

Mission Education in the Eastern Caprivi Strip during the Colonial Times, c1920s – ca1964

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Abstract

The historiography of the nineteenth century Christian mission in Southern Africa focused mainly on South Africa and then spread to Southern Rhodesia. The above assessment by (Oermanns, 1999, p.19) resulted in the cases of Mozambique and Namibia to be less known in the English-speaking world, and barely integrated in the overall debate. While there is 'veritable renaissance' (in Ranger's words) of Namibian historical studies, the historiography of Christian mission in Namibia neglects, mildly put, the role of missionaries in the conquest and subsequent colonial administration of the Caprivi Strip. Focus is put on south, central and north-central Namibia, examining the role of the Rhenish Missionary Society (RMS), the Finnish Missionary Society (FMS), the London Missionary Society (LMS) and the Roman Catholic Orders, and still in the case of the latter, their involvement in the Eastern Caprivi Strip (now Zambezi Region) is often not discussed in any major significant detail.

The discussion in this study is an attempt to remedy the above historiographical anomaly. However, instead of presenting a generalised account, the specific focus is on the role of the missions (Seventh Day Adventist Mission and the Roman Catholic Holy Mission) in the provision of education during the period 1920s to 1964. The choice of the period of review was dictated by the fact that the first mention of mission education in the Caprivi Strip appears to be in the early 1920s (Kangumu: 2000, p.19) and that by 1964 the Union government had started transferring the responsibilities for the provision of education and health services to the government department. General themes such as the nature of relations between African and mission Christianity, the interaction of missionaries with the colonial state (either as agents or innocent players) and the evangelization project will only be dealt with peripherally, if at all.

Introduction

The nature of education which evolved and was applied in the eastern Caprivi Strip owes much to its geographical location – situated in the heart of Southern Africa - and far removed and remote from the rest of South West Africa of which it was an integral part, and even far remote from Pretoria (from where it would be administered for forty years). This, together with the nature of state policy of maintaining a minimum European staff and presence in the Caprivi Strip, meant that education provision would be the preserve of the missions, as it was similarly done in the other parts of central southern Africa, notably in Northern Rhodesia and Bechuanaland. Two other factors would have equally tremendous impact on the education provision in the Caprivi Strip during this time: population mobility and the related concept of labour migrancy. It will emerge that the provision of education during this time defied contemporary political boundaries. For example, when a school

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ceased to exist on the northern side of the Zambezi (Northern Rhodesia), learners would be accepted to attend schooling on the south of the Zambezi (Caprivi Strip). Or when health cases of serious nature were detected in the Caprivi Strip, patients were referred to the Paris mission hospital located at Sesheke in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (W.N.L.A.) which employed a fairly large number of Northern Rhodesians in the eastern Caprivi Strip, paid school fees of their employees children.

This study will begin by giving a brief historical background of the eastern Caprivi Strip (its creation and subsequent administration) up to 1920: focus will be put on the geographical environment of the area, the people and their interactions with the outside world. The discussion will then move into the historical evolution of modern education in the eastern Caprivi Strip during this period with special focus on mission education.

Research problem

The history of the mission education particularly covering the South, Central and Northern parts of Namibia is well documented in literature. Such literature is being used at both school and university levels. The absence of literature on the evolution of education in the Caprivi Strip has created a knowledge gap in terms of situating the history of the education in the region into the big picture. The absence of a thorough and in depth study on this subject has left a vacuum that this research has attempted to fill by providing an overview on mission education in the Caprivi Strip during the 1920s -1964.

Methodology

In this study, a literature study was utilised as method for collecting information. Using the historical method both primary (archival documents, reports and manuscripts and statistics) and secondary data on the history of the mission education in the Caprivi Strip during the 1920s - 1964 were critically reviewed to address the purpose of the study.

Geographical background

Location

The Caprivi Zipfel as it was known resemble a long panhandle enclosed by permanent water and stretches eastwards from the Kavango river to and along the Zambezi ending at the border junction of Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia, forming a quadri-point (Akweenda, 1997, p.134-142) With Angola sharing a boundary with Namibia at the Caprivi Strip, this (the Caprivi) becomes "... certainly the most international area of Namibia..." (Bronkhorst, 1991, p.7) - having four countries as neighbours. The Caprivi Zipfel was created and became part of the then German South West Africa through the July 1, 1890 Anglo-German Treaty. In terms of this treaty, it was understood that Germany shall have access from her protectorate to the Zambezi River by the strip territory "... which shall at no point be less than 20 English miles in width" (Trollope, 1940, p.1-7). Also that "... the strip concession and the cession of Heligoland formed part of the *qui pro quo* given for Germany's withdrawal of her influence from Zanzibar" (Trollope, 1940, p.1-7), which thereafter fell within the British sphere of influence.

The borders of the Caprivi Zipfel, as defined by the Anglo-German agreement, were as follows:

The northern border of the Caprivi Zipfel follows a straight line along latitude 18°S from the Okavango River to a point on the Zambezi River immediately upstream from the Katima Mulilo Rapids; From there it follows the main stream of the Zambezi River as far as the confluence of the Zambezi and Chobe Rivers. The southern border follows a straight line parallel to the northern border and 30 kilometres south of it from the

Okavango to the Linyanti River. From there it follows the main stream of the Linyanti as far as the confluence with the Zambezi River - where the Linyanti is also known as the Chobe (Pretorius: 1975: p.1).

The Caprivi Zipfel was divided into two parts for administrative purposes: eastern and western Caprivi zipfel. The western Caprivi Zipfel is the narrow corridor that stretches eastwards from Bagani on the Kavango River to Kongola on the Kwando River. The western Caprivi Zipfel was sparsely populated by the Kwe and Kung san and the Mbukushu. Since it was rich in game, it was declared a game reserve in 1968 and later as a military zone for the exclusive use by the South African Defence Force. Based on the Proclamation No. 147 of 1939 the eastern Caprivi zipfel (Union of South Africa, Proclamation No. 147 of 1939) is the eastern part of the Caprivi, a narrow strip of land jutting out from Kongola at the Kwando River to the confluence of the Zambezi and Chobe Rivers and covers an area of 11 533 KM². It is bounded on the southern border by the Kwando, Linyanti and Chobe River system while the Zambezi River forms its northern boundary with Zambia. The focus of the present study is on the eastern Caprivi Zipfel.

Climate and topography

The climate in the eastern Caprivi Strip is sub-tropical with a mean temperature of 22°C, which can drop to a mean temperature of 16°C in the coldest month of June. Winter lasts from May to August. Spring lasts from September to November with temperature exceeding 27°C. This is followed by summer which starts in December and lasts until the end of March with the occurrence of heavy storms. The average rainfall is about 625 mm per annum.

The average altitude of the Caprivi Zipfel is 930 metres, the highest point being 948 metres and the lowest is 911 metres above sea level. The territory can be sub-divided into three regions: an upland region, a lowland region and a swamp and marsh region.

The people

The eastern Caprivi Strip is inhabited by various groups of people: Bekuhane (BaSubiya), Mayeyi, Mafwe, MaTotela, Mambukushu, Makwengo (San), Mambalangwe, Malwizi (Lozi). For administrative purposes the German colonial masters recognized and grouped the people of Eastern Caprivi into two main categories in 1909: The Masubiya and Mafwe. All non-Masubiya groups were grouped under one identity, the Mafwe, which was initially known as Bafwe/Bayeyi. These were the chieftainships that existed during the colonial period. After independence, two more were established and recognized by the present government, the Mayeyi and Mayuni Chieftancies (Sasa, 2000; Sehani, 2000). The languages spoken in eastern Caprivi Strip were: Chikuhane (Chisubiya), Sifwe, Siyeyi, Sitotela, Mbalangwe, SiLozi, Thimbukushu, and Chikwengo (San Language). There is strong similarities between Mbalangwe and Subiya so much that Anton Bredell considers Mbalangwe to be a “socioclectal variety of Chisubiya and that Mbnalangwe is the name applied to Chisubiya speakers residing in Mafwe area.” (Maho, 1998, p.51)

Education and state policy

State formation in the eastern Caprivi Strip during this period relied on the presumption that the policy of indirect rule meant leaving the inhabitants largely to their own devices, under protection, and implied slow evolutionary and natural processes, in a territory reserved in whole for its inhabitants. The territory was perceived to be unsuitable to European settlement because of being highly malarial and infested with tsetse flies. And because of low population density, it could not serve as a source of labour nor an outlet of products. Resultantly, both the South West Africa Administration (SWAA) and the Union

government did not want to invest in heavy administrative expenditure in the territory which would be irrecoverable directly or indirectly. Local government therefore was based on tribal set-up and its chieftainships under the local supervision of one government officer. French Trollope, on an inspection tour to the Caprivi Strip in 1937 described the nature of administration applied in the territory in the following manner:

The blunt fact is that our control of this small territory ... is wholly artificial. It is politically anomalous, economically unsound and administrative well-nigh impracticable (Trollope, 1937, p. 20).

As far as administrative policy was concerned, it appears that the government officers were also left to their own devices, without clear policy guidelines. Thus Colenbrander, Native Commissioner and Magistrate (1953-1956 and 1963), complained that he had made several requests for "... answers to specific questions on the principles and policy of the Department in regard to Educational and Medical services ... and the replies ... have not fully explained the Department's Policy nor was I briefed in any great detail on being transferred here." (Colenbrander, 1955, NAN: SWAA-22, A. 503/4) Even the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was not applicable in the eastern Caprivi Zipfel. Education was therefore controlled by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. Under such peculiar local conditions, government official negotiated and entrusted the provision of education services in the hands of missionaries as "... the only possible scheme which we could contemplate. (adding that)... if we had to do the work that they are doing it would cost us many thousands of pounds." (Trollope, 1937, NAN, SWAA-22, A, 503/4) Trollope was referring to similar work being carried out by missions in the then Owamboland and Bechuanaland.

The evolution of mission education

Mission education in eastern Caprivi zipfel and indeed the history of early formal education can be traced to two mission establishments: the Seventh Day Adventists and the Roman Catholic Capuchin Order. When the Seventh Day Adventist (who came first) withdrew their education project, the authorities invited the Roman Catholics to render services in the education and health sector.

Education under the Seventh Day Adventist mission

Contrary to Pretorius' view, the earliest record of education in the eastern Caprivi zipfel is not 1925 (Pretorius, 1928, p.32), but earlier. According to Kruger (NAN: A.472) the longest (Kruger, NAN: A.472) serving Native Commissioner and Magistrate for the eastern Caprivi Zipfel, permission was granted already on 30th April, 1920 by the High Commissioner (at the time Captain H. Neale, who served between 1918-20) to the Seventh Day Adventist Church for a mission school at Ikaba (Kruger (NAN: A.472). This was the first school to be established by the Seventh Day Adventist Church in the eastern Caprivi zipfel and a native teacher was installed. The average attendance at this school was 40 and each learner was required to bring 6d (six pence) a month. A European supervisor, named G. Wilmore, was sent by the Mission to the eastern Caprivi zipfel and was stationed at Kalimbeza near Lifumbela's village.

The number of schools under the Seventh Day Adventist was ever increasing: whereas there were three schools in 1925 at Ikaba, Katima Mulilo and Linyanti, two schools were added in 1926, one at Nsundwa and another at Luseses. These were what were called "bush schools" conducted in buildings made of poles and thatch, walls of reeds, usually plastered with mud. Their continued existence from year to year was not always secure. In 1928, the number of schools was put at 14 with the one at Katima Mulilo being the most important one with attendance of 107 learners. Katima Mulilo had become the headquarters of the Seventh Day Adventist mission in the eastern Caprivi zipfel.

Tuition under the adventist

The tuition at the outschools, which served as feeders to Katima Mulilo, was set up to Standard II (Grade 4, four years of schooling), and at Katima Mulilo tuition was up to Standard IV (Grade 6). From Katima Mulilo learners would proceed to Lower Middle School at Rusangu in Northern Rhodesia. English was taught orally as a subject in Sub B and in Standard I English reading was commenced. Standard III was a transition period and from Standard IV the medium of instruction was English. The curriculum used by the Seventh Day Adventist was that laid down by the Northern Rhodesian Native Education Department. The examinations in Standards I-III were conducted locally by the Mission's supervisors while the examination for Standard IV was a written examination conducted by the Northern Rhodesian Native Education Department. At Katima Mulilo Mission School, learners spent the afternoon working in the Mission grounds. This was referred to as 'Industrial Education'.

A condition given to the Mission regarding school administration was that of two monthly visits of a European to out-schools. Pastor Stuart of the Adventists, who was in charge in 1937 during Additional Native Commissioner French Trollope's inspection trip to eastern Caprivi Strip, complained that such visits were impossible owing to local conditions. This was because the territory was flooded for a greater part of the year and the non-existence of hard roads compounded by slow means of transport prevented frequent visits. Pastor Stuart suggested four visits per annum – two by himself and two by the native Jeannes teacher. This request was acceded to.

Attendance, fees and community involvement

There were general complaints from the missionaries that the tribal authorities were disinterested and of apathy from parents about attendance of their children. However, it is difficult to measure the demand for educational facilities at this time, partly because of the Administration's attitude towards the education of the black people. Kruger describes this interest [of blacks] in education as 'lethargic' (Kruger 1963, p. 63) while his contemporary Trollope's description is that of "... a very superficial desire for a very superficial education ..." (Trollope, 1940, p.40).

Trollope's tone is indicative of the authorities' attitude towards education in the area: doing little to encourage attendance and educational development. For the authorities, education was of little use to the strip natives: "The educated natives will have to look beyond their borders for employment" (Trollope, 1937, p.20). Even the small annual educational grant to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission which Trollope suggested to be continued, was to "...remove reproach that we are doing nothing in this direction" (Trollope, 1937, p.20).

With little encouragement from the authorities to attend school and less employment opportunities in the territory, it is not surprising that attendance was on average very poor. In 1939 for example, there were only three schools left in the territory, with a total enrolment of 162 and an average attendance of less than 50% (Kruger, 1984, p.1). In his 1940 annual report, Trollope provided the following tables giving attendance figures at the three schools: (Trollope, 1940, p.11).

Table 1: Learner enrolment

Mission School	School Grade & Standard						Total Boys & Girls		Grand Total	Average Attendance
	A	B	1	2	3	4				
Katima Mulilo Mission	6:2	2:0	10:4	28:6	11:0	9:1	64	13	77	46%
Schubmannsburg Out School	23:6	10:2	7:4	-	-	-	40	8	48	30%
Kalimbeza Out School	15:9	3:0	7:1	-	-	-	25	10	35	18%

Source: Adopted from Trollope's 1940 Annual Report

From Table 1 above, it is clear that attendance was much poorer among girl learners. This accounts for why the scale of school fees charged for girls was much lower than the fees for boys. For example, at the Mission School in Katima Mulilo, the following were charged per annum in the different standards:

Table 2: School fees per gender

Standard	Boys	Girls
A	6/-	5/6
B	7/8	7/-
1	11/-	10/-
2	17/9	15/-
3	23/3	20/-
4	26/9	23/6

Source: Adopted from Trollope's 1940 Annual Report.

The gender-differentiated fees structure (table, 2) did not apply at out-schools or bush schools. The village where the school was situated was required to contribute communally £3 per annum to Mission funds. When a village headman wanted a school his village was required to donate 90 bags of grain annually or £4.10s.0d to the Mission. This excluded payments made in respect of books and other school necessities. Communities were as well required to build the schools. In 1937 communities through their tribal councils had requested that the £4.10s.0d annual levy and the cost of school materials be met by the government. This request was denied and communities were advised to consider meeting such educational expenditure from the Tribal Trust Fund. The 1944 annual report indicates that expenses were being met with assistance from the tribal fund.

The Kasika School

First mention of the Kasika School is found in the 1928 annual report where it is stated that a grant of £46 was made to the school by government to cover the salary of one teacher and also for school-books (Kruger: NAN, A.472). The private school was the only one that was not under the Seventh Day Adventist Church. It was under the management of the London Missionary Society (LMS), and Kruger believes it was established some years before 1928, possibly in 1921, but did not survive long after 1928 under the same banner. Trollope report in 1937 on his inspection tour that Kasika School closed down at the end of 1935: "...languished for want of scholars" (Trollope, 1937, p.20) Kruger describes the school as "...the only vestige...of the consuming efforts of Livingstone, of Helmore and Price and their families, to create a Mission Station with widespread Christian influence in the kingdom of Makololo." (Kruger, 1982: NAN:A.472) During the time the above missionaries

of the London Missionary Society passed through the Caprivi Strip, the territory was under Makololo rule. It is difficult to discern from the records under those whose initiative the school was started, but most probably with the assistance of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration which was administering the Caprivi Strip at the time from Kasane, which is almost adjacent to Kasika village.

SDA mission education in retrogression: an assessment

The transfer of control of the eastern Caprivi Zipfel to the Union government's Department of Native Affairs was not a welcome development for the Seventh Day Adventist Mission education. It brought along the following sad news, contained in a minute dated 15-9-1939 from the Chief Native Commissioner, H.J. Allen, to the Director of the Katima Mulilo Mission (NAN: 2267 A.503/1-7)

I have the honour to inform you that in view of the recent transfer of administration and control of the Eastern Caprivi Zipfel to the Union Department of Native Affairs, the subsidy of £50 per annum paid to your Mission by the South West Africa Administration has been discontinued as from the date of the transfer i.e. 31st July 1939. The Union Native Affairs Department has been advised accordingly.

Whilst the withdrawal of the subsidy had a negative impact on the educational activities of the mission, things were already at low ebb at the time of the transfer of the administration: there were only three schools left with a poor average attendance. An application for financial aid from government was refused on the ground that the work being done did not justify it. As a result the Seventh Day Adventist Church found itself unable to satisfy what the administration expected of it and decided to withdraw its White missionary and to abandon the Katima Mulilo mission station and, with that, the management of the schools. This was about 1943. Church work continued under local office bearers, prominent among them Joel Mwilima of Kanono and the Mubonenwa and Siukuta families near Katima Mulilo, with occasional visits from the missionary at Maun in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The regional headquarters of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission was based in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia. The membership remained generally staunch, particularly among the Mafwe and Mayeyi sections of the population. The White Seventh Day Adventist missionaries who did service in Caprivi and therefore responsible for the education projects were, from the first to the last, Wilmore Burgan, Kannemacher, Button, Stuart (Stewart), Cooks, and Owen (Kruger: NAN, A.472).

It is difficult to say with certainty why the educational project of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission failed. Available records are those of administration officials. For Kruger, "It was because the Seventh Day Adventists were judged not to be sufficiently active in a well-organized way that they ultimately withdrew" (Kruger 1963, p.13). His colleague and senior, Trollope, had even harsher assessment for the Seventh Day Adventist. Writing in his 1940 Annual Report, he had the following to say:

The number of schools has decreased year by year (to 3 at the time). Considering the time the Mission has operated in the area the results are extremely poor ... On paper the syllabus and educational schemes are impressive but in fact the position is the reverse ... The Native teachers are on the whole poorly educated and not of a high standard otherwise. The salaries paid are insufficient to attract any better material. The schools themselves are shabby and inadequate. School furnishings are poor. There is a dearth of textbooks. Vocational teaching is, despite a pretense to the contrary, non-existent (Trollope, 1940, p.18).

Trollope's assessment is a bit conflicting. Just less than three years before (1937) on an inspection tour before he became Native Commissioner of the Eastern Caprivi Zipfel, he suggested that the Seventh Day Adventist should receive a government subsidy for their

educational work, adding that "... probabilities (raised by Pastor Stuart) are not merely theoretical." (Trollope, 1937, p.20) He states in the same report that text books in all subjects and standards are in use. While there is no doubt things were not well with the Adventists, perhaps Trollope had a personal dislike of the Mission. Writing in his 1937 inspection report, he characterised the Mission in the following manner: "The Bechuanaland authorities allowed the Seventh Day Adventist denomination to get a footing in the country (Caprivi). That denomination is, in my experience, of all missions the least desirable. Theirs is a fancy religion and must be very confusing to the native mind." (Trollope, 1937, p.20). He does not divulge what his experience with the Seventh Day Adventist denomination was.

Education under the Roman Catholic Capuchin Order

It has emerged from the preceding paragraph that the Seventh Day Adventist Mission did not tackle education on an organised basis, to the dislike of the authorities, and the whole educational project was eventually withdrawn in about 1943. This was so largely because of financial difficulties and the decision by the Administration to discontinue providing a subsidy to the SDA to enable it to run the education project. As a result, there were virtually no educational facilities in the eastern Caprivi and thus quite a substantial number of children from the Strip attended schools in Northern Rhodesia and Bechuanaland. On the north bank of the Zambezi River in Northern Rhodesia, learners from the Caprivi Strip went to schools at Sichili and also at the Paris Mission School at Sesheke. The South African authorities decided to re-introduce primary schools but still using Christian missions. They reportedly approached the resident Seventh Day Adventist missionary to carry out this programme, but declined the offer (Pretorius, 1975, p.49).

The Roman Catholics – the Capuchin Fathers - accepted the invitation and moved across the river into the eastern Caprivi Zipfel in July 1944 (Trollope, 1944, p.4). At the time, they were well established at Sichili in Northern Rhodesia and their regional headquarters were then at the Victoria Falls. Initially they wanted to set up their Caprivi headquarters at Lisikili about 15 miles south-eastward of Katima Mulilo but decided on the site vacated by the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. The then 30 acres in extent site was allocated to the Roman Catholics by Pretoria's authority on the 26th May, 1945 (Kruger, 1984, p.3). The Roman Catholics started with class (Sub B) in the eastern Caprivi in 1944 which consisted of eight (8) children. The low attendance number is due to the fact that at the time several children from Caprivi were attending school at the Seventh Day Adventist Mission school on the Northern Rhodesia bank of the Zambezi River. By 1945 the classes had been increased to three. Apart from an education subsidy provided by the government, the tribal authorities were providing assistance for educational purposes from the Tribal Trust Funds.

The Union Department of Native Affairs sent an official in 1945, a Mr. Rhodes, to investigate conditions pertaining to education in the eastern Caprivi Zipfel. The Department endorsed Mr. Rhodes' recommendations that the Northern Rhodesian school curriculum be adopted. The Department did not have objection to the Northern Rhodesian Government inspecting the school through the Provincial Education Officer of Barotseland (Western Zambia). Since that time the school had been regularly inspected by that officer. The Northern Rhodesian Examinations had been written and marked by officials of the Education Department of that country and 'pass' certificated issued by the Mission on their instruction.

By 1959 there were 15 schools under the Roman Catholic management and subsidised by the government with a total of 884 learners of whom about 165 were in boarding establishments at Katima Mulilo Mission School (Kruger, 1984, p.10). As was the case under the Seventh Day Adventists, out-schools went only to Standard 2 (grade 4) and served as feeder to the upper school at the Mission, which went up to Standard 6. By 1962 there were 17 schools (Pretorius, 1975, p.49. in the eastern Caprivi Zipfel, with 1,500 pupils and

42 teachers and still with many boys than girls since in the earlier years parents did not allow girls to attend school. At this time, the inspection of schools had been taken over by the Pretoria government. An inspector of schools from the Republic, Phillip Nutt, came at intervals to give guidance and generally to aid education effort in the territory.

The Kanono School

In 1960 a new development took place in the history of education in the eastern Caprivi Strip. The first of what was termed a Bantu Community School was established at Kanono. This meant that a committee drawn from the local community took on management responsibilities of the school instead of the Mission. The tribal authority was also brought into school affairs to a greater extent than before. By 1961 the Kanono Bantu Community School had classes up to Standard 6 (Kruger, 1984, p.3).

‘Alien learners and teachers’: Northern Rhodesian pupils

In a letter dated 3rd March, 1955 written by the Secretary of Native Affairs and addressed to the Magistrate, Eastern Caprivi Zipfel, the former enquired to know:

- How it came about that the children of Northern Rhodesia Natives attended schools in the Strip (Caprivi)?
- How many Northern Rhodesia Natives (with or without children) are residing in the Strip and for what purpose?
- What is meant by the term W.N.L.A. parents?

The concepts of alien learners, alien natives and W.N.L.A. parents and pupils had entered education vocabulary in the eastern Caprivi Zipfel to denote citizens of especially Northern Rhodesia who were attending school or had taken up employment in the eastern Caprivi. While the records for the period before 1944 are not available, there was a steady increase of learners from Northern Rhodesia who were attending school in Caprivi from 1944 onwards. Information on the statistics are condensed in table 3 below:

Table 3: ‘Alien’ learner

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of ‘Alien’ Learners</i>
1944	1
1945	5
1951/2	24
1954	71
TOTAL	101

Source: Magistrate, Eastern Caprivi Zipfel Letter, addressed to the Secretary for Native Affairs, dated 15th March, 1955.

The steady increase was due to the fact that there ceased to be any school on the Northern Rhodesian bank of the Zambezi River and the fact that the tuition received at the Caprivi Strip school was superior to that of other Northern Rhodesian schools further afield. Perhaps the most important was the fact that a large percentage of the labour force in and around Katima Mulilo at the time was composed of the so-called alien natives. In the commencement there were no ‘Strip’ natives qualified to be appointed as teachers and Northern Rhodesian natives were appointed. In 1955 for example, there were only 9 ‘Strip’ teachers compared to 21 Northern Rhodesian teachers employed by the Roman Catholic Mission at the main and 13 out-schools Collenbrander. (1955: NAN, A.472) It has been reported above that there was no teacher training facilities in the Caprivi Zipfel at the time, where the main school only went to Standard 6. To train teachers, it was necessary to send

them first to upper schools in Northern Rhodesia, and then to the Solusi Teacher Training in Bulawayo. The 'alien natives' working in the eastern Caprivi Zipfel in 1955 numbered 127: broken down as follows: 114 Northern Rhodesian, 5 Nyasa (Malawi), 4 Angolans, and 4 natives from Bechuanaland. These 'alien' natives were employed by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (W.M.L.A.), the mission and trading firms as Store Capitaos (Head Boys), teachers, clerks, drivers, hospital orderlies, lorry boys, builder boys, capitaos of rest camps, on the pontoon, labour gangs, at the compound, and as domestic servants. In justifying the employment of such a large proportion of 'alien' natives, the magistrate at the time, Colenbrander, had the following to say:

Among the employees there are 'Strip' natives, but very few in proportion. It may not be realised but the natives of the 'Strip' have only just begun to 'develop' and are still very primitive, indeed, very few make good servants and none remain at work for any length of time (Colenbrander, 1955: NAN, A.472).

The District Manager of W.N.L.A. paid for the schooling of the children of his Association's Northern Rhodesian employees. This was overcome by transferring all employees with school going children to the Caprivi Zipfel portion of the W.N.L.A. depot. Similarly the Northern Rhodesia government subsidized the education of pupils from that country attending school in the eastern Caprivi Zipfel.

Mission Education and the advent of nationalist politics in the Eastern Caprivi Strip

Two things became abundantly clear from the foregoing: a) that the state/administration subsidized the missionaries for the education project; b) that, especially for the Missionaries of the Catholic Cappuchin Order, they came at the invitation of the authorities. The missionaries and the state thus had a special relationship. The rise of regionalism/nationalism in the eastern Caprivi Strip, particularly the formation of the Caprivi African National Union (CANU), played itself out in the school environment (Kangumu, 2011, p. 208). The schools were managed by the missionaries and therefore the two were bound to clash. It should be stated that CANU was a political movement which was started mainly by teachers. In March 1964 a student strike or what the administration called a 'night disturbance' occurred at the Holy family Mission school at Katima Mulilo, the main school of the Cappuchin Order in the Eastern Caprivi. Kruger ascribes the causes of the strike to the fact that a number of CANU office bearers were dismissed from their teaching posts at schools managed by the Roman Catholic Mission on the grounds of their political involvement and 'questionable loyalty'.

Learners of the time maintain that the strike was held to demand improvements in the way the hostel was run. While they paid school fees, they were not provided with mattresses (they had to sleep on the floor or on traditional mats); they cooked for themselves; the quality of food was apparently very poor; sugar was only given to girls and even then only in small quantities; meat was only provided for once in a week on Saturdays while on other days learners had to fend for themselves which forced them to fish in the nearby Zambezi River, and so on.

Four learners, older boys, were arrested, imprisoned and subjected to canning following this 'night disturbance' or strike. As stated, political activists were discharged from their teaching positions by the missionaries due to their political involvement. Such was the response of the missionaries to the rise of political activism in the eastern Caprivi Strip as far as the school environment was concerned. More broadly, apart from the desire for independence, the rise of CANU owes much to the desire to boycott the government take-over of schools from the missionaries during this period. The political activists reasoned that with the take-over the quality of education will be compromised since the South

African Bantu education curriculum will be introduced in state schools as opposed to mission education which was comparable to one offered in neighbouring territories.

Conclusion

In this review article we discussed about the advent of modern formal education in the eastern Caprivi Strip (Zambezi region). It came through missionary enterprise at the beginning of the 1920s, involving the London Missionary Society, the Seventh Day Adventists and the Catholic Holy Family Mission (the Cappuchin Order). The state subsidized the education project run by the missionaries but later the communities made contributions through the Tribal Trust Funds. Because of the geographical location of the then eastern Caprivi Strip, being far removed and remote from both Windhoek in South West Africa of which it was an integral part and Pretoria from where it was administered, the provision of education depended and relied on neighbouring territories. It was shown that the curriculum applied in the eastern Caprivi Strip and the examinations written were those of the Northern Rhodesian Education Department. The school inspectors were also from that country and also teachers who were teaching in the schools. To proceed and further education beyond standard II, learners had to go to Northern and Southern Rhodesia. When a school ceased to operate on the north or south bank of the Zambezi or Chobe River, learners would simply cross over the other side of the river to attend school. In this way, education in this period defied modern political boundaries. It was also shown that missionaries did not tolerate political activism and discharged teachers from employment who participated in politics. In this way, they collaborated with the state to suppress the wishes of the black majority and thereby protecting the hand that was feeding them.

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