

PATRIARCHAL ATTITUDES: MALE CONTROL OVER AND POLICIES
TOWARDS FEMALE EDUCATION IN NORTHERN RHODESIA; 1924-1966

By

Fay Gadsden.

Formal, Western education in Northern Rhodesia was organised by the missionary societies and, after 1925, the colonial government. Both the missionaries and the colonial administrators took for granted a world where political and economic power was controlled by men and where women as wives and daughters were economically dependent on men. A few unmarried women might find employment in domestic work, in the caring for and teaching of children and in nursing. The granting of the vote to women in Britain after 1918 and the extension of their educational opportunities to allow a tiny minority to achieve professional qualifications only slightly modified these perceptions. Moreover the fact that Northern Rhodesia was a settler colony meant that until the last decade of colonialism African education was the education of a subordinate class.

This article examines how, within this ideology of male dominance, male control over education was ensured by male predominance on policy making bodies and in administration. It argues that the few women who were involved in education accepted the domestic and subordinate role assigned to women by colonial policy makers. Male domination of the education system did not, however, mean that female education was considered unimportant. Although the education of girls lagged behind the education of boys throughout the colonial period, in that fewer girls attended school and the percentage of girls declined rapidly in the higher grades, this disparity persisted in spite of the fact that the colonial government and the missionary societies took positive measures after 1925 to give priority to girls education.¹ The second part of this article discusses why importance was attached by men to the education of girls and women and it examines the measures which were taken to encourage female education.

Male Dominance of the Educational System

Since the inception of formal schooling in Northern Rhodesia men dominated policy making, administration and teaching. Before 1925 the missionary societies ran the schools almost totally independently of government.² The various denominations of Christian missions differed in the way their societies were organised and in the degree of hierarchy within them. However, they were all controlled by male clergy. The subordinate role of women in the protestant missionary societies had been questioned during the years of suffragette militancy in Britain. The Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland in 1912 appointed a committee of six

men and four women in missionary administration. It felt that women were not able to give their full contribution and in some lands any contribution at all to the administration of missionary affairs. It pressed against women being 'always subordinate, even the wisest and ablest, to the most callow and tactless young men and argued that work amongst women suffered when recommendations of female missionaries were ignored by male missionaries who made policy.³ The report recommended the association of women with men in policy making and administration.

The Protestant missionary societies in Northern Rhodesia did include female European missionaries and Christian African women on their committees, boards and synods. However, although their voices could be heard they were always in a minority and never in leadership positions. For example, the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia in 1927 appointed two women out of a total of eight to its education committee in 1927. Female education was designated as 'women's work' and women missionaries enjoyed considerable autonomy within it. However, their influence was largely contained within the units assigned to them, whose purpose and funding were determined by overall mission policy, which was dominated by men.

When the government became involved in education the influence of women was even further reduced. The Phelps Stokes Commission, whose reports profoundly influenced the policies of both the British Colonial Office and the Northern Rhodesia Government was comprised entirely of men. However, it made copious recommendations on the proper education of girls. Dr. Jones, the leader of the commission, stated that he considered the education of women so important that if he ever led another commission, he would appoint a woman to it.⁵ She would, however, have been the only one among five.

The Education Officers of the Northern Rhodesia African Education Departments were all male, except for the teacher of women's courses for wives at the Jeanes School, until the early 1940's. During the 1930's there was a growing awareness of the failure to expand female education and the feeling that this might be rectified by the appointment of a woman to the department to oversee girls' education.⁷ However, the appointment was postponed for financial reasons. Not until 1942, was provision made in the estimates for a female Education Officer.⁸ Women remained a minority, although their numbers in the department did increase in the 1940's and 1950's. By 1948 there were seven posts for women although only five of them were filled.⁹ During the 1950's Women Education Officers were appointed to the provinces. All these women were involved only in female

F.L. SIKHARU

Patriarchal Attitudes

education. None was involved in a general administrative position in the department.

Educational policy was evolved by an Advisory Board appointed to advise the department. This Board comprised missionaries and government officials. It, too, was entirely male until 1935, when two female missionaries were appointed. Their appointment lapsed and no other woman was appointed until 1939, when the Colonial Office insisted that a woman should be appointed.¹⁰

The number of women on the Board was increased to four, out of a total of twenty-five, in 1948. The Governor, Gilbert Rennie, considered that the appointment of "so many women" was evidence of the importance attached to female education by his government.¹¹ In that year, one woman was appointed to the Board's standing committee. Women were only slowly appointed to the District Education Committees, the first of which was formed in 1937. The committees were, to begin with, entirely male. In the 1940's, education committees were appointed in more districts and government accepted that "where possible" one woman should sit on each committee.¹²

Female European representation was accepted less reluctantly by senior British officials than African representation. Pressure from the Colonial Office to appoint an African to the Advisory Board was resisted by the Northern Rhodesian government from 1939 to 1942, in spite of support for the principle from the Education Department, on the grounds that Africans needed experience at grass roots before being appointed to a central body.¹³ After 1942, provision for male African representation was made alongside provision for female European representation. Africans and women were always in a minority. From 1948 five places were provided for Africans on the Central Advisory Board. One African was appointed to its standing committee. District Education Committees automatically included representatives of the Native Authority. It was hoped that these would be "progressive Africans".¹⁴

The possibility of appointing African women to educational boards and committees hardly arose. None were appointed to the central body. In 1937, the sub-committee appointed to advise the Central Advisory Board on a curriculum for girls education, probably because of the absence on leave of the European Jeanes School women's teacher, included Mrs Chileshe who was acting in that position. There were a few incidences of the appointment of African women to grass roots committees. Mrs Helen Kaunda sat on an ad hoc committee of three women in Chinsali to consider the recently

evolved female education curriculum. Some African women were appointed to school councils from the late 1940's.

Missionary women and the women appointed to the government education department from the 1940's did not challenge male assumptions about the role of women in society, and thus the content of girls' education, to prepare them for it. They accepted that girls should be prepared for marriage and motherhood. As the role of women in Europe was slightly modified in the inter-war and post 1945 period, so attitudes to female education for Africans were slightly changed. Typing was taught at the government girls school, Mindolo. Provision was made for a tiny minority to get a secondary education from the late 1940's. It was, however, assumed that all the early graduates of that secondary education would become either nurses or teachers.¹⁵ Although the final years of the colonial period provided for some academic training for girls, it was still assumed that the vast majority should be trained for domesticity.

Women who rejected these gender roles either did not choose or were not selected to serve as missionaries or education officers in the colonies. Until the mid-1940's, most women involved in education who had professional qualifications were trained in domestic science, which would have contributed to weeding out any feminists asserting the equality of women. Single women missionaries and Education Officers enthusiastically prepared girls for marriage. Mabel Shaw, headmistress of Mbereshi, Northern Rhodesia's leading girls school in the 1920's and 1930's, stressed domesticity and training in motherhood in her curriculum.¹⁶ Eveline King, an Education Officer who, by 1950, had served five years in Northern Rhodesia, considered that colonial education was contributing to the emancipation of women, emancipation from African practice towards a European model of marriage.¹⁷ Female Education Officers who did not accept the primacy of domestic subjects and did not want to teach them, tended to leave after one tour.¹⁸

The female professionals in the educational service were not always accepted as equals by their male colleagues. The lack of respect accorded to women officials was commented on by the Binns Commission in 1953. The commissioners noted:

She is used in her specialist capacity, but her advice is sometimes neither taken nor sought on matters in which she is competent.¹⁹

Women educationalists were confined to the ghetto of female education, reinforcing its difference and separateness from male education.

Patriarchal Attitudes

The Content of Female Education

It was assumed by the Europeans involved in African education that practical education for girls should be different from that for boys. In the inter war years, missionary and government educators accepted the Phelps Stokes theories, designed for black education in the Southern States of the U.S.A., which advocated a domestic education for black women. Provision was made in Northern Rhodesia in the 1930's for a different curriculum for trainee women teachers which would include large amounts of domestic science and free them from having to take an examination in English.²⁰ In the post 1945 period, colonial educational theories followed British models more closely. In Britain at this period it was argued that education for girls should be equal but different.²¹ In 1947, the Rev. Rowland Nightingale, Chairman of the Methodist Synod and representative of African interests on the Legislative Council, told Africans on the Western Province Provincial Council who were suggesting that girls, like boys, should go out of the territory for further education that he agreed that wives should be educated, but stressed that they did not need to have the same education as their husbands.²² In this situation, the vast majority of women teachers and education officers actively promoted an education for girls which reinforced the assumption of female subordination.

Women, then, acquiesced in a policy which stressed the importance of teaching domestic subjects to women. Girls should be taught the three Rs, but there should be an emphasis on hygiene, nutrition, baby care, cooking, sewing and craft-work. A few might be educated for careers suited to the interests and abilities of women.²³ The missionary societies were encouraged to establish girls' boarding schools at mission stations where some teacher training and medical education could also be provided. However, most of the girls who went to school at all attended co-educational village day schools. From the mid 1930's weekly boarding schools were set up at chiefs' villages. Also from the 1930's the government and the mines began to provide some educational facilities in the growing towns. In 1943, seven years after government began providing secondary schooling for boys, Chipembi, a Methodist Girls School, began a secondary course. The post 1945 period also saw an attempt to expand the amount of domestic science taught in primary schools. The teaching of domestic subjects depended upon the availability of women teachers. Very few African women qualified to train as teachers. The few who did and remained in teaching were employed at the station boarding schools and in the towns where their husbands were employed. The teachers at the village schools were almost all men. A major concern throughout the colonial period was to train women

teachers who could teach domestic subjects. Thus courses were developed for the wives of teachers and evangelists to prepare them as 'helpers' in the village schools.

Both administrators and missionaries sought to impose, through education, their concept of the role of women in society as confined to the domestic sphere onto the African peoples among whom they worked. This was their idea²⁴ and also they saw it as a way of furthering their purposes in administration and evangelisation.

Government Interest in Female Education

The Northern Rhodesian government attached considerable importance to female education partly because this was a colonial orthodoxy since the early 1920's, when the Phelps Stokes commission was touring Africa and publishing its findings and when the Colonial Office appointed its Advisory Committee on education in Africa. Successive statements from the Colonial Office committee, supported by the Colonial Secretary were circulated to the colonies stressing the importance of female education.²⁵ It was under pressure from the Colonial Office that a woman was appointed to the Advisory Board for Education. It was in response to queries from the Colonial Office that the Northern Rhodesian government requested the appointment of a commission to investigate female education in 1943, the Gwilliam Read Commission.²⁶

However, the Northern Rhodesian government shared the concern of the Colonial Office to promote female education for the same reasons. The education of girls and women was expected to contribute to social order and if not promote economic development, at least mitigate the impact of economic stagnation and decline in the rural areas. The boarding schools at mission stations, which provided the most advanced education available for girls, were intended by government officials to supply wives for educated men. The wives of monogamous husbands, who shared their interests, provided companionship and could cope with town housing would contribute to the evolution of a contented and stable white-collar class. The Deputy Director of Medical Services in 1934 stated that he could not see his way to employing the products of the boarding schools, but considered that the schools performed a valuable service in training wives for educated men.²⁷

Village Schools prepared girls to be the wives of village men, subsistence cultivators and migrant labourers. Jones, the leader of the Phelps Stokes Commission, considered that education could contribute to the development of a 'law abiding peasantry'²⁸, an attractive concept for colonial governments. During the

Patriarchal Attitudes

colonial period, the Northern Rhodesian government bolstered male control over women in the interests of social order. By following Jones's policies, female education might contribute to the subordination of women to male authority.

A more tangible result which the government hoped to achieve through female education was the improvement of the health of village communities. Colonial officials were aware of appallingly high death rates among babies and young children and considered that villages were dirty and insanitary. By teaching health, hygiene and nutrition to girls, these conditions might be alleviated. Moreover, it involved no new machinery on the part of government. It was already subsidising qualified teachers, and the numbers so subsidised could be increased without very much extra expense. Through the 1930's, government officials referred to female education in terms of community development, as 'part of a policy of general development rather than purely academic training' in the words of the D.C.'s of Southern Province in 1936.²⁹ However, attempts to use girls' education to improve conditions in the villages were not very successful, particularly since most girls spent only two years at school, years in which they were taught by male teachers who did not teach 'female subjects'. This failure led to the introduction of the strategy of educating helpers and the wives of trainee teachers and chiefs attending courses, in hygiene and baby care, as an effort to improve conditions in the villages.

By the end of the 1930's, it became clear that labour migration was affecting agricultural productivity and nutritional standards in many parts of the country.³⁰ In these circumstances female education might be used to help women cope with the problems labour migration created for them. The first female Education Officer listed one of the aims of female education in 1951 as 'learning agriculture' because men were no longer in the villages to help wives cultivate.³¹

The attitude of European educationalists to women in agriculture was unclear and inconsistent. They were not unaware that women did most of the agricultural work in Northern Rhodesian societies. The Phelps Stokes commissioners did recommend some agricultural instruction for girls. Girls did, in practice, do a lot of work in school gardens and some provision was made for theoretical instruction. However, European educationalists seem to have conceived of female agricultural activity mainly as an extension of the domestic role of preparing food for the family. The development of cash crops was to be a male activity. Thus the woman's role in agriculture was frequently not even mentioned in discussions of female education which stressed home and childcare.

Patriarchal Attitudes

had first educated men to work as evangelists and teachers. They found, however, that the progress of these converts was hampered by their marriages to non-Christians. 'We have seen Christian progress and growth handicapped by the inability or unwillingness of the women to go forward with the men' wrote a Methodist in 1926.³⁵ Moreover, Christian communities could neither be established nor expanded without Christian wives and mothers. Thus the success of their evangelism hinged upon the conversion of women. For most of the colonial period, education was considered a major tool of evangelism, hence the education of girls in Church schools was a priority. Conversion to Christianity and acceptance of missionary teaching on hygiene and clothing were scarcely differentiated in mission thinking. True, the missionaries' religious purpose and the secular aims of government reinforced each other.

The Protestant societies were particularly concerned to provide Christian, educated wives for their teachers and evangelists. The station boarding-schools evolved into schools providing wives for educated men. Missionary teachers displayed a keen interest in whom their students married, and they often married directly on leaving school.³⁶ The missionaries expected the graduates of these schools to be leaders in their communities, by providing an example to others, in the management of their homes and their children, by organising women's groups and prayer meetings and by evangelistic work in the community.

Before the introduction of communities of nuns, the Roman Catholic societies, whose teachers were all men, only educated girls up to puberty. As soon as they attained marriageable age they were required to leave school. However, once nuns set up schools, the girls remained into adolescence and attained higher standards. During the late 1950's the Jesuits encouraged the opening of secondary schools at urban convents to strengthen the growth of a Catholic laity.³⁷

Encouragement of Female Education by Educated African Men

The encouragement of female education was also a concern of educated African men. A major interest was in the supply of satisfactory wives for themselves and for their sons. African societies trained their girls for marriage through initiation rites. As the girls grew they learnt by participation the tasks of women. The initiation ceremonies, which took place when the girl reached puberty, instructed her on her role and behaviour as an adult in her society and, in particular, on her future relations with her husband. The instruction was given by older women, but was designed to satisfy male demands. When a husband was dissatisfied with his bride she was sent back for further instruction.³⁸ Hinfelaar

Thus the Methodist missionaries at Chipembi told their African converts that the girls' school would teach the work of the house to girls, and the Agricultural School the work of the field to boys.³² The curriculum for girls, approved by the Advisory Board in 1937, did not mention agriculture.³³ When labour migration increased women's role in agriculture, educationalists seemed to consider that women needed instruction because men were no longer there to tell women what to do. Thus, instructing women in agriculture might solve the problem of declining production. References to the need to train women in agriculture were more frequently made in the 1940's and 1950's, but the assumption that cash cropping was the domain of men prevailed until Independence and influenced the post-independence period.

There was some discussion in government circles of using girls' education to influence the behaviour of chiefs. The Northern Rhodesian government, like other colonial governments, was concerned to improve its local administration by providing for the education of future chiefs. It was assumed that educated chiefs would be more efficient and more co-operative, 'progressives' who shared the developmental values of the administration. It was, however, difficult in Northern Rhodesia to evolve a coherent policy for educating future chiefs among the matrilineal societies. Some administrative officials suggested that a solution lay in educating the daughters of chiefs who might become the mothers of future chiefs. Educated women would have a beneficial influence upon the education and upbringing of their sons. Moreover, there was an uneasy feeling that women in matrilineal societies were particularly influential and thus needed to be educated. Cartmel Robinson, Provincial Commissioner, Kasama, noted that 'in matrilineal tribes, girls are every bit as important as boys'. However, officials in the Education Department did not respond to this vision. One commented unenthusiastically that 'he had no conception that girls would be involved'.³⁴ Political education was for boys, not girls. However, chiefs were expected by the Education Department to set a good example and to educate all their children, girls as well as boys.

Mission Policy Towards Female Education

The missionary societies co-operated wholeheartedly with government in its attempts to promote female education. They shared the administration's concern to improve the health and welfare of the village communities. Indeed, they were constantly reminding government of rural poverty. They, too, considered that by educating girls in health and domestic subjects, conditions might be improved. However, their primary concern was to educate Christian women. In the early years of their work in the territory, the missionaries

has suggested that the content of the Bemba initiation teaching was adapted in the course of the nineteenth century to prepare women for an increasingly subordinate role in a centralising Bemba society.³⁹ Christian adaptations of initiation were devised in the colonial period, but these were insufficient to satisfy the needs of Christian educated men. They wanted wives who were literate in English, who could bake and sew, and generally maintain the lifestyle expected by educated salaried men. Mbereshi, the leading girls' school in the 1920's and 1930's was founded by the London Missionary Society in response to a demand from their Livingstonea educated converts for educated girls for them to marry.⁴⁰ Men sent their fiancées to school to prepare them properly for marriage. Men sent their daughters to school to make them eligible brides for educated Christian men.

These men were also concerned to promote the welfare of their societies and accepted that the education of village women would contribute to this. Where chiefs were educated they tried to insist upon the education of the children of their subjects. Many Native Authorities introduced compulsory education regulations. In Southern Province all but one authority had done so by 1944.⁴¹ When after 1945, more power and funding was devolved onto local native authorities, they provided bursaries for girls to attend boarding-schools, and in some cases provided transport for them to and from school.⁴²

Native Authorities were encouraged by European administrative officials to support female education. However, the enthusiasm with which some Native Authorities performed this task demonstrates a genuine commitment on their part. The members of the Representative Councils were also committed to promoting the education of girls. In 1945 the Northern Province Council suggested that engagement should not be considered a sufficient reason for a girl to leave school. In 1948 the African Representative Council wanted grants to be withheld from schools where less than 30% of the students were girls.⁴³

Measures to Give Priority to Girls Education

There was then a concerted effort on the part of Government officials, missionaries and educated Africans to promote female education in the territory. Positive measures were introduced to give priority to girls' education. In the mid-1920's European educationalists considered that the most effective way to educate girls was at Mission Station boarding schools under European supervision. In order to encourage the establishment of new and the growth of existing schools, the government gave much larger grants for girl boarders than for boys. A grant of £2.00 was paid per annum to the school for

Patriarchal Attitudes

each girl boarder, and only 10/- for a boy. When two years later, the grant for boys was raised to £1.00, it was still only half the female grant.⁴⁴ The grants were intended to enable the missionary societies to charge lower fees for girls, and many did do so. The Methodists in 1928 were charging boys £1.00 per term to attend Chipembi and girls only 10/-.⁴⁵ Where attendance was low at station boarding schools, Education Department officials recommended a further reduction in fees. Although the government had realised by 1930's that station boarding schools could only educate a minority, yet they were still considered important as providers of wives for educated men, candidates for teacher training and teacher training centres. Thus, when a reduction in government expenditure necessitated by the Depression resulted in cuts in grants to mission boarding schools, girls were still given priority. The grant was withdrawn from boys in the first three standards but was maintained for girls.⁴⁶

These measures were successful in helping missionary societies to finance their girls' boarding schools. The schools expanded in the 1920's and 1930's, although the numbers being educated at them remained quite small. The schools met a felt need on the part of educated Africans to educate their daughters and during the 1930's the better schools, such as Mbereshi and Chipembi, had waiting lists. The popularity of these schools made it less necessary to give financial incentives to encourage them. However, some of the less developed schools did not share their success, and the government continued to give larger grants for girls. From 1943 girls from Standard I to Standard VI attracted grants of 50/- per annum. Boys grants did not begin until they were in Standard III and they were 10/- less.⁴⁷ In 1948 it was agreed within the Department that a boy repeating a year would not be eligible for a grant, but a girl would continue to attract a grant for the school.⁴⁸

Although the major station boarding schools expanded and proved popular they served only a minority of relatively well-off families. Missionary societies were encouraged by the government to charge the same fees for girls as for boys from 1948, and financial assistance was given by native authorities to enable children from poorer families to attend the boarding schools. Indeed the Department of Education intended to introduce an affirmative action policy, whereby Native Authorities would have been instructed to give girls 'first claim' on bursaries. This was watered down by the Secretary for Native Affairs who insisted that the instruction should read 'at least equal claim'.⁴⁹

The overall numbers of girls in school remained small in comparison to the number of boys. Measures were

introduced to encourage the attendance of girls at village schools. A financial stick was applied to co-educational village schools in the late 1940's. The government accepted the African Representative Council's recommendation that grants should be withheld from schools unless girls comprised at least 30% of the student body.⁵⁰ It had been recognised from the 1930's that one of the reasons for the poor attendance of girls in school was the lack of female teachers. The government had tried to remedy this by the policy of training helpers to teach domestic subjects. Also, financial incentives were given to the missionary societies to employ female teachers when, in 1948, government grants met the entire salary costs of female teachers, but were short of £3.00 for male teachers.⁵¹ The percentage of girls in school varied from district to district. The more economically developed areas tended to have more girls in school. The Government tried to foster female education in what it called backward areas by increasing the grant for female education in them.⁵²

Positive measures to encourage girls' education were also taken by the waiving of regulations concerning age. The government imposed age restrictions on grants for boys in boarding schools in the lower standards because it was felt that older boys at this level would not go very far in their education. However, these regulations were not applied to girls because of government's commitment to get girls into school at any age.⁵³ Girls were, conversely, admitted to the village schools at a younger age than boys from the late 1940's, when the government was trying to consolidate the expansion of primary education, and to provide four years of education to every child. Because girls tended to be removed from school at puberty, they were admitted at the ages of seven, even six, when boys had to wait until they were eight.⁵⁴ This well-intentioned measure must have exacerbated the tendency for girls to be dominated by boys in the classroom.

As the towns grew in the inter-war years, the government became increasingly concerned about the education of town children, the social threat posed by adolescent youths roaming the streets and the behaviour of women in towns. The more permanent workers brought their families to town. In spite of the attempts by the colonial government and chiefs to control the movement of single women to the towns, they came in search of a better life and provided services to unmarried men and men without their wives. The government introduced measures to provide education for the growing numbers of children by encouraging the missionary societies to establish schools and by opening government schools. More school places were provided during the 1930's, but very few girls went to school and adolescent youths continued to roam the streets of the townships. Moreover,

Patriarchal Attitudes

very young girls became involved in a series of temporary liaisons. Government officials became increasingly concerned about the breakdown of tribal discipline and the failure to provide town girls with an education.

Attempts were made to solve these problems, firstly through the establishment of Mindolo Government Boarding School for girls at Kitwe in 1940. This was originally intended as a school for delinquent girls, but soon developed into a regular boarding school. Secondly, compulsory education was introduced in 1943, on the Copperbelt, and at Broken Hill, Choma and Livingstone. The Education Department's particular concern was to ensure that girls remained at school until the age of sixteen, although it was prepared to see boys leave at the age of twelve.⁵⁵ However, administrative officials, who were concerned by the threat to security posed by male teenage gangs, insisted that boys also should remain until the age of sixteen. The regulations as finally agreed covered all children between the ages of twelve and sixteen. These regulations worked well for some years, but collapsed during the 1950's when the town populations grew more rapidly than school places could be provided.

Government and mine officials took steps to provide town women with something to do. They were mindful of the heavy load of work borne by rural women and thought that the lack of occupation in the towns would be socially harmful. Thus rations were supplied in the form of maize rather than meal because it meant that women would be occupied in pounding it.⁵⁶ The Education and Community Development Departments ran women's classes, teaching sewing and knitting, occupations which would take up women's time. They also ran literacy classes for women in the hope that they would use welfare centre libraries.⁵⁷

The government reinforced its measures to encourage female education with a constant stream of exhortation to parents to educate their daughters. Throughout the colonial period administrative officials stressed the value of female education at public meetings and encouraged the chiefs to exert more direct pressure on parents. When the mass media began to be harnessed by the colonial government, it too was used to stress the importance of female education. In 1948 posters were printed and distributed asserting that an educated woman made a better wife and mother. In the 1950's articles advocating the education of girls were published in government newspapers for Africans, Mutenda and the African Listener. Radio programmes broadcast the same message.

These measures to encourage female education did have some success. Financial assistance to boarding

schools did encourage their growth and after 1945, the Authority bursaries enabled girls from poorer families attend them. These schools produced a core of relatively well-educated women who became teachers and nurs married educated men and encouraged the education their children, girls as well as boys.

The Relative failure to Expand Girls Education

The mission boarding schools educated only a tiny minority and so supplied very few candidates for teacher training. The lack of women teachers was identified within the Education Department as a major reason for the low attendance of girls and the poor performance of those when they did go to school. Government measures to increase the numbers of women teachers were not very successful. The availability of candidates for teacher training depended upon the numbers reaching the upper levels of the educational system. These were very low and thus, few women were trained as teachers. In 1940 it was estimated that there were less than 100 trained women teachers in a teaching force of 1,350.⁵⁵

As late as 1960, 794 men and only 362 women were in teacher training. 139 of the women were following a domestic science course.⁵⁶ Those who were trained often did not remain in teaching. Some missionary societies insisted that teachers leave employment when they had a baby. Financial incentives to the missions to employ women were designed to attract them back, but could not be very effective when there were few women available to be so employed.

The predominance of male teachers in the village schools was a severe deterrent to female education. Male teachers often discriminated against girls. Some ignored or disparaged them in class. Other unmarried teachers used their female students to sweep their homes and wash their clothes.⁵⁰ A few abused their trust and had sexual relations with their students, thus confirming and reinforcing parental fears. Mundumuko has argued, however, in relation to the Lozi, that as the expansion of education led to the secularisation of the teaching force in the 1940's and 50's, so male teachers became more sympathetic to girls undergoing initiation. They encouraged them to both attend class and follow initiation requirements of silence and isolation. Early teacher evangelists had opposed initiation, resulting in girls being removed from school.⁵¹

The expedient of training less educated women as 'helpers' to teach domestic subjects did encourage girls to attend school for a year or so. There is much evidence, in spite of feminist disinclination to credit it⁵², that girls and their parents welcomed the inclusion of domestic practical subjects such as sewing

Patriarchal Attitudes

in the curriculum.⁵³ This, to some extent, served the limited aim of government of educating future wives in domestic skills. It did not, however, contribute much to their remaining at school and achieving a basic education, which was a further aim of government. Employing poorly educated women teachers to teach women's subjects reinforced their inferiority and implied that women did not need much academic education. Meanwhile girls continued to suffer from discrimination from male teachers in academic subjects.

The government failed to attract and keep girls in school because, in spite of its strategies and propaganda campaigns, it failed to persuade the majority of the population of the value of female education. Girls continued to be married very young, which inevitably took them out of school. Many African men were suspicious of an education which might reduce the submissiveness of young women. Education, some argued, made women cheery and independent.⁵⁴ A few useful skills, such as sewing and soap-making, might be learnt. But education was expensive in its removing the girl from production at home, and in the fees charged at boarding schools. Only where a man wanted an educated wife, could the costs be recouped in bride price. This did happen in some cases where the education of a girl could be seen as an investment. Education for boys was seen to lead to employment, but there were few jobs open to women. The government was aware by the 1940's that the lack of employment opportunities was a deterrent factor in female education. It did try to make more posts available to women, a policy later recommended by the Gwilliam Read Commission.⁵⁵ Nursing training began in the territory in 1947. Mindolo taught typing. Positions as telegraphists became available. The employment of teacher helpers meant more jobs for women. This did encourage some parents to invest in their daughters' education. But employment opportunities remained very limited for women whose employability was also constrained by their following their husbands from posting to posting, for most educated women were married to teachers and civil servants, and by their leaving work to have children.

African women were not merely passive objects in the evolution and implementation of female education policies. Although, they were given little opportunity to influence policy by the colonial government, within the missionary societies leading Christian women exercised some influence in encouraging the expansion of female education. Methodist women insisted that Chipemb station school should include girls as well as boys and argued for classes for the wives of evangelists and teachers.⁵⁶ African women teachers formed the majority of teachers in the girls boarding schools. Mothers sent their daughters to school in the face of popular derision

for families who educated their adolescent girls instead of finding husbands for them.⁶⁷ A few girls were able to achieve academic qualifications as higher education became available to them. Girls' education was supported by Christian women who had usually themselves received some education. There does not seem to be evidence in Northern Rhodesia of girls fleeing to mission schools for refuge from unwelcome marriages and parental authority.

There was little opposition to the policy of education for domesticity. It was, perhaps, unattractive for the better educated who were enabled, in addition to their domestic training, to acquire academic qualifications and whose role within the policy was one of leadership. There were isolated incidences of protests against the Education Department's success in Domestic Science. In 1937, a committee of women Chinsali protested against its failure to even mention agriculture and academic subjects.⁶⁸ Some African mothers registered their disapproval of an education that did not prepare girls for salaried employment.⁶⁹ One secondary education became available for female teachers were able to provide an academic and egalitarian education eventually in the 1950's, preparing a tiny minority for 'A' levels and university entrance.

Female education was not neglected during the colonial period. It suffered, as boys' education did, from the limited funds allocated to African education. However, it was accorded considerable importance by the government. The Director of Education commented in 1933, "After the training of teachers, the encouragement of female education has been, perhaps, the main preoccupation of the department since it started."⁷⁰ In 1946, secondary education and female education were the two areas of the department's major concern.⁷¹ The Administration did not always accept the Education Department's recommendations to give priority to girls over boys, but a series of measures were introduced which positively discriminated in favour of girls. This was, however, an education devised within a system of male dominance which was intended to produce wives and mothers who would meet the requirements of government and workers, and satisfy the requirements of white-collar missionaries for healthy families, clean villages and Christian families. The failure to expand girls' education as rapidly as boys was due to the failure to convince the majority of parents that more than two or three years of schooling was a necessary preparation for marriage.

Patriarchal Attitudes

NOTES

1. In 1938 there were 11,112 boys and 6,436 girls in sub-standard A in government aided primary schools and 39 boys and 1 girl in Standard VI (the highest level then available). In 1955 there were in sub-standard A, 27,152 boys and 20,939 girls; in Grade VI 3,477 boys and 306 girls, in Form III 109 boys and 9 girls. In 1963 the numbers were sub-standard A, 38,354 boys and 35,000 girls; Standard VI, 9,812 boys and 2,569 girls; Form V, 325 boys and 52 girls. Reports of the Department of African Education, 1938 and 1955. Ministry of Education, Triennial Survey, 1961-63.
2. The government ran the Barotse National School, and in 1918 introduced an ordinance to prevent the missionary societies from posting unmarried youths as teachers/catechists in the villages.
3. Quoted in M. Collock, 'The Share of Women in the Administration of Missions', International Review of Missions 4 (1912), 674-685.
4. Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia, 1927 (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1928).
5. T. Jones, Education in East Africa: A Study of East, Central and South Africa (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1925), 38.
6. A sub-department of Native Education was formed in 1925, responsible to the Director of African Affairs. It became a full department in 1930.
7. National Archives of Zambia (NAZ): Sec.1/508, Secretary for Native Affairs to Chief Secretary, 19 March 1932.
8. NAZ Sec. 1/517. Mrs Rheinalt Jones to Director of Education, 21 May 1941.
9. Annual Report of the Department of African Education, 1948, 19-20. Of these five two were teaching at the Government girls boarding school at Mindolo, established in 1940, two were teaching the wives of students at the Jeanes School and one was involved in a mass education project.
10. NAZ SEC. 1/461, Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor, 11 March 1939.
11. NAZ Sec. 1/462, Governor to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 21 September, 1948.

12. Proceedings of Provincial Commissioners Conference, 1941, 7.
13. NAZ Sec. 1/460, Extract from Minutes of the Executive Council, 17-18 January 1941.
14. Annual Report of the Department of African Education 1948, 12.
15. NAZ Sec. 1/444, Acting Director of African Education to Secretary for Native Affairs, 8th September 1947.
16. Sean Morrow, "No Girl Leaves the School Unmarried" Mabel Shaw and the Education of Girls at Mbereshi, Northern Rhodesia, 1915-1940', International Journal of African History 1986. See also Methodist Missionary Society MMS (SOAS), Box 614 Circular letter, Miss H. Dugdale, 30/1/33.
17. Eveline King, 'On Educating African Girls in Northern Rhodesia', The Rhodes Livingstone Journal, 8 (1950).
18. For an example of this, see P. Snelson, In Independence and Beyond: Memoirs of a Colonial and Commonwealth Civil Servant (London: The Radcliffe Press, 1992), 57.
19. African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa (Oxford: Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office, 1953), 108.
20. NAZ Sec. 1/455, Minutes of Advisory Board on Native Education, 12-13 July 1933.
21. J. Newsom, The Education of Girls (London: Faber and Faber, 1948).
22. NAZ Sec. 1/443, Extracts from Minutes of African Provincial Council, Western Province, 9-10 July 1947.
23. Jones, Education in East Africa 24. See J. Nyeko 'The Development of Female Education in Northern Rhodesia, 1925-1963: The Case of Central Province', MA Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1983, for a discussion of Government's stress on Domestic Science teaching.
24. Considerable hostility was evoked at the very idea of a purely academic education for girls. 'Mere academic education ... is disastrous for girls'. NAZ Sec. 1/457, Report of the Sub-Committee on Female Education (of the Education Advisory Board) 1937, 1.

Patriarchal Attitudes

25. Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, Colonial Office 1925. 'Report of a Sub-Committee on the Welfare and Education of Women and Girls in Africa', Colonial Office Advisory Committee, 1943.
26. NAZ Sec. 1/443, Governor to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 13 April 1943.
27. H.S. de Boer, Report of a Tour Through N.E. and Portions of N.W. Rhodesia (Livingstone; Govt. Printer, 1934), 23.
28. Jones, Education in East Africa.
29. NAZ Sec. 1/509, Minutes of District Commissioners Conference, Southern Province, May 1936.
30. A. Richards, Land, labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 4.
31. Nyeko, 'Female Education', 50.
32. Mindolo Theological College, MMS Box 20, Minutes of Quarterly Meeting, 22 February 1930.
33. NAZ C1/4/1, Report of Chinsali District Committee on Women's Education, 1937.
34. NAZ C1/2/2, Provincial Commissioner to Chief Secretary, 20 March 1935 and minute, Miller, Superintendent, Native Education.
35. MMS SCAS Box 616, Gray Papers, Open Letter, 13 April 1926.
36. Helen Dugdale, "He the Door Hath Opened Wide" Work in Chipembi Girls School' in E. Nightingale (ed.) The Widening Way: Northern Rhodesia Sketches (London: Corgate Press, 1952).
37. Nyeko, 'Female Education', 55.
38. S. Mundumuko, 'Decline and Change in the Milaka and Sikenge Institutions of the Lozi, 1886-1975', MA Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1990, 18-26; V. Turner, The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndumbu Ritual (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 8.
39. H. Hinfelaar, 'Religious Change Among Bemba-Speaking Women of Zambia', Ph.D. Thesis, London University, 1989, 34-5.
40. Morrow, 'No Girl Leaves the School Unmarried'.

Zambia Journal of History

41. NAZ Sec. 1/543, P. Chella (Headmaster, A.S. School, Ndola) to Education Officer, 3 April 1948.
42. T. Scudder and E. Colson, Secondary Education and the Formation of an Elite: the Impact of Education in the Gwembe District of Zambia (New York: Academic Press 1980), 67.
43. NAZ Sec. 1/443, Minutes of Northern Province Representative Council, April 1945. Sec. 1/444, Minutes of African Representative Council, 1-2 June 1948.
44. Minutes of Advisory Board for Native Education, July 1925. NAZ RC.140, Director of Native Education - Secretary for Native Affairs, 23 August 1927.
45. MMS (SOAS) Box 619: Quarterly Meeting Held at Chipembi, 20 November 1928.
46. NAZ Sec. 1/515, Circular from Department of African Education to Missionary Societies, March 1935.
47. NAZ Sec. 1/641, Action Taken on the Recommendations of the Advisory Board, 1943-45.
48. NAZ Sec. 1/444, Minutes of a Conference of Education Officers, 23-25 June 1948.
49. NAZ Sec. 1/444, Director of African Education to Secretary for Native Affairs, 27 July 1948 and Minutes S.N.A., 14 August 1948.
50. Department of African Education Annual Report, 1948, 31.
51. Ibid., 12.
52. NAZ Sec. 1/539, Minutes of Education Officers Conference, 23-25 June 1948.
53. NAZ C1/8/10/2, Application for Boarding Grants Year Ending 31 December 1931, Chipembi.
54. Department of African Education Annual Report, 1949, 27.
55. NAZ Sec. 1/567, Annual Report on African Education in Central Province, 1940.
56. F. Spearpoint, 'The African Native and the Rhodesian Copper Mine', Supplement to The Journal of the Royal Africa Society, July 1937, 38.
57. Community Development in Northern Rhodesia: Correspondence Between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, 1952

Patriarchal Attitudes

(Lusaka: The Government Printer, 1953), Governor to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 5 December 1952, para. 38.

58. NAZ Sec. 1/443, Draft Despatch, Governor to Secretary of State for the Colonies, February 1943.

59. Triennial Survey, Ministry of Education, 1959-61.

60. NAZ Sec. 1/444, Report on the Education of Women and Girls in Northern Rhodesia, 6 January 1948.

61. Mundumuko, 'Milaka and Sikenge', 45-46.

62. Nyeko, 'Female Education', 32.

63. Department of African Education Annual Report 1945, 20.

64. P. Snelson, Education Development in Northern Rhodesia: 1883-1945 (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1990), 214-5.

65. NAZ Sec. 1/443, Draft Despatch, Governor to Secretary of State for the Colonies, February 1943. NAZ Sec. 1/444, Report on the Education of Women and Girls in Northern Rhodesia, 1948, 6.

66. MTC MMS Box 20, Minutes of Quarterly Meeting, 22 February 1930.

67. History Research Project Interview, Mrs Feada Wallinkonde, 18 June 1975; Mrs B.C. Mulala, 10 June 1975; Miss Jane Kalulu, June 1975.

68. NAZ C1/4/1, Report of Chinsali District Committee on Women's Education, 1937.

69. NAZ Sec. 1/538, Minutes of Chinsali District Advisory Committee on Native Education, 31 August 1936.; T. Sabi: Sec. 1/443, African Provincial Council, Western Province, 9-19 July 1947.

70. Annual Report of the Director of Native Education 1929, 13.

71. NAZ Sec. 1/511, Director, African Education to Chief Secretary, 15 January 1946.