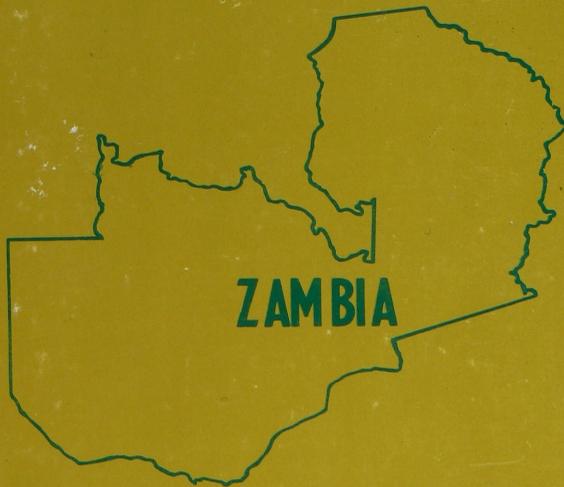


Zambezi Mission



A HISTORY OF THE CAPUCHINS IN ZAMBIA

1931-1981

BY OWEN O'SULLIVAN OFM CAP.

ZAMBEZI MISSION
A History of the Capuchins
in Zambia, 1931-1981

Owen O'Sullivan OFM Cap.

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INTRODUCTION

The year 1981 was the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the Capuchin mission in Livingstone diocese in Zambia; it was also the centenary of the coming of Jesuit missionaries to the same territory. The year 1982 is the eight hundredth anniversary of the birth of Saint Francis, the founder of the Franciscan Order, of which the Capuchins are a branch. It is appropriate, therefore, that an effort be made to recognize these events by publishing a record for the future of these followers of Saint Francis and of their Jesuit predecessors. This book attempts to provide such a record.

It is written primarily about and for the Capuchin friars in Zambia. The material used in writing it has come largely from the friars, especially Brother Andrew who, over many years, compiled an extensive collection of materials drawn from the *Father Mathew Record*, the *Capuchin Annual* and sources here in Zambia. It is not an easy task to persevere in compiling materials which may never see the light of day or achieve any recognition; the least that can be said is that, without his work, this booklet would not exist. As indicated in the bibliography, use has also been made of materials written by Bishop O'Shea, and by Fathers Edwin, Fintan, James and Luke.

History is more than a simple chronicle of events; it involves some assessment of their significance. At

various points in the booklet the attempt has been made to make such assessments. These are the author's responsibility, not that of the sources.

While based at Limulunga I had many responsibilities; I was in charge of postulants, potential new entrants to the Order; I had responsibility for the preparation of the simply professed brothers for their final profession; I was vocations' promoter which involved extensive correspondence in pre-computer days; I was the local superior of the community, chaplain to the Holy Cross Sisters at Malengwa, and parish priest. In my spare time (!) I wrote this booklet.

An attentive reader will quickly become aware of one significant fact, namely, that the story is considerably more comprehensive for the early years of the mission than for the middle or later ones. The reason is simple: the friars of the early years wrote and kept records, and those of later years largely did not. In particular, they wrote for the *Father Mathew Record*, which had as its sub-title *Capuchin Franciscan Missionary Advocate*. The *Record* was a monthly publication by the Irish Capuchins, firstly in newspaper format, later as a small journal. Its title was changed in recent years to *Éirigh*, to *The Capuchin*, to *New Beginnings* and back to *The Capuchin*. Men such as Frs. Fintan and Christopher wrote articles which were lyrical in their beauty as well as being highly informative. But, with few exceptions, the friars ceased to write for it, so that much of their experience and insights have been lost. This appears to

have been a widespread development among religious Orders from the nineteen sixties onwards.

As for records, much effort was put into keeping and collating those of the Order, principally at the friary in Malengwa, near Mongu. I have been told, since my return to Ireland from Zambia in 1997, that much of these has been dispersed and lost.

A few points may help the reader to understand local names better. Place-names employed are those which were in use at the time in question: for example, the present town of Kabwe is called Broken Hill.

Since footnotes are of little interest to most people, they have been grouped together at the end where those who wish to pursue a point may find them.

The bibliography may be of help to those who would like to study more fully some of the matters raised in the text.

This second edition, which dates from 2014, is no more than a modest tidying-up of the first 1982 edition. It does not attempt to fill in the gap of the intervening years.

Chapter 1: THE PIONEERS

African Migration

It is generally held by ethnologists that the people of Zambia's Western Province have their origin among the Luba-Lunda peoples of what is now Zaire, and that they migrated southwards through Angola about two centuries ago. Some of them settled in the Zambezi River valley and its flood plain, and became known as the Luyana or Aluyana people. About fifty years later came the Mbunda people from the west, in present-day Angola, bringing with them cassava and millet. Other tribes such as the Luvale and Nkoya, the Mashu and the Toka, were already well established. The Luyana people, often called the Lozi or Barotse, lived in an unsettled state owing to frequent feuds about succession to the kingship.

Meanwhile, events were developing far to the south which would change the situation radically. Chaka, the Zulu warrior, led his people in many battles and established a large Zulu empire. Among the peoples displaced by his armies were the Makololo, a Sotho people from near the Vet River in South Africa, a little to the north-west of the country now known as Lesotho. The Makololo chief, Sibitwane, in 1823 led his people out of the areas controlled by Chaka on a long march to the north-west through the land of the Tswana people, across the Zambezi and north into Buluzi, the land of the Lozi. It was an epic journey of not less than 2,000 km. By about 1840, Sibitwane had established his control

over Bulozhi. His language, Sikololo, was a form of Sotho.

A surprising feature of the Makololo presence was that about two-thirds of them lived in the southern part of Bulozhi near the Chobe River (also called the Linyanti). This area was infested by mosquitoes and the Makololo were greatly weakened and reduced in numbers by death from malaria. Only about one-third of them were in the northern part of the valley, Bulozhi proper. The Makololo were able to retain control as long as Sibitwane lived. At his death in 1851, his son, Sikeletu, a leper, inherited the chieftainship at the age of seventeen. He was a very different man from his father and quickly alienated even his own supporters by his partiality and suspicion. (1) In 1863, he died, and, in the following year, the Lozi and the Toka people rose in rebellion. The Makololo men were killed, while the women were married into the village of the Luyana. The lasting effect of this was that the two languages, Sikololo and Siluyana, merged into the language now known as Silozi. Sikololo is by far the larger influence in Silozi. (2)

The overthrow of the Makololo left the affairs of Bulozhi more confused than before. The new ruler, Sipopa Lutangu (1864-1876) was not the leader of a united people. The old succession quarrels of the past had been suppressed during the quarter century of Makololo rule, and now they came to the surface again. During his reign, Sipopa Lutangu fought a series of wars until he was overthrown and killed in 1876. His successor, Mwanawina II, reigned from 1876 to 1878

until he, too, was overthrown. He, in turn, was succeeded by Lubosi, who became *Litunga* – his title comes from the Siluyana *Ditunga*, meaning *The Earth* - with the name Lewanika. Lewanika means “One who brings together people of different tribes.” He sought to bring together the Lozi and other tribes into the Barotse nation. The early years of his reign were equally troubled. Indeed, he was overthrown and driven out by Tatila Akufuna in 1884-85, but succeeded in regaining his kingship when Tatila’s followers quarrelled among themselves. Lewanika returned to his throne and ruled until 1916. It took him many years to secure his position, and he was constantly on the lookout for allies. Influenced by his friend, Chief Khama of Bamangwato (in present-day Botswana) who had come under British “protection” in 1885, Lewanika signed an agreement with the British South Africa Company for the same purpose on 17 June 1890. (3) This became known as the Lochner Concession from the Lochner who signed the agreement on behalf of the Company.

It is worth mentioning, however briefly, something of the terms of the agreement which Lewanika signed. In return for a guarantee of security in his kingship and British “protection,” Lewanika surrendered mineral rights throughout his territory. He was also assured that teachers and schools would be provided, something he had long hoped for. What he did not know was that what was called a treaty was not with the British government at all; it was with the British South Africa Company, led by Cecil Rhodes. Lewanika was led to believe that the two were one and the same. The deception was

facilitated by a devious use of words: the term “Board of Directors” in the English text was translated as *lekhotla*, meaning *royal court* in the Sisuto text. Perhaps the presence of two Dukes on the Board of Directors helped the deception. Two copies of the “treaty” were signed. Lewanika’s gave him 4% of all minerals extracted; Rhodes’ copy made no mention of this. The area granted to the Company was considerably larger in Rhodes’ text, covering, according to one estimate, half a million square kilometres. (4) This was a much greater area than Lewanika actually controlled, extending to the Copperbelt and forming the “legal” basis for mining there.

As far as the implementation of the agreement was concerned, Lewanika soon found that his powers were not secured but rather reduced; that the £2,000 per year he had been promised came in fact only to £850, and that the promised education consisted of one school in Livingstone on which the Company spent £348 in 1924, and an annual grant of £185 for education in Barotseland. (5)

The British South Africa Company ruled not only Barotseland but all of Northern Rhodesia by royal charter until 1924 - the colonial process was privatized - with its headquarters in Livingstone.

Explorers

The agreement which Lewanika signed with the British South Africa Company was the climax to relationships

with European explorers which had been building up for about forty years. David Livingstone had been travelling throughout the country and adjoining areas between 1850 and 1873. The Portuguese, whose interests were chiefly in the slave trade and in ivory, came a little later: Silva Porto in 1853, da Silva in 1853-4, and Serpa Pinto in 1878. (6)

The Portuguese had for a long time been trying to link their colonies in east and west Africa. One Portuguese explorer, in travelling up the Zambezi from Feira, the present meeting-point of Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique, reported a twelve-day journey during which he met Portuguese-speaking Africans in many villages on the way. (7) Feira had been established as a trading post since 1720.

Out of all this activity there was no permanent settlement, nothing which has come down to our time in the area known to us as Zambia, except for the use of maize and cassava, brought by the Portuguese from South America.

However, the person who made the deepest and most lasting contacts, from the view point of this story, was George Westbeech (1845-1888). (8) He met the Makololo king, Sikeletu, at Lialui, the royal capital, in 1862, and his successor, Sipopa, in 1871. He was on good terms with Mwanawina II and with Lewanika. The fact that he was able to maintain good relationships with these men who were by no means on good terms with each other is a tribute to his character. He spoke Tswana,

Ndebele and Sotho. The latter language was especially helpful because of its close links with Lozi. The chiefs made use of his services as an interpreter from time to time. On a number of occasions he gave shelter to those who had fallen out of political favour, and became a type of one-man political asylum. He established himself as a trader in ivory, and won favour because of his reliability in providing muskets, glass, beads, mirrors and other articles on a steady basis in exchange for a flow of about five to seven hundred tusks a year. He set up his base at Pandamatenga, a place relatively central to the Tswana, Ndebele and Lozi peoples, about 70 km south of the present town of Livingstone.

Missionaries

The Portuguese

The beginnings of Catholic influence in south-central Africa are hidden in uncertainty behind occasional scattered snatches of information. A historian of the missions has written,

Again and again Portugal made attempts to establish permanent missionary settlements on the west coast of Africa. In this region the chosen missionaries were the Capuchins. A number of bishoprics were established, though it is not clear that bishops were regularly sent out to them. In almost every case the history was the same. One or other of the local rulers would show interest in the Gospel, and be baptized; but, if one ruler became a Christian, it was almost certain that his successor would be a stalwart

pagan, and that the Christian tendencies of the one would be neutralized by the anti-Christian vigour of the other.... In spite of these uncertainties, it is affirmed that between 1645 and 1700 the Capuchins had baptized 600,000 people in the Congo, Angola, and neighbouring regions, and that, from 1700 on, the number of baptisms remained in the neighbourhood of 12,000 a year. We may suppose that the level of instruction given was extremely low – though some catechisms had been prepared in African languages – and that few steps were taken of a kind that could lead to the building up of stable and permanent Churches. (9)

The vast majority of those baptisms were of children.

An interesting sidelight on the work of the Capuchins in Angola is where Livingstone mentions that, on his journeys through that country, he came across a few sites which had formerly been occupied by Jesuits and Capuchins who were expelled by the Portuguese government for siding with the people against the government. He mentions the same about Mozambique. (10)

In Zambia, a Bemba chief has in his possession two statues of Our Lady which it is believed were given by Portuguese explorers in the early part of the seventeenth century. (11) But, for practical purposes, the beginning of Christian influence in the west of Zambia must be traced to the nineteenth century.

The London Missionary Society

The Protestant London Missionary Society attempted to set up a mission on the Linyanti River in 1859. The Reverend Holloway Helmore, his wife and their four children, and Roger Price and his wife all set out from Kuruman. Mrs. Price had a child on the way up the Linyanti. The mission was a disaster. Mr. and Mrs. Helmore, two of their children, and Mrs. Price and her child all died. Mr. Price and the two remaining Helmore children returned to Kuruman in 1860. (12)

Frederick Stanley Arnot

One of the first missionaries to meet Lewanika was Frederick Stanley Arnot, a Scotsman, a member of the Plymouth Brethren. He was at Lialui from 1882 to 1884, having been introduced by George Westbeech, who acted as his interpreter. However, he met with little but disappointment. Lewanika explained to him that his (Arnot's) function at Lialui would be to teach reading, writing and arithmetic to the children of the royal family. He was specifically forbidden to preach the gospel. (13) Arnot left in 1884, correctly anticipating a revolt against Lewanika. He returned to Bulozzi briefly in 1910 and died in Johannesburg in 1914.

The Parish Evangelical Missionary Society

François Coillard, a Frenchman and a Huguenot, was a missionary of the Parish Evangelical Missionary Society (14), who had spent twenty years in Basutoland from 1858. He then went north-west to the Zambezi to work

among the Lozi, whose language he already largely knew through Sotho. In 1878, he arrived at Sesheke on the northern bank of the Zambezi, but was not allowed to proceed any further, probably because of opposition from those *ndunas* [senior headmen] who wanted to close the country completely to Europeans. Lewanika himself wished to meet Coillard but was probably not yet strong enough to overcome the opposition. He wrote to Coillard encouraging him and asking him to return the following year. Coillard went to South Africa and Europe for supplies, but did not return until 1884. He spent the intervening years in raising funds for his mission. However, it seemed clear that Lewanika thought that Coillard was a trader and that it was for this reason that he welcomed him. (15) Westbeeck promised Coillard to keep the way open for him on his return. (16) When he did return in 1884, he went to Lialui where he was warmly received and give land for a mission at Sefula.

The Jesuits

While Arnot and Coillard were making their preparations for missionary work, a group of Jesuits was similarly occupied in the Cape Colony of South Africa. (17) They had established a training centre for missionaries at Grahamstown in the Cape Province, and, from there, six of them, under Fr. Depelchin, moved north through the territory of Khama in present-day Botswana. On 15 June 1880, they arrived at Pandamatenga where they met Westbeeck. He welcomed them, allowing them to build a house near his store, and even provided them with guides to the Zambezi. The

Jesuits set up a small mission at Pandamatenga and began to use it as a base for their entry into Bulozhi.

Although they were anxious to move on into what they hoped would be their new place of work, the Jesuits were forced to wait for several months because of war in Bulozhi. While waiting, they started a garden which seems to have been quite a success. Following the advice of Frederick Selous, a well-known hunter, three of the Jesuits, Fathers Depelchin, Terörde and Vervenne set out on 28 July to make a start among the Tonga people in the territory of an *nduna* called Moemba. These people lived across the Zambezi River north of Pandamatenga in what is now the Southern Province of Zambia. They were guided to Moemba's by an employee of Westbeeck's, arriving there on 9 August. The chief welcomed them, saying he wanted them to be a buffer between his people and their enemies, the Lozi and the Matebele. (18) They set up a small mission without delay, but this came to nothing as all three of them became ill with malaria and dysentery. Fr. Terörde died on the night of 16/17 September 1880. When other Jesuits arrived, having heard that their confrères at Moemba's were ill, they found Terörde dead and Vervenne delirious with fever.

Despite this, Depelchin set out on 5 November for Bulozhi, but was refused permission to cross the river. The Litunga told him to return the following year, so he had no choice but to wait. He spent the time building up supplies for their venture into Bulozhi in 1881. (19)

On 6 June 1881, Fathers Depelchin and Berghegge and Brother de Vylder set out for Bulozzi, having received a message from the Litunga that he would welcome them. It was almost a full year since their arrival in Pandamatenga. They made the journey to Sesheke quickly but had to wait there two months while they got a further clearance from the Litunga to move north to Lialui. On 17 August, they left Sesheke, arriving at Nalolo on 7 September. Despite the fact that he was suffering from malaria, Fr. Depelchin pressed on and arrived at Lialui on 10 September. Lewanika, the Litunga, greeted them warmly, agreed to let them settle, and even asked them to start there and then. He gave them land on the edge of the plain, agreed to let them build a mission at Sesheke, and promised to send boats to pick up their goods. Fr. Depelchin wrote to Fr. Weld, 'A grand field on the Upper Zambezi is now opened to our missionaries. Let them come here in numbers and begin to work without delay. To commence I should have twelve fathers and six brothers.' (20)

It was unfortunate that Fr. Depelchin did not take up Lewanika's offer on the spot. If he had done so, it is quite likely that a permanent mission would have been established. But he wanted to return to Pandamatenga to supervise arrangements for the transfer of supplies to Lialui. So, on 11 October, he left Lialui for Pandamatenga, visiting Moemba on the way south.

However, a series of events now began to unfold which was to change the situation entirely. In a little over two years, from 1880 to 1882, four of the Jesuits

died of disease, another drowned on his way up from South Africa, another was killed when thrown from a horse, and Fr. Depelchin broke a leg when a wagon overturned. It seems, from Jesuits sources, that they did not bring quinine with them to counteract malaria. This is surprising as it was the Jesuits who had brought quinine to Europe from South America in 1820, having learned about it from the indigenous people who harvested it from the bark of the *cinchona* tree in Peru. It was no longer possible to get replacements from Grahamstown as fighting had broken out in 1880 between the Boers and the English in the Transvaal. War broke out in Bulozzi also in 1882, and Lewanika sent a message that they should not come until later in the year. When he finally gave them a clearance, the rainy season had begun, making travel with waggons very difficult, and so they had to wait until 1883 to return to Lialui. Prospects seemed good as Lewanika had written to them saying that he wanted them rather than Arnot. (21)

On 14 March 1883, Fr. Berghegge and Brothers de Vylder and Simonis set off by canoe. By 29 April, they had reached the Lusu rapids, north of Sesheke, and there they ran into trouble. The paddlers in Brother de Vylder's canoe lost control of it in the fast current. They jumped out and made their way to the bank. Brother de Vylder also jumped out but was carried downstream and drowned. His body was never recovered and nothing was found but his hat floating on the water. The canoe itself drifted downstream through the rapids and emerged below still upright, with all its cargo intact. (22) A few

days later, Brother Simonis had a narrow escape when his canoe capsized in a whirlpool. (23)

On 16 May, the two men arrived in Lialui to a very different reception from that given to Fr. Depelchin two years earlier. The Litunga's first question was, 'Have you come to see me or to settle?' When they replied that it was to settle, he said, 'Then I must take the advice of my people.' He began to demand insistently that he be given presents, saying, 'If you do not give me all the things I ask for, of what use are you to me?' (24) Fr. Berghegge described the situation in a letter of 26 May, 'Both king and people are very different in their manner towards us from what they were two years ago. We have been cheated and deceived on all sides; all our goods are being stolen, and if this treatment is continued we shall be empty-handed prisoners in Barotse territory.... How and when we shall be able to get away I do not know.' (25) And again he wrote, 'I gave my chalice and ciborium to Mr. Arnot, who, some days after our arrival went back to Pandamatenga, where he has delivered them in good order. I was obliged to do so, because I knew very well that the King would want them to drink his honey-beer. Besides, there was no possibility of saying Holy Mass, watched as we were day and night. Once I said Mass early in the morning; next day the Kafirs came to ask why we had light in our house at night time.' (26)

Lewanika's changed attitude may perhaps be better explained as bewilderment than as deviousness. He was living at a time of great change. His closed society was

being forced open; white settlers were moving up from the south, and they were people with power. It was clear that change was coming, but neither Lewanika nor his advisers could have been sure as to where it was leading them, or whether they could control it. Westbeeche was a man whose position was easily understood: he was a trader exchanging goods for ivory; that was understandable. But the Jesuits were a different matter altogether. They were not interested in trade, war or women. So what were they up to? Their own story, which was that they had left their country and given up marriage and family in order to teach him and his people about God, was something literally unheard of. It must have seemed so incredible that it is not surprising that when the *Kuta (lekhota)*, the King's Council, met to consider the application of the Jesuits, all, without exception, advised the Litunga not to allow them to settle. (27)

The Jesuits were at a loss to account for Lewanika's changed attitude, and began to suspect that George Westbeeche might have had a part in it. Father Booms wrote on 10 August 1884, 'Westbeeche has been opposed to us for four years and it is he himself on his own admission who admitted this fact some months ago at a time when he purported to be our friend.... This is what he said to us on one memorable evening, "I am the cause of all your misfortunes in the Barotse country. I have worked against you for four years. I closed the door against you through which you might have entered that country because of a promise I made to M. Coillard four years ago."' (28)

Westbeeche had actively helped Coillard and Arnot and was highly influential. He wrote,

Do not think I am egotistical, but it's a fact that people coming to the Zambezi will find all their efforts for whatever cause fruitless, if I refuse to help them. But it's not much to be wondered at when I tell you that I have lived among the natives here for fifteen years, and that those who were boys when I arrived are now men, and trust me. I have kept the Jesuits out to assist Coillard.... (29)

Westbeeche's biographer wrote, 'Westbeeche exercised his influence through his being accepted in the role of an Induna of the Barotse, and when in the valley took a full part in council proceedings.' (30) Lewanika's stated reason for rejecting the Jesuits does not sound authentic but rather as if it originated in Westbeeche, 'They are not Englishmen and are not of the same tribe as Livingstone. They are not the men for my country as they have no sense.' (31) Both he and Arnot had been at the court in Lialui at the time the letter was written. It was he who wrote a letter in English to the Jesuits on Lewanika's behalf demanding a long list of goods as a condition of entry into the country. Some of the items listed were those that Lewanika would not likely have thought of, such as a "salted" horse. (32) (A salted horse is one which has already contracted the usual range of equine diseases and is therefore considered to be immune.)

The argument has been put forward (33) that Westbeeche wanted to secure the whole area for British

influence and worked against the Jesuits because they were not British. But this is hardly convincing when we consider that he helped Coillard, a Frenchman, and Holub, a Czech. Besides, one at least of the Jesuits at Pandamatenga was English. The Jesuits had their own explanation of his reasons, 'He is a freemason.' (34) Westbeeche was not a religious man, and had insisted on having a civil ceremony when he married Cornelia Gronum, even though her father was an elder in the Dutch Reformed Church. (35) He certainly was not a champion of Protestantism as against Catholicism. His manner of life was not fanatically Christian as he himself readily admitted. (36) His opposition may have had no more solid basis than the reflex anti-Jesuit prejudice common in some British circles. In view of all this, it is ironic that, late in 1888, he should have died trying to reach the Jesuit mission at Vleeschfontein near Zeerust. According to one version, one of the Jesuits assisted him on his death-bed. (37)

History is bedevilled by the search for villains and it would be easy to see Westbeeche in this light. However, in retrospect, it was probably an error of judgment on the part of the Jesuits not to have left at least some of their number at Lialui when Lewanika first welcomed them in 1881. And they may have been unwise to have gone to Moemba's territory independently of Lewanika as he considered it to be part of his jurisdiction. In addition, their ignorance of the Lozi language put them at a disadvantage.

Berghegge and Simonis returned to Pandamatenga in a state of bitter disappointment. There was no prospect of making a fresh attempt to return to Bulozhi in 1884-5 because the country was in a state of war following the revolt of Tatila Akufuna. Then disease struck again, Fr. Weisskopf dying on 1 July 1883 and Bro. Alfred Allen on 2 February 1885. (38) Another Jesuit became mentally unbalanced and had to return to Europe where he died in a mental hospital in 1915. (39) On 25 November 1885, the mission at Pandamatenga closed, and the missionaries returned to Vleeschfontein in what is now the Republic of South Africa.

It was a sad end to a heroic effort made with great courage and perseverance in the face of crippling blows. It may be, however, that the time was not yet right for their presence to have achieved anything of substance. Maybe Providence was redirecting them to where their work could reap a better harvest at that time. It was to be nearly fifty years before Catholic missionaries would enter Bulozhi again to take up where the Jesuits left off.

François Coillard

François Coillard returned to Bulozhi in 1885 and was received at Lialui by Tatila Akufuna and his Ngambela (*Prime Minister*), Mataa. It is surprising that he did this in view of the fact that Tatila's position was insecure. He had only recently overthrown Lewanika, who had fled to the Mashi people in the west, and Coillard was taking a considerable risk in being seen to be associated with him. In fact, only a year later, Lewanika counter-attacked, drove out Tatila Akufuna and established

himself in office for the next thirty years. Coillard, however, managed to remain on good terms with differing political leaders, and there does not seem to have been any ill-feeling between Lewanika and himself when the former returned to power.

Coillard had brought his wife and a niece with him, as well as African evangelists who knew Sotho, the language so closely akin to Lozi. With his associate, Louis Jalla, they began the work of translating the Bible into the Lozi language, the revision of which continues today on an ecumenical basis. The Lozi Bible has gone through several editions, and it is largely through the pioneering work of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society that the Lozi people today can read it in their own language. This work is one which has met with a ready appreciation by the people, who have grown accustomed to reading the Bible regularly. In addition to this, Coillard and Adolphe Jalla compiled the first grammars and dictionaries between Lozi and English. The effort involved in this work was truly on a heroic scale, especially when we realize that Coillard's native language was French and Jalla's Italian. They set up about thirty schools and clinics in Bulozhi, and began the first real missionary work in the territory with a strong focus on promoting African evangelism. They also contributed substantially to the cultural history of Bulozhi by writings such as A. Jalla's *Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi*, a history of the Lozi people.

Despite Coillard's seeming triumph in gaining an entry into the capital, his position was by no means easy or

enviable. In 1900, he wrote that the Litunga's patronage 'does far less for the Gospel progress than people suppose, while everywhere its hostility creates immense difficulties,' and again, 'What becomes more and more evident is that we must make ourselves independent of the chiefs.' (40) Lewanika's attitude has been described as follows, 'If kept under his control, the missionaries could be exploited for economic, educational and diplomatic benefits, all of which would redound to the profit and glory of the Lozi State.' (41) He had challenged Coillard, 'What are you good for, then? What benefits do you bring us? What have I to do with a bible which brings me neither rifles nor powder, sugar, tea nor coffee, nor artisans to work with me – none of the advantages that I had hoped for?' (42) The problem was more than a simple matter of Lewanika's personality. Coillard believed that the Lozi idea of kingship was the biggest obstacle to the spread of the Gospel: the people could not grasp that the Gospel was for everyone, without regard to social status. (43) At the time of his death in 1904, after forty-six years of missionary service, Coillard was a deeply disappointed man, and had even considered a complete withdrawal from the territory. He had never had many helpers nor strong financial support, his family and those of his colleagues had been decimated by disease, and his Sotho evangelists had broken away to set up their own church. (44) Yet, despite all these disappointments and setbacks, the fact remains that the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society can rightly claim to have begun the sowing of the Gospel seed. Indeed, as one Catholic missionary put it later, 'If

Coillard had been a Catholic, he would have been canonized.’

The Capuchins

In the early part of this century, the Irish Province of the Capuchin Order was in a period of rapid expansion. Vocations were increasing steadily, and the superiors of the Province found it possible to send men abroad to help the Church in countries suffering from a shortage of personnel. So, in the nineteen tens and twenties, numbers of Irish Capuchins went to work in the American states of California and Oregon. This was followed in the late nineteen twenties by the establishment of a mission near Cape Town in South Africa.

The superiors of the Province felt there was still more they could do. Fr. Sylvester Mulligan of the Irish Province was a Definitior General, that is, a member of the general council of the Order, and later to become Archbishop of Delhi. He stated his belief that the Irish Province was capable of putting sixty men into missionary work. (45) The superiors in Ireland were receptive to the idea of a fresh undertaking, even though prudence might have suggested consolidation in the two existing missions rather than beginning a new one. In October 1930, a letter was received from Archbishop Salotti, Secretary of Propaganda (the Church’s mission supervisory body), stating: ‘In accordance with the advice of the Apostolic Delegate of South Africa and the Prefect Apostolic of Broken Hill, Rhodesia, the territory to be assigned to the Irish Capuchins would be all of the western part of the said Prefecture in which there has

been no mission whatever.’ (46) The Apostolic Delegate, the pope’s representative to the bishops of a country, was Archbishop David Mathew, a distant relative of Father Theobald Mathew, the “apostle of temperance” in early eighteenth century Ireland.

The Prefecture of Broken Hill (now Kabwe) extended some 700 km west from Broken Hill to the Angolan border. There was then no Catholic mission in its western part. Conventual Franciscans from Italy had been offered the area, but had been unable to take it as their resources of personnel and finance were already over-strained. Monsignor Bruno Wolnik S.J., since becoming Prefect Apostolic in 1927, had been asking for help as the area was far too large and unmanageable for the resources of the prefecture itself. Following receipt of the letter from Propaganda, two Irish Capuchins, Fathers Alban and Casimir, went to Broken Hill from South Africa in March 1931 to discuss the matter with Msgr. Wolnik, and preparations began to be made for setting up a new mission.

Chapter 2: THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE IN A CHANGING WORLD

The Land

The area committed to the care of the Irish Capuchins was about 202,000 sq. km. in area, covering all of the present Western Province, the Zambezi district of the North-Western Province and the Livingstone district of the Southern Province. This vast area of savannah and forest, drained by the Zambezi River, had then a population of perhaps 250,000 people. In it were more than twenty tribes, each with its own language and customs, though Lozi was and is the *lingua franca* in most of it. The only town of any significance was Livingstone, near the Victoria Falls, known to Africans as *Musi-oa-Tunya*, the *Smoke that Thunders* (or *that Rises Up*). But Livingstone was on the edge of the territory assigned to the Capuchins. The natural focus of the new mission was in the west.

The vast majority of the people were engaged in subsistence agriculture, with cassava, millet, sorghum, and, to a lesser extent, maize, their principal crops. These are generally grown in clearings in the forest. Some supplemented their diet by hunting, or by gathering fruits and berries in the forest, while those near the Zambezi (or the Lyambai as it is known in Lozi) had a wide variety of fish to choose from. On the Barotse Plain large herds of cattle were a kind of living bank by which wealth could be measured. Cattle were an important

source of wealth but one which was not realized in cash terms. The cash economy was limited to those few things which people could not provide for themselves such as sugar, salt and soap. Although the people could not be called wealthy, there wasn't usually a great deal of hunger.

The soil in Bulozhi is generally poor. For the most part, it is sandy and deficient in nitrogen. Only on the Barotse Plain can it be considered good. September is the month of new growth, when the countryside, burned dry by four or five months without rain, and blackened by forest and grass fires, comes to life in an astonishing display of the resilience of nature. October is the hottest month of the year with the temperature in the high thirties, Celsius. These are the months of planting. The rains begin to fall in November and grow in intensity, reaching their peak in February. They finish in early April and then the weather begins to cool. In June and July there may occasionally be frost at night, although in the early afternoon the temperatures may reach to the low twenties, Celsius.

Towards the end of the rainy season, the Zambezi bursts its banks and pours across the Barotse Plain, surrounding the royal capital at Lialui. The Litunga boards his barge, the *Nalikwanda*, in a ceremony called the *Kuomboka* (meaning *to come out of the water*) and is paddled by some seventy ndunas to his winter palace at Limulunga where he is greeted by twenty or thirty thousand cheering and ululating supporters. This annual ceremony is awaited eagerly, and the sense of

expectation is heightened by the date of the ceremony being kept secret until a few days beforehand. (It often coincides with Good Friday.)

The usual type of house is the *situngu*, a circular hut about three metres in diameter. It is made of reeds bound together around a frame of light poles, and with a grass roof. Such housing does not last for more than a few years, but is easily replaced. Other houses have pole and dagga (wattle and clay) or sun-dried “Kimberley” brick walls, with a grass or zinc roof. As people spend by far the greater part of their lives out of doors, houses are mainly for sleeping. Cooking and other work is done in the open. A typical village has perhaps ten or twenty of these houses grouped together and consists of an extended family. The villages themselves are usually situated along the banks of streams for convenience of water supply. By following the course of a stream it is possible to meet several hundred people within a few kilometres. The large areas of forest between the streams cannot support any population directly, but, of course, in the past, they were a useful source of game and fruit. This is true today also, though to a lesser extent.

The People

Men’s work consisted of hunting, though this is now on a much smaller scale than before, and fishing either by trap, spear, net or line. Men also herd cattle, build houses, and do some of the work of collecting firewood and gardening. Women, in addition to the care of children and looking after the village, do a great deal of

the gardening, as well as gathering firewood, collecting materials for building, cooking the food and drawing water. Families are large, with perhaps ten children, of whom maybe a little more than half survive to adulthood. Polygamy is normal and marriage highly unstable.

One factor among many which contributed to this was the imposition of a poll tax, to be paid in cash, during the colonial period. This forced a people who did not have a cash economy to look for paid work in order to meet the tax demand, and rates of pay were geared to the tax assessment. From Bulozhi, men went to South Africa to work in the mines and find the tax-money. By itself, this probably was not the cause of marital instability but it probably did accelerate and intensify it. One author has this comment, 'Taxation became the main reason behind a new wave of migration that transformed the Central African countryside and destroyed a traditional way of life.' (2)

The Lozi are a people with a long and complex political tradition of their own. In each village there is a headman, or *mung'a munzi*, while a large group of villages is presided over by an *nduna silalo*, a commoner appointed by the *Litunga*. The *silalo* is a unit of land rather than of people. Senior to the *silalo ndunas* are the chiefs, while, in Lialui, resides the *Litunga*, sometimes – though not by the Lozi – called the Paramount Chief. He is a member of the royal family, while his *Ngambela*, or Prime Minister, must be a commoner. The system is based on consultation at all levels, and it is difficult for

any of the leaders mentioned to become a dictator. For example, when Lewanika was Litunga, his ndunas told him they would depose him if he became a Christian, and there is every likelihood that they could and would have done so. (4)

This system still operates today, parallel to the jurisdiction of the Government, though it does not have the same power as in the past. The chiefs do not have power but they have loyalty and influence.

Slavery existed until recent times. It was formally abolished by Lewanika in 1906. He decreed that no fresh slaves could be acquired, and that those already in slavery could obtain their freedom by a payment of £2. This fee was abolished in 1920 by his successor, Litunga Yeta III. (5)

Any attempt to describe the religion of a people necessarily goes beyond simple statements of fact, and into the realm of generalization and judgment. To judge is not to condemn, any more than to understand is to excuse. This area is one where there are many pitfalls, not least that of subjectivity. Following the advice of Laurens van der Post, a life-long student of Africa, that ‘Those who look before they leap never leap’ (6), an attempt will be made, hoping the reader will appreciate that what is being said varies in application according to places and times, attitudes, values, and many other personal factors.

Do the Lozi have a religion of their own? That depends on what you mean by religion.

If we are prepared to understand religion in terms of a man's total reaction to the totality of life, we may regard the primitive people as among the most religious people on earth. If, on the other hand, we look for certain signs or ideas of higher religion, we may deny to them almost any religion at all. (7)

It is probably true to say that the Barotse do have a religion in the first of these sentences, and did have it in the second. There is a widespread assumption that the religion of pre-literates is little more than superstition which they "grow out of" with schooling and contact with the modern world. But this view is challenged by those who have studied the matter more than superficially: 'The idea that primitive man is by nature religious is nonsense. The truth is that all the varieties of scepticism, materialism, and spiritual fervour are to be found in the range of tribal societies.' (8) That is a valid comment which applies to the Lozi people no less than to others.

Frederick Arnot described a conversation he had with Lewanika. Arnot had said that a man would not have in heaven the same status he had had on earth. King Lewanika's reaction was to forbid him to teach such a doctrine to his people. When Arnot spoke of obedience to the law of God, Lewanika, in a phrase reminiscent of Felix to Paul (Acts 24.25), said, 'We will speak of that another time.' (9)

In pre-Christian times the Lozi believed in one supreme God whom they called Nyambe. They applied to him a variety of titles such as Lord of Life, Creator of the World, the One who supervises All, Lord of Land and Cattle, the All-Powerful One, the Giver of Gifts, the One who takes away, the Shepherd of Life and People, and He who spreads his wings over All. (10) God, however, seems to have been regarded as remote, far removed from man; a personal relationship with him was inconceivable; and his relationship to man and the world was not one of love but of power and cleverness.

Morality was separate from belief in God. But there was a morality. Indeed, the Ten Commandments, except for keeping holy the Sabbath Day, were recognised, at least implicitly. In traditional Lozi religion, there was prayer and sacrifice. The first kill in the hunt was offered to God; people prayed for rain; they prayed before the sun as a symbol of God; they offered gifts such as milk, eggs, seeds and mealie meal; they prayed to the departed spirits of their ancestors as intermediaries with God; after a good harvest they prayed with feasting and dancing in thanksgiving. (11)

Few, if any, external signs of this traditional religion are in evidence today, though, of course, the deeper spiritual imprint remains.

Traditional religion enables man to have a sense of unity with the world around him, and a sense of his own place in it. The whole of reality, as he sees it, is

teeming with life. He himself is part of it, but he has only imperfectly distinguished himself from it. It gives him a sense of corporate responsibility; it is the community which matters, not the individual. We must recognize that primitive man has not separated out things neatly into spheres as we have done. The distinction between religious and secular is to him meaningless. The whole of life is made up of one single web, one single pattern. (12)

One of the dangers in the Western practice of religion is its specialization. It easily appears to be a specialized part of life, run by specialists, in a special building, and at special times. It has not always been so. 'No other religion but Christianity and no other age but this has measured religious performance by the regularity of attendance at weekly services.'(13)

It has been said that, for the pre-literate man, 'Myth is his philosophy and magic is his science.' At the present time, the old myths have been shattered, while the new are largely political. A process of re-mythologizing is under way. For example, in reference to the present century the myth is that African history is the story of the struggle between black and white, whereas the reality is probable more accurately expressed by calling it a struggle between the old and the new Africa. (14)

Magic is sometimes regarded as religious. But 'in religious contexts it can even be a perversion of religious worship. It is the manipulation of symbolism as a technique for controlling one's environment.'(15)

Magic, superstition and witchcraft, far from dying out under the impact of modern ideas, as is sometimes assumed, is widely held to be on the increase. The (admittedly limited) available evidence is that witchcraft is increasing, perhaps as a way of attempting to cope with the large-scale social changes which Africa has seen in the last quarter century. In times of stress, people fall back on the tried and trusted. Witchcraft 'is tenacious because it is vague and not a cult, but a convenient explanation of the ills of life.' (16)

Witch-hunting is often a greater evil than witch-craft itself. Arnot gives vivid descriptions of the slaughter of innocent people in with-hunts.

The burning of men for witchcraft is carried on to a fearful extent; not a day passes but someone is tried and burnt. The details of scenes I have been forced to witness in this line are too horrible to put on paper; many a guiltless victim is marched off to a horrid pile. A few hundred yards from my hut there lies a perfect Golgotha of skulls and human bones, fearful to look upon. (17)

These practices are largely gone. In law, it is now not a crime to be a witch, but it is a crime to accuse someone of being one.

Religion is at the basis of culture and it is not difficult to find examples of this in Zambia. In writing of the Bantu peoples, of whom the Lozi are one, an author who claims to be a Zulu witch-doctor, states,

Their creed is, and always has been, as rigidly inflexible as the shaft of a lance; it demands blind, unquestioning obedience, and its influence extends to all fields of human action. It is also a religion which resists change of any sort, especially to itself. One of the chief tenets of this faith is that any man or woman who tried to invent something new is assuming powers that only God can possess. Such inventions must be destroyed no matter how useful they might be to the community, as they breed irreverence for the holy creations of God, and encourage spiritual pride in their inventors and users. (18)

If the author is correct in his view that, for the Bantu people, creativity is an offence against God, it is not difficult to see that this would have a highly inhibiting effect on the development of ideas or technology.

A similar attitude is expressed towards nature. 'It is only in fields where nature is not changed, but is understood, used, and adapted without being itself improved on, that the Bantu is shown to be well advanced, more advanced, in some cases, than the white man.' (19) Man is essentially passive before nature, 'his spirit bows down before it, is over-burdened and exhausted by it.' (20)

Related to this is a view of causality which differs from that of the European, who constantly looks for a cause-and-effect interpretation of reality. 'Our ideas of

cause and effect in the literate West have long been in the form of things in sequence and succession, an idea that strikes any tribal or auditory culture as quite ridiculous.’ (21) In looking for a cause to explain phenomena as diverse as a crop failure, a plague of locusts, a whirlwind, the death of children, failure in business, an examination or an attempt at promotion, many Africans will ask ‘Who caused it?’ rather than ‘What caused it?’ and will look for an enemy, perhaps a hidden one, who has bewitched them. Jealousy will be suspected as the motive, and divination used to seek the source.

Another important cultural factor is a view of time based on acceptance of the dominance of nature. Nature has its annual cycles which repeat themselves unflinchingly. A view of time based on it lends itself to the idea that nothing really changes, things are as they were, and they will be the same again. This cyclical, or circular, view of time is described by Credo Mutwa: ‘Time,’ he says, ‘is like a river flowing into its own source.’ (22) This is essentially the same as the Hindu view which represents time pictorially as a snake swallowing its tail. This suggests completeness and unity, but also unending repetition, closed and inward-looking, allowing for no innovation or break from the past. The Church finds room for the truth in this view by the cyclical pattern of its liturgy. It complements it by a linear view of time with its doctrine of creation leading gradually to an ultimate goal at the end of time, suggesting progress, direction and purpose. Perhaps the best pictorial representation of this is the Celtic cross

with the circle representing completeness and a centripetal character, while the four arms represent an openness, an outward-looking character which is centrifugal. If 'art is the signature of man,' it is significant that Bantu art is fundamentally based on the circle.' (24)

This has practical significance. The average person has a view of time even if he never articulates it. He may feel, like Saint Augustine, 'I know well enough what it [time] is, provided that nobody asks me; but if I'm asked what it is and try to explain, I'm baffled.' (25) The cyclical view easily leads a person to what is almost a fixation with the present; he is absorbed in it. If the present is joyful, he is happy; if it is sad, he becomes depressed. He lives the Now to the full, but is slow to reflect on the past and learn from experience, while to plan and prepare for the future rarely occurs to him. 'I do not ask to see the distant scene; one step enough for me.' (26)

In view of this outlook on creativity, nature, causality and time, it is not surprising that the answer given to many questions intended to stimulate a person to challenge his environment is, 'Ki mo ku inezi,' (That's the way things are; 'That's life.') This is often said with a fatalistic passivity, a deeply ingrained assumption that there's no point in trying to change anything because you won't succeed, so you might just as well not try. Fear has a large part to play in this: fear of witchcraft, of evil spirits, of the jealousy of others, of death, and of all the nameless dangers of a world imperfectly understood.

There is fear even of success because of the new demands and expectations that it will create. Fear immobilizes and paralyzes. It stifles initiative and self-confidence. The budding seed of hope is frozen before it can germinate.

A changing World

In personal relations, it is the group, the family, village or tribe which counts, not the individual. But this view is being challenged. The Christian faith, with its strong emphasis on the individual, does so. With growth in faith the person emerges 'from the limbo of half-personality into the reality of personal existence.... He feels the irresistible price that he will have to pay if he accepts it.'(28) What attracts him in the new, for example, in the world of technology, is its power. But the price is that the individual must often stand alone without the shelter of the group. In a tribal society, independence is not a virtue; it is a refusal to recognize dependence on one's fellows; it implies a rejection of them. The break with the past runs deep and is probably at the root of many undiagnosed feelings of unsettlement which is found among the urbanized. The individual emerges from the group, but may find that it is hard to stand alone, a lonely place to be.

The significance of this has been expressed by the African nationalist, Ndabaningi Sithole,

One of the unique teachings of the Bible, especially the New Testament, is the worth and dignity of the

individual in the sight of God. There is a relation between this teaching and the present African nationalism. According to African tradition, at least in some parts of Africa, if not in the whole of Africa, the individual counted in so far as he was part and parcel of the group, outside of which he lost his real worth. In actual practice this meant that no individual could follow his natural bent beyond the group. The individual, to all practical intent, was dominated by fear of the group; let alone the fear that comes from ignorance, superstitious beliefs, and belief in the existence of evil spirits. The individual socially, spiritually, and mentally moved in shackles, and this was certainly not conducive to progress. Individual initiative was crippled. But now the African individual is being delivered from these fetters. The individual is being invested with a new status, and so today we find individuals venturing beyond the confines of the group, and in many cases the group now looks upon this individual as its real saviour. The Bible is redeeming the African individual from the power of superstition, individuality-crushing tradition, witchcraft, and other forces that do not make for progress. The same Bible is helping the African individual to reassert himself above colonial powers! It is inconceivable to a logical mind that the Bible could deliver the African from traditional domination without at the same time delivering him from colonial domination. If the Bible teaches that the individual is unique, of infinite worth before God, colonialism, in many respects, says just the opposite; so that, in actual practice, Biblical teachings are at variance with

colonialism, and it becomes only a matter of time before one ousts the other. The Bible-liberated African is now reasserting himself not only from tribal but also from colonial authority, since the two are fundamentally the same. (29)

It must also be recognized that economic factors, such as the development of the copper mines in Zambia, have had a powerful influence. They have accelerated the reduction in the significance of the tribe by drawing workers from all over the country. But the change from security in the group to security in the bank balance is not always for the better. (30)

With the change of emphasis from the group to the individual has come the change to specialization. In the past, almost any man could do whatever work was necessary. He could hunt, fish, dig, and build a house. Now that has changed. The specialists have come, those who know more and more about less and less, as they have been called. This has brought greater efficiency, speed, and competitiveness. But it has probably also brought about the loss of an overall sense of vision. ‘Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge, where is the knowledge we have lost in information?’ asked the poet. (31) With literacy, knowledge becomes precise. With mathematics comes measurement. With modern government comes classifying, systematising, ordering and the risk of reducing the person to a thing. Life has become compartmentalized. An illustration of this may be found in architecture: the traditional *situngu* is a multi-purpose building; the modern house has separate

rooms for separate functions. The workers on a barge who sing and laugh as they paddle for hours, dripping with sweat in the boiling heat, as they labour against the current to ferry a Landrover across the Zambezi in flood – for them, is it work or is it recreation? That's a European's question. The Africans make it both: work it certainly is, but they make it recreation, too, like the man sitting by the fire chatting with his friends while he makes heads for fish-spears. He is combining work and relaxation which a European regards as two distinct realities. The other side of the same coin is the civil servant who also combines work and recreation by treating his job as a paid holiday.

With the mass media come the word-merchants pouring out slogans, clichés and claptrap, devaluing language and calling into question the validity of the thought-process itself. A moderate is someone who agrees with you, an extremist is one who doesn't. A freedom fighter is a guerrilla you like; a terrorist is one you don't. Small wonder indeed that people are confused.

The stifling lethargy that one often finds in a village, the sheer dead weight of inertia, the sense that time has come to a halt and people are spiritually too numb to care whether it moves or not is only partially true. At night that same village will come to life. When the drums are brought out and warmed up, when the first few beers or mouthfuls of *kachepembe* (32) have been swallowed, the world is renewed.

The African belongs to the night. He is a child of darkness, he has a certain wisdom, he knows the secrets of the dark. He goes to the night as if to a friend, enters the darkness as if it were his home, as if the black curve of the night were the dome of his hut. How the ghosts of the European mind are warmed with memories of the African's response to the night! He does not really care for the day. He finds his way through it with reluctant, perfunctory feet. But when the sun is down, a profound change comes over him, he lights his fire, he is at once happy and almost content, sings and drums until far into the morning.'

(33)

An African does not think in the same way as a European; even his laughter and humour are different. His understanding of a European's psychology is better by far than a European's understanding of his. His thinking is more by intuition than by reason, by synthesis than by analysis. 'Indeed how little our conscious knowing pushes back the frontiers of our unknowing.'

(34)

When morning comes he is back to the harsh world of reality, to the vicious circle of undernourishment, disease and poverty. The weight of present problems can be so great as to crush any thought for the future. If you have had eight children and four of them have died it's difficult to feel positive about life or enthusiastic about some newcomer's bright ideas.

What are the people like? David Livingstone wrote of the Makololo,

I have found it difficult to come to a conclusion as to their character. They sometimes perform actions remarkable [*sic*] good, and sometimes as strangely the opposite. I have been unable to ascertain the motive for the good, or account for the callousness of conscience with which they perpetrate the bad. After long observation, I came to the conclusion that they are just such as a strange mixture of good and evil as men are everywhere else.... By a selection of cases of either kind, it would not be difficult to make these people appear excessively good or uncommonly bad. (35)

What are the people like? The question, usually asked in all innocence, is like an invitation to a dance in a minefield. A former Litunga is quoted as saying of the people, 'They are crocodiles' (36), which probably meant that they were mean. Another comment is even less flattering, stating that the Lozi are 'smooth and amiable on the surface with no solid basis, a bottomless quagmire into which lives and efforts have been freely poured, for long, as it seems, in vain.' (37) Yet another writer, referring to the Lozi, states, 'Promises come easy [*sic*] to the African' (38), while a Lozi teacher remarked, 'These people say Yes when they mean No.' (39) Many have pointed to the impossibility of getting a straight answer to a straight question. (40) A question will usually evoke by way of reply whatever it is thought the questioner wants to hear.

The virtues which call for strong individuality, for self-possession, such as initiative, courage, self-confidence, truthfulness, honesty and justice are, in this author's opinion, not strong among the Lozi people. Those which are strong are the passive ones, such as patience, tolerance, courtesy, hospitality and forgiveness, for which latter virtue there is assuredly plenty of scope. These virtues the Lozi have in generous measure. But authority is often seen and used as the power to dominate, not to serve. And excuses come more easily than remedies.

What would be helpful in this process of trying to understand each other would be to hear how African people have seen missionaries. That is something difficult to ascertain, and direct questions will not elicit answers. Martin Kayamba was an early writer in this field with his 1948 work, *An African in Europe*. Something of this sort has been written by a Zulu, Credo Vusa'Mazulu Mutwa, in his book, *My People*. S.E.M. Pheko's *Christianity through African Eyes* is less helpful. Chinua Achebe, in *Things Fall Apart*, has some useful ideas. Best of all, perhaps, is Dominic Mulaisho's, *The Tongue of the Dumb*, which has remarkably perceptive insights.

Trying to assess how other people see you is a difficult business, but worth the attempt all the same. On the positive side, people probably appreciate what missionaries have done in schools; they respect their spirit of work, and the help they give in day-to-day problems such as taking the ill to hospital. They admire

the initiative, drive and energy that are shown. They may be envious of what probably seems the great power which a missionary has, his money, technical skill, courage and ingenuity in overcoming problems. There is recognition of the dedication that missionaries have shown. These qualities give them a certain *mana*.

On the other hand, people would probably fault missionaries for an imperfect knowledge and appreciation of their language and customs, such as, for example, a failure to appreciate the importance of greetings. Impatience, brusqueness, even bad temper, and, at times, racism, would almost certainly feature on the debit side. It must seem at times that the missionary sees the project as more important than the person, the function more important than the relationship.

Africa has probably seen more change in the last generations than Europe has seen in the last two centuries. Change is difficult, and it is hardly to be surprised at if people are sometimes confused, or angry, or regressive in the face of it all. Indeed, what is more surprising is how rapidly a formerly static culture has been able to adjust. The old culture is fading fast, at least in its visible expression, and the new has not yet emerged to take its place. When it does come it will probably contain elements of Christianity, of Western twentieth-century secularism, and of socialism in some form. What is virtually certain is that it will be clearly and recognisably African. Africa has already shown its capacity to adopt and adapt ideas and social structures and assimilate them to its purpose. It has the capacity to

be the continent of hope for the future, despite its present turmoil, and maybe even because of it.

Chapter 3: A BEGINNING IS MADE

Mongu

Speaking in Kampala, Uganda, in 1969, Pope Paul VI said to African Catholics, ‘You are now missionaries to yourselves.’(1) In saying so, he was recognizing that a Church can be regarded as having matured in the faith only when it begins to share that faith with those who do not yet have it.

About forty years before Pope Paul spoke those words, a group of Bemba Catholic policemen and soldiers stationed in Mongu, the capital of what was then the Barotseland Protectorate, used to gather together for prayer each Sunday. They were joined by their Ngoni colleagues in the police and by a few Catholics in the European administration. They had no priest, but they had strong faith, implanted by the White Fathers fifty years earlier in the present Northern and Luapula Provinces from which they came. And they had built themselves a small church. They asked for a priest to be sent to them, but none was available. There was no road between Lusaka and Mongu. The only access was by barge from Livingstone, and this involved a journey of three weeks. Msgr. Wolnik in Broken Hill could not spare a priest for that length of time as, even if a priest were to spend only a week in Mongu, the round trip would take him away from his own work for close on two months. However, the group considered another possibility. If a small plane could be chartered, a priest could be flown on a visit, as a plane could land without

difficulty on the flat ground near the town. They began to collect money for this purpose, and continued for two years. Finally, when sufficient funds had been raised, a visit was arranged.

One of the leaders of the group who was active in trying to arrange a visit by a priest was Mr. J. J. Consterdine, one of the five teachers in the Barotse National School. He had been born into the Church of England and had gone to Australia as a missionary. While there, he became a Catholic, and returned to England to study for the priesthood in a religious order. However, the superiors felt that he did not have a vocation to the priesthood, so he was asked to leave. He then joined the Third Order of Saint Francis (the Secular Franciscan Order). Some time later he met a Miss Holland, an Anglican, whose brother was the principal of the Barotse National School. They married and he was given a teaching position in the school.

On 8 September 1930 (2), Father Siemienski, a Polish count, arrived in Mongu by plane. (Some have seen him as one of the leading figures in Dominic Mulaisho's *The Tongue of the Dumb*.) He was one of the Jesuits from his homeland who were staffing a large part of the country. On arrival he was welcomed warmly by the Catholic community which had been without Mass or the sacraments since their coming to Mongu. He received Mrs. Consterdine into the Church. The atmosphere at the Masses he celebrated was very different from that experienced by his confrères in the eighteen eighties. When Fr. Depelchin had celebrated in 1881, there was

no congregation which could take part except his fellow Jesuits. To the African people it could have meant nothing. In 1883, the situation was worse, so that Fr. Berghegge had to celebrate it indoors in the early hours of the morning in an atmosphere of secrecy and tension. Now the Mass was being celebrated openly and joyfully before a congregation which believed in it, and which had been eagerly waiting for it. It must have seemed like a sign of hope for the future.

It would be surprising if they had not prayed for priests to be sent to them permanently as that was what they had been hoping for all along. Fr. Siemienski promised to do all that he could to help them; it was not an idle promise. Some time later he wrote an article describing his journey and the reception he received. It received wide publicity. Doubtless, he knew that Msgr. Wolnik had been trying for some time to find priests for the western part of his prefecture. What he could not have known was that, only a month later, Propaganda would have sent a letter to the Irish Capuchins through Archbishop Salotti, asking them to take responsibility of the area. (3)

The Litunga, Yeta III, who had succeeded Lewanika in 1916, and the Protestant missionaries, knew nothing of this visit. A few weeks later, the Provincial Commissioner (a senior official of the British colonial administration), Mr. C. R. Rennie, called on the Litunga at Lialui, suggesting that it would be good to invite Catholic missionaries into his country. The Litunga was not keen to have “the Romans,” but in November he gave permission. The text of his letter is as follows: -

Paramount Chief's Office
Lialui, Barotseland

To the Provincial Commissioner
Mongu

My friend,

In reference to our conversation about the application made to you by one of the Roman Catholic missionaries to establish their mission in this territory, I am glad only that the mission should be introduced in this country, as there is no harm at having different churches in the country. This will help each individual native to choose which religion or doctrine he wishes to go by. He should only now state where he wishes to put up his station.

With greetings, I am,
Yeta, Paramount Chief.

Finally, in January 1931, came the official letter from the government, stating,

As the Paramount Chief agrees, I am to say that the Government approves of the proposal.

C. R. Rennie, Prov. Comm.,
Mongu

Fifty years after the arrival of the Jesuits, the way was finally opened for others to follow in their footsteps.

Livingstone

We must return at this point in the story to the visit by Frs. Alban and Casimir to Msgr. Wolnik at Broken Hill in March 1931. Fr. Alban had been working in the South African mission since his arrival there in 1929, while Fr. Casimir had spent many years in the mission in California and Oregon. They had been given the task of making arrangements for the transfer of the western part of the Broken Hill prefecture to the Capuchins as a follow-up to Archbishop Salotti's letter. They were assigned Barotseland and Livingstone district. At that time, Barotseland included the present Zambezi district of the North-Western Province as well as the Western Province. Matters were concluded satisfactorily on this visit, so that Fr. Alban was able to return to his parish in Cape Town, while Fr. Casimir went to Livingstone to get matters under way.

On arrival in Livingstone, Fr. Casimir found that the government had allocated land in the town for a Catholic church and priest's house, but, as the offer had not been taken up for many years, it was about to withdraw it. Fr. Casimir moved quickly, renewing the lease, and hiring a contractor for the building of a house.

Frs. Seraphin, Phelim and Killian arrived in Cape Town by ship on 28 September 1931. (5) Shortly afterwards. Frs. Killian and Declan, who had been in South Africa since 1929, with Mr. McFadden, the father of Fr. Declan, went to Livingstone, arriving there on 11 October. (6) On arrival, they found the shell of the house finished but it was not yet furnished. As soon as it

became habitable, it was used as a friary, and also for the celebration of Mass for the few Catholics in the town. Livingstone was the capital of Northern Rhodesia in 1931, and, among the police, soldiers and civil servants, were some Catholics.

The friars who had arrived found themselves in a situation which was completely new to them. Language, customs, climate, food, the local setting – all these were new, and they had to find their way by themselves as best they could. They had arrived in the hottest month of the year, with the temperature routinely around forty degrees Celsius and with high humidity. Fr. Casimir, the superior of the mission, was a man of experience as he had been the driving force behind the setting up of the South African mission in 1929. He exercised this same leadership in Livingstone despite the fact that he was not in good health, having had a serious operation in the United States only a few years before. He realized that some kind of training was necessary for missionary work, if it could be had. Arrangements were made with the Jesuits, and, in February 1932, Fr. Seraphin went to Broken Hill and later to Mpima, and Fr. Phelim to Kasisi to learn from the experience of men who had been in the field for many years. Learning the language had to remain till later, as the languages used in Broken Hill and Kasisi were different from those in the west.

Meanwhile, Frs. Casimir and Killian worked among the Catholics in Livingstone. As in Mongu, the Catholics in the police and the army used to gather in a hall each Sunday for prayers. In a short time, Fr. Killian opened

the first school in the police camp (7), and Fr. Casimir was working on plans for a church in town. These were ready in May 1932, and work began in September. (8) Trying to spread the faith to others was scarcely possible as yet since not less than four languages were in use among the African population in Livingstone: Tonga, Nyanja, Lozi and Bemba.

The main purpose of the mission was to work in the west where its natural focus lay, and this was not being forgotten. Fr. Declan was preparing for a journey into Barotseland to find sites for future missions. Up until this, matters had proceeded smoothly, in marked contrast to the hardship and disappointment experience by the Jesuits fifty years previously. Now the friars began to have something of the same experience, though on a lesser scale.

Fr. Declan's Journeys

Fr. Declan set out on his first journey to Barotseland in December 1931. (9) His intention was to explore the country for suitable sites for missions. Unfortunately, he had chosen a bad time of year. The rainy season had begun, and would continue until early April. He was not able to go far and had to turn back. He began to learn the language while waiting for the weather to improve. Meanwhile, Fr. Casimir had been to see the Secretary of Native Affairs and there he had a disappointment. The Catholic press had published a story that the Litunga had asked for a Catholic mission to be established in his territory. This was not true; his attitude was not as

positive as that. He had said simply that he did not have any objection. That was not all that might have been hoped for, but it did at least give room for a beginning to be made.

Fr. Declan set off again in February 1932 to explore Sesheke district. He found what he considered a suitable site at the Lingulyangulya Plain near the Machile River. He spent six weeks on this journey and covered about 400 km on foot. He returned to Livingstone in bad health, suffering from malaria and in need of hospitalization.

But, no sooner had he recovered than he set off, in April, for a third time, intending to see the Litunga at Lialui, and hopefully gain his agreement to the use of the site at Lingulyangulya. He could have gone to Mongu by barge or canoe, but he chose to go on foot. It would be quicker and would have the advantage of enabling him to see the country and to meet the people on his way. The journey from Livingstone to Mongu took him nine and a half days, which must have been a record, as the present road journey through Sichili is about 700 km. On arrival in Mongu, he found to his great disappointment that the Litunga was away on a hunting trip near the Angolan border. He went to see the Provincial Commissioner about the site, but was told that it had already been allocated to a Protestant mission. His money was spent, so he had no choice but to return empty-handed to Livingstone. He made the return journey by canoe.

Undaunted, Fr. Declan set out again in June 1932, accompanied by Fr. Killian, to search for a suitable site which had not previously been claimed. They went out from Livingstone on the Mulobezi sawmills train, which left them at a point near the Machile River. Villages were few and scattered, while the friars' preference was for more concentrated population groups. After some time, they came to Lingulyangulya where Fr. Declan had previously hoped to get a site. A little later they came to a place which looked promising. It was Kanyimba, with fourteen villages within a radius of 3 km. But they learned that a Protestant missionary, the Rev. Mr. Reece, had already claimed this area. Like Lingulyangulya, it had been claimed but nothing had been done with it, then or later. It was nonetheless closed to them. They continued on to Sikole, close to what is now Sichili mission, and there they found a Paris Mission school. (The name *Sikole* comes from *school*.) They had to keep moving; Sikole was also closed to them. They went on to the Njoko River, but turned back as they felt that it was too far away from the railway terminus, and supply would be a big problem. So they began to search along the Loanja River, and again a promising site was found at Mukwe, but with the same final result as before. The Parish Mission had had a school there three years earlier. It was now closed, and the teachers had left, but still that was considered a sufficient reason for their being refused access. Finally, they came to a small, confined rise of ground between the Loanja River and a tributary, the Kanyenza. There they settled as it was the only place left open to them. This was the way in which Loanja became the first Catholic mission in Barotseland.

Spheres of Influence

Anyone visiting Loanja today would surely ask what it was that possessed sane men to build a mission in such a spot. Even today there is nothing there. The nearest village, which has perhaps thirty inhabitants, is about five km. away. In the wet season, the place teems with mosquitoes, situated as it is between two rivers. The answer to the question has already been given: it was the only place left open to them. It was Loanja or nothing.

An enquirer might ask whether this was because all other areas already had missionaries and were well provided with schools. This was far from being the case. He might ask who it was that gave or withheld permission for the establishment of a mission. And that brings us to the policy of spheres of influence.

The colonial administration and the chiefs were in substantial agreement regarding the position of missionaries. They were not interested in them *as missionaries*, but as teachers. The spread of the Gospel, which was the reason why missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, had come to the country, was at best a minor consideration in their calculations. They wanted schools and teachers, and the missions could provide them. From their point of view it made sense that there should be no overlap in the distribution of these potential teachers. Clearly, there was no point in having several in one place while others had none. The Paris Mission set up their missions in the *milenengi*, the headquarters of the chiefs, at Lialui, Limulunga, Libonda, Mwandu, Naliele, Nalolo and Namayula. These were the centres of

population, all, with the exception of Naliele, situated in the Zambezi River valley. So it was decided that, when Catholic missionaries arrived, they should be sent to the interior which had no schools, to those large areas of scattered population, where not even the most rudimentary development had taken place.

There was another factor as well, and this was the hostility which prevailed at the time between the Protestant and Catholic churches. This was widespread throughout the world, and the missionaries brought it with them. They would not cooperate with one another; indeed, they often made a policy of opposition to each other a matter of principle. The attitude was mutual, and none can claim innocence. This accounts for the refusal of Protestant missions to surrender their claims even in those territories where they had not done anything, nor had a chance of doing anything because of a lack of resources. The colonial authorities allocated “spheres of influence” to the different missions beyond which they were not allowed to move. Loanja, precisely because of its remoteness and lack of population, was therefore made available to the Catholics. Even there, however, they were limited to working within a radius of 6 km (10) because the area was visited occasionally by missionaries from the Paris Mission at Mwandi. This policy was followed in the Luapula and Northern Provinces also.

The “spheres of influence” policy, with its implication that geography rather than truth was to be the criterion of faith, was never accepted in principle by the Catholic

Church. In this case, where it was initially accepted, however unwillingly, in practice, because of the lack of an alternative, the missionaries did not accept the principle. As we shall see, they soon worked their way out of the practice also. The pretentiousness of the “spheres of influence” policy, as if it was the Big Three at Yalta dividing up the world between them, could not last, though its end was not yet immediately in sight.

Loanja

On 10 August 1932, a bitterly cold morning in Livingstone, the sawmills train pulled out of the station on its way to Machile, 150 km. away. On board were Frs. Seraphin, who was the superior, Declan and Phelim, and Brother Philip Bowles, a Franciscan tertiary (member of the Secular Franciscan Order) from near Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). He had been a farmer and had given up his farm to help the Church’s missionary work; he later joined a religious order in England.

‘The next five days would surely remain a vivid memory in the minds of those who endured them. The cold of that morning soon gave way to the blistering midday heat. There was always something new as the wonders of the bush unfolded themselves. When the railway track came to an end, more than forty carriers were needed to accompany the expedition. It was no easy matter to get this army underway. Pitching camp, cooking meals in the open air, listening to all the sounds and tones of

a new language – for the next five days there was never a dull moment. At last the journey ended at the beautiful hill which was to be our home for the next few years.’ (11)

They reached Loanja on 15 August, the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady.

The new mission was named after Saint Fidelis of Sigmaringen, the first Capuchin martyr. It is a little surprising that it was not named Our Lady of the Angels in accordance with the Franciscan custom of naming the first foundation in any country after the church in Assisi where the Franciscan Order began.

The site of the new mission was on a ridge rising about twenty metres above the confluence of the Loanja and the Kanyenza. In August, the grass, where it survives, is a dark brown, burned dry after months without rain. Large areas have virtually no growth at all, as a result of the annual burning of the grass by the people as a form of fertilization. There was plenty of game, especially antelope and duiker, in the large forested area which surrounded the clearing in the valley.

However, the new arrivals had little time for hunting or admiring the scenery as there was work to be done, and plenty of it. The rainy season would begin in less than three months and they had to have houses built by then. At first they built themselves grass huts of the same type as the people lived in. This took no more than two or three days. There was no question of putting up concrete block buildings as the local sand was unsuitable for

building purposes, and cement would have to be carried the 70 km. from the end of the railway line to Loanja. They then began clearing the ground on the crest of the ridge and laid out a plan for the buildings. Within two months they had built houses for themselves and their workers, a church, a school, and stores. These were built of what was called pole-and-dagga (wattles and clay). These were rectangular buildings constructed on a framework of wooden poles set into the ground, with light lattice-work linking the poles horizontally. The lattice-work was then filled and faced with mud known as dagga (unrelated to hemp which was known by the same name!) Such buildings were quite good and, with maintenance, many of them have given service for twenty years or more. Fr. Declan began construction of a bridge over the Loanja so that it would not be necessary to wade knee-deep in mud every time they wished to cross. When the bridge was completed he began gardening, and set up a type of model farm. Fr. Seraphin was the chief house-builder, assisted in the following year by Mr. McFadden, Fr. Declan's father.

While doing this work they were gaining valuable knowledge of the Lozi language, as well as insight into the people with whom they were living and working. (The people at Loanja at the time of writing were Luvale.) They were assisted in this by Dominic, their cook. He must have been a good one as he kept them alive and healthy under difficult conditions. When they opened the first school, Dominic was the first teacher. He was also their interpreter, and gave valiant service in

the intricate trading negotiations around the kitchen door as people brought food for sale.

One of the early missionaries wrote of the first catechists, Joseph Sitali and Henry Sinjwala, that ‘their coming might be considered a definite milestone in the progress of the mission at Loanja. They were able men, well educated, and they could do anything with their hands. From the first they enthusiastically embraced the teachings of the Catholic Church with a strong and enduring conviction. They served the mission loyally and faithfully for over twenty-five years.’(12)

A newly translated catechism was printed in 1933. Not long afterwards, Frs. Phelim, Killian and Christopher began work on a translation of the New Testament. (13)

While at Loanja the missionaries learned to have a healthy respect for the natural elements, including reptiles and insects. A friar became lost in the forest one evening, and night had fallen before his cries for help reached the search party. He might easily have wandered off and been lost for days in the featureless bush, and succumbed to thirst. As for animals and insects, it was not the big ones such as elephant and lion they had to worry about so much as the smaller ones, the jiggers (14) eating their way into the toes, the *silui* ants at the water’s edge, the scorpions, the snakes and, of course, the innumerable mosquitoes.

Their methods of transport were varied. For the most part, they walked. When it was a matter of transporting

goods, they, for a time, used an ox-wagon to go to the railway terminus. But the ox didn't last long because of lack of proper food, and the presence of tsetse fly, bringing sleeping sickness with it. When Fr. Killian arrived, he organized a work party to cut a road through the forest to Machile, some 70 km. distant, and then bought a light truck. When the road was finished in June 1934, it was possible, in the dry season, to drive from Machile to Loanja in two or three hours. In practice, the transport system, if it could be called that, was a hit-and-miss affair which, in the end, depended largely on two legs. As a result their supplies were often low. It was not uncommon for the priests to be unable to celebrate Mass because of the lack of bread and wine. (15)

Despite these problems there was a definite sense that progress was being made. The school, a boarding institution, had about thirty pupils from the beginning. What was more promising was that some men, having completed their schooling showed the interest and ability to be trained as teachers. The pupils were not children, as we might assume; many were grown men. It was only later that boys came, and later still that the idea of allowing girls to attend school was accepted. If a pupil successfully completed Standard IV, he was considered eligible for teacher training. Some of those who came forward and were trained were William Piti Simusuka, Gabriel Munyamu, Stephen Samuce and Philip Sibole.

More friars came – Frs. Fintan, Livinus, Timothy and Christopher. All these men had university degrees: Fr. Phelim had a master's degree and a higher diploma in

education, while Fr. Christopher had a doctorate from a Roman university. He was particularly interested in teacher training, and later went to the White Fathers at Malole in the north-east of the country to learn their methods. From there he went in later years to Lukulu where he set up the first teachers' training school in the west.

The point had been reached in Loanja where they had more men than they needed, and still they were hemmed in by the "spheres of influence" policy. It was at times intensely frustrating for men who had come to spread the Gospel to have to spend the greater part of their time in teaching a, b, c, and 1, 2, 3. (16) Their time in Loanja was not wasted, but it was far from being used to full advantage, as they knew full well.

The basic work for which they had come found only limited outlets. For example, one morning the people brought in a man who had been mauled by a leopard. He had been walking along a forest path in the shade of the trees, when the animal dropped down on him and tore him severely. It took some days to get him to the mission and blood poisoning had set in. he was taught a little about the faith, and was baptized with the name of Fransisko. His was one of the first Catholic baptisms in Barotseland. Most of the early baptisms were of people in danger of death.

Fr. Fintan explained the policy on baptism. 'We do our best to see that they are good Catholics. There is no rush about receiving them as catechumens. Only after four

years of preparation are they baptized, and then only if they show promise of persevering in Faith.’(17) This policy was confirmed in a report by Fr. Killian in 1935, ‘The first catechumens were received in 1932. There are therefore no Christians at Loanja yet.’(18) The policy and the practice regarding baptism appear to have coincided, at least in the early years.

The importance of a pastoral follow-up afterwards may not have been as well recognized. A historian of the missions has written of its necessity,

Experience has shown that intensive pastoral care must be supplied during a period of thirty years before a Christian community of this kind [among pre-literates] can be regarded as stable. In hardly any case was this possible; as a result, far too much came to be taken for granted; it was assumed, mistakenly, that the sons and grandsons, who had not shared the experiences of the first converts and the persecution that almost inevitably followed upon their decision to become Christians, would follow loyally in the same steps. In many cases failure in pastoral care resulted in the existence of masses of baptized heathenism; and, when once a movement has run down in this way, it is very difficult to get it started again. (19)

Breaking out of the spheres of influence

Just a little over one year after arriving in Loanja, in October 1933, Frs. Seraphin and Killian went to the Boma, the administrative headquarters of the district, to

apply for permission to open a school at Kanyimba. They had chosen that area because it was well populated and was about halfway to the saw-mill at Mulobezi. It was within the area already allocated to the Rev. Mr. Reece, who had not, however, taken up residence or built a school. In the Boma they met the District Commissioner and Chief Imwiko, who was to become a very good friend of the friars, and who became Litunga in 1946. The chief was firmly in favour of their application.

However, the friars were asked to return to Kanyimba, interview the local nduna, and forward all particulars to the chief for a decision. There is little doubt that, if they had gone first to the nduna, they would have been directed by him to go to the Boma, as he would disclaim authority. They were to have many such experiences in the years to come. They returned to Loanja, meeting the nduna at Kanyimba on the way. On their return they began preparing the case for submission to the Boma. Before they had finished this, a messenger arrived from there telling them that their application was refused. The reason was that a Protestant mission had objected that Kanyimba was within its sphere of influence. And there the matter rested.

In the following year, the friars set out again to look for possible sites for schools. They found suitable places at Ikwe, Ibolelo, Munyonga, and at Momba in Kalomo district. Momba was more than 100 km. direct from Loanja, but, as it was in Kalomo district, and therefore

outside Barotseland, there was hope that the “spheres of influence” obstacle might not apply.

Permission was given to build at Momba. In the case of the other applications, the reply was that their request was “under consideration.” But at least they could take heart from one new opportunity, even if it was outside Barotseland. It was the first chink in the bureaucratic iron curtain around Loanja, so the friars went to it with a will. They went to Momba, where the nduna welcomed them and promised his cooperation. However, they found that the gap between promise and fulfilment was long and large. The promised poles, wood, grass for the roof, and workers materialized only in dribs and drabs, and work proceeded at a snail’s pace. It took much patience and persuasion, much waiting and encouragement to get things moving. The friars believed in looking for assistance from the people rather than in doing the job for them. Eventually the school was built and prepared for its opening. But that never came. A plague of locusts destroyed the crops in the area, and the entire population left for another place about thirty km. away, so the school remained deserted in a deserted village. The friars were back to where they started.

It has sometimes been said that, if God closes one door he opens another. This now appeared to be the case. A new District Commissioner, a Mr. Gilbert Howe, had been appointed in the Boma. He was on tour near Loanja in September 1934 and decided to visit the mission. As the man with overall responsibility for civil administration in the area, it naturally occurred to him to

ask the friars why they had chosen to build the mission in such a thinly populated area. They explained the matter to him. He was outraged to discover that here were men, well-trained and eager to work, being virtually locked up in a back-water, while he was unable to find teachers or provide schools for the greater part of his district. He asked them to re-submit their applications and he would support them.

What followed some time later was a stormy meeting at the Mwandu Boma during which the D.C. challenged the representative of the Protestant mission about its attitude. He asked them why they objected to the people receiving benefits which they could not provide. Surely, if they had the good of the people at heart, they should stand aside and let others provide what they could not. His pressure prevailed, and, early in 1935, permission was given to open schools at Ifweba, Ibolelo and Munyonga. Then in March came permission to open schools at Kanyimba and Sichili, and some time later in Mulobezi also. These opportunities were eagerly grasped, and the school for children of saw-mill employees was in operation before the end of 1935. The battle of the "spheres of influence," though not yet over, was being won.

Developments in Livingstone

In September 1932, work began on the new church in Livingstone town. A firm of contractors was engaged and good progress was made. A good deal of the carpentry, especially the wood-work of the altar, was

done by the father of Fr. Declan, known to all as Pop McFadden. He was born in Belfast in the north of Ireland and went to the United States in later years. Now, in his retirement, he had come to Africa to help his son in the setting up of the new mission. The friars used to enjoy the sometimes stormy relationship between father and son as they shouted at each other in the course of their work. After contributing to the building of the church in Livingstone, Pop went out to Loanja in 1933 to help in building operations there. Some of his wood carvings are still to be seen in the church at Sichili.

The new church in Livingstone was ready early in 1933, and was solemnly blessed and opened on 19 March by the Prefect Apostolic, Msgr. Bruno Wolnik, assisted by Msgr. Arnoz from Bulawayo, Fr. Moreau S.J., and the Livingstone friars. (21) It was dedicated to Saint Thérèse of Lisieux, the newly-canonized patroness of the missions.

Northern Rhodesia was a racially segregated society. Until 1929, for example, Africans were prohibited by law from operating a shop. Legislation passed in 1943, and not rescinded until 1958, prohibited Africans from becoming industrial apprentices. (22) In Livingstone, a municipal ordinance prohibited Africans from walking on the footpath - footpaths were "white" and Africans were to walk in the gutter; in one month in 1930, forty-three Africans were arrested for using the footpath. (23) A former Speaker of the National Assembly, Dr. R. Nabulyato, had the experience of being kicked off a footpath by a policeman. (The probability that the

policeman was an African would likely have added salt to the wound. The saying of the South African black consciousness leader, Steve Biko, was relevant: ‘The most powerful weapon in the hand of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed’.) An African was required to have a pass to stay in a town after 5 p.m. Nor could he stay at all unless he could prove he had a job there. (24) Under Colonial Office rule, Europeans appointed by the Governor represented Africans on the Legislative Council, known as Legco; Fr. Killian was one of them. There was discrimination in some churches also. Although it was not as severe as in most of society, it might have hurt more as Africans expected better of them in the light of Christian teaching. (25) Saint Thérèse Church was “all-white”, in keeping with those practices, and remained so until Independence in 1964.

As in Mongu there were quite a few Bemba Catholics among the police and soldiers in the camp at Maramba, about 3 km from the church. Fr. Killian worked there first of all, using a hall that had been provided. In 1934, Fr. Fintan went north to the French White Fathers to learn Bemba for the purpose of working among these police and soldiers. (26) Fr. James described the scene in the camp, ‘The place was crowded. Men, and women with their little children filled the church and one could almost feel the silence. It was wonderful to hear them sing in their full soft voices the Benediction service, and hymns in their own particular dialect.’(27) This nucleus of local people could have developed into a solid starting point for the spread of the faith to others Africans in the area. However, that did not happen, because, in 1935, the

capital of Northern Rhodesia was moved to Lusaka, and the police and army went with the change. Despite this, the effort was by no means wasted. Between 1931 and 1935, seventy adults and a hundred and fifty-four children were baptized, and thirty-five catechumens were being prepared for baptism. (28)

Elsewhere in the town, Fr. Timothy was working among employees of the saw-mill company, who were predominantly Lozi speakers. Before long he had a combined church and school in operation.

Meanwhile, other developments were taking place. Bro. Alexius was working on construction of a convent for the Holy Cross Sisters, whose coming had been planned for some time. On 1 April 1936, Sisters Rose, Winifred and Mary Brigid arrived in Livingstone. Of those first three sisters, Sr. Mary Brigid is still at work in the country in 1982. The significance of their coming has been expressed by Fr. James as follows,

Christianity has always appealed to women, for Jesus Christ was truly the liberator of woman. A mission that does not reach the woman-native can have only a small measure of success. But there is only one way of effectively achieving this, and that is by the advent of Sisters to the Mission. (29)

There can be no doubt that the sisters, of all congregations, by the example of their prayer and commitment to service, expressed in their work in schools, hospitals, home-craft institutions, leper villages,

teachers' training colleges, credit unions, agricultural cooperatives, and many other ways have given witness to Christ who came not to be served but to serve. Zambian sisters are now coming forward, though as yet in small numbers, to work with them.

The years from 1931 to 1936 were uphill years of struggle, and sometimes, too, of disappointment. But they were also years of achievement and growth. Churches and schools had been built, people were coming forward for instruction in the faith, the obstacle of the "spheres of influence" were being broken down, the first sisters had arrived, and more friars were coming from Ireland. These gave good ground for hope for the future.

The leader of this activity had been Fr. Casimir. As already mentioned he had worked in the United States for many years before going to South Africa in 1929 to set up the new mission there. When the parishes of Parow and Athlone were under way, he was sent up to Northern Rhodesia to begin the Livingstone mission, and this, too, he had successfully achieved. This was a heavy strain on a man who was not in the best of health. Fr. Phelim wrote of him, 'We cannot forget what we owe to Fr. Casimir. He would make light of difficulties, and was always cheerful, and was immensely popular with people of all races.' (30) He had come to Livingstone with a job to do, and he had done it. Now it was time to pass the responsibility to a younger man.

In 1935, Fr. James had come from Ireland as the representative of Fr. Edwin, the Provincial, to make a visitation of the missions in South Africa and Northern Rhodesia. Following his visit, the decision was taken to appoint Fr. Killian Flynn as Regular Superior of the two missions. Fr. Casimir returned to South Africa where he worked for many years until returning to Ireland some time before his death in 1958.

Fr. Killian was only thirty years of age at the time of his appointment. He was a man of great drive and energy, so it was not surprising that in 1936, on 28 July, he was appointed Prefect Apostolic, with the title of Monsignor, of the newly erected prefecture of Victoria Falls, which until then had been part of Broken Hill Prefecture. This move was more than a merely administrative change. It meant that there was now a good deal of local autonomy on the mission, that matters could be dealt with more speedily without the need to refer to Broken Hill. But perhaps most of all it was a mark of recognition of what had been achieved in the previous five years. The foundation had been laid and it was time to move forward.

Chapter 4: WORKING THROUGH SCHOOLS

Schools the cornerstone of pastoral policy

The approach taken to missionary work reflects one's understanding of the Church. When the missionaries came to Africa from Europe they brought with them the theology - dogmatic, moral and pastoral - which they had learned in Europe. The model of Church they had in mind was a European one, and we could hardly expect them to have had anything else, since that was what they had seen from their childhood and had been taught in the seminaries. And the latter did not encourage original thinking about the theology of the Church.

The pastoral practice of the Church in Europe leaned heavily on the school as the favoured instrument for the transmission of the faith from one generation to the next. Pius XI, who was pope during the period when our story begins, had written an encyclical letter on Christian education in which he endorsed the slogan 'Catholic education in Catholic schools for all the Catholic youth.'

(1) In 1926, in his encyclical letter on the propagation of the faith, he had insisted that elementary schools should never be lacking in mission territories. (2) However, he included a cautionary note, 'it would neither be right nor advisable to crowd together into one principal station, or into the locality where you reside, all the institutions erected for the good of soul and body; because if they be very important, they will make such a demand on the presence and care of yourself or the missionaries that the salutary visitation and evangelization of the whole

region will gradually slacken or cease.’(3) In 1919, Pope Benedict XV had written, in his encyclical on the missions, of schools having ‘a wonderful power for the spreading of the faith.’ (4)

This call of the popes was taken up by other Church leaders. The Apostolic Visitor to East Africa, Msgr. (later Cardinal) Arthur Hinsley, told a gathering of bishops at Dar-es-Salaam in August 1928, ‘Where it is impossible for you to carry on both the immediate task of evangelization and your educational work, neglect your churches in order to perfect your schools.’ (5) And Fr. James, at the conclusion of his visitation of the new mission in 1935, had written to his confrères, ‘there is one approach, the chief approach, one must say, in the beginning of a mission, which must be trodden with firm step and in military formation. That is the approach of education. Here the government and the natives themselves agree: education must be given.’ (6) What Fr. James had pointed out was true: both the colonial authorities and the people through their chiefs did want schools, and they looked to the missionaries to provide them. For their part, the friars could see the need, and they could see equally well that there was no one else capable of meeting that need. Fifty years earlier, when the Jesuits were planning their work in Barotseland, they saw their role in a similar light. (7) In view of these factors, it would have been surprising indeed if the newly arrived missionaries had not regarded schools as the foundation of their efforts.

Getting into Gear

We have already seen that, from the beginning, the friars worked for the establishment of schools. Indeed, when a new mission was set up, it was quite common for a school to be built before a church. No sooner was a mission on its feet, than moves were under way to build schools in outlying areas so that the children in them would have similar opportunities. On account of the huge areas involved, most mission stations had boarding establishments for primary schools so as to cater for those children who had no schools near their village.

This work went ahead rapidly. In 1942, Msgr. Killian Flynn wrote in a report to the Capuchin Provincial in Ireland that there were sixty-six schools on the mission, an increase of six on the previous year. (8) When Fr. Agathangelus went to Sichili in 1937, he was in charge of a large area where educational resources were almost non-existent. Before he left, ten years later, it was described in a government report as ‘the best-schooled area in the whole Protectorate.’ (9) To achieve that result required initiative, hard work and impatience.

In this instance it could not be said that ‘nothing succeeds like success,’ as it was the very success of these efforts that created a new problem. Msgr. Flynn wrote to Fr. James in 1939, ‘We had to “fight for” permission and endure wearisome delays in the case of every single station or school opened.... This does not mean that the Government opposes the Catholic missions but it is due to the ever-present fear of local officials that they will be

accused of undue friendliness towards the “more organised and effective” Catholic missions.’ (10)

Despite these constraints, Msgr. Flynn spread his resources of personnel as widely as he safely could. In 1943, there were thirty-four priests, brothers and sisters caring for sixty-six schools with 4,000 pupils, in addition to 8,000 catechumens. (11) He realized very well that he was stretching his manpower to the limits, but he had his reasons. In 1941, he wrote to the Provincial, ‘Because you have so substantially financed us we consider it our best policy despite the war to open as many schools as our priests can physically manage to supervise adequately. It is a race against time.... We have to prevent the condition of South Africa obtaining here.’ (12) What he had in mind was the developing *apartheid* mentality in the south.

Building, teaching, training, administering and withdrawing

In the early years, schools were normally built of pole-and-dagga. Later on, they were of Kimberley brick, which was simply sun-dried mud, or of brick burnt in a kiln. The role of the friars in this work was not simply one of supervision. They made the bricks themselves and then taught the people how to make them. The local people were asked to make a contribution to the building work. This was not in cash, or which most people had none, but either in materials or labour. It would often have been quicker for the friars to have gone ahead and done the job themselves than to have waited, patiently or

impatiently, for the slow, tedious process of arousing local interest. Many a man found himself wasting precious time waiting for promised materials or helpers to come, so that work could begin. It was felt that the future success of a school depended on local support; one tangible sign of that was help with building. The emphasis was on doing things *with* people more than *for* them.

When the school was built the friars began teaching. Naturally, this was at a very elementary level in the early years, and could move forward only very slowly. The curriculum was the three R's and Christian doctrine. (It was later extended to include technical subjects such as carpentry and block-making for boys and domestic economy for girls.) But, from the earliest times, efforts were made to choose suitable people for teacher training. As already mentioned, Standard IV was the initial requirement for entry into it. If a higher standard had been insisted on at the beginning, there might have been few, if any, who could have come forward. The first trainee teachers came from the Barotse National School in Mongu where Mr. Consterdine and Miss Holland had been among the teachers; later on, they came from schools where the friars were teaching. It was early in 1938 that a teachers' training school was opened in Lukulu. Frs. Phelim and Gerard were much involved in this work as they both had higher diplomas in education in addition to their primary university degree. Fr. Christopher played an even larger part, to be followed in later years by Frs. Eltin and Edwin.

There were plenty of problems in this work, not least those of bad health. In 1940, there was an outbreak of bubonic plague at Lukulu which took the lives of three of the school children. Despite efforts to quarantine the area, the children fled, with the risk of carrying the infection home with them. Fortunately, it did not spread, so, after a few months, the quarantine was lifted and normal life resumed. Fr. Gerard developed an abscess on the bone of his leg and had to go to Livingstone for an operation in 1939. The doctor told him it was caused by a disease of the bone marrow. Fr. Christopher went to Malole in the north-east of the country in 1943 to learn from the experience of the White Fathers at their teacher training school. While there, he caught an infection and was seriously ill when he returned to Lukulu. The doctor diagnosed the illness as typhus. (13) His health continued to give him trouble and he had to be invalided out of the country in 1944. Despite these and other problems, work went ahead, and, in the succeeding years, there was a steady flow of teachers from Lukulu to the schools of Barotseland. The teachers' training school continued at Lukulu until its transfer to Malengwa near Mongu in 1965.

As the number of teachers increased, the friars were enabled to withdraw from the classroom and to move into a different role in the education system. When the number of schools was very small it was not difficult to administer them as part of a parish. But, as their numbers grew, so did the demands of administration. There were problems of staffing, procurement of supplies, repairs and maintenance, inspection, finance and relations with

the government. To meet some of these needs an Education Secretariat was set up in Mongu, with one priest working full-time in it. He had responsibility for the appointment and transfer of teachers, finance, and relations with the government. He also trained some officials to share in this work under his direction. The provision of new buildings, the repair and maintenance of old ones, inspection, payment of salaries, and procurement and delivery of supplies were the responsibility of the friars in each parish. In a parish such as Sichili with eighteen out-schools this was a large responsibility.

For between thirty and forty years, all of the friars, both priests and brothers, were immersed in this work. They were on call for every need: if a school needed a new roof (if, for example, it had been blown off by a whirlwind), or there was a need for chalk, exercise books, pens, pencils or desks, or salaries to be delivered, they had to do it. They had full responsibility for the system. There were many times when priests asked themselves whether they were school administrators or priests first.

The Zambian teachers pulled their weight in the process. They were pioneers, with the challenges that such a role brought with it. They were often alone in their work for long periods at a time, without support from outside. They welcomed visits from the friars, even inspections, but, for the most part, they ploughed a lonely furrow. Without them there would never have been a school system.

In the early years, there were no government grants, whether for buildings or salaries. Msgr. Flynn, in 1942, recorded as a matter of wonder that a grant was offered as an inducement to opening a school west of the Zambezi in Kalabo district, calling it “an unheard-of thing.” (14) All costs, including salaries, came from mission funds, which, in practice, meant the free offerings of ordinary Catholic men and women in those cities and towns in Ireland where the Capuchins had houses. In later years, grants were increasingly made available, and this helped greatly to relieve the burden on the mission.

Salaries were low. In 1941, they ranged from ten shillings a month for an unqualified teacher with Standard IV up to a maximum of twenty shillings (£1) a month. For a qualified teacher with Standard VI, the salary began at 22/6 a month with annual increments of 2/6. In addition, ration allowances of from 3/9 to 9/9 a month, depending on the number of children, were payable. By way of comparison, it is worth noting that the standard rate of pay set by government for a labourer was six shillings a month, so a teacher, even at the very lowest level, was being paid nearly twice as much. At that time, mealie-meal cost about a penny a kilogram (15) - there were 240 pennies in a pound - while bream were a penny each. (16) In 1939, total expenditure of the Northern Rhodesian government was less than £1 million. (17)

The atmosphere of the schools at that time may be gauged to some extent from the account of an annual

sports-day at a central mission to which outlying schools had been invited.

Out came the marching children, four deep and stiff as ram-rods, onto the parade ground, drums beating and flags and bunting waving. Then they lined up in rows and the drill began – the stamping of feet in unison, the tattoo of the drums and the singing – one could hear all the dumb-bells click on one note, as they raised them aloft, sideways, behind their backs or forwards. There were also football matches between the schools. In the evening were dances by the girl boarders; they danced till the sweat was running off them, and would have danced all night if they had been allowed. The church was packed to suffocation for Mass every morning during their stay. (18)

But it would be a mistake to think of African children as placid, pliant creatures who were always easy to manage, always ready to obey the word of a teacher. Once, when Henry Sinjwala was head-teacher in Sichili, he was given money by the boy boarders to buy salt for them in town. But no salt was available, and when Henry returned he did not immediately explain to the boys what had happened. They held a meeting and apparently concluded that he had deceived them in some way. They made for his house armed with spears, axes, hoes, sticks and other available weapons. They were a mob who had lost control of themselves and might have killed him if they had caught him. Fortunately for him, he heard them coming and avoided them, coming to the friary for shelter. Fr. Agathangelus gave him a bike, and he cycled

to Machile for safety. As it happened, the Ngambela (the Litunga's Prime Minister) Walubita was on a visit to his home at the time, so Henry went and told him his story. A meeting was called at Sichili for the following morning in Walubita's presence. The matter was investigated and five boys were expelled from the school. (19) Life might sometimes be easy and sometimes hard, but it was rarely dull.

When Northern Rhodesia became the independent Republic of Zambia on 24 October 1964, a new situation developed. The new government before long announced its intention of taking over mission schools, which were, in fact, the great majority of schools in the country. The churches met and offered the government the schools. But the government, realizing that it did not have the means of managing them, decided to leave them in the hands of the churches for the time being. However, it remained government policy to assume full control; the change of mind was a matter of procedure more than of policy. So, gradually the government claimed more and more authority, and control by the missions over the schools correspondingly lessened. In January 1974, the Catholic Church in Livingstone diocese handed over to the government about 167 schools. No compensation was asked for or received in respect of them. Since then, government representatives have often spoken of their gratitude to the missions for their educational work. From time to time the question has been raised of control of the schools being returned to the churches, but this is not a serious possibility, despite precedents for it in other African countries, such as Zambia's neighbour, Zaire.

Post-Primary Education

In the beginning, all attention was given to primary education, as this had to be the starting-point. As time went by and the system became more firmly established, it became clear that other forms of education would be called for.

In Sichili, Fr. Capistran began a trade school where boys learned, carpentry, brick-making and laying, and the basic elements of other trades. This continued under his direction for a number of years. But the school was closed on orders from the government which, at the time, felt that such institutions were relics of colonialism. At the present time, government policy on this matter has changed and the government itself has built many trade schools. A request was made by the government in 1979 to the Sichili mission to re-open the trade school there, but it was not possible to meet it.

There were developments in the field of secondary education also. Saint Raphael's school for boys in Livingstone is under the care of the Christian Brothers, while, a little distance away, Saint Mary's school for girls is run by the Franciscan Missionary Sisters for Africa. This was begun by the Holy Cross Sisters in 1956, and was among the first Catholic secondary schools for girls in the country. In Mongu, the Holy Cross Sisters have a large girls' school at Malengwa, while the Christian Brothers teach at Saint John's, Katongo. This school was begun by the Capuchins under Fr. Edwin in 1962, and was later transferred to the Christian Brothers. In Lukulu, the Christian Brothers

have responsibility for the boys' secondary school there. Between them these schools cater for about 2,500 pupils. It is quite likely that in the coming years they will come under government control.

The significance of this contribution is better appreciated against the background of secondary education in Zambia. When the country became independent in 1964, only 960 Zambians had completed secondary education (20), and there were about one hundred university graduates.

The work at secondary level in turn has an impact at the tertiary level. The Catholic chaplain at the University of Zambia wrote,

‘Many of you [Catholic teachers] probably feel at times that you are wasting your time and that your work for the Church could be better performed outside, in what people call “real pastoral work.” On a Sunday morning, when we fill the big lecture theatre at the University of Zambia for Mass, and many others at Masses in the town, I am always full of admiration for the people who made this possible – and YOU are the people who have achieved that, in the monotony of classroom or dormitory or playground supervision. Anybody outside Zambia to whom I have shown these figures finds it incredible. We are still considered a “pagan” country, but the figures compare favourably with those in some Christian countries.... We might speak of a miracle

of grace, of which all who have laboured for it may feel justly proud. (21)

The figures referred to are that more than half of the female, and 45% of the male students are Catholic.

A large share of the credit for this work in schools, both primary and secondary, must go to the Christian Brothers, and to the various congregations of sisters: the Holy Cross, the Franciscan Missionary Sisters for Africa, the Sisters of Saint Francis, and the Presentation Sisters. The Holy Cross Sisters continue to share in the work of the Malengwa teachers' training college.

Another area of education in which sisters have been involved is that of training women in home-craft, that is, in making and mending clothes, learning about growing, preserving and cooking fruit and vegetables, and other skills useful for family life. The Holy Cross Sisters have one such institution.

In recent years the government of Zambia has put a great deal of money into improving education at all levels, and there has been a large increase in the educational services made available to the public in the eighteen years since independence. The government has recognized the importance of education and has backed that up with resources. There is no doubt that it has been able to provide services on a much larger scale than would have been possible to the churches by their unaided efforts. It has made these services, including university education, available free of charge. (22)

For and against working through schools

History is more than a mere chronicle of events; it involves evaluation. It is of little use to say to the historian, 'Just give the facts and let the reader decide for himself,' since the selection of facts involves a judgment by the historian. What one might consider a key issue could seem to another to be irrelevant.

Historians themselves are not agreed about the worth of attempting to evaluate the data of history. On the one hand the Spanish-American philosopher George Santayana offered the opinion that 'History repeats itself only for those who don't learn from it,' while, on the other, the German philosopher George Hegel said, 'The only lesson to be learned from history is that no one learns any lessons from it.' As the Lozi say, *Batu ba shutana* (people are different).

The Church's role in education has been a subject of controversy within the Church itself in recent years, and this applies in mission countries no less than elsewhere. There are arguments for and against working through schools.

Some of the arguments for the Capuchins' involvement in education in Barotseland have already been given. (See above pp.68-9) In addition, the early missionaries recognized that a newly baptized Christian who did not have community support would have little hope of persevering in the faith. He would not get that support in the village; indeed, the contrary might be the case. Their hope was that the children converted to the faith would

become the Catholic parents of the next generation. The school, with its interlocking relationships with the other institutions of the mission, such as the church, the boarding establishment, the clinic or hospital, the various clubs and groups, would provide what might be called an alternative Catholic society in which the seed of faith would grow to maturity.

The missionaries realized that it was pointless to say that, if an individual's conviction was strong enough, he could survive on his own. That might be true of an exceptional person, but a policy could not be built on exceptions. Besides, the Christian faith is a community faith, not simply assent by isolated individuals. They saw, too, that evangelization, that is, the spread of the Gospel in the strict sense, needed pre-evangelization, the process of making the rough ways smooth and the crooked paths straight. (Isaiah 40.3-4) What they were doing could be described in language which Pope Paul VI was to use many years later, 'What matters is to evangelize man's culture.' (23) When Jesus was asked by the disciples of John the Baptist if he really was the Messiah, had he not answered by saying that the fact that people were being cured of their diseases was a sign that the Kingdom of God had come? (Matthew 11. 2-6) Would the curing of ignorance not equally be a sign of the Kingdom? Grace builds on nature, and the natural foundations of relationships created in the school could be the base for the future entry into the deeper relationship of faith.

The missionaries who worked in the schools might also quote the Gospel saying, 'By their fruits you shall know them' (Matthew 7.16), and point to the fact that their policy and practice did bear fruit. It put the Church on its feet and created a foundation which could be built on. Could the present (1982) pastoral policy of Small Christian Communities become a practical reality without the groundwork laid beforehand through the school?

As for arguments to the contrary based on the deficiencies of Catholic schools, it could be replied that the answer to a bad Catholic school is a good Catholic school, not no Catholic school. (24)

For many people, schools are equated with education, and its aims and methods may not be sufficiently challenged. What are the goals of society into which a school system fits? Perhaps, if examined honestly, it might be stated as the pursuit of power, position and possessions. And the school is seen as the necessary means of equipping a child to compete in the race for them. Catholic schools have often boasted that they are better than others, and have pointed to exam results, sporting achievements and "good" jobs as evidence. Is it something to boast of that Catholic schools do better than others a job which perhaps, in the light of the Gospel, they should not be doing at all? Should the purpose of a Catholic school not be to help and to motivate a person to live according to the Gospel? It has been said that, if a Catholic school took the Beatitudes

seriously as its frame-work of reference, no parent would send a child to it.

The arguments for Catholic schools may constitute an example of what has been called the tyranny of means over ends: when the end is questioned, one is urged to improve the means.

It has been said, too, that schooling grades children, and, in doing so, degrades them, so that an early lesson for every child is that to fail in school means to fail in life. How often have missionaries not seen a child who failed the Grade VII exam, turn away in embarrassment on being asked about it, and say with shame, '*Ni siezi*' (I failed), when in truth it was the school system that failed them.

It may be said that none of this is the intention of Catholic schools. But 'intentions have to be measured up to facts, and if the facts indicate that the system being operated is simply not achieving the desired results, then the only rational course is to change the system.' (25) If the intention of Catholic schools is to produce adults committed to the Gospel, then that has to be measured against results. Do they do that or do they fall between two stools trying to be faithful to the Gospel and simultaneously meet the demands of a society which lives by different standards? If the question were asked, 'How many children from Catholic schools enter a Christian marriage?' the answer might be 'A miniscule proportion,' and maybe that is why the question is rarely asked. It has also been noted, too, in many countries, that where there is a Catholic school system, Catholic parents

leave the religious education of their children to the school, opting out of it almost entirely, so that the children come to see religion as a school subject to be dropped on finishing school. Children, too, often see that religious education and rituals which their parents insist on for them are not a priority for the parents in their own lives through attendance in church or otherwise, and this leads children to conclude that religion is “all hypocrisy.”

If the intention of a Catholic school is ‘to create a living encounter with a cultural inheritance’ (26) then such a cultural inheritance must take account of African cultural values such as those spoken of by Pope Paul VI in his message to Africa in 1967. (27) But, if a school separates a child from family, language and tradition, as it often does in Zambia, then must it not realistically be considered not the agent of the transmission of culture but rather of its destruction? (By way of analogy, consider the effect of the “National” schools in nineteenth-century Ireland on two basic elements of national life – language and culture.) In Zambia, it seems to be the case that the school replaces cooperation with competition and the communitarian character of African life with individualistic values. Increasingly, the school system is explicitly defined as having for its role the preparation of children for the jobs market, and skills which are not required for it - history and religion are examples - are dismissed as irrelevant and dropped from the curriculum.

Furthermore, and on a different level, Catholic schools, if, as was often the case, they were the only schools in an area, were caught in an ambiguous position. The use of priests and religious in them was justified by saying that schools were a means of winning children to the Gospel through the creation of a Catholic atmosphere and giving Catholic teaching and values not only in religion classes but permeating the curriculum. (In church statistics, school-children were counted as catechumens.) At the same time, it was denied that this constituted any form of pressure on non-Catholics, who were always welcomed to the schools, and it was affirmed that they were always free to make their own choice. Do the two positions add up?

In Barotseland, further questions may be raised in view of the growth of the New Apostolic Church which, entering the country in the early nineteen fifties (28), has now clearly surpassed the Catholic Church, not only in numbers, but in local leadership, and, in the opinion of many, in the commitment of its members, and that without building a classroom or a clinic. Further, the Church's heavy investment of personnel and money in its institutional structures seems to have imprisoned it within an inflexible pastoral system which finds it difficult to respond to the needs of a situation substantially different from that of fifty years ago. (29)

It is sometimes said that, fundamentally, missionaries did not really believe in the power of the Gospel to attract people on its merits, and felt it necessary to provide a bait for it, in this case, the school. Not

unrelated to this is a lack of clarity as to what priestly ministry is about. This may result in a situation where almost any work of use to the people could be considered priestly work, even if its links to the Gospel were tenuous.

There are alternatives to schooling. One is to focus not on the child but on the adult, as Jesus did. Along with that is to teach outside of a school environment. The experience of some countries, such as Colombia and Nicaragua, has shown that the percentage of literate adults can be increased substantially in a few years without schools, by the use of other methods. And if adults become literate, that greatly enhances the likelihood that their children will progress in literacy.

We will leave the final word to an African who, in 1923, said something which might be taken as an argument for either side of the case. ‘If religion were not connected with education and getting on in the world, how many people should we ever see in this church?’
(30)

Chapter 5: THE FRIARS' CONDITIONS OF LIFE

Travel and communication

It would be a mistake to conclude from the preceding pages that the experience of missionaries was one of constant work unrelieved by any relaxation or change of scene. One such change was provided by travel. As roads were practically non-existent in the early years, most travel in or near the Zambezi River was by river. Fr. Fintan has left a description of part of such a journey he made with Fr. Phelim in May-June 1935 from Livingstone to Kabompo, a journey lasting twenty-eight days:

Six o'clock next morning found us once more pushing our way through the swamps. Half an hour later the sky grew red, then a beautiful orange, and up came the sun like a beautiful golden ball folding everything in sight with the dawn. The birds bestirred themselves, and what birds! There were thousands and thousands of them, of every size, shape and colour imaginable: there were birds white, black, grey, brown, red, yellow and blue, and birds of every combination of the spectrum. They whirled in thousands over our heads, shrieking and protesting as we disturbed their morning search for food. Amongst them we could see plover, snipe, curlew, wild duck, black divers, king-fishers of every size and hue, white ibis, black-necked ravens, white spoon-bills, black wild geese, long-legged herons, white and blue

cranes, stately flamingos, and pelicans larger than swans, flying in flocks of two or three hundred.

By 9 a.m. we reached the Zambezi sweeping majestically past on its long journey to the distant Indian Ocean, a pleasant contrast to the dreary swamps. At this point it was about four hundred yards wide as it wound its way through the Barotse Plain between low, even banks. Our progress from now on was even slower than before. Paddle as they might the men could not make more than two miles an hour against the strong sweeping current. At 5 p.m. we camped on a large sand-bank on the west bank of the river. It was pleasant to watch the flocks of birds winging their way homewards as the day waned and the sun sank lower in the heavens. It was pleasant to watch the sun tinting the evening sky to a glorious medley of gorgeous colours, changing slowly from pink to mauve, from mauve to purple, and from purple to a dense, inky black. It was pleasant to listen to the intense silence that settled down upon the bosom of the great Zambezi, broken only by the weird, shrill cry of some startled night-bird. But all that was nothing compared to the glory of the rising moon. Over the far bank it rose majestically – a deep crimson red changing its course to saffron and then to warm gold. Gradually its reflection crept across the river to our very feet, a beautiful rippling yellow path four hundred yards in width, a beautiful golden Jacob's ladder that seemed to stretch from earth to heaven, the little night-birds flitting to and fro across its path like angels descending and ascending to the

throne of God. How Saint Francis would have loved that African moon! As we watched spell-bound, I noticed Fr. Phelim remove his hat as if in homage to the beauty of the spectacle. As we said our night prayers beside the camp fire a few moments later, it was not the river we faced, nor the bush, nor the distant hills but the full moon, the most glorious emblem in sight of God's beauty, power and majesty.

(1)

On arrival at Kabompo the two travellers found themselves in a different situation:

All day long we live in an atmosphere thick with mosquitoes, midges and flies of every description, an atmosphere that rises in clouds filling our eyes, ears and nostrils as we pass. Now and again the reeds and grass give way to beautiful lake-like formations covered with gorgeous white and pink water lilies. Towards evening we look out for some elevation in the water-soaked plain where we can camp. The men examine the chosen spot carefully for red ants, clear off the high grass and erect the tents. As fire-wood cannot be procured in the plain, we bring it with us and use it economically. At night we sit wrapped in heavy over-coats huddled around the few blazing sticks, protecting ourselves as best we can from the cold damp night winds that blow across the swamps and from the swarms of mosquitoes that form haloes around our heads. At last, in desperation, we take refuge in our blankets. There, protected by our mosquito nets, we get some

rest. Thank God for the mosquito net! It is one of the greatest blessings the white man has introduced to Africa. Without quinine one could not live, but, without the net, life would not be worth living.

The *silui* or red ants are always a plague along the river and on the plains at this time of year. As the floods rise they take refuge on high banks and mounds. They march in long, thick, dark-brown lines thousands strong. They attack everything they meet, from a snake to an elephant, and the unfortunate victim has but a poor chance against their swarming, biting millions. On the last night of our journey we sat reading at the camp fire before retiring to bed. The men were all asleep around their fires. We had long since left the plains and had ceased to think of *silui* ants. Suddenly I felt as if a red-hot needle had been plunged into my neck. I jumped, but that was the signal the enemy had been waiting for before opening fire. In the course of the next few seconds I was bitten a thousand times from neck to foot. Just then Fr. Phelim joined me in an Indian war-dance around the fire; he, too, was in a similar predicament. They were all over us, not just outside our clothes but inside as well. The men rushed to our rescue with shrieks of laughter. Investigation showed that we had pitched our tent on a low ant-hill. There was nothing to do but leave the tent and shift our blankets elsewhere. All this about swamps and mosquitos and red ants sounds much worse than it is in reality. When one is going through it, it is just good, clean fun. (2)

Fr. Phelim complements this with a description of a different scene on the river, going downstream:

The sweeping strokes of the paddles keep time with the river-song of the paddlers – the song subsides and the barge swings round to the bank. I ask what is wrong now. The head-man says, “Please, Father, the river winds round too much here. I will show you a short way through the forest and we will meet the barge again lower down.’ I leave the barge and follow him through the bush. In a few minutes I hear the subdued booming sound which gradually increases to a roar and I know that I am passing beside one of the big, dangerous rapids on the Zambezi. Here the African river-men take their lives in their hands as the barge plunges downwards, rushing over submerged rocks. They will not let the priest take any risks, and they take me out of harm’s way by a kindly subterfuge, thoughtful to avoid hurting my vanity by any suggestion of my being afraid.

They have sometimes allowed me to travel down some of the relatively safe rapids, and indeed the experience is frightening enough. At the approach to the rapids a tense feeling is noticeable – the singing stops, the paddles are poised, all eyes are riveted on the leader, and his least signal is answered by a gentle touch of the paddle on this side or that, to get the barge in line for the deep channel in the centre of the rapids. And now the barge gathers speed – faster, faster, faster, as it begins the down-ward rush, the banks fly past, the noise of the water grows to a

sustained roar, the barge plunges ahead. The Lord save us! Thirty yards below, the river turns at right angles. We're heading straight for the rocks! The paddlers are poised, waiting. And then, with the timing of a great orchestral conductor the head-man signs with his hands, the paddles crash through the waves, each man pulls like a demon: 'Kasha! Kasha! Kasha! (Push, push, push!) and, in seconds, the barge in its head-long rush is swung gracefully back into the fold of the river and the danger is past. The reaction is glorious. Every man dances and shouts for joy. Paddlers shout one another's names, their father's names, and the names of the great villages, Imulomo, Ngulwana, Kakalunda, that gave mighty paddlers long ago to our Lyambai, our river. It is a great moment. (3)

Travel overland was a different matter altogether. Fr. Fintan gives his recollections of it.

At 5 a.m. the alarm goes off. It is bitterly cold, the camp fire is dead, the morning is pitch dark. The whistle is blown. Slowly the men uncurl themselves from their blankets. In a state of frozen somnolence they proceed to dismantle the tent and take up the loads. This takes them an hour to accomplish, so numb and helpless are they when extremely cold. By 6 a.m. we are generally under way, the men trudging along the narrow, sandy path in single file, silent and shivering; we bring up the rear, endeavouring to hurry them on. About 6.20 a.m. the sun peeps above the horizon, a welcome sight just now, but in a few hours

we will wish it had never come up. As the morning mists begin to clear, the men begin to waken, they quicken their stride, they talk, they shout, they laugh, they sing. After ten or twelve miles of pleasant walking, we stop at a stream for breakfast. Breakfast over, we go on again. The sun is getting hotter and hotter. The men are growing tired; gradually the laughter and talk die away. We all concentrate on the path. Ankle-deep in loose sand we plod on and on. The scorching sun is beating down mercilessly. Perspiration is streaming down our faces. The naked sweating bodies on ahead are glistening in the sun and so the hours pass. Suddenly a glad shout is heard from the front. It runs along the line and the bush echoes once more with happy laughter. In the distance through the tree-tops we can discern a faint blue line, a distant ridge of hills, which always means a stream, a drink of water, a cup of tea and rest.

The afternoon sees us trudging ahead again, the same sandy path, the same interminable bush rising for thirty feet on all sides and the same old hills to be climbed. Now and again a startled buck stares at us through the trees and in a flash is gone, or a snake shoots across the path and disappears in the undergrowth. Every few hours brings us to a small valley clear of tree; often it contains water, more often than not it is hard and dry but always a pleasant change from sandy bush. About four o'clock we come to a halt. We have done twenty or twenty-five miles. We camp near water if possible. There is generally a village close by. (4)

Those days are gone. After the end of World War II, Army surplus jeeps and Bedford three- ton trucks with four-wheel drive became available at low cost, and were readily bought up for transporting people and goods. This saved a great deal of time formerly spent in walking, it made the supply of goods to mission stations and schools much easier, but it also reduced the amount of contact with local people in travelling. It was a change from travel on the people's terms to travel on ours. On their terms, friars travelled as their guests and mostly did things their way, as they were the experts. On our terms, we swept past people on the road, showering them with a cloud of dust; those who accompanied us were our guests and did things our way. Gains and losses.

Since Independence there has been a great improvement in the condition of the roads, and all stations can now be reached by Landrover, supplemented where necessary by a motor-powered barge or boat. The old dirt road cut from Lusaka to Mongu in 1937, and which was of little practical use owing to its condition (5), is now replaced by a straight tarmac highway which enables the journey to be made in eight hours. That is a big change from a journey which, at best, would take two days, and could be much longer, or even impossible altogether.

In recent years, a big improvement in communication came with the equipping of each mission station with a short-wave radio transmitter. Regular broadcasts were made twice daily at agreed times. These kept the friars in

contact with each other, they boosted morale, they saved unnecessary journeys, and, not infrequently, saved lives, by, for example, asking other missions for medicine in urgent cases where it was unavailable. A phone system later on linked stations in the bigger towns, but it was often unreliable. A postal service was in place from earlier days; it was sometimes slow, but was reliable.

Food and Health

We never seemed to have enough to eat, and, if there was, it lacked quality. There were no fridges in those days. The meat always arrived in one big hunk and, depending on when it was killed, was cooked right away or the following morning. It was re-hashed in various ways during the coming week. We ate the scrawny local hens, and eggs in various forms. There were no potatoes. Several attempts were made to grow vegetables, but the soil seemed to be sour and water-logged at the edge of the plain. We had flour but the loaves lasted only about two days; then they started to ferment and become sticky – hops were the rising agent. To sum things up, we were just skin and bones. We were all getting the usual bouts of malaria. I seemed to be always getting diarrhoea, getting over one dose and then starting another. I had reached the stage where even the slightest cut, scratch or abrasion used to turn septic, and I was never free of wearing sticking-plaster. (6)

The situation described here by Brother Andrew was not a typical one. It relates to Sihole which had exceptional problems of supply as it was in a remote area on the west bank of the river. Fr. Fintan had a different take on the situation:

We rarely see meat. This must seem strange in a land abounding with game, but the game is rarely found in the vicinity of mission stations or populated districts. One generally has to walk a day's journey to find it, and the meat is tainted by the time it reaches home. Fish abounds at certain seasons of the year. Our staple dish all year round is chicken – so-called. The African hen is a thin, scrawny anaemic creature, with a wistful look in her eye, perched on a pair of long muscular legs. Its diet consists mainly of lizards, ants, beetles, cockroaches and other succulent inhabitants of the underworld. As an egg-producer she is a failure, since the sandy soil does not produce enough lime. During the early days of a station, the missionaries have a rather thin time as regards vegetables and fruit. However, thanks to the climate, one can get the garden producing within a few months, and within a few years we have plenty of fruit also. (7)

Most of the friars who came in the first days lived long lives and were vigorous men even in their seventies and eighties. Two of the pioneers, Frs. Timothy and Christopher, are still active at present (1982). However, there was often real hardship. Fr. Declan was forced to leave with health problems after only two years, though

he recovered and later worked on the missions in India. Fr. Timothy had to return to Ireland after only four years with persistent stomach ulcers. Fr. Livinus had to leave after only five years. Fr. Fintan left the mission in 1940 suffering from tuberculosis, and died in the United States in 1953. Fr. Gerard died of black water fever in Sihole in 1944, while Fr. Christopher, after ten years, had to leave for Cape Town as a result of having contracted typhus at Malole; he worked in the Cape until 1968, before returning to Ireland and dying there in 1984.

The most common illness was malaria, which the friars were accustomed to having more than once a year, though there were a few lucky souls who managed to get through all their years in the country without ever contracting it. Bro. Alexius Paolucci described it as like being hit on the head with a hammer every few seconds. More commonly, though, people experience a high temperature, headache, muscular pains, sometimes vomiting, and depression. Untreated cases may develop into cerebral malaria or black water fever, and these are much more serious. Coming from a climate where malaria is unknown, the hardship was probably greater than for those accustomed to it from childhood. Quinine was available to the friars and helped to reduce the frequency of the disease. Even today, however, it remains a killer, with about 25,000 deaths annually from it in Zambia. It accounts for about 30% of hospital admissions.

A further common illness was stomach troubles leading to diarrhoea or dysentery; these often left a person weak and susceptible to other illnesses.

In the areas of nutrition and health-care there has been substantial improvement. The variety and quality of food have improved substantially. Most missions in rural areas have fruit and vegetable gardens, and many houses have electricity, at least for a few hours daily. Those without it have paraffin fridges, which are like the girl in the nursery rhyme, ‘When she was good she was very, very good, but, when she was bad, she was horrid.’ Standards of cleanliness have improved with better water supplies, and proper stoves make it easy to boil drinking water. Malaria is not now as common as before because of having mosquito-gauze on the windows, coupled with regular use of anti-malaria tablets. When it does occur, there are drugs such as *chloroquin* which deal with it effectively, though resistance to them is increasing.

In general, it may truthfully be said that the material conditions of life have improved in a way unimaginable to the pioneers.

Where did the money come from?

The initial expenses of setting up a mission are high. We have seen that, when Loanja was being started, it took forty carriers to bring the necessary equipment. The situation was similar when the Lukulu foundation was being prepared for in 1935. In the words of Fr. Fintan, ‘We had to take not only a tent, bedding, and all sorts of

household, church and school equipment, but also a very heavy cargo of tools, iron, tin, and various building material as well. Our transportation alone cost ninety-five pounds.’(8)

Fr. Killian Flynn sent a report to the Prefect Apostolic of Broken Hill in 1936, which set out costs as follows: -

Church of St. Thérèse and presbytery	£3,834-7-1
Bemba school and church	141-11-1
Lozi school and church	421- 4- 4
Loanja school church, house and road	106- 7- 0
Mulobezi school and store-house	48- 2- 1
Momba school	15- 0- 0
Missionary expenses	1,485- 9-1
Total (9)	£6,052 -0-8

It appears that this report covers the period from 1931 to 1936. Costs exclude money spent on the friars’ food and clothing so it is not clear to what the last entry refers. It could be for transport, wages for workers, tools, furniture or other items. These figures are almost meaningless today because of inflation, but they may convey something if we recall the figure already referred to of less than £1 million for total government expenditure in Northern Rhodesia in 1939. (10) And a primary school teacher’s salary in Ireland in the mid-thirties began at about £250 a year.

Costs have risen enormously since the nineteen thirties, although the initial heavy demand for funds for constant building operations has greatly declined.

Transport has become the big consumer of money. Apart from some capital costs, it was possible to look after a community of thirteen in Limulunga in 1980 on a budget of K13, 000.

The Zambian currency, the Kwacha, began life in 1968 as ten English shillings (later fifty pence), but it rose to sixty-two pence as copper prices increased and the British pound declined in the seventies. Thereafter, however, it steadily declined. A well-equipped parish hall was constructed in Malengwa in 1973 for K1, 300, a price which, twenty-five years later, was insufficient to post a letter abroad. Later, the value of the Kwacha was so eroded by inflation that it was re-branded as the Re-based Kwacha, one of which was worth a thousand of the old Kwacha.

The money came simply from free-will offerings made by ordinary Irish Catholic men and women. In the nineteen-thirties, with the Depression and other negative factors fully operational, Ireland was a very poor place indeed, but it was out of the poverty of those people that the mission's foundation was funded. Capuchin houses are generally situated in the poorer parts of the cities and towns, and it is largely the poor who have contributed their money, time and prayers to make the work possible. And that continued: between 1978 and 1981, the Irish Capuchin Province sent £250,000 to the mission for its support. (11) There were other sources also. The California Custody of the Order, now the West American Province, contributed substantially over the years. The New Jersey friars in the North-Western

Province receive support from their home mission office. Rome provided money for the former minor seminary at Limulunga. Organizations such as the Propagation of the Faith have also contributed.

In the years when there were constant building operations, roughly from 1931 to 1971, there was a heavy demand for money, and it was not always there. It was said that every new mission gave the bank manager in Livingstone another ulcer! Bishop O'Shea did not have the trait of treating prudence as a substitute for action instead of a guide for it. If money was needed for a new church or school he went to the bank and got it, leaving it to God and the Vicar-General to repay it. And this policy worked.

The money which came from Ireland was raised by a devoted group of voluntary workers who, year after year, gave their time, energy and money to the work of fundraising. The mission secretary, a friar appointed by the Province, co-ordinated this and other mission support work. There was a great variety of fund-raising activities, such as raffles, bring-and-buys, mission boxes placed in shops, films, bingo, church collections, voluntary donations and legacies, etc. Organizing these activities, often a boring and wearisome job, is surely a real sharing in the work of the mission. Without it, the mission would never have existed in the first place. May God bless and reward the mission supporters and contributors!

Not all the financial support came from abroad. The friars also were able to make money themselves by their own efforts. They had acquired a great deal of skill and experience during the bricks-and-mortar years. As a result, when the government let out contracts for building, the friars were often able to put in a successful tender. The government was willing to give them the contract because it knew they would do the job properly. Saint Francis had said to his friars, 'I worked with my hands and I still desire to work; and I most earnestly want all my brothers to employ themselves in honest work. Let those who do not know how to work learn...' (12) In some missions it was this income which kept the mission in operation. It was supplemented by using mission transport for haulage work for local traders and businessmen. There was a pastoral benefit in this also: it clearly has a greater impact when a priest is seen to do manual work than when he simply preaches a sermon on it. In a society where the rush for the white-collar jobs pushes the value of manual work into the background, it is a good message to get across.

A largely untapped source of support is the local people themselves. At the beginning of the mission's work, it would not have been realistic to have expected anything in the form of cash support. Where it was a matter of building schools the people were asked to contribute something, either materials or labour, and they usually did so. To a person coming from the relative prosperity of Europe it often seemed unfair to ask the people for financial support. A study of this question has been undertaken and published: it suggests that local

people could provide a considerably larger proportion of the income needed to sustain the Church's work. (13)
But, with few exceptions, little has been done to make this a reality.

Chapter 6: PROGRESS STEP BY STEP AND STONE BY STONE (1)

Sancta Maria, Lukulu, 1935

While the friars were at Loanja in 1934, it was decided that a visit should be made to the Litunga, Yeta III, in Mongu. Frs. Phelim and Fintan were chosen and they set out on foot on 6 June. It was a long walk to Limulunga near Mongu where the Litunga was spending the cold season, but they arrived in good spirits, and arranged for a meeting with him. He was a tall man, with a small beard; he spoke good English, and wore European clothes. He received them with the gracious courtesy characteristic of the Lozi people. They explained to him the purpose of their visit. They spoke about the problems of the situation in Loanja, and asked to be allowed to set up houses at Lukulu and Senanga. He was familiar with the problems of “spheres of influence” and replied that he had no objection provided that they came to an agreement with the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society. They replied that, as his kingdom was very large, there was room enough for all of them. The meeting ended with his recommending them to make application through the usual channels.

In Mongu, the Government Education Department loaned the friars a barge so that they could go to Lukulu to look for suitable sites. They went north and found the place of their choice on a rise of ground on the east bank of the river. Fr. Phelim placed a medal of Our Lady in the ground and asked her to help them get that site. They

returned to Mongu and lodged their applications with the appropriate authorities for that site and for one in Senanga. They then set out to return to Loanja.

In due time, they received the official reply. Both applications were refused because of objections by the Paris Mission, which had established a school for Standards I and II pupils at Lukulu, and considered it to be in their sphere of influence. At Senanga they had a bigger establishment. However, there was a ray of hope. A mission would be allowed at Kang'ombe, about 80 km. up the Kabompo River, a tributary of the Zambezi. This slim hope was grasped and built on. In August 1935, the friars set up their tents in an area as unpopulated and remote as Loanja. After some months of walking through the whole area it became clear that there was no future for a mission in it. There were only a few people scattered in small groups here and there. Having spent from August 1935 to March 1936 trekking through the whole area, they came to the conclusion that it would be a waste of manpower to make a beginning there. One Loanja was enough. So they went south to a place called Silembe, about 10 km north of Lukulu, and set up their base there in 1936. They were joined by Fr. Livinus who had walked up from Loanja.

While this was happening they still held on to the hope that their original request would be granted, and they continued negotiations with the authorities for this purpose. Finally, on 8 December 1936, the friars were told by the Rev. Mr. Coisson of the Paris Mission that it had withdrawn its objection. (2) The way to Lukulu was

finally open, and, for the third time in a little over a year, they began to set up a new mission. It had been a hard struggle, but at last they could feel they were making progress. The friars gave the foundation the name of Sancta Maria because of the permission arriving on the feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

No sooner had they received permission than the work of building began. A house, a church, and then the schools followed rapidly. As already mentioned, the teachers' training school was begun there in 1938. Brothers Alexius and Dominic came into their own as builders of schools not only in the central mission but also in the outlying areas. Fr. Cuthbert was in charge of the schools and rapidly built up an extensive system, which, by 1942, had twenty schools.

Lukulu is a place of extraordinary beauty, with wonderful sunsets over the river and the plain to the west. It was a canonical foundation of the Order, one of two on the mission (the other was Mangango). Fr. Phelim (later Bishop T. P. O'Shea) held it in great affection, not least because of the trouble involved in getting into it; he saw it as the jewel in the crown of the mission. And there he was buried after his death on 26 May 1979.

Today, Lukulu has a large hospital and a leper village run by the Holy Cross Sisters, while the Christian Brothers teach in the secondary school which has 300 boys. There are thirty-six Mass centres in the parish, apart from the central mission.

The Capuchins are no longer in Lukulu, through an unusual combination of circumstances. Bishop O'Shea's successor, Bishop Adrian Mung'andu, was anxious to find more priests for his diocese as vocations from the Capuchins in Ireland were drying up from the late sixties onwards. After much effort, he secured the agreement of American Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI), and he offered them Lukulu. It wasn't his to offer, but he seems to have been unaware of that, and said nothing to the Capuchins about it. When two Oblates came to Lukulu, for what the friars thought was nothing more than a visit, they, who were unaware of the bishop's *faux pas*, asked when it would be suitable for them to take over. The friars didn't know what they were talking about, as they had been told nothing.

Bishop Mung'andu was embarrassed when informed of his mistake, but the friars covered for him by agreeing to leave and give the place to the OMI's. Saint Francis had said that, if a bishop throws the friars out, they should not get involved in contention about it, but accept it. That's what the friars did.

Saint Fidelis, Sichili, 1936

At about the same time as the friars were trying to get into the Lukulu area, the men stationed in Loanja were trying to get away from there. Their persistence brought them success, and, as already mentioned, they were allowed in 1935 to open out-schools from Loanja. However, they still had to use it as their home-base. Their hope was to gain entry to Sichili where they would

be in a more central position. But the same problem as elsewhere arose here. The Paris Mission objected as it had a Standards I and II school at Sikole, the original name of Sichili. The following year (3), the Parish Mission withdrew its objection, and permission was given for the move to Sichili in June 1936. The transfer was made in the following two months, and then work began on the buildings. By December 1936, a house was built, a school was opened, and the church of Saint Fidelis was under construction. Fr. Christopher was the first superior there, until his transfer to the teachers' training school in Lukulu.

In the following year more friars arrived and put their energy into building up the school system. Msgr. Flynn wrote in a report in March 1940,

Father Agathangelus and Father Cuthbert have made Sichili a first-class station in only two years. Time was when I wondered if it would have to be evacuated, its spiritual and educational results were so wretched. Now its twelve out-stations are noted in Barotse for their very high attendances. Government reports on the Sichili area are the best I have ever read.'(4)

Teachers were needed for all these schools, and Fr. Raymond began a government-sponsored training programme called T-five, which was a crash course for new teachers. Fr. Capistran began a trade-school where brick-work and carpentry were taught. It was he also who provided the mission with an excellent water-

supply. He dug a canal from the head-waters of the Namakala stream to a point where there was a sharp fall in the ground, and there he placed a hydraulic ram. Sichili has had a satisfactory flow of water twenty-four hours a day since then at no cost other than the occasional cleaning and deepening of the canal. Fr. Capistran spent twenty-three years in Sichili, to be followed by Fr. Luke from 1966 to 1979.

Sichili mission has provided for the area a 120-bed hospital, a leper village, a home-craft centre, a boarding house for primary school girls, an orphanage, and, at one time, even ran the postal service. There are sixteen Mass centres in the parish.

In the years 1978-80, Sichili and the surrounding area were sometimes overflowed by aircraft of the Rhodesian and South African air forces, each in pursuit of guerrillas. The South Africans dropped leaflets urging people not to help guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organization, fighting for independence for their country, stating that, while Zambians were suffering shortages of all kinds, SWAPO's leaders were enjoying wine and women in the best European hotels in the name of freedom. On one occasion, they blasted to oblivion a mining camp drilling for diamonds off the road between Nawinda and Lwampongu, presumably thinking it was a SWAPO training camp. It actually belonged to the South African De Beers mining company! Fortunately the workers were in the forest when the attack came, and, although everything was destroyed, no one was hurt.

Of the original Loanja mission, which is in Sichili parish, nothing remains but the cemetery. The buildings are gone and the forest is growing back into the area where they stood. Only a cross set up by Fr. Flannan marks the site of the mission. In 1982, the Capuchins notified the bishop that they would have to withdraw from Sichili because of shortage of personnel. Their place was taken by *Fidei Donum* priests from Croatia. (5)

Saint Joseph, Mukunkiki-Mangango, 1937

Msgr. Flynn was hoping to expand the number of mission stations to cover, if possible, the whole territory entrusted to the friars. In 1937, the government cut a track through the forest so as to link Mongu to Lusaka some 620 km. away. Although the road was at first scarcely usable, it was likely that it would be developed in future, and that it would attract people to it for ease of communication with the rest of the country. Msgr. Flynn hoped that the Order could establish a mission at Mankoya (now Kaoma), but, as there was a house of the Paris Mission nearby, this was ruled out.

In 1938, Frs. Fintan and Timothy (5) spent three weeks trekking through the district looking for suitable sites. After some negotiations with Mwene (Chief) Mutondo and the District Commissioner, they were given a site at Mukunkiki stream, about 50 km west of Mankoya, and about 3 km. from the new road. Here, in 1938, Fr. Fintan, with Bros. Alexius and Dominic, built a church, a friary, and a school with boarding houses. One of the

first teachers was Mr. Josaphat Siyomunji, who later became a Member of the National Assembly, and a Cabinet Minister. (6) In 1940, a group of newly-trained teachers arrived from the teachers' training school in Lukulu.

One of those who began work in Mukunkiki was Fr. Salvator. In 1950, he was given a temporary transfer to Livingstone to help Bishop O'Shea. The "temporary" transfer lasted almost fifty years, during which time he served as parish priest of Maramba, prison chaplain, secretary to the bishop, education secretary and vicar-general of the diocese – sometimes all at once! He also made himself fluent in Bemba, Nyanja and Lozi.

In later years, Bro. Gabriel worked in Mukunkiki with Frs. Aquinas and Salvator. In 1948, the decision was taken to move the mission to Mangango, about 30 km. away. This was at the suggestion of Fr. Aquinas who believed that the new site would be more central to its catchment area, and would provide access to a greater population. (7) In September 1946, he began work on a bridge over the Luena River. When this was completed in January 1947, the job of clearing a road from Mukunkiki to Mangango was begun, and lasted until May. Then work began on the new mission under Bro. Gabriel's supervision. A pole-and-dagga friary was ready for occupation in July 1948. Later on, permanent structures replaced these earlier ones.

The friars built a new friary, but, when the possibility was raised of sisters coming to staff a hospital, they

vacated their new building and went back to the old pole-and-dagga friary, leaving the new building for the Franciscan Missionaries of the Divine Motherhood to move into. It was then re-modelled on the directions of the sisters' foundress, Mother Francis.

The present Mangango mission has twelve Mass centres, a 115-bed hospital, a home-craft centre, and a leper village. The home-craft centre was run by an Irish lay missionary, Miss Nell Dillon, from Beragh, near Omagh in County Tyrone, who spent seventeen years there. In addition to her work in the centre, and with women's groups, she pioneered the growing of rice in the area, and it became a valuable cash crop for local farmers.

The leper village was unique in that it was largely self-sufficient in food production. In addition to gardens, it had fish ponds near the Luena River. In recent times, changes in the treatment of Hansen's disease (leprosy) have resulted in a gradual shift from in-patient to out-patient treatment, although patient compliance is a large problem because of cultural factors such as fear and ignorance about the disease.

In Mangango parish, there is a large settlement of refugees from the civil war in Angola at a place on the Luena River called Mayukwayukwa. A war of independence against Portuguese rule began in Angola in the nineteen sixties, with three separate groups operating in different tribal areas. In keeping with Cold War politics, rival Western powers fought out their

differences by proxy, so that the United States supported UNITA and the Soviet Union the MPLA. The third guerrilla organization, which was supported by Zaire, did not last long. Portugal's Carnation Revolution of 25 April 1974 led to independence for its colonies, previously described as "Overseas Provinces." In Angola's case, independence in 1975 turned the war of independence into a civil war, one which is still raging and still causing refugees to flee for their lives.

As elsewhere, the Angolan refugees brought their Catholic faith with them. Mayukwayukwa is a thriving centre of faith with an energy and vitality which is refreshing.

A special feature of Mangango mission is the dam on the Luena. The idea of building one was conceived by Bro. Daniel, who chose a spot and persuaded the villagers to accept the idea of some of their land being flooded. The work of construction was largely done under the direction of Mr. Liam Cronin from near Ballingeary in County Cork. The turbine and generator for the dam, custom-built in Germany, were stolen at the port of Dar-es-Salaam, and this delayed completion of the project by about two years until a replacement came. It generates electricity twenty-four hours a day. This is of vital importance to the hospital, in ensuring constant refrigeration of vaccines, and facility in using X-rays and other equipment. It has saved a great deal of money in fuel costs.

The Grand Old Man of Mangango is Brother Gabriel McGillicuddy, a Corkman. In his early days in

Mangango, he had been seriously injured when, during construction of the school, a ladder on which he was standing fell backwards and he was flung to the ground. At the time, the only hospital was in Mongu, over 200 km. away on a dirt road. It was remarkable that he survived, but he did, and, at the age of eighty-one, he supervised the construction of a new kitchen in the leper village.

Christ the King, Maramba, 1940

From the time of their coming to Livingstone the friars had worked among the police and soldiers in their camp at Maramba suburb. But, with the passage of time, the old buildings there were no longer adequate to cope with the needs of a rapidly growing area of the town. In the nineteen fifties, the Northern Rhodesian Government undertook a large building project in the area, building several hundred homes for the local people.

In 1940, Msgr. Flynn acquired a site across the Maramba stream, and there Bro. Dominic built a church, a friary, a boarding and day school for boys and girls, a convent and a domestic science hall. The Holy Cross Sisters staffed these latter institutions. In later years they began the secondary school there – one of the first Catholic girls' secondary schools in the country. Fr. Cuthbert was the first parish priest.

In 1962, a new church was opened to cater for the large and varied population in Maramba, Libuyu, and the surrounding compounds. Masses are celebrated in Lozi, Nyanja, Bemba and English. Nearby is the convent of

the Sisters of Saint Francis, a diocesan sisterhood founded by Bishop O'Shea. The bishop's house and diocesan office adjoin it. It must be one of the simplest examples anywhere of a *palazzo vescovale*.

Saint Patrick, Sihole, 1943

Msgr. Flynn had been hoping for some time to open a mission west of the Zambezi, but he was prevented by shortage of manpower. The government had offered him an opening there since it was anxious to have schools in the area, as it was the most underdeveloped part of the Barotseland Protectorate. Msgr. Flynn wrote in 1942,

Re the proposed new station west of the Zambezi this year – it is dropping into our laps and we cannot afford to turn it down this time, Last year Government actually twice asked me to fill an excellent similar spot. They would have given us a building grant as an inducement – an unheard of thing. Through insufficiency of staff I tried to hedge and postpone acceptance. They couldn't wait. Another mission took it. That whole area is gone – a most strategic one.' (8)

Despite this setback, there was fresh hope because of the arrival of Frs. Albeus and Alfred in 1942. Fr. Alfred gave outstanding service to the mission in Zambia and in the Cape by serving as its Regular Superior from 1950 to 1967.

Msgr. Flynn and Fr. Phelim walked the Kalabo district in 1942. Sites for ten schools were chosen on high ground overlooking Lake Sihole, at a point about 50 km. south-west of Kalabo Boma. The first Mass was celebrated there on 21 July 1942. It was decided to send Fr. Gerard there with Bro. Alexius so as to maintain the claim to the area until it could be built up. Msgr. Flynn recognized that it would be hard on them to be alone on the west of the river. He wrote, 'We will tray and arrange a series of visits from other stations. It is going to be another lonely spot.'(10) He kept his promise and sent Fr. Capistran there from Sichili. He made the journey on foot in February 1944. (11)

The two friars built a pole-and-dagga friary with a thatched roof, and then began the work of burning bricks for the buildings which would follow. The place where the bricks were being burned was about 2 km. from the friary. As it was important that the fires be kept going night and day for three days, Fr. Gerard decided to sleep near the kiln at night to maintain the fire. Shortly afterwards he came down with a bout of malaria. Quinine was in short supply due to war-time rationing so there was little he could do but go to bed and sweat it out. His health had not been good since his trouble with a bone marrow disease a few years previously; the food in Sihole was poor; and he had driven himself with great intensity in his desire to build a church quickly. His condition worsened and the malaria turned to black water fever. The people's treatment for this fever was to drink large quantities of local beer, and to become fully drunk for several days; nothing else available seemed to

work. One of the Holy Cross Sisters in Caprivi survived the fever in this way. But perhaps the friars in Sihole did not know of this.

Fr. Capistran gave him the last sacraments before he passed into a coma, from which he did not regain consciousness. He died on 12 July 1944 at the age of thirty-one, having served on the mission for seven years. Bro. Alexius had the sad duty of making a coffin for him using some of the planks intended for the new church. Surely Saint Francis would have said of Gerard, 'Now I can truly say I have a brother.'

The news of his death was sent to his parents at Urlingford in County Kilkenny, Ireland, and to all the friaries. He was the first friar to die on the new mission. The news came as a great shock as he was a young man who, seemingly, had a long life ahead of him. May he rest in peace.

Fr. Jerome came up from Cape Town to take his place, and the work went on. The church, convent, clinic and schools were built.

A friar who spent about fourteen years in Sihole was Fr. Conor, a Cavanman. He worked to develop agriculture in the area, and also dug canals to drain swamps in order to reduce the incidence of malaria. He pioneered rice growing and it caught on, becoming an established part of the farmers' annual crop cycle. And he hired out a tractor to local farmers.

Because the Boma was so far away, and the local people had no transport, the friars decided to establish a shop there to make goods available to the people, especially basic necessities such as sugar, salt, soap, mealie meal, cooking oil and matches. The friars often queried their involvement in such a project. The case for it was clear, as stated above. But business projects operate to a different dynamic from the pastoral. The priest-people relationship is very different from the salesman-customer one, or even more from the creditor-debtor. Many felt it created ambiguity in relations with people and compromised the simplicity of the Gospel. A simple example is that if a person owed money and did not have the means of re-paying it, he or she might miss Mass because of not wanting to meet the priest. Various approaches were tried, such as employing a local person to look after the shop so that the friars would not be its public face, but none was found to be satisfactory.

At the first Mission Chapter held in Lusaka at the end of 1978, the friars found it necessary to withdraw from some houses because of lack of personnel and the unavailability of new sources of supply. Sihole was one of five listed. The friars left it in 1979 and it was run as an out-station from Nalionwa in Kalabo. Some of the mission buildings were given to the government for use as a clinic.

What surprised many was that, after the friars left, the mission blossomed. It had never been very active, much less flourishing, while the friars had been there. But when the people saw that the future depended on them,

that the church in their area would sink or swim depending on what they did, they responded to the challenge and took the direction of their community into their hands with an energy and commitment that was new. One type of mission, it seemed, had to die so that another could flourish. *Pereat ut floreat.*

Holy Family, Caprivi Strip, South West Africa, 1944

The Eastern Caprivi Strip lies to the south of Zambia's Western Province, with the Chobe River (also called the Linyanti, Mashi, or Cuando) forming its southern boundary. It is a strip of land, about 40 km. wide at its western end, appended to South West Africa (Namibia) and sandwiched between Botswana on the south and Zambia on the north. It also touches Zimbabwe. This geographic and political oddity has a chequered history which reflects in a small way the disturbances which have troubled Africa since the nineteenth century.

At the Berlin conference of 1884, the European colonial powers divided up the African continent between them. The German Empire was allotted, among other areas, the territory which became known as German South West Africa. However, Count Georg Leo von Caprivi who succeeded Otto von Bismarck as German Chancellor wanted to have access from this new territory to the Indian Ocean by means of the Zambezi, so he entered into negotiations with Britain for a strip of territory linking the two. Agreement was reached in 1890, and the Caprivi *Zipfel* (German for a corner, or tail) was conceded to Germany by Britain in return for a

German concession in East Africa. It was a useless exercise from both points of view. The Zambezi is not navigable to the Indian Ocean. For most of the year, except in the flood season, it is relatively shallow; it is wide and broken up by many islands, and then there are the Victoria Falls to be negotiated, a drop of a hundred metres. From Britain's point of view it created problems in that a piece of German territory intruded between two British ones, Barotseland and Bechuanaland. Despite attempts by British diplomats to persuade the Germans to re-negotiate, the 1890 arrangement stood. (12)

When Germany was defeated in World War I, it lost its colonies, and South West Africa was assigned to South Africa under a League of Nations mandate, which, in turn, became a United Nations after World War II. South Africa has remained in control since then, despite a guerrilla war which began in 1966 waged by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). At present there is a local government in Caprivi under South Africa's Bantustan policy. That arrangement is likely to be as ephemeral as German rule was earlier on. Negotiations have been under way for several years, which it is hoped will lead to an agreed and recognized independence for Namibia in the early 1980's.

In 1943, the magistrate of the Caprivi Strip, Major Trollope, asked the Seventh Day Adventist missionaries to leave the area as a result of a long-standing dispute he had had with them. He then asked Fr. Agathangelus, who was based in Sichili, to provide a Catholic mission for the area. Accordingly, in February 1944, Fr.

Agathangelus walked through the Strip, and chose a site for the mission at Lisikili. Major Trollope advised him against it because the area was subject to flooding in the rainy season. However, Fr. Agathangelus was anxious to build away from the Adventist mission at Katima Mulilo, which had been built in 1934, and which still had one missionary in it. (The name *Katima Mulilo* means *quench the fire*; its origin is unknown.) He made an application for Lisikili and the South African government gave its consent to the opening of a mission there.

In making these arrangements, Fr. Agathangelus seems to have gone further than his instructions from Msgr. Flynn. (13) These were to survey the area and report back to the Monsignor with a recommendation as to the choice of site. So, in May 1944, Msgr. Flynn and Fr. Phelim undertook a new survey of the area, and decided that Lisikili would be an out-school and that the mission would be built at Katima Mulilo as soon as the site was vacated by the remaining Adventist missionary.

Another matter which had to be arranged was a change in ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as the Eastern Caprivi Strip lay outside the Victoria Falls Prefecture assigned to Msgr. Flynn in 1936. It was part of the Apostolic Vicariate of Windhoek, which is the capital of South West Africa. This is 1,000 km. as the crow flies from Katima Mulilo, and the bishop, Joseph Gotthard, was probably only too glad to hand over the territory to Msgr. Flynn, as it relieved him of a responsibility which he was quite likely unable to meet. (14)

Frs. Albeus and Jarlath and Bro. Fergus built up the mission at Katima Mulilo, which included the nearby Ngwezi township and many out-stations in the Eastern Caprivi. Bro. Dominic, who spent many years in Caprivi, built a large hospital which was staffed by the Holy Cross Sisters. It was he also who built the new church in 1935. The head-teacher of the primary school was Mr. Daniel Mundia, an older brother of Mr. Nalumino Mundia, the present (1982) Prime Minister of Zambia, who also taught there for some time. (15) The Holy Cross Sisters were also involved in school work there, both primary and secondary. These schools and the hospitals have now been handed over to government control, while the mission itself with its forty-three out-stations is threatened with closure because of the shortage of priests.

Saint Francis, Malengwa, Mongu, 1947

The friaries set up prior to 1947 were on the fringes of Barotseland rather than at its heart. The centre of life and activity in the west was Mongu, the principal town of the protectorate. For many years the friars had hoped to be able to open a house there. When they made formal application in 1943, they were refused. Applying again in 1947, they were given permission to build a church and friary, but the application for a school was again refused. It was finally granted in 1956.

The site of the new mission was at Malengwa, overlooking the Barotse Plain about 6 km. from Mongu. Fr. Macanise and Bro. Fergus began work on the buildings

and were joined later by Fr. Agathangelus and Bro. Andrew. By Christmas 1947 the church and friary were complete and all was ready in time for the midnight Mass. The work assigned to Fr. Agathangelus was that of setting up the Education Secretariat already referred to.

Henry Sinjwala, who had been such a great help in Loanja, came to Malengwa as a catechist, and worked there until his death. He was one of a generation of catechists who gave sterling service to the Church, especially in the difficult pioneering years. Their knowledge of local customs and culture, language and tradition, was invaluable. They were a bridge between a foreign clergy and the local people. In all likelihood, they helped forestall many problems, ease many tensions, explain many difficulties, and all with little recognition. Their pay, too, was poor.

The new mission expanded rapidly so that its small beginning is almost lost in the developments that have taken place since then. A large primary school for boys and girls was built in 1956, to be followed in 1962 by the Holy Cross Secondary School for girls. In 1965, the Teachers' Training College was transferred from Lukulu to Malengwa. The last connection of the friars with teacher training was severed in 1979 when Fr. John Grace handed over the office of principal to a Zambian. Some Holy Cross Sisters are still on the staff. A large new church was built in 1962 to accommodate the growing population of the area, while a well-equipped parish hall was added in 1973.

When Fr. Ronan was Education Secretary in the nineteen sixties he began a credit union among the teachers with the title of Capuchin Credit Union (CACU). It is now known simply as the Mongu teachers' Credit Union. Mother Maurice of the Holy Cross Sisters was also involved for many years in credit union work.

A more recent development which is still in the planning stages is that of a home for physically handicapped children under the care of the Presentation Sisters. This was initially suggested at a Chapter of the friars in 1978 as a response to the UN Year of the Child.

Saint Anthony, Sioma, 1953

Christian missionary work in Sioma began with the Paris Mission building a technical school there in 1904. Nothing is known of it beyond that fact, and that, for whatever reason, it did not last.

As far back as 1934, the friars had applied for permission to open a mission in the Senanga district, but had been refused. It was their hope that, one day, they would have a mission on the west bank of the river to serve the large area from Mongu in the north to Katima Mulilo in the south, from the Zambezi in the east to the Angolan border on the west, an area of some 25,000 sq. km., in all of which there was no mission.

Prior to 1953, the bishop and Fr. Capistran trekked through the area looking for sites, until they found the one now in use. It is near the Zambezi, at a point about 75 km. south of Senanga Boma, and is reached from

there by the ferry at Kalongola. The site is a beautiful one, and has the advantage of being only about 10 km. from the Ngonye Falls, where it is possible to have a safe and enjoyable swim at any time of the year. The Falls, which are about ten metres high, depending on the time of year, were submerged during some exceptionally wet rainy seasons, such as 1958, 1968 and 1978. An attempt was made in the nineteen twenties by a man called Campbell to build a canal around them to make portage unnecessary, but it does not seem to have come to fruition. A feature of the rock in the area of the Falls is that it is volcanic in origin, with strange, smooth holes through it which David Livingstone, normally a careful and astute observer, suggested had been drilled by rock-eating insects to which he assigned the neologism *lapidivores!*

Br. Andrew, an amateur archaeologist, discovered stone axe-heads in the area, which were sent to Tokyo for analysis and pronounced to be several thousand years old. Through Livingstone Museum, his findings were published in archaeological journals.

It seemed to many of the friars at the time that there was little to be said for the choice of Sioma as the population was small. However, the building of the mission drew a population to it. A full primary school for boys and girls was built, and a clinic also. In both of these works, the Holy Cross Sisters, and, since 1972, the Franciscan Missionary Sisters for Africa have played a large part. Some of the latter had been expelled from Uganda during Idi Amin's rule and came to Zambia after

some forty years of service in that country to begin a new life of service to Africa. The pattern of development was like that at other missions: there was the central mission with its large church, the school with its boarding institution, and the clinic. Linked to these were the out-schools and Mass centres. To ease communication with the east bank of the river, to areas such as Sibukali and Mwanamwalye, Fr. Flannan built a pontoon which, after some years, was handed over to the Zambian government. Fr. Philip built a market where local people could buy and sell their produce, engaged in other agricultural development projects and oversaw the construction of a school at Beshe and a clinic at Kaungamashi.

In recent years, Sioma has had a new role thrust upon it which it would rather have done without. Reference has already been made to the guerrilla war in Namibia (South West Africa) between the South African forces and SWAPO. From 1978 onwards there were many attacks by South African air and ground forces in the border areas and deep into Zambian territory in pursuit of the guerrillas. In the course of these attacks they resorted at times to burning down villages and destroying crops in the border areas so as to deprive SWAPO of potential support. Refugees from the affected areas came northwards towards Sioma in the hope of finding safety, food and shelter. Before long the mission became the centre of a relief operation.

Matters became more difficult when South African ground forces blew up the pontoon at Kalongola, and

captured the Sesheke pontoon. They also destroyed the bridge at Matebele. In addition, they sank villagers' canoes. The purpose of this was probably to prevent SWAPO guerrillas finding refuge from their attacks east of the river. These moves were linked to bombing operations by the South African air force, the strafing of road traffic, and the establishment of South African army camps and helicopter bases inside Zambian territory.

To make matters more difficult, roads in the southwest of the country were mined, although it is not clear by whom. Many people lost their lives because of them, even years afterwards, and the transport of relief supplies became an impossibility in many areas. The only mine-clearing people could undertake was to drive a herd of cattle ahead of them on the road, but this was limited in its effectiveness on account of the diversity of triggering devices that activated the mines. When Fr. Macartan pointed out to a South African officer that perfectly innocent people, such as the children of a local trader, had been killed by air attacks on vehicles and also that the mission needed to use the roads to bring people to hospital, he replied, 'You needn't think that the Red Cross on the roof of your Landrover is going to make any difference!'

The difficulty of the situation is illustrated by what happened to two priests visiting Sioma, Fr. Paul Chuwa, a Spiritan missionary from Tanzania, and a German priest from *Missio*, the German bishops' missionary support body. When travelling to Sioma from the north, they were held up by a South African patrol, whose

soldiers, a surprisingly undisciplined group who appeared to take little notice of their officer, declared their intention of killing Fr. Paul, because of his country's support for SWAPO, and because, not long before, they had heard that some fifteen of their comrades had been killed in Caprivi during an exchange of artillery fire with Zambian forces. Through the German priest's effort and his speaking to them in German, which is like their own Afrikaans, they were dissuaded. A few days later, leaving Sioma for Sesheke, the two men were again held up on the road, this time by SWAPO guerrillas who, like their South African opposite numbers, were in killing mode, said they would kill the German priest because they suspected he was really South African. This time it was Fr. Paul's turn to save his confrère. He told them of what had happened a few days before, of how the German priest had saved him. Impressed, the guerrillas let them both go.

Since 1975, when Angola became independent of Portugal, civil war has raged in the east and south of the country between government forces (MPLA) and the guerrilla army of Jonas Savimbi (UNITA). The former are supported by Cuba and the Soviet Union, the latter by South Africa and the United States. The West African proverb, 'When elephants fight, it's the grass that suffers' applies in this case. Large numbers of refugees from the fighting in Angola have moved across into Zambia's Western Province. Because of pressure from the United Nations, the South Africans have now withdrawn their troops from Zambia, and mine-clearing operations have made the roads safe again.

Since 1980, Frs. Benignus and Patrick Mayungo, along with Bro. Raphael Maliti, have been at the centre of a relief operation which is struggling to bring food to some 23,000 refugees (16), and to provide them with seed, tools and fertilizer, so that they can begin to provide for themselves in the years ahead. The money for this operation has come from a variety of sources including Catholic Relief Services, the Zambia Episcopal Conference, the Lutheran World Federation, the Zambian government and army, and Irish Aid in Lusaka.

Sacred Heart, Chinyingi, and Our Lady of Fatima, Zambezi, 1953

The people in the northern part of the mission speak different languages from those in the centre and south. The principal languages there are Luvale and Lunda. In 1954, the bishop gained possession of a site for a mission at Chinyingi, on the west bank of the river, about 40 km. north of the Boma at Balovale (now Zambezi). Frs. Aquinas and Emmanuel began work there in 1954, and, in the following year, began work on the church in the Boma. Schools, and a 50-bed hospital run by the Franciscan Missionaries of the Divine Motherhood, soon followed. One of the friars who did much work in the Luvale language was Fr. Frederick; he died tragically while swimming near Cape Town in 1968.

In 1965, American Capuchins from the New Jersey Province came and took over these two missions. In 1966, they expanded by building a new mission at

Kabompo, about 120 km. due east of Zambezi Boma. It is dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel.

The New Jersey friars, by taking on these missions, considerably eased the burden on the Irish friars. One of their number, Fr. Roch Robito, died tragically on 15 December 1971, along with Sr. Delphinia FMDM and a number of local people, when the boat in which they were taking a seriously ill woman to hospital capsized while crossing the Zambezi.

Spurred on in part by this loss, the friars decided to try and construct a bridge over the Zambezi. Bro. Crispin, an Italian American of the New Jersey Province, was assigned the task but was hesitant in view of his lack of training in engineering. He consulted the only engineers he could find – but their experience was in mining. They drew up plans for a suspension bridge, but it seems they got their sums wrong, because, as work progressed according to the plan, it became evident that the bridge would be suspended – under water! They went back to the drawing boards and tried again. Amazingly, the second bridge was also a “submarine” model. So, at that point Crispin decided to try it himself. He got it right, and brought the project to completion. In later years, it was featured in an article in the *National Geographic* magazine.

Saint Laurence, Limulunga, 1959

The name Limulunga is said to originate in the Lozi word *Mulonga*, which means capital. It is, in fact, the

capital of the Litunga and his court during the flood season when they leave Lialui on the flooded plain in the colourful *Kuomboka* ceremony and cross onto dry land. The palace there was built in 1932 and houses, among other things, a new museum of the Lozi people called *Nayuma*.

In keeping with repeated recommendations of popes, the friars had it in mind to foster vocations to the local priesthood. Of necessity this was a slow process since the Church in most other parts of Zambia had been started a full fifty years before the Capuchins got off to their difficult start at Loanja.

Nonetheless, Msgr. Flynn made a beginning at Lukulu in 1947 by attaching a programme to the teachers' training school course. His idea was that men would train first as teachers, get some experience in it, and then, if they felt called by God to the priesthood, begin to study for it in Lukulu. If they came to find that it was not for them, they could return to teaching. If they stayed the course, they could then progress to the next step by entering the seminary at Chishawasha in Southern Rhodesia. However, the project did not come to fruition; perhaps it was too early for such a big step, but it was good that an imaginative start had been made.

To give this work some real impetus a minor seminary was begun in 1959 at Limulunga, about 20 km. north of Mongu. (A minor seminary is a secondary school for boys considering the priesthood as a vocation.) The first pupils were admitted in 1961. Because it was not an

ordinary mission school but was founded for the specific purpose of fostering vocations to the priesthood, no government grants were requested or given for it. The money for the seminary came entirely from Rome. For the same reason the seminary was not included in the handover of school to the government in 1974.

Initially, boys of Standards V and VI were taught, but classes were later extended to Forms I and II. Frs. Frederick and Donatus played a large part in getting it into operation. The parish of Limulunga was also part of their responsibility, and a large church was built there in 1962 by Herr Heinz Nienhaus, a volunteer from Germany, who also built the new churches at Malengwa and Sioma in the early 1960's.

The minor seminary functioned as such for fifteen years. In January 1976, it was closed and the boys were transferred to a seminary hostel attached to Saint John's Secondary School at Katongo, near Mongu. The reason for its closure was principally that it was not achieving its purpose of fostering vocations to the priesthood. This was because of the poor academic and other qualities of the students who applied; most of the applicants were, on their own later admission, not seriously interested in the priesthood; they were not enough staff; and some facilities were poor – for example, there was no science room. (17) Only one of the students, Patrick Mayungo, became a priest.

In 1978, the Ministry of Education was offered the use of the buildings on a temporary basis to house pupils

from Sesheke where the secondary school had been badly damaged during an artillery battle between South African soldiers on one side, and a combined Zambian army and SWAPO force on the other on the night of 13 August 1978. The offer was not taken up and other provision was made for the pupils.

Beginning in 1980, Limulunga became a postulancy for candidates to the Capuchin Order, and it still serves that purpose. (More will be said about this in the following chapter.)

Saint Michael, Nalionwa, 1960

In the Kalabo district there was considerable discussion about girls' education during the nineteen fifties. Fr. Conor, who was stationed at Sihole, was instrumental into bringing into operation a school for girls at Nalionwa, near the Kalabo Boma. In 1959, Fr. Bruno and Bro. Gabriel began work on the church of Saint Michael the Archangel, and on the school buildings; this work was completed in 1960.

Two congregations of sisters worked in the school and its attached boarding institution, and went on to develop a system of cooperatives and welfare work in the area.

Since the withdrawal of the friars from Sihole in 1979, the care of the people of that parish has been entrusted to Nalionwa. One of the problems peculiar to these areas is that they are cut off from the rest of the diocese for several months each year. During the flood season,

roughly from December to March, the journey across river, through many channels and tributaries, takes three hours by speed-boat, or eight hours by the local motor-power “banana” boats.

Bro. Hugh in Malengwa has for many years rendered an invaluable service not only to the friars but to the people to the west of the river by maintaining an excellent barge service for the transport of goods across the river. The barge, which he named *Arkle* after a special friend, he built himself; he is a welder by trade. It can carry ten tons of goods.

Holy Child, Makunka, 1961

The name *Makunka* means ears of corn. A new mission was built there in 1961, some 65 km. from Livingstone. It is situated near the railway line from Livingstone to Mulobezi, at a point about 40 km. from the main road between Livingstone and Sesheke. The people in the Makunka area are mainly Toka by tribe, though the Lozi language is understood.

One of the reasons for the choice of Makunka was that it was considered a suitable place for the training of sisters of the new congregation founded by the bishop. (18) However, this did not materialize.

The Franciscan Missionary Sisters for Africa have a rural health centre there with a network of “Under-Five” clinics in the surrounding area. These cater principally for young children and include immunization programmes and pre- and post-natal care.

Fr. Macartan spent many years in Makunka before the mission was handed over to the diocese because of the declining number of Capuchins. Fortunately, the bishop was able to find some Holy Ghost Fathers, who had previously worked in Nigeria, to undertake its care.

Saint John's Secondary School, Katongo, 1962

A junior secondary school for boys had been in operation at Lukulu since 1957. It was then decided to transfer it to the more central location at Katongo, near Mongu. Frs. Edwin and Emmanuel were the first principal and vice-principal respectively. The buildings were erected by Bros. Maurice, Joseph, Gabriel and Eugene and Fr. Brian. It was this team also that built the Holy Cross Girls' Secondary School at Malengwa. Saint John's is a boarding school, so this was a large job. Before long, the school was expanded to include senior secondary. When Saint Laurence minor seminary closed, its pupils were moved to a seminary hostel attached to Saint John's.

Christian Brothers from Ireland were given responsibility for the school in 1967, and they have built it up to provide for 500 boys, of whom 480 are boarders.

Maria Regina, Linda, Livingstone, 1965

Linda, a suburb of Livingstone, was originally a part of Maramba parish, but was set up as a separate unit in 1965. The church and friary were built under the direction of Br. Joseph. There is a primary school of 700

pupils, and a new secondary school in the parish, both of which are Zambian government institutions. The parish, which, in 1972, came under the care of the Holy Ghost Fathers, includes the prison and the railway compounds.

Saint Jude, Senanga, 1966

Senanga Boma is situated on the east bank of the Zambezi River, about 120 km. south of Mongu. When a secondary school was opened in the town it became a matter of some urgency to have a mission there. The town's population was growing rapidly. So, in 1966, a church and friary were built. The friars taught in the secondary school, as did the sisters who came some time later.

Senanga had been for many years a stronghold of the Paris Mission, and the application for a Catholic mission there had been turned down as far back as 1934. Perhaps Saint Jude, the patron saint of hopeless cases, had been given the job of breaking through the barriers that stood in the way, and consequently was honoured by having the church named after him, some thirty-two years later.

Senanga secondary is now staffed by Zambians, and the friars and sisters no longer teach there, the sisters having moved to Nalionwa.

In 1979, in the space of about two weeks, the roofs of the church and the friary were blown off by whirlwinds, but, with prompt help from Bros. Damian and Hugh,

were quickly repaired. The friary at Senanga is the property of the Order.

Our Lady of Lourdes, Mongu

For many years the friars had been trying to gain entry to Mongu, but had faced repeated refusals. The house in Malengwa, built in 1947, was the first friary near the town, though it was still well outside its boundaries.

Finally, in 1965, a beginning was made, and work was begun by Heinz Nienhaus on a large new church in the township at the end of the Mongu-Lusaka road. Fr. Brian completed it in 1966, and Fr. Conor became its first parish priest. In recent years, Fr. Philip has built up a number of Christian communities in the areas linked to Our Lady's.

According to the 1980 census, Mongu Township had a population of 25,000, so the parish had scope for further development. In addition, it provides pastoral care for Lewanika Hospital, and the prison. Like every parish in the diocese of Livingstone, it has out-stations. The Holy Cross Sisters run a home-craft school and a nutrition centre which helps people, especially those in rural areas, to have access to supplies which are otherwise scarce or even unattainable.

Fr. Luke, who came to Zambia in 1947, lives at Our Lady's. He is parish priest of Katongo, to the south of Mongu, and is also chaplain at Saint John's secondary school.

Saint Kizito, Sesheke, 1967

The Sesheke Boma is situated on the Zambezi River just across from Katima Mulilo in Caprivi. The name Sesheke is said to come from *sisheke*, meaning white sand. In the early 1960's a secondary school was built there by the Zambian government. As in Senanga this gave an impetus to the setting up of a mission in the town. Fr. Capistran was already building a hospital there in 1966 for the government, and then, in 1967, he built the present church and friary.

At the request of the Zambian government the Franciscan Missionaries of the Divine Motherhood came to staff the hospital. They also provided some of the staff for the secondary school. Frs. Leo and Patrick taught there for some years.

Sesheke, because of its position, has been several times the focal point for armed clashes between forces on either side of the river. As already mentioned, the secondary school was badly damaged in 1978 by artillery and rocket fire from South African forces across the river. Fortunately, the battle took place during school holidays, as otherwise the loss of life would likely have been great. On more than one occasion the people of the town left it in fear of their lives. It was in 1978 also that seven people were killed when a plane was shot down close to Sesheke airport by an anti-aircraft missile fired by Zambian forces. It was one of those tragic misunderstandings which easily arise where there is tension. The death-toll in these various clashes is not known, and probably never will be.

Because of the growing shortage of friars, the Capuchins were no longer able to remain, so the house and church were handed over to the Holy Ghost Fathers, who have helped the diocese by undertaking the pastoral care of parishes in Makunka and Linda as well as Sesheke. The priests in Sesheke are Tanzanian, and it is a sign of hope for the Church in Africa that African missionaries are now bringing the faith to their fellow-Africans. (It is worth mentioning that there are Kenyan Holy Ghost Fathers in Makunka, Nigerian Holy Ghost Fathers in Solwezi diocese in the North Western Province of Zambia, and Ghanaian Divine Word missionaries at Francistown in Botswana.)

The house in Sesheke is only about one or two kilometres from the mission across the river in Katima Mulilo. In former times, it was only a matter of paddling a canoe to cross from one side to the other. But, because of political tensions, the border has been closed and river traffic banned. The only access between the two nearest friaries is now through Botswana, involving a journey of some 250 km. and passing through four immigration and customs checks.

The name of the parish's patron – Kizito – comes from a young Ugandan martyr who, with twenty-one others, died for the faith in 1886. They had been baptized only a few months, and yet found the strength to refuse to obey the evil demands of their king. Kizito was executed on Ascension Thursday 1886 at the age of fourteen.

Saint Martin de Porres, Kaoma, 1968

Developments similar to those in Senanga and Sesheke were also taking place in Kaoma (formerly Mankoya). The population was growing, helped partly by good agriculture, including the growth of tobacco and cotton. There was potential, too, for tourism, in a more settled political atmosphere, because of the relative proximity of the Kafue Game Park. The town has a small airport, and, in recent years, the new road between Lusaka and Mongu has facilitated transport.

In 1968, a government secondary school was built, and moves were soon under way to build a church and a friary. These were completed by Bros. Fergus and Xavier. A convent was built for the Presentation Sisters from Ireland and India who work in the hospital and the secondary school. Fr. John Grace also taught in the school there for some time.

The parish is named after the coloured Dominican brother who spent the greater part of his life working among African slaves brought to his native city of Lima, Peru.

Our Lady of the Angels, Livingstone, 1972

The next opening was in Livingstone. The Dutch Reformed community in the town had declined greatly in numbers since Independence, and their church had become vacant. The Order bought it in 1972 and was converted for use as a Catholic church. The first Mass was celebrated in it on the feast of Saint Francis, 4

October 1972. The house attached to the church became a friary and a canonical foundation of the Order.

The parish serves the area around the Lusaka road, together with Livingstone Hospital and Hillcrest Secondary School. Unfortunately, declining numbers of friars have forced retrenchment, and the parish now run from Maramba.

Capuchin Friary, Lusaka, 1973

This friary was set up in the Zambian capital as a base for friars going there on business or for the purpose of finding supplies of goods unavailable in the west. Friars going to or coming from home leave also find it a useful base. Fr. Crispin, who was Education and Medical Secretary to the Zambian Episcopal Conference for many years, and who had found a home with the Jesuits, was able to move there.

Fr. Edwin, the former principal of Saint John's school in Mongu, has worked at the University of Zambia for a number of years training lecturers to take up posts in teachers' training colleges in religious education. Bro. Fergus performs a valuable service to all the friars by being a chauffeur, guest-master, and buyer of goods. This is his "retirement" after nearly forty years on the mission.

Chapter 7: FROM MISSION TO CHURCH

The political Background

When Lewanika signed the Lochner Concession in 1890 he thought he was entering into a treaty with the British government which would guarantee him British “protection.” What he had actually done was to make a contract with a commercial enterprise, one that had no force in international law, and which brought him under the control of officials of the British South Africa Company, a fact of which they reminded him when they felt it appropriate. The real nature of the agreement was illustrated when Lewanika, in 1907, complained to company officials only to be met with the reply, ‘Do you want to be conquered?’ (1) The practice of setting up chartered companies and giving them control of huge territories had been widely used by British commercial interests in cooperation with British governments. It was done in other parts of Africa, India, Canada and New Zealand, to mention only some. It was a means by which countries could be exploited for their commercial worth without the inconvenience, expense, and, perhaps, accountability that political control would involve. It was a way of having rights with few responsibilities.

In 1924, came a development of potentially great significance. Company rule was brought to an end, and the British Colonial Office took charge, with Northern Rhodesia having the status of a Protectorate. (It has been remarked how appropriate it was that Company rule ended with the financial year on 31 March, and Colonial

Office rule commenced on April Fool's Day!) Barotseland was called 'a Protectorate within a Protectorate', and regarded as having special status. 'The Lozi alone were explicitly mentioned in the new Constitution of Northern Rhodesia, in clauses reaffirming the integrity of the reserved area and guaranteeing the authority of the Lozi King in "tribal matters."' (2) This appeared to mean that the Litunga had now achieved what he had sought in 1890. The Company still retained its mineral rights, but it no longer ruled. However, in the years between 1890 and 1924, the Litunga had lost much of his power to the Company. What he had lost was not restored to him, but was transferred to the new administration.

Meanwhile there was change of thinking in colonial circles about methods of administration. A former colonial governor, Sir Frederick Lugard, had written a book called *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*. This was to have substantial influence in reshaping colonial policy and practice. It developed the idea of what was named the theory of indirect rule, which meant that the colonial administration would work through the existing tribal structure rather than attempt to duplicate or replace it. The authority of the chiefs would be enhanced, and they would be regarded as partners, although subordinate ones, in a new system of administration. It was hoped that this system would operate for two or three generations, following which Britain would withdraw, leaving behind strong ties, especially in trade.

The advantages of such a system to the colonial power were many. Firstly, it was cheaper to operate, as the chiefs and their subordinates would be given some of the work to do. For most people, the face of the colonial power would be a local one. Secondly, by giving the chiefs a share in power, it co-opted them to the system and made them partners in the work of dividing and conquering. And thirdly – though this may credit the authors of the system with a foresight they did not have – it would act as a brake on African nationalism. In the early period of colonial penetration, the power of the chiefs was broken so as to secure control. In the later period, it was partially restored, since the chiefs, thoroughly conservative by nature and well recognizing that their power and influence lay only in their tribe, could be relied upon to resist a nationalist movement which would undercut their tribal authority. This they did, though unsuccessfully.

The newly appointed governor of the protectorate, Sir Herbert Stanley, was a believer in Lugard's doctrine, so, when the Litunga Yeta III met him in 1924, the latter may have anticipated a restoration of his former powers. If so, he was disappointed. Stanley immediately made it clear that none of the Litunga's former powers would be restored. He even went further by offering Yeta money in exchange for the surrender of the last of his rights concerning hunting licenses and free labour. Yeta accepted the offer. (3) Henceforward he was like the Mikado, 'honoured with all honours but trouble with no decisions.'

During the thirty years of the protectorate's existence, many changes came which had their impact on the political scene. However, it must be said that Barotseland was not as much affected as other parts of the country, as its geographical isolation removed it from influences which were significant elsewhere.

One important factor was that of migratory labour. It has been estimated that 20,000 Africans were leaving Northern Rhodesia annually for work in Southern Rhodesia. The South had a much higher proportion of white settlers, including a large representation of Afrikaners, and it was developing a system of pass laws and other discriminatory practices like those in South Africa. In Barotseland, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA), a labour recruitment organization operated by South African mining interests, drew many workers to the south, where they experienced the reality of *apartheid* at first hand.

The two world wars brought home to Africans some of the destructive effects of European intervention in their affairs. In the First World War, some sixty thousand mostly African lives were lost in fighting in East Africa between British and German forces. The great majority of casualties were carriers, recruited to take part in a war they knew nothing about, and dying, literally by the thousand of disease and starvation. After the Second World, some ten thousand soldiers of the Northern Rhodesian African Rifles returned home. (4) They had as little time for tribal chiefs as they had for notions of

white superiority, and were determined to have a say in the running of their country.

The Copperbelt, drawing workers from all over the country, became the melting-pot in which tribal differences were diluted in the rising demand for equality in wages. The African trades unions and welfare associations served as the political apprenticeship of many future African leaders.

The advance of literacy and freedom of the press gave the opportunity for exchanges of views about the direction of the country's life. In this field, many teachers came to play an active role. Indeed, three African leaders – Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe – are all former school-teachers. The Church of Scotland, which was especially strong in Nyasaland (now Malawi), had a strong indirect influence by promoting self-help schemes among its members.

But perhaps the greatest impetus to the development of African nationalism was the reality of racial discrimination. In the early years of European settlement it had only a marginal influence. But, after the establishment of the protectorate in 1924, with increasing white immigration, it increased in intensity. White women were generally more insistent on it than white men. (5) Leaving aside moral considerations, it is difficult to see why the settlers thought it would benefit their position. It gave Africans common ground, a common rallying-point which they would not otherwise

have had. Whether a man is Lozi or Bemba or Nyanja or Tonga, he's black anyway, and to discriminate against him for that is to give him a bond of unity with others in the same position. An example of this discrimination is that black miners were paid £1-2-0 a month in 1940, while white miners were paid £40-0-6 (6), a differential of 1 to 36, which is very hard to justify even if white miners were in positions of greater responsibility such as in the maintenance of machinery. In later years, government expenditure on education was an average of £103 per annum for a white and £9 for a black child. (7) Between 1930 and 1940, Britain had kept for itself £2,400,000 in taxes from the Copperbelt, while returning only £136,000 in development grants. (8) And the African population paid in full for every government service rendered to them.

In the legislative field, power was passing from the hands of colonial officials to the representatives of the settlers, and the official policy termed "Native Paramountcy" made way for white supremacy. The nominal African representation in the Legislative Council (Legco) consisted of a few whites appointed to represent Africans. Msgr. Flynn was one.

In the post-World War II period, Britain was shedding its colonial powers, and white settlers in Southern Africa were more than willing to pick them up. Sir Godfrey Huggins, later Lord Malvern, became Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and was a strong promoter of the idea of a federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland. The dominant idea behind it was economic: the money from

Northern Rhodesia's copper, and the surplus labour of Nyasaland, would be combined with the administrative experience and technical skills of the white population of Southern Rhodesia to make a prosperous federation in which the white man would rule. It did not escape the attention of Northern Rhodesian that their role in this arrangement was to pay the bills for the other two.

The African people resisted the idea as they knew it would mean white domination. President Kaunda wrote of this phase, 'I was not against Federation in principle but against the Federation which had been imposed on us.' (9) However, in the early nineteen fifties, African opposition to federation was not strong enough or sufficiently well organized to prevent it. When the Conservative Party won the 1952 general election in Britain, and the City of London swung in favour of federation, the movement towards it could not be stopped. Sir Godfrey Huggins successfully insisted on the removal from the new Constitution of safeguards for Africans. (10)

From its inception in 1953 until about 1958 there was not a great deal of opposition to the Federation as its relative prosperity tended to dampen political discontent. During the early years of Federation, much ground-work had been done to prepare the way for future political development. Leaders such as Harry Nkumbula, and later on Kenneth Kaunda, became prominent and won routine denunciation by the authorities as "agitators" and "trouble-makers." Gradually these leaders came to realize that the talk about "partnership" and a "plural

society” was a smoke-screen behind which lay continued settler domination. In 1960, there was a move to give the Federation Dominion status on a par with Canada. That would have ended the possibility of a peaceful evolution towards majority rule. African leaders understood that only independence would give them control over their affairs.

External factors had an influence, too. The Gold Coast became independent with the name of Ghana in 1957, and, in 1958, the All-Africa Peoples’ Conference was held in Accra to lend support to independence movements. Public opinion in Europe was clearly in favour of independence for Africa as Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, had made clear in his “Winds of Change” speech in Cape Town in 1960. The Monckton Commission reported to the British Colonial Secretary in 1960 that “partnership” did not exist in reality because of discrimination, and, in effect, it recommended the break-up of the Federation. Sir Roy Welensky, the Federation’s Prime Minister, considered the possibility of a coup, to be followed by a unilateral declaration of independence, but was deterred by his belief that he could not count on the support of sufficient white troops to hold the country.

The tide of events was turning in favour of the African people, and, in the election of December 1963, the United National Independence Party (UNIP), which had broken from Harry Nkumbula’s African National Congress, gained fifty-five seats in Northern Rhodesia as against ten for the opposition.

On 24 October 1964, the independent Republic of Zambia came into being, with Kenneth David Kaunda as its first president. He was received in audience by Pope Paul VI on 8 November 1964.

The Growth of the Church

On 28 July 1936, Fr. Killian Flynn was appointed Prefect Apostolic of Victoria Falls, and held that office until 1950. This was the first step towards the eventual establishment of a diocese as part of a national hierarchy. Msgr. Flynn's part in that process is described by his successor,

He was given one of the most difficult assignments in the African scene.... In 1950 he was invited by the bishops to set up in Lusaka a secretariat for the Episcopal Conference, and he became its first secretary general. The Education Department [of the Conference] also offered him the post of Education Secretary General for the Catholic Missions. He had been for years a leading light in the Educational Advisory Boards and other national committees. When he accompanied the bishops of Zambia to the second Vatican Council, Father Killian was in close contact with the bishops of Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia. This is the body which we call AMECEA – Association of Members of Episcopal Conferences of East Africa. The headquarters were located in Nairobi, and Father Killian Flynn was the first secretary general. He held that position until his

untimely death in Dublin on 3 December 1972, the feast of Saint Francis Xavier, patron of the missions. May he rest in peace. (11)

If anyone in 1936 had asked how long it would ne before the country had its own bishops, it is probable that an optimistic forecast would have been about a hundred years. But the growth of the Church was greater than anticipated. In the nineteen fifties and sixties the number of baptisms in Barotseland was between five and ten thousand a year.

In 1950, it was announced that a further step would take place in the development of the Church in the western part of Northern Rhodesia. On 10 May, the Apostolic Prefecture became an Apostolic Vicariate, and Fr. Timothy Phelim O'Shea was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Livingstone. An Apostolic Vicariate is for practical purposes a diocese and is led by a bishop, although he is titular and not formally bishop of the territory he serves. Fr. T. P. O'Shea was consecrated titular bishop of Hierocaeserea on 8 September 1950 in Dublin, Ireland. He chose as his motto, 'To Jesus through Mary.' (12)

The system of apostolic vicariates has a strange history which calls for some explanation. (13) On 4 May 1493, Pope Alexander VI drew a line of demarcation on a map from the North Pole to the South, passing west of the Azores Islands. He declared that newly-discovered territories to the west of the line would belong to Spain and those to the east to Portugal. He charged those

countries with responsibility for spreading the faith in their new territories. The system of entrusting the spread of the faith to these kingdoms, which was called the *Padroado* in Portuguese, gave the kings of Spain and Portugal a power over the Church perhaps as great as that which Henry VIII took to himself in England. No appointment of a bishop could be made in those territories without the consent of the respective kings. In the case of Portugal, this system remained in operation until 1950, so that no appointment of a bishop could be made on the new Christian missions to the east without the consent of the Portuguese government, which did not hesitate to use its power. (14) In India, even after its independence, bishops could not be appointed without the prior consent of Lisbon.

The apostolic vicariates were a way around this. The apostolic vicar was for all practical purposes bishop of the area he served; but since he was not formally bishop, but rather titular, the Portuguese government's consent did not have to be obtained. By this exercise in canonical gymnastics the Church was able to recover the freedom to appoint its own bishops which had been signed away by Alexander VI.

In August 1959, came the next step when the Apostolic Vicariate became the diocese of Livingstone, with Timothy Phelim O'Shea as bishop. In that year, similar changes were made in other mission territories as a result of a directive by Pope John XXIII, which finally buried the *Padroado*.

Bishop O'Shea has already figured in our story from the beginning: Timothy was his baptismal name, Phelim his religious name, received on becoming a Capuchin. He had already been in the country nineteen years when he was appointed bishop, and for almost a quarter of a century he exercised that office with the constant desire to promote the growth of the Church in every way. He founded a congregation of Zambian sisters, the Sisters of Saint Francis, and introduced many other sisters to the diocese so that, by the time of his retirement, there were a hundred and ten sisters in seventeen convents. In the same year, there were twenty-eight brothers, made up of thirteen Christian Brothers, twelve Irish Capuchins, two American Capuchins, and one Zambian novice. There were thirty-nine priests, of whom thirty were Irish and four were American Capuchins, four Holy Ghost Fathers, and one diocesan priest. There was therefore a total staff of a hundred and seventy-seven. (15)

Growth among the Catholic people was also large. What had begun in such a small way in Loanja in 1932, had, by the time of Bishop O'Shea's retirement, grown to twenty-four parishes, with many out-stations, some of which could be regarded as potential future parishes. Starting from almost nothing in 1931, the number of Catholics in the diocese had grown to 56,531 in 1971. But for large-scale and constant migration to distant urban areas the figure would be much bigger. The Catholic percentage of the diocese between 1971 and 1981 rose from 10.1 to 11.3 (16) For the same period, the Catholic percentage of Zambia went from 19.7 to 22.3.

It is appropriate that a tribute to Bishop O'Shea should come from Fr. Patrick Mayungo, the first Zambian Capuchin priest. He wrote,

One striking thing about the late Bishop O'Shea was his simplicity, both in his relationships with people, and in his way of living. He always dressed plainly. He was a poor man. He was a man of total detachment from the things of the world and of attachment to God. He never looked down on anyone; he was humble. He had time for people, for everyone both great and small. He had a great love for everyone, from children right through to the oldest person in village or town. His life of prayer was unbroken; it seemed that prayer to him meant as much as the air he breathed. He had a great devotion to our Blessed Lady, the rosary being his favourite prayer, next to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. He had strong trust in Divine Providence, and before undertaking any journey or task he used to pray first. After the journey he would thank God for having made everything possible to him.

Another striking thing in the life of the late Bishop O'Shea was his sense of humour which endeared him to everybody. He was a man who talked little and had deep spirituality, a man who easily adapted himself to any environment and had few needs. As a confessor he was easy to approach and his presence in the confessional expressed a love of the God who is always ready to welcome and accept the repentant sinner.

Looking at his death it is both saddening and a blessing to the Capuchin Order and to the people of Livingstone diocese whom he served from 1931 to 1979. His death is saddening in the sense that our earthly ties with him are now broken. His death is a blessing because it is a door to everlasting life with God and a reward for his many labours of love. Since Bishop O'Shea has been buried in the soil of the Western Province, I think the growth of the Capuchin Order will be like the Gospel seed which first had to die in order to germinate and produce fruit. (17)

Bishop O'Shea died at Lukulu on 26 May 1979. In 1931, he had gone to Kasisi to study missionary methods. In the same year, a young man called Adrian Mung'andu began primary school; he later qualified for secondary and for teacher training at Chikuni, and then went to Chishawasha Seminary in Southern Rhodesia to begin studying for the priesthood. He was ordained in 1950, the same year that Fr. Phelim became Vicar Apostolic of Livingstone. Twenty-five years later Msgr. Adrian Mung'andu became his successor.

On 9 February 1975, Bishop Mung'andu was enthroned as Bishop of Livingstone in the presence of a large congregation which included President Kaunda, Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo of Lusaka and his predecessor, Adam Kozłowiecki, fifteen other bishops and eighty priests. (18) Only forty-four years had passed since the first small beginnings in the town of Livingstone. The young seed which had been planted

then had grown to maturity and begun to bear fruit. It was a good sign of hope for the future.

Fostering local Vocations

The importance of fostering local vocations to the priesthood and religious life has been reiterated many times by the popes. When people said to Pope Pius XI in the nineteen twenties that it was premature to think of ordaining Ugandans to the priesthood, he replied, 'A country that can produce martyrs can produce priests.'

It was with the need for local vocations in mind that Bishop O'Shea, in 1959, began Saint Laurence Minor Seminary. That attempt met with failure, as already described (see pp.133-4). But another way was opening up. A number of young Zambians came forward directly to ask for admission to the Order. Some had already completed their examinations, while others were enabled to do so while living at the seminary hostel in Saint John's secondary school. Fr. Godfrey Sinvula, a diocesan priest from Namibia, was received into the Order. Since then there has been a small but steady flow of Zambian vocations to it. In 1982, the numbers were as follows: -

- 1 solemnly professed priest
- 1 simply professed priest
- 2 simply professed brothers
- 1 novice

13 postulants, making eighteen in all. Between 1979 and April 1982, there were 280 queries about joining the Order.

The former minor seminary at Limulunga is now being used for the formation of postulants, who spend one year there before going to Tanzania for a second year of postulancy, followed by a year's novitiate. Although this programme is still in its infancy there is ground for hope in it. It is to be hoped that the day is not too far distant when there will be a sufficient number of Zambian friars not only to maintain what has been begun in the past, but to promote and extend it into the future.

There is a measure of urgency about this work, as can be appreciated by a consideration of statistics about the number and age of the missionaries. The number involved in the work of the diocese from the beginning is smaller than one might expect. The maximum figures may be given as follows for men present during these decades: -

1930's: 18	1940's: 29
1950's: 44	1960's: 62
1970's: 54	1980's: 34

These are maximum figures in the sense that anyone present during those decades is included. Perhaps a more representative picture may be gained for looking at particular years, as for example: -

1932: 6	1942: 13
1952: 28	1962: 41
1972: 50	1982: 34

These figures do not include either the American friars of the New Jersey Province who came to the diocese in the mid-sixties, or the Zambian friars mentioned above. They show a gradual increase until the decline in vocations in Ireland as elsewhere begins to make its impact in the seventies and early eighties as elderly men returned to Ireland and were not replaced.

An important factor is that of the age of the friars. In April 1982, the average age of the Irish friars was fifty; for the priests, it was forty-eight, and for the non-ordained fifty-five.

Only one priest has been ordained so far for the diocese of Livingstone. The bishop, a diocesan priest, comes from Lusaka. In the period 1972-82, in Zambia as a whole, there was no increase in the number of diocesan priests, as departures and deaths equalled ordinations.

The local Church

‘The end of missions does not mean the end of mission but its transformation.’ (19) The mission in Livingstone has become the local Church, the diocese of Livingstone, with a Zambian bishop at its head. As a tangible expression of localization, all but three of the houses in the diocese, formerly the property of the Irish Capuchins, were handed over to Livingstone diocese when Msgr.

Mung'andu became bishop. Local vocations to the priesthood and religious life are coming forward. It is remarkable growth in only fifty years. While the need for missionaries from abroad is still present, there is a change of emphasis from dependence on external sources of personnel and finance to local resources.

This change is in keeping with the theology of Vatican II with its clear focus on the local Church. It is providential that the Council came when it did, 1962-5. It was at about that time that many African peoples, including those of Zambia, gained political independence. If an attempt were made to run the Church in Africa today along pre-Vatican II lines there would be a clash between the pattern of Church leadership and the aspirations of civil society. The Council removed what might have developed into serious barriers. The use of the vernacular in the liturgy, the promotion of Bible reading, the renewed emphasis on local leadership at all levels of the Church's life, and the delegation to national conferences of bishops of many powers formerly reserved to Rome, together with the realization that pluriformity was more to be desired than uniformity – all these are positive steps for the Church in Africa. The pre-Vatican Church in Africa was predominantly expatriate and paternalistic in its leadership, and such a pattern would be out of harmony with the aspirations of post-independence Africa.

In pastoral affairs there has been a large change. The bishops of East Africa (AMECEA) adopted as their policy the Small Christian Community idea and this has

been endorsed both by the Zambian Episcopal Conference in December 1976 and by the 1979 pastoral conference of the Livingstone diocese.

This policy takes the natural community of the people as its starting-point, whether it is a compound or a group of villages along the banks of a stream. The parish is often too large, in area or in numbers, to be a real basis for community. The aim is to create on this natural base a self-ministering, self-supporting, and self-propagating community. Self-ministration could initially be expressed in, for example, leading Sunday services, teaching Christian doctrine, and conducting funeral services by local leaders trained for that purpose. Self-support would include the people themselves constructing a church, while the idea of self-propagation means that the people spread the faith.

This involves changes of emphasis from the previous policy. There is a change from the child to the adult, and from the school to the natural community. There is a change from the central mission to the local centre, from the individual to the community, and from the priest to the local non-ordained leader. There is a change, too, from a passive to an active role for the people, from being the recipients of benefits offered to an adult sense of being responsible for the Church.

If this policy had not been adopted by the bishops, something like it would have been forced on them by events. The old cultural props, such as the mission school and boarding institutions, together with clinic and

clubs are gone. These are now for the most part in Zambian hands and it is right that they should be. Cultural pluralism is a fact of life, and the Catholic alternative society is no longer viable. The key element in making the ideal of the small Christian community become a reality is its local leaders. If they are to lead, and not simply be delegates of the parish priest, there needs to be training for all concerned. It is of little use to initiate a change of structures if attitudes remain unchanged. It is too early to offer an assessment of how this policy is working, but it can be said with certainty that it will not work where it is not tried.

It has often been said that Africa can only be won to Christianity by a united Church. Whether that is true, or simply a catchy cliché, it at least has the merit of raising the question of ecumenical relations. There has been considerable study of this subject in relation to Christian life in Zambia. (20) It has already been seen what those relationships were like in Livingstone diocese in the early years. They were anything but friendly, with constant quarrels about spheres of influence. We may be grateful that that phase has now passed. At the national level there has been cooperation between the Churches in preparing a joint syllabus of religious education in schools. Its minimal application in practice has other reasons behind it than those of inter-Church relations. There has been cooperation also in launching Multimedia Zambia, with its radio and TV programmes, and its newspaper, the *National Mirror*.

In Livingstone diocese it must be said in honesty that inter-Church relations, where they can be said to exist at all, are not good. The atmosphere is often reminiscent of the polemics of a hundred years ago, with the dredging up of many of the old anti-Catholic charges that one would have hoped would have been dropped for ever. (21) The blame for this must rest largely, not on the shoulders of local African leaders of Protestant churches, who often have a fairly limited education, but on their parent bodies in the USA and West Germany which send them reading materials which combine the most wooden fundamentalism with anti-Catholic prejudice. We may hope for better relations in the future, but perhaps we need to ask whether we are doing enough on our part to take the initiative in breaking down ignorance and prejudice with a view to beginning a Christian dialogue.

The Capuchin Order and the local Church in Zambia

The Capuchin Order is not a newcomer to the soil of Africa. Capuchins came to Egypt in 1551, Algeria in 1584, Zaire in 1620, Morocco in 1624, Guinea and Benin in 1634, and Angola in 1646. There are now some nine hundred Capuchins in Africa – in Angola, Cameroun, Cape Verde Islands, Central African Republic, Chad, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Morocco, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia.

Against that background the presence of some fifty or so friars in Zambia for fifty years seems like a small beginning, and so it is. But even the longest journey

begins with one step. When the friars met in Lusaka in 1978 and again in 1981 to hold Chapters, they not only elected new superiors but also charted a course for the future. A major element in each of these Chapters was the promotion of the Order in the country. This is seen as the Order's best contribution to the needs of the local Church, which must always be paramount. If the Order can be truly established in Zambia then it will be able to provide personnel for the service of the local Church, not only for the life-span of the present generation of missionaries but for the future as well. The implantation of religious life is part of the implantation of the local Church; although it is not part of the hierarchical structure of the Church it belongs inseparably to its life and holiness. (22)

Epilogue

As we look back to the past we give thanks to God who has given increase to the seed that was planted by His grace; we give thanks to the countless people who by their prayers and sacrifices have made the work of the Church possible, to the early missionaries who broke the ground for others to plant, to the workers in Ireland, provincials, mission secretaries and their helpers, to the generous laypeople, the numberless Christians whose unspoken sacrifices are the power behind the work of the missionary in the field. To all, we say a hearty "God bless you."

As we look to the future we do so with confidence not because of any self-assurance but because of the hope

that what God has begun he will bring to completion, even if it is not in our life-times. To him be glory and praise for ever.

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2. Mainga, p.97
3. Fagan, p.129
4. Caplan, p.54
5. Caplan, pp.50-68, and Hall, chapters 3 and 5
6. Davies, p.27, but, according to Gann, chapter 3, Silva Porto came in 1847-8.
7. Gann, chapter 1.
8. Cf. Sampson
9. Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Missions*, pp.197-199, and n.1 on p.198
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12. Gelfand, p.46 and Bolink, pp.5-7
13. Caplan, p.27
14. Not to be confused with the Paris Missionary Society, a Catholic missionary congregation.
15. Caplan, pp.25-26
16. Sampson, p.75
17. Gelfand, chapter 1
18. Gelfand, p.404
19. Gelfand, pp.340-345
20. Gelfand, p.404
21. Gelfand, p.408

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23. Gelfand, p.417
24. Gelfand, p.419
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26. Gelfand, pp.419-420
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35. Sampson, p.49
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Chapter 2: The Land and its People in a changing World

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2. McEwan, p.344
3. Mainga, p.54
4. Mainga, p.141
5. Mainga, p.168 and James, pp.112-113
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2. James, p.125, states 'Saturday 6th 1931.' The only Saturday 6th in 1931 was in June.
3. Cited by James, pp.35-36
4. James, pp.125-126
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6. *Ibid.* According to James, p.128, it was on 10 October.
7. O'Shea, p.271
8. James, p.99
9. Christopher, p.126
10. In November, according to James, p.128
11. According to one of the early missionaries, Sr. Martin Schuler, in a letter to Bro. Andrew, dated 8 October 1979
12. O'Shea, p.273
13. Andrew, p.6
14. From a report by Fr. Killian Flynn to the Apostolic delegate in 1935, quoted by Andrew, p.24
15. The "jigger" is a sand flea, said to have been introduced to Africa in the ballast of slave trading ships from South America; it is also known as the chigoe, or chigger. It infests feet and hands.
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28. James, p.100
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31. O'Shea, p.271

Chapter 4: Working through Schools

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2. Pope Pius XI, *Rerum Ecclesiae*, Catholic Truth Society, London, 1926, p.26
3. *Ibid.*, pp.25-26
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6. James, pp.198-199
7. Gelfand, p.418
8. Andrew, pp.36-37
9. Andrew, p.36
10. Fintan, p.12
11. Andrew, p.36
12. Andrew, p.40
13. Andrew, p.38
14. Andrew, pp.35, 37. The Zambian Kwacha (K) began as ten shillings (or fifty new pence) sterling; it has 100 ngwee (n).
15. Figure from Mr. Leonard Subulwa, Minister of State in the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Foreign Trade, 1980.
16. Hall, p.275
17. Andrew, p.52
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21. Pope Paul VI, *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, Catholic Truth Society, London, 1975, section. 20.
22. For a further presentation of the case for Catholic schools, see Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, *The Catholic School*, Catholic Truth Society, London, 1977.
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24. *The Catholic School*, section 26
25. Pope Paul VI, *Africa: the Pope's Message*, Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, Dublin, 1967, especially sections 7-14
26. By way of analogy, consider the effect of the "National" schools in Ireland in the nineteenth

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27. *History of the New Apostolic Church*, (no author given), Wiesbaden, West Germany, 1970, Part 11

28. Hastings, *Op. cit.*

29. Hastings, p.84

Mwanakatwe, J.M., *The Growth of Education in Zambia since Independence*, OUP, Lusaka, 1968, is worth reading in the above context.

Chapter 5: The Friars' Conditions of Life

1. *The Father Mathew Record*, August 1936, quoted by Andrew, p.11
2. An edited quotation from James, pp.166-167; see *The Father Mathew Record*, February 1936, pp.67-74
3. An edited quotation from Andrew, p.10; see *The Father Mathew Record*, May 1948, p.4. Lyambai is one of the local names for the Zambezi; another is Yunene, a Luyana or possibly Mashi name.
4. An edited quotation from James, pp.152-154
5. Fintan, p.40
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7. Fintan, pp.37-38
8. Quoted by James, p.165
9. Andrew, p.25
10. Hall, p.275
11. Statement by Fr. Brendan OFM Cap to the Capuchin Chapter, Lusaka, 5 January 1982.
12. *Testament of Saint Francis*, 20-21.

13. Verstraelen, chapter 8

Chapter 6: Progress Step by Step and Stone by Stone

1. The material in this chapter is largely from Andrew, Luke and O'Shea.
2. Edwin, *Notes*
3. In 1935, according to James, p.147
4. Quoted by Andrew, p.34
5. The term *Fidei Donum* refers to an encyclical letter of that name, published by Pope Pius XII on 21 April 1957. It was published in English under the title *On the Present Condition of the Catholic Missions*, and as *The Future of Africa* by The Sword of the Spirit, later the Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 1957. In the letter the pope urged dioceses, where possible, to send priests on the missions.
6. Mukunkiki House Diary
7. Luke, p.18
8. Mukunkiki House Diary
9. Andrew, pp.37-38
10. Luke, p.19
11. Andrew, p.38
12. Andrew, p.47
13. MacPherson, p.2
14. See letter of Msgr. Flynn, dated 8 November 1943, cited by Andrew, p.44
15. Andrew, pp.45-46
16. Luke, p.21
17. Report of Mr. Crispin Mushota, Refugee Relief Officer of the Catholic Secretariat, Lusaka, April 1982

18. Luke, pp.28-29

Chapter 7: From Mission to Church

1. Caplan, p.76
2. Caplan, p.132
3. Caplan, pp.132-133
4. Hall, pp.110-111
5. Oliver and Fage, p.209
6. Hall, p.131
7. Verstraelen, p.37
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11. O'Shea, p.276
12. Booklet produced for the consecration of Msgr. Timothy Phelim O'Shea, Dublin, 1950
13. Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Missions*, Pelican history of the Church, Vol.6, London, 1979, pp.141-142, 182
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20. For example, Bolink, Peter, *Towards Church Union in Zambia*, Franeker, Holland, 1967

21. For example, that Catholics adore statues; that the pope is the Anti-Christ; that the Catholic Church (the “Romans”) are responsible for the death of Jesus because he was crucified by Roman soldiers; that Catholics disobey God’s law by not worshipping and resting on Saturday, etc. etc.
22. Dogmatic Constitution, *Lumen Gentium*, of Vatican II, article 44.