A study of the Educational Contribution of the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu, 1905 - 1964.

By

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A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Education.

The University of Zambia

Lusaka

1980

I Absalom Makota Mhoswa declare
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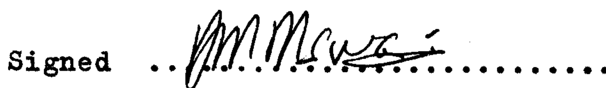
degree at this or another university.



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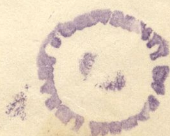

A B S T R A C T

The dissertation focuses on the work of the Jesuit and the Adventist Missionary Societies in their capacities as educational agencies. The Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu, both leading institutions in colonial Zambia, were simultaneously established within a few kilometres of each other on the Tonga Plateau in Southern Zambia in July 1905. These circumstances offer an unusual opportunity for a study of mission educational work, policies and influence in one homogeneous rural community.

The dissertation deals with the following eight topics:

1. Introduction: The geography of the Tonga plateau and the Tonga society on the eve of the coming of the missionaries.

2. The Background: The origins of the Jesuit and Adventist Missionary Societies in Central Africa and their initial efforts to penetrate Southern Zambia.

3. An outline of the organization of the Society of Jesus and the Seventh-day Adventist Church, an analysis of their denominational and educational philosophies and the methods the two Societies used to win the confidence of the people.

4. The local educational systems developed by the Jesuits and Adventists, which are discussed in two chapters, and their relationship to the growing territorial system shaped by the colonial government.

5. The relationship between the two Societies and the local community, with other mission agencies, with the central administration, and between themselves, with emphasis on the effects of these relationships on the successes and failures of the two Societies.

6. The extent of the impact of the two missions' educational work on the society and how it influenced the development of indigenous agriculture and the rise of African nationalism.

7. Epilogue: A brief review of the contemporary position of the Jesuit and Adventist missions and their present status in Tonga society.

Archival records held by the National Archives of Zambia, the Jesuit Fathers and the Seventh-day Adventist Church provide the main sources of primary data. Both mission agencies have given complete co-operation and generous use of their records.

Secondary data have been obtained from published books and articles and unpublished theses. Field work in Southern Province has been conducted by means of interviews with chiefs and headmen, teachers and mission adherents, among others, as a means to follow up the written data. Missionaries have been interviewed and others who are no longer resident in Zambia have been corresponded with.

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ABBREVIATIONS

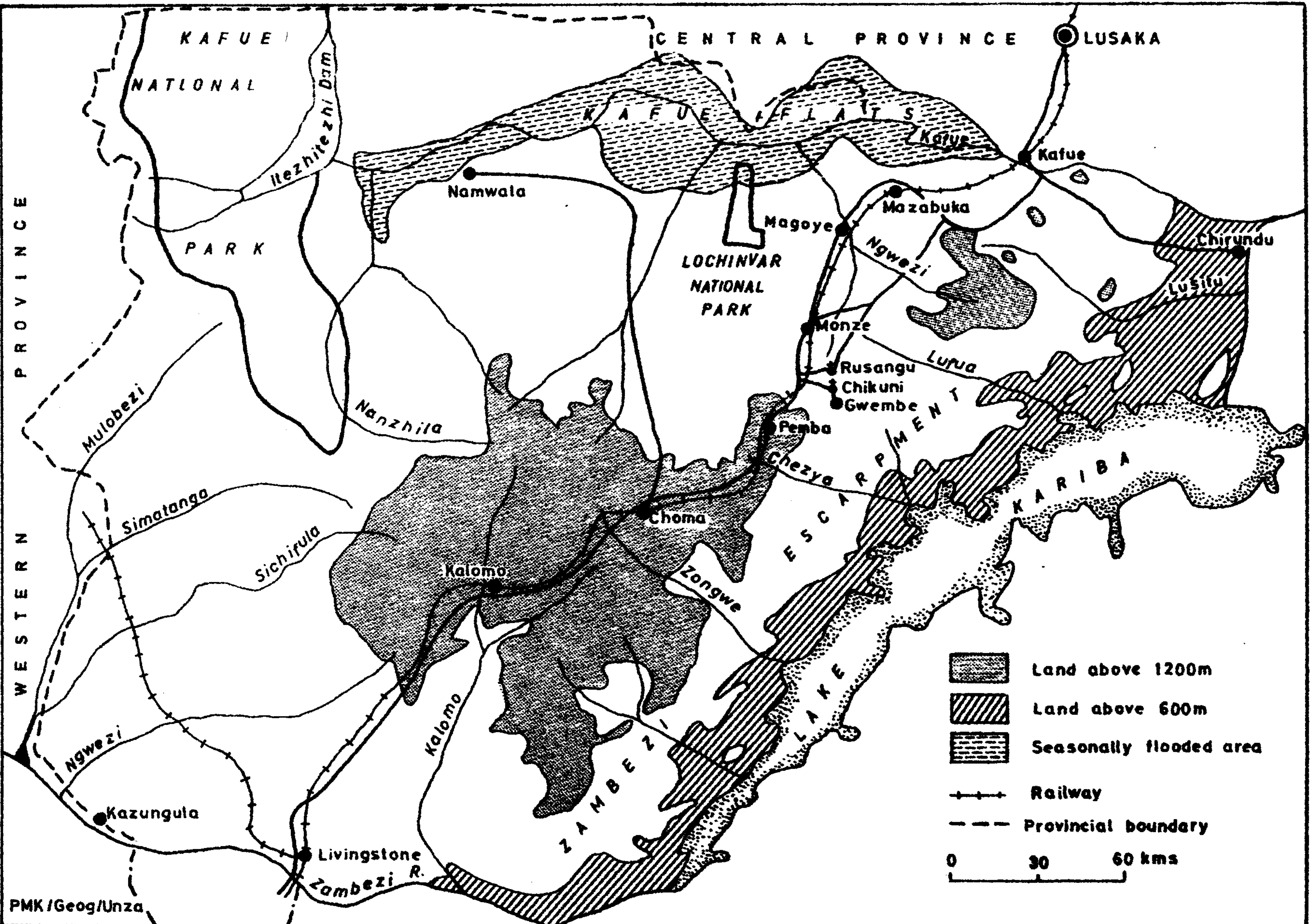
NAZ National Archives of Zambia

Fr. Father, in reference to Catholic Priests

S.J. Society of Jesus

S.D.A. Seventh-day Adventist

n.d. No date


CENTRAL PROVINCE
LUSAKA
Kafue
Chirundu
Lusitu
Mazabuka
Magoye
Ngwezi
LOCHINVAR NATIONAL PARK
Monze
Rusangu
Chikuni
Gwembe
Lufua
Pemba
Chezya
ESCARPMENT
KARIBA
LAKE
ZAMBEZI
Choma
Zongwe
Kalomo
KAFUE FLATS
Kafue
Namwala
KAFUE NATIONAL PARK
Itezhitezhi Dam
Nanzhila
Mulobezi
Simatanga
Sichifula
WESTERN PROVINCE
Ngwezi
Kazungula
Livingstone
Zambezi R.
PMK/Geog/Unza
Land above 1200m
Land above 600m
Seasonally flooded area
Railway
Provincial boundary
0 30 60 kms

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The chapter introduces the reader to the area of study. Its content focuses on the physical features of the Southern Province of Zambia, the inhabitants of the Tonga plateau and Gwembe Valley, the religious institution, the indigenous education and the political system of the Plateau Tonga.

Land Features

The first Jesuit and Adventist mission stations in Zambia were established on the Tonga Plateau in the Southern Province. The location of these mission stations is shown in a sketch map showing the physical and selected cultural features in Southern Province. The province is divided into three geographical areas. These are the lowlands, the dry and hilly Zambezi escarpment and the Plateau which dominates the vast areas of the Southern Province.

The Flood-Plains

The flood-plains of the Kafue and the Zambezi rivers lie at an average altitude of 900 metres above sea level. The flood-plains of the Kafue river are commonly known as the Kafue flats while the lowlands of the Zambezi river are often referred to as the Gwembe Valley. Originally, the flood-plains were submerged by the rising waters of the Kafue and the Zambezi rivers during the rainy season only. The waters receded to the limits of the river banks during the dry season. The completion of the construction of the dam across the Kariba gorge in 1959, changed the natural feature of the Zambezi lowlands. Large areas of the Zambezi lowlands stretching for 280 kilometres at an average width of 30 kilometres

are permanently submerged under water. Lake Kariba developed as a new land feature.

Similarly the damming of the Kafue gorge on the Kafue river in 1974 and the construction of the Itezhi-Tezhi dam on the middle course of the Kafue river in 1976 has resulted in permanent flooding of vast areas of the Kafue Flats.

The Zambezi Escarpment.

The rugged Zambezi escarpment flanks Lake Kariba. It forms the eastern margin of the Tonga Plateau. It is characterised by barren stony hills. The climate is hot and the rainfall is low. The Gwembe Valley experiences hot and dry weather conditions for eight months of the year. The annual temperature ranges between 21°C and 26°C. This is in contrast to the adjacent plateau whose pleasant annual temperature ranges between 18°C and 21°C. The annual average rainfall of the Gwembe Valley ranges between 60 and 80 centimetres while the rainfall on the plateau ranges between 80 and 120 centimetres.

The unpleasant climatic conditions and the difficult physical features made the Gwembe Valley less attractive for human settlement. Excessive heat, acute water shortage, dangers of living in the proximity of the wild game, the marauding malaria-carrying mosquito and the presence of tsetse fly posed a threat to the Jesuit and the Adventist missionaries who were alien to these unbearable conditions. Sporadic endeavours by the two missionary societies to penetrate the Gwembe Valley often failed. Travellers to the valley exhausted their energies in ascending and descending the numerous and monotonous hills which constitute the Zambezi escarpment. Before they reached the

inhabitants of the valley, the missionaries experienced enormous fatigue and imminent contamination by the deadly malaria fever.

The Tonga Plateau.

The Central portion of land in Southern Province is known as the Tonga Plateau. The Plateau is sandwiched between the Kafue Flats and the Zambezi or Gwembe Valley on the west and east respectively. The bordering lowlands lie at an altitude of 900 metres above sea level. From the lowlands, the land rises to a hight of about 1200 metres above sea level on the plateau. Mazabuka town is situated on the northern edge of the plateau, which stretches South and West. The Kalomo river which lies a few kilometres South of Kalomo town marks the Southern edge of the plateau.

The vegetation is typical of the savanna type. It consists of low and scattered trees which are widely spread over the plateau. Tall grass grows during the rainy season. The climate which prevails over the Tonga plateau makes the region most suitable for the development of agriculture. The region is the major maize growing belt in Zambia. Top soils have high humus content which result from the decayed leaves and grass. The absence of tsetsefly on the plateau makes the rearing of cattle possible.[1]

The Administrative Changes on the Tonga Plateau.

When the British South Africa Company Administration was established in 1897 the Tonga plateau was administered from Kalomo.[2] When Kalomo ceased to be the administrative centre for North Western Rhodesia in 1907, Mazabuka was developed as the main administrative centre of the Tonga Plateau. The Southern Province was organised into three political divisions; namely, Mazabuka

district which administered the Plateau Tonga, Gwembe district which administered the Gwembe Valley and the Livingstone district which administered the region stretching from above the Victoria Falls to the South and of Batoka gorge.[3] In 1922 Gwembe ceased to be a district. The Gwembe Valley was co-opted into an enlarged Mazabuka district. The creation of Namwala district to administer the Kafue Flats, limited the western border of Mazabuka district to Lochinvar estate. In 1936, the old Kalomo district ceased to be a sub-district of Livingstone. It was amalgamated with Mazabuka district. By 1937, the entire Tonga Plateau and the Gwembe Valley fell under the administration of Mazabuka district. The argument behind the creation of this vast district was that the people of a homogeneous ethnic group should be administred from one centre. By implication it meant that the entire Tonga-speaking peoples fell under the administration of Mazabuka district.

However, problems arising from the administration of vast areas compelled the colonial administration to reduce the size of Mazabuka district. During the period 1951 - 2, Kalomo and Gwembe were re-established as separate districts. An additional new district of Choma was created during the same period.[4] By 1952, Mazabuka district stretched from Kafue river to Pemba about 30km south of Monze. Soon after the independence of Zambia in 1964, Monze became a separate district.

Currently, the Southern Province is divided into six administrative districts. Livingstone administers the area between the Victoria Falls and Kalomo river. The Tonga Plateau falls under the administration of Kalomo, Monze and Mazabuka districts. Gwembe district administers the Gwembe Valley which extends from the

limits of Batoka gorge, confluence of the Kafue and the Zambezi rivers.[5] Namwala district administers the region inhabited by the Ila speaking people[6] of the upper land which runs parallel to the Kafue Flats.

Ethnic Origin

The historical account only reveals the presence of the Tonga people on the Plateau and in the Gwembe valley, but does not give the chronology of the how they occupied the Southern Province of Zambia. They were not associated with either the Luba/Lunda migration from the North or the Zulu migration from the South who penetrated Zambia before and after 1800 respectively[7].

The Tonga settled in Zambia much earlier than any other ethnic groups of Zambia. The Tonga people were connected with the Trans-Zambezi trade which first existed in about 1100 A.D. They transported copper and ivory from the hook of the Kafue river to Ngombe Ilede, a prominent trading post below the Kariba gorge. Traders from the east coast of Africa went up the Zambezi river and exchanged goods with the inhabitants of the Gwembe Valley and the Plateau.

The Trans-Zambezi trade was controlled by the Shona Kingdom of Mwene Mutapa whose Capital was at Great Zimbabwe. This suggests that the inhabitants of the north and south of the Zambezi river had a common interest in long distant trade. The Tonga people remained actively involved in the Trans-Zambezi trade until the early 1500 when the Portuguese who settled at Sofala in the lower Zambezi in 1505 disrupted the

prosperity of the Trans-Zambezi trade.[8] The Portugues/aspired for political and trade control of the Mwene Mutapa Kingdom. The Shona partners of the Tonga people were involved in prolonged wars against the Portuguese.

The long occupation of the plateau by the Tonga people was confirmed by the first European explorer to reach the Tonga country. In November 1855, David Livingstone found that the Tonga people were the exclusive inhabitants of the plateau. He noted that the Tonga people were relatively more prosperous than other indigenous communities whom he had contacted. They had large herds of cattle and they were successful subsistence farmers who raised enough food to meet their needs. The large numbers of people in Tonga villages compelled David Livingstone to conclude that they produced enough food and lived in peace.[9]

Settlement.

The Tonga-speaking people occupy large areas of the plateau and the Gwembe valley. The inhabitants of the plateau and the Gwembe valley are homogeneous in language and culture.[10] The significant difference between the plateau and valley Tonga inhabitants lies in the ecological aspects which are determined by the environmental conditions. For instance, the plateau landscape offers excellent pastures and flatlands for large scale farming. The valley Tonga rear goats which survive under dry climatic conditions and withstand the bite of tsetsefly. The absence of cattle in the valley to till the arable land and the hilly and stony country side have made it impossible for the valley dwellers to develop large scale farming.

The valley Tonga are commonly known as the Bawe. This is a nickname given to the valley dwellers by the plateau dwellers. The name was derived from the notion that the valley Tonga were constantly faced with starvation. The regular famine weakened the poeple. The name Bawe implied that the people were often blown off balance by strong winds due to starvation.[11]

The plateau and the valley Tonga people were bound together by the Monze chieftaincy The traditions of the Tonga people trace the origin of the first Monze chief to the valley. The oral tradition states that a mysterious man known as Mayaba left the Gwembe valley for the plateau where he established his authority over the Plateau Tonga. Mayaba was believed to possess supernatural powers of rain-making and he presented himself to the people as the great rain maker. The oral tradition reveals that after three years of drought, Mayaba arrived and gave the people abundant rain. The art of rain-making gave him a wide reputation and he established himself as the first Chief Monze of the Tonga. He became known as Monze Mayaba. He was the one whom David Livingstone met in 1855.[12]

Religious Institutions.

Before the arrival of the Jesuits and the Adventists, the Tonga religious practices were centred on the Muzimu cult (Muzimu in the singular and Mizimo in the plural).[13] The muzimu was regarded as the source of power to sustain the living and to ensure the continued existence of the clan. The mizimo were the spirits of the ancestors. The dead members of the clan were believed to continue to dwell among the living members of the clan

in the form of spirits.[14] The spirits of the dead were regarded as sacred and were worshipped by living members of the clan.

The prosperity of the community and the welfare of each member of the clan were believed to be dependent on the relationship with the mizimo. It was a common belief that each muzimu could punish the living for departing from the clan's customs. Illness and deaths were therefore associated with the angry mizimo who were consulted through the clan diviner in order to reveal the reasons for the anger of the ancestors. The mizimo were generally appeased by making ritual offerings to the ancestors.[15]

The term mizimo was a general name for all the ancestral spirits. The mizimo were classified into three groups. The basangu was the muzimu which looked after the general welfare of the community. The basangu were believed to be the source of prosperity to the community in the form of good rainfall, good harvest, increase in the herds of cattle and the orderly existence of the members of each clan. The masabe was the bad muzimo who was believed to torment the community by causing suffering in the form of illness, death and misfortunes such as loss of property. Zelo were the mizimo which appeared to the living in the form of ghosts of the dead ancestors.[16]

The second significant religious institution among the Tonga people was the rain shrine which was commonly known as malende. The malende was believed to be the dwelling place of the mizimo responsible for rainfall. A conspicuous place was selected to mark the spot of the rain-shrine. It was selected from natural features such as an anthill, rocks, a pool of water or a cluster of trees. The rain maker frequented the malende to offer rituals

to the rain spirits.

The Monze chiefs, prior to the 1930's, assumed the role of rain makers. The title of rain maker started with the first Chief Monze named Mayaba, whom David Livingstone met in 1855. Chief Monze Mayaba was still alive in 1888 when the second whiteman, Selous, visited his village. Monze Nchete, who received the Jesuits and the Adventist Missionaries, continued with the role of a rain maker among the Tonga people until his death in 1915. The Monze Chiefs' supernatural power of rain making is believed to have declined during the time of Monze Hamanjanji who died in 1946.[18]

According to local tradition the possible explanation why the first two Monze Chiefs, Mayaba and Nchete, were widely recognised in the traditional Tonga society as having supernatural power to make rain is as follows: The Tonga plateau receives abundant rain which provided good pastures and adequately waters the fields for the crops to grow. Famine was not common on the plateau. The inhabitants of the regions which experienced spells of drought and the plateau dwellers looked at the Monze Chiefs as possessing supernatural powers to make rain. The institution of the rain shrine promoted the idea among the Tonga community, of regarding Chief Monze as a rain maker.[19]

One of the rain shrines in Chief Monze's area was situated within the land where the Adventists established Rusangu Mission. The Tinti, as the place is called today, was regarded by the local community, as malende.[20] Like any other rain shrine, the Tinti was a sacred spot. The rain maker, Chief Monze, or his special assistants went to the cluster of trees at the Tinti when they were conducting rituals to request rain from the rain spirits. The

conspicuous feature of the Tinti is the cluster of tall fig trees which have grown around the source of a natural spring. The spot has a radius of about 50 metres and is permanently moist. It is situated one kilometre away from where Rusangu Mission stands and it is now the source of water supply for the mission.

On the eve of the arrival of the Jesuits and the Adventists among the Plateau Tonga, the belief in the Muzimu and the significance of the rain shrines to the welfare of the society was deeply entrenched in the minds of the Tonga people. The Tonga believed that the muzimu determined the destiny of the society and that the rain shrine sustained the society. The economic prosperity prior to the arrival of the Jesuit and the Adventist missionaries explains the reasons why the institutions of the Muzimu and the rainshrine played a significant role in the life of the Tonga society. Farming among the plateau Tonga was more prosperous than among the valley Tonga and the Ila of the Namwala district. In the Gwembe valley famine was a constant visitor. When the missionaries of the Primitive Methodist Mission Society settled at Nkala and Nanzila in 1893 and 1895 respectively they gave numerous accounts of starvation among the Ila people.[21] On the contrary, accounts of the plateau Tonga contain no trace of the effects of hunger among the plateau dwellers. The cultivation of subsistence crops and the rearing of cattle satisfied the Tonga society's basic needs. By virtue of being farmers and herdsmen the Tonga relied more heavily on good weather which was believed to be derived from the institutions of the muzimu and the malende.

Some Aspects of Indigenous Education

Before the establishment of Chikuni and Rusangu Mission stations, the Tonga society transmitted the values of the Tonga culture through the medium of the indigenous education. The indigenous education was informal in the sense that no formal institutions of learning existed. The home and the community were the schools for the younger generation. Parents and the community elders were the traditional teachers. The traditional education was structured to enable each individual child acquire the basic norms and values entrenched in the Tonga culture. It was the education of conformity. Each individual youth was taught to conform to the cultural heritage of the Tonga society. The Tonga people developed the number system. Herds of cattle were identified in terms of number. The youths were therefore, taught how to count objects and cattle. In his efforts to master the Tonga language Elder Anderson was taught how to count in Tonga. He reveals that the number system of the Tonga society was based on the bases of five and ten. All the youths who joined his school in September 1905 were well acquainted with the traditional system of counting.[22]

The names of the indigenous trees, birds and wild animals were taught to the youths. The trees which bore edible fruits were made known to the younger peers by the older boys. The adult males informed the youths the uses of each local species of timber. The habits of wild animals and their usefulness to the community were revealed to the youths. The wild life was the sourse of food for the community. The youths were taught the

common diseases and how to cure them. In this manner the youths became versed in both the biology of their immediate environment and how to medicate the sick.

The herdboys were required to master the compass directions. The geographical knowledge was vital because it enabled the male youths to find their directions back home from the grazing pastures. In the long dry season, the Tonga people of Monze District used to drive herds of cattle from the dry areas of the Plateau to the Kafue Flats where green pasture was obtainable. The youths were taught the seasons of the year. These were mainza impeyo and inkasalo which are literally translated into English as the 'hot rainy, the 'cold dry' and the 'hot dry' seasons respectively. The youths were required to know how each season contributes to the sustenance of the community.

The patrilineal Tonga Society practised the extended family system. At adolescence, boys and girls were informed of the family's extended relations. They were also initiated to manhood and womanhood. The initiation procedure emphasised the cordial relationship which must be maintained between the younger and the older generation. The process of initiation was a specialised education which prepared the youths for adult life. Punishments were inflicted on the adolescents who failed to conform to norms and values embodied in the culture of the society. Youth who persistently violated the rules of the community were threatened with ostracism.[23]

Political Organisation

The political organisation of the Tonga people comprised of several chieftaincies. These were small political segments ruled by individual chiefs who enjoyed the allegiance of the

people who occupied the land which was under their jurisdiction. There was no superior political authority to unite these chieftancies which were scattered all over the Tonga country.[24] As already mentioned, Chief Monze was widely known among the Tonga people because of his role of a rainmaker. But he did not institute the central political authority over the Tonga people.

The Tonga failed to unite even in the wake of external raids by the Kololo, Lozi and Ndebele. The armies of these tribes pillaged the Plateau Tonga at different times in the 19th century. The raids were generally for slaves and cattle. However, in the 1880s, the Lozi raids were aimed at gaining political domination of the Tonga country. Lewanika imposed his authority among the Southern Tonga. But the Tonga in the northern part of the plateau sent only tributes to Lewanika in order to gain immunity from his raiding armies.[25] However, some Tonga chiefs occasionally refused to send tribute to Lewanika whenever the danger for new raids did not seem imminent. In 1901, for example, Chief Monze told Colonel Colin Harding, the Commanding officer of the B.S.A. police in North Western Rhodesia, that he could not pay tribute to Lewanika because he was a Tonga and not a Lozi.[26] This suggests that he did not pay allegiance to Lewanika. He regarded himself as an independent Tonga chief with absolute powers to rule over his people. As revealed in the succeeding chapter, Chief Monze approved European visitors to settle in his area without first consulting Lewanika.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE BACKGROUND

This chapter firstly examines the early European visitors to Chief Monze's area on the Tonga Plateau. Secondly, it gives the historical background of the Jesuit and the Adventist missionaries. Prominence is given to the initial attempts by each missionary society to settle on the Tonga plateau. This aspect provides the framework of the study of the role of the Jesuits and the Adventists as educational agencies among the Plateau Tonga.

Early European Arrivals

As a rainmaker, Chief Monze occupied a prestigeous position among the Tonga people. European travellers who passed through the Tonga plateau called on him. The first was David Livingstone who, however, wrongly believed that Monze Mayaba was the Chief of all the Tonga people. Impressed by the scenery of the plateau and by the friendly attitude of Chief Monze, Livingstone proposed that missionaries should come and live among the Tonga and teach them. Livingstone reported that Chief Monze and 150 of his men expressed satisfaction at the prospect of having missionaries sent to live among them and that he promised to protect them and their property.[1]

For the next forty-four years after David Livingstone's visit no white men ever settled in Monze's country. It was only in 1899 that a detachment of the British South Africa Police established a police post, Fort Monze, next to Chief Monze's village. His acceptance of the B.S.A. police suggests that he

Footnote: Material in chapter two is partially discussed elsewhere. See: H.E. Peters, 'The Contribution of Education to the Development of Elites Among the Plateau Tonga of Zambia, A Comparative study of School Leavers from two Mission Schools, 1930-1965' (Ph. D. Thesis: University of Illinois, 1976).

desired to receive protection against the Lozi and Ndebele raids which ended only with the conquest of the Ndebele by the British South Africa Company in 1893.[2]

Frederick Courteney Selous, the celebrated hunter, was the second whiteman to visit Chief Monze's village in 1888. The old Chief Monze referred Selous to the earlier visit by David Livingstone.[3] However, there was no indication of the coming of missionaries to settle among the Tonga people. Other visits to Monze's village were by European cattle buyers from across the Zambezi river in Rhodesia. They led two expeditions to the Plateau Tonga in 1900 and 1901.[4]

The first party of missionary visitors reached Chief Monze's village in 1902. Two Jesuit priests, Fr. Peter Prestage and Fr. Joseph Moreau of the Society of Jesus travelled from Bulawayo in Rhodesia to Chief Monze's village. The purpose of their visit was to survey the area for suitable land to build a mission station. Fr. Moreau recorded his first impression of Chief Monze and his village. He wrote:

> "... in the centre of the village was the grave of the old Monze whom Livingstone had met, he was a great rain maker and a wizard of the north. The present Chief Monze had been in contact with whites for five or six years already and was a progressive man, provided with a shot-gun and a flywhisk, he was 5 feet 9 inches tall, of spare build, intelligent looking, active in his movements, about forty years of age." [5]

This vivid description introduces the man whose actions greatly contributed to the modernization of the Plateau Tonga. By accepting the Jesuits and the Adventists as settlers in his area, he laid the foundation of, among other innovations, the

school system of education.

The second party of missionaries led by W.H. Anderson of the Seventh-day Adventist Church reached Chief Monze's village in 1903 to survey suitable land to establish a mission station.[6] Forty-seven years had passed since David Livingstone told a gathering at Chief Monze's Village of the need for mission stations established on the plateau. David Livingstone's reason was that:

> "... it would be of great importance to have stations in this healthy region whither agents oppressed by sickness would retire which would serve moreover as part of a chain of communication between the interior and the coast." 7

The Jesuits and the Adventists, who simultaneously established mission stations among the plateau Tonga in 1905, were in no way influenced by the writings of David Livingstone or the missionary movements in East and Central Africa which followed his footsteps. If the Jesuits had read the writings of David Livingstone their first attempt to establish mission stations north of the Zambezi river in 1880 would not have failed for they would have acquired from them a colossal amount of knowledge about the climatic and geographical conditions which prevailed between the Zambezi and the Kafue rivers. Instead, the Jesuit expedition of 1880 ended in a fiasco.

However, the fascinating aspect is that between 1855 and 1902, Chief Monze's people had remained open for the establishment of christian mission stations among them. Although Chief Monze himself was never converted to christianity before his death in 1915, he remained friendly to missionaries.

The Origins of the Jesuits and the Adventists in Southern Zambia

The Jesuits.

An idea was conceived among the Jesuit clergy in Europe in 1878 to establish a new Catholic province in Africa, north of the Limpopo river. The proposed Catholic province was named the Zambesi mission. The boundaries of the Zambesi Mission stretched from the Limpopo in the South to the Southern shores of Lake Bangweulu in northern Zambia. The Portuguese possessions of Mozambique and Angola were the boundaries of the Zambesi Mission to the east and west respectively.[8] In 1879, the province of the Zambesi Mission was entrusted to the Catholic Order of the Society of Jesus.[9] The Jesuits were to share boundaries with another Catholic Order, the White Fathers, who in 1868 embarked on missionary work in the region north of Lake Bangweulu.

Prior to the dispatch of the Jesuit party to the Zambesi Mission, five Jesuit priests and three brothers had started St. Aidan's College at Grahamstown in the Cape Colony in 1875.[10] This became the initial base for the vanguards of Catholic Faith to the Zambesi Mission. When the caravan left Grahamstown in April 1879, the leader of the expedition to the Zambesi Mission Fr. Depelchin expressed optimism over the objectives of the Jesuit expedition. However, the initial set back that faced the Jesuit party was Khama's refusal to permit them to settle in his country. Missionaries of the London Missionary Society were already established in Botswana. Khama's argument was that if he permitted the Jesuits to settle in his country, they could introduce teachings which were contrary to the teachings of the London Missionary Society and this could bring disunity

among his people.[11]

Fr. Depelchin's failure to win the favour of King Khama of the Bechuana people left him with no option but to lead his party beyond Khama's country. The Jesuits left Tati and proceeded to Bulawayo. In September they arrived at Lobengula's Capital.[12] Unfortunately for the Jesuits, Lobengula's Kingdom was also already penetrated by missionaries of the London Missionary Society. Reverend Robert Moffat was loved and admired by Mzilikazi [13] the first king of the Matebele. Through his relationship to the Ndebele autocracy, the London Missionary Society was granted permission to stay in the Matebele nation. Therefore, when Lobengula succeeded his father as the King of the Matebele in 1870, the Missionaries of London Missionary Society had already won a place among the Matebele people. However, Lobengula refused the L.M.S. missionaries to convert his subjects to Christianity. John Moffat, the son of Robert, wrote in 1887 that 'the missionaries in Matebeleland do not exercise the slightest influence on those around them.'[14]

In light of this background, the Jesuits at Lobengula's Kingdom had not the slightest chance of succeeding. Fr. Depelchin and his men were not refused entry into Lobengula's Capital but the king of the Matebele was of course suspicious of their motives. He welcomed them but informed them that there were already enough teachers in his kingdom and that he did not need extra missionaries.[15] However, Lobengula granted the Jesuits permission to stay at his Capital until April in 1880, and then they could proceed to the Zambezi river. The leader of the expedition, Fr. Depelchin, wrote:

"... the king has allowed our fathers to remain in his territory only till the time suitable to go to the Zambezi had arrived." 16

The Jesuits were getting further and further away from their base in Grahamstown without any success. But the determined Fr. Depelchin's party did not foresee a possible failure to inaugurate the cherished Zambesi Mission. Although they were getting further away from access to the outside world, Fr. Depelchin wrote:

"... when the railway from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria is finished there will be our natural road to the mission." 17

In May 1880, the Jesuit party consisting of six priests and four brothers broke into two groups. Four priests and two brothers were assigned to embark on the expedition to the Zambezi river. Two priests and two brothers remained at Bulawayo as link-men with other Jesuits who were posted at Tati in Botswana.[18] Fr. Depelchin's decision to post his men at both Tati and Bulawayo was for dual purposes. The only sure way of not losing ground to aspiring missionaries of other societies was to maintain close contact with both Khama and Lobengula of Botswana and Rhodesia respectively. It appeared that Fr. Depelchin relied on the supposition that the Kings of the Bechuana and Matebele people would eventually permit the Jesuits to build mission stations in their respective countries. Secondly, it was essential for Fr. Depelchin to station some of his men at major centres along the line of communication. This was the only way to ensure that the Jesuits continued in contact with the outside world.

The Jesuit expedition left Bulawayo via Tati for Pendamatenga an outpost which lay about 100 kilometres South West of the Victoria falls. It was the trading centre of George Westbeech, who had

established Pendamatenga as his business headquarters in 1871.[19] It was linked with Tati by a twenty days trek by ox-wagon. The African elephant hunters, such as Frederick Courtney Selous, also used Pendamatenga as a centre from which they set off on hunting expeditions. Ivory was brought to Pendamatenga for storage and sale.[20]

After settling at Pendamatenga in mid 1880, the Jesuits were optimistic that the dream of founding the first station of the Zambesi Mission would be a reality. Fr. Deplchin earmarked two areas as possible places for the Catholic Mission stations across the Zambezi river. The first possible place was at Lealui the capital of the Lozi King Lewanika. But on the contrary, two expeditions to Lewanika's Capital in 1880 and 1883 by the Jesuit party bore no fruit. On each occasion Lewanika refused to permit Fr. Depelchin to settle in his country.[21]

However, to the north-east of Pendamatenga across the Zambezi river was the Tonga country where Lewanika's influence was minimal. Frederick Selous, the hunter, had in 1877 toured the country of Chief Mweemba of the Tonga people.[22] Selous became the reliable informant of the Jesuits, advising them of the Tonga country in the lower valley of the Zambezi river. The expedition by Fr. Depelchin to Chief Mweemba's village, close to the Zambezi up river from the Victoria Falls, gave hope to the Jesuits. The approval by Chief Mweemba for the Jesuits to settle in his area resulted in the establishment of the first Catholic Mission station in 1880. It was named the "Holy Cross of the Batonga".[23] Fr. Anthony Terorde was appointed the superior of the new mission station. Brother Harold Vervenne and Fr. Terorde became the first Jesuits to reside

in Zambia. The fatal drawback of Chief Mweemba's area was that it was infested with malarial mosquito. Terorde died of fever on 16th September 1880. His companion Br. Vervenne was rescued at the point of death.[24] The death of Fr. Terorde was a crippling blow to the Zambesi Mission. In August 1882 efforts were made to revive the Holy Cross Mission station, but due to fever, the Jesuits abandoned it permanently in September 1882.[25] Although Fr. Depelchin returned to Lealui in March 1883[26] to try to persuade Lewanika to allow the Jesuits to settle in his country, the hopes of success of the Zambesi Mission had been shattered. It became increasingly impractical for the Jesuits to hold on at Pendamatenga. Between 1880 and 1883, they had experienced three deaths in the Zambezi valley. In 1885, Fr. Depelchin and his companions abandoned Pendamatenga and Tati.[27]

The false start of the Jesuit Zambesi Mission in the 1880's can be attributed to the following factors. The ignorance of the Jesuits of the geography of the land beyond the Zambezi river was a major obstacle to their efforts. The setting of the first mission station in the Zambezi Valley illustrated the scant knowledge they had about the prevailing conditions in that region. The malaria fever was endemic in the Zambezi valley. By settling along the banks of the Zambezi river, the Jesuits exposed themselves to conditions that were capable of wiping out the entire team. As John Weyers, a resident at Pendamatenga in 1881, remarked: the Jesuits "... were suffering from fever, which on the lower and Central Zambezi is most deadly to white men freshly arrived from Europe."[28] The departure of Fr. Deplchin's party from Pendamatenga was the only sure way of saving the lives of the surviving Jesuits.

Total exhaustion resulting from constant attacks from malaria fever compelled the Jesuits to seek refuge in the Cape Colony.

The attitude of King Lewanika also contributed to the failure of the initial efforts by the Jesuits to embark on missionary work in Zambia. Since the arrival of Fr. Depelchin at Pendamatenga in 1880, he led two expeditions to Lealui. When the Jesuits first interviewed Lewanika, there were indications that he would eventually permit them to settle in his kingdom.

When Fr. Depelchin approached Lewanika for the second time in March 1883,[30] the Lozi monarch bluntly refused to admit the zealous Catholic Missionaries in his kingdom, and ordered them to leave Lealui.

Lewanika's refusal to accommodate the Jesuit party can be attributed to two factors. Firstly, he was suspicious of the motives of the Jesuits. He could not commit himself to the wishes of strangers whom he did not know very well. But Lewanika turned out to be much more unfriendly to the Jesuits when they paid him the second visit. This suggested the existence of denominational rivalry at Lewanika's capital. The French Missionary, Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, had, in 1879, won the favour and confidence of Lewanika.[31] He resided at the kings capital of Lealui and eventually, in 1885, he developed his mission station at Sefula.

Reverend Coillard had full knowledge of the intentions of the Jesuits to embark on missionary work in Lewanika's kingdom. He first met the Jesuit party at Bloemhof in South Africa on 6th June 1879 on his return journey after visiting Lewanika.[32] When Fr. Depelchin made a second visit to Lewanika in March 1883, Coillard

had consolidated his position at Lewanika's capital. He exerted considerable influence on Lewanika on issues involving the settlement of other missionary Societies. Lewanika would not grant permission to Fr. Depelchin to settle in his kingdom against the wishes of Reverend Coillard. For instance, Lewanika allowed the missionaries of the Primitive Methodist Missionary Society to proceed to the Ila country in 1893 only after Coillard had intervened in their favour.[33] On the contrary, Coillard did not intervene in favour of the Jesuits. The consequence was that Depelchin was sent away from Lewanika's kingdom.

In the Zambezi valley among the Tonga the Jesuits were knocked out by malaria fever. But their failure to establish mission stations in the kingdoms of Khama, Lubengula and Lewanika was largely caused by the rivalry between the Protestant and Catholic Missionaries. In the kingdoms of Khama and Lobengula Reverend Robert Moffat of the London Missionary Society had great influence over the two Monarchs. In the kingdom of Lewanika it was Reverend Francois Coillard who was not keen to compete against missionaries of the Catholic faith. The leader of the projected Zambesi Mission, Fr. Depelchin associated the failure of the first Jesuit expedition with the jealousy of the Protestant Missionaries. Fr. Depelchin wrote:

> "The journey is nothing; but the great danger is the protestant missionaries who have already said that they would try their level best to keep us out of the field." 34

Missionaries of the London Missionary Society and the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society were the only protestants whom Depelchin had come into contact with. The pressure from the two missionary societies and the devastating malaria fever compelled Depelchin to

abandon the Jesuits' residences at Pendamatenga and Tati in 1885. Fr. Peter Prestage, who later became the leader of the second expedition in 1902, insisted on remaining at Bulawayo while the rest of the members of Depelchin's party retired to Grahamstown in the Cape Colony.[35] Fr. Prestage's determination to maintain close contacts with the Matebele Monarch, Lobengula, bore some dividends in 1887 when he pursuaded Lobengula to permit the Jesuits to establish an industrial mission station at Empandeni to the north west of Bulawayo. Empandeni Mission station became the stepping stone for the establishment of the first Jesuit Mission in Zambia in 1905.

After 1885, the recruits for the Zambesi Mission had to be prepared for future expeditions. A study programme for the Jesuit recruits was devised at St. Aidan's college in Grahamstown which was intended to make the Jesuit personnel more knowledgeable of the prevailing conditions in the regions of the Zambesi Mission. The Jesuits were exposed to detailed studies of the physical, climatic and ecological conditions of the areas where they were to work. The programme also embodied studies of the Bantu languages.[36]

In 1890, there was a new political upheaval in the form of the occupation of Mashonaland by the British South Africa Company. Cecil John Rhodes, the leader of the B.S.A. Company, appointed the Jesuit priests to be the Chaplains for the Company's pioneer column. Rhodes also promised the Jesuits grants of land to construct chrches and schools in future townships and put at their disposal large pieces of land to build mission stations.[37] The Jesuits accepted Rhodes' offer with open hands.

Before the end of the nineteenth century, the Jesuits had developed Chishawasha Mission Station in Mashonaland. They had also consolidated their position at Empandeni Mission Station. Instead of taking the initiative to extend their influence north of the Zambezi, it was Rhodes himself who urged them to do so. The founder Missionary of Chikuni Mission in Zambia, Fr. Joseph Moreau, stated that:

> "Rhodes himself was urging the Jesuit Fathers to open a mission north of the Zambezi, promising to help it, just as he had helped to open missions in Southern Rhodesia." 38

The acceptance of Rhodes' offer by the Jesuits in 1902, constrasted with the policy of Fr. Depelchin, the leader of the first Jesuit expedition in 1880. He has revealed that his party sought the best way to remove any suspicion of being political agents of the British.[39]

However, in 1902, Fr. Peter Prestage, the only survivor of Depelchin party and the founder of Empandeni, the first Jesuit mission in Rhodesia, led the second Jesuit expedition to the north of the Zambezi.[40] To some extent this was in response to the appeals by Cecil John Rhodes who desired to co-opt missionary activities in his scheme of colonisation.

The projected railway line across the Zambezi river was to be the guiding factor in the location of the proposed Jesuit mission. Fr. Moreau stated:

> "the directions given to Father Prestage by his superior were that he had to choose a place for a future mission, situated at least 60 miles from Zambezi and on the future railway line." 41

Kalomo was close to the 60 miles mark from the Zambezi river. It was also established in 1897 as an administrative centre for Robert Coryndon, the resident administrator of North West Rhodesia.

The initial survey indicated that the railway line would pass 50 km West of Kalomo. The Jesuit party chose land in Chief Kalenga's area,. However, according to Fr. Moreau this site in Chief Kalenga's area was unsuitable for a mission station:

> "... the scarcity of people, presence of tsetsefly and the terrain of valleys and bushes made the area inappropriate for a mission station." 42

The search for suitable mission land was extended to Chief Monze's area. The B.S.A. Co. officials had come to the same conclusion as David Livingstone that Chief Monze's area was best suited for the development of Christian missions.[43] Fr. Prestage could not resist the encouragement from the officials of the administration at Kalomo to travel to Chief Monze's village. On arrival there in 1902, Fr. Moreau wrote:

> "Monze as a missionary country was in everyway much better country than Kalenga was, but it was at least 120 miles away from the projected railway line and the direction given was very precise: the future mission had to be on the railway line." 44

After spending a week at Chief Monze's village, Fr. Prestage and Fr. Moreau were convinced that Chief Monze's area was most suited for their purpose. The area was densely populated, the soil was fertile and there was abundant water supply. Chief Monze was pleased to have missionaries settle in his area.[45] Fr. Prestage indicated:

> "The chief seems to desire that we should establish ourselves in his district. I told him that the main condition for our doing so was that we should find sufficient people desirous of learning and willing to settle near us." 46

Before their departure from Monze's village the two Jesuit priests pegged a provisional site for the future development of the proposed mission station and when they departed they took with them four

boys from Monze's village. Fr. Prestage's comments on the deal are as follows:

> "Before taking leave of him we asked him to entrust to us three or four young boys to be placed at Chishawasha for their education. We made the request in the morning. He said he would think about it. By the evening he told us he would comply with our request and the following morning early he brought us one of his own sons Bhinya, together with three other boys, Haatontola, Jahaliso and Jojo to be taken to Chishawasha." 47

The entrusting of the four boys to the Jesuit party caused some mixed feelings among the people. Mothers of the young lads expressed concern over the decision by the Chief to permit the young boys to join the company of the Jesuit Missionaries. They were not certain whether the two priests were genuine in promising that the four boys would come back.[48] Chief Monze Nchete allowed the Jesuits to take the four boys to Rhodesia. The granting of permission to the Jesuit priests to take the four boys with them was a gesture of trust and good will. It was also a way of committing the Jesuits subsequently to come and settle among his people.

Since 1897, the Tonga people had participated in the traffic of labour migration to Rhodesia.[49] By 1902 it had become a common practice for young men to migrate across the Zambezi river to seek employment in the mines of Rhodesia. Therefore, it did not appear abnormal to the menfolk of the Monze Community for the four boys to migrate to the south of the Zambezi river. The testimony of one of the four boys indicates that the chief and village elders allowed the boys to go on the understanding that they were to be employed by the priests.[50] On the contrary, the priests wanted to put the boys in one of their mission schools in Rhodesia.

The Jesuit priests were delighted by the chief's gesture of friendship. It showed that he had good faith in the Catholic priests. It was their intentions to take the boys, offer them the rudiments of Catholicism and bring them back as soon as the mission station could be opened in Monze's territory. Fr. Moreau's description of the occasion reads:

> "I consider that on that day of the assumption, 1902, a link was forged between the Catholic Church and the Batonga, the seed of the Chikuni Mission was sown and its growth was largely due to those four boys." 51

The four boys, namely, Haatontola, Jahaliso, Bbiya and Jojo, whose ages were seventeen, fifteen, thirteen and twelve respectively were placed at Empandeni mission and not at Chishawasha as Fr. Prestage had indicated. At Empandeni Mission, the four boys learnt the basic skills of animal rearing, poultry and using the ox-plough to till the arable land. They were also given schooling , an art which made them the first Tonga youth to be initiated to the school system of education. They also had religious instruction and they taught Fr. Moreau their own language of Chitonga.[52] The boys were baptised and given Christian names. Thereafter, they were known as James Haatontola, Henry Jahaliso, Joseph Bbinya and Alred Jojo.[53]

The first Jesuit Mission station was not inaugurated until 1905. Prior to this date, contacts were made with the Company Administration in North Western Rhodesia. Major Robert Coryndon coaxed Lewanika on behalf of the Jesuits. Coryndon wrote to Fr. Barthelemy, the Jesuit Superior of the Zambesi mission who resided in Rhodesia, and said:

> "I assure you of all the support I can give you. Mid-May would be an excellent time to start. I spoke several times to Lewanika about your project. He is perfectly willing to give you help as he is very anxious for the good education of his people." 54

The direction of the projected railway line was altered to avoid the Kafue flats. It finally passed close to Chief Monze's village across the Tonga Plateau. The news of the change of the direction of the line of rail was received by Fr. Prestage and Fr. Moreau with jubilation. In 1905 the two priests conferred with Major Coryndon and informed him of their intentions to establish a mission station in Chief Monze's area. As was expected, Coryndon approved the plans of the Jesuits. In July 1905, Fr. Joseph Moreau and Fr. Jules Torrend together with the four Tonga boys arrived at Monze's Village. They had come with tangible plans to inaugurate the first Catholic mission station in Zambia run by the Jesuits.

The Adventists

The early Adventist Missionaries to Zambia belonged to a relatively young church organization. The Sabbath-keeping community in the United States of America adopted the name of Seventh-day Adventist in 1860.[55] The adoption of the new name coincided with the organization of the church. In 1874, the Seventh-day Adventist church embarked on a world wide mission programme whose main objective was to evangelize the international community on the basis of the adventist faith.[56] The World Mission Programme was characterized by the sending of American missionaries to foreign countries, an approach which enabled the church to internationalize its character. The General Conference, situated in Washington, D.C., became the headquarters of the Seventh-day Adventist World Mission. One of its main functions was to distribute missionaries to all parts of the world where there was need of spreading the gospel. The Foreign Mission Board was formed and charged with the responsibility of co-ordinating

the church's work in various parts of the world.[57] The Adventists penetrated into Africa from the Cape. They moved steadly northwards, establishing mission stations which became centres of Western education. The Adventists sent a reconnaissance expedition north of the Zambezi in 1903. Two years later they entered the country to settle and to embark on missionary work.

The doctrine of the Adventists was first sounded on the African soil by a gold miner, William Hunt. He came to South Africa from the United States.[58] In conjunction with two South African nationals, Pieter Wessels and George van Gruten, William Hunt forged links with the Adventist community in America. Appeals for missionaries were sent to the Adventist institution of Battle Creek College.[59] Accordingly, the last decade of the nineteenth century saw a steady flow of American Adventist Missionaries into Southern Africa. In May 1895, a company of six missionaries landed at the Cape Colony. The party was destined for Rhodesia, the new Colony of the British South Africa Company. They travelled to the railhead at Mafeking. With a caravan of two ox-wagons, William H. Anderson, George Tripp, Fred Sparrow and Dr. A.S. Carmichael, a medical missionary, and their wives trekked from Mafeking to Bulawayo.[60] At Bulawayo, the Adventist expedition was joined by Pieter Wessels and A. Druillard, two South Africans from the Kimberley Adventist Community.[61]

The leader of the B.S.A. Company which administered the newly acquired colony of Rhodesia, authorized the colony administrator at Bulawayo, Dr. Jameson, to grant permission to the Adventist Missionaries to possess any unoccupied land of their choice. Dr. Jameson responded to Rhodes' instructions by granting twelve thousand hectares of land to the Adventist Missionaries.[62] At

about 60 kilometres South West of Bulawayo, Solusi Mission was established on land which Elder Sparrow had pegged in 1894.[63] The Solusi Mission station was vital to subsequent development of the first Adventist Mission station in Zambia. It was the stepping stone for the extension of the Adventist influence north of the Zambezi river.

In 1902, the Lozi Monarch, Lewanika, was invited by the company administration in North Western Rhodesia to attend the coronation of King Edward VII. The director of Solusi Mission, William H. Anderson, was in Bulawayo when Lewanika passed on his return journey.[64] Anderson grasped the opportunity to talk to the Lozi King who claimed the allegiance of the people of the then North Western Rhodesia which included the Tonga Plateau. Lewanika, whose mind was fresh with what he had seen in England invited the Adventists to come and set up mission stations in his country. Writing about the occasion Anderson stated:

> "I met Lewanika on his return to Africa, and I asked him what made the greatest impression upon him during his journey. The answer from the heathen King was, the intelligence of the English people, and what the gospel has done for them. He then urged us to send missionaries into his territory, that his subjects might have the blessing of the gospel, which had meant so much to the white man." 65

The impressions traced on the mind of Lewanika by his visit to England seemed to have influenced him to welcome missionaries to his country. In 1883, Lewanika had refused the Jesuit party permission to settle in his country. In 1893 he had allowed the Primitive Methodist missionaries to proceed to the Ila country only after thorough persuasion. In 1902 it was now Lewanika, himself urging missionaries to establish mission stations in his country. Anderson indicated that:

> "It was in response to this invitation that I requested the South African Union Conference Committee in April 1903, to permit me to go over the Zambezi to look up a mission site for the opening of our work in that territory." 66

The Union Conference, which looked after the interests of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in South Africa and Rhodesia, granted permission to Anderson to lead an expedition to the north of the Zambezi. The Anderson party travelled from Bulawayo by train up to the railhead at Mambanje. The expedition proceeded on foot to the Victoria Falls and on to the administration headquarters at Kalomo.[67] The party found its way with ease since on arrival at the Victoria Falls, the representative of the administration entrusted Anderson with one of his servants to guide his party to Kalomo. The presence of the guide made it possible for the party to cover an average of forty kilometres per day.[68] At Kalomo the company administrator suggested that the Adventists proceed to Chief Monze's country. In the previous year, in 1902, the Company administrator had also advised the Jesuit Party to go and survey the area of Chief Monze. The popularity of the area can be associated with two factors. Firstly, Monze's area was healthy and suitable for white settlement. The officials seemed to have heeded David Livingstone's recommendation that Monze's country should be opened for missionary work. This idea appeared to have been repeatedly sounded to Elder Anderson who considered that his expedition followed "the trail of Livingstone."[69] Secondly, Monze's region was one area on the Tonga plateau where the Company officials were certain that Missionaries would be welcomed.

On arrival at Chief Monze's village, Elder Anderson interviewed the chief. Communication was easy because Anderson's Companion, Jacob Detja, spoke the Tonga language[70] having learned it from his former workmates at the mines in Rhodesia.[71] He served as an interpreter for the Anderson party. Anderson's main interest was to secure land which had an abundant water supply.

The Adventist expedition was taken to headman Muchelemba's village, twelve kilometres southeast of the Chief's village. At about two kilometres from Muchelemba's village was the Tinti, the natural spring which was capable of supplying adequate water for the missionaries' domestic use and for irrigation. The Adventist party conducted a thorough survey of the land adjacent to the natural spring of water. Eventually, the party pegged 5,436 hectares of land and constructed a beacon about one kilometre from the natural spring in order to symbolise that the adjacent land had been claimed.[72] The Chief consented to the Adventist claim although it was the same land which the Jesuit party had surveyed a year before. Although it was commonly known that the Jesuit party had ear-marked the land adjacent to the 'Tinti' for subsequent settlement, the Adventists took advantage of the fact that the Jesuits had not made definite claims to the proposed mission site.[73]

Chief Monze did not object to the Adventist claims because he wanted missionaries to settle among his people. It was not certain whether the Jesuits would come back. Although their preference was Monze's area, they fixed their attention on the site thay had pegged earlier in Kalenga's area which lay close to the projected railway line. However, by 1903, the Company Administration had begun to give

indications that the direction of the projected railway line would be altered. Elder Anderson appeared to have some foresight into the new direction of the railway line. When he made reference to the qualities of the piece of land he mapped out Monze's area, he said:

> "The soil was good, the water was abundant, native villages were plentiful; and as it was only three miles from the watershed, there seemed to be a good chance that the railway would pass our way." 74

Before the departure of Anderson's party for Rhodesia, he finalised the claims for the land he pegged in Chief Monze's area. Elder Anderson wrote:

> "I then returned to Kalomo, filed my claims and started for home." 75

The acceptance by the Company Administration of the Adventist claims illustrated that the Jesuits had not filed their land claims in Chief Monze's area. Therefore, it was not immediately realized that the two missionary societies would subsequently make simultaneous claims to the same piece of land.

Racing for Control

At first the two aspiring missionary societies did not appear in a hurry to establish mission stations in Zambia. For the next two years after the departure of the Adventists, the Tonga plateau remained unpenetrated by any mission society. The Ila country to the northwest of the Tonga plateau was already occupied by the Primitive Methodist Missionaries.[76] Fr. Moreau had settled with his four Tonga boys at Empandeni Mission since his return from Zambia in 1902.[77] Elder Anderson went back to America on furlough at the end of the Adventist expedition to Zambia in 1903.[78] The construction of the railway line, which played a major role in

influencing the decisions of the two missionary societies, had made steady progress. In 1904, the bridge across the Zambezi river at Victoria Falls was completed. By mid-1905, the seat of the Administration at Kalomo was the railhead.[79]

The news of the change of the direction of the railway line reached both parties. Fr. Moreau was delighted by the alteration. His dream to establish the first Jesuit Mission station north of the Zambezi in Chief Monze's area was to become a reality. Anderson appreciated the fact that his guess that the railway line would pass next to the proposed mission site had been vindicated. The Jesuit station of Empandeni and the Adventist Mission of Solusi were both situated in the Bulawayo region. Each missionary society became aware of the intentions of the other to settle in Monze. This plunged them into a race for control of the pegged mission site in Monze.

Fr. Moreau and Elder Anderson sought approval of their respective superiors before they embarked on missionary work in Zambia. In April 1905, the Superior of the Jesuits' Zambesi Mission, Fr. Gartland, asked Fr. Moreau to lead an expedition to Zambia. Elder Anderson solicited support to set up the first Adventist Mission station in Zambia when he was on furlough in 1904. In May 1905, the Adventist expedition was ready to travel to Zambia.

In May 1905, the Jesuit and the Adventist expeditions took separate trips by train to the railhead at Kalomo. The Jesuit party consisted of the two priests, Joseph Moreau and Jules Torrend, and the four Tonga boys who travelled to Rhodesia with the Jesuit expedition of 1902. The Adventist party was made up of Elder Anderson, his wife, daughter and mother[80] and his Matebele

companions. They were Jacob Detja, Philip Malomo, Jack Mahlatini Mpofu, Andrew Nyakana Buyisa,[81] Alvin Mulema Chabango, Elma Madima Nkomo and Albert Madambi Ndhlovu.[82]

On arrival at Kalomo, the Adventist party purchased twelve oxen and trained them for the yoke. After a week of training, the span of oxen was tame and ready to pull a wagon full of supplies to Chief Monze's area. On 1st July 1905, the Adventist party camped on the site which the 1903 expedition had pegged.[83] The Jesuit party travelled from Kalomo on a Dutchman's hired wagon which left their luggage next to Chief Monze's village. On 3rd July, the two Jesuit priests arrived at Muchelemba's village only to find the site surveyed by Fr. Prestage and Fr. Moreau in 1902 already occupied by the Adventists.[84]

After arrival at Monze's village, Fr. Moreau said:

> "The first job then to be done was to find a site for the mission we had come to establish near Monze. The Adventist Missionary Anderson, had stolen a march on us and had two days previously put down his goodsat Rusangu, three miles from Monze's village." 85

The Jesuit loss of the mission site to the Adventists is often presented as an event which marred the relationship between the two mission societies. The truth is otherwise, Fr. Moreau was obviously disappointed to lose the mission farm he hoped to occupy. The two Jesuit priests spent one hour with Anderson at his new settlement. The occasion was marked by cordial relationship. Fr. Moreau appreciated the fact that the Adventists had left a beacon on the mission site which was constructed in the presence of the local community.[86] Chief Monze consoled the Jesuit priests by offering them an alternative site. He sent the Jesuits to Siantumbu's village, [87] Southeast of the Adventist settlement. Headman Siantumbu assisted

the Jesuit party to locate suitable land for settlement as directed by Chief Monze. At the confluence of the Magoye river and Chikuni river, Fr. Moreau pegged the mission farm on which the first Jesuit Mission Station in Zambia developed.

The selection of the same mission site by the Jesuits and the Adventists was not accidental. Both Fr. Moreau and Elder Anderson were governed by identical conditions when determining the suitability of a mission site. The two pioneer missionaries desired to establish mission stations close to a large settlement of the indigenous people with an adequate water supply, proximity to the railway line and suitable arable land for farming. These conditions were all available at Muchelemba's village where the representatives of the two mission societies were locked in the race for the control of the same piece of land. After securing possession of the Rusangu Mission farm, Anderson wrote:

> "In locating the new mission station, there was a combination of four things that I especially desired. First of course was proximity to the native. A person can accomplish very little in laboring for the people unless he is near them. Secondly, we wanted a good supply of water.... Thirdly, we desired proximity to the railway line;...
> The fourth point, what we desired was to establish an industrial mission, where the native might be taught to work, which is one of the principles of the gospel. We therefore wanted good soil." 88

When Fr. Moreau embarked on the search for an alternative site he used the same criteria for selecting the appropriate land. Expressing his satisfaction over the alternative site, Fr. Moreau wrote:

> "On the Chikuni, about 1,000 yards before it joins the Magoye, on its east bank, we found a place which had all that a Mission requires: land, wood, water and especially a population nearby. Four villages were very near those of Siantumbu, Ufwenuka, Cobe and Manya. At a little more distance were many villages: Basanje, Cisuwo, Cizyibwa and Sianamaila." 89

On 14th July 1905, the Jesuit party camped under the Musekesi tree at Chikuni. This was on the eleventh day after they visited the Adventist settlement at Rusangu. Writing about his experience of the first night Fr. Moreau said:

> "The first night of July 14th was very cold on the banks of the Chikuni river. We had no house, of course, not even a tent. We had no cattle, no tools, no vehicle of any kind. It could have been useless then; there was not a single trained ox in the country except for the span of oxen which Mr. Anderson, the Adventist, had brought with him from the South." 90

Prior to the settlement of the Jesuit party at Chikuni, Fr. Moreau informed the Adventist party that he had secured a suitable piece of land for settlement. He asked Anderson to transport Jesuit luggage from their temporary camp near Monze's village to the permanent camp at Chikuni. Permission was granted and an ox-wagon was assigned to Fr. Moreau to help him settle down. Anderson recalled these events as follows:

> "Later these men settled on a farm near us, and they asked to hire our wagon to transport their goods to their station. I sent the oxen and wagon with my native driver and spent a week getting them settled and started in their work. Of course, we never charge anything for favors of this kind; and friendly relations were thus established with these neighbours of ours, which continued to this day." 91

It was on the basis of cordial relationship between the Jesuits and the Adventists that Chikuni and Rusangu were established. The two founder missionaries, Fr. Moreau and Elder Anderson of Chikuni and Rusangu respectively were intimates. The incident of the dual claim of ownership of Rusangu mission farm did not jeopardize the common understanding between the clergymen of the two mission societies. In

any case, there was little room for rivalry between Fr. Moreau and Elder Anderson, since in 1905, the Missionaries of the two societies were isolated from any other white communities.

Fr. Moreau and Elder Anderson set a precedent of common understanding between the Catholic Priests at Chikuni and the Adventist Pastors at Rusangu. The seed of good working conditions planted in 1905 by the founder missionaries of Chikuni and Rusangu flourished over the years as the two missions developed into leading educational institutions in Zambia.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE ORGANISATION AND THE PHILOSOPHIES OF THE JESUITS AND THE ADVENTISTS

Prelude

The Roman Catholic priests of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) and the Seventh-day Adventist Missionaries (Adventists) who penetrated Southern Zambia in 1905, belonged to universal religious organisations although the former was 365 years old and the latter only 45. The educational philosophies applied in the mission field reflected their respective universal philosophies.

The chapter makes an attempt to outline the organisation of the Order of the Society of Jesus and the Seventh-day Adventist Church, to identify the universal philosophies of the Jesuits and the Adventists and show how they influenced the establishment and the development of Chikuni and Rusangu Mission Stations. The chapter also shows the areas where the Jesuits and the Adventists adapted their principles to suit the local environment.

For the purpose of clarity, the narrative of the organisation and the analysis of the universal philosophy of each missionary society are presented separately. Parallel assessment only occurs in areas which require comparative study of the two missionary societies.

The Organisation of the Society of Jesus.

The Society of Jesus is one of the 'Orders' of the Roman Catholic Church. Persons who enlist with the Order of the Society of Jesus are commonly known as the Jesuits.

Before admission into the Order of the Society of Jesus, the aspirants are enrolled at the Jesuit seminary for a testing period of two years. At the end of the two years, the candidates are required to take the vows which subsequently bind them to the Order of the Society of Jesus. They take vows to perpetual poverty, chastity, obedience to the Society of Jesus and to live for the rest of their lives as celibates. The vows are as irrevocable as marriage.[1]

After taking vows, the individuals become Jesuits and consequently proceed to the second stage of study at a Jesuit College or University. Upon completion, the graduates address themselves to the needs of the Roman Catholic Church. They respond to the call by the Pope to serve in the World mission field. Their motto is to render service to humanity "to the greater glory of God."[2]

The Jesuits pay allegiance to the Pope, the head of the Roman Catholic Church. However, the Father General, who resides in Rome, is the immediate universal leader of the Jesuits. The operational activities of the Jesuits fall under his jurisdiction .

The world mission field of the Jesuits is divided into Provinces such as the English Province, the Irish Province and the Polish Province. Under this set up, Zambia was part of the Zambesi Mission Province (see chapter 2). The Polish Province was responsible for the Zambia portion of the Zambesi Mission Province. The Jesuit personnel who served on the Tonga plateau were mostly Polish. The Polish Province instantly ceased to supply men and funds to Zambia following the occupation of

Poland by Nazi Germany in 1939.[3] Only a few Polish Jesuits, such as Fr. M. Prokoph, who were attached to the English Province came to Zambia during the second world war period (see chapter 5).

In 1946, the Irish Province of the Society of Jesus sent the first Jesuits to Zambia. In 1950, following appeals for more Irish Jesuits, the Irish Province accepted responsibility for the Jesuit work in Zambia.[4] Consequently Zambia became a Vice Province of the Society of Jesus attached to the Irish Province which supplied the bulk of the Jesuit personnel. The remnants of the Polish Jesuits continued to serve in the Vice Province of Zambia. In recent years the American and Yugoslav Jesuits have joined the Zambia Vice Province. To date there are only four Zambian Jesuits, namely, Fr. Kalebwe, Fr. Lungu, Fr. Chula and Br. Shula.[5]

The leader of the Jesuits in the Vice Province of Zambia is Father Provincial who resides in Lusaka, Zambia's capital city. The duty of Father Provincial is, among other things, to co-ordinate the work of the Jesuits in Zambia. At a local centre such as Chikuni Mission the Jesuit staff of priests and Brothers fall under the leadership of local Father Superior.[6]

The Jesuits are not regular employees of the Roman Catholic Church. They are comparable to voluntary workers who only receive living allowances and are provided with the basic needs of life by the church. They live in community houses situated at educational institutions and parish centres.[6] The pre-occupation of the Jesuits in the Vice Province of Zambia is educational work, parish work and development projects among the local communities. These aspects are discussed in detail in the proceeding chapters.

The Organisation of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

There are two important events in the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and these are the formal organisation of the church in 1860 and the inception of the world missionary programme in 1874 (see chapter 2). It was after these two events that the Seventh-day Adventists gradually established an operational hierarchy which is divided into five segments, namely, the 'General Conference', the 'Division', the 'Union', the 'Field' and the 'District'.

The General Conference is the universal headquarters of the S.D.A. church and it is situated in Washington D.C. in the United States of America. The President of the General Conference is the universal leader and his office is responsible for co-ordinating the world missionary programme of the S.D.A. Church.[7]

The Divisions are regional headquarters in the world mission field of the S.D.A. Church. For example the Trans-Africa Division is the regional headquarters of Southern and Central Africa and the Division office is situated in Salisbury in Rhodesia. The Division President is the regional church leader who co-ordinates the church work in countries which constitute the Trans-Africa Division.

Each individual country in the Division is clasified as a Union. The Union Office is the national headquarters which co-ordinates church work in the individual country. The country is subdivided into Fields. For example Zambia is a Union and the country is divided into three Fields and these are, North Zambia Field which covers the Northern, Luapula and Copperbelt Provinces, South Zambia Field which is made up of

Southern, Central and Eastern Provinces and West Zambia Field which constitutes of Western and North Western Provinces. The Union President is the National leader while the Field Presidents are sectional leaders of the S.D.A. Church. The Fields are further subdivided into Mission Districts. Each District is made up of a collection of local S.D.A. churches which are led by a local pastor or evangelist.

The Adventist missionaries are, unlike the Jesuits, employees of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Upon graduation from Adventist Colleges and Universities, individuals who desire to serve in the church hierarchy seek for employment with either the General Conference or the Division. Those who enlist for church employment are sent into the mission field as missionaries.

In the Zambia Union, the American missionaries are the majority. There are a few missionaries who are British, Canadians and South Africans. They are engaged in administrative work, agricultural work and educational work. Pastoral work in the Mission Districts is cared for by the locally trained Church pastors and evangelists.[8] The role of the Seventh-day Adventist church in educational and agricultural work is thoroughly analysed in the succeeding chapters.

<u>The Universal Educational Philosophy of the Society of Jesus.</u>

The founding of the Society of Jesus and the establishment of the Jesuit educational institutions were the life work of St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491 - 1556). Ignatius and six of his companions took vows to put themselves in the hands

of the Pope, and to quit their parents and all other ties. The Society of Jesus was formally approved by the Pope in Rome in 1540.[9]

The prime objective of the Jesuits was universal evangelism. The society established educational institutions to develop the knowledge of those who enlisted with it in order to serve in the world wide mission programme. The constitution which spells out the philosophy of the society reads in part:

> "Since the aim and end of this society is by going to various parts of the world, in obedience of the Vicar of our Lord Christ or to the Superior of the society, to preach the word of God, to hear confessions and to help souls, it seems necessary or at least iminently reasonable that those who enter upon this task should be men of good character,,,and in their learning suited to such a position 10

The first educational institutions of the Jesuits were at college and university levels in which the Jesuits on probation took studies very seriously. The scholastic curriculum at the society's institutions of higher learning was focussed on the study of grammar, logic, natural and moral philosophy, metaphysics and theology of the sacred scriptures.[11] The Jesuit universities opened the doors to non-Jesuit scholars who were admitted into the science faculty. This was done in order to justify the undertaking of universities to maintain their universality and to equip the young Jesuits with knowledge so that they could teach elsewhere with authority.[12]

Although the Jesuits established colleges and universities in Europe they at first proceeded differently in the mission fields. The learned Jesuit priests went out

to preach the gospel to the local inhabitants. They paid special attention to the usefulness of the knowledge of the scriptures in the preaching of the gospel.[13] It was because of this approach that the Jesuit priests in the mission fields first set up elementary institutions where they trained catechist teachers. They taught them to read and write and imparted to them the knowledge of the gospel. The catechist teacher was used to penetrate his own society. He introduced, on behalf of the missionaries, western education and christianity, combining the teaching of the alphabet with evangelisation. The Jesuits in Zambia, for example, first trained four Tonga catechist teachers before they opened Chikuni mission (see Chapter 2). The four Catechists helped the Jesuit priests to be accepted by the local people. To this effect Fr. Moreau wrote:

> "The boys were there to assure the people that the men who had come to them had not come to exploit them, (sic), deprive them of their cattle but had really come to help them to better their life on earth and prepare them for the next." 14

In some cases, the Jesuits did not embark on scholastic work immediately after establishing a mission station. The principals of the new mission stations concentrated their efforts on public demonstration of arts and skills which they believed would impress the local inhabitants and which the local people would only learn if they associated with the Jesuit Priests.[15] The nature of such activities varied from one region of the mission field to the next since the pioneer priests of the Society of Jesus adapted their activities to the basic needs of the local environment.

In the region of the Zambesi Mission, for example, the Jesuits operated industrial schools where agriculture received great emphasis. The Jesuits first spelt out the philosophy of running industrial schools when Fr. Peter Prestage founded Empandeni Mission in Lobengula's Kingdom in 1885.[16] The fostering of agricultural education among the indigenous people was approved by the British South Africa Company Administration which constituted the civil authority over the territories of Rhodesia and Zambia in 1890 and 1893 respectively (see Chapter 2). The Company Administration gave land to the Jesuits in order to enable them to develop industrial missions to which they were already committed.[17] This is contrary to the view expressed elsewhere that the Company gave land to the Jesuits on condition that they taught the local people modern methods of agriculture.[18]

The Jesuits at Chikuni Mission employed the plough to solicit approval by the local community. The Tonga people had no knowledge of ox-drawn ploughing. Initially, people, were amused to see the plough at work but they appreciated its usefulness at once. The people accepted the necessity of having the Jesuit priests to live in their midst and teach them the new methods of farming. Fr. Moreau invited the people to bring their oxen to him so that he could train them for spanning. He returned the tamed oxen to the owners after using them for a period of one year.[19]

Fr. Moreau's activitity of training the local community in the use of a plough was unique because it was the first of its kind among the Plateau Tonga. At face value, the activity apparently had no correlation with the educational philosophy

of the Jesuits. He did not found Chikuni, for example, on the model of the Jesuit Colleges established in Europe in the 16th Century which were oriented to scholastic activity.[20] Chikuni was instead oriented into agricultural development. The difference is explained by the tendency of the Jesuits to adopt a new philosophy in new mission fields.

It was not until 1940 that the Jesuits put Chikuni on the lines of the society's institutions which magnified scholarly activities. Before that, Chikuni concentrated on agricultural activity and the training of the catechist teachers who in most cases were barely literate (see Chapters 4 and 5).

Fr. Moreau was anxious to avoid the criticism of deviating from the Jesuit educational and evangelical philosophy. He clarified this point and said:

> "Some will remark: But what about the missionary work? The answer is that the first thing the missionaries had to do was to make themselves acceptable to the people, and provide for them what they needed then, which was food and a bit of money to buy the most elementary of clothing and especially to pay the personal tax which had been recently imposed." 21

He defended his activities at Chikuni by pointing out that people needed a lesson in practical Christianity which was service and love for one's neighbour as manifested in the work of mercy.[22]

If we take a close look at the activities of the Jesuits at Chikuni before 1940, we notice that they were in line with the society's philosophy which required them to render Christian Service to others.[23] The Christian service

of Fr. Moreau was to enlighten people on better methods of agriculture which enabled them to increase the production of food. This was a great achievement in his missionary work.

At the founding of the Society of Jesus, the society's philosophy focussed on two aspects. These were intellectual and spiritual developments of the learners through scholastic and religious activities respectively. But the introduction of agricultural activity as one of the objectives of the Jesuits at Chikuni brought in an additional aspect in the society's philosophy. And this was the development of the physical skills of the learners. The consequence was that, in the later years of the existence of Chikuni Mission, the Jesuit educational philosophy centred on what Fr. J. Counihan has described as the all-round development of the youth.[24] This implied that the Jesuits in the mission field devised an educational system which fostered physical, intellectual and spiritual development of all persons enrolled in their schools.

Although the prime objective of the Jesuits was to evangelize the society on the basis of the Roman Catholic faith, education became the vanguard of the gospel. The school was a powerful force to attract those who were anxious to learn and the Jesuits used it in their efforts to change "the attitudes, values and beliefs of people" as suggested by the Jesuit historian Fr. William Lane.[25] This was the fundamental goal of missionary enterprise because Christianisation of the society inescapabably involved a process of social and cultural transformation.

However, the Jesuits did not consider it possible to convert people to Christianity without first initiating elementary education among them.

> "Now to convert the native to Christianity it is necessary to have schools and to impart at least an elementary education. It is through the medium of schools that the young can be influenced and trained to good lives; it is only by instructing and training the young that Christianity can be introduced and get a footing among these people, ... a certain amount of schooling is necessary." 26

The school brought the younger generation within the reach of Catholic teaching, while agriculture brought the older generation into interaction with the Jesuit missionaries. Thus both the children and their elders were subject to the Jesuit evangelical influence.

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The Universal Education Philosophy of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

The Adventist universal educational philosophy is spelt out in Ellen G. White, Education (1903) which is the educational blue print of the S.D.A. denomination. The educational philosophy is derived from the prophetic interpretation of the Holy Bible. It promotes the notion that the principlesof modern science and other disciplines pursued in academic studies in higher institutions of learning are contained in the Holy Bible. This aspect is reflected in the quotation below:

> "The Bible contains all principles that men need to understand in order to be fitted either for this life or for the life to come. And these principles may be understood by all. No one with a spirit to appreciate its

> teaching can read a single passage from the Bible without gaining from it some helpful thought. But the most valuable teaching of the Bible is not to be gained by occasional or disconnected study. Its great system of truth is not so presented as to be discerned by the hasty or careless reader. Many of its treasures lie far beneath the surface, and can be obtained only by diligent research and continuous effort. The truths that go to make up the great whole must be searched out and gathered up, here a little and there a little." 27

The Adventist educational philosophy has no necessary correlation with secular academic studies. It is purely theological. The denominational institutions of the Seventh-day Adventist Church endeavour to follow the educational philosophy outlined with the Church's blue print. An Adventist author has recently summarised the guide lines of the denominational Adventist schools, which first developed in America in the 1840's, as follows:

"1. Children of all believers (Adventists) should definitely be taught within the environment of denominationally owned, sponsored and directed schools. (The Church was expected to provide a school wherever a new company of believers was organised.)

2. Teachers are to be selected through a careful screening process, just as carefully as the church selects ministers.

3. The schools are to be located in the rural setting.

4. Each student is to do manual labor and industrial skills involved in learning a trade.

5. Agriculture is to be the A, B, C, of the education that is given.

6. Industrial occupation is to be the ideal replacement for games, amusements and an athletic program.

7. The Bible should be made the first of all studies as well as the textbook for every study in the school.

8. The teaching force of these schools are not to be those who have perfected their education in the secular schools of the country where the schools are located, or any other country, but are to be people who are real missionaries, individuals in communication with the Holy Spirit.

9. Courses of study should not be of great length particularly on the college level, but an emphasis should be given particularly for preparation to get into the business of proclaiming the gospel as quickly as possible.

10. Discipline may be guided best by a program of industrial education.

11. The objective of these schools, among other things, is to train the students to be self governing, original individuals with built-in control patterns of character.

12. There is to be no compromise in the church's educational system in order to meet standards set up by secular groups or the state.

13. Political questions and issues are not to be part of the educational program." [28]

Such principles formed the basis upon which S.D.A. missionaries founded and operated schools in the mission field. As will be seen in the succeeding chapters, these principles set a course of action for Rusangu Mission at different stages of its development. Some examples to this effect are, the

setting of Rusangu in the rural environment; the incorporation of agriculture in the school curriculum; the deployment of Rusangu school leavers in areas of influence as teacher/ evangelists after only two to four years of formal schooling; the reluctance shown by Rusangu missionary staff to accept the standardised school curriculum spelt out by the Department of Native Education in the 1930's; the resistance by S.D.A. missionaries to government's direct supervision of S.D.A. schools in the territory; the refusal by Rusangu authorities to recommend Rusangu school leavers to enter government institutions after 1937, preferring to send their loyal students for post primary school education in S.D.A. institutions in South Africa and Rhodesia; the handing over of S.D.A. outschools to the government in 1956; and the establishment of a private S.D.A. Junior Secondary School at Rusangu in 1959 to cater for the standard six school leavers from the Central S.D.A. mission schools in the territory (see Chapters 4, 5 and 6 for detailed discussion of these aspects).

However, in three important respects the S.D.A. missionaries deviated from the church's educational guidelines.

Firstly, the colonial administration policy underlying the creation of the Department of Native Education required that mission agency schools in the territory should fall under the direct control of the Department.

Secondly, the acceptance by the Adventist Mission agency in 1925 of government grants-in-aid system to help finance its educational programme brought the agency under the stringent control of the Department.

Thirdly, the standardisation of the school curriculum by the Department from 1928 onwards, the sitting of government examinations by Rusangu students and the certification of mission trained teachers by the government made it impossible for the S.D.A. agency to follow a curriculum which would embody the church's blue print.

In another context, following the establishment of S.D.A. educational institutions, it had become apparent that the school curriculum did not comply with the guidelines of the 'spirit of prophecy'.* In response, Ellen G. White (1903) counsels the S.D.A. educators.

> "Our ideas of education take too narrow and too low a range. There is need of a broader scope and higher aim. True education means more than the pursual of a certain course of study. It means more than a preparation for the life that now is. It has to do with the whole being, and with the whole period of existence possible to man. It is the harmonious development of the physical, the mental and the spiritual powers. It prepares the students for the joy of service in this world and for the higher joy of wider service in the world to come."[29]

There are three aspects cited above which Adventist educators are supposed to give equal attention in the school curriculum. These are the development of the physical, the mental and the spiritual powers of a person, represented by the manual, scholastic and religious activities. Therefore, these three aspects became the three pillars of the Adventist universal educational philosophy.

*Footnote: The Seventh-day Adventist world community refers to the writings of Ellen G. White as the spirit of prophecy. The Adventists believe that her writings were inspired by God and that they are divine counsels, the blue print, to the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

The Adventist missionaries in the mission field claim that their schools train the 'Hand', the 'Head' and the 'Heart'. According to school leavers of Rusangu Mission it was a common slogan in the 1940s that Rusangu trained the three Hs.[30] The 'Hand', the 'Head' and the 'Heart' represented the physical, the mental and spiritual powers of each learner consectively.

Within the period of study, the Adventist primary education in the mission field endeavoured to eradicate illiteracy, to train students in industrial skills such as carpentry, building and food-growing, and to make christians of all students. Rusangu was no exception. At S.D.A. Colleges which developed in Rhodesia and South Africa, the Adventist education also promoted a high level of intellectual development as the former principal of Helderberg College in South Africa and now the President of the Adventist Mission in Zambia has stated:

> "We hope by education we can produce students who by their diligent study and research can add something to the great fund of human wisdom." 31

In the mission field among the Tonga people, Elder Anderson also adopted a policy of winning the approval of the people whom he came to serve. He claims that when he arrived at Muchelemba's village in 1905, where Rusangu Mission stands today, he welcomed all the youth who expressed a desire to join his school. He made efforts to win the confidence of the local people by associating himself

with them, frequenting the villages lying within walking distance from Rusangu, studied the local language and increased his acquaintance with those with whom he came into contact:

> "It was my plan, when preparing to work among the Batonga people, to spend two years in studying the language, becoming acquainted with the people and travelling through the country." 32

Elder Anderson tells a story of a young man named Mainza who was captured by the Matebele army which raided the Tonga plateau in about 1888. In 1902 Mainza went to the Adventist Mission at Solusi in Rhodesia where Anderson first came into contact with him. When Anderson came to settle at Rusangu in 1905, he made efforts to locate the father of Mainza, a man called Sikabasa. By constant inquiry, he eventually discovered where the parents and relatives of Mainza lived. He made plans for him to travel from Solusi to Rusangu. On an ex-wagon Anderson made a trip to Huhwa area, west of Monze, where the parents and relatives of Mainza lived. The reunion of Mainza with his parents, boosted the reputation of the Adventist Missionaries. Anderson became a famous Mfundisi or teacher. Commenting on the scene of reunion of Mainza with his people, Anderson wrote:

> "As soon as the natives found out who he was, they showed him every mark of affection, and for the first time in my life, they gave me a royal salute." 33

The incident of the return of Mainza to his people demonstrates various techniques employed by the pioneer missionaries to capture the allegiance of the indigenous people. The royal salute which the local people gave to

Anderson expressed the people's appreciation. In the view of the local people, the missionary was not simply another whiteman visiting their area. He was a unique whiteman whose interest was deeply vested in the welfare of the people. Elder Anderson could have simply sent Mainza to Huhwa area to look for his parents. But he chose to make a special trip to Huhwa where he personally presented Mainza to his relations. The gesture was an effective method of campaigning for recognition and acceptance by the local people. He had successfully applied the Adventist philosophy of Christian service of the community. In return, the local community appreciated his service by accepting him as a missionary amongst them. Consequently, by 1911 Anderson had penetrated the Tonga traditional society and established village schools among his converts (see Chapter 4).

Environmental Philosophy

This section compares the principles adopted by each society in its dealings with the local community, that is what might be termed its "environmental philosophy."

There used to be a folktale among the local people who lived close to Chikuni and Rusangu Mission Stations and this is how it was related.

> "When a village person comes to Chikuni and sees a fruit tree, he goes to one of the priests and says, 'Give me an orange'. He gives him one. Another villager goes to Rusangu and asks for an orange. The missionary says, 'No I won't give you one. Here is a young orange plant. Take it to the village, plant it and produce your own fruits." 34

The folktale throws light on the environmental philosophy adopted by each of the two missionary societies. It depicits

differences in the manner the Jesuits and the Adventists dealt with the local community. The Jesuit priests and the Adventist missionaries did not send the needy villagers away empty handed. But they applied different methods of satisfying their needs.

Interviews among the community have revealed that the Jesuit priests always showed kindness and sympathy to the local inhabitants. They helped the Catholic adherents whenever possible. In times of famine the adherents obtained material assistance from them. Commenting on this aspect, Fr. Moreau indicated:

> "For many years, the mission was able to help them, especially in their times of hunger, and it was mainly due to that later on when the time came to open schools in different villages far and wide, the people were so ready to have the Chikuni mission schools." 35

By helping the people materially, the Jesuit Fathers were fulfilling the promises they made to the people on their arrival in the Tonga country.[36]

During the pre-independence days, the Chikuni community looked at the Catholic Missionaries as responsible for the welfare of the people.[37] The Jesuits felt obliged to comply with these expectations. However, the attitude of the missionaries had diverse results in the sense that the community tended to consider the missionaries as being able to provide their basic needs. This killed incentive for self-reliance.

The Adventist missionaries endeavoured to make people value things which were necessary to sustain life in the community. They made people self-reliant. The philosophy of

self-sufficiency was instilled in the minds of the people right from the beginning of Rusangu mission in 1905. The Adventist missionaries, including those at Rusangu Mission, did not depart from the denominational philosophy of developing self-supporting institutions.[38] Students were taught to raise their own crops and citrus fruits, to build their own houses and to properly care for cattle and poultry. Villagers were invited to visit Rusangu Mission and observe agricultural development and were encouraged to emulate what they saw at Rusangu.

The Adventists were considered to be less charitable than the Jesuits. In the short run this was true. The Adventists discouraged people from being dependent. Villagers who needed immediate material assistance did not value instructions on how to produce enough to satisfy their basic needs. However, in the long run, the community which was associated with Rusangu Mission became more self-reliant (see Chapter 7 for detailed discussion).

The Adventists believed that manual work was a means of developing christian character and agriculture, poultry and cattle rearing were the chief outdoor activities at Rusangu Mission. The individual's ability to use his hands to better himself and the community was interpreted as a reflection of christian character. While referring to the importance of manual work at Rusangu Mission, Elder Anderson wrote:

> "It is a good experience for the boys and they are learning to bear burdens and carrying responsibilities that will work wonders in the development of the character." 39

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE INITIAL STAGES

Preamble

Before the arrival of the Jesuits and the Adventists at Chief Monze's village, the Tonga plateau was not penetrated by any other missionary society. Elder Anderson, the Adventist who arrived at Rusangu mission site three days ahead of the Jesuits wrote:

> "No mission work had ever been attempted by any denomination among the Batonga people, who inhabit the plateau between the Zambezi and the Kafue rivers before our station was established." [1]

*Located at fifteen kilometres apart, Chikuni and Rusangu mission stations became the first institutions to offer the rudiments of the school system of education to the Tonga society. It is the investigation of the role of the two societies in the development of education in Zambia which forms the basis of the study.

This chapter provides the background of educational development in colonial Zambia and pays special attention to three phases of educational development. This approach is intended to show the relationship between the government and the mission agencies and to establish how educational policies of the former affected the latter. A detailed analysis of Jesuit and Adventist education will follow the general lines of the chronological division in the period 1905 - 1935. But additional sections are added to deal with the specific topics of outschool and teacher education programmes.

The succeeding chapter will extend the analysis through the period 1936 to 1964.

The Background of Educational Development

The development of formal education in colonial Zambia may be divided for our purposes into three phases. The initial phase dates back to 1885 when Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society established a mission station at Sefula. The establishment of the British South Africa Company Administration in North Western Rhodesia in 1893, triggered the influx of missionary societies which emerged as the major educational agencies.

The second phase of the development of education coincided with the coming of the British colonial government in 1924. The formation of the Department of Native Education in 1925 signified government participation in educational efforts for the African population.

The third phase was marked by the establishment of the Local Education Authorities which were enacted by the 1951 African Education Ordinance. The system of Local Education Authorities lasted until the eve of Zambian independence in 1964.

Discussion of Phase I, 1890-1924

When the British South Africa Company administered Northern Rhodesia, education for the local population was largely shouldered by the mission agencies. The Administration's involvement in education was minimal. It established the Barotse National School in 1907 and a small elementary school for the

children of railway workers in Livingstone.[2] Before the company Administration relinquished its rule over Zambia in 1924, fifteen missionary societies had entered the country. The Jesuit fathers of the Roman Catholic Church and the Seventh-day Adventists were two of the fifteen missionary societies which assumed the role of educational agencies.

In 1915, missionary societies in Zambia founded the General Missionary Conference, the idea of which originated from the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in June 1910.[3]

The General Missionary Conference agitated for active involvement of the Company Administration in the educational enterprise. Contrary to the expectations of the General Missionary Conference, the Administration issued the Native School Proclamation of 1918 which enabled it to supervise mission agency schools.[4] The anxiety of the Administration resulting from the war pressure and the 1915 Chilembwe uprising in Malawi prompted the formulation of the Native School Proclamation. The Administration was suspicious that the missionary societies were imparting bad influences upon the indigenous people and thus envisaged close government supervision of mission schools a necessity.[5]

The Acting Inspector of Schools, G.C. Latham, justified the Administration's action and said:

> "Government must have authority to forbid the propagation of doctrines and principles which by common consent are likely to cause unrest among natives and to delay their progress along normal healthy lines"[6]

Responding to the appeals by missionary agencies for government involvement in educational work, Latham reiterated that the Company Administration was not in a financial position to

build and maintain African Schools.[7] The mission agencies' demand for government's participation in educational work was extended to the colonial government when it took over the rule of Zambia in 1924.

The change of government coincided with the visit to Northern Rhodesia by the Phelps-Stokes Commission which was touring Eastern and Southern Africa to investigate and advise on African education.[8] The commission met with the General Missionary Conference at the Kafue site of the Primitive Methodist Mission. The Chairman of the commission, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, told the representatives of the missionary societies that the territory had four educative agencies, namely, the government, the missionary societies, the white settlers, and the African population.[9] This legitimitized the mission agencies' demand for a prominent government role in the development of African education.

By this time, however, the mission societies were pushing at a half-open door, since the Colonial Office had recently decided upon a policy of mission-government co-operation in educational provision in its African territories, and the Phelps-Stokes Commission was making its second visit to Africa with support from the British colonial authorities.[9]

<u>Discussion of Phase II, 1925-1950</u>

The visiting Phelps-Stokes Commission made recommendations in favour of government collaboration in African education. Of all the recommendations by the Phelps-Stokes Commission on education in Northern Rhodesia, there were three key ones, whose implementation strongly influenced government educational policy. These were, firstly the appointment of a Director of Native

Education whose work was to promote the education of Africans and co-ordinate and direct all educational work of the mission agencies. Secondly, the formation of the Native Education Advisory Board in which the missionary societies would be represented in order to advise the government officials who were responsible for African education. Thirdly, the introduction of a grant-in-aid scheme in order to render financial assistance to mission schools.[10]

The Northern Rhodesia government, acting under recent policy directives from the Colonial Office, which had also been influenced by an earlier report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, on education in West and South Africa established the Department of Native Education, formed the Native Education Advisory Board and introduced the grant-in-aid scheme. In 1925, a Sub-Department of Native Education was first created as part of the Department of Native Affairs.[11] In 1927, a separate Department of Native Education was established.[12] Its headquarters was later transferred from Livingstone to Mazabuka, a small town on the northern edge of the Tonga plateau.

The Department did not take over the management of the mission schools. It came in as a unifying force for the sporadic efforts by the Christian missions to promote education among the local communities. The Department standardised mission education by issuing a common syllabus for all mission schools in the territory. The personnel of the Department conducted regular inspection tours of missions' central and village schools. It also granted financial aid to mission agencies. In 1928 the Department opened the Jeanes Central School in Mazabuka where

teachers were trained on behalf of the mission agencies.[13] After completion of their courses, the teachers returned to their respective mission agencies. However, the Mazabuka campus of the Jeanes Central School was closed down in 1938 following a government plan to transfer the training facilities to Chalimbana 50 kilometres east of Lusaka in the following year.[14] This coincided with the opening of the first government secondary school in the territory (see chapter 5). In the 1940's the territorial government initiated a scheme intended to gradually involve the local communities in financing and administering village schools.

It was at the beginning of the second phase of educational development that the Jesuit and the Adventist agencies ceased to function as independent societies. Like any other missionary societies, they fell under the direct control of the Department. The reactions of the two agencies to government control are assessed in the sixth chapter.

Discussion of Phase III, 1951-1964

The enactment of the 1951 African Education Ordinance marked the beginning of the third phase of educational development in Zambia. The African Education Ordinance laid the foundation for the creation of the Local Education Authorities and the Unified African Teaching Service.[15] The Ordinance remained in force until the attainment of Zambian independence in 1964.[16]

The circumstances out of which the 1951 African Education Ordinance arose were closely related to the government policy of granting financial assistance to mission agencies. The

introduction of the grant in aid in the mid 1920's had necessitated additional and increasing government expenditure. In the early years, 1928 - 31, the government revenue was able to sustain the small grants to mission agencies.

However, the global economic slump of the early 1930's had a regressive effect on government support for African education. The decline in the demand for copper on the international market drastically affected government's tax revenue and it became increasingly incapable of meeting its financial obligations.[17]

The Jesuit educationist, Fr. Prokoph, suggests that "when the mines closed in 1933, the government was seriously considering washing its hands of its educational responsibility and handing it all back to the missions who always made something out of nothing."[18] Although Fr. Prokoph's claim is not substantiated by related material during this period, the territorial government was seriously contemplating winding-up its involvement in African education. Earlier in 1931, mission agencies had protested against the 10 percent reduction of grants[19] and in 1933, the government announced that there would be no increase in grants for the next five years. In 1936 the government sounded a warning that Northern Rhodesia would be on the verge of bankruptcy in three years time.[20]

The effects of economic depression lingered in the minds of the government officials well after the slump had ended. The government policy did not favour development schemes which it would not be in a position to maintain[21] and African education was one of the programmes affected by this policy.

However, the government did not suddenly withdraw support from African education. Instead, it began to examine alternative avenues through which the ever increasing expenditure on African education could be channelled. The Native Authorities were the obvious partners of the central government which through the Native Treasuries would become a new source of revenue to finance African education. By 1944 the Treasuries of the Native Authorities were reported to have provided bussaries to selected pupils to attend Standard V and VI in mission boarding schools.[22]

Three years later the government began to favour a deeper involvement by Native Authorities in the African education programme. A loose alliance between the Department of African Education and the Native Authorities was formed. The Department paid capital grants for school buildings and equipment to Native Authorities who were willing to administer approved educational schemes.[23]

In 1949 the Financial Relationship Committee, an organ of the central government, recommended an inquiry into the possibility of involving local government bodies in the administration of the African education schemes.[24] The same committee's report for 1951 suggested that future government policy should give the local government authorities the responsibility for financing and administering the African educational system in the territory.[25] However, what was happening here was part of a general post-war movement of British colonial policy in Africa.[26]

The 1951 African Education Ordinance created a system of Local Education Authorities in the territory. The responsibilities delegated to the new educational bodies involved general

administration as well as the planning and control of the school system. The Ordinance also gave Local Authorities the power to budget and disburse funds jointly provided by the Central Government and the Native Authorities who were expected to raise more money than before through their rating powers.

> "It is essential that the Native Authorities should find a reasonable proportion of the funds used for education and learn to understand the relationship between their local budgets and the expansion of their services, since real responsibility and experience in the practice of local government involves an understanding of the financial implications and the power to raise and spend money." 27

The 1951 African Education Ordinance attempted, therefore, to relieve the government from financing African education single handed. However, this was at the expense of professional competence and efficient administration of the educational system for the African communities. The general level of education among Africans in the territory, as shall be seen in the succeeding chapter, was too low to provide competent local administrative personnel. As will be seen, the new education policy pushed the Adventist agency to make its exit from the elementary and middle school system, whereas the Jesuits worked within the system and assumed the role of Local Education Authority.

We now embark on an analysis of the exploratory stage of the Jesuit and Adventist education.

Exploratory Education 1905 - 1924

The introduction of the institutionalised system of education by the Jesuits and the Adventists created contradictions in the Tonga society resulting from the incompatibility of the indigenous education and the school system of education. The Tonga society

employed indigenous education as a vihicle to transmit cultural values to the youth whereas the school system of education introduced by the missionaries offered the youth new values, thus creating two worlds for them, the traditional world in which they were brought up and the new world of western culture which was reflected in mission education.

When the Jesuit and the Adventist missionaries introduced the school system of education to the youth, they were confronted with mixed results. Initially, the Tonga youth appeared keen to join the mission schools. Once their curiosity was satisfied, however, their interest faded away as soon as the youth realised that the alien institutions offered nothing more than a routine of instruction and organised manual work. During the period 1905 to 1920, the two missionary societies experienced large-scale student desertions. This symbolised a rejection of the western culture. The youth cherished the traditional life and were unprepared to conform to the new order. There were no incentives to keep them in school and the African society did not immediately see any benefits in sending the youth to school. The missionaries' policy of making people literate had minimal impact on the communities in the initial days of Chikuni and Rusangu mission schools. The overall similarity in the response to the two mission agencies' efforts should not mask the distinct differences in approach between the Jesuits and Adventists.

The Jesuits did not hasten to introduce the formalised educational system. Fr. Torrend and Fr. Moreau invited the boys

from neighbouring villages to come to Chikuni Mission first as day-visitors, later as boarders. The boys helped the two missionaries with manual work. When tired, they were made to sit down and were told nursery stories. The older boys were engaged on a wage earning basis. During the day they worked to earn money and in the evening they sat down around the fire place. The two missionaries told the boys both Christian stories and African folklore.[28] This was a partial integration of the formal school education and the indigenous education which was possible because of the presence at the mission of the four Tonga lads, James Haatontola, Henry Jahaliso, Joseph Bbiya and Alfred Jojo who had participated in the founding of Chikuni Mission in 1905, after receiving their initial education at Empadeni, the Jesuit institution in Rhodesia.[29] Although upon their arrival on the Tonga plateau, the Jesuits seemed to favour an adaptionist policy, they did not pursue it beyond the initial stage of the development of Chikuni Mission (see Chapter 6 for detailed discussion).

The Adventists did not have the advantage of local staff as was the case with the Jesuits. Their African staff consisted of the Matebele teachers whom Elder Anderson recruited at Solusi, the Adventist mission station in Rhodesia. They were Jacob Detcha, Alvin Mulema Chabango, Philip Malomo, Andrew Nyakana Buyisa, Jack Mahlatini Mpofu, Elma Madima Nkomo and Albert Madambi Ndhlovu.[30] These men played an important role in the recruitment of youths to attend school at Rusangu Mission. They were dispatched to the villages surrounding Rusangu Mission to confer with the parents and to appeal to them to send their children to school.

Their methods of recruitment varied from persuasion to intimidation. The local communities were told of the advantages of sending their children to school. Upon the failure of the persuasive method, the Rusangu teachers applied a method of systematic intimidation. They told the youths that those who would not go to school would be burnt by the mysterious fire. Benjamin Mweemba, who was recruited for Rusangu Mission in 1907 recollects:

> "We were told of the advantages of attending school. We were further told that those who won't go to school would be burnt with the great fire. So we were frightened and we decided to go to school. When we arrived at Rusangu Mission we were introduced to the white missionary who welcome us to his school."[31]

The idea of fire is an important element of the message preached by the Adventists.

The Adventist missionaries and their assistants preached in the villages about the end of the world when fire would consume the wicked. Those who desired to escape the destruction were called upon to be converted to Christianity. The appeal was directed to the whole society, but the recruiting staff implied that the destruction by mysterious fire would exclusively affect the youths who refused to go to school. Benjamin Mweemba has indicated that the threat of mysterious fire coming to consume the youths spread to many areas of Monze west. This was only proved false after the students who spent a year or more at Rusangu Mission returned to their respective homes and gave details about the school life.[32]

Physical compulsion seems also to have been used as a means of recruitment for the school at Rusangu Mission. Enock Hamonga,

who was recruited to attend school at Rusangu Mission in 1909, has recalled how the youths in Munenga, Magoye west, were frightened:

> "People were often frightened of people who were associated with Rusangu Mission. They were feared because they forced people to go to school. People resented the idea of being forced to go to school." 33

The youth were mostly the frightened members of the community. When the recruiting Rusangu staff arrived at Munenga area, they conferred with the parents. After securing the permission of the parents to take their children to school, the youth who did not take off for the bush were caught and taken to school against their will. Most recruits deserted as soon as they arrived at Rusangu Mission. It seemed likely that the parents did not wish to appear opposed to the desires of the missionaries, but gave secret instructions to their children to return home.

The development of Chikuni and Rusangu Missions prior to 1920 was greatly hampered by the lack of students. Large numbers of boys and girls were enrolled each year but very few of them stayed long enough to ensure the continuation of the school. The Adventists introduced a boarding school at Rusangu Mission soon after beginning formal instruction in September 1905.[34] This was to ensure that students attended school regularly. Nevertheless the number of school deserters remained high.

The Jesuits who began formal classes in 1908, following the arrival of Fr. Bick, found it difficult to operate a day school. In 1914 Fr. Moreau reported that efforts to start a day school had failed:

> "A day school has proved a great difficulty; it has been started a half dozen times and had to be given up; children find all kinds of excuses for absenting themselves and parents connive at it. Boys who have learnt something have learnt it in the evening school when they are working here." 35

Fr. Moreau required a sizable labour force to operate his farming enterprise. An average of thirty five boys were engaged at Chikuni Mission at one time. The preoccupation of the boys was employment. Fr. Moreau took advantage of their presence to teach them in the evening classes as he had done from the outset. They received religious instructions and learned how to read and write the Tonga language which by then had been reduced by Fr. Torrend to the written form. This was a significant development which marked the beginning of Tonga literature.[36]

The enrolled students at Rusangu Mission were engaged in manual work as part of the school programme. The student boarders did not pay school fees. They did enough manual work to cover the living expenses. In return for the manual work students were provided with clothing, blankets, food, slates to write on and other essential school supplies. They also received religious instructions and learnt how to read and write.

The only text book used by the students was the Zulu Bible. The Matebele staff taught students to read in the Zulu language. However, at the end of 1906, Anderson reported that he had compiled two readers of Bible stories in the Tonga language which provided additional reading material.[37]

The school continued to experience a high rate of student desertion. For example in 1912, all students deserted from Rusangu Mission. The students vanished from the school campus when they

staged the first strike to be recorded in the history of education in Zambia.

The 1912 strike by Rusangu Students was sparked by the refusal by Anderson to include English in the school curriculum. The academic curriculum which was in use at the time, reads as follows:

Table 4. 1

Subjects	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Bible	Life of Christ	Acts and one Epistle of Paul	From Abraham to captivity of Israel	Bible Doctrines Prophecies of Daniel and Revelation
Arithmetic	Simple Addition	Subtraction	Multiplication	Division
Geography	South Africa	Africa	World	Missionary
Methodology	Teaching	Teaching	Teaching	Evangelism
Vernacular (Either Zulu or Tonga)	Reading Writing Spelling	Reading Writing Spelling	Reading Writing Spelling	Reading Letter Writing Spelling [38]

Already English had become a prestigious subject in the sense that is was a symbol of being educated. The ability to speak the language of the missionaries was the most impressive aspect of education to the young Tonga students who had responded to the missionaries' appeal for them to attend school. Elder Anderson regarded the teaching of English as counter-productive in the sense that it imparted foreign culture to students. The students registered their feelings by presenting a verbal petition to the Mfundisi (Teacher). Elder Anderson responded by picking up a whip and thrashing the partitioners. This was the last straw. The students could not put up with such treatment. They hastily moved to the dormitories, took their luggage and trekked back to their villages.[39]

The news of the maltreatment of students spread to many parts of the Tonga plateau. For two years Elder Anderson and his assistants struggled to secure students to enable him to reopen his school. When efforts to persuade the Tonga youth to return to Rusangu Mission had failed, Anderson recruited students from the Lenje country, west of Lusaka. School classes at Rusangu resumed in 1915. By 1920, however active recruitment of students had ceased because school leavers of Rusangu encouraged their relatives and friends to go to school. In 1920, the mission reported an enrolment of seventy boys and fifty girls.

During the same period Chikuni Mission reported an enrolment of eighty four boys and ten girls.[40] At Chikuni Mission the following academic curriculum was in use in 1922:

Table 4. 2

Sub A	Sub B	Standard I	Standard II
Physical Drill	Physical Drill	Physical Drill	Physical Drill
Counting Exercise	Counting Exercise	-	-
Oral Arithmetic	Oral Arithmetic	Written Arithmetic	Written Arithmetic
Oral Chitonga	Oral Chitonga	Oral and Written Chitonga	Oral and Written Chitonga
Catechism	Catechism	Catechism	Catechism
Hygiene	Hygiene	Hygiene	Hygiene
Oral English	Oral English	Oral and Written English	Oral and Written English [41]

In summary, during the period, 1905 to 1920, Chikuni and Rusangu Mission Schools had successfully developed a four year elementary education. The two mission schools were constantly confronted with the lack of students to ensure continuity of the learning process. Quite often, teaching had to be halted because of the absence of the learners. However, after 1920 there was continuity of learning at the two mission schools. The youth

began to attend school voluntarily because they followed the example of those who earlier attended mission schools and were now teachers in outschools. The engagement of teachers in mission schools was an incentive for the youth who eventually desired to learn with a hope of securing employment in the mission. The outschool teachers also played a significant role by encouraging the community to send the youth to mission schools.

In addition to the reasons stated above, the country's tax policy was also responsible for the change of attitude among the Tonga youth in favour of mission education from the early 1920's onwards. Africans needed money to pay tax and to purchase basic merchandise from European shops.[42] The European farmers who offered local employment opportunities were unpopular because of land alienation policy which deprived the local people of their fertile land. Neither did the Tonga youths prefer to join the labour migration because of their strong attachment to the land which increased economic opportunities at home.[43] Therefore, the Tonga youth opted for mission education because of its ability to enable them to subsequently secure wage employment at home either in the mission schools as village school teachers or in the government civil service.

The Outschool System 1905 - 1924

Education work was not confined to the main stations. The Jesuits and the Adventists embarked on a programme of spreading their influence to the surrounding areas. They employed the method of opening outschools in many parts of the Tonga plateau as well as in the Gwembe valley. The outschools were the stepping

stones of the missionaries in their efforts to evangelise the rural communities. They played a significant role in the propagation of the faith of each of the two mission societies.

The Jesuits adopted a low profile in their approach to the development of outschools. Prior to 1920, Fr. Moreau was not keen to extend the influence of the Jesuits beyond the boundaries of Chikuni Mission, preferring to concentrate his efforts on the development of the central station. The reasons for this approach were: Firstly, the Jesuits had not succeeded in establishing a concrete educational programme at Chikuni Mission. It was not feasible for Fr. Moreau and Fr. Bick to spread their efforts to a broader area. Fr. Moreau wrote: "It has been my idea that this place should prove a success before going further afield."[44] Secondly, Fr. Moreau expressed fears that the government policy of alienating land to white settler farmers was likely to alter the settlement patterns of the rural communities.[45] The uncertainty about the areas of future settlement for Africans prevented the Jesuits from establishing outschools. They preferred to wait for the question of land alienation to be settled before embarking on the outschool programme. As from 1913 onwards many Tonga communities were moved from tracts of land designated for European farmers.[46]

However, the lack of a strong educational programme at Chikuni prior to 1920, denied the Jesuits the opportunity to produce teachers to manage outschools. It was impossible for the Jesuits to embark on an outschool programme without first producing some indigenous personnel with total allegiance to the Catholic faith. This occurred after 1920. Students who resided

at the mission attended school regularly and after four years of schooling, Fr. Bick engaged the successful ones in the running of the outschools. The first outschool was opened at Chipembere, 10 kilometres north-east of Chikuni Mission, in 1921. By 1923, the Jesuits reported that they had a total of three outschools.[47]

By contrast, almost from the outset the Adventists adopted a vigorous approach to the development of education among the rural communities. The Adventist outschool programme dates back to 1907 when the first outschool was opened at Bweengwa close to the home of Jim Mainza whom Anderson helped to locate his parents in 1905. Mainza was the first Adventist Tonga teacher to manage an outschool. The objective of the Adventists was to send the school leavers of Rusangu Mission back to their respective home areas to teach their own people. By 1911, the Adventists had opened eleven outschools.[48] Nevertheless, some of the outschools opened by the Adventists were short lived due to the lack of knowledgeable teacher/evangelists to manage them. Most of the teachers in the outschools were barely literate. They spent two to four years at Rusangu Mission and then were sent out to teach as soon as they were able to relate Bible stories and read and write.

In 1909, Anderson recruited additional teachers from Solusi Mission to ensure the success and continuity of the outschools. In 1921 five of the outschools had been developed on the lines of the central school at Rusangu Mission. These were Bweengwa and Kazungula in Monze West, Kaumba in Monze east, Munenga in Magoye, and Demu in Pemba east. They were industrial schools

with programmes in both agriculture and academic work. They were model schools in the sense that they emulated the school programme carried out at Rusangu Mission. Teaching of the four 'R's namely, reading, writing, arithmetic and religion, and the outdoor activity of farming, gardening and fruit growing were the chief occupations of these schools.[49]

The Adventists made two attempts to open outschools in the Gwembe valley, in 1921 and 1925. A team of missionaries and teacher/evangelists conducted a series of evangelical meetings among the rural communities of the valley. On each of the two occasions, outschool shelters were constructed at various villages.[50] The outschools in the valley did not prosper. They were recorded as schools but no practical work was ever carried out at any of the proposed schools.

Pastor Stephen Mulomba, who took part in the Adventist evangelical crusades in the valley, has attributed the failure of the Adventist efforts to extend educational opportunities to the valley to a number of reasons. These included the excessively hot climate, unpredictable floods during the rain season, drought and lack of food during the dry season, lack of accessible roads to the valley and refusal by the plateau Tonga teachers to serve in the valley.[51] After 1926, the Adventists did not make further efforts to penetrate the valley. The consequence was that the Gwembe valley lagged behind the Tonga plateau in educational development.

On the Tonga plateau the Adventists' outschools were established at various places. Elder Anderson counted his success in terms of the number of teacher/evangelists produced at Rusangu

and the number of ourtschools which were functioning efficiently. In 1919, Anderson wrote:

> "... the measure of success of the missionary is his ability to multiply himself in native teachers and evangelists. We were now beginning to use our natives in helping us to carry the gospel to their own people, their faithful labors were crowned with success." 52

The individuals who entered the teaching service of the Seventh-day Adventists were known as teacher/evangelists. The name entailed that they taught the youth to read and write during the week-days and stood on the pupit to preach to the church congregation on Sabbaths. They conducted evangelical crusades among the village communities during the school holidays.

In the period 1905 to 1925, the Adventists were comparatively more successful in disseminating the idea of the school system of education among the plateau Tonga, than the Jesuits. There are two data which support this argument. Firstly, the Adventists continuously operated classes at Rusangu from 1905 to 1912. The school programme collapsed in the middle of 1912 but it was revived in 1915. On the contrary, the Jesuits made their first attempt to intorduce classes at Chikuni in 1908 but the school failed to function continuously. In 1914, Fr. Moreau indicated that more than six attempts had been made to revive the day school at Chikuni Mission. The Jesuits began to run a day school which functioned continuously in 1920.[53] Secondly, the Adventists first embarked on the outschool programme in 1907 while the Jesuits established the first outschool in 1921. In 1925, the Adventists had seventeen outschools while the Jesuits had seven. It is on the basis of the longer period of time that the Adventists operated a day school at Rusangu and

the larger number of the Adventists' outschools that they may be considered more successful in the education-al work than the Jesuits during the first twenty years of the activities of the two missionary societies.

Educational Consolidation

The creation of the Department of Native Education had both a positive and a negative impact on mission agencies. Positively, the long standing demand for government involvement in the task of educating the indigenous population was fulfilled. The existence of the Department of Native Education symbolised government participation in the educational work. The mission agencies welcomed the introduction of the grant-in-aid scheme. Additional funds from the government relieved mission societies from financial burdens. Among the beneficiaries were the Jesuit and Adventist missions. The creation of the Native Education Advisory Board brought the representatives of the two mission societies into close contact with officials of the new colonial government. In company with the representatives of other missionary societies, the Jesuits and the Adventists played a part in influencing the course of education in Zambia.

On the other hand the functional independence of the missionary societies ended. Before the creation of the Department, the mission societies functioned as individual entities. The membership of the Jesuits and the Adventists in the General Missionary Conference did not imply uniform-ity in the running of mission schools. Each mission society mapped its educational programme, structured the school

curriculum, determined the size of the central school, expanded the out-schools and raised funds to finance the educational work. The coming of the Department marked the end of the missionary autonomy. The Department brought the educational work of the mission societies under its direct control. The Director and the Superintendents of the Department inspected mission schools and approved the employment of teachers in mission schools. Grants-in-aid were given on the strength of the inspectors' reports. /The officials of the Department employed the grant-in-aid scheme as leverage to extract the allegiance and conformity of the mission societies. The mission societies who valued government grants were compelled to abide by the policy of the Department.

The central control of the educational work of the mission agencies was advantageous in the sense that it fostered the development of the territorial educational system. The Department made efforts to standardise the educational system in the territory, in particular through the issue of a common syllabus which ensured the existence of a school curriculum for all mission agencies.

Nevertheless, missionary societies tried to maintain their identity as voluntary educational agencies. They recognised the authority of the Department and yet resented the idea of operating under government directives. This aspect, particularly, marred the working relationship between the Adventist missionaries and the officials of the Department.[54] The strained relationship between the two parties hampered the continual

expansion of the Adventist outschools between 1931 and 1953. Eventually, this factor contributed in a lesser degree, to the handover of the Adventist outschools to the government in 1956.

The Jesuits had better working relations with the officials of the Department. The Department's control over the educational activities of the Jesuits did not impede future progress. Chikuni Mission developed into a territorial educational centre for the Roman Catholics. The outschools continued to increase in number. In 1925 the Jesuits had seven outschools. In 1973 when they relinquished the management of the outschools, they handed eighty five primary schools to the Zambian Ministry of Education in Southern Province only. These differences in response to departmental control are dealt with detail in chapter 5.

In addition to regulating and partially financing mission schools, the Department presented the mission agencies in 1929 with a new structure of the system of education. Its format may be outlined as follows:

Table 4. 3

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS			
Sub-Std. A	Sub-Std. B	Std. I	Std. II
LOWER MIDDLE SCHOOLS			
Std. III	Std. IV	Normal School for teachers in Elementary Schools (Three Years Course)	
UPPER SCHOOLS			
Std. V	Std. VI	Vocational Training	Normal School for teachers in Lower Schools.

This educational hierarchical progression was classified as 'primary'.[55] The programme offered the youth eight years of primary school education and three years of either teacher training or vocational training. The primary school programme was managed by the mission educational agencies. The training of teachers was placed under the responsibility of nine selected mission schools. Two of these were Chikuni Mission of the Jesuits and the Rusangu Mission of the Adventists.[56]

The government in addition accepted responsibility for vocational and teacher training. In 1930, the headquarters of the Department moved from Livingstone to Mazabuka on the northern margin of the Tonga plateau where the government had already opened the Jeanes Training and Agricultural School.

In his annual report for 1930 the Director of Native Education, G.C. Latham, stated:

> "At present the policy of the government is to help missions with grants to do the bulk of the elementary school work and the training of teachers, and to share with selected missions, as it become necessary and possible, the higher education and the vocational training for natives. Elementary schools will be established and maintained by government in some townships. The larger mines will establish schools in their native compounds. The only schools under direct government control are the Barotse National School and the Jeanes Training and Agricultural school at Mazabuka." 57

The Jeanes Training and Agricultural school was opened in 1928. It functioned for ten years to 1938 when it was closed down and replaced in 1939 by a new Teacher Training School at Chalimbana, 50 kilometres east of Lusaka.[58]

In the face of the educational upheavals brought about by the Department of Native Education, the Jesuits and the

Adventists had to conform to the new educational structure. The immediate task of the two missionary societies was to upgrade the Central Schools in order to offer the standards III and IV levels of education.

Teacher Education 1925 - 1935

In 1925, Chikuni and Rusangu Mission Schools were selected by the recently formed Department of Native Education as teacher training centres. The teacher training centres were known as 'normal schools'. The Jesuits were the first to open a normal school at Chikuni Mission and Fr. Moreau enrolled the first twelve trainee teachers in February 1926.[59] The Adventists did not embark on a teacher training programme until February 1928 when they too enrolled twelve trainee teachers.[60] The normal schools at Chikuni and Rusangu were thus small in size. Students who successfully completed Standard IV at Chikuni and Rusangu lower middle schools were admitted for training and those who qualified were dispatched to serve in the outschools of each of the two mission societies.

In the 1930's it became increasingly necessary to train teachers to teach in mission outschools. The Department insisted that mission agencies should employ certificated teachers to teach in elementary schools. To ensure the success of this policy, grants were approved only for the certificated teachers. If mission agencies employed teachers without certificates the mission had to take the responsibility of raising the salaries for such teachers.

The trainee teachers received instruction as stipulated in the approved government syllabus. They sat for the

government examination which was based on the Standard IV syllabus, with papers on teaching theory and school management as well as tests on first aid given by the mission medical staff.[61]

The output of teachers at the Chikuni and Rusangu normal schools remained small. The figures of teachers who qualified from Chikuni and Rusangu normal schools for the award of the government teachers' certificates are presented below:

Table 4. 4	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	Total
Chikuni Mission	13	9	12	5	-	1	40
Rusangu Mission	7	4	11	8	3	-	33 [62]

As the table indicates, the efforts by the Jesuit Fathers and the Adventist missionaries to develop teacher education were short lived. They ceased to train teachers in 1934 and 1935 respectively because of their inability to recruit suitably qualified teacher trainers. The Normal school at Chikuni had been run by Mr. Harold Consterdine, whose three year contract with the Jesuit Fathers ended on 1st July 1934.[63] The Jesuits were not able to secure a replacement immediately, which led to the discontinuation of the normal school at Chikuni in 1934.

At Rusangu Mission, the Department disapproved the use of Ellison Milambo, the holder of the government Lower Middle, Standard IV, School Certificate, to be the instructor of trainee teachers. The two missionaries who resided at Rusangu Mission station in 1931 - 35 did not impress the official of the Department, who alleged that the missionaries were preoccupied with the religious side of the school and maintenance of the school farm. The government threatened to withdraw the grant-in-aid

unless a qualified educationist was appointed to take charge of the noraml school.

As early as April, 1931, the Director of the Department of Native Education, G. C. Latham reported:

> "My general impression of the station on this visit was that the school side of things at any rate, is suffering from depletion of staff."

He continued:

> "If government support is to be continued a whole time well qualified educationist must be appointed to Rusangu and must stay there and re-organise the school on the lines suggested." 64

The Adventists did not welcome the Department's requirements. The Director of Rusangu Mission asserted that the school was doing its best but that the Department was demanding too much. It was because of disagreements of this nature and the shortage of funds to finance the teacher training programme that the Adventists decided to relinguish the normal school at Rusangu in 1935. [65]

The closure of training facilities at Chikuni and Rusangu coincided with the reduction of salary grants for teachers by the Department during the depression years.[66] The trainee teachers whom the two mission societies continued to send to Jeanes Training School were not sufficient to satisfy the needs of the outschools. The inadequacy of certificated teachers in the territory and the Department's policy which forbade mission agencies from employing untrained teachers caused an acute shortage of staff. The two mission agencies continued to face problems of retaining trained teachers much longer because of the reduction of salaries.[67]

In response the Jesuits and the Adventists chose to send trainee teachers to their stronger denominational bases in Rhodesia. The Jesuit Mission station of Kutama became the alternative centre for training teachers and ten Standard IV Chikuni School Leavers found their way there in July 1935 where they were enrolled for a two year course.[68]

The Adventists sent a steady flow of trainee teachers to Solusi Missionary College and later Lower Gwelo Teacher Training School, until the eve of Zambian independence. Links between Rusangu mission and Adventist institutions in Rhodesia were severed only in 1965 following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in that country.[69]

The Department of Native Education recognised the Jesuit and Adventist teachers who were trained at the denominational institutions in Rhodesia, but the Department was not obliged to pay costs for students sent by the societies to training institutions outside the territory.

The Jesuits re-opened the training school in 1940 following the arrival of Fr. M. Prokoph to take charge of the academic side at Chikuni Mission.[70] The programme of teacher education continued uninterrupted until the training facilities were transferred to the Charles Lwanga College which was opened in 1959. The premises of the Charles Lwanga College stands on a new campus, one kilometre away from Chikuni Mission on the eastern side of Chikuni river. The Jesuits nowadays operate the Teacher Training College on behalf of the government. The Catholic Secretariate controls the staffing of the college and formulate the policies which govern it.[71]

The Adventists re-established the teacher training programme in 1946 under the name of the Vernacular Teachers Course. The new teacher training programme was devised to train teachers who upon completion could use vernacular languages as a medium of instruction in Adventist elementary schools in the territory. However, the re-introduction of the teacher training programme at Rusangu Mission did not imply the end of the flow of Rusangu Standard VI school leavers to Solusi Missionary College.

The Vernacular Teachers Course was discontinued in 1954, in line with the government's intention to transfer the mission outschools from the management of the mission agency to the Local Education Authorities. The Adventists deemed it unnecessary to continue to train teachers when all denominational outschools would be transferred to the new educational agencies.[72]

Girls Education

Girls' Education developed at each of the mission schools. At Rusangu Mission girls were first enrolled in 1907. As from 1931, the school had a full-time female educationist in charge of the girls department. The girls attended academic classes at the elementary and middle school levels. They were also taught domestic science and house craft subjects.[73] In 1936, the Department of Native Education indicated that Rusangu Mission had one of the largest girls school in the territory.[74]

At Chikuni, plans to build a convent to accommodate sisters were laid in 1916. The Notre Dame Sisters arrived

at Chikuni Mission in February 1920. The sisters dedicated their efforts towards the development of the girls' education. By 1933, the sisters were running an elementary school and an industrial school for the girls who were old enough not to take interest in book work. They were taught various skills in dress making, soap-making, laundry work, knitting and crocheting. The work of the sisters was not restricted to education. They played a significant role in the health services for the community.[75]

The slow development of the girls' schools at Chikuni and Rusangu Mission Stations was owing to the lack of continuity in attendance by the girls. The girls were more prone to early stoppages of attending school than the boys. The main factors behind this tendency were the attitude of parents toward girls' education and early marriages of girls. All mission societies which ran girls' schools were faced with this problem. Since parents were not keen to let their daughters remain in school long enough to complete the full primary course, girls' education lagged behind that of the boys. The need to develop girls education was discussed in educational forums until the last decade of colonialism in Zambia. In 1947 the Colonial Office Commission on the Education of Women and Girls in Northern Rhodesia reckoned that 25 girls had passed Standard VI as compared to 642 boys.[76]

The lack of lengthy attendance of primary schools by girls is reflected in the address by the Director of the Department of African Education. In October 1955, in his capacity as the chairman of the African Education Advisory

Board he reported that inquiries had revealed that there were 45,000 vacant places in the primary schools. He further stated that if the number of girls in schools equalled that of boys, the existing places would be more than taken up.[77]

The compulsory attendance orders enforced by the Department were not adhered to. There were suggestions that heavy penalties be imposed on parents who forced their daughters to discontinue school in order to get married. However, it was feared that such measures would mar the relationship between the community and the missionaries. The missionary societies preferred persuasion and propaganda to police methods. However, the Advisory Board reckoned that girls from literate adherents of the missionary societies remained in school much longer than the rest.[78]

Footnote A: The sources of revenue for missionaries to finance educational and evangelical work is discussed in Chapter 5.

Footnote B: See Appendix A for enrolment figures at Chikuni and Rusangu Mission Schools during the initial stage of educational development on the Tonga plateau.

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56. <u>The Annual Report of the Director of Native Education for year 1929</u>, pp. 2 - 3.

57. Ibid for the year 1930, p. 12.

58. Ibid for the year 1951, pp. 19 - 20.

59. Coyne, 'History of the Jesuits in Zambia', p. 174.

60. NAZ, Cl/8/14/3, Inspection Report of April 1931.

61. *African Education Annual Report for the year 1930*, p. 12.

62. See: Ibid for the years 1931, 32, 33, 34, 35 and 36.

63. NAZ, Cl/8/7/2, Joseph Moreau to the Director of Native Education, 31st August 1934.

64. Cl/8/14/3, Inspection Report, April 1931.

65. Ibid., R.M. Mote to the Department, 15th April 1935.

66. Coombe, *The Origins of Secondary Education* (1967), pp. 182 - 201.

67. See: NAZ, Cl/8/7/2, Cl/8/14/3, Correspondence between the Department and the Jesuits and the Adventists respectively.

68. NAZ, Cl/8/14/3, Joseph Moreau to the Director of Native Education, 2nd October and 9th November 1935.

69. Pastors L. Makeleta, E. Siamaundu and S. Monga, Personal Communications (Rusangu Mission, Monze, 4th April 1979).

70. Coyne, 'History of the Jesuits in Zambia', p. 188.

71. B.M. Haambote, Principal of the Charles Lwanga Teacher Training College at the time of interview (Monze 13th April 1979).

72. Pastor Siamaundu, Personal Communication (Rusangu Mission, Monze 15th April 1979).

73. NAZ, Cl/8/14/3, Inspection Report, 1935.

74. Ibid. Inspection Report, 1936

75. Coyne, 'History of the Jesuits in Zambia' p. 179.

76. Minutes of the meeting between the Colonial Office Mission on Education of Women and Girls in Northern Rhodesia and the Standing Committee of the Advisory Board on African Education 27th August 1947, African Education Advisory

Board, 1947, p. 10.

77. See: Minutes of the Advisory Board on African Education, 1955.

78. See: Ibid. 1953 - 5.

CHAPTER FIVE

STRIVING FOR ACADEMIC UPLIFT

The content of the chapter is a continuation of the analysis of educational work of the Jesuit and the Adventist agencies. Although the chapter begins with a short flashback to the period 1925 to 1934, it places emphasis on the later period 1935 to 1964. Related aspects such as the mission influence among the Plateau Tonga, the role of chiefs in educational development and the funding of missionary work are also discussed.

Education for Adaptation 1925 - 1934

The first ten years of the Department of Native Education saw a stagnation in academic education. The Director of the Department of Native Education, G.C. Latham, expressed the policy of the government in a speech to the General Missionary Conference in 1927:

> "There is a sound common sense in the plea that we should proceed slowly with Native Education and development. There is a great danger in rapid progress on inadequate character foundations. The pace must be regulated by the needs and capacities of the native." 1

In such didactic prose Latham appealed to the mission agencies to offer a type of education that would adapt the recipient to his own environment and prepare him to improve his life in the community.

> "We must educate bearing in mind that our primary aim is the improvement of Native life in the village. We must first consider how ordinary pupils in our schools can be trained to lay out better villages, to build better houses, to equip such houses with simple furniture, to make and mend the simple agriculture implements of Native peasantry." 2

Latham's dicta were derived from the colonial educational policy which governed African education in the British overseas territories. This policy placed emphasis on making African education practical and on making Africans wedded to their own social and cultural patterns. The colonial education policy memorandum of 1925 read in part:

> "The aim of education must be to prepare Africans to live well in their own country, and the system of education must not represent a pale reflection of what is given in England, where conditions are altogether different, and where the native culture of the people if altogether different. What we seek in effect is a more liberal education for Africans based on their own African environment and on their own way of life." 3

The policy therefore discouraged theoretical and bookish education for the majority of the villagers which, it was believed, would only alienate the learner from his society. The Jesuits and the Adventists, who were by then under the umbrella of the Department of Native Education, had to comply with the government's educational policy which in any case must have seemed congenial to them because they were already operating industrial schools which had an agricultural bias. In the 1930's for example, the government selected Chikuni as a demonstration centre for better methods of farming on the Tonga plateau.[4] In 1931, the Department even complained that Rusangu Mission placed more emphasis on agricultural work than academic work.[5]

The lower middle primary school course of Standards III and IV was the highest level of education offered at Chikuni and Rusangu during this period. Successful Standard IV candidates were absorbed into the teacher training programme where they were trained to handle the elementary school course.[6] However, as we have seen in chapter 3, teacher education programmes ran

into financial problems during the years 1931 to 1935. The reduction of government grants compelled Chikuni and Rusangu to relinquish their teacher training programmes and they concentrated their meagre resources on the academic programme while continuig to promote agriculture and industrial arts of building and carpentry.[7]

Innovation of the Primary School Course 1935 to 1950

The 1925 memorandum embodied provisions which gave room for future advancement of African education in British Tropical Africa whenever the resources permitted.[8] The end of the depression, in the mid 1930's, made the expansion of African Education possible again. The 1935 memorandum, emphasised the close relationship between education and the improvement of African communities.[9] The Colonial Office was, in the late 1930's starting to exert mild pressure on its African governments to open the door to more advanced academic study for a few as foreshadowed in the 1925 memorandum.

At Chikuni and Rusangu, the advancement of African education was signified by the opening of the upper primary school course of Standards V and VI in the mid 1930's The Department of Native Education made a follow up to this advancement of academic education by releasing a standard syllabus for the middle and upper primary school courses. The Department expected the mission agencies to teach English, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Civics, Hygiene, Vernacular and Scripture.[10] This syllabus was oriented on academic lines and it extended the traditional mission curriculum which fostered the teaching of the 4RS, namely reading, writing, arithmetic and religion.

There is no trace of Jesuits' reservations to accept the new syllabus. However, the standardised government syllabus strained relations between the Department and the Adventists who regarded manual work as an essential aspect of the school curriculum. Academic work and manual work were given equal time. This entailed that students spent less time in school work than they were supposed to, which more than once provoked adverse official comment.

On one occasion in 1935, the Provincial Superintendent of Native Education, S.H. Rusbridger, expressed reservations whether government was justified in paying boarding grants in respect of pupils who benefited the mission by doing so much manual labour, when the scholastic work suffered at the expense of food-growing. Rusbridger was reacting to the school time table which tabulated school hours and periods of manual work as shown below:

Table 5. 1

Classes	School Hours	Manual Work
Sub Std. A and B	6:45-11:30 hours	13:00-17:30 hours
Sub Std. I and II	6:45-11:30 hours	13:00-17:30 hours
Sub Std. III and IV	12:30-18:00 hours	6:30-11:30 hours

The Acting Director of the Department, John B. Clark, ordered the school authorities at Rusangu Mission to reduce the hours for manual work and directed that manual work should be purely educational.[11]

The mission Superintendent, E.R. Mote, responded to the demand of the Department by basing his argument on the educational policy of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. He wrote:

> "It is the intention of the mission to emphasise this side of the curriculum now that the teacher training school has been transferred to Solusi. The aim is to give a simple course of training in building, carpentry and other crafts which will enable the pupils to return to their villages able not only to grow their crop more successfully but also to build better homes and to make furniture and other conveniences of life for which there is an ever increasing demand among village people." 12

The Adventists believed that manual work was inseparable from the academic curriculum because of its ability to prepare students for self-reliance after school a point of view which was fully in accord with Colonial Office policy.

Chikuni and Rusangu introduced the upper primary school course in 1935, a move which was made possible because of the closure of the teacher training programme.[13] By 1936, therefore, the two missionary societies were providing an eight year primary school course and had thereby achieved the apex of the general school education permitted at the time by the territorial government.

The Standard VI school leavers were admitted to training schools where they took professional or teaching courses. In the early 1930's the two mission agencies were already sending students for post-primary training courses at the new Jeanes Training and Agricultural School at Mazabuka.[14] Chikuni absorbed some of the school leavers into its teacher training programme when it was re-established in 1940.[15]

The Standard VI school leavers from Rusangu who were either children of S.D.A. Pastors or who showed total allegiance to the Adventist faith were sent to Solusi Missionary College for teachers and evangelist courses.

Others qualified for Secondary School entry at Bethel College in South Africa.[16]

The establishment of the upper primary school course at Chikuni and Rusangu demanded the recruitment of qualified teachers with post-primary school education. But because no secondary school was established in the territory prior to 1939, there was acute shortage of qualified teachers.

The resident missionaries at Chikuni and Rusangu were too few to manage the academic programme. In 1935 at Chikuni there were only two Jesuit priests, Fr. Moreau and Fr. Zabdyr, and three sisters on Notre Dame who were in charge of the convent.[17] In the same year, at Rusangu there were three male missionaries, Mr. Mote, the mission Superintendent, Mr. Wheeler the educationist and Mr. Siepman the farm manager. Mrs. Mote took charge of the girls school.[18]

The missionaries relied on African teachers whose academic attainment was Standard IV and two years teacher training. In 1939, teachers with Standard VI academic attainment and two years teacher training course began to be engaged in mission agency schools. Although these teachers were supervised by the missionaries, they were believed not sufficiently qualified to handle the upper primary school courses.[19]

In an attempt to alleviate the shortage, the territorial government in 1937 granted the first bursaries to selected students to study outside Northern Rhodesia. They were sent

Footnote: One such student was Samuel Sibanda who left Rusangu in 1936 for Bethel College where he spent two years studying for the Junior Secondary School Certificate. He was certainly one of the first Zambian students to be sponsored by a mission agency for formal secondary education.

for post-primary general education in South Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. The government initiative did not remedy the shortage of qualified teachers since by 1939, only five students had benefitted from the scheme.[20] One of them was a Chikuni school leaver Alfred Hambayi, who took up his government bursary at a White Fathers junior secondary school at Tabora in Tanganyika.[21]

The solution to the shortage of qualified teachers lay in the establishment of post-primary institutions within the territory. However, neither the Jesuits nor the Adventists had immediate plans to establish post-primary education at their respective institutions. In 1938, of all the fifteen mission agencies, only the Church of Scotland Missionary Society took temporary measures to alleviate the acute shortage of teachers to handle the upper primary classes. Rev. Maxwell Robertson obtained government approval to run a two year junior secondary school course for nine of his students. The scheme was discontinued in mid-1940 upon the completion of the first course, since by then the long awaited government secondary school had opened.[22]

The establishment of Munali Secondary School in September, 1939 [23] did not satisfy the requirements of the Adventists and the Jesuits. In 1937, the Adventists and the Director of Native Education, Tyndale-Biscoe, had differed of an issue involving the Adventist students enrolled at the Jeanes Training and Agricultural School. The school authorities refused to grant free Sabbath observance to the nine Adventist students. The

students appealed against the ruling of the school to the Mission Superintendent at Rusangu, who in turn appealed to the Director of the Department in Mazabuka. The Director came out in full support of the authorities of the training and agricultural school. The Adventists warned the Department that they would withdraw the students, if no concession was given to them. Finally, five of the nine students, who could not violate their religious conscience, discontinued their training while the other four complied with the principal's demands that they do secular work on Saturdays.[24]

Following the 1937 incident, the Adventists decided as a matter of policy that in future years they would not recommend the Rusangu school leavers for entry into government schools. Accordingly they ceased to forward students to the Jeanes training and agricultural school, and when Munali opened, the Adventists did not recommend any of their students to the new school.[25] Instead, they sent their able students to the S.D.A. institutions in Rhodesia and South Africa. This practice continued until the eve of independence. Rusangu school leavers who entered the government post-primary institutions in the territory, did so through their own efforts and on their own responsibility, and the mission agency declined to employ them.[26]

At Chikuni, Fr. Prokoph, a graduate of the University of London who arrived in 1940 to take charge of the educational programme, was determined to transform Chikuni Mission into a modern college. He planned facilities to house the secondary school classes and canvassed for qualified teaching staff. The arrival of Jesuit priests from the Irish province of the

Society of Jesus in 1946 provided Chikuni Mission with qualified personnel to staff the proposed secondary school.[27]

However, Fr. Prokoph had to oversome government's resistance before he could implement his plans. He sought permission to open a secondary school at Chikuni at a time when the government education policy barred mission agencies from offering secondary education. Fr. Prokoph has revealed (as quoted below) that the Department rejected the first application of the Jesuits in 1946 seeking permission to establish a secondary school.

> "... we have already a secondary school stream at Munali and an additional stream in other schools might create an intellectual proletariat which the country could not absorb." 28

Three factors contributed to the failure by the Jesuits to secure government approval to expand educational opportunities at Chikuni. Firstly, the fear of equal competition between the white and the black races was as old as the colony of Northern Rhodesia. The denial of advanced education for the African race was the most effective way of preventing equal competition for jobs and land ownership from occurring. The policy which prevented the rapid rise of a class of African elite workers was enforced by the Company Administration during the period 1893 to 1924 and by the colonial administration between 1925 and 1950. [29]

Secondly, until toward the end of the Second World War, the Weight of colonial policy seemed to rest on the provision of literacy or elementary education for the bulk of the population, and the development of advanced education for the

minority received less attention.[30] At least the Northern Rhodesia Government and its advisors seemed to consider that a single junior secondary school at Munali would suffice to meet the territory's needs.[31]

Thirdly, when in 1946, the territorial government began to give in to missionary societies' demands that they be allowed to participate in the secondary school programme, it wished to avoid the prospect of denominational competition in the establishment of junior secondary schools. The standing committee of the African Education Advisory Board was, therefore, asked to study the possibility of establishing an inter-denominational secondary school. However, the three Societies of the Roman Catholic Church, namely, the Jesuits, the White Fathers and the Capuchin Fathers, were against the idea of an ecumenical secondary school preferring to hold out for the freedom to establish their own.[32] The mission agencies who favoured the ecumenical scheme also opposed the demands by the Roman Catholic societies to establish a separate school although it was recognised by the Methodist spokesman, for instance, "that it would be hopeless to attempt the (ecumenical) scheme unless the Roman Catholics felt that it was possible."[33] This inter-denominational rivalry delayed the development of mission secondary schools in the territory and the plan to open a secondary school at Chikuni in 1946 was not approved by the government.

Fr. Prokoph's hopes to expand educational facilities at Chikuni appeared shattered and his feelings may be gauged from his later recollections:

> "In 1945, I put out feelers about the possibility of a secondary course at Chikuni. I put up the building and got the staff in 1946, but met with a lot of resistance both from the government and the other missions, who suddenly decided that all secondary education should be in the hands of government." [34]

However, it seemed that the deadlock pleased none of the parties and in 1948, the government softened its stand against mission involvement in secondary school education and approved the proposal for a secondary school at Chikuni. The adoption of what seemed to be a liberal educational policy, could be attributed to the fact that the Roman Catholic societies had exerted considerable pressure on the government. But the Director of the Department of African Education, R.J. Mason, supported the plan on the grounds that the Roman Catholic societies provided one-third of the territorial primary education and that they had enough tandard VI school leavers to fill the places available at the new secondary schools.[35]

The secondary school at Chikuni opened in August 1949 under the name Canisius College. Since it was the first Roman Catholic secondary school in Northern Rhodesia, it acquired the status of a territorial institution for the Catholic community. It began as a junior secondary school of Forms I and 2. In 1955, a senior class of Form 3 was introduced and the intake moved to Form 4 in the following year. The school conducted the first Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examinations in 1957. In 1961, Canisius College introduced Form 5 and Form 6 the year after. At the eve of independence in 1964, Canisius had double classes with 35 pupils in each, in Forms I to 4 and a single class each in Forms 5 and 6.[36]

The success of the Jesuit in obtaining government approval for the establishment of Canisius College seemed to have paved way for other missionary societies to establish secondary schools at their main mission stations. In 1950, for example, the Universities Missions to Central Africa and the Methodist Mission opened secondary school classes at Mapanza and Chipembi respectively.[37]

The way was also open for Rusangu Junior Secondary School to be established in August 1959, ten years after the founding of Canisius College. The Northern Rhodesia Mission Field of the Seventh-day Adventist Church resolved to provide junior secondary school education at Rusangu to cater for the territorial needs of Standard VI school leavers from the Adventist Central Mission Schools.[38]

The traffic of the Adventist students from Zambia to Solusi Missionary College for the Junior Secondary School course ended. However, the Adventist institutions South of the Zambezi continued to offer senior secondary school and teacher training courses to Adventist students sent by the Adventist mission agency in Zambia. The links between Rusangu and Solusi were severed in November 1965 following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Rhodesia. Students who had not completed their studies were compelled to discontinue and they returned to Zambia.[39]

The Outschools 1925 - 1950

The Jesuits opened more outschools during the second phase of educational development than during the first phase. As already seen in Chapter 3, in 1925, the Adventists were far

* See: p.143.

ahead of the Jesuits in outschool openings but at the end of the second phase in 1950, the Jesuits were managing more outschools than the Adventists.

The increase of the Jesuit outschools was closely associated with the work of Fr. Zabdyr who came to Chikuni Mission in 1928 to assume the position of a manager of outschools, the post he maintained until 1950. During these twenty-two years he was responsible for establishing forty-eight of them. This brought the number of the Jesuit outschools on the Tonga plateau and in the valley to fifty-five while the Adventists' had thirty-five on the plateau in 1950.

Commenting on the work of Fr. Zabdyr, Fr. John Coyne wrote:

> "He travelled a radius of 40 miles from Chikuni mapping out likely sites for schools, interviewing chiefs and village headmen, providing temporary buildings by spurring on the local population to take a hand in supplying material or manual labour, contacting government officials and arranging for teachers and catechists."[40]

In the early 1920's, the Adventists had made two unsuccessful attempts to open outschools in the Gwembe valley. As already pointed out, one of the reasons which forced the Adventists to discontinue efforts to build schools in the valley was the lack of accessible roads. But in 1937 Fr. Zabdyr overcame this problem by building a road from Chikuni Mission to Fumbo, forty-three kilometres away, where he opened the first outschool in the valley. In 1938 three additional Jesuit outschools were established in the Gwembe valley.[41]

The Adventist's pace considerably slowed down during the second phase of educational development. This is attributed to

some specific factors. Unlike the Jesuits, the Adventists did not have an officer who was directly in-charge of the outschools. The Director of Rusangu Mission was also entrusted with the responsibility of supervising the outschools. The consequence was that he could not devote enough time surveying possible areas for expansion but concentrated on the management of the main station and the outschools which were already established.

Perhaps more significantly, the government policy of grant-aiding only certificated teachers greatly affected the Adventists. They did not have enough certificated teachers to meet the needs of all Adventist schools in the territory as a whole and were thus compelled by the government policy to stop building additional schools which they could not staff with certificated teachers. One of the Adventist educationists, S.M. Konigmacher, expressed his dislike of the government policy in a letter to the Secretary for Native Affairs in 1934:

> "For many years I have placed many primary schools in villages where the natives have learnt to read and write and to be honest good citizens. I believe it has been a definite blessing to the country, but now that higher education has come in with all the frills and swank, I wonder if I would still be able to place schools among the natives to uplift them, though I do not place a high standard man as a teacher? I had a Jeanes graduate and, oh, what a failure he was. An ordinary intelligent standard two boy would have done better." 42

The quotation further suggests that the Adventists had no confidence in government trained teachers, and therefore the agency depended heavily on untrained Rusangu school leavers to run village schools. Allegiance to the S.D.A. Church was the criterion for employment of middle school leavers rather than the attainment of a teacher's certificate as was demanded by the Department.[43]

The government's stand point on the other hand was that the use of unqualified teachers was the cause of poor conditions at the agency's outschools. The Department threatened to close down the outschools if the agency failed to engage trained teachers who could improve the educational standard,[44] and because of this factor, the Adventist agency preferred to hold on to the schools already established rather than to increase their number. On the contrary, the Jesuit's training school at Chikuni which re-opened in 1940 produced a steady flow of qualified teachers to meet the needs of the agency's outschool programme.

Limitations on Mission Involvement 1951 - 1964

The 1951 African Education Ordinance created Local Education Authorities in both rural and urban administrative districts. The new Authorities were designed to facilitate equal participation in educational effort by the central government, mission societies and local African communities. The participation of African communities was channelled through the local government bodies of Native Authorities in the rural areas and Urban Native Councils in the urban areas. The African Education Ordinance also provided legal effect for the appointment of school councils at every school. Members of the local community and teachers of each school constituted the school council.[45]

It is imperative here to give a brief background of the Native Authorities and show how they raised revenue. The Local Education Authorities were an organ of the local governments which were commonly known as the Native Authorities, which were

enacted by the 1929 Native Authority and Native Courts Ordinance. In 1936, the Native Authorities were given legal powers to have control over finance through the Native Treasuries. The Native Treasuries raised revenue from native tax and licences.[46]

There were gradual sentiments in the circles of the Central Government that the Native Authorities should be charged with greater responsibility for providing essential services to the local communities. However, the outbreak of World War II in 1939 delayed the fulfilment of these aspirations. It was not until 1947 that the Cartmel-Robinson Commission was "charged to investigate the financial relationship between the Native Authorities and the Central Government." The Cartmel-Robinson Commission recommended among other things, that Native Authorities' revenue be increased to enable them to pay salaries, provide education and health services and maintain agriculture and roads projects in their respective areas.[47]

In 1948, the central Government accepted the recommendations of the Cartmel-Robinson Commission, and 75 percent of the Native tax was thereafter paid directly to the District Native Treasuries, 15 percent to the Provincial Native Treasuries and 10 percent to the Central Government.[48] The Native Authorities were further empowered to impose a general and special levy in order to raise revenue to finance specific local projects. The Central Government made grants available to make up any shortfalls on specified services, of which education was one.[49]

At the time of the inception of the Local Education Authorities in 1951, the Native Treasuries had already developed

reliable sources of revenue. The Central Government had also relieved itself of the immediate responsibility of financing African Education at the elementary and middle school levels.

The territorial government appealed to missionary societies to recognise the change in the structure of educational administration and assist in the implementation of the Local Education Authorities system. The mission agencies were indeed the instrumental body to ensure the success of the plan. All primary schools in the rural sector and a large portion in the urban areas were managed by the mission agencies and the government did not anticipate rapid change in this situation. Addressing the African Education Advisory Board in June 1953, the territorial Governor, Sir Gilbert Rennie, said:

> "I would stress once again that the policy of the Government is to retain as far as possible, active assistance and guidance of the missions in providing education with increasing responsibility of the Africans themselves for their educational services." 50

With such assurances the mission societies consented to the government plan for Local Education Authorities and School Councils.

The discrepancies which existed between conditions of services for mission and government teachers brought about a new development in the educational system. The government decided to seal the gap in the conditions of service and salary structure by creating a body known as the Unified African Teaching Service. From July 1953 all teachers in grant aided mission schools were co-opted into the newly formed body, irrespective of their employers, and trained mission teachers' salaries substantially improved. They were brought under the same terms

and conditions of service as government teachers according to their qualifications, and made subject to the same general rules of discipline and professional conduct.[51]

The creation of the new educational bodies marked the third phase of educational development in Zambia. The Local Education Authorities and the Unified African Teaching Service had diverse effects on the educational role of the mission agencies. The local authorities were responsible of educating the community,[52] and this meant that the grant-in-aid which the government paid to mission agencies to meet the cost of running outschools ceased.

The role of mission socieites as employers of teachers in outschools was to be terminated. The compulsory membership of all mission agency teachers in the Unified African Teaching Service broke the link between the two parties. The allegiance of the teachers was switched from missionary societies and directed to the new employer, the Central government.

The Jesuits and the Adventists interpreted the new development differently. Each missionary society had the legal right to continue to control the central mission station. The government grants paid to the central mission were maintained and in 1953, the African Education Advitory Committee asked the government to increase the grants of 50 to 75 percent of the total cost. However, the body of missionaries discouraged 100 percent government grants because of fear that they could justify a subsequent government take-over of the central schools.[53]

The Jesuits and the Adventists had to make a decision in regard to their future relationship with their outschools. The Jesuit outschools were confined to Southern and Central Provinces only while those of the Adventists were spread all over the territory. The process of handing over the outschools was to be staggered over a period of ten years; during which time mission agencies were expected to help the Local Education Authorities to stabilise their management of these schools.

The Jesuits consented to the government policy that African interestes should be promoted in all educational matters, for exemple promoting African teachers to be headmasters of elementary and middle schools. But the Jesuits objected to the assumption that the handing over of elementary and middle schools to the Local Education Authorities was desirable. They thought that education was probably the last service which should be handed over to the local communities,[54] because the Jesuits' outschool programme was the main method of evangelisation among the local communities.

Although the decision of the Jesuit Fathers Agency to maintain the management of the outschools for an indefinite period of time placed more strain on its resources, they did not halt the expansion of their outschools. In 1947, the Jesuits reported 67 Jesuit schools in the Gwembe valley and the Tonga plateau.[55] In 1973, when the agency relinquished its management of the outschools a total of 85 primary schools were handed over to the District Education Officers in Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Gwembe.[56] The hand over of the primary schools

was described by the Rector of Chikuni in 1979, Fr. Thomas Mc Givern, "as a normal development."[57] There was a general consensus among the Jesuits that the time had come for their primary schools to be incorporated into the government primary school system. It is assumed however, that the change of policy was caused by the increasing cost of managing primary schools, which the Jesuits had to shoulder, and the availability of qualified government personnel to manage them.[58]

The Jesuit Fathers Agency has retained the management of Canisius Secondary School and the Charles Lwanga Teacher Training College which lies adjacent to Chikuni Mission on the east bank of Chikuni river.

The Adventist Agency which operated a territorial education system claimed in 1937 that it had more then one hundred outschools and six central stations in the territory.[59]

The new developments of 1951 - 3 brought to an end the educational efforts of the Adventists at this level. The Tonga plateau had the largest concentration of the Adventist outschools. There were thirty five outschools which were under the management of the mission Director at Rusangu. In 1956, the Adventists relinquished the management of the thirty five schools, seven of which were sub-mission stations which offered the middle primary education of standards III and IV. The handover of the primary outschools affected all Adventist schools in the territory. Rusangu mission was the only station on the Tonga plateau which remained under the management of the Adventists. Other Central Mission stations of the denomination were Musofu in Mkushi district of the Central Province, Chimpempe in Kawambwa

district of the Luapula Province, Mwami in Chipata district of the Eastern Province and Liumba Hill and Sitoti in Kalabo and Senanga districts respectively of the Western Province.

The main figure behind the hand over to the Local Education Authorities of over one hundred sub-mission stations and outschools was E.A. Tramper, the President of the Adventist Northern Rhodesia Mission Field at that time.[60] The argument by the Adventists which necessitated the handover of the Adventist schools was two fold namely the creation of the Local Education Authorities and the standardisation of the teaching profession by the establishment of the Unified African Teaching Service.[61]

The Adventists seemed alarmed by the government's decision to defer the cost of education to the Local Education Authorities. It implied that if the Adventist mission agency chose to retain the outschools, they would naturally subsititute for the Local Education Authorities. However, the agency's resources could not finance the cost of running outschools.

The absorption of all serving teachers into Unified Teaching Service was not appreciated by the Adventists because the mission agency lost its status as an employer; and the missionaries envisaged that they would not command the loyalty of teachers who were not on the mission's payroll. The agency believed that the teachers could shift their allegiance from the church to the government.

The success of the Adventist outschools was largely dependent on the calibre of mission adherents. Without the total

allegiance of the outschool teachers the agency considered that there was no purpose for the mission agency to continue with its educational work in the rural parts of the territory.

The handover of the outschools in 1956 was not abrupt. It had been a gradual process lasting for approximately three years, during which the mission agency took time to disseminate information about the new developments to the local church adherents and the teachers. The teachers welcomed the scheme. The standardisation of the salary structure for teachers boosted their income since on the mission salary scale teachers were paid less than their counterparts on the government conditions.[62]

The African teachers at Rusangu Mission (as distinct from the outschool teachers) were not absorbed into the Unified African Teaching Service. The arrangement between the government and the Adventists was that teachers at Rusangu Mission would be directly employed by the Adventist Church. The teachers' salaries were shared between the two parties on a fifty-fifty basis. In order to create an incentive for the mission salaried teachers, the Adventists increased their portion of salaries. This temporary measure enabled the teachers to receive higher salaries than their counterparts who were paid under the Unified African Teaching Service Scheme.[63]

The local communities did not welcome the hand-over of outschools. The departure of the Adventists from the field of education was viewed with pessimism. The community looked at the missionaries as the sole educators of the younger generation. They had initiated the school system of education

in many local communities. Therefore, the Adventist adherents appealed to the missionaries not to relinquish the management of village schools. There were suggestions that the parents be responsible for fulfilling the financial role of the Local Education Authorities, raising funds to maintain the village schools.[64]

The Adventists rejected the suggestion, for the following reasons:

(a) that such a course would be more than many parents could bear. The consequence would be a drastic reduction in enrolment.

(b) that it was morally wrong in principle to expect parents alone, as opposed to the local community as a whole, to bear the increasing cost of education.

(c) that even though the communities where outschools were situated, optimistically promised to pay the shortfall, experience had shown that many would eventually become debtors to the church. In the final analysis the church would have to bear the financial burden.[65]

The decision by the Adventist agency to handover the outschools was irreversible. The society was committed to the idea of narrowing its participation in the educational work. The resources of the mission society had to be concentrated on the development and maintenance of the central mission stations only. The future development of Rusangu Mission therefore received greater attention. From August 1959 to the eve of independence in 1964, Rusangu Mission offered junior secondary school education with students drawn from Standard VI classes at each of the central

mission stations which continued under the management of the Adventists. The secondary school had an intake of 35 students. Musofu and Chimpempe missions sent 8 students each, Liumba Hill and Sitoti Missions sent 4 students each and the rest were from Rusangu Mission.[66] This made Rusangu Mission a territorial Adventist institution.

The Junior Secondary School at Rusangu Mission was developed without government aid. It was wholly under the mission control. Its only connection to the government was that school curriculum was in line with the syllabus issued by the Department of African Education and students sat for the Form II government examination. The capital and operational costs were financed entirely by appropriations from the treasury of the Zambia Mission Field of the Seventh-day Adventists. The funds originated from contributions by the church membership, in and outside Zambia, and the income derived from the school fees paid by the individual students who attended the school.[67]

The establishment of non-government adided Secondary School at Rusangu Mission reflected the universal policy of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The church disapproves financial partnership with governments in the development and maintenance of educational institutions. However, the existence of Rusangu Secondary School as a private school was short lived. In 1965, the government of the newly independent state of Zambia, urged the Adventist Mission to accept government grant at a ratio of 75 percent government and 25 percent mission on all capital expenditure. Owing to the introduction of free education in

Zambia, the operational coast became subject to a 100 percent government grant. The increased government grant enabled the building of a modern Senior Secondary School. The Adventist missionaries retained the right to administer the day to day operations of the school. The Education Secretary of the Zambia Union and the Headmaster of the school are in charge of staffing the school with both locally trained Adventist adherents and missionaries from overseas countries.[68]

The Mission Influence in the Community

A cluster of outschools surrounded the Jesuit and the Adventist central mission schools. The outschools were sometimes known as village or bush schools. Those which developed to be middle schools, where Standards III and IV classes were conducted, were known as the sub-mission stations.

The significant aspect about the outschools is that they were the media of interaction between the missionaries and the rural communities. The existence of the outschools symbolised the penetration of mission influence in the community. The outschools were only established in areas where each mission society had won some converts. Victor Murray asserts that each mission outschool was an evangelistic agency, and that it was for the Christianizing of the people that the mission outschools were there.[69] This is partly accurate but the scope and intent of the mission outschools were not limited to evangelical work.

The village schools created a permanent link between the agencies of modernisation at the central mission station and the traditional life in the rural sector. Programmes for the eradication of illiteracy among the converts were carried out

at the village schools; and because of the existence of these schools the rural communities benefited from the medical facilities which existed at the central mission station. In all cases, the means of communication were developed in order to make the outschools accessible from the central mission station.

The outschools also helped to transform the negative attitudes of the rural population toward the school system of education. In the early years that followed the settlement of the missionaries on the Tonga plateau, pupils were recruited to attend school. The last two decades of colonial Zambia saw an increase in the voluntary enrolment of students. This change of attitudes was due to the existence of the outschools, embedded in the midst of rural communities.

The usual setting of the outschools was characterised by the bush environment. They were constructed of local building materials: poles, mud walls and grass thatched roofs.[70] The building was done by the local people under the supervision of the teacher/evangelists or the catechumen. This participation of the local community illustrated the desire of the people to have a school and is a sure indication that the outschools were established with the approval of the community. The school was simple in appearance and yet it was the first place where the youths were initiated into the rudiments of the school system of education.

The outschools were the feeders of the central mission stations at Chikuni and Rusangu. Pupils who showed high academic

aptitude found their way to the Central Mission for the middle and upper primary courses. From the 1930's onwards some of the Jesuit and Adventist outschools were up-graded to middle schools which broadened the opportunities for rural pupils.

The outschools were run and managed by either untrained or trained teachers. However, one thing in common about teachers of the outschools was that they were all school leavers of the central mission. They were people who had accepted Christianity. The Jesuits called them catechists or catechumens which the Adventists called teacher/evangelists. The common name for both groups was that of village school teachers.

Prior to 1925, the village school teachers were untrained. They were people who had spent at least four years at the Central mission station to complete the elementary school. These teachers taught pupils to read and write and conducted prayer meetings with the village community. When the mission schools began to offer middle school education, the quality of the village school teachers improved. After the 1930's, the Department of Native Education insisted that the village school teachers be holders of government teachers' certificate.[71] This government policy was detrimental to the efforts of the missionaries to establish outschools among the rural communities, since the lack of trained teachers forced the missionaries to slow down their efforts to establish the outschools.

The successes and failures of the outschools largely rested with the village school teacher. He was a link man between the missionary at the central mission station and the

community in the rural areas. The village school teacher lived in the midst of the traditional society as a representative of the missionary society, and the mission's ability to disseminate the rudiments of Christianity was dependent on the calibre of the village school teacher. His work was to educate the community and lure people from traditional life to christianity. Victor Murray talks of the village school teacher as the "hub of the whole educational system."[72] He was the source of new ideas. He transformed the thinking of his pupils and helped to broaden their knowledge of their envirnment. The community held the teacher in high esteem. His influence on the community was expected to reflect the values of Christianity, and his life was emulated by many people.

The outschools were supervised by the missionaries who resided at the central station. The Jesuits had a priest who devoted his full time to the supervision of outschools and visited them frequently. The manner in which the Jesuits supervised the outschools impressed the Department. In 1936, the Director of Native Education recommended that the Adventists should appoint an officer to be in sole charge of the outschools but the Director of Rusangu Mission objected to the idea of adopting a pattern of running outschools which was similar to that of the Jesuits.[73] Instead the Adventists decentralised the management of the outschools. They established seven middle schools; each of which became a sub-mission station. The long serving teachers were appointed as Directors of the sub-mission stations. Most of the Directors were holders of the government teachers' certificate with a Standard IV academic qualification.

Each Director of the sub-mission was in charge of no more than five elementary outschools. The Director of Rusangu Mission was responsible for the supervision of the sub-mission stations while the Directors of the sub-mission stations conducted the inspection of elementary village schools.[74] Occasionally, they were accompanied on inspection tours by the missionary from Rusangu Mission. Some of the sub-mission Directors served as Jeanes Supervisors as well.[75]

The teachers in outschools were called to the Central School once a year during the school holidays for a two-week seminar. The practice gave each village school teacher an opportunity to be in contact with the missionaries at the central mission school. The Adventists maintained this system of managing outschools until the agency handed its schools to the Local Education Authorities in 1956.

The Jesuit outschools were all managed from Chikuni Mission until 1950. The priests in charge of the management of outschools served in that capacity for a lengthy period of time. For example, Fr. Bick served from 1908 to 1928. His successor, Fr. Zabdyr served from 1928 to 1950. Owing to the increased number of outschools, the management was decentralised. At the eve of independence, four managerial centres had been established: Chikuni, Kasiya, Monze and Mazabuka. Each Jesuit manager of the schools had a relatively small number of schools to supervise. The Education Secretary of the Monze Diocese of the Jesuit Fathers Agency had overall administrative responsibility for outschools and co-ordinated the work of each of the four managers.[76]

The Role of Chiefs in the Development of Education

The Jesuits and the Adventist agencies claimed that they established outschools in areas where they were either invited by local communities through the village headmen and the local chiefs or where they obtained permission of the local chiefs.[77] They then informed the District Commissioner of their intentions to build schools in specific areas.[78] This was a longstanding practice which dated back to the time of the arrival of the Jesuits and the Adventists when the two missionary societies obtained permission to establish Chikuni and Rusangu mission stations from Chief Monze (see Chapter 2).

The outschools of the Jesuit and the Adventist agencies were spread over many areas of the Tonga plateau and Gwembe valley which fall under the jurisdiction of sixteen chieftaincies.[79] Although the traditional chiefs were, according to the Department of Native Affairs in the early 1930's, all illiterate,[80] they did not stand in the way of missionaries agencies. On the contrary, Chief Chona recalls that they welcomed missionary agencies who desired to open outschools in the rural areas.[81] This was the secret of the success of the outschool programme. The chiefs often sent their off-spring to the mission village schools for elementary education. The successful candidates proceeded to the main stations at Chikuni and Rusangu for the middle and upper primary school levels. Chief Chona observes that the two better educated current Tonga chiefs, Chief Chona himself and Chief Sianjalika, are graduates of Chikuni and Rusangu respectively.[82]

Evidence is lacking of material support being given by chiefs to the development of education despite vocal promises of such assistance. For example when the Jesuit agency sought to erect a boarding school at St. Mary's, next to Chief Monze's village, they succeeded in getting the support of the Department. But even if the chief was going to benefit, things did not work out because Chief Monze did not mobilise his people to embark on the project as requested by the Jesuits. In 1936, the Superintendent of the Department appealed to the District Commissioner of Mazabuka to compel Chief Monze to comply with the request by the Jesuit agency.

> "I have to inform you that about a year ago Chikuni Mission decided as an experiment to convert the village school close to Chief Monze's village, into a village boarding school. The proposal was welcomed by the Department in view of the fact that children, otherwise unable to receive the benefits of a boarding school education, would be enabled to attend, and also on the grounds that a school of this nature close to the village of the most important Tonga chief would be of considerable value. Unfortunately, difficulty has been encountered by the Mission in obtaining the active assistance of Monze's people, though Monze himself has frequently promised to assist." 83

The plan was abandoned when these efforts to involve Chief Monze in the scheme bore no fruit.

Sources of Funds.

Chikuni and Rusangu mission stations received operational funds from four sources, namely appropriations from overseas, returns from agricultural projects, government grants and collections from church patrons. When the two missionary societies embarked on educational and religious work on the Tonga plateau, the missionaries relied solely on funds from their home countries. The Jesuits got money from the Polish

Province of the Society of Jesus which was responsible for the Zambesi Mission.[84] The Adventists obtained funds from the General Conference through the Southern Union (which was at that time the head office of Adventist work in Southern and Central Africa).[85]

The two societies rapidly developed agriculture at Chikuni and Rusangu to generate additional revenue. Fr. Moreau did not conceal his intention to relieve the Zambesi Mission of the burden of financing Chikuni Mission. The table below reveals his achievement in this direction:

Table 5. 2

Numerical Figures of Net Returns from Chikuni Farm.

Year	Return	Year	Return
1910	£400	1918	£645
1911	£694	1919	£724
1912	£990	1920	£983
1913	1200	1921	£710
1914	£270	1922	£545
1915	£260	1923	£368
1916	£379	1924	£577
1917	£421	1925	£421 [86]

The figures in sterling suggest that Chikuni farm generated substantial revenue. Comparative figures for Rusangu during the same period are not available. But inspection reports on the Adventist mission in the 1930's reveal that agriculture was given substantial prominence and the mission had a fulltime farm manager stationed at Rusangu.[87]

Beginning in 1926, the two societies began to receive government grants. Over the years this became the main source of revenue to finance educational work. On the eve of the introduction of the Local Education Authorities, in 1951, the Central Government was paying grants to mission agencies for these categories:

a. Salaries for European teachers in full.

b. Salaries for African teachers in full less £3 per male teacher per annum as contribution from the mission.

c. Equipment grants.

d. Boarding grants, covering part of the cost of maintenance of boarders, the remaining part being covered by boarding fees paid by students.

e. Ad hoc grants for refresher courses, special courses and travelling expenses.

f. Capital grants for approved school building on mission land up to 50 percent of the estimated cost.[88]

The colonial government continued to give grants to central mission stations until independence. Within a few years the government of the independent state of Zambia had abolished both tuition and boarding fees in primary and secondary schools aided by the government. The government provides educational institutions 100 percent operational grant. It also provides 75 percent grant for capital expenditure and the mission agencies raise 25 percent of the estimated cost. Currently, the school authorities at Chikuni and Rusangu confine their operation costs to the government grant. Neither mission society subsidises the school in the event of excessive expenditure.[89]

The two societies are committed to raise funds to meet the cost of evangelical work, but differ in the methods they employ to raise the necessary funds.

In the religious activities, the Jesuits do not operate independently but in conjunction with other Orders of the Roman Catholic Church. The Bishop of the Monze Diocese, though a Jesuit himself, is the regional leader of all Roman Catholic parish priests on the Tonga plateau and in the Gwembe valley.

The Bishop raises funds to maintain the parish work of his diocese. He relies on the traditional sources of funds for the Roman Catholic Church, namely, Rome and other overseas provinces of the Catholic congregations. The Bishop of Monze Diocese asserts that the head office of the Catholic Church in Rome provides his diocese with 40 percent of the funds. The overseas provinces provide him with 40 percent as well. The collections from the local Catholic church congregations make up the remaining 20 per cent.[90] He disseminates the available funds to his 17 parish centres in the form of transport to priests, meeting the running cost of the parishes and maintaining the community houses where the priests reside.[91]

The method of providing financial support for the religious work of the Seventh-day Adventist church is as old as the church organisation itself (see chapter 3). It is the method of Tithing which is derived from the Holy Bible.[92] The method proposes that each adherent of the Seventh-day Adventist church gives one tenth of his income to the church. In addition, the S.D.A. church introduced a plan called 'systematic Benevolence' which is specially intended to encourage church members to give additional offerings to the church to support missionaries in the mission field.[93]

Primarily, it has been through the methods of 'Tithing' and 'systematic Benevolence' that the S.D.A. church finds it possible to maintain its present work and enter new fields of activity in the world mission programme. The local mission Fields and Unions endeavour to raise adequate funds by appeals

to the S.D.A. congregations to adhere to church methods of raising funds. The General Conference occasionally sends appropriations to individual Unions, through the Division, to make up any shortfall. In this context, Zambia Union and its three Fields (see Chapter 3), raise approximately 92 per cent of its budget from contributions by adherents.

* Footnote: However, since 1946, there was provision for Chipembi Methodist mission to operate a small junior secondary section for girls' education. Three girls completed the junior secondary school course in June 1948. In the same year, three girls were enrolled in Form I and two were in Form II.

See: African Education Annual Report for the year 1948, p.32.

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CHAPTER SIX

INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MISSIONS, SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

Functional Relations

There were three bodies which were closely associated with the activities of the Jesuits and the Adventists in Zambia. These were the local community, other mission societies and the territorial government. The closeness of the two mission to each other, was also a compelling reason for the two societies to have working relations.

The local community was the first body to be contacted by the Jesuit and the Adventist missionaries. Their activities were primarily intended to serve the local communities. It was for this reason that the Jesuits and the Adventists chose to establish their first mission stations in Zambia close to densely populated areas.

During the period between 1905 - 1917, the two mission societies had no working relations with other mission agencies. The formation of the General Missionary Conference in 1915, gave the Jesuits and Adventists an opportunity to establish operational contacts with other missionary societies. The Adventists joined the mission body in 1917 while the Jesuits joined in 1922.[1]

The two mission societies did not work closely with the first civil government in Zambia. The apathy of the Company Administration to African education denied the mission societies the chance of working in conjunction with the territorial government prior to 1924. The active involvement of the colonial

government in the educational work brought the mission societies into partnership with the civil authorities. In the years 1925 to 1964, the Jesuit and the Adventist mission agencies were subordinate to the Department of Native Education. The mission agencies were the educators of the local communities while their educational activities were directed by the Department. We now proceed to examine these aspects in detail .

The Two Missions

It was in July 1905 that the Jesuits and the Adventists first met. Fathers Joseph Moreau and Jules Torrend called at the present site of Rusangu Mission with the hope of settling there. To the disappointment of the two priests, they found that the Adventists had pitched their tents three days earlier. The Jesuits found an appropriate site fifteen kilometres South-east of Rusangu Mission. The proximity of the two mission stations to each other, marked the beginning of an operational relationship between the Catholic Church and the protestant Seventh-day Adventist Church on the Tonga plateau.

Overt rivalry between the two mission societies existed in the striving to disseminate their respective religious influence. The two missions were occasionally involved in disputes over the setting of village schools among the rural communities. The establishment of the village schools signified the presence of a missionary society in the community for whom the out school was built. However, this potentially hostile situation was overshadowed by other more cordial factors. For instance, in the educational sphere there was little rivalry.

The missionaries at the two mission stations did not permit their denominational differences to jeopardize the common working relationship in their educational efforts.

There were no instances of social antagonism between the Jesuits and the Adventists. Indeed some degree of friendship existed between them. The cordial social relations between the missionaries of the two Societies was illustrated by their willingness to share health facilities, wagons for transportation and literature for use in the school curriculum.[2]

When Pastor Anderson first met the two Jesuit priests, he demonstrated a spirit of friendship. In spite of the fact that the Jesuits had come to his tent to claim the ownership of the land they surveyed in 1902, Anderson invited the two priests to stay over night. The invitation was turned down because the Jesuits wanted to join the main party which was camped next to Chief Monze's village. However, Pastor Anderson served his two companions with a meal. He took time to explain to them that he was the rightful owner of the disputed mission farm. The beacon which Anderson constructed in 1903 when he first surveyed the Rusangu Mission farm, was the evidence to justify his claim to the ownership of the piece of land.[3]

Later Anderson learned that the Jesuits had chosen a farm close to his settlement. The Jesuits approached Anderson and asked to hire his wagon to transport their luggage from Monze's village to the new site at Chikuni. Anderson willingly loaned his wagon, a span of oxen and the wagon driver to the Jesuit priests. The wagon driver spent a week at Chikuni helping the Jesuits to settle down. Pastor Anderson did not

claim charges for the services which his employee and the ox-drawn wagon rendered to the Catholic priests.[4] This action helped to create friendly relations between the Jesuits and the Adventists. Fr. Moreau acknowledged the charitable assistance of Pastor Anderson at the time when he was the only one with a wagon and a span of oxen on the Tonga plateau.[5]

The arrival of the Notre Dame sisters at Chikuni Mission on 16th February 1920 again revealed the existence of a friendly relationship between the Jesuits and Adventists. The Adventists participated in the occasion to mark the arrival of the four sisters. They made available to the Jesuits a cart drawn by six oxen and a large wagon drawn by sixteen oxen. The Charabanc provided the sisters with a comfortable ride and the big wagon had enough space for their luggage.[6] The eight kilometre trip from the railway siding to Chikuni Mission was remarkable to both the Jesuits and the Adventists.

No other instances of the common use of transport vehicles by the two missions is recorded. But it cannot be ruled out that the two missions continued to share transport facilities in the period between 1920 and 1964.

In 1905, the missionaries of Chikuni and Rusangu Mission stations were isolated from other white communities. The nearest European farmer was at Magoye, about 40 kilometres north of the present Monze town.[7] There were no other mission societies on the Tonga plateau until after 1917. The alienation of land, along the line of rail, to the white settler farmers increased the number of white farmers who settled close to the two mission stations.[8]

Prior to 1920, the Jesuits and the Adventists were compelled by these conditions to develop cordial relationships. The relationship between Pastor Anderson and Fr. Moreau was cemented by the fact that they were the only Europeans close to one another. Fr. Moreau, whose chief occupation was farming, was once badly injured by an ox. Since he was the only European at Chikuni Mission, before the arrival of Fr. Bick in 1908, he went to Rusangu Mission to be cared for by Pastor Anderson. The Adventist missionary nursed the Jesuit Father until he recovered from his injury.[9]

Ever since 1905, it became a common practice for the Jesuit Fathers and the Adventist missionaries to help each other in the field of health. Both mission stations had dispensaries where the school community and people from the local villages received medical treatment. The dispensary at Rusangu mission remained small in size. At Chikuni, the clinic developed into a rural health centre. The Jesuits placed their improved health facilities at the disposal of the Adventist community at Rusangu mission. On the eve of independence, the Adventists were still dependent on health facilities made available to them by the Jesuit Fathers. The last Mission Director of Rusangu Mission who also served as the principal of the Secondary School from 1961 - 1965, Elder K.E. Thomas, has referred to the cordial relations between the Jesuits and the Adventists and said:

> "We did not have any formal working relations with the authorities of Chikuni Mission, although our dealings with them were always very cordial. On occasions a member of their staff would invigilate examinations at Rusangu and this plan was very acceptable to us. We also availed

ourselves of their medical services on odd occasions when our own were not sufficient. 10

Some degree of co-operation in the field of education dates back to the early 1920's. Chikuni Mission began to emulate the boarding school that existed at Rusangu Mission. Fr. Moreau abandoned the idea of running a day school which in his view accounted for the failure of Chikuni to establish a conticuous academic programme before 1921. The Jesuits introduced boarding facilities similar to those of Rusangu Mission. This gave the school a strong educational base which ensured the expansion of the central mission and of the outschool programme of the Jesuit Fathers agency.

The standardisation of the school curriculum by the Department of Native Education in 1927 fostered closer co-operation between the two mission agencies. It enabled the staff of Chikuni and Rusangu to consult each other more often on matters which pertained to the school currciulum. In 1937, for instance, four sisters of Chikuni Convent led by Sister Ursula, worked closely with Miss Enid M. Ellingworth, the teacher of the girls school at Rusangu Mission.[11] Her successor, Miss Stevens, also maintained professional contacts with the Notre Dame sisters at Chikuni Mission.[12] The two mission stations ran exemplary girls' schools in the territory and each had much to learn from the other. Although the success of the two schools was due to the presence of full time and qualified female educationists, the sharing of professional ideas between the sisters at Chikuni and the female teacher at Rusangu helped to strengthen the programme at each of the girls' schools which included in the school curriculum the teaching of the domestic and handcraft subjects.[13]

Co-operation in the educational work was not confined to the girls' schools. Seminars centred on educational issues were often held between the Jesuit Fathers and the Adventists. In April 1937, for instance, Fr. Moreau took his staff of priests and sisters for a meeting at Rusangu Mission and later asserted that such a move was an illustration that, as educationists, the Jesuits were not bad friends of the Adventists.[14]

By 1936, Fr. Moreau had indeed given the officials of the Department the impression that the Jesuits had friendly working relations with the Adventists. However, he did not reveal his reservations about free interaction between his students and those at Rusangu. Consequently the Superintendent of Native Education felt on safe ground in announcing the Department's plan to create one Standard VI examination centre for the Chikuni and Rusangu candidates, in order to minimise the cost of conducting the examinations. The Department planned to assign one invigilator for the two institutions. The scheme was to continue with examination centres alternating between the two schools each year. Rusangu Mission was chosen as the centre for the 1937 examination.[15]

The plan to create one examination centre did not materialise. Fr. Moreau vehemently opposed the idea put forward by the Department, and backed his views with both academic and religious reasons. While reacting to the proposal he wrote:

> "I have several objections to my boys going to Rusangu. It is hardly fair to the boys of Chikuni, I am sure at Rusangu they have no place for 27 boys. The boys find themselves in quite new surroundings, sleep badly and are out of their wit" 12

Apparently, Fr. Moreau desired to protect the academic interests of his students. However, he expressed further sentiments

which revealed his fears of possible influence by Adventism on his students. He said:

> "... I would not like my Chikuni boys to be imbued with ideas of Armageddon or the wickedness of organised Christianity, of the approaching millenium, when all the under dogs will be top dogs, when there will be no Pope and no Emperor etc etc." 17

In order to avoid having his students exposed to alien religious ideas, Fr. Moreau pleaded with the Department to drop the idea of creating one examination centre for the two schools. The Department acknowledged Moreau's appeal and dropped the idea of creating one examination centre for Chikuni and Rusangu.

This incident draws our attention to the existence of denominational rivalry between the Jesuits at Chikuni and the Adventists at Rusangu. The Adventists believed in the authority of the scriptures from which their teachings were derived. These aspects gave the Adventist adherents self-confidence and they looked down on the Jesuit adherents because they alleged that their belief was based on readings from the catechism. Therefore, the policy of the Adventists did not discriminate against the Chikuni students. They were welcome to mix freely with the Rusangu students, and such occasions were believed to give an opportunity to Rusangu students to acquaint their Chikuni counterparts with the rudiments of the Adventist faith.[18]

On the other hand, the Jesuits felt that they had a unique mission. They did not authorise Chikuni students to establish rapport with the S.D.A. students. Their restrictive measures were aimed at protecting their students against the religious influence of Adventism.

The diverse religious policies of the Jesuits and the Adventists were responsible also for the development of rivalry between their adherents in the field. This aspect is revealed in the succeeding section of this chapter which deals with the areas of influence of the two agencies.

Areas of Influence

One of the sensitive issues which tended to affect the friendly relations of the two missionary societies was the quarrel over areas of influence. This was a thorny issue. In 1922, the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia appealed to mission societies to be cautious and avoid overlapping areas of influence. Part of the resolution of the conference reads:

> "... while recognising that spheres of influence may only be temporary, yet the conference holds strongly that at this early stage in the development of mission work, there is ample room for missions to occupy distinct areas and it would therefore remind all the missionary societies of the waste and friction that result from overlapping and urge them to avoid this evil wherever possible." 19

Overlapping of areas of influence was unavoidable between the Jesuit Fathers agency and the Seventh-day Adventists. With Chikuni and Rusangu mission stations situated only fifteen kilometres apart the two mission agencies developed their work in the same geographical area. The two missionary societies had a monopoly of the areas adjacent to the railway line from Choma to Mazabuka.

The two societies did not establish boundaries in order to avoid overlapping. Each society established outschools in areas where they had converts. As the outschools increased in

number, rivalry between the adherents of the Jesuits and the Adventists was widely spread. Fr. Zabdyr once cited three situations in which the Jesuit and the Adventist outschools were situated at distances ranging from two to four kilometres. apart.[20] However, this was an exceptional situation. It was rare in Northern Rhodesia that the same community would be divided between two missionary societies. In this instance a situation was created whereby converts of one society complained of alleged misdeeds by converts of the other.

The Jesuit converts, for instance often complained about the attitude of the teacher/evangelists of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. They alleged that the Adventist adherents disseminated malicious propaganda against the Roman Catholic Church. The areas where denominational rivalry was experienced were Mbeza and Chivuna in Monze West and East respectively,[21] Syamusankwa near Mazabuka and Hanjalika chieftaincy in Magoye east.[22] The Jesuits complained to the Department of Native Education that the Adventist teacher/evangelists were fomenting dislike for the Roman Catholics among the rural communities. Fr. Zabdyr wrote to the Superintendent of the Department about this in 1936:

> "... those pastors - preachers and supervisors are very strong and bold people. Sometime they go absolutely too far and use base argument to make those poor un-educated people dislike us - Roman Catholics".[23]

The Chikuni authorities viewed the alleged propaganda campaign by the Adventist workers as a move intended to combat the influence of the Jesuits.

The Department responded to the complaint of the Jesuits against the hostile attitude of the Adventist adherents by

seeking on audience with the authorities of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zambia. The meeting brought to light more instances of interdenominational conflicts. The Adventist Education Secretary drew the attention of the Department to the complaints by the Adventist teacher/evangelists about the activities of the Jesuits. The Adventist teacher, Paul Shamalambo, who was also a Jeanes Supervisor at Demu Mission, east of Pemba, filed a complaint about the activities of the Jesuits in his area. He alleged that the Jesuit Mission agency often insisted on setting up outschools in areas which were predominantly Adventist. He gave an example of the Jesuit schools at Kanchomba and at Chief Hamaundu's village. It was alleged that the local communities were against the setting up of schools under Jesuit management. The establishment of the outschools implied that the Jesuit Fathers agency overlooked the community's opposition to their presence in these areas.[24]

The Jesuits had an answer to the accusations by the Adventists. Fr. Zabdyr drew the attention of the Department to three instances when the Adventist agency built outschools close to the Jesuit outschools. He further alleged that the Adventists often promised the communities schools and yet failed to honour their promises. Instead they only maintained prayer houses where they sent preachers at irregular intervals. It was alleged that when the Jesuits wanted to build schools in areas where the Adventists maintained prayer houses, the latter complained about the former's interference.[25]

Two factors help to explain the territorial conflict between the Jesuit and the Adventist mission agencies. Firstly,

since the two mission societies operated in the same region, no operational boundaries were fixed as was the case with other mission societies. The General Missionary Conference had resolved that mission societies should not interfere with areas already occupied by any other mission society. The recommendation could not apply to the Jesuits and the Adventists since they occupied and operated in a homogeneous region and each missionary society considered that it had a legitimate right to penetrate any part of the Tonga plateau.

Secondly, the conflicts revealed the existence of continued striving by each of the two mission societies to win the religious allegiance of the Tonga society. The Jesuit catechists and the Adventist evangelists were charged with the responsibility of winning converts for their respective missions. The communities were divided between the adherents of the Jesuits and the Adventists. This was evident at Chipembele and Chikonga villages. These are two neighbouring villages in Chief Ufwenuka's area, east of Magoye river. The two villages lie at about eight kilometres and five kilometres east of Chikuni and Rusangu respectively. At Chipembele village, the community was predominantly Catholic while the community at Chikonga village was Adventist. The Jesuits provided the community at Chipembele with a school. The Adventists did likewise at Chikonga. The two villages were originally estimated to lie three kilometres apart. Presently, due to the increase in population, they are almost integration. But the Chipembele and Chikonga communities each pays allegiance to the Catholic faith and Adventist faith respectively.[26] Similar situations existed in many parts of the Tonga plateau.

Conflicts were obviously to be expected in situations where religious activities were conducted in a competitive atmosphere. But the Department of Native Education kept free of the disputes until the events of 1936 described above. It was only after consenting to hear the Jesuits' complaint that the Department realised the complexity of the issues involved. Each missionary society had something to say concerning what it regarded as malpractices. It became practically impossible for either the Superintendent or the Director of the Department of Native Education to condemn the operational activities of either of the two missionary societies.

At any rate, the allegation by the Jesuits that the Adventists often managed prayer houses instead of schools affected the educational work of the latter. The period between 1937 - 1950 saw increased government misgivings about the efficiency and effectiviness of the Adventist outschool programme. This aspect is thoroughly discussed in the section below which focuses on the relations between the two mission societies and the Department of Native Education.

Overt rivalry between the Catholic and Adventist adherents which featured prominently at the period when the two societies were involved in the outschool programme has since subsided. The two societies have ceased to use elementary schools in the rural areas for purposes of evangelisation. However, both the Catholic and the Adventist churches instilled a spirit of unity among the converts of the same faith. Brotherly relationships between church patrons of each society is to date a prominent feature of Tonga society.

<u>Service to the Community</u>

When the Jesuits and the Adventists arrived on the Tonga plateau, they claimed that the purpose of their mission was to serve the community.[27] The claim was correct in the sense that the two missionary societies operated in the midst of the rural indigenous communities, and the missionaries concentrated on exerting the influence of Christianity among the local communities in order to make converts. The converts subsequently formed a class of adherents among whom literacy work was carried out. The interaction between the missionaries and the adherents helped to disseminate ideas about new methods of agriculture. Therefore, we can deduce that the community service by the Jesuits and the Adventists centred on Christianity, literacy, agriculture and health.

Christianity was a pre-requisite to literacy in the Tonga mission field. The missionaries opened schools only in areas where they had converts (see chapter 5), because they felt that they had an obligation to teach their adherents to read and write.

Baptism of converts was a method employed by both the Jesuits and the Adventists. It symbolised the individual's acceptance of Christian belief. However, the manner of baptising varied between the two missionary societies.

The Jesuits gave the converts instruction on the rudiments of the Catholic faith for a period of one year. This was followed by a baptism ceremony in the church. The priest poured a little water three times on the forehead of each baptismal candidate. Upon baptism, the converts became Christians and each

one of them adopted a Christian forename. The newly baptised Christians then underwent a second phase of instructions for one more year. Thereafter, they were confirmed into the Catholic Church by the Bishop of the local diocese. He annointed them with the 'charisma of salvation' in order to effect confirmation of each individual.[28]

The Adventist converts received instructions on the S.D.A. doctrine for a period of two years. The individuals who satisfied the requirements were baptised by immersion, in line with the Biblical example.[29] The baptised candidates adopted Christian forenames. Although this was not mandatory, the practice was readily accepted by the Adventist adherents. In later years after the first contacts with the missionaries, children born in Adventist families were given Christian forenames at birth.[30]

Nowadays the Roman Catholic policy no longer demands that Christians of that church be given what used to be considered Christian forenames.[31] Literate Christian parents who belong to either of the two societies are becoming more liable to give their offspring forenames that have cultural significance.

The people who lived close to the main mission stations walked to Chikuni for mass on Sundays and to Rusangu for church services on Saturdays. The village communities who were distant from the central mission stations were dependent on the catechists and teacher/evangelists who provided for their spiritual needs at the village schools which were their meeting places.

The two missionary societies enforced policies to ensure obedience to Christian standard of conduct. Both the Jesuits

and the Adventists condemned sexual immorality and polygamy. The Adventists often relieved teachers in their employ of their duties if it became evident that they had either committed adultery or taken a second wife.[33] Both societies resorted to the expulsion of culprits from church membership. In 1912, for instance, Fr. Moreau excommunicated Hatontola, one of the four lads who helped him to establish Chikuni, for marrying two wives.

Abstinence from tobacco smoking and all types of intoxicating beverages was part of the Christian standard expected of the S.D.A. believers. The mission society enforced temperance observance by expelling from church membership all those against whom it was proved beyond doubt that they indulged in intemperate practices. Their re-admission into church membership depended on their willingness to refrain from smoking and beer drinking. The individual had to be re-baptised. These stringent measures were not enforced by the Jesuits. Tobacco smoking and non-excessive beer drinking was permissable.[35]

The Jesuits established a village organisation in support of their village schools. In 1937 Fr. Zabdyr promoted the idea of forming village school committees consisting of three office bearers. They were the Kapitau (Captain), Ofisa (Officer) and Dokotera (medical orderly). The dwindling numbers of pupils attending the outschools and the activities of Adventist adherents in the field were the factors which prompted Fr. Zabdyr to form village committees. Fr. Zabdyr alleged that non-catholic bodies often made "inroads to his flock and tried to seduce them from their allegiance."[36]

The creation of village committees was an attempt to create safeguards against possible influence among Catholic communities by the Adventist evangelists.

The 'Kapitau' was assigned the responsibility of helping the village headman in seeing that the village children attended school regularly. He also reminded the village community to observe Sunday as a day of worship and presided over the daily evening prayer meeting. He acted as a village watchman over non-catholic persons who might attempt to seduce the community from its allegiance to the Catholic faith. In consultation with the village headman and the village school teacher, he mobilised the community to embark on projects such as the construction of buildings at the school and roads to link the village school with established lines of communication. It was the 'Kapitau' who secured the co-operation of the community and discussed with them ways and means to implement the development plans.

The duties of the 'Ofisa' were to assist the village headman in promoting cleanliness among the village community. He assisted the 'kapitau' to mobilise a labour force among the members of the community, and took charge of repairs to the school building and the road to the school.

The 'dokotera' was charged with caring for the sick in the village. He kept the first aid box. In the event of serious illness he sent for the missionary or alternatively he arranged for the transportation of the patients to Chikuni Rural Health Centre. He called on the teacher to prepare the dying for baptism on request.

Frequent discussions were held between the Jesuit priest in charge of outschools and the village school teacher and the village school committee. On vital issues which affected the community, the village headman was invited to attend the committee meeting at the school. Occasionally, the local chief was invited to sit in the committee and participate in its deliberations.[37]

Fr. Zabdyr's scheme of creating village school committees in areas where Jesuit outschools existed was a unique development on the Tonga plateau. The scheme initiated principles of democracy among the catholic community in Southern Zambia. The three office bearers were elected by the community at a meeting presided over by the village headman. The village community was thus organised into an entity. The scheme created a situation whereby the village community was directly responsible for projects which were beneficial to all its members. The organised village community became responsible for its own social welfare. The Jesuit missionary was simply a liaison and advisory officer.

However, the Jesuit village scheme was opposed by the territorial government. The Provincial Commissioner for the Southern Province at Mazabuka expressed reservations about the creation of the village school committees, fearing that the scheme would eventually undermine the authority of the village headman and the chief.[38] They anticipated that the literate village school teacher would work through the village school committee to override the authority of the local traditional leaders.

In an attempt to safeguard the position of the headman and the chief, the government limited the scope of each village school committee. The headman was to appoint the committee members and be the chairman of the committee. The membership of the village school teacher in the committee was terminated. He was only invited to attend the committee meetings in an advisory capacity. None of the members of the committee was permitted to approach the chief directly except through the village headman in his capacity as the chairman of the village school committee.[39] Fr. Zabdyr's village school committees functioned until 1951 when they were replaced by the school councils (see chapter 4).

Unlike the Jesuits who controlled educational operations from Chikuni mission, the Adventist de-centralised the management of their educational work. In 1936, the Adventists established sub-mission stations and seven Mission Directors. Each Mission Director took charge of a maximum of seven outschools. He was responsible for promoting friendly relations between the community and the church. The village school teacher was the immediate leader in the community, a link man between the mission Director at the sub-mission station and the community around the village school.

In the final analysis, the Adventists succeded in establishing a strong linkage between the missionaries and the village communities. The Mission Superintendent was on the top of the hierarchy. He resided at the main mission station at Rusangu. The Superintendent worked through the Mission Director who resided at the sub-mission station. The Mission Director disseminated

mission policies to the community through the village school teacher. At each outschool there was a church. The community formed the church membership. Each church had a church board in which the village school teacher was a permanent member. Other members were chosen for one year. The church board represented the community in both religious and educational matters at the village school. School projects were planned with the help of the teacher. The church board organised the labour force among the village community in order to implement the village school projects. The consequence was that the Adventist village schools were constructed by the local communities. The missionary initiated the idea of a school and the Mission Director appealed to the community to embark on the project.

<u>Relations with other Missionary Societies</u>

As already pointed out above, friendly relations between the Jesuits and the Adventists were developed on educational matters. The same factor was responsible for the establishment of bilateral relations between the two missions and other missionary societies. The need to unify sporadic educational efforts by Christian missionary societies gave way to the formation of a mission body which for many years enjoyed the unanimous support of all fifteen mission agencies in Northern Rhodesia. The General Missionary Conference brought all missionary rivals together. Authorities of the fifteen missionary societies in their capacity as educational agencies buried their denominational differences and took up membership in the General Missionary Conference.

The usefulness of the Conference to the Catholic agencies and the Adventists seems to have been limited largely to its function as a forum for sharing views and concerting action on educational views. Both the Catholics and the Adventists stood aside, on doctrinal grounds, from the movement toward church union among conference members which commenced in 1939 and culminated in 1965 in the establishment of the United Church of Zambia.[41]

The Adventists joined this mission body in 1917 and maintained its membership until 1956 when the Adventist Mission in Zambia decided to relinquish the management of outschools. (see chapter 5 for detailed discussion on this aspect).

The Jesuits first took their place in the General Missionary Conference in 1922. By 1927, two other societies of the Roman Catholic church, the White Fathers and the Capuchin Fathers had joined. However, the participation of the Roman Catholic Societies in the General Missionary Conference was fairly short lived. The three societies formally withdrew from the General Missionary Conference in 1935 following the decision by the Roman Catholic Bishops two years earlier to sever Catholic agencies' membership with the Conference. The Roman Catholic Bishops indicated that it was found impossible for them to accept full membership of the Conference but that they would be most willing to co-operate in all matters not involving religious belief. On this basis, they preferred to be regarded as Associate members.[42]

The Roman Catholic Societies considered the General Missionary Conference irrelevant to the purpose for which it was established. The Native Education Advisory Board, established

in 1925, had become the main body through which mission agencies expressed their views on all issues concerning African education. From 1931 onwards, the General Missionary Conference focused attention on the evangelical work of Christian Missions and the protection of African interests against suppressive government policies. The Conference simply reviewed educational issues earlier discussed by the Advisory Board on African Education. It became less effective in influencing the making of educational policy in the territory.[43]

Disagreements arising from conflicts of interests were common in the African Education Advisory Board. Plans which were intended to involve mission agencies in the development of African education were not implemented because of the failure to arrive at a common understanding on such issues. The failure, for example, of the government plan to open an inter-denominational secondary school was a case in point (see chapter 5 for detailed discussion).

Relations with the Government

During the period of the Company Administration in Zambia, there was no constructive interaction between the mission agencies and the civil authority. The Company Administration made an unsuccessful attempt to control the educational activities of the mission agencies by imposing the Native Schools Proclamation of 1918. The failure by the Administration to enforce the terms of the 1918 Proclamation left the Jesuits and the Adventists, in company with other mission agencies, to run their educational programmes independently.

From 1925 to 1964 the mission societies functioned under the direct control of the Department of Native Education and its successors. The Department used the grant-in-aid scheme as leverage to compel the mission agencies to comply with government policy. In this respect the Jesuits and the Adventists were subjects to the same regulations and suffered the same sanctions if they did not comply. For instance, the Department often refused to pay salaries for the untrained Jesuit and Adventist teachers.[44]

However, the incidents of strained relationships were more frequent between the Department and the Adventists than between the Department and the Jesuits. The Jesuits enjoyed more cordial relations with the government than their Adventist neighbours. The reasons for the difference will be established below as we examine relations of each society with the government.

There were isolated differences of opinion over the employment of untrained outschool teachers or other staff in the 1930's, or over an unfavourable inspection report (as of the girls in 1955).[45] Such events did not rupture the congenial and even respectful attitude of the Department officials toward the Jesuits. Moreover, the Fathers tended to be good diplomatists. Their dealings with the Department's officials often went beyond the formalities of the relationship. It was not unknown for the pleasant facilities of the Chikuni Mission to be opened hospitably to an official and his family.[46]

The notable features of the Department's opinion of the Adventists, by contrast, was that they were insubordinate. The Department often expressed concern over the constant refusal by

the Adventist educational authorities to comply with its recommendations. The American Missionaries who occupied the administrative hierarchy of the S.D.A. Church came from a society which enjoyed maximum religious freedom. Furthermore, the universal doctrinal policy of the S.D.A. church was to give maximum co-operation and loyalty to the civil powers only on matters which did not conflict with the belief of the Adventists. Official orders which were viewed as infringements of the religious liberty of the S.D.A. church and biblical teachings were not considered for implementation.[47]

This was interpreted by the Department as insubordination. For their part, the Adventists did not regard their adamant attitude as insubordination to the civil authorities. They were simply standing by the principles of the Seventh-day Adventist Church which put God above the civil governments.

The Adventist educational policy was easy to implement in countries where the denomination operated schools which did not receive government financial aid. In America, the denomination operated private schools which were wholely financed and managed by the Adventist Church. The Adventists' academic institutions were only involved with the government on matters of accreditation. The Adventist Church debated the issue of accrediting denominational institutions in America in 1927 - 35. At the end of long debate among the Adventist community, the general consensus favoured accreditation which would give Adventist institutions government recognition and enable the graduates of these institutions, who were not absorbed in the church's world

mission programme, to compete for jobs in the industrial sector and governmental institutions.[48]

The scheme of accrediting the Adventist institutions in America involved higher education only. But the policy of running private schools was mandatory from the elementary level upwards and the Advantists desired to follow the same pattern universally. But this was not possible in the mission field because either the territorial policy did not give room for private schools or the denomination lacked funds to finance private schools. This made it necessary for the Adventists in Zambia to join other missionary societies to pressurise the territorial government to help finance the missions' educational programme. The acceptance of the government grant-in-aid in 1925 meant that the Adventists had violated their universal policy of operating private schools which received no government aid.

The Department made a follow-up of the funds paid to the missions by conducting regular inspection tours of the village and central schools of the Adventist agency. The government inspectors alleged that the Adventist agency did not stick to the government stipulated syllabus, continued to employ untrained teachers (see chapter 5) and enrolled pupils who were above the government-prescribed ages.[49]

The Department accused the Adventist Mission agency of ignoring the provisions of the Native Education Ordinance of 1927. A letter by the C.J. Tyndle-Biscoe, the Director of the Department to the Superintendent of the Adventist Mission agency, revealed the Department's dislike of the Adventist system of education. The letter read in part:

> "Not only do the provisions of the Ordinance appear to have been ignored but the effect of the so called educational work carried on by your mission will not only bring discredit to your mission and other missions working in the province but the very name of education will come to stink in the nostrils of the Africans near whose villages these schools are located."

The letter further read:

> "Unless immediate action is taken to improve the quality of these schools, I shall be compelled to recommend their closure, since their continued existence in their present state is deleterious to the welfare of the people. I shall have to advise that all educational grants to your mission shall cease." 50

The Adventist authorities refused to work under the intimidations of the civil authorities. However, they desired to narrow the ever-widening gap between them and the government and they resorted to frank talk with the government.

The Education Secretary, E.M. Cadwallader, of the Zambezi Union of the Adventists at Bulawayo handled the differences between the government and the Adventists in Zambia. Mr. Cadwallader wrote a lengthy letter to the Department which illuminates the different perspectives of the two parties:

> "I want you to know that our Denomination holds up high standards of education; and if in some particular district, whether large or small, the standards are found to be low, I can assure you that it is not by sanction of the higher authorities. - - - but having had experience in Native Education in eight countries in Africa, it would be hard for me to believe that the schools of our denomination are on the whole, worse than those of most other societies. There must be a reason why we find about a hundred village schools in Northern Rhodesia, calling for our teachers in preference to those of some other missions.
>
> I say it with respect, but I feel that there is a tendency on the part of Government Education Department to forget that mission schools are still mission schools, and largely financed by the missions, the government grant-in-aid being only a small part of funds that are expended annually. I feel that in view of the

> apparently meagre grant-in-aid given by any government in Africa, that no government should be too stringent in its requirements." 51

The Adventist Education Secretary reminded the Department that the grant-in-aid to the mission was not adequate to meet the rising cost of education. Instead it had decreased. The Adventist questioned the rationale of the government to give the mission minimal financial aid and yet expect the mission agency to offer the community a high standard of education. The letter continued:

> "Since Northern Rhodesia made its plan for giving grant-in-aid on an increasing scale, the amount available has failed to increase, but has rather decreased. On the other hand if one may judge from inspection reports, a continued high standard is being required of mission schools. I say according to inspection reports, the Department has done very little to issue regulations in circular form. Had it done so a year or two ago, I feel that there would be absolutely no excuse for our missionaries in Northern Rhodesia." 52

The Adventists also accused the Department's officials of being against their educational work as a matter of prejudice. However, they pleaded with the Department not to instantly withdraw the grant-in-aid but to give the mission society at least one year's probation. Government's threat to withdraw grants from the Adventist agency was not effected.[53] The Department continued to treat the Adventist agency equally with other mission agencies.

However, the strained relationship between the two parties did not seem to improve even after the meeting between the Director of Native Education and the Education Secretary of the Adventist agency. In 1938, the Director of the Department informed the Chief Secretary of the Territory that reports about

the Adventist schools were "extremely unsatisfactory" and he attributed this to what he believed to be the low calibre of missionaries who were sent by the Seventh-day Adventist Church to Northern Rhodesia.[54]

Two years later, in 1940, the Department once more expressed dissatisfaction with the educational work of the Adventists as revealed in a letter by the Education Officer for Southern Province:

> "Yesterday I paid a short visit to Demu School of the Seventh-day Adventists. The main reason for my visit was to investigate the spending of the £5 building grant. It is quite clear from what I heard from the teachers that the mission is determined not to help the school, in spite of their valiant efforts.
>
> I feel very strongly on this matter and what little confidence I had left in the honesty of purpose of the mission has vanished. It is difficult to see what action can be taken other than the holding up of Equipment Grants as the schools themselves are undoubtedly well run. The attitude of the mission is of course well understood by the teachers who constantly complain of being unable to get anything from Rusangu without first producing the cash. I feel that this mercenary attitude is going to have a bad effect later on but cannot see that we can stop it." 55

The root cause of the problem between the Adventist and the Department was that the latter did not understand the philosophy of the former. For example, the Southern Province Education Officer condemned the attitude of the Adventists because of the report by teachers at Demu school that the mission agency could apparently only give building material to the school in addition to the £5 government grant, on condition that the local community paid cash. The Adventists were simply applying their universal philosophy of self-reliance. The mission agency expected the local community to raise funds to purchase building

material. On the contrary, the Department interpreted this approach as mercenary attitude.

After 1940, the Adventist agency did not report an increase in the number of its outschools. The assumption is that the agency preferred to concentrate on the improvement of the existing outschools in an effort to comply with the recommendations of the Department of Native Education. In addition, the Adventists eventually realised the need to narrow the scope of their involvement in education work. When the government initiated the plan to create Local Education Authorities, the Adventists welcomed the change. They handed over all outschools to the local authorities in 1956 and concentrated their educational work at the central mission stations. The outschools which marred their relationship with the government ceased to be their responsibility.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

MISSION INFLUENCE AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY

Focus

This chapter makes an attempt to assess some of the effects of mission education upon the transformation of society on the Tonga plateau. The aspects to be considered are the missions' influence on custom, language, transport and agriculture and protest politics. However, before we proceed to analyse the impact of education on each of these, there is need to examine the methods used by the Jesuits and the Adventists to transform society and the effects of school education upon the Chikuni and Rusangu school leavers.

Cultural Adaptation and Conformity

Religious indoctrination fostered by the Jesuits and the Adventists was aimed at adapting the Tonga society to Christianity. It was a process of transforming the Tonga society from traditional customs to Christian beliefs. Those who accepted the respective Christian teachings of the two societies were expected to abandon the traditional practices and conform to new standards which were defined by the missionaries.

The missionaries discouraged customary practices such as polygamy, drumming, dancing, initiation ceremonies of adolescents and communication with the ancestral spirits. Indulgence in these practices was associated with paganism. The Adventists also condemned beer drinking and smoking on the grounds that they defiled the body and denied the convert the opportunity to live a temperate life.[1]

The Jesuits were in no way adverse to beer drinking themselves nor did they discourage smoking.[2] But, strangely, the Jesuits spoke against <u>lobola</u>, the practice of paying the bride price or bride-wealth. They inferred that it was paganism and they based their view on the following reasons: that it facilitated polygamy, that it sustained habitual labour of the women folk, that it did not check immorality and that it led to the violation of the right of a woman to choose her husband.[3] In this respect, the Jesuits embarked on a task they could not accomplish because <u>lobola</u> was the basis of marriage in the traditional Tonga society.[4] There is in any case no evidence that the Jesuits' misgivings about <u>lobola</u> were justifiable. The Tonga, for example, practised a sexual division of labour under which women engaged in relatively light tasks such as house work, planting, weeding and harvesting crops, gathering fire wood, drawing water and brewing beer.[5] There is no evidence that the Adventists were against 'lobola'.

In 1942, the Jesuit priests, Fr. Zabdyr and Fr. Mazurek castigated Catholic converts for alleged involvement in night dances and witchcraft. Traditional ceremonies for the dying and deceased seemed to have drawn special reprobation. On one occasion the two priests came across a ritual ceremony for a dying man who was a convert. They were furiously against the spirit dance and expressed their anger by confiscating large drums and removing them to Chikuni Mission.[6]

The other instance which prove the Jesuits' objection to traditional practices was associated with the death of Fr. Joseph

Moreau himself who died at Chikuni on 27th January 1949 at the age of 85 years. Four days after the Christian burial ceremony, fifteen hundred mourners gathered at his grave side. The mourners were Catholic adherents drawn from many parts of the Tonga plateau. They were joined by the Adventist sympathisers from Chikenga and Mwachitabwa villages close to Chikuni Mission. The mourners slaughtered chickens, goats and four cattle for the funeral feast and they spent the day drumming and singing at the cemetery.[7]

The Catholic adherents regarded Fr. Moreau as belonging to the Tonga Society because of his thirty five years of service at Chikuni Mission. Therefore, they gave him a funeral ceremony which the traditional Tonga society accorded to a respected person to show appreciation of his service during his life time.

Unfortunately, however, the traditional funeral ceremony offended the Jesuit priests at Chikuni who protested at this desecration in letters to the superiors of the Catholic Church in Lusaka. They conducted a service of reparation in the church at Chikuni and offered special prayers at the grave side of the late Fr. Moreau.[8]

This incident draws a sharp contrast between Tonga and missionary attitudes to traditionalism and Christianity. The involvement in traditional burial rituals by the converts of both the Catholic and Adventist faiths suggests that they lived in two worlds, namely traditional and Christian. This was not a rebellion against Christian belief but simply a continued acceptance of the significance of indigenous culture. This shows that missionaries of the two societies did not succeed

completely in changing the attitudes and beliefs of the converts who continued to identify themselves with the inherited Tonga cultural patterns.

Nevertheless Mission education undoubtedly broadened the horizon of those who associated themselves with the multiple learning processes at Chikuni and Rusangu. It also generated a new awareness of social, economic and political institutions among the Plateau Tonga. The rise of a class of new elites among the Tonga has its roots in the period after 1936 when Chikuni and Rusangu offered a full primary school course. As we shall see later in this chapter, their role was significant in the rise of African nationalism and the development of African commercial farming in Southern Province.

The Development of Tonga Orthography

However, although the missionaries seemed troubled about Tonga traditions, the Jesuits and the Adventists had no reservations about the Tonga language. The Jesuit priests and the sisters of Notre Dame accorded first priority to the mastery of the Tonga language. Fr. Jules Torrend diligently studied Tonga grammar and eventually succeeded in producing books which aided both the Jesuits and the Adventists to master the Tonga language.[9]

The Jesuit priests were responsible for the development of Tonga orthography. By transforming the Tonga language from spoken into orthographic script, they facilitated the process of reading and writing which was embodied in the school curriculum at the Jesuit schools (see chapter 4).

Much of the Tonga linguistic works were written by Fr. Torrend. His notable contribution was the publication of the English/Vernacular Dictionary of Bantu Botatwe dialects of Northern Rhodesia (1931). The works reflected the dialects of the Tonga, Ila and Lenje.[10] Fr. Moreau wrote three Tonga readers which portrayed agriculture, village hygiene and domestic virtue. His works were used as readers in the elementary Jesuit schools.[11] Fr. Cassert devoted his writing talent toward the development of religious literature for use by the Catholic converts.[12] The combined efforts of these three priests adequately catalogued the Tonga language for practical purposes of learning and teaching.

In 1930 the Jesuits at the urging of Fr. Torrend, purchased a printing press and installed it at Chikuni Mission in order to increase the circulation of the Tonga literature. In 1932, the Department of Native Education approved an annual grant of K50 as for the Chikuni printing press.[13] However, the Jesuit printing project was short lived. The master mind of the printing scheme, Fr. Torrend, died in 1936 at the age of 75 years.[14] His death left a vacuum which was never filled and the operation of the printing press at Chikuni Mission had to come to an end.

The Adventists did not make a contribution to the development of Tonga literature. Instead they made use of the literature written by the Jesuit priests in their efforts to learn the basics of the Tonga language.

The lack of contribution to the literature did not imply that the Adventists were incapable. The reason was that they worked under different conditions of service to those which governed the services of the Jesuit priests. The Adventists

worked under the working conditions of a three year contract, at the end of which each Adventist missionary was granted a three month leave. The long standing policy of the Seventh-day Adventist Church encouraged missionaries to serve in foreign mission stations for about two contracts which is equivalent to six years. After that the individual missionary could terminate his service and return to his home land permanently or transfer to another mission field. Missionaries seldom served more than two contracts at one mission station.[15]

The founder missionary of Rusangu Mission, W.H. Anderson, was one of the longest serving Adventists at one station, yet he stayed at Rusangu Mission for fourteen years. He left Rusangu permanently in 1919. After his three months leave in America he returned to Africa but instead of returning to Rusangu Mission, he was assigned to the Bechuanaland Mission Field.[16] Elder Anderson is the only Adventist on record who made attempts to develop Tonga orthography.[17]

The short stay at Rusangu Mission by the Adventist Missionaries did not give them the opportunity to master the Tonga language to a level where they could contribute to the development of Tonga literature. They acquired minimal vocabulary of the Tonga language which enabled a few of them to converse with the people and deliver sermons from the pulpit on Sabbath.[18] The Adventist missionary, K.E. Thomas has recollected:

> "... a very simple conclusion I came to namely that in order to get close to any people one must converse with them in their own language ... without a knowledge of the local language, I could not have moved about freely alone among the local people, I could always have had to depend upon an interpreter and this is most unsatisfactory. 19

To the contrary, the Jesuits priests once posted to the Zambia Province of the Society of Jesus, took up permanent residence. Fr. Joseph Moreau rendered unbroken service to Chikuni Mission for thirty five years from 1905 to 1939.[20] He retired to an out station at Singonya Hill, about 10km east of Chikuni Mission. In 1946 he came back to the Chikuni Campus and remained their until his death three years later. Fr. Torrend was associated with the development of Chikuni Mission for thirty-one years, 1905 to 1936. He alternated his residence between Chikuni and Kasisi Mission which he founded east of Lusaka in 1906. Fr. M. Prokoph who arrived at Chikuni in 1940 and Fr. P. O'Brien, the first Jesuit priest to be sent to Chikuni Mission by the Irish Province of the Jesuits in 1946 are to date resident of Zambia. The Jesuit priests simply go on home leave once in 5 years.[21]

The Jesuit priests in Zambia thus had ample time to study and master the Tonga language and contribute to the development of Tonga literature as well as maintaining continuity in their overall educational work.

<u>The Transformation of the Transport and Agricultural Systems.</u>

The Plateau Tonga have a tradition of owning cattle which they regard as a source of wealth. Cattle were used for multiple purposes: namely, to pay bride wealth, to settle damage suits, to provide meat at significant gatherings such as funeral feasts, weddings and puberty ceremonies.[22] However, traditionally cattle were not used as draught animals for transport or agriculture.

The Jesuits and the Adventists introduced a new cattle technology among the Tonga. They were the first people to use cattle on the Tonga plateau as a source of pulling power for carts and wagons. When they introduced the plough to till arable land, they brought in oxen to pull it (see chapter 2).

This dual usage of oxen transformed both the transport system and agriculture among the plateau Tonga. Nowadays, oxen provide the bulk transportation of farm produce, being used to pull sledges, carts and wagons as well as ploughs[23] and the Tonga society owes this technology to the Jesuit and Adventist missionaries who settled among them.

As we have seen in chapter four, the Jesuits and the Adventists established Chikuni and Rusangu as industrial schools with an agricultural bias, and they were the first centres in the entire Tonga plateau to use ox-drawn ploughs to till arable land. The two institutions grew crops and vegetables to meet the food requirements of the school community. The surplus produce was channelled to the market which raised some revenue for the two institutions. Prior to 1925, the mission agencies did not receive government grants but were wholely self-supporting. Therefore, the missionaries relied heavily on agriculture to subsidise the appropriations from the overseas countries.

Agricultural programmes at the two centres had far-reaching effects. The farming methods applied at Chikuni and Rusangu spread at a much faster rate than Christianity and the school system of education. Ideas of Christianity and school education were disseminated among the Plateau and Valley Tonga through the constant efforts of missionaries, catechists, evangelists and

village school teachers. But the rural communities absorbed modern farming methods voluntarily because the Tonga were primarily agriculturists.[24] Wherever, the influence of the Jesuits and the Adventists penetrated the community's methods of farming were transformed.

The new methods of farming which were taught at Chikuni and Rusangu involved the use of a plough for deep ploughing, manuring of the fields to increase land fertility, crop spacing, crop rotation and frequent cultivation of crops. The students also learned how to train oxen for spanning and how to maintain farm implements.[25]

Fr. Moreau was believed to have been more successful in the field of agriculture than in academic work. Not only did he manage a successful agricultural programme at Chikuni Mission, but in addition he helped the Roman Catholic adherents to develop their own farms. In 1920, for example, he established a model village where he placed Theodore Kachesa and Henry Jahariso. By 1921 the two partners had put under cultivation 130 hectares of land and were using another 80 hectares of grazing land. In the 1921 and 1922 seasons Kachesa and Jahariso produced 300 and 200 bags of maize respectively.[26]

The purpose of Moreau's model village was to demonstrate to the local community how much people could achieve if they applied new methods of farming and gave wide publicity to its work. Unfortunately the agricultural produce of African farmers had no formal market. The surplus produce was either sold to the local European traders, stored or left to decay. Fr. Moreau reminded the administration that it encouraged the mission agencies

to establish industrial schools where Africans could be taught new farming methods, but no market facilities were made available for the African farmers. The prevailing conditions defeated the purpose of African advancement in the field of agriculture. Describing Kachesa and Jahaliso, Fr. Moreau wrote:

> "These two boys have worked their land admirably. In 1921, they had a very fine crop of mealies which would have been a credit to the white farmer, as regards to the quality and the way it was raised. They found no buyer that year and they kept their mealies beautifully stored in a large granary built by themselves." 27

At Rusangu Mission, the Adventists trained students to carry heavy responsibilities in farm management. Each student was assigned to a specific task on the mission farm and was expected to carry out daily duties without close supervision. By the time students left school, they had acquired sufficient agricultural knowledge to implement improved farming methods in their home areas.[28]

The first Adventist adherents to establish a farming settlement were the Matebele teachers who accompanied Elder Anderson to establish Rusangu Mission in 1905. They settled at Mujika, 12 kilometres east of Monze. The area became known as Matebele settlement. It had large tracts of unoccupied land suitable for farming and cattle grazing which enabled them to clear large plots of land for growing crops and they increased their herds of cattle.[29] This was an incentive to other Seventh-day Adventist teachers at Rusangu Mission, who gradually developed the attitude that dependence on agriculture was more beneficial than regular employment at Rusangu. In regular employment, they could neither practice large scale personal farming on the

mission farm nor increase their herds of cattle because of the shortage of land and the restrictive mission policy which did not permit each individual teacher to put more than 2 hectares of land under cultivation.[30]

In 1924 two Seventh-day Adventist teachers, Gideon Makapwe and Matthew Kasula, who were inspired by the successes of the Matebele farmers at Mujika, surveyed Keemba Hill area for possible settlement by the Adventist community. In 1928, these two teachers retired from Rusangu Mission and settled at Keemba Hill about fifty kilometres west of Monze. This became the first area on the Tonga plateau where cash crop farming was practiced by the indigenous Plateau Tonga. From 1933 onward, the settlement at Keemba Hill expanded as more adherents of Rusangu Mission turned to farming.[31]

In 1945, the government's reconnaissance survey on land holding and land usage among the Plateau Tonga of Mazabuka district established that the 26 respondents of the survey were all either ex-workers or ex-students of Rusangu Mission. The details were as follows: One was an ex-pastor of the S.D.A. Church, one an ex-supervisor at Rusangu Mission Farm, one an ex-church steward, seven were ex-teachers either at Rusangu Mission or at the Adventist outschools and sixteen were ex-students of Rusangu Mission School. Eleven of the 26 respondents had either Standard V education or above, with additional training as teachers or clerks. Eight had Standard III or IV education. The other seven had a Standard I or II education.[32]

The 1945 survey of land usage covered other areas of the Tonga plateau. These were in Sianjalika chieftaincy and Mwanachingwala chieftaincy in Magoye east and west respectively. Nathan Kabunda in Magoye east was the only progressive farmer. He was an S.D.A. adherent and an ex-teacher at Rusangu Mission. In the region of Magoye west there was one unnamed large-scale farmer who was an S.D.A. adherent. He helped his non-Seventh-day Adventist brothers to set up small land holdings. The surveys also cited a large settlement in Kanchomba in Pemba east which was predominantly of S.D.A. adherents. Kanchomba settlement was rated second in the growing of crops to Keemba Hill. There was only one farmer, William Kasoka, in Kanchomba who was a Roman Catholic adherent.[33]

The population of Catholic and Adventist adherents in commercial farming has recently been investigated. Peters formulated two samples made up of Chikuni and Rusangu school leavers of the period 1930 to 1965, and investigated the degree to which the development of the farming elites on the Tonga plateau had been influenced by the two mission schools. The study revealed that 62 percent of the respondents from the Rusangu sample had some inclination to commercial farming while only 14 percent of the respondents from the Chikuni sample were associated with commercial farming.[34]

More recently, 58 Zambian commercial farmers in the Southern Province are making efforts to create market facilities for beef. Forty-eight of them are Rusangu school leavers, 6 are Chikunians and 4 belong to the Brethren in Christ faith.[35]

The above information indicates that Adventist education influenced more poeple to turn to commercial farming than Jesuit education. However, as already seen, both Chikuni and Rusangu mission stations formulated school curricula which had an agricultural bias. Therefore, the vast difference in the percentage of school leavers from the two institutions who took cash farming cannot necessarily be attributed to different objectives of the two training programmes. Students of both mission schools were engaged in a rigorous agricultural programme. Other factors were responsible for the difference.

Firstly, the Adventist adherents maintained that they were constantly discriminated against because of their religious beliefs. Their observance of Saturday (Sabbath) as a sacred day of worship was resented by the authorities in institutions of learning, government departments, the white farming community and industrial sectors such as the mining industry. The Adventist adherents could not be engaged in these institutions while they continued to pay allegiance to the S.D.A. Church. Those who could not violate their religious conscience therefore had no room in these institutions.[36]

This situation was made worse by the belief among the white settlers that the American Missionaries produced insubordinate school leavers. White farmers preferred to employ Chikuni educated employees than to hire those from Rusangu Mission.[37] The insubordination which the white farmers in colonial Zambia talked about was that the Adventist farm employees vehemently refused to report for duties on Saturdays. Nothing could make

them break the Sabbath. Often they preferred to leave employment rather than do secular duties on the Sabbath.

In 1937 to take another example, nine Rusangu Mission school leavers who were enrolled for training at the Central Trade School in Mazabuka refused to attend classes and to write examinations on Sabbath. The school authorities refused to concede their demand for religious liberty. The Authorities of the S.D.A. Church intervened on behalf of the students. The Superintendent of the Northern Rhodesia Mission Field wrote to the Director of Native Education:

> "Our boys of the Central Trade School, nine in number, have reported they are having considerable trouble with the principal because he is requiring them to work on Sabbath day.
>
> The principal is conversant with our ideals as Sabbath keepers, and knew that the boys were Seventh-day Adventists when they were enrolled in the Trade School. I am at a loss to know what has arisen to bring about this change of attitude. Unless our boys can be guaranteed Sabbath privileges in all the government institutions, it will be necessary for us as a denomination to forbid the attendance of Seventh-day Adventist in Government institutions.
>
> Although this may seem a small matter, yet if our boys are denied Sabbath privileges, it is bound to result in unfortunate relationship." 38

In response the Director of Native Education wrote:

> " ... I regret that all pupils attending Government schools must conform to the Government time table which sets Sunday as a day of rest and Saturday as a half holiday." 39

The Director endorsed the action of the principal of the Central Trade School. He advised the Adventists that the nine boys were at liberty to withdraw from the Central Trade School if they persisted to refuse to do academic work on Saturdays.

The consequence was that five boys terminated their studies and left the institute. The remaining four boys chose to reverse their decision and began to attend classes on Saturday.

Such incidents left the committed Adventitst adherents with no other option but to turn to the land for a living. Those who went into the farming enterprise gave an example. They proved that farming offered higher renumeration than wage employment. The school leavers of Rusangu went into farming in search of religious freedom. Since farming was the only alternative for the enlightened Adventist adherents, they made the best use of the opportunity.

The Chikuni school leavers did not experience religious discrimination. Sunday was the government official day of rest. Many of them took up wage employment and the number of those who went into commercial farming was relatively small. This left the Adventist adherents to dominate the indigenous commercial farming sector. Therefore, the doctrinal belief of the Seventh-day Adventist Church was directly responsible for the creation of the major component of the Zambian farming elites on the Tonga plateau. They preferred to be self-reliant as a matter of religious conviction. Their appearance of not being conditioned to regular employment was neither accidental nor deliberate. The prevailing conditions in wage employment dictated the terms to the S.D.A. adherents who were compelled to value farming and shun away wage employment.

The Adventist farmers attributed their successes in farming to two factors both arising from their religious belief.

Firstly, they do not take liquor and other forms of intoxicating local brews. They are temperate people who devote their time and energy to planning and implementation of their plans. Secondly, their small resources are thriftily concentrated on the purchase of farm implements such as ploughs, harrows, planters and cultivators. They increase the herds of cattle which provide them with the pulling power and manure to fertilize their field.[40]

The very success of Adventist farmers and their involvement in commercial farming was a threat to white settler maize growers who pressurised for laws to protect them against imminent African competition in the maize market from the farmers of such areas as Keemba Hills and Kanchomba. In 1936 the government enacted the Maize Control Ordinance which was aimed at removing sizable African competition in the maize market. It established the Maize Control Board which had powers to purchase all the maize grown in the territory. The African maize growers were assigned one quarter of the internal pool while the European growers were allocated three quarters.[41] This was a major obstacle to African maize growers including the Chikuni and Rusangu adherents. Since the school leavers of the two institutions embarked on cash crop growing in 1920, they never had a ready market to buy their maize. Not until 1942 was the first group of African maize growers given the right to sell directly to the Maize Control Board at the same price as European growers. These were the Keemba Hill Adventist farmers. However, this privilege was short lived. It was withdrawn in 1943, soon after the introduction of an Improved Farming Scheme whose objective was to check over cultivation of maize by African maize growers.[42]

The 25 percent quota in the internal pool of the Maize Control Board did not benefit the African maize growers because after 1943 they could not sell their produce directly to the Board. The European traders purchased maize produced by African growers cheaper than they sold it to the Maize Control Board and African growers could only sell the quantity of maize demanded by the European traders. This did not favour increased production by the African cash crop growers because of the lack of market incentive.[43] Thus the mission adherents who opted for commercial farming were confronted by repressive and discriminatory measures. The interests of African maize growers were not protected by the central government because "the agricultural policy of Northern Rhodesia was based upon the premise that European farmers were entitled to preferential treatment. . . ."[44] The protection of European farmers against African maize producers compelled many of the latter to resort to protest politics.

Protest Politics

In 1937, the Seventh-day Adventist adherents of Keemba Hill and Mujika settlements founded the first African political party in the territory, the Northern Rhodesia African Congress (N.R.A.C.).[45] It is no coincidence that the N.R.A.C. was formed the year following the establishment of the Maize Control Board which had frustrated the market expectations of the African Maize growers. Moreover, the admission of the Keemba Hill farmers into the Maize Control Board Market in 1942 can be seen in light of African involvement in protest politics and an attempt by the territorial government to meet the demand of the

African farmers. However, this view is contrary to claims elsewhere that the Congress approved the " ... existing maize control legislation."[46]

The Seventh-day Adventist farmers who were responsible for the formation of the N.R.A.C. were, Ellison Milambo and Daniel Muhwahwi of Keemba Hill, who were a retired headmaster and teacher of Rusangu mission respectively, Samuel Sibanda a teacher at Rusangu and George Kaluwa, a Methodist adherent and a Malawian resident in Mwanachingwala chieftaincy in Mazabuka district.[47] All four had one thing in common, and that was, they had travelled beyond the territorial boundaries of Zambia. The three Adventists had attended school at Solusi Mission and Samuel Sibanda had gone to Bethel College in South Africa.[48]

Prior to the 1950's, the school leavers of Chikuni did not have the regular privilege of travelling to territories south of the Zambezi to continue their education. It was only once in 1935, that ten students of Chikuni were sent to Kutama in Southern Rhodesia to train as teachers. The Jesuits developed facilities for higher education at Chikuni Mission while the Adventists depended for higher training on denominational institutions in Rhodesia and South Africa. This practice exposed the Adventists to the racial conditions as well as to the currents of African political thought which prevailed in these countries. The Northern Rhodesia African Congress arose directly out of this experience.

The Congress desired to assist the territorial government and the missionary societies in advancing what it called 'the good of the country'. It also pledged to maintain contacts with

other Congress parties in Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and South Africa.[49] In 1939, however, the Department of Native Affairs refused to recognise the Congress, charging that the movement counteracted the scheme of Indirect Rule which promoted the idea of African representation through officially recognised traditional rulers or native authorities. The Department of Native Affairs claimed that all representational functions could be carried out by the Native Authorities and the leaders of the Congress were advised to help the tribal authorities in non-political matters as individuals.[50]

Under the theory of indirect rule, the purpose of Native Authorities was to give the tribal chiefs political power to rule their respective tribal areas as agents of the central Government. They were charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order and preventing crime. The chiefs carried out certain duties such as collection of tribal tax and licence fees on behalf of the central Government.[51]

Therefore, the government's refusal to accord the Congress official recognition can be seen as government protection of tribal authorities against the sentiments of the emerging class of the new elites. The mission adherents were regarded as subject to the Native Authorities and were expected to express their interests through it. The leaders of the Congress were reluctant to oppose the government's verdict and disbanded voluntarily.

One of the founder members of the 1937 Northern Rhodesia African Congress, Samuel Sibanda, has attributed the failure of the Congress to emerge as a territorial political party to both government action which denied it official recognition and internal

problems. The proposition to have the Congress defy government's ruling was opposed by its leadership who preferred to abide by the government's verdict.[52]

Samuel Sibanda also claims that the Congress was faced with problems of communication which hampered the organisation's efforts to spread itself to other parts of the territory. Before it disbanded, the Congress recruited additional officials. These were, Job Mayanda, Peter Mwiinga, Peter Habumbu, Simon Milindi and Job Michelo who made attempts to open branches in Chikankata, Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Namwala. Job Hamazila, Matthew Ndunda and Frank Kaluwa, the young brother of George Kaluwa, were recruited as officials of the Congress in Central Province and they tried without success to establish branches of the Congress in Kafue and Lusaka. Where branches of the Congress existed, they were poorly co-ordinated.[53] Therefore, the activities of the 1937 Congress were confined to the African farming areas in Mazabuka and Monze districts.

In 1946, one of the founder members of the then defunct Northern Rhodesia African Congress, George Kaluwa with Dauti Yamba tried to create the Federation of African Societies which was intended to unite welfare societies in Kitwe, Lusaka, Luanshya, Broken Hill, Monze and Mazabuka.[54] This was an attempt by one of the past officials of the Congress to re-establish an avenue through which African protest would be expressed. This did not succeed because the Department of Native Affairs rejected the demand by Kaluwa and Yamba stating that the movement did not represent Africans generally and that its leaders had not been chosen by the people.[55]

However, the Adventist farmers in Monze district continued to practice protest politics through the African Farming Association, an organisation which Ellison Milambo, the ex-President of the defunct Congress, formed in 1947. The African Farming Association did not establish contacts with the Department of Agriculture but simply continued to revive political consciousness among the rural communities.[56]

When Harry Nkumbula became the first President of the African National Congress in August 1951,[57] the Seventh-day Adventist leaders of the 1937 Congress featured prominently as regionalleaders of the new national political party(A.N.C.) Among them were, Ellison Milambo, Job Michelo, Job Mayanda, who in mid 1950's was elected as Deputy National Treasurer of the African National Congress, Peter Mwiinga, Peter Habumbu, Simon Milindi, Nathan Kabunda and Samuel Sibanda.[58]

The political role of the Seventh-day Adventists in Monze District indicate that they were more responsive to political agitation than the Jesuit adherents. This assessment is true if the observation is confined to the Plateau Tonga. The involvement in agriculture by Rusangu adherents gave them an opportunity to develop a class of rural elites, a privilege which Chikuni adherents did not enjoy because as already seen the majority of them did not participate in cash crop farming.

By contrast the majority of the Chikuni school leavers opted for wage employment in urban areas where many of them joined nationalist political movements.[59] Many Chikunians (not all of them Tonga since Chikuni became a territorial institution) have emerged as national leaders of indepenent

Zambia. These include Mainza Chona, Mark Chona, Humphrey Mulemba, Francis Nkhoma, Luke Mwananshiku, Clement Mwananshiku, Paul Lusaka, Dominic Mulaisho, Basil Monze and Elias Chipimo (see Appendix C for a complete list). Mubanga Kashoki and Moses Musonda are now professors with the University of Zambia. These Chikunians obtained secondary school education at Canisius College and undertook university studies at Fort Hare in South Africa or the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury or at Pius XII University College in Basutoland or at Universities overseas.[60]

Again by contrast, only a handful of Rusanguans have risen thus far to positions of national prominence. These include Joseph Mweemba the son of Benjamin Mweemba (see chapter 4), Philimon Kopolo and Job Mutakwa.[61] The majority of Rusangu school leavers studied for the junior secondary school certificate at Solusi and then trained either as primary school teachers or church pastors. After a few years of service they retired from church employment and turned to farming.[62]

It is worth noting that although the Jesuits and the Adventists worked among the people of a homogeneous culture, the products of Chikuni and Rusangu adopted heterogeneous characteristics. Many of the Chikuni school leavers emerged as national leaders, participating actively in national politics. On the contrary, although some Rusangu school leavers inaugurated political organisation on the Tonga plateau, they did not emerge as national political leaders, but as commercial farmers. The development of commercialised African farming in the Southern

Province of Zambia is attributed to large numbers of Rusanguans. Factors responsible for these differences have already been analysed in this chapter.

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