therefore helped me to see how the Capuchin Fathers assisted the Africans in Northern Rhodesia fight colonial rule, and therefore, be said to have been in support of Colonial rule.

Furthermore, O Sullivan's study is important to my study as it has shown the role the African teacher played in the colonial period. He notes that after the Second World War as many Africans returned from the war, they were determined to have a part in the running of their country. This saw the establishment of trade unions and welfare associations as well as the growing advancement of the literacy and freedom of the press which gave the opportunity for exchange of views. In this field, many African teachers played an active role. This therefore shows the contribution the Catholic missionaries made in dislodging colonial rule indirectly by educating and training African teachers.

Carmody (1992) in *Conversion and Jesuit Schooling in Zambia* sets out to bring out the socio-political impact of mission schooling in his case study of schooling as a means of promoting conversion at Chikuni, a Roman Catholic Jesuit mission station in Southern Zambia. The study followed an ethnohistorical approach and thus heavily depended on the use of qualitative data and a preponderantly emic form of analysis. The data was collected over a number of years and Carmody lived at Chikuni as a participant observer which I find useful in this kind of study. The primary data came from the records in the Jesuit archives and Zambezi mission record, Lusaka Catholic Secretariat archives, National Archives of Zambia as well as interviews.

In his study, Carmody describes the role of Chikuni in conversion by dividing it in three phases, namely, 1905 to 1940, the period of foundation till the retirement of Father Joseph Moreau who was the founder of the mission, 1940 to 1964 and 1964 to 1978. I am interested in the first two periods. In the first period (1905 to 1940), he notes that after the Second Vatican Council,

conversion at Chikuni had a social dimension, here use to identify a movement towards social or political responsibility. In this regard, Father Joseph Moreau worked hard to create a Tonga Catholic community which was also prosperous.

The second phase is from 1940 to 1964 and this is when mission activity was centred on Secondary schooling with the opening up of Canisius Secondary School in 1949. This period enabled the Jesuits to empower the local Tonga communities to become conversant with European methods of governance. What is interesting in this period is the fact that while claiming to be apolitical, the Jesuits provided higher education which was very restricted in the colonial days, and this was a very political stance. Carmody points out that while the Jesuit missionaries remained silent on political issues to the dismay of their students, they provided what these students most desired and needed in their struggle for political liberation. Carmody's work is therefore important to my study as it reflects the view that these Jesuit missionaries did not support colonial rule as they indirectly helped the Africans to attain self governance by providing the education they needed.

Temfwe (2003) in an article entitled *the Church and the struggle for independence* points out that since the missionaries could not provide adequate protection for Africans, they facilitated the contacts of British business people who ultimately provided security in exchange for agricultural and mining rights. The combination of colonial and Christian interests by missionaries is illustrated in the Barotseland Charter with the BSA Co in 1890. When King Lewanika of Barotseland was under threat from Lobengula chief of Matebeleland in the South, Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) influenced Lewanika to obtain British protection. Coillard attended all the negotiations until the charter that gave all mining rights in exchange for protection to the BSA Co was signed. As churches grew, the missionaries began appointing African laity to be elders and leaders. In their new positions, Africans began to sit on council and committee meetings. It was through these church meetings that Africans for the first time were introduced to European political methods and learnt about democratic governance. At first timidly, but later with self-confidence, the Africans found themselves opposing the views and policies of the missionaries. It was no longer unthinkable that one should express opposition to ultimate authority, even when that authority was European. Africans began to see into the very

heart of the democratic system-the right of legitimate opposition to the ruling power.

Temfwe's work which also shows how missionary work facilitated the consolidation of colonial rule and how the missionaries enabled Africans to rise against them was very important to my study. It should be noted however that the generalisation Temfwe makes on missionary-role in consolidating colonial rule should not give the impression that all the missionaries were agents of colonial rule. Though the Africans fought for positions in the church, my assumption is that it is the opportunity they were accorded in the church to fight for justice which enabled them to fight for their political independence.

Gann (1964) documents the history of Northern Rhodesia from the early days to 1951. In discussing colonial rule, he notes that in 1901, hut tax was introduced in North Eastern Rhodesia and every adult African male paid 33 shillings each year for his hut and those men who had grown up, and unmarried daughters, old male relatives or widowed mothers or other female relatives occupying their own huts paid for up to a maximum of six huts of such dependents. Many reasons have been advanced as to why tax was introduced, but what is clear is that tax was introduced in order to involve the people in meeting the financial costs of running the colonial government.

Tax was paid either in cash or in kind as the White Fathers at Kayambi reported in 1902 that lots of hens were given and accepted. Gann is of the view that the tax was meant to force the Africans to seek wage employment. This drew many Africans away from their homes and led to the transformation of the countryside and destroyed the African's traditional way of life. Reacting to taxation, Bishop Alston May, who was then in charge of the Anglican Church with its base in Livingstone noted that taxing the African was exploitative and therefore unjust.

Gann's work while concentrating on how colonial rule was established and the effects it had on the society brings out that which caused resentment among the Africans. It is in this resentment that the Church had a role to play, and thus, my study has built on this work by bringing out the relationship the Catholic missionaries had with the colonial administration and explaining why this was so. It has further enriched Gann's work by showing how the Catholic missionaries

responded to African resentment in the colonial period.

Mwanakatwe (1974) suggests that if colonial rule did not have the critical issues which brought about resentment, it would have gone on for a long time. He cites four critical areas of aggravation by the white settlers which resulted in political activities. As the impact of western education began to take root, the Africans began to see the discrepancies between their educational system and the 'white settlers' quality of education. African education was significantly inferior. The seriousness of neglect is illustrated by the amount of government expenditure in 1930. Mwanakatwe explains that in 1930, "the government appropriated 14,547 British pounds to support 20,146 pupils enrolled in African schools, the amount appropriated was 27,001 British pounds in support of only 774 pupils enrolled in European schools."

The second resentment had to do with the discovery of copper and extension of the railway line from South Africa to Zambia that rapidly altered the economic future of the country. The copper mining industry required intense labour. Most Africans were unwilling to give up their traditional lifestyle and land in the rural areas for work at the mines. Yet cheap African labour was urgently needed to build roads, work in the mines and farms, and to serve the expanding population of the white settlers. In order to compel the Africans to enter the wage employment sector, a system of poll-tax was introduced. This discriminatory poll tax, which the Europeans and the Indians were not required to pay, fuelled anger against the colonial government.

The third area in the struggle for independence was land. The best land along the line of the rail was reserved for white settlers. This entailed removing by force the indigenous people from the land, which they had cultivated for generations in the past. This, Mwanakatwe argues, raised widespread discontent among the indigenous people, who were forced to work on farms and produce cash crops like cotton for Western industries.

The fourth area of African reaction to white rule in Zambia was opposition to the Federation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The federation was opposed by the Africans in Northern Rhodesia because they did not want the more brutal racial policies of Southern Rhodesia to be extended to their territory.

Mwanakatwe's work which is limited to the causes of resentment among Africans in the colonial period is meaningful to this study as it set the stage of missionary involvement in African affairs. Indeed, without the resentment, Africans would not have fought for their independence.

Meebelo (1971) in *Reaction to Colonialism* discusses how different African societies reacted to colonial rule and acknowledges that some missionaries are not agents of colonialism in all the African colonised states. He relied heavily upon archival materials which ranged from District tour reports, quarterly and Annual reports deposited in the National Archives of Zambia. In his study, he gives an example of how White Fathers missionaries complained about how Africans were ill treated.

Meebelo describes how the missionaries sided with the Africans in the first popular demonstration of African resentment to forced labour in Northern Province. This happened in 1896 among the Namwanga people of Ilendela village near Ikowa Boma, where John Bell (colonial official) was operating. When Bell sent out a few of his Makua Police and some Ikowa villagers to recruit labour, the headman refused to give them any men and his people took up guns, bows and arrows and fired at the colonial party, who fired back though hurting no one. The colonial party then withdrew, but in retaliation as they left, they drove the goats and sheep of the village to Ikowa boma, which was about seven miles away (Bell to Forbes, 31 August, 1896, NER A8/2/2). This was the first violent African reaction.

Meebelo notes that this Ilendela incident revealed the hidden fundamental differences of attitude of the administration on one hand and the local white missionaries on the other towards Africans. He reports that a villager went to Mwenzo mission of the Free Church of Scotland and complained to Rev Alexander Dewar about the goats and sheep that had been taken away by the colonial Police. The missionary urged the colonial administration to pay compensation to the Africans and heavily condemned the incident. If these missionaries were serving the interests of the colonialists, a demand for compensation would not have been made. This shows that the early missionaries, in this case, the Church of Scotland missionaries sided with the Africans, hence cannot be seen as supporting colonial rule. It is therefore important to see the role of missionaries

in colonial Zambia as going beyond speaking for the Africans and thus my study has extended Meebelo's work by clearly showing how the early Catholic missionaries in Zambia sided with the local people by not supporting colonial rule.

Rotberg (1965) further reviews how Africans reacted to colonial rule by way of fighting for independence. This fight for independence was partly precipitated by the need for land. In instances where Africans in Malawi and Zambia failed to politically over-rule colonialism, Rotberg points out that they resorted to religious protests. He reports how the missionaries condemned the plan by the BSA Co to create Native reserves where Africans were going to reside. In a bid to attract more settlers, the colonial state drew elaborate plans for reserves that would confine Africans to lands away from the railway line. These were created in 1928/29 in the Northern and Eastern provinces where the best half of the land was reserved to European settlement. In 1938, the Pim Commission (the commission of inquiry led by Sir Alan Pim who was a British colonial official and a visiting financial expert) reported that almost 90 percent of the land grabbed from Africans was still unoccupied including 1/3 of the Ndola district and two-fifths of the Mkushi district. Meanwhile, in the newly demarcated reserves to which Africans had been sent, overcrowding and the resultant destruction of timber and soil resources presented further problems. The fact that Africans were drawn away from the lines of communication meant that the development of the Africans' participation in the cash economy dwindled. Rotberg (1965) reports that the Anglican missionaries in Eastern Province protested on behalf of the Africans. Though the BSA Co suspended the project in Eastern province, it was effected all the same in 1929 by the colonial government. The missionaries confronted the scheme again and in 1947, the colonial state redesignated Crown land as Trust Land in a bid to allow Africans to occupy better land and to ease congestion in the reserves. This study has helped to examine the role the Catholic missionaries played in this period as land was a crucial aspect in the African society.

Rotberg's work though emphasizing the political protests which were recorded in Malawi and Zambia and bringing out what brought about the rise of nationalism is helpful to this study as it explains Africans' discontent. His acknowledgement of the role of the Anglican missionaries formed a powerful starting point for this study as it is clear that some early missionaries were interested in the welfare of the Africans. This is despite the fact that he does not point out how

Africans related with the missionaries who were on their side.

Chabatama (1990) explored the work of the Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML) in Zambia's North Western Province. This was in his Master of Arts in History dissertation which focussed on the colonial state, Christian missionaries and peasant farming in Zambezi district from 1907 to 1964. He describes CMML in relation to what they did in the province and notes that after being established at Chitokoloki mission after the First World War, they encouraged the local people to grow foodstuffs they could consume and formed the Kapompo Trading Company Limited which purchased the produce from the local people. This in some way, he argues helped the local people to generate income and meet their tax obligations.

Chabatama observes that the missionaries seem to have later changed their agenda by concentrating on personal businesses thereby sidelining pastoral care and material needs of the local people. Some of them began to run trading stores, became traders and acquired hawker's licences. In the final analysis, Chabatama notes that the CMML played an intermediary role between villagers and colonial officials and despite knowing the difficulties the Africans had in raising tax money, the missionaries at Chitokoloki encouraged Africans to pay tax to enable government provide certain social services. He points out the Church connived with the colonial state apparatus in the proletarianisation of the Luvale-Lunda.

Chabatama seems to be in agreement with Magesa and Zablon (2003) who argue that Christian missionaries in colonial Africa served a mediating role between the rulers and the governed. As such, the colonial authorities saw missionaries as partners in the mission to 'civilise the natives' and Africans saw missionaries to be partners in the maintenance of the colonial state. This study was important to my study as it helped to analyse the work of the Catholic missionaries who have been said to have been apolitical in the colonial era.

Taylor and Lehmann (1961) describe the Christians on the Copperbelt in relation to the growth of the Church in Northern Rhodesia. Among the many issues they bring out is the issue of the Church and race as well as the rise of self assertion among the Africans. They argue that the churches have time and again been blamed due to the manner in which they reacted to the racial

problems on the Copperbelt. They note that for instance, during the 1956 strikes and boycotts, when the mineworkers were disturbed by the creation of separate African Miners' Staff Associations, the general feeling was discontent with the church and it was alleged that the preachers had spoken against the strikes.

My interest is in the point Taylor and Lehmann make when they note that one or two incidents in which the missionary appears to have sided with the European against the Africans are sufficient to keep mistrust alive for a long time. During the strikes of 1956, a Dutch Reformed Church missionary was alleged to have preached in their mission at Nchanga urging all the mine workers to return to work on grounds that it was the God given task of the Africans to work for the white race. His congregation immediately left the church and only returned after months and it is from here, that the African Reformed Church was born. Taylor and Lehmann point out that stories like this are passed on from mouth to mouth and build up an inveterate idea that the church only approves of Africans who are submissive.

Yet again, Taylor and Lehmann state that the Roman Catholic Church in Kitwe played an important role. They note that a young welfare officer who with his wife was a keen member of the Catholic church said many priests had encouraged Christians to take an active part in politics in a Christian manner. During the strike at Kitwe in the mine, an unnamed Father preached in the church that Christians should co-operate fully with their fellows in all that pertained to justice, participate in the strike and pray to God.

Taylor and Lehmann's work while bringing out where the missionaries went wrong shows that it would be unfair to judge all the missionaries as having been in support of colonial rule in that others like the Catholic missionaries in this case sided with the Africans. Indeed, some statements which came from the missionaries may have originated from misunderstandings and should not impair the whole missionary mission of serving the people they had followed all the way from their countries. Taylor and Lehmann's study is important to my research in that it helped to build up on what the Catholic missionaries did in colonial Zambia, and therefore showed that the Catholic missionaries did not support colonial rule.

Komakoma (2003) puts together the Pastoral letters of the Catholic Church from 1953 to 20 in an effort to make the social teaching of the church appreciated and the work is a reminder of what the voice of the church has been over the years. The Social Teaching of the Church holds that the essence of Christianity is a call to active involvement in the affairs of the World. He notes how the Catholic church spoke out in 1953, 1958 and 1964 in a bid to see the nation develop into a prosperous one. Komakoma's work while being a mere compilation of the Pastoral letters without showing the impact they have had on the society is very useful to my study as it gives a clear stance of the Catholic church in colonial Zambia. It has helped to explain how the Catholic missionaries positioned themselves in the colonial period. My study has widened the role of the Catholic missionaries by showing that the education and social services the Church provided despite claiming to be non partisan was indeed very political.

P'bitek (1970) in *African Religions in Western scholarship* traces the study of African religions by western scholars from classical times to the present. He argues that the world is divided into the civilised and primitive and this is the accepted view held by western scholars in the study of African religions. He also points out that western scholars have never been sincerely interested in African religions. In describing missionary work and colonial rule, argues that the Barbarians from Europe were disguised as Christians who leapt from ships, bible and gun in hand, to attack, plunder, murder and enslave the inhabitants of Africa. Colonial rule was justified as it aimed to preach that the World was sick and needed Western suppression in order survive. Western scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth century according to P'bitek reflect 'apologies' for the colonial system as their task was to demonstrate the superiority of Western culture over those of the colonized.

This entails that the missionaries were no different from the colonialists as they had the same agenda of civilising the Africans. P'bitek's work which suggests that the missionaries were agents of colonial rule and indeed colonialists themselves forms an antithesis for my study. If they had disguised themselves when coming to Africa, it would be unjust to consider those who later changed their minds in the course of colonial rule and helped Africans dislodge colonial rule as colonisers. Therefore, my study has explored the work of the Catholic missionaries to find out if they disguised themselves in their missionary work.

This chapter has given an outline of what has been documented about missionaries and colonial rule and has also shed light on the work of the Catholic missionaries in colonial Zambia. It has been shown that the Catholic missionaries were involved in the life of the people and as such, they cannot be seen to have sided with the colonial regime. The proceeding chapter discusses the methodology used in the study.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology used in the study by stating the research design, research strategy, data collection, instruments used, sampling procedure, data analysis strategies and

ethical considerations.

3.1 Research Design

Orodho (2003) defines a research design as a plan or an outline used for the generation of answers to research problems. This study used a case study design. A case study design entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case (Bryman, 2004:48). This is because the study sought to investigate missionary support for colonial rule in Zambia with specific reference to the early Catholic missionaries.

3.2 Research Strategy

The research was purely qualitative. The strategy was considered suitable for soliciting information about the views of how the Catholic missionaries positioned themselves in the colonial era. According to Salfind (2003:208), qualitative research is not just an alternative to quantitative research, but it is a different approach that allows you to ask and answer questions of different kinds. This study being purely qualitative utilised document analysis as a mode of data collection. This was because the study emphasized words, and was inductive, constructionist and interpretivist (Bryman, 2004:542). Interviews were used so that I could explore the subject at hand in depth and ask follow up questions. Kombo and Tromp (2006:94) argue that interviews are well suited for exploring and confirming ideas and provide in-depth information about particular cases of interest.

3.3 Data Collection

The data was collected mainly through document analysis and interviews. I got permission prior to the study from the archival management and the respondents for the interviews.

3.4 Instrumentation

3.4.1 Document Review guide

Documents such as personal documents in the form of missionary letters, diaries and autobiographies as well as official documents were consulted in both their written and visual forms like photographs. The research questions guided the document review of how the early Catholic missionaries in Zambia positioned themselves in the colonial period.

3.4.2 Interview Guide

These were designed for the freedom fighters and Catholic missionaries in a way that allows the researcher to probe the respondent further. The freedom fighters and Catholic missionaries were subjected to the same set of interview questions. It was used as a supplementary tool for data collection and was open ended with a series of questions on the role of the early Catholic missionaries in Zambia's colonial era. It was also standardised in order to increase the comparability of responses and reduce interviewer effect and bias. This further facilitated the organisation and analysis of the data (Best and Kahn, 2009).

3.5 Interview Population

The study included six individuals who were there during the colonial era. This included freedom fighters and the Catholic missionaries. The small number of six (three freedom fighters three Catholic missionaries) was chosen because of the assumption that it would be difficult to trace a big number of people who were part of the independence struggle. And for sure, it was not easy to find these people.

3.6 Sampling Techniques

These respondents were chosen on the basis of accessibility and their being informed about the subject matter in the purposive method of sampling. The sample population should be within reach and accessible (Dellinger, 2005).

3.7 Research Tools

Other than the interview guide, the data was collected with the help of notepads, pencils, pens and erasers.

3.8 Validation of Instruments

The interview guide was tried on a small sample in order to pilot test them. This was to ensure that they serve the intended purpose and this can help in making corrections and modifications when need arises (Bryman, 2004).

3.9 Data Analysis and Conclusion

Data was analysed using the approach of Rubin and Rubin (1995:226-227) which is described as starting while the data collection is underway, as this redesigns one's questions to focus on central themes. Formal analysis commenced after interviews and document review and thereafter, the data was coded and categorized according to the major themes. This was done document analysis and hermeneutics, which according to Bryman (2006:540) is concerned with the need to understand things from the perspective of the social actor. Discourse analysis was also used as an approach to the analysis of talk and other forms of discourse that emphasize the ways in which versions of reality are accomplished through language. On the whole, the data was coded and categorised according to the major variables as the study was purely qualitative. The findings were reported in a descriptive style with the aid of tables and charts and a conclusion drawn from the findings after a critical analysis.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

I explained to the respondents that the information was purely for academic purposes and assured them of high levels of confidentiality. I endeavoured uphold issues of respondents' right to privacy, informed consent and protection. The findings have been reported truthfully and accurately as found in the field.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

This chapter presents the findings of the study which to revisit the missionary support for colonial rule thesis in Zambia with specific reference to the Catholic missionaries. The data was largely collected through document review and supplemented by interviews. The findings are presented under the major categories which are: the nature of colonial rule in Zambia, the nature of Catholic missionary work in Zambia, the Catholic missionaries' relationship with the Africans in colonial Zambia, the Catholic missionaries' relationship with the colonial administrators in colonial Zambia, the Catholic missionaries' seeming support of colonial rule in Zambia, and the early Catholic missionaries' contribution in dislodging colonial rule in Zambia. The findings are reported in a descriptive style with the aid of diagrams and charts.

4.1.0 NATURE OF COLONIAL RULE IN ZAMBIA

In exploring the nature of colonial rule in Zambia, a number of documents were reviewed and this was coupled by interviews. In order to get a full description of the nature of colonial rule, reasons for colonial rule as well as the beginning of colonial rule in Zambia are highlighted. Apart from this, colonial constitutional development, forms of colonial administration, origin and rise of nationalist politics and the road to independence are also presented.

4.1.1 REASONS FOR COLONISATION OF ZAMBIA

The motives for colonisation were mixed in Zambia and Colonialism began in the nineteenth century, and this was the age of Western imperialism, which in some respects can be regarded as a result of nation building and nationalism (Vickery, 1986:36). As such, in certain instances, colonialism arose due to reasons of nation building and nationalism. For example, German and Italian national aspirations resulted in the unification of the two respective states and after that it became a national ideal to make their countries just as powerful as or even more so than France and Britain, and to build their own colonial empires. As such, colonial powers sought to make colonies in a bid to show their power. This explains why Germany and Italy as well as other states embarked on the policy of colonialism.

Furthermore, Western European colonisers assumed the superiority of their own cultures. As people of their time, they looked at African culture from the little they knew and had discovered

(Snelson, 1974). They considered it as something backward, uncultured and unattractive. Racism also contributed to the superiority feeling of European colonisers. Since ideas have consequences, the Darwinian theory of evolution, in which the struggle for survival was extended to the human race, the white race was seen as stronger and more intelligent and had to prove its superiority by subjecting the dark race (Cowie, 1982:76).

Other than this, economic reasons were also a factor in the colonisation of Africa. Trade and a market for cheap goods also attracted the colonisers. During a time when Britain's balance of trade showed a growing deficit, with shrinking and increasingly protectionist continental markets due to the long Depression (1873-1896), Africa offered Britain, Germany, France, and other countries an open market that would garner them a trade surplus, a market that bought more from the colonial power than it sold overall (Shillington, 2005:301).

In addition, surplus capital was often more profitably invested overseas, where cheap labour, limited competition, and abundant raw materials made a greater premium possible. Another inducement for imperialism arose from the demand for raw materials unavailable in Europe, especially copper, cotton, rubber, palm oil, cocoa, diamonds, gold, tea, and tin to which European consumers had grown accustomed and upon which European industry had grown dependent.

But not every Western power benefited from its colonies. Although it is often said today by some scholars that the Western Powers exploited their colonies solely for their own gain and well being, actually only some were economically viable, while others were a financial drain on their treasuries.

This therefore shows that the reasons which led to Africa's colonisation are varied and they range from economic, political, social, religious and many others. It is therefore important to note that regardless of the reasons why the Europeans colonised once colonial rule was underway, the history of the continent was never to be the same again.

4.1.2 THE BEGINNING OF COLONIAL RULE IN ZAMBIA

Colonial rule in Zambia began in June 1890 when the BSA Co signed the Lochner treaty with

the Litunga of Buluzi. In Zambia as elsewhere in Africa, colonialism was largely done in three stages. Boahen (1987:33) notes that the first stage was the conclusion of a treaty between an African ruler and an imperial power under which the former was usually accorded protection and urged not to enter into any treaty with another European power. With this, the European power was granted certain exclusive trading, mineral and other rights. In this regard, between 1880 and 1895, the British concluded treaties with many African rulers in Africa. In the case of Zambia, the treaty was signed for instance in 1890 between King Lewanika of Buluzi and Frank Elliot Lochner representing the BSA Co.

The second stage in the colonisation process was the signing of bilateral treaties between the imperial powers and these were usually based on the earlier treaties of protection which defined their spheres of interest and delimited their boundaries (Touval, 1966:281). This saw the signing of, for example, the Anglo-German treaty of 1890 where Germany recognised British claims to Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland and Eastern Nigeria.

The last stage was characterised by the European conquest and occupation of their spheres. In certain areas, the occupation and conquest was peaceful and forceful in others. In Zambia, the rulers who did not sign treaties such as the Paramount rulers of the Bemba, Lunda of Mwata Kazembe and Ngoni kingdoms were subdued by military expeditions dispatched by the BSA Co between 1898 and 1899 (Vickery, 1986:40). As such, British Crown rule in Zambia began on 1st April, 1924 with the arrival of the Northern Rhodesia's first Governor, and the establishment of a Legislative Council. This was after the BSA Co had handed over power to the British colonial government.

4.1.3 FORMS OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN ZAMBIA

Colonial rule was officially modelled on the principle of indirect rule which was used in British ruled Africa (Murphy, 2003). The ideology of indirect rule was inspired by Lord Lugard in his book the *Dual Mandate* and the idea behind indirect rule was that the new administration would be based on the existing tribal structures of governance. The basis of indirect rule as set out in the 1930 memorandum by Lord Passfield included the preservation of existing ways of African life,

prioritising European interests in cases where they clashed with African interests and ensuring that taxes imposed on the Africans did not disrupt traditional life by not being too high.

Other than this, the colonial administration established political representation of African interests and native authorities as well as Native courts so as to implement indirect rule through the local chiefs. This meant that justice had to be administered through these avenues as the principle of British colonial rule was moulded on the paramountcy of African interests. How true this assertion is, is debatable.

Socio-economically, compulsory labour was used in infrastructure projects and settler farms while education and other social services were largely provided by the missionaries who received little support from the colonial government (Boahen, 1987:68). There was also the creation of Native reserves in response to increased European lobbying and this forced the Africans to be removed from the best fertile lands along the line of rail in line with racist policies of the imperial powers. This resulted in famine, disease and death due to poor agricultural yields, overcrowding and the spread of tsetse flies.

With the discovery and rapid development of deposits of copper ore, Northern Rhodesia became very important to the colonial government and the outside world. This resulted in the influx of Africans to the mines where they went to look for jobs in order to meet the tax obligations and with urbanisation, pass laws were passed by the colonial government (O'Shea, 1986). With this, the Africans were not allowed to move about without a pass. This restriction went as far as designating shops and other areas for the use of the Europeans and Africans separately.

In describing colonial rule in Zambia, Father Yan (interview, 25th August, 2010) said it was characterised by racial segregation as the Africans did not have the equal opportunities with the Europeans. This was seen in the housing, health, education and employment sectors. It was a period characterised by the rule of a horse and the rider where the European was the rider, and the African, the horse. In colonial Zambia, the Africans had no political and economic rights as they were servants of the colonial masters. Africans also suffered a lot with the tax obligation they had to meet and this slowed down the development of the rural areas as the strong men left the

villages and migrated to the towns in search of employment. Families were broken as the men who went to the towns soon married women in the towns, those in the villages were left to take up new roles of survival which led to famine and death as the old, young and women could not fully provide for their families. Even in towns when industrialisation was under way, families were broken as some women opted to marry men who were living in big houses (Mama Kankasa, interview, 9th August, 2010).

Other than this, the chiefs lost their powers and traditional society could never stand as it had done before as the colonial government introduced new taxes and instead of the people giving tribute to the chiefs, they could not do that. There was no more connection and respect between the chiefs and the people. The chiefs who opposed colonial rule were deposed from their thrones. Nabulyato cites Paramount Chief Chitimukulu, Paramount Chief Mpezeni (Pontiano Gabriel Jere), Chief Milambo (Lwando Chiliapa) as chiefs that were deposed from their thrones though Chief Milambo is noted by Macola (2010) to have been the only one to suffer this fate (Post Newspaper, 19th September, 2010). Whatever the case, the fact is that the chiefs who seemed to oppose colonial rule were not liked by the colonial state. This shows that the chiefs were tampered with in the colonial era.

Mama Kankasa further pointed out that colonial rule in Zambia was full of challenges for the Africans especially that their movements were limited. She narrated how while expecting, she was imprisoned in July 1955 on the Copperbelt with her husband for entering into a butchery which was meant for Europeans (Interview, 9th August, 2010). This was because the Africans were not allowed to enter European shops and women without marriage certificates were not permitted to move about in the towns. Verstraelen (1975:36) is in agreement with the sentiments of Mama Kankasa when he notes that there was discrimination in public places in the middle 1950s as Africans could not enter a theatre or a cinema in Northern Rhodesia, they could not eat in an airport restaurant and in the grocery stores, and they had to wait their turn until all Europeans were served. This discrimination was also extended to working conditions and wages where Africans were lowly paid as compared to the Europeans despite having the qualifications.

African opposition to colonial rule was also a feature of colonial rule in Zambia. Meebelo

(1971:25-34) points out that resistance to colonial rule was experienced in Zambia, first around the chiefs and their courts, and later on, when colonial rule power broke the power of the chiefs, by way of a growing popular political dissension. This implies that colonial rule was not all peaceful as it was met with opposition. All these developments were supported by the constitution.

4.1.4 CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN COLONIAL ZAMBIA

The Europeans in colonial Zambia dominated politics up to the 1940s (Mulford, 1967:6). Since the inception of colonial rule, the Europeans were in charge of making constitution and all was done according to their wishes with little African input. In 1945, constitutional changes were introduced in Northern Rhodesia which radically changed the existing balance between the settlers and the officials. The number of official and unofficial elected members remained unchanged, but the hitherto single nominated unofficial member was joined by four other nominated Europeans, three of whom were also charged with representing African interests (Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council, 1945). With this, the traditional characteristic of crown colony government, the official majority, had been dropped though theoretically at least, officials still had control in matters which affected African interests. This also implied that the Governor's conventional powers remained intact and practically, it was extremely difficult to force legislation through the Legislative Council against the combined opposition of the unofficial members.

After the Second World War, the white demands for constitutional reform in Northern Rhodesia and amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia were raised with renewed intensity. In 1948, there was a turning point both in Northern Rhodesia and Central Africa as a whole. The unofficial members in Northern Rhodesia led by Roy Welensky (later Sir) instead of Gore Browne won several important concessions in a new constitution (Gann, 1964:58). With this, the Legislative Council's term of office was extended from three to five years and the Governor was replaced as President of the Council by an elected speaker. Elected unofficial and official members were given ten seats, the number of nominated unofficial members were reduced from five to four, all representing African interests, and for the first time, two of the unofficial members were Africans, selected by the territory's African Representative Council and appointed by the Governor

(Northern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1948).

In this period, the campaign for closer association had been resumed under the banner of federation which Welensky had accepted as the only possibility with any hope of securing Colonial Office backing. This saw the unofficial conference at Victoria Falls early in 1949 to explore the feasibility of federation in Central Africa. At this conference, African representatives were not invited and Godfrey Huggins made it clear that the Africans in the three territories could not expect to participate for many years in the political life of any proposed federal state. The conference closed with unanimous endorsement of the federal solution and the stage was set for a bitter political battle which in the next four years would radically alter the face of Central Africa.

With the 1948 constitution, in March 1953, the proposals for federation were approved by the House of Commons, and the following month motions approving the scheme were passed in the Legislative Councils of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Mulford, 1967). In Southern Rhodesia, the proposals were accepted by the referendum amongst the colony's white electorate, and in October 1953, the Federal Constitution came into operation.

When the federation was on course, the Benson Constitution was implemented in 1959. This was after the constitution which set the federation in motion had been passed. Mulford (1967:56) notes that the Benson Constitution was the first of Britain's complicated 'multi-racial' constitutions to be introduced into Central Africa. As a political instrument, the constitution clearly reflected the ideas on racial partnership, 'fancy franchises,' and c political change which were fashionable both in the Colonial Office and amongst liberal whites in the federation during the late 1950's and early 1960's. Though Northern Rhodesia's franchise had been based on a common roll since 1925, practically representation in Legislative Council was by racial divisions as Europeans were directly elected by their electorate and Africans selected by the African Representative Council and appointed by the Governor. The 1959 elections like the preceding ones over thirty-five years were essentially a contest among Europeans. European majorities in both the Legislative and Executive Councils were assured by the constitution.

The third constitution was in 1962. While still part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland,

Northern Rhodesia elected its first African government under one of the most complex and controversial constitutions ever devised by the British government. It was only two years later, after another constitution and general election that Zambia joined the ranks of Africa's independent states.

4.1.5 NATIONALIST POLITICS IN COLONIAL ZAMBIA

4.1.5.1 ORIGIN OF NATIONALISM

Most scholars have tried to illustrate the ideology of nationalism by explaining it in terms of its historical developments. Smith (1999:23) states that 'the first clear statement of this ideal (nationalism) occurred during the French revolution. It is noted that the only sovereign is the nation, that man's first loyalty is to the nation, and that the nation alone can make laws for its citizens. Smith (1999) goes on further to state that the French revolution was where for the first time citizens sought to impose a single culture and language on all the regions of their country, to break down all the barriers between those regions, to become one nation devoted to a single ideal. Nationalism was characterized by an ambition to expand, either at the expense of neighbours or in the building of a colonial empire overseas, and to grow in wealth, material power and It gave rise to wars. To fight for the nation became a patriotic sacred duty. In the 19th century, this spirit of nationalism took hold throughout Europe. It from Europe that the roots of nationalism spread to Africa. This is not to say that Africans did not have any nationalist ideas.

4.1.5.2 THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN AFRICA

The rise of African nationalism came partly in response to European imperialism. It was a drive toward political independence, economic viability, cultural emancipation, and the desire to establish personal and national dignity. The retreat of Western colonial powers began slowly in the 1920s and 1930s and accelerated dramatically in the aftermath of World War II. The policies of some colonial powers promoted orderly transition in some places, but open sores in others. In 1956 in Sudan, the British left the Islamic north to govern both the traditionalist and Christian south and it eventually resulted in a civil war whose effects are still seen today. In 1957, Britain granted independence to its colony, "the Gold Coast" (now Ghana). A few years later, more than 20 former colonies achieved independence as nation-states. In 1961, Portugal refused to grant

independence to Angola, leading to an armed struggle. And Angola was followed by Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). A revolution in Portugal persuaded the Portuguese to free Angola and Mozambique in 1975, which, like many countries, erupted into civil war after the Europeans departed. The Belgians were so angry at losing the Congo that they literally tore the phones off the walls, leaving the colonial infrastructure in ruins (Hastings, 1979). The abrupt departure of the Belgians left the Congo in political limbo. From these nationalist developments, the winds of change reached many parts of Africa, including Zambia.

4.1.5.3 ZAMBIAN NATIONALIST POLITICS

Between 1929 and 1931, the Africans had begun to react to colonial policies and the welfare associations started to be founded. For instance, the Livingstone Native Welfare Association was founded in 1930 and protested the removal of Africans to the Native reserves, opposed the arrest of the Africans for using footpaths and drew attention to the worst forms of racial discrimination.

Before this, and indeed before the creation of any other well established organisation, Donald Siwale and David Kaunda (father of Kenneth Kaunda) formed the Mwenzo Welfare Association in 1907 to bring African views to the attention of the colonial government (Roberts, 1981:97). Both were educated in the Bible and here they learnt that every human being was the same. Due to the World War I, the association was dissolved but later revived in 1923. In 1931, different welfare associations were formed in several towns mostly along the line of rail. Roberts (1976) elaborated the spread of associations as follows:

from 1942 African welfare societies were formed in the mines on the Copperbelt led mostly by teachers, clerks and few men... encouraged migrant workers to revive them in the rural areas. By 1946 there were networks of societies spread over most parts of the territories....

The welfare societies in time formed the National Welfare Association. Within two years, this became the Northern Rhodesia Congress, a forerunner of the national political parties. It can be argued that the National Welfare Association, in a way was the origin of later nationalist parties. Rotberg acknowledged these organizations as associational activities, which provided training for future politicians (Rotberg, 1965:340-343). In two years, the Federation had transformed itself into the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (NRANC). The African National Congress (ANC) as NRANC soon became, led the unsuccessful anti-Federation struggle of the early 1950s.

Chitambala (1984) records that in 1951, the African Congress was headed by Mbikusita Lewanika and later Harry Mwanga Nkumbula and it was renamed as African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia. Nkumbula won the support of chiefs who opposed the Federation but he was made to resign after being persuaded by Gore Brown who had been appointed by European settlers who conspired and worked with the leaders of ANC to accept a scheme of fragmentation of Northern Rhodesia into African and White settler groups. Kenneth Kaunda then became Secretary General of the ANC in 1953. When the British government presented the new constitution in 1958, disagreements became severe. This was because the constitution could only enable eight African Representatives to be elected to the Legislative Council who would be subdued. This disagreement saw the formation of the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC). From ZANC, United National Independence Party was born and it was the task of UNIP to lead Zambia to freedom in 1964. It was led by Kenneth Kaunda and it was basically a people's party. This party carried the victory of political independence and reflected the victory of the Zambian people as a whole.

4.2.0 THE NATURE OF CATHOLIC MISSIONARY WORK IN ZAMBIA

The work of the Catholic missionaries in Zambia traces its beginning to the work of David Livingstone, who was the first missionary to come to Zambia. He never established a mission station in Zambia, but collapsed and died in Serenje. All the same, he had planted the seed of mission Christianity as many missionary societies came to Zambia after his death.

4.2.1 DAVID LIVINGSTONE AND HIS INFLUENCE ON THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN ZAMBIA

Missionary work in Zambia was initiated by David Livingstone. The question is what influence did David Livingstone have in opening up the territory to missionary work? Mackenzie (2005) records that David Livingstone was born in 1813 and came from a poor family in Scotland. In his years at college, he was converted and after joining the London Missionary Society (LMS), he travelled to Africa and later made three journeys. After his death in 1873 at Chitambo village in northern Zambia, his aim of spreading Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation had not yet began to be realised. He influenced the coming of missionaries to Zambia through his publications on

the travels he made, the speeches he made, his death, and the special call he made to the Christian World to continue the work he had began (Rotberg, 1965:4-6). This saw the coming of many missionary groups and the Catholic missionaries were among the many missionary groups which came to Zambia.

4.2.2 CATHOLIC MISSIONARY WORK IN ZAMBIA

The Catholic missionaries who worked in colonial Zambia belonged to many Catholic congregations and included the White Fathers (WF), Jesuits (SJ), Franciscan Friars Minor Conventuals (OFMconv) and Friars Minor Capuchins (OFMcap) and other sister congregations. The White Fathers and Jesuits entered Zambia in the missionary pioneering stage (1891, 1905), while the Franciscan Friars Minor Conventuals and Franciscan Friars Minor Capuchins came in the stage of missionary expansion (both in 1931). The missionary congregations of sisters who came to Zambia before 1940 were the White Sisters (1902), Dominican Sisters (1925), Holy Cross Sisters (1936) and between 1945 and 1959, eight (8) other congregations of sisters came to Zambia with seven after 1960.

4.2.3 THE COMING OF THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES TO ZAMBIA

The White Fathers were the first Catholic congregation to work in Zambia, and arrived in 1891. Hinfelaar (2004:21) records that:

These are also called Missionaries of Africa and had been founded by the French Cardinal, Charles Martila Lavigerie whose father was a liberal and anti-clerical senior Civil servant who had not approved of his son becoming a priest. Lavigerie worked in the Roman Curia in Vatican and had two doctorates and a professorship of Church history at Sorbone University in Paris. After realising that there was something wrong with the restrictive and centralising tendencies of the administration in the Vatican who forced all Christians to follow the latin rite of Christian worship, he became a champion of inculturation. This was done by fighting for the right of churches to worship in their own languages. He needed an association of men, flexible and decentralised enough to move into Africa when he was assigned the task of opening up Africa for the Catholic church in Algiers. And so in July, 1868, he founded a society which he called 'Missionaries of Our Lady of Africa.' The society recruited secular priest and lay brothers so as to open schools, model farms, orphanages, medical centres and homes for the elderly in Africa.

The arrival of the White Fathers was largely negotiated with local rulers and thus they founded the first European settlement in Bembaland under the direction of Bishop Joseph Dupont

popularly called *Moto moto*. This was after abandoning Mambwe Mwela, a place which they had found deserted by the African Lakes Company and later used as their first station. The African Lakes Company was initially called Livingstonia Central Africa Company and commonly known as African Lakes Corporation and it was largely founded by the interests supporting the Livingstonia Mission with the aim of following up missionary work with legitimate trade and opening up a route from the Indian Ocean to Lake Tanganyika (King, 1972:70). From Mambwe Mwela, the White Fathers were allowed by Chief Makasa wilwa, Mukuka wa Mipini to come into Lubemba at Kayambi. It is from here that the White Fathers expanded their work in Zambia.

The White Fathers were followed by the Jesuit missionaries who also came to Zambia in order to spread Catholicism. The Jesuits came to Zambia at the _____ of the twentieth century and the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) was founded in 1530, more than three hundred years before the White Fathers were formed.

The society was founded by a St Ignatius of Loyola who as a young man had served at the royal court and was trained to be a professional soldier. However, while defending a castle at Pamplong, he was wounded severely in both legs and read the lives of the saints in his depression and boredom. After a long retreat, he made a vow to denounce any worldly honour, but instead serve Jesus Christ. He therefore entered university and attracted some of his fellow students to follow the same ideals and later travelled to Rome to the Pope, obtained permission to found a new religious congreg tion and called it the Society of Jesus, popularly called the Jesuits. They adopted the new scientific discoveries of the time and worked in Catholic universities training young people in preparing for God's work. Due to the success of their spirituality, tructures and apostolic methods, many missionary societies including the White Fathers modelled on the example of the Jesuits (Hinfelaar, 2004:57).

The Jesuits came to Zambia in 1905. Some years before _____ the Jesuits had been entrusted with the responsibility for what was known as the Zambezi mission which stretched from the Limpop River northwards to Congo. In 1902, Monsignor Sykes, the su _____ of the Zambezi mission contacted Major Robert Codrington the BSA Co official at Kalomo and requested a site for a mission (Murphy, 2003:144). After forwarding the request to the London office of the BSA Co, the Jesuits were granted ten thousand acres of land in Chief Monze's area. Thereafter, two French Jesuits, Fr Joseph Moreau and Jules Torrend arrived at Chikuni in 1905 and Fr Torrend soon left Chikuni to set up Kasisi mission which through his influence soon became the centre of missionary endeavour in the area. It is from these beginnings that the Jesuits established mission

stations in Zambia and planted the seeds of Catholicism.

The coming of the White Fathers and Jesuit missionary marked the end of the missionaries pioneering stage and this gave way to the missionary expansion period which saw the coming of the Franciscans. The Franciscan Friars belonged to an which was far much older than the missionary society of the White Fathers and even that of the Jesuits.

The Franciscan society had been founded by St Francis, an Italian from Assisi in 1209. When young, he left all his possessions and assumed a life of poverty. He was then followed by other young men and a new order called Friars Minor, humble brothers was founded. They had three major divisions with one for men, the Friars, one for women, the nuns, called poor Clares and one for lay people, the lay tertiaries who were called the third order. In their long history, the Friars divided themselves into three (3) distinct and independent branches and these are Friars Minor, Friars Minor Conventuals, and Friars Minor Capuchins (Hinfelaar, 2004:126-127).

The Friars minor conventuals were the first Franciscans to come to Zambia in the 1930s and were often dressed in grey habits, thereby at times called rey Friars. They recited the Divine office together in choir, in Conventuals hence called the Conventuals.

Friars minor capuchins also came to spread the Catholic faith Zambia in the 1930s and settled in and around Livingstone. The name Capuchin came from the Italian word *Scappuccini*, hermits. They wore a brown habit, girded with a cord, a long pointed hood and sandals and followed a literal observance of the rule of St Francis (O’Shea, 1975:268).

The arrival of these congregations formed the foundation of Catholic missionary work in Zambia and with their coming; other many congregations were able to come to Zambia to spread the gospel. See appendix four for the arrival of Catholic ionary congregations and their mission stations.

4.2.4 THE NATURE OF CATHOLIC MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

The Catholic missionaries had the propagation of their faith as one of their priorities. A mission station was a common feature of missionary work and the majority of mission stations consisted of a church, school and a hospital or a small medical centre. In many cases, there might be a Bible school or a theological college, farm, a training centre for craft and skilled trades and possibly

leper colony or orphanage (Henkel, 1989:19). In certain instances, a mission station had Christian settlements. For an example of a Catholic mission station, see appendix five. Missions were in many places rural islands in the sea of urban change. This was a great characteristic of all these mission stations in Central Africa.

Between the 1920s to mid 1940s, mission activity in Zambia shifted to the towns where the missionaries sought to minister to the Africans who had migrated to the developing Copperbelt in search of employment. This saw the establishment of the United Missions to the Copperbelt (UMCB).

The Catholic missionaries in this period did not think that they would liberate the Africans. In their bid to Christianise, they condemned many aspects of African culture perhaps with the exception of the White Fathers. The Second World War also dwindled the growth of missionary work, though with limited resources, they managed to set up schools, hospitals and recorded conversions.

After the Second World War, from 1945 to 1964, missionary work continued to expand. With the realisation that there was need to create a local hierarchy by the Sacred congregation of the propagation of faith in Rome, the hierarchy of Northern Rhodesia was established on 25th April 1959. This period was also characterised by the arrival of post war missionaries, men and women who had seen the humiliating degradation of war in countries that were supposed to be deeply Christian. These missionaries had less confidence in the superiority of western culture and often disagreed with the manner in which the older colleagues described and defined their cultures (Verstraelen, 1975).

After 1953, change was in the air and this was manifested in the strikes among students at Chikuni and other secondary schools and teachings of ex-seminarians. With the formation of the association of Bishops in Northern Rhodesia, Catholic missionary activity was characterised by the publishing of Pastoral letters in 1953, 1958 and 1964 in this period of change, the Church became very involved in the lives of the people.

There was also a shift in the nature of missionary work in this period as it was characterised by the realisation that their followers were no longer submissive as they had been in the past. From the mid 1950s onwards, many of the missionaries were of the opinion that the care for schools, hospitals, clinics and material development had taken much of their attention from the ongoing pastoral care.

Apart from this, after 1956, the nature of missionary work changed owing to the fact that the missionaries were engaged in a different form of evangelisation. As compared to the period prior to 1956 where missionary work was shaped by the idea of spheres of influence, after 1956 the spheres of influence were done away with except in Barotseland (O'Sullivan, n.d:46). As such, in a good number of cases, permission was granted by the administration for the Catholic church to settle wherever it wanted. This made the Catholic church to be able to move into the *Bomas* of the various districts and provinces.

A lot of change in missionary work was also reflected in the early 1960s. This was in October, 1963, when Pope John XXIII summoned the Bishops of the Catholic church to an Ecumenical Church meeting where he emphasized the need for the Catholic church to be universal as the Vatican council was a *kairos*, an historical moment of grace and renewal (Baum, 1987:76). With the support of the post war generation missionaries, missionary work in Zambia greatly changed with the understanding that the liberating message of Christ had to be stripped off its western veneer so as to make the good news relevant to the young churches of the South. As a result, the Catholic missionaries endeavoured to preach the liberating message of the gospel which was very important in the fight against colonialism.

4.2.5 THE WORK OF THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES IN COLONIAL ZAMBIA

During the period of colonial rule in Zambia, up until independence in 1964, the church attempted to straddle the gulf between ministering to the needs of the local population without antagonising the colonial administration. The administration viewed church activity as a possibly practical tool of indoctrination, but at times a vehicle for dissent against colonial rule too.

The traditional view of the Church during this period was to provide social welfare. Churches became primarily involved in education and healthcare (Gifford, 1998: 189). Other initiatives

such as orphanages, skills training and agricultural extension were also evident in the development of Zambia during this period. In the matter of healthcare, the churches saw the provision of affordable healthcare as vital to a population that could not afford private medical treatment. The provision of healthcare had a twofold motivation. Firstly, there was the concern driven by Biblical principles of care for the incapacitated. Examples include the parable of the Good Samaritan in Luke's Gospel 10:25-37, Jesus' encouragement in Matthew 25:36 'I was sick and you looked after me,' and the Old Testament reprimand to the leaders of Israel, 'you have not strengthened the weak or healed the sick or bound up t

l 34:4.

Secondly, it was driven by a perception that the only alternative medical care available to the local population involved traditional healers and their use of, in colonial eyes, unscientific and crude methods as well as possible appeals to animistic, ancestral powers. These latter elements were of particular concern in ecclesiastical circles as, the Church has generally tried to change or discourage cultural practices that are contrary to Christian teaching (PAG, 2000: 31). Christian missions were at the forefront of social change in Zambia and the Catholic stations were no exception. Generally, though healthcare had an impact indigenous society, it was seen as a reasonably neutral activity by the colonial authorities.

Education was provided to the Africans by the missionaries and it would prove to be a little more of a double edged sword for the colonial administration. The prime focus of education was on rural areas and the schools usually offered a rudimentary education in basic reading, Bible study and practical subjects beyond this it was felt the local population would have little use for higher education as it could lead to isolation from their communities (Snelson, 1974).

Once more, the Bible provided a precedent for missionaries to involve themselves in education, 'train a child in the way he [or she] should go, and when he [or she] is old will not turn from it,' Proverbs 22:6. For the missionaries, the practical outworking of this exhortation in Zambia was threefold. Firstly, it was a means to evangelism. The ability to read was vital to this concept of evangelisation and as such it also meant that the Church was at the forefront of recording African aural languages so as to produce translated scriptures. Simuchimba (2005) notes that education was also seen as a method by which European values and culture could be instilled into the

population while formal education would also provide skilled workers for the mission station in terms of church workers, construction workers, teachers and many others. Later, they would also provide skilled labour for commerce, government and the mines (Weller & Linden, 1984).

The concept of providing only basic education, as was the case with many mission schools, was called into question following a revolt in Malawi in 1918 in which mission trained teachers and former students played a part. The colonial authorities felt that education needed a more formal basis, to be under closer scrutiny and to provide greater openings for the more apt pupils. 'The government introduced a proclamation which demanded the registration of schools [and]... empowered magistrates and Native Commissioners to inspect schools' (PAG, 2000: 9).

From the 1920's onwards, there was to be a gradual erosion of the Church's primacy in education in Zambia. The Advisory Board devised the Native School Code by 1927 establishing the state as the arbiter of educational standards in Zambia. The state now had the power to deregister schools that did not operate for the prescribed number of days in a year or did not cover adequately the curriculum developed by the Board. The number of registered mission schools declined significantly during this period. 'Of the 547 schools run by the White Fathers, only 17 qualified as schools under the new conditions' (Carmody, 1999: 44).

Following the Second World War, the government opened its own schools in some provinces. This event was to draw the Christian denominations and indigenous authorities together in a consensus on education in an attempt to reinforce their positions. Some Churches saw the government policy as an attempt to secularise education and resisted the move openly. In 1951, Local Education Authorities (L.E.A) were established to take control of government schools and were also authorised to take control of any mission schools that the indigenous authorities, mission societies or any other voluntary organisation no longer wanted to administer. Many of the Protestant missions handed their schools over. 'By 1960 800 of the 2,100 schools were L.E.A while the rest were mainly agency schools 30 per cent of which were operated by the Catholics,' (PAG, 2000: 14).

Despite their decline, the Catholic mission schools became places where the aspirations for

independence were established and nurtured, as well as promoting colonial structures. They also encouraged critical thinking enabling students to contest the status quo. 'It was the mission centres that became the birthplace of post-war African nationalism' (Phiri, 1992:14-36). In the wider context, the churches also became advocates for the people who congregated their buildings for worship and populated their parishes. Although an outside agency, they were equipped and informed enough and had sufficient influence both in Zambia and back in Britain to intercede for those who had a little voice in the colonial political system. It would not be until after independence that indigenous or even international Non Governmental Organisations would have a comparable voice. Phiri (1992: 32) further states that since churches remain "zones of freedom" and in some cases more or less a "state within a state," they tend to take up the political functions of repressed organizations. This leads to confrontation with the state. Weller & Linden (1984: 191) cite a Catholic missionary who reported that a missionary from the Presbyterian mission was compelled to complain to the Foreign Office in London about the behaviour of the company's officials in his area where villages were burnt, and chiefs and headmen put in chains, in order to intimidate them into sending their people to do carrier service. In fact one of the briefs of the General Missionary Council was, 'to watch over the interests of the Native races,' (PAG, 2000: 33). Appendix six shows the work the Catholic missionaries did in colonial Zambia by providing health care, education, pastoral and church services where the Africans were empowered.

4.3.0 THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES' RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

The Catholic missionaries at times related well with the colonial administration, worked as Chaplains for the colonial government and were friends of the colonial government in that their work was recognised and appreciated by the colonial government. The government appreciated and time and again was impressed by their works. For example, the new District Commissioner for Mongu in 1935, Mr Gilbert Howe soon after his arrival and tour of the territory met the Capuchins and was deeply impressed as he found well trained and highly qualified men with a good demand of the local language (Hinfelaar, 2004:140).

Haynes (1996:63) notes that at no time had relations been better between African Imperial

governments and the Catholic Church than during the final years of colonialism. This implies that there existed a widespread harmony of outlook and degree of close practical co-operation particularly in education and welfare areas. By this, the Catholic church had a good relationship with the colonial government as it aided the works of government through providing education and welfare services to the Africans of course because of their own reasons.

Mama Kankasa (Interview, 9th August, 2010) said the Catholic missionaries did not show any hatred for the colonial administration, except the policies which were humiliating the Africans. This to a large extent proves the fact that the Catholic missionaries had a good relationship with the colonial government.

Yet again, Catholic missionaries did not relate well with the colonial government as they were seen as enemies and siding with the colonised (Hinfelaar, 2004:147). For instance, in the war period, the missionaries from Germany and Italy were not allowed to expand their missions. The missionaries who also spoke out on the many issues that were affecting the Africans were not liked by the colonial government (Gelfand, 1968:23).

4.3.1 REASONS FOR THE NATURE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AND THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

The Catholic missionaries related with the colonial government in the way they did because they got land from them. In order for the missionaries to set up schools, hospitals or a mission station, they needed permission from the colonial government which after taking over the administration of the territory had become the custodians of the land. For instance, in 1930, the government donated land to the Catholic missionaries on Beit road in the centre of a European township through the council where the Catholics built St Ignatius Church (Carmody, 1999). In instances where permission was not sought, it was a serious offence in colonial Zambia just as Fr Jules Torrend at Kasisi mission was found wanting by the colonial administration for he started a school without permission from the appropriate authorities.

The Catholic missionaries were also allowed by the colonial government to give religious instruction to the students in government schools. For example, the Jesuit Fathers were given free access to the schools at Chalimbana and Munali and at were provided with transport (Murphy, 2003). This is also in line with what was prevailing in the interdenominational phase of the development of Religious Education where the church was allowed to give religious instructions to the pupils in the different schools (Masterton, 1985:8).

The relationship the Catholic missionaries had with the colonial government can also be described to have been good owing to the fact that they co-operated with the state in education. After 1924, the British new policy on the system of education after the recommendations of the Phelps Stokes Commission gathered momentum. The Catholic missionaries adopted it with the dedication similar to that which they had shown during the foundations of the first mission. Soller (1975) points out that in this, the Catholic missionaries became willing ministers of the education efforts of the colonial administration. The missionaries even and published the much needed material for education to fully develop. As such, they had a good relationship with the colonial government.

The Catholic missionaries worked with the colonial government in some of their fundraising ventures and celebrated their achievements with the colonial officials. For example, Fr Patrick O'Brien invited the Governor of Northern Rhodesia when he was fundraising money for the establishment of a church and the priests and colonial officials celebrated their achievements together. When they were consecrating St Ignatius church in 1957, the invited guests included the Governor and Lady Benson, the Mayor and Mayoress and Town Clerk of the city (Flies, 1999:51). The Conventual Franciscans also invited government representatives when Fr Mazzieri was being consecrated in April 1938.

Furthermore, the Catholic missionaries had a good relationship with the colonial government due to the fact that they got encouraged to foster their efforts in education and health services by the colonial government (Hinfelaar, 2004:140). This is not to say that these aspects were not the concern for the missionaries. The point is that they were encouraged to continue with the good

work. For instance, Mr Gilbert Howe, Mongu District Commissioner after being impressed by the work of the Capuchins in education provision, he encouraged them to renew their various applications for the schools and refer the matter to him in case they were refused permission. As such, following a number of stormy meetings, the first applications for a series of schools were granted.

Other than this, the Catholic missionaries generally had a good relationship with the colonial government in that they also got protection from the state in certain instances. For instance, when the Lumpa uprising in Chinsali took place in July 1964, the missionaries including the priests, sisters and mission staff such as teachers and catechists went to Isoka for protection and they were well looked after by the District Commissioner and his wife, John and Gretta Hudson (Hinfelaar,1991:29, Stone,1958).

This should not give the impression that the relationship the Catholic missionaries had with the colonial government was all good as in certain cases, this relationship was not good. Hinfelaar (2004:147) points out that all German priests, brothers and sisters were regarded as 'subjects of the enemy and were put under house arrest for an indefinite period when the Second World War broke out. This implied that they were not at any time allowed to go on safari, occupy posts of importance as that of Bishop, Superior or bursar. This went as far as discontinuing for instance the diaries of the Vicariate of Luangwa which were until then written in German. Some of them were destroyed in order to avoid any suspicion from the British officials. In the case of the Vicariate of Kasama, all publications especially the *Ishivi Lya Kumwesu* were stopped and only school books were published (Coyne, n.d).

The fact that all further expansion by the Franciscan Mission of Ndola for instance was discouraged by the administration in the north-west of the country in the Solwezi area as the Italian Friars were regarded as subjects of the enemy also proves the fact that the relationship between the Catholic missionaries and the colonial administration was not always good. This partly explains why the work of the Catholic church did not grow at a fast rate in North- Western province. It was only after the war that they were able to expand with the arrival of their fellow Franciscan Conventuals from America, the Baptistine Sisters, an Italian congregation that they

were able to expand (Collection of Documents, St Bonaventure).

Carmody (1992: iv) argues that the Catholic missionaries at times went against the wishes of the government. For instance, the Colonial government had _____ for limited education for the Africans whereby they were not to have access to secondary and training programmes, but the Catholic missionaries at an early time opened secondary schooling and Teacher training facilities to Africans. This gives the impression that the relationship was not always good as the Catholic missionaries went against the demands of the colonial government of providing limited education.

Father Yan (Interview, 8th August, 2010) noted that the colonial government also did not give enough subsidies to education despite using the educated people to run the government. Since the missionaries had the Africans as their major focus, the colonial government was not too pleased with this as the Catholic missionaries seemed to be too busy with the Africans. This also shows that the relationship the Catholic missionaries had with the colonial government was not always good.

4.3.2 THE RELATIONSHIP OF CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AND AFRICANS IN COLONIAL ZAMBIA

The Catholic missionaries related very well with the Africans they had come to serve. The Catholic missionaries and Africans were friends and right from their arrival, they were welcomed by the Africans as the latter came to sit with them, teach them the new language more correctly and narrated to them all the old fables and stories of the African people (Notes et Documents, 1958). It is no wonder that the Catholic missionaries learnt about the culture of the Africans as soon as they set foot on the African soil.

The Catholic missionaries were also the African people's allies as they were inclined to naturally protect the Africans against the unjust demands of the whimsical overlords and chiefs. Missionaries also spoke on behalf of the Africans and _____ instance, they complained bitterly at

Chibote, Chilubula and Chilonga missions to the colonial administration about the behaviour of labour recruiters (Northern Rhodesia Ndola District Tour Reports, 1932-61, National Archives of Zambia, SEC 2/1101-18).

The missionaries also had a close relationship with the Africans when the first signs of protests took place in particular with the teachers they had educated who were spread all over the country in charge of primary education (Gadsden, 1992). By this, the Catholic missionaries had instilled a sense of responsibility and the importance of one's dignity and sovereignty indirectly and directly. The teachers were so much connected to the mission stations and schools where they had acquired education, hence having a good relationship with the missionaries.

Komakoma (2003) suggests that due to the demand for social justice which was very important in the propagation of the Catholic faith, the Catholic missionaries had a close relationship with the Africans as they fought for racial justice. This was reflected in the publication of the 1958 Pastoral letters which stressed the need to respect human rights and dignity (Komakoma, 2003:64).

It should be pointed out that the Catholic missionaries were not initially liked by the Africans especially the chiefs who thought that their land would be taken up. With time, however, this changed as the missionaries exchanged gifts with the chiefs and converted them (Fr Yan, interview 8th August, 2010).

The Catholic missionaries had a close relationship with the Africans because it was the Africans who were at the centre of their missionary work. The Catholic missionaries had come all the way from their countries to serve the Africans. Murphy (20 :15) points out that the history of the Jesuits for example began with great efforts of personal sacrifice with missionaries dying in the process and spending their lives in a place far from home, leaving behind their famil The Africans were the reason why they were in Zambia; hence they had this kind of relationship.

It is also noted that the Catholic missionaries had a od relationship with the Africans as they taught them how to read and write. The Catholic missionaries also visited the Africans in their

homes, prayed for them and learnt how to speak their language as compared to the colonial administrators who spoke through the interpreters (Record of Missionary Work among the Lamba Speaking People of Northern Rhodesia and Belgian Congo State, October 1916 to October 1956).

Meanwhile, Kankasa (2010) said it was not easy at the same time to describe the relationship between the Catholic missionaries and the Africans as the Catholic missionaries did not understand the culture of the Africans. They were quick like the colonialists to condemn what was African. This line of thought is similar to Snelson's that African culture was condemned (Snelson, 1974). He further pointed out that the Catholic missionaries did not accept the way Africans looked at sickness and death. The Catholic missionaries also did not give leadership positions in the church to the Africans for a long time, and this shows that there was no trust between the Catholic missionaries and the Africans. The validity of this statement will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

4.4.0 THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES' SEEMING SUPPORT OF COLONIAL RULE IN ZAMBIA

Here, I sought to establish why the Catholic missionaries have been associated with colonial rule in Zambia. The reasons include the following:

The earlier missionaries have been known to have paved way for Zambia's colonisation especially David Livingstone and Francois Coillard. David Livingstone explored the territory and after his travels, Northern Rhodesia was colonised (Chitambala, 1984). This was because David Livingstone had made the outside world know much about the territory through the publications he made on his travels as well as Africa's rich natural resources. This, in a way attracted the outside world which wanted to exploit the rich natural resources of the territory and thus the foundation of colonial rule was laid down by David Livingstone.

Rotberg (1965) records that Francois Coillard belonged to the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) and he was very influential in persuading King Lewanika to request the protection of Queen Victoria of England and later to accept a treaty giving Rhodes' BSA Co virtually a free land in what became North-Western Rhodesia. With the Lochner Treaty which was concluded in June 1890, the Lozi were promised protection and subsidies and in return, the

BSA Co had exclusive rights of settlement, mineral exploitation and ultimately control of the whole region. The treaty erroneously provided the basis for claims to the rich Copperbelt and within six months, Lewanika and his *Kuta* were regretting and regarded Coillard, a missionary, a traitor. In 1924, the British Crown as agreed upon with the BSA Co, assumed the administration of the country, the first Governor being Sir Herbert James Stanley on 1st April, 1924. The role Francois Coillard played as a missionary has thus contributed to the association of missionary work with colonial rule in Zambia.

Other than this, Bishop Joseph Dupont, a Catholic missionary in Northern Zambia facilitated the consolidation of colonial rule. Bishop Joseph Dupont who marked the full scale establishment of the White Fathers in Bemba land in 1898, attempted to become Chief Mwamba due to his strong belief that control over the Bemba would give his Church many advantages. Unfortunately, Dupont's play of trying to become Chief Mwamba greatly facilitated the consolidation of British rule in North-eastern Rhodesia (Joseph Dupont, 15th March 1902). This role Dupont played of consolidating colonial rule has contributed to the seeming Catholic missionary support for colonial rule.

Furthermore, the Catholic missionaries through the Canon law were commanded to be apolitical. Komakoma (2003:33) records that:

...recall the strong prohibition included in Can.139, with regard to the participation of the clergy in the political affairs of any country. Par.4 of this canon strictly forbids all members of the Catholic clergy to assume official functions in the Legislative body....

As such, the Catholic missionaries showed little interest in the changing political wind of Northern Rhodesia and were not inclined to train lay leaders for any liberation from European rule. How true this is and to what extent the principle was held will be explored in the next chapter.

The Catholic missionaries also shared the same background with the colonial administrators and were all away from home. As such, they were often seen together, visiting each other and shared light moments together and it was natural for people to see the Catholic missionaries as supporting colonial rule (Magesa and Zablou, 2003:5).

Apart from this, the Catholic missionaries have been associated with colonial rule as they, from the 1920s, worked as civil and justice administrators. In this regard, they settled conflicts which were initially done by the chiefs. For example, they settled theft and other criminal cases. They were 'government' in the area (Rotberg, 1965:62). The missionaries and colonial administrators were also subjected to the same environmental difficulties such as tropical diseases, hostilities from certain tribes and general iness. And in times of death and disease, the colonial administrators ran to the Catholic missionaries.

Catholic missionaries further seem to have supported colonial rule as they have been seen to have promoted cultural colonialism. They took little effort to study and accept African culture and condemned all that was African (Snelson, 1974:5). One wonders if taking time to learn the language and write it down does prove that the missionaries took little effort to study African culture and not to talk of inculturation.

The way the missionaries had conducted themselves in other colonised states further leads to the close association between Catholic missionary work and colonial rule in Zambia. Like other people of their time, missionaries shared the naivety of their contemporaries, and affirmed the values of liberal democracy and Western culture. Consequently, they lived in an uneasy tension with colonialism, having different goals. Most missionaries supported colonialism even as they fought against its abuses. They recognized its achievements. For example, in Central Africa missionaries encouraged British control, believing it gave protection against the slave trade by Arabs, Portuguese, and others (Oliver, 1952). One missionary wrote, "Gone is the slave trade and intertribal wars. A new era of civilization has dawned for Africa." Such missionary support for colonial developments therefore explains why even in Zambia, Catholic missionary work has been easily associated with colonial rule. However, it is grossly erroneous to accept that the results of missionary work were dependent on colonial powers.

Father Donal (interview, 8th August, 2010) noted that the Catholic missionaries have been associated with colonial due to lack of appreciation and knowledge of the mission of the Catholic missionaries and the work they did in colonial Zambia. There seems to be little knowledge of the

work the missionaries did in colonial Zambia as many people generally want to know what they have heard and read in colonial books without assessing the validity of what people say with what the church has done. Appendix nine outlines the reasons why Catholic missionary work has been associated with colonial rule in Zambia.

4.5.0 THE CONTRIBUTION OF CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES IN DISLODGING COLONIAL RULE IN ZAMBIA

In order to establish if the Catholic missionaries supported colonial rule in Zambia, it was important to explore their role in dislodging colonial rule. One way in which the Catholic missionaries contributed to dislodging colonial rule was by awakening African consciousness. This had began at the General Missionary Conference (GMC) of 1914 where the missionaries aimed to watch over the interests of the Africans. In 1924 just when the colonial government took over from the BSA Co, the Catholic missionaries who were part of the GMC recommended that poll tax be reduced to 7/6d in some areas, and the recommendation was effected in July 1925 (Weller and Linden, 1984:192). Father Jules Torrend from Kasisi mission was among the 1924 delegation at the General Missionary Conference.

The Catholic missionaries through the GMC helped to get the Native reserve boundaries in Eastern province drawn in a way that the people were able to stay on their land. This was the land the North Chartered Exploration wanted to get for Euro in Mpezeni's area. The negative effects Native reserves had introduced in the African society such as famine, disease, death, overcrowding and the spread of tsetse flies were brought to the attention of the colonial government (Northern Rhodesia Native Reserves Commission, 1962: 2).

The Catholic missionaries further provided education to many Africans. At every mission station, the Catholic missionaries established schools and it was through education which ranged from primary, secondary, tertiary and skill training that the Africans became enlightened and developed the need to fight for their sovereignty (Snelson, 1974; Carmody, 1991). In this way therefore, the missionaries contributed to academic achievements and morals as they built schools out of their own salaries and begging (Randolph, 1971:11). It is no wonder that the men [and women]

who brought about the end of colonial rule and created the new Republic nearly all had been trained by missionaries and many had been once members of the elite of the church (Rotberg, 1965:147). Father Yan (interview, 8th August, 2010) noted that the greatest contribution the Catholic missionaries made in colonial Zambia was by providing education which empowered the Africans.

Other than offering education, the early Catholic mission partnered with the state in order to provide education. This had began just after the British colonial office took over the administration of the territory. This was with the appointment of the Director of Native Education and the setting up of an Advisory Committee on which the missionaries were strongly represented. This cooperation was made in the interest of the Africans and as a result, the mission schools received grants in aid and the school system expanded with more teachers and students. From 1939 up until 1964, there was expansion in the education system. Though the expansion was intended to serve the economic and administrative needs of a European dominated territory, the impact it had on the Africans cannot be underestimated. Gadsden (1992:118) notes that it was the educated who provided political leadership in the resistance to the Federation and nationalist struggle for independence. In the 1940s and early 1950s, the first generation of educated African men [and women] continued to dominate the provincial councils and the African Representative Council. As nationalist parties took root, the school system all over the territory provided branch leadership and encouraged student activism. This partly explains the 1958 and 1959 strikes and riots in the schools in support of the nationalist movement.

The early Catholic missionaries were also spokespersons for the Africans in many instances of injustice. For example, when the major strikes of the 1930s took place in the 1930s due to the introduction of the new tax system, the Catholic missionaries stood by the side of the Africans. Through the GMC, the then Governor, Sir Hubert Young was persuaded to include a missionary (Malcom Moffat) on the commission of inquiry arguing that the strikes had real grievances (Weller and Linden, 1984). It can rightly be said as Randolph (1971:7) noted that missionary opinion acted as a brake on governments in many instances.

The early Catholic missionaries further made their contribution to the well being of the people in

colonial Zambia by providing health care. Hannecart (1991) notes that long before clinics and hospitals were built, before trained doctors and nurses arrived on the scene, thousands of people found relief for their aches and pains by going to the missionaries. People were treated when ill, and in times of epidemics, the missionaries gave out vaccinations. For instance, from 1924 to 1939, the White Fathers in Eastern province had treated 254,804 people at their Kacebere, Mphangwe, Minga, Naviruli, Chassa and St Mary's mission stations (Hannecart,1991:218). In 1962, the Catholic missionaries still aided the government in health care provision. In this case therefore, the Government opened Chainama Hills Psychiatric hospital in Lusaka and staffed it with the Franciscan missionary Sisters of the Divine Motherhood and the _____ of John of God who came to Zambia from Britain in 1961 for this purpose (Hinfelaar, 2004:174). All this gives an indication that the Catholic missionaries provided health care services to the people where they operated and ensured that the well being of the people was safeguarded.

The early Catholic missionaries further taught the people about the value of a good diet and in this regard for example, Father Chateauvert published a booklet in Chicewa about Hygiene in 1934 and insisted on a balanced diet as a source of good health (Hannecart, 1992). Therefore, preventive medicine is not something that was invented recently.

From 1945 to 1964, the period characterised by the political wind of change, the Catholic missionaries supported the activities of the welfare associations. They even founded the Catholic Welfare Society which was introduced by Fr Patrick Walsh in Lusaka. This support was further extended to the provision of food and shelter to the freedom fighters at some of the mission stations like Mulilansolo in Chinsali. The early Catholic missionaries also supported the activities of the welfare associations by encouraging the people to co-operate and fight for the common good. Taylor and Lehmann (1961) note that a young welfare officer who with his wife was a keen member of the Catholic church said many priests had encouraged Christians to take an active part in politics in a Christian manner. During the strike at Kitwe in the mine, an unnamed Father preached in the church that Christians should co-operate fully with their fellows in all that pertained to justice, participate in the strike and pray to God. In this way therefore, the early Catholic missionaries were able to plant the seeds of courage in the Africans in their struggle for justice.

Besides this, the Catholic missionaries showed their support for Trade unions in the Pastoral Letter of 1953. Unions for Africans were key in the fight for independence because it was through these unions that the wishes of the Africans were expressed. This was in connection with the advancement of a progressive section of African labour in the mining industry. On 5th May, 1953, when the Church heard that the four Copperbelt Mining Companies had approached the European Mineworkers Union, the Church supported the stressed view at this discussion that the African worker had to advance to positions of greater status and importance (Taylor and Lehmann, 1961:209). Qualified Africans had to be given better opportunities for promotion in the companies. By supporting this view, the missionaries were confident that the Africans were capable of being in positions of leadership. This indirectly confirmed the fact that the Africans would run their own affairs and this inspired the Africans in their fight for independence as they got the assurance that the Church was behind them.

The Catholic missionaries further played a role by publishing the Pastoral letters thereby making it known that the Catholic church and African population were against the introduction of the Federation. The 1953 Pastoral Letter addressed to all Catholic missionaries and members of the African clergy in Northern Rhodesia is one of the past letters which contributed to liberation because it sought to recognise the voice of the African in the political affairs of the country (Komakoma, 2003:31). The Bishops wanted the Africans to have the political right of being able to make decisions that concerned their land and this shows that the Pastoral letter contributed to the fight against colonial rule.

The Catholic missionaries through the 1953 Pastoral letter showed the concern the Catholic church had in the political situation of the country. The Africans were neglected in the colonial era and the Federation was thought would only worsen the conditions of the Africans. This explains why the Bishops expressed their concern with a deep sense of affection for the Africans, well knowing that the political situation was not favourable to the Africans. The Africans in their plea for their political rights needed support and the expression of the concern might have encouraged the Africans to fight colonial rule.

The Catholic missionaries helped the Africans in colonial Zambia to dislodge colonial rule by stressing the social rights of the Africans. Article one of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights (Human Rights Commission, 2008:7). In the 1953 Pastoral letter, the Bishops pointed out that man had special dignity and it was therefore important to recognise this fact irrespective of colour and race. All men, irrespective of race, are God's beloved creatures, made in His own image, called to become God's children through sanctifying grace, bound to one another by the same destiny of eternal life in heaven (Komakoma, 2003:37). In stressing this value of man, the Bishops called upon Africans and Europeans to respect the rights of every man according to the teachings of Saint Paul. In this way therefore, the rights of the Africans were fought and with these came the awareness that the Africans needed to govern themselves.

Furthermore, the Bishops through the 1953 Pastoral letter played a role in Zambia's fight against colonial rule by not agreeing with the policy that would debar the Africans from evolving gradually towards full participation in the political, economic, industrial and cultural life of the country. The Church did not accept that the Africans should be stopped from reaching the same standards of education and living conditions with whites. It was noted that Africans as human beings had the fundamental right to all these and therefore, nothing was to be allowed to stand in their way of progress. The Second Vatican Council teaches that the protection of rights of the person is indeed, a necessary condition for citizens, individually and collectively, to play an active part in public life and administration (St Paul Communications, 2003:14). This explains the fact that the Catholic church had from the initial times provided education and other social services to the Africans because of the view that these were important in enabling Africans to fully take part in public life and administration.

The 1958 Pastoral letter which was addressed to the Catholics of all races is also a way in which the Catholic missionaries helped Africans to fight colonial rule. The stress in this letter was on the need for unity and the Bishops pointed out that as a church, they had the right and duty to speak out on societal issues as they were the guardians of the moral order in the society. The Bishops expressed the church's desire to see Northern Rhodesia develop into a prosperous nation (Ojike, 1970:112). This also confirms the fact that the early Catholic missionaries spoke on behalf of the

Africans and addressed the many challenges which the Africans faced.

The Catholic missionaries further played a part in dislodging colonial rule by educating the underprivileged that it was their duty to improve their conditions (Komakoma, 2003). This is very important in that the Africans were not encouraged to be passive recipients of the colonial developments, but were reminded that it was their duty to improve the prevailing conditions.

The Catholic missionaries' stress in the 1958 Pastoral letter on justice was also very crucial in the fight for decolonisation. The Bishops contributed to Zambia's fight against colonial rule by stressing that every man had a duty to exercise the virtues of justice. Virtues of justice meant the need to respect and grant the rights of others. Indeed, as Gifford (1988:86) notes, the Catholic church has become aware of its role and consciously changed sides in a historic 'option for the poor' or commitment to the total welfare of the voiceless and oppressed. This is shown in the manner the church through the Bishops spoke on behalf of the oppressed who in this case were the Africans. The church's contribution to Zambia's fight against colonial rule through this Pastoral Letter should be seen in the light of the effect it had on the Europeans and the government of the day. The Europeans were reminded of the need to respect and grant the rights of others, the Africans. Though initially, the Europeans might not have taken this seriously, time came when the situation could not allow them to continue governing Northern Rhodesia and thus, it can rightly be said that through leaving the political office to the Africans, the Europeans respected the rights of the Africans. It can also be argued that the Africans may not even have read these Pastoral letters but the Europeans read them, hence got the message. This shows that the message of the Catholic church was not only directed to the Africans, but to the Europeans as well.

Yet again, when the colonial government formed the Federation, it is recorded that the educated Africans for instance in the Abercorn Vicariate did not blame the church for the advent of the Federation (Wp-Pe 172, 1954, number 439). The Fort-Rosebery records (Wp-Pe 208, 1958, number 477) also state that the revision of the constitution of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland had diminished African representation instead of enlarging it and had limited their right to vote. The Trade Unions Congress and the British Council for churches had taken a stand

against this law. This demonstrates that the church was on the side of the Africans.

When political activities heightened in many parts of the country, and some Catholic missionaries came out in the open to support the Africans, Oger (1991:229) notes that at Ilondola mission, the missionaries did not take any political action as they were following the policy of non-involvement in politics but silently, they sided with the people who were looking for political independence. What was going on at Ilondola is what was obtaining in other mission stations of the Catholic missionaries in the country. This silence was very important in the struggle as it gave the people the chance to express their right to independent thought and it also expressed the confidence the missionaries had in the Africans. The silent support the Catholic missionaries gave to the Africans in the struggle against colonial rule clearly shows that the Catholic missionaries were not totally in support of colonial rule in Zambia.

CCJDP (2004) points out that, the Catholic church did not play a direct public role in the nationalist struggle for independence. But one contribution it did make was the training of many of the future leaders in the system of church schools. With independence, close cooperation was promoted between the government and the church. The church appreciated government's welfare programmes and infrastructural development that characterised the early years of independence. The church, in this context, saw itself as a natural ally of the state. This was enhanced by the fact that President Kaunda was a Christian. He frequently referred to the church as the "mirror of the nation". Appendix ten shows an illustration of Catholic missionaries and their role in dislodging colonial rule in Zambia.

4.6.0 THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AND THEIR INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTION IN DISLODGING COLONIAL RULE IN ZAMBIA

The number of Catholic missionaries here identified does not mean that they were the only ones who supported Africans. They rather serve to show that there were Catholic missionaries who were nationalists. These include the following:

1. Bishop Rene' Pailloux MAfr

He was a Bishop of Mansa and had a keen interest in opinions of the African leaders. He contributed more positively to the constitutional debates of the late 1950s despite little success. He also gathered a group of educated young men and women and encouraged them to aspire to the responsibilities of a future independent nation. In this, he urged them to play important roles in the trade unions and political movements of the Copperbelt (Hinfelaar, 2004:181). He further urged them to join the Catholic Welfare Society which had been set up by Fr Patrick Walsh in Lusaka. In 1959, Bishop Pailloux proposed to the assembly of Bishops that for political and religious reasons, African priests had to be made Bishops quickly. He therefore made the first move in the history of the Catholic church in Zambia to ordain Fr Clement Chabukasasha as his auxiliary Bishop.

Other than this, he published a book titled “*Abakristyani ne milando ya calo:ni bonse pamo,*” (Christians and Their Country’s Problems are One). In this book, he explained the importance of voting (White Fathers Archives/2- D-ES-30 *Abakristyani ne milando ya Chalo: Ni Bonse Pamo*. Bishop Pailloux was even awarded the Zambian Order for Distinguished Service (ZODS) as officer by President Kenneth Kaunda (WP-PE, 1967:263). He died in 1988 in his home country of France at the age of 86 after having resigned as a Bishop due to ill health where he had gone in 1984 (Hinfelaar, 2004:423).

2. Monsignor Killian Flynn OFM.

He was one of the first Capuchin missionaries in the Western province. After his ordination in 1930, Fr. Killian was allowed to stay on at Rochestown Friary near Cork city where he had been studying Theology. He was very popular because even as a student he had organized a choir and set up a drama club. On 10th September, 1931 Fr. Killian set out for South Africa and was appointed Prefect Apostolic of Victoria Falls on 28th September 1936. In March 1939 Monsignor Killian Flynn was appointed to the Central Advisory Board on African Education and soon after, the Bishops made him spokesperson on education. In 1941 Monsignor Killian Flynn was nominated unofficial member of the Legislative Council (Parliament) to represent African interests (Luke, 1982:33). In 1950 Monsignor Killian Flynn was appointed Secretary General to the Bishops of Northern Rhodesia. He left Barotseland to take up residence in Lusaka. The following year, 1951 Monsignor Killian Flynn was appointed Secretary General to the Bishops of

Eastern African and went to Nairobi where he spent the last years of his life. In 1956, Mgr Killian Flynn organised a social study seminar at the Dominican Convent with the Jesuit Fathers, Robert Thompson and Edward Coyne of Dublin as the main speakers (Hinfelaar, 2004:137-39). The papers which were read and discussed included topics such as those dealing with Youth leadership, Church and State relations, industrial relations, African advancement in the mines and the role of the laity. As a result, the Bishops felt the need to translate these academic plans into action. As such, a delegation travelled to the Copperbelt to start a debate on wages and conditions of employment with the mine officials and labour offices. This was very important in the fight against colonial rule. In the 1960s, Fr Killian Flynn founded the Catholic Secretariat. In 1961 Monsignor Flynn was called upon to set up the Association of the Bishops of Eastern and Central Africa (ABECEA). In 1964, he left Zambia to work in Nairobi as co-founder and Secretary of the Association of Member Episcopal Conferences of Eastern Africa (AMECEA).

The well known co-founder of Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC), Fr Killian Flynn died on 3rd December 1972.

3. Fr Patrick Walsh SJ

He came to Zambia in 1946 when he was appointed to work as Parish priest at Sacred Heart Parish in Kabwe where he had to serve Whites only. From 1946 to 1950, he was the Superior at Kabwe and thereafter served as Education secretary for the Broken Hill Vicariate. He moved to Lusaka after 1957 when he was appointed as secretary to Archbishop, Chaplain to the African Hospital and Parish priest at Kabwata from 1958 to 1969. However, he chose to involve himself in the creation of inter racial dialogue between the Catholic members and the colonial administration. He thus founded the United Northern Rhodesia Association which was an inter-racial club cutting across denomination. A suitable club house was acquired from the Rhodesia Selection Trust in the new low density area of Kabulonga. This became a moderate success and Fr Walsh managed to introduce some members of the nascent African Congress, like Harry Nkumbula, Kenneth Kaunda, Arthur and Sikota Wina to liberal-minded Europeans (Murphy, 2003:350).

In 1959, he was able to influence the Bishops to publish a newspaper; “the Leader” which was

started in 1961. This newspaper offered a voice to the Africans especially when mistreated. Apart from this, the newspaper had articles on nationalist leaders and policies. It was accused of sharing with the African nationalists their contempt for anyone and anything not connected with African nationalism (Phiri, 1992:44). Fr Walsh became a family friend of the Kaunda family. For instance, during Kaunda's arrest after the formation of the Zambia National Congress and its ban in 1959, Fr Walsh visited his wife and children regularly and ensured that they had enough for survival till his release in 1960. It was through him that the Jesuits honoured Kaunda with an honorary doctorate. In May 1963, he and Kaunda travelled to the United States of America where Kaunda as President of UNIP and Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare, was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the Jesuit Fordham University in New York. *Irish Province News* (1975:56) records that the representations through letters he made to the colonial government which exposed the misery of the people and the call for action made him unpopular with some of the colonial officials but enthroned him in the hearts of the Africans.

He died in Pretoria, South Africa, on 3rd May 1975 and his memorial mass was celebrated at the Roma Cathedral, attended by the President Kenneth Kaunda, his wife and many state dignitaries.

4. Fr Jean-Jacques "Kolebeki" Corbeil

He was appointed to Mulilansolo, a mission in the North of Chinsali district. He had a natural talent as a museum director. He combined his knowledge of elementary health care with a good grasp of traditional herbal medicine and so he was regarded as a *ng'anga* (healer). People nick named him *Butala wa maka* (Storage of Strength). When Chinsali district became much politicised as the young men, members of the newly formed UNIP arrived from urban areas and encouraged the people to work against the federation and demand political independence, he decided to remain understanding and to get involved in the affairs of the Africans. He protected the Africans who were running away from the colonial authorities in their bid to flush out freedom fighters and offered them food (Hinfelaar, 2004:177). When the colonial government heard this, the head of the Catholic church in Northern Rhodesia, Archbishop Adam Koslowiecki was told that if the personnel of the Mulilansolo mission were not transferred within three months, the Fathers concerned would be criminally investigated. It was only after independence

and at the special request of Kaunda that he was recalled to Zambia where he continued with his collection of traditional art and founded the *Moto Moto* museum. This was in honour of Bishop Joseph Dupont nicknamed *Moto Moto* by his African friends who opened up missionary work of the White Fathers in Northern Zambia where he worked from 1885 to 1911 (Joseph Dupont, 15th March 1902).

In October 1984, Corbeil was honoured by President Kenneth Kaunda for his service as a Catholic missionary and for having founded the *Moto Moto* Museum. He received the Order of Distinguished Service (ODS).

5. Fr Van Rijthoven MAfr

He was also appointed to Mulilansolo mission together with Fr Corbeil. He had been a professional musician before joining the White Fathers Society. When Chinsali district was characterised by political development with the arrival of young men from the towns and members of UNIP urging the people to fight the federation, he too remained very understanding. When the mobile unit of the colonial administration moved through the villages to flush out freedom fighters, he, like Corbeil protected the freedom fighters by hiding them and their families in the mission and giving them food (Hinfelaar, 2004:10). At the beginning of 1962 when the news of this kind of collaboration reached the colonial administration, he was sent on leave. After his leave, he was posted to other missions in the Abercon diocese. He returned to his home country in Netherlands in August 1964 where he died in February 1973 at 56.

6. Bishop Fuerstenberg Adolph MAfr

In the *Cha Cha Cha* 'freedom now' period in 1962 just before the blocking of roads and burning of public buildings, he advocated for reserve, no interference, and a close contact with party leaders (Circular Letter, Number 11 of 1961, 11 August, 1963). He added that no distinction should be made on purely racial grounds and urged missionaries to use their discretion in order to find the right attitude to take so that people feel at home (Circular Letter, Number 15 of 1963, 15 August, 1963). This contact with African party leaders instilled a sense of belonging and encouraged the Africans to fight for justice. He passed away in his hometown in Iserlohn, Germany on 12th November, 1988.

7. Francis Mazziere Conv Franciscan

He was aware that the Africans were looked down upon and considered as second class citizens in colonial Zambia. Fathers Cummings and Musonda (2003:57) note that Mazziere found the 'colour bar ugly.' In the beginning, he was forced to accept for a short time a special church for Whites in Ndola, but he wished this to change. It did change indeed very soon so that the church was open to all. Before independence, he insisted on racial harmony, peace and mutual love and was happy to see independence come. He was decorated by President Kenneth Kaunda with the first division of the Order for Distinguished Service (ODS) in the area of Religious Education and the social field as well. Kaunda expressed appreciation and admiration for the Catholic church and its representatives especially for their good support during the phase of independence. Mazziere was also awarded Order of the British Empire (OBE) by the Queen of England and the commendation of the Order of Merit (OM) was given to him by the Republic of Italy (Fr. Cummings and Musonda, 2003:58). This shows that he was a friend of all though not liked by the colonial administration.

8. Fr Maximilian A. Prokoph, SJ

He contributed to Zambia's decolonisation through his work in education including that of women. At a time when education was a preserve for men, he encouraged the women to be educated and enrol in Teacher training. He also served as a Chaplain at the University of Zambia in 1966. He did much to encourage, support and motivate the first Zambian priests who he knew were the pillars of the church. He further held talks on radio which were called 'Thoughts for the Day' and others where he presented clear, well thought out views on current questions and on life in general (Prokoph, n.d). He was in 1964 conferred with the award of the Member of the British Empire (MBE) for his distinguished service by the last Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Evelyn Hone. In 1985, he was honoured and awarded the rank of Commander of the Order of Distinguished Service (GCODS) (Murphy, 2003:336). On his death, Kaunda (1990) wrote "I have learnt with deep sorrow of the death of Father Max Prokoph as he worked tirelessly for the development of the country during the major part of the past fifty (50) years. He will be remembered as one of the greatest educationalist in our country and a true humanist."

9. Fr John Waligora, SJ

He made efforts to eradicate tsetse flies by sending school children to kill a tse tse fly for a payment. This was important in helping the people live healthy lives. He also saw the progress and development of people to be aided by schools. Other than this, he confronted the colonial government on behalf of the people. In 1961, he was awarded in recognition of his accomplishments in the valley at Katondwe and decorated with the M.B.E. While getting ready for the conferring in Lusaka, Murphy (2003:330) records that the Governor's wife asked her husband why Fr Waligora was being honoured and she was told that "this man has managed to fool the British government for twenty years." After independence, UNIP even named one of its sections after him. At Katondwe, he was called *Ambuya basu* as he was known to be the man of the people. He thus made known his desire to be buried in the ground like any other African so that he could always remain with his people and not in the religious sepulchre. He died at Katondwe in 1968 and was buried there.

4.7.0 MISSIONARIES AS AGENTS OF COLONIAL RULE IN ZAMBIA

Missionaries provided education and did a lot for the which ultimately led to independence. Father Yan (interview 8th August, 2010) noted that the assertion that missionaries were agents of colonial in Zambia is a political statement and time and again it is used by people who do not understand the work of the missionaries in It also depends on which part of the world people come from, for instance in Mozambique; missionaries moved with guns and used the guns even at the mission stations for protection. In Zambia, this was not the case as the missionaries travelled with the locals, and just used guns for hunting.

Apart from this, it was also noted that it would be unfair to label the missionaries who worked in Zambia as agents of colonial rule as they brought education, hospitals, the Word of God and did so many things for the Africans (Mama Kankasa, 12th July, 2010). The Catholic missionaries in a bid to convert the people in Zambia, provided education and health care which empowered the people.

Morris (1961:157) notes that it is ironic that most of the African nationalists who now revile the

missionaries as 'agents of imperialism' owe both their health and education to Christian missions. Collin Morris was a Methodist missionary who was very active in Zambia's struggle for independence and encouraged the growth of the national church which would cut across all races. His acknowledgment that the missionaries did so much for the Africans in the areas of education and health goes to show that the missionaries were serving the interests of the Africans. Morris is of the idea that the missionaries in Zambia were not agents of colonial rule and thus it would be unfair to label them as such especially that the African nationalists got their education at the mission. Without the presence of the missionaries, it is not clear how the Africans would have managed to fight colonial rule (Fr Ryan, interview, 22nd September, 2010).

The Catholic missionaries did a lot for the Africans though they had their own weaknesses like all people do. Education, the Word of God and the support the Catholic missionaries offered as a Church and as individuals does not in any way point to the fact that they were agents of colonial rule. If they were agents of colonial rule, there is no way they would have helped the Africans fight for independence.

4.8.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This study has revealed that colonial rule, which began 1890 was characterised by indirect rule where chiefs were given subordinate roles in governance. It had features of injustice, racial segregation with Europeans having more political and economic powers. Little attention was given to the development of the Africans as little land was given to the Africans and limited finances were channelled to African education. Other than this, the discriminatory and coercive poll tax which was introduced compelled the Africans to migrate to towns in search of employment. This made the Africans resentful as the Europeans and Indians were exempted from paying tax. The Africans were also unwilling to give up their traditional lifestyle and land in rural areas.

Colonial rule was also characterised by the imposition of the Federation which was not wanted by the Africans as they did not want the racial practices of Southern Rhodesia to be extended to Northern Rhodesia. These critical areas of education discrepancies, land dispossession, poll tax

obligations, dislike of the Federation coupled with general discrimination fuelled a lot of resentment among the Africans and were the key aspects of colonial rule in Zambia which came to an end in 1964 with Zambia gaining its independence.

Constitutionally, colonial Zambia underwent constitutional changes and this was accompanied by the development of nationalist political parties from 1951 to 1964. Within a period of six years, the territory held three elections, each under a different constitution. In 1958, Zambia was governed by exclusively white men with African voters numbering less than a dozen in the territory's electorate. In 1962, Zambia elected an African representative under a controversial constitution and after another constitution in 1964, Zambia got independence.

Catholic missionary work in Zambia was initially influenced by David Livingstone who had aimed to introduce virtues of Commerce, Civilisation and Christianity to Africa. After his death, many Christian societies came to Zambia to continue his work and this saw the coming of the Catholic missionaries among them.

In terms of the relationship the Catholic missionaries had with the colonial administration and the Africans, the study has shown that the Catholic missionaries had a close relationship with the Africans as other than protecting Africans, the missionaries also spoke on behalf of the Africans. Africans were also free with the Catholic missionaries as they ran to them in times of need such as disease, hunger, war and many other circumstances. At the same time, some Catholic missionaries were not liked by some Africans especially those who thought that their land would be taken up by the new comers. However, this changed with time.

The Catholic missionaries had a relationship with the colonial government that is to a large extent very ambiguous. On one hand, Catholic missionaries had what would be termed as close ties with the colonial administration as the colonial personnel were seen visiting the mission stations, calling on the missionaries in times of disease and death, attending church functions, giving land to the missionaries, and granting aid in education. On the other hand, the Catholic missionaries disliked colonial policies and some of them were deported by the colonial government because of supporting Africans.

The study has also shown that the Catholic missionaries have been closely associated with colonial rule in Zambia due to their apolitical stance which was derived from Canon law. Missionary work coincided with colonial rule, hence the Catholic missionaries being associated with colonial rule. Moreover, the Catholic missionaries and the colonial administration all Europeans. The political involvement of some missionaries such as Francois Coillard of the PEMS and Bishop Joseph Dupont, a Catholic missionary has also contributed to the association of colonial rule with missionary work and not forgetting David Livingstone's role of opening up the territory to imperial powers through his travels and publications.

Overall, the study has demonstrated that the Catholic missionaries contributed a great deal to dislodging colonial rule by awakening nationalist consciousness through education and the other services they provided, speaking on behalf of the Africans, supporting nationalist leaders, and publications of the 1953, 1958 and 1964 Pastoral letters. The Catholic missionaries such as Bishop Rene' Pailloux, Fr Killian Fylnn, Fr Patrick Walsh, Fr Jean- Jacques Corbeil, Fr Van Rijthoven, Bishop Fuerstenberg, Fr Francis Mazzieri, Fr Maximilian Prokoph, Fr John Waligora among others have been identified as having contributed to Zambia's struggle against colonial rule.

The assertion that missionaries were agents of colonial rule with reference to the Catholic missionaries has been seen as an unfair charge on the work and activities of the Catholic missionaries. As compared to countries like Mozambique, Belgian Congo, Uganda, Tanzania and many others where missionaries had supported colonialism, the situation was very different in Zambia as the missionaries despite having a good relationship with the colonial government, opposed the policies which brought so much hardship on the Africans.

Having made a summary of the findings, the next chapter presents the discussion of the findings so as to make sense of all what I was told in the interviews and what I read in primary archival sources and secondary sources.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1.0 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

This chapter sets out to present the discussion of the findings. The overall objective of the study was to revisit the missionary support for colonial rule thesis in Zambia with specific reference to the Catholic missionaries. In order to do this, document review was used to collect data and interviews were used as a supplementary tool. This analysis covers the nature of colonial rule and missionary work, the Catholic missionaries' relationship with the colonial administration and Africans, the Catholic missionaries' seeming support for colonial rule and the role of the Catholic missionaries in dislodging colonial rule in Zambia.

5.1.1 THE NATURE OF COLONIAL RULE IN ZAMBIA

From the findings, a general sense of discontent with colonial rule was noted. This is as a result of the unequal treatment of Africans by the Europeans in all spheres of life. This comes from the fact that the aim of the colonialists as Smith (1999) notes, was to economically gain from the colonial enterprise. This had to be achieved at any cost and this explains the creation of Police forces and armies such as the establishment of the British Native Police of Northern Rhodesia which had to ensure order and peace. One wonders what kind of peace was ensured as this resulted in so much insecurity among the Africans. Peace and security was for colonial masters only. For instance, the people left their homes to hide in the times of tax collection, war and labour recruitment. This resulted in famine as the able bodied men left the vil in search of peace, leaving only the old people, women and children. Partly owing to this, colonial Zambia had poor people especially in the rural areas.

Socially, the hospitals were built largely in urban areas and this is not surprising because they were meant to serve the expatriate communities and this applies to the development of amenities such as piped water, electricity, paved streets and so many others. The focus was the European population and it is no wonder that the people could n benefit from these developments. The education which was developed was also of low standards, and it was only when dustrialisation took root that Europeans needed the natives in administrative and clerical positions resulting into secondary education and tertiary schools being encouraged. Though this was the case, it is important to note that the people of Northern Rhodesia made the best out of the situation and fought for their freedom.

Economically, colonial rule saw the development of infrastructure of roads and railways with a view of facilitating the movement of raw materials and manufactured goods as well as heavy machinery, troops and policemen. The crops which the Africans grew were also meant to be consumed by the Europeans. Indeed as Chabatama (1990) the CMML after being established at Chitokoloki mission after the First World War, the Africans were encouraged to grow foodstuffs the Europeans could consume and the CMML formed the Kabombo Trading Company Limited which purchased the produce from the local people. When the *Cha Cha Cha* (freedom) uprising took place, the Africans blocked roads, damaged bridges, the underlying reason was that they were not beneficiaries of these things. They were meant for the *ma Bwana*

(the masters) and not the ordinary people as it were.

Land which was of important value to the Africans was also confiscated from them. Because the Europeans were at the centre of development, they needed more fertile land in order to benefit more. This partly explains why the Africans despite being introduced and exposed to commercial farming could not benefit more from this venture.

Over and above all, as the findings show as hypothesized that colonial rule in Zambia was characterised by so much injustice in all areas of life, hence discrimination was practised by the colonial powers and as it was the case in Zambia, in a subtle and covert manner. When closely looked at, colonial rule in Zambia did much to make the people realise their destiny. If colonial rule had been smooth, I am sure that the history of Zambia would have been different. The injustices in colonial Zambia were also important in shaping mission Christianity and other religions so as to make religion more responsive to the needs of the society. As Mwanakatwe (1994) argues, Africans resented the colonial policies, and therefore they rose to fight the ills of colonial rule. With colonial rule, the people had a benchmark on which to gauge how far they could develop their own country using their own resources.

5.1.2 THE NATURE OF MISSIONARY WORK IN ZAMBIA

In the state of discontent in the colonial era, the Africans flocked to the mission station. At the mission station, they got educated, learnt many skills and in the end got converted. Many Africans were baptised and though numbers do not reflect real conversion, the fact that many converted proves that the Catholic missionaries had recorded a success in winning the Africans to their faith at least numerically (Carmody, 2001). The success of missionary work was also reflected in the number of Africans who became teachers, clerks, policemen, carpenters, farmers and so on after receiving mission education. This also shows that Africans were not easy to convert as the missionaries used many strategies such as education, agricultural skills, giving out food, clothes and other gifts. The early Catholic missionaries must have realised that it would not have been easy to convert the Africans. The evangelism work was carried out with the dedication and zeal that is reflected in the early missionary work. Indeed, Carmody (2004) is right when he asserts that in the case of the Tonga, they converted to Catholicism due to the material benefits they

would get from the mission. The material benefits are extended to the political freedom which came about after the people got converted.

Missionary work in this period should be understood following the two main phases it underwent which include the missionary pioneering stage and missionary expansion period. A close examination of missionary work reflects the idea that had its own focus. For instance, the missionary pioneering stage which was based on making the foundation for the Catholic missionary work in the country was characterised by massive setting up of mission stations and attracting the people to the new faith. As education was seen to be an important tool in the growth of the church, many village schools were set up. As Father Yan (Interview, 8th August, 2010) rightly observed, there can be no Catholic church without educated people. This idea influenced much of the work the early Catholic missionaries did in colonial Zambia. is explains why the missionaries took to learn the local languages, visited the Africans, established schools, introduced new farming methods and in the end converted the Africans. It should be noted that through the writing of the local languages, the Africans realised that their language was as superior as the European language. This in some way played a role in the struggle against colonial rule. In this way therefore, the Catholic missionaries were on the side of the people as they preserved the African languages in writing of course d to many reasons including conversion purposes. Therefore, it can rightly be said that by writing down the languages of the people among whom the Catholic missionaries worked, the African became empowered to understand his or her own situation better.

The missionary expansion period was meant to build on had been started in the earlier phase. Thus as the other missionary groups such as the Franciscan Friars and the others arrived, their main focus was to expand the spread of the Catholic faith. The missionaries in this period had expanded their meaning of conversion to include the social and psychological aspects of conversion. It was in this period that higher education was provided and this had impact on the people who went to school. All the services the church provided were upgraded and as the second wave of missionaries who had seen the effects of the war came to Zambia, there was a shift in the nature of missionary work. As Hinfelaar (2004) notes, post war missionaries were men and women who had seen the humiliating degradation of war countries that were supposed to be

deeply Christian. These missionaries had less confidence in the superiority of western culture and often disagreed with the manner in which the older colonial powers described and defined their cultures. This type of attitude was very important as it gave them the courage to support Africans in colonial Zambia as they preached the gospel. The post war missionaries were also eager to fight for justice as they had experienced the ills of colonialism in their countries. It is no wonder that the nature of missionary work changed with the coming of the post war missionaries.

It can thus be rightly said that the nature of missionary work changed to suit the changing situations while the aim of converting the Africans was not lost. As the Africans converted, they also changed the way they perceived life. As they read the Bible in their own languages, they saw God speaking to them. They realised that as they were created in the image of God, they had no right to be subjected to injustice. Therefore, Catholic missionary work exposed the desires of the Africans and the value the Africans had in the eyes of the missionaries.

5.1.3 THE RELATIONSHIP OF CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES, THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION AND AFRICANS

The findings show an ambivalent relationship between the Catholic missionaries and the colonial administration on one hand, and the Africans on the other. The relationship the Catholic missionaries had with the colonial government was not that of perpetuating the interests of the colonial administration, but rather it was to safeguard their own interests of spreading the good news. Their aim was evangelism and therefore, for them to succeed in their pastoral work, they needed the friendship and help from the government of the day. Before the advent of colonial rule, the Catholic missionaries had collaborated with traditional chiefs in order to get land where they could establish their mission stations. It is therefore understood that with the change of government, that is, with the coming into power of the colonial regime the Catholic missionaries had a good relationship with the colonial administration despite not liking the colonial policies which maligned the Africans.

It is also true that the ambivalence in the relationship between the Catholic missionaries and

colonial officials also depended on which country the missionaries were coming from. This explains the fact that the relationship existing between missionaries and colonial administration was not always good as some missionaries especially those from Germany and Italy were regarded as subjects of the enemy. This had its roots in the Second World War alliances, and as such, all those who were not allies of Britain, which was ruling Zambia, had to be treated as enemies. If this was the case, there is no way the Catholic missionaries would have been agents of colonial rule as they were treated as enemies.

Generally, the relationship was good as the Catholic missionaries got land and permission from the colonial administration for the expansion of their faith, for purposes of building churches, schools, hospitals and other structures. This is because for them to succeed, it was important to relate well with the administration. Therefore, this relationship should be understood as not collaboration or agents of colonial rule. If they were agents of colonial rule, they would have been no need to request for land, permission to set up mission stations or still to pay taxes to the colonial government. The fact that the Catholic missionaries had to ask for permission to set up mission stations, schools, hospitals, pay taxes and in certain instances permission was not granted and their expansion limited, is enough evidence that they were not allies. As such and as hypothesized, they were neither agents nor supporters of colonial rule in Zambia.

With regard to the Africans, the evidence gathered is pointing to a close relationship which existed between the Catholic missionaries and the Africans. The Catholic missionaries were friends of the Africans and time and again, they traveled together. This is because the missionaries had come to spread the good news to the Africans. The Africans saw the missionaries as their protectors especially those who experienced tribal wars such as the Bemba, Bisa and many others. This close relationship worked to the advantage of both groups. It is also not surprising that some chiefs were initially not friendly to the Catholic missionaries in that they were afraid of losing their land and having their subjects shifting to go and stay at the mission stations. As Hastings (1979) points out, Christian conversion created a deep question of institutional authenticity for any King in Africa as it cut so deeply into the mythical and even institutional under-girding of his office and authority. For sure, it bit into the cultural context of political institution just as it did into the marital institution. With time, as the chiefs saw the power

of education and the other services the people received from the mission station, the relationship improved.

The Catholic missionaries using their doctrine of the church which emphasizes the need to be of service to the weak and poor made them to have close ties with the Africans who were in this case the poor with no economic and political advantages. Therefore, as it was assumed at the beginning of the study, the Catholic missionaries had close ties with the Africans and therefore were not supporters of colonial rule in Zambia.

5.1.4 THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES' SEEMING SUPPORT OF COLONIAL RULE IN ZAMBIA

The findings lead to the conclusion that the Catholic missionaries have been associated with colonial rule due to the fact that they were apolitical had friendship with the colonialists, got land and grant in aid from colonialists. This was also because earlier missionaries were traitors and were of the same race with the colonialists. Carmody (2008:3) in describing the work of the Catholic Church in colonial times notes that

...it is the practice of the Catholic missionaries to take no part in advocating or opposing contentious political solutions, yet again the Catholic Church worked closely with the state in providing education and health care to the local populations.

But was this apolitical stance really apolitical? A careful look at these findings suggests that the Catholic missionaries were not even neutral. They were not apolitical in any way. By virtue of the declaration, they were very involved in the political life of the people. This is because they provided services which were very political. For instance, they all provided western education and interestingly enough, they took the lead in providing secondary and tertiary education.

Apart from this, by upholding the dignity of man, the Catholic missionaries were safeguarding the rights of man. This, as well, was a very political move. In as much as the neutrality stance was very political, it also was very important in making the Africans fight against the ills of colonial rule. Indirectly, it demonstrated the hope and trust the Catholic missionaries had in the Africans. This act must have given the Africans the chance to decide on their own and fight their own

battles.

The close association the Catholic missionaries had with the colonial administration can be better explained and understood when related to the aim of the Catholic missionaries' presence in Zambia. It was not support for colonial rule, but rather the aim to spread the gospel. The Catholic missionaries had come to spread the gospel. Therefore, the association they had with the colonialists should be understood in the lines of evangelism. For instance, as the colonialists went to the mission station where there was among other things a clinic and a chapel, some of them were converted. At the clinic, physical healing was accompanied by the spreading of the gospel. The Catholic missionaries prayed before starting the daily rounds in the clinic, administered the medicine in God's name and just everything was tailored towards converting people. The colonialists were no exception and this explains why some of them got converted even from the very beginning. For example, a Mr and Mrs Anloy when they were guests at Chibote mission station became so impressed and decided to join the Catholic Church (Hinfelaar, 2004:83).

David Livingstone, Francois Coillard and Fr Joseph Dupont have been taken to have played important roles in the colonial process. But was this the case? David Livingstone despite opening up the territory to outside powers never set out to bring colonial rule. His aim was to plant Christianity, Civilisation and Commerce and none of these refer to subjecting other people to injustices of any kind. David Livingstone has been misunderstood in many written works hence associated with colonial rule. These views contradict Livingstone stood for. Schapera (1961, letter 43. From Livingstone to Thompson, 30th September, 1852) mentions that he was a man who left Southern Africa to get away from the impact on Africans of white settlers, one who sided with the Xhosa in the war of Mlanjeni and a man who wept over the deaths of some young men after the Transvaalers attack on Sechele and Kwena. Though the outward aim of David Livingstone was to plant Christianity, Civilisation and Commerce coupled with colonial aspirations, he had his own weaknesses and still influenced other missionaries to come to Zambia. The mistakes he made as an individual should not blur the work of genuine missionaries who came after him. Former President Kenneth Kaunda at the dedication of the new monument to Livingstone at Chitambo referred to him as the first 'Freedom Fighter'. Therefore, David Livingstone has thus rightly come to be seen in the 1960s as the patron saint of African

nationalism. In Malawi, he is referred to as the 'First Freedom Fighter' who destroyed slavery.

There is also no need to see Francois Coillard and Fr Joseph Dupont as agents of colonial rule owing to the fact that the aim of what these two did was to foster the growth of the Christian faith. Though it has been widely noted that Fr Joseph Dupont attempted to become the Chief of the Bemba, it should also be understood that he was requested by the Chief on his dying mat to become his successor. Therefore, Fr Joseph Dupont's acceptance to be the Chief helped to prevent bloodshed which would have arisen from the succession. As a matter of fact, the consequences of Dupont and Coillard's actions should not sideline the reason behind what they did. It would therefore be wrong to label all missionaries in Zambia as having supported colonial rule as different missionaries made different contributions in colonial Zambia.

5.1.5 THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC MISSIONAIRES IN DISLODGING COLONIAL RULE

The findings show that the Catholic missionaries helped to dislodge colonial rule indirectly and directly through awakening nationalist consciousness, support of nationalists and education among others things with reference to some individuals who went off their way to do so. A close investigation in this reveals that it is not only these individuals who helped to dislodge colonial rule. To me and as the findings suggest, all the Catholic missionaries indirectly and directly helped to dislodge colonial rule. They all provided education in whatever form at the mission station and all the other services to the Africans of course due to many reasons. As one Catholic missionary, Fr Donel, reported in an interview: "those in administration were better placed to contribute to nationalist politics and at the end of the day, all the missionaries played their part." But whatever the reason behind, Africans used the education they got from the mission station to fight colonial rule. Indeed, the end does not justify the means. The education they got from the mission station indirectly and directly contributed to Zambia's struggle against colonial rule. A good example can be found in the curriculum as offered for instance at Chikuni. Carmody (1991) notes that though the teachers did not set out to teach revolution in Zambia for example at Chikuni, the teaching of aspects like the French revolution were important in instilling the sense of fighting for justice.

The role the Catholic missionaries played in colonial should be understood in a wholistic manner. For Africans to fight their battles, they needed to be in good health and this, the Catholic missionaries provided at the mission a clinic and food, through teaching the Africans better farming skills and introducing new crops, general supp and many other things. This is not to dispute the power of African medicines which helped a deal. What I am trying to put across is that the combination of mission and African medicine was helpful in this struggle.

The Catholic missionaries in colonial Zambia did not support colonial rule because like Haynes observes, they ...finally were won round to the idea of African independence (Haynes, 1996:56). This explains the support the Catholic missionaries gave to the Africans in the struggle against colonial rule. Though some of the Catholic missionaries since their arrival in Zambia had set to work for the Africans, it is also true that some might have decided to be silent, hence seen to be supporting colonial rule. However, with time, those who might have initially opposed the idea of African independence and those who doubted finally repented and fully supported Africans.

As compared to other countries like Portuguese and Belgium Africa where the Catholic church was surely an agent of colonial rule based on finances and the missionary agreement between Portugal and the Vatican as set out in the Concordat of 1945 where the Church received subsidies and in return offered effective commitment to further Portuguese colonial policy, the situation was very different in British Africa especially Zambia This was because the rival claims of Protestants and Catholics were all too powerful to allow this. The Catholic missionaries in Zambia also got their finances from well wishers at home and as the church got established, it became self- sustaining. As such, the Church was free to criticise the ills of the colonial government and therefore was not obliged to support the colonial regime.

Over and above all, the Catholic missionaries contributed to the struggle against colonial rule indirectly and directly. Indirectly, this was through provision of social services such as education, health, pastoral care and general change of attitude. As the people became exposed to these services, they were empowered to fight and defend their rights. Directly, the Catholic missionaries contributed through the publication of the Pastoral letters where the rights of the

Africans were defended and support of nationalist politics as individuals and as a group. In this way therefore, the Catholic missionaries were not agents of colonial rule in Zambia. As such, it would be very unfair to label the Catholic missionaries as agents of colonial rule.

The Catholic missionaries were from the start filled by the duty to be of service to humanity. There is thus no way that saving humanity would mean making Africans subjects of colonial rule. It should be stated that in instances where the missionaries seemed to side with the colonial agents, many of them did so without really knowing the intentions of the colonialists. Indeed, as the White Fathers (1982) point out, as colonial rule became established in the 1890s, the missionaries saw the colonialists as offering the conditions of peace, order and tranquillity which would allow them to peacefully dedicate themselves to the religious mission. Therefore, there was never criticism of the 'right of conquest'. The missionaries thought that their mission could benefit from collaboration with the colonial powers. Because they were unaware of the political realities and systematically ignored the political sphere, they were often manipulated. Consequently, the missionary enterprise, which sought to be exclusively religious, contributed toward reinforcing the control of the colonial administration in Africa unknowingly. If they had known, missionary work activity in Zambia suggests that they would not have done so, or indeed, they would have been more careful in their dealings with the colonial administration. In all, as independence was surely on its way, the Catholic missionaries especially those who had doubted the Africans all willingly and openly supported the cause for independence. Therefore, it can rightly be said that the seeming support for colonial rule was only confined to a specific period in the history of the church relations with the colonial powers. This does not in any way suggest that they were supporters of colonial rule because if they were, they would have continually been on the side of the colonialists till the end of the independence struggle. As conceptualised, the Catholic missionaries played an important role in dislodging colonial rule directly and indirectly and thus did not support colonial rule in Zambia.

5.1.6 CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AS AGENTS OF COLONIAL RULE IN ZAMBIA?

This study has demonstrated that the Catholic missionaries did not support colonial rule in Zambia. In the 1920s Chesterton observed: "The modern missionary, with his palm-leaf hat and

his umbrella, has become rather a figure of fun. Today little has changed. Secular Western scholars harshly criticize mission work. It is viewed as a kind of cultural leprosy. Missionaries are called villains; their preaching synonymous with imperialism; their African converts, okefellows of colonial oppression. Modern secular authors share this derisive view of mission work. For example, Barbara Kingsolver's novel *The Poisonwood Bible* portrays Christianity as a package of Western prejudices and inhibitions. In her book, *A Missionary Girl in the Belgian Congo*, she recalls how "We came from Bethlehem, Georgia, bearing Betty Crocker cake mixes into the jungle." And even a disparaging remark is made about prayer. "One girl prayed the dumb prayers of our childhood: "Our Father which art in heaven." It is far too common for scholars to adopt a rather simplistic stereotype and in our increasingly secular age, religious people and especially missionaries are not understood or empathized with.

In Zambia, the early Catholic missionaries were not agents of colonial rule as their work and circumstances do not suggest that. This can be seen in the manner the colonial state related with the missionaries. Taking an example of relations between the missionaries and the colonial government in other African countries, it is clear that the Zambian situation was different. In most of the colonised states, colonial governments had an ambivalent attitude toward missions. Missionaries were not always welcomed with open arms. It is not the case that colonial rule made missionary work that much easier everywhere. For instance, French colonial authorities quite arbitrarily prevented Protestant missions from working in their domains. And they did not want non-French missions in territories under their control. Their attitude affected Protestant work in Madagascar, Gabon, and Cameroon. Protestant missions in Portuguese Angola and Mozambique were under suspicion and their activities restricted. In British Sudan, Christians were not allowed to evangelize in the Muslim zone, although they were allowed to follow up Christians who had moved into it. In 1897, the American Disciples of Christ had sent out a scouting party to the Congo but received little encouragement from Belgian officials. But wherever the welcome mat was laid out for missionaries, they were not always aware of the danger of their close ties with the colonial administration. They were tempted to cooperate too closely without fully realizing the deep interests, concerns and hurts of the African people. In the case of Zambia, all these aspects which point to the very close ties with the colonial government by the Catholic missionaries are missing. It is possible that after realising the negative impact their way of relating with the

colonial government had had on the people in areas like Rwanda, Angola, Mozambique and the others, their relations with the people was different Zambia. For instance, in Rwanda, the Catholic missionaries had contributed to the promotion of limiting development and support to one ethnic group. In Zambia, their approach was different as they worked and served the interests of all the people. As Fr Yan (interview, 8th August, 2010) noted, they upheld the One Zambia, One Nation motto in much of their work.

It can also be rightly argued that the Catholic missionaries did not support colonial rule owing to the fact that they largely sided with the Africans. This meant being there for the Africans and protecting them from colonial policies, hunger and other disasters. Who then were agents of colonial rule in Zambia? Brelsford (1954:35) suggests that the messengers were the 'eyes and ears of the government' and the backbone of the administration. The messengers were usually recruited from the local population and were representatives of the colonial power. Their duties among others included summoning people to the **Boma**, carrying messages to and from leaders in the countryside, making arrests, assisting with touring, tax collection and procuring forced labour. Though uniformed in striking blue and red outfits, the messengers normally went about unarmed; nonetheless, they were remembered as a rough and arrogant group. To a large extent I am in support of Brelsford's view which suggests that unlike the missionaries, the messengers were agents of colonial rule in many aspects. It would therefore be unjust to label the Catholic missionaries as agents of colonial rule in Zambia when they even protected the people from the colonial policies and their people in the form of messengers and others who implemented the colonial policies.

In addition to this, the Catholic missionaries did not in any way support colonial rule based on the teachings of the Vatican Council. Murphy (2003:448) notes that the Second Vatican council opened up new horizons for the Catholic church especially in its mission territories. The Council's openness to the World, to the reality of people's lives led to a more positive attitude to the striving of so many peoples and nations in Africa for freedom, both socio-political as well as at the underlying cultural levels. As the council's pronouncements coincided with the political struggle in Zambia, this explains why the Catholic missionaries openly and indeed indirectly set out to help the Africans fight for their freedom. The church supported the aspirations of the

colonized Africans and therefore opened or extended hospitals and clinics, developed rural projects and opened up many secondary schools for them. In this way therefore, the Catholic missionaries did not support colonial rule in Zambia, instead supported the wishes of the many Africans who were fighting for their freedom.

Other than this, the aim of early missionary work reflects the idea that the Catholic missionaries in Zambia did not support colonial rule. Why did missionaries leave their homelands and loved ones for an uncertain future in Africa? Obviously, they did not come to Africa for pleasure, or their health, or to gain wealth. They were not in Africa for spoils, but to proclaim the transforming love of God. They went in obedience to the Lord's Great Commission. Their commitment carried them into continual danger and almost always guaranteed a greatly shortened life-span. Many early Catholic missionaries died in Zambia due to tropical diseases, and other disasters. For example, over 170 Catholic missionaries died from the time the Jesuits embarked on spreading the gospel in Zambia (Murphy, 2003). Putting together the missionaries from other congregations who died in Zambia gives the impression that many of them died in foreign lands in a bid to convert the people. All this sacrifice can be attributed to the desire they had to spread the gospel. In many instances, these missionaries who died in Zambia before their death expressed their wishes to be buried among the people they served, others even preferred to be buried in reed mats. If they were supporting the colonial government, it is clear that many of them would not have been attached to the Zambian and African culture. The fact that their remains are still in the Zambian soil, is proof that they were serving the interests of the colonized Africans.

It can also be rightly said that the Catholic missionaries did not support colonial rule in that they brought hope to many people in the colonial period in Zambia. They proclaimed the Gospel of peace while not forgetting the powerful forces of darkness. Prairie Bible Institute, the most important faith missions school in Canada, formulated a reason for missions in these telling words: "If we believe that all are lost without Christ, we'll give our lives for the perishing millions." Through missionary work, African religious views were widened.

In Zambia, the evidence gathered suggests that the Catholic missionaries especially when compared to places like the Congo, Mozambique, Rwanda, Uganda and others, were not agents of

colonialism nor did they support colonial rule. Indeed as Taylor and Lehmann (1961) point out, one or two incidents in which the missionary appears to have sided with the European colonizer against the colonised Africans are sufficient to keep mistrust alive for a long time. It would be unfair to judge all the missionaries as agents of colonial rule in that others like the Catholic missionaries in this case sided with the Africans. Indeed, some statements which came from the missionaries may have originated from misunderstandings and should not impair the whole missionary mission of serving the people they had followed all the way from their countries.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 CONCLUSION

The main interest of this dissertation was to revisit the missionary support for colonial rule thesis in Zambia with special reference to the Catholic missionaries. In order to do this, the nature of colonial and missionary work was explored in colonial Zambia. The study has shown that colonial rule which began in 1890 in Zambia was guided by the principle of indirect rule and was characterised by the idea of the horse and the rider where the European was the rider and the African, the horse. The evidence gathered reflects the fact that colonial rule was associated with racial discrimination, low standards of education, lack of good, fertile and productive land for the Africans, and general neglect of their full development and respect for human rights. It is clear that all this was done in order to suppress the progress of the Africans and therefore make Zambia a very meaningful colony for Britain, well knowing it had huge natural resources. As colonial rule developed, the Africans were forced to be a part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and

the constitutions which were formulated in this period were all meant to safeguard the interests of the Europeans. Due to suppression, injustice and discrimination, the Africans began to react. Initially, this was through religion and later with the growth of the welfare associations especially after the return of the people who went to fight in the Second World War. It was from these associations that political parties were formed and thereby leading to the emergence of UNIP under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda with Zambia gaining its independence on 24th October, 1964.

The study has also shown that Catholic missionary work in Zambia was greatly influenced by the travels and explorations of David Livingstone who wanted to spread Commerce, Civilisation and Christianity. It was after his death that many missionary societies came to the territory and the Catholic church, represented by the White Fathers were the first to come to Zambia, and they were later followed by the Jesuits and the many other Catholic missionary congregations. The aim of the Catholic missionaries was to spread the Catholic faith and in order to do this; they set up schools, hospitals, farms, orphanages and other institutions. It was through these institutions that the Africans came into contact with new forms of education, religion, medicine, agricultural practices and other things which changed their attitude towards life. As circumstances changed in Zambia, so did the nature of Catholic missionary work in order to meet the demands of the situation. This meant that the church even became more involved in the lives of the people.

The study further explored the relationship the Catholic missionaries had with the colonial administration on one hand, and on the other, the Africans. The Catholic missionaries had an ambivalent relationship with the colonial officials. While they seemed to be good to the colonial officials, they also opposed colonial policies which brought a lot of suffering to the Africans. Generally, the Catholic missionaries had a good relationship with the colonial officials as they obtained land, grant aid in education, provided health care to the colonialists and had general friendships with the colonial administration recognizing and appreciating the work the Catholic missionaries were doing. This good relationship has been seen in light of the mission of the church. Before the advent of colonial rule, the Catholic missionaries had related very well with the chiefs who were in charge of land. It is therefore not surprising that when the colonial office took over the administration of the territory, the Catholic missionaries related well with colonial

officials. This was seen to have been an important factor in spreading the Catholic faith.

It should also be noted that the relationship the Catholic missionaries had with the colonial officials was dependent on where the missionaries were coming from. This relationship was not even always good. The study has established that some were considered to be subjects of the enemy especially when the Second World War broke out. This explains why some Catholic missionaries from Italy and Germany and those fighting against Britain were not allowed to expand their missionary activities. Some missionaries were even expelled from the territory for siding with the Africans. This reflects the idea that the Catholic missionaries and the colonial officials had different agendas and therefore, the missionaries were not supporters of colonial rule.

The Catholic missionaries broadly put had a very good relationship with the Africans as they learnt the local languages and they were able to communicate with the Africans without difficulties. This made the Africans to be able to differentiate between who a missionary was, and who the colonial official was. As such, in Zambia as compared to other places like Uganda, Belgium Congo and elsewhere as Zablon and Magesa (2003) point out that it was not easy to distinguish a missionary from the colonialist, this was not the case in Zambia. The Catholic missionaries served the Africans in many ways such as education, health, pastoral care and other services. It was therefore through these services that the Africans were empowered. This relationship was based on the fact that it was the Africans the Catholic missionaries had come for. The principles of social justice, option for the poor, respect for human dignity as advocated for in the social teaching of the church were all important in shaping the relationship which existed between the Catholic missionaries and the Africans.

In reassessing missionary support for colonial rule in Zambia, the study also investigated why Catholic missionary work has been associated with colonial rule in Zambia. The fact that earlier missionaries like David Livingstone, Francois Coillard and Father Joseph Dupont had contributed to the consolidation of colonial rule have been reflected as major reasons why there has been a close association of Catholic missionary work and colonial rule. The study however has shown that what these missionaries did should not blur their major contributions. As a matter of fact, this

took place before 1924 and after 1924; the missionaries were of greater service to the Africans. It should also be understood that Joseph Dupont for instance helped to consolidate colonial rule unknowingly as his main interest was to lay a good foundation for the spread and growth of the church. As a matter of fact, he was requested by the chief, and therefore just acted as he had been requested to be the heir to the throne.

Rotberg (1965:24) notes that Francois Coillard evidently thought that the provisions of the Company's treaty would prove beneficial to Barotseland without his intervention; the assumption of British rule in North Western Rhodesia would probably have come about less peacefully and with far more deleterious consequences. David Livingstone was never an imperialist as his character, life and aim of his travels portray. It has also been noted that the principle of neutrality according to the teachings of the Canon law has also made missionary work to be associated with colonial rule as the Catholic missionaries according to the Canon law were to be above politics. However, the study has shown that the Catholic missionaries were not even neutral as they provided services which were very political such as secondary education, health care, training facilities and the gospel which stressed the value of a human being. In this way therefore, the Catholic missionaries played a very important role in serving the Africans in colonial Zambia and thus cannot be said to have been supporting colonial rule.

The study also explored the role the Catholic missionaries played in colonial Zambia in order to establish if they supported colonial rule or not. The study has shown that the Catholic missionaries contributed to the fight against colonial rule in two broad ways. Indirectly, they made the contribution through providing education, health care, pastoral care and imparting the skills which the Africans later used for their own good. Directly, the contribution was done by being spokespersons for the people, fighting for African representation in the Legislative Council, campaigning against Native reserves and pleading with the colonial state to provide grant aid in education. It was also done through the support that was given to nationalists and the publication of the Pastoral letters which addressed the main issues of the Zambian colonial period such as Federation, human dignity, injustice, racial segregation and the need to respect the rights of the Africans. This explains why some Catholic missionaries had their work recognised by the Zambian government after independence. Indeed, if the Catholic missionaries were supporting

colonial rule, there is no way they would have sided with the Africans and helped them to fight the colonial regime. It should be noted that in certain instances, the role the missionaries played was done unknowingly. This implies that the result of what they did was to raise the standards of the people and spread the gospel. Though it may suggest that the missionaries unknowingly contributed to making the Africans rise against colonial rule, the study has revealed that by aiming to raise the living standards of the people from the onset, the missionaries brought liberation to the Africans. This is not to suggest that the Africans did not do much to liberate themselves, but that the combined efforts of the missionaries and Africans had more effective results. The Catholic missionaries played an important role in disrupting colonial rule. While this was the case, it was easy for those in administration to play outward roles in nationalist politics while the rest of the priests indirectly made a contribution through their evangelism which was their major occupation. Above all, schools played an important role in the fight against colonial rule.

Were Catholic missionaries agents of colonial rule in Zambia or did they support colonial rule in Zambia? The study shows the idea that though the Catholic missionaries related well with the colonial officials, they were not agents of colonial rule. It has been noted that the assertion that missionaries were agents of colonial rule has been made due to lack of recognition and appreciation of what the missionaries did. The assertion is also dependent on different countries and thus while the Catholic missionaries in Belgian Congo, Uganda, Mozambique, Rwanda and other countries supported colonial rule, in Zambia they did not support colonial rule. This is because they offered protection and help to the Africans in need and generally spoke on behalf of the Africans. Though it was not all the missionaries who openly supported the fight for independence, the other Catholic missionaries indirectly made their contribution through education. This is seen in the fact that it was the Africans who had been educated at the mission school, received medical help at the mission hospital, got converted at the mission church and had a new interpretation of life at the mission station who were able to rise up and fight for their identity and sovereignty. After the Second World War, a new wave of missionaries came to Zambia and these had a different attitude towards missionary work and Western ideas. The second generation of missionaries in Zambia had the realisation that the liberating message of Jesus Christ had to strip off its Western veneer so as to make the good news relevant to the young

churches of the South. This was also supported by the missionaries endeavoured to preach the liberating message of the gospel which was very important in the fight against colonial rule. If this would therefore be wrong to say that the Catholic missionaries were in support of colonial rule in Zambia. As a result, the Catholic missionaries endeavoured to preach the liberating message of the gospel which was very important in the fight against colonial rule. If this would therefore be wrong to say that the Catholic missionaries were in support of colonial rule in Zambia.

Over and above all, the research has, as hypothesized established that the Catholic missionaries did not support colonial rule in Zambia but instead were all agents of political, social and economic change.

6.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

Basing on the findings of the study, the following are the recommendations:

1. Mission history in colonial Africa should not be generalised and should be written from the 'inside' perspective.
2. Courses on Religion and Development with a focus on the role of mission churches in Zambia's development should be introduced in order to clearly understand the role the missionaries played in colonial and contemporary Africa.
3. Materials on early missionary work largely remains untranslated; it should be translated in order to enable researchers to fully utilise this material.
4. Modern secular scholarship on Mission history should no longer be anchored on harsh criticism of missionary work, but should adopt a developmental perspective which appreciates the role the missionaries played in economic, social, political, and religious change in Zambia and Africa as a whole.
5. Different Catholic Congregations and other missionary should document their work in colonial Zambia in order to preserve the important aspect of their presence in today's Zambia.
6. Further research should be carried out to ascertain the specific contributions the different Catholic missionary congregations made in colonial Zambia.

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APPENDIX ONE

Interview Guide for the Freedom Fighters and Catholic Missionaries

Dear Respondent,

I am pursuing a Master of Arts with Education degree at the University of Zambia and currently revisiting the missionary support for colonial rule thesis in Zambia with specific reference to the Catholic missionaries. This is part of the degree fulfillment requirement. You have therefore been purposively chosen to be a respondent and all your views on this issue will be used only for academic purposes. Thanking you in advance for the time.

1. How would you describe colonial rule in Zambia?
2. What was the nature of early Catholic missionary work in colonial Zambia?
3. How did the Catholic missionaries relate with the colonial Administration?
4. Why do you think they had the kind of relationship you have described above?
5. Describe the relationship the Catholic missionaries had with the Africans in colonial Zambia.
6. Why do you think the Catholic missionaries had such a relationship with the Africans?
7. Why do you think missionaries have been associated with colonial rule in Zambia?
8. Mention some Catholic missionaries if any who you think contributed to the development of Colonial rule in Zambia?
9. What do you think are some of the reasons why they seem to have supported colonial rule in instances where they did?
10. Did the early Catholic missionaries help to dislodge colonial rule in any way?
11. Mention some early Catholic missionaries who in your view helped to fight colonial rule in Zambia?
12. How did the above mentioned missionaries help dislodge colonial rule in Zambia?
13. What do you think of the assertion that missionaries were agents of colonial rule in Zambia?

Thank you for your co-operation.

APPENDIX TWO

ARRIVAL OF CATHOLIC MISSIONARY CONGREGATIONS AND THEIR MISSION STATIONS

David Livingstone explored the territory and influenced other missionary societies to spread Christianity, Commerce and Civilization

??

Catholic missionaries represented by many congregations came with the aim of converting Africans to the new Faith

??

Catholic Church was first represented by the White Fathers who came to Zambia in 1891 at Mambwe Mwela. They later founded Kayambi (1895), Chilubula near Kasama and Chilonga near Mpika (1899), Kachebere (1903 Chilubi (1904), Lubwe and Kapatu (1905), Chibote (1910), Ipusukilo and Naviruli (1914), Malole and Rosa (1922), Minga (1924), Lubushi and Lufubu (1930), Kabunda (1932), Illonda and Chalabesa (1934), Lwena, Mapula and Mulobola (1935), Mulilansolo, Katibunga and Chassa (1936), Twingi, Mambwe and Msipazi (1938), Mulanga and Lumezi (1939), Chikowa (1941), Kasaba (1942), Nsakaluba (1946), Lumimba (1950), Kalabwe and Chikungu (1951), Nyimba and Vubwi (1952), Kanyanga (1954).

??

Arrival of the White Sisters in 1902 at Chilubula. In 1905 they were at Kayambi mission

??

Arrival of the Jesuits in 1905 at Chikuni and founded Katondwe and Kapoche (1912), Chingombe (1914), Fumbo, Kasiya, Chivuna and Mpanshya (1951), Mulungushi and Mpunde (1960)

??

Arrival of Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in Chikuni in 1920

??

Arrival of Dominican sisters and the Little Servants of Mary Immaculate at Kasisi in 1924 and 1928 respectively

??

Arrival of the Franciscan Conventuals who settled in Bwana Mkumbwa. They later founded Kalumbwa (1932), Ibenga (1934), Kalala (1941), Shibuchinga (Ngwena) (1948), Lwawu (1951), Ndubeni (1954)

??

Franciscan Capuchin Friars arrived in Barotseland in 1931 and founded St Theresa in Livingstone. They later set up Sichili and Lukulu (1936), Mang (1938), Sihole (1943), Sioma (1953), Chinyingi (1954), Limulunga (1959), Nalionwa (1960)

??

Arrival of the Marist Brothers and of the Missionary Sisters of Immaculate Conception in Chipata in 1954

??

Arrival of Franciscan sisters for Africa (Livingstone), the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary (Mbala) and the Brothers of the Sacred Heart (Kasama) in 1956

??

Arrival of the Christian Brothers in Livingstone in 1964.

APPENDIX THREE

MISSION STATION

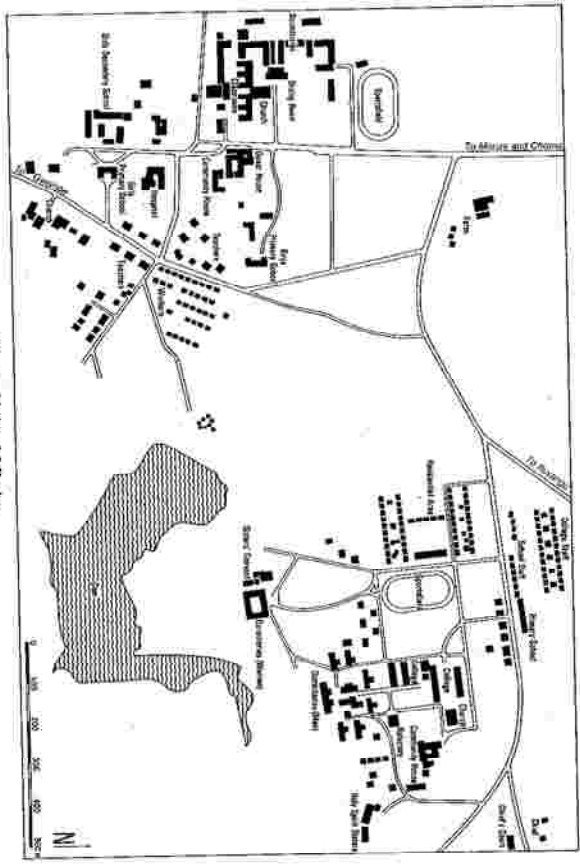


Fig. 1: Chikuni Mission
 Source: Compiled by author based on air photography (1980) of the Survey Department, Lusaka, and on information from the Jesuit Fathers, Chikuni and Lusaka.

SOURCE: Henkel, R. (1989). *Christian Missions in Africa*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimar Verlag.

The above figure shows an example of a mission station for the Catholic missionaries in colonial Zambia.

APPENDIX FOUR

A CHART ON MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES OF THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES

The diagram below shows the missionary activities of the Catholic missionaries in colonial Zambia.

This illustration depicts the work of the Catholic missionaries in colonial Zambia which was characterised by the provision of health care, education, pastoral and church services. It was through these services that the Africans were enlightened and acquired the skills they would use in the fight against colonial rule.

APPENDIX FIVE

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AND THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AND COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION	REASON OF THE RELATIONSHIP
Catholic missionaries related well with colonial administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Missionaries got land from the colonial government • Received grant in aid to education • Colonial officials were seen visiting mission stations • Colonial officials ran to the missionaries in times of sickness and death • Being messengers of God, missionaries were expected to have no enemies
The relationship was not good	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Missionaries disliked colonial policies which humiliated Africans • Some missionaries were sent away by colonial government for siding with Africans
The relationship was ambiguous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was not easy to clearly define the relationship the missionaries had with colonial administration

The relationship between the Catholic missionaries and colonial officials was dependent on many factors such as the nationality of the missionaries as well as views on different policies.

APPENDIX SIX

THE TABLE BELOW SHOWS THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AND AFRICANS IN COLONIAL ZAMBIA

TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AND AFRICANS	REASONS FOR THE KIND RELATIONSHIP
They had a close relationship with Africans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They learned to speak the local languages, compiled grammars and made translations • Spoke on behalf of the Africans • They visited each other, attended funerals, weddings and other functions • They defended African interests • Africans were their reason of coming to Zambia
Initial relationship with chiefs was not always good	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some chiefs were afraid of losing land and people

The table above shows the relationship between the Catholic missionaries and the Africans and it was this relationship which exposed the Africans to the ideals of freedom and justice in colonial Zambia

APPENDIX SEVEN

DIAGRAM SHOWING WHY MISSIONARY WORK HAS BEEN LINKED WITH COLONIAL RULE IN ZAMBIA

<p>WHY THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES HAVE BEEN LINKED WITH COLONIAL RULE</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Earlier missionaries like David Livingstone, Francois Coillard and Father Joseph Dupont had contributed to the consolidation of colonial rule• Following the Canon law, the missionaries had to be apolitical• Initially showed little interest in the growing wind of political change• Shared same background with colonialists• They were seen visiting, and passing time together• Lack of knowledge and appreciation of what the Catholic missionaries did in colonial Zambia
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APPENDIX EIGHT

ILLUSTRATION OF CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AND THEIR ROLE IN DISLODGING COLONIAL RULE

The illustration above shows that the Catholic missionaries in colonial Zambia helped to dislodge colonial rule through providing health care, education, church services and speaking on behalf of the people.