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Author(s): Giacomo Macola

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HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL PUBLICATIONS IN THE VERNACULARS OF COLONIAL ZAMBIA: MISSIONARY CONTRIBUTION TO THE 'CREATION OF TRIBALISM'

BY

GIACOMO MACOLA
(University of Zambia)

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the chronology and attributes of literate ethno-history in Northern Rhodesia. While the earliest published authors were invariably members of missionary societies whose evangelical policies were predisposed towards the Christianisation of local chieftaincies, the expansion and Africanisation of vernacular historiography from the late 1930s owed much to the intervention of the colonial government in the publishing sphere. A survey of their contents shows that vernacular histories and ethnographies mirrored preconceptions and preoccupations typical of the times of their composition. By placing these texts in the political and economic context of the colony, and by providing new data on their wide circulation among literate Africans, the article contends that published ethno-histories were one of the principal cultural components of the process of crystallisation of ethnic identities in the middle and late colonial era.

Introduction

In this paper,¹ I discuss what I deem to be a key aspect of the history of ideas in colonial Zambia: the reconstruction and hardening of ethnic identities through the production and publication of vernacular histories and ethnographies.² Unlike Papstein and van Binsbergen,³ who studied the gestation and social impact of one particular historical text in a specific Zambian locality, I want to bring out the broad, colony-wide dimension of the phenomenon. For my present purposes, then, bibliographical comprehensiveness is more important than analytical depth. The chronological development of a literate historiography in the vernaculars and the contribution of some select missionary societies and government agencies are outlined in the next section of this article. Thereafter, I turn to the contents of this literary genre and seek to

tease out the underlying assumptions that informed it and their relationship with what historians have grown accustomed to term the 'creation of tribalism'.

Ideally, the ethnographical and historical publications of neighbouring, kindred Malawian peoples should have been taken into consideration as well. The choice to exclude them from my focus of observation is motivated by the still incomplete nature of the data in my possession, and is not meant to imply that the Malawian literature in Nyanja or closely related languages did not circulate widely in Northern Rhodesia both before and after the foundation of the Joint Publications Bureau of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (JPBNRN) in 1948-9. Another caveat is probably in order at this stage: it is not my intention to question the value of vernacular histories and ethnographies as possible sources of evidence about the pre-colonial past of Zambian societies. Having examined this latter aspect elsewhere,⁴ I shall take it for granted in the course of this paper and discuss the other salient features of these texts.

The development of the genre

The production of vernacular histories in colonial Zambia can usefully be subdivided into two distinct phases, the watershed between them being the foundation of the African Literature Committee of Northern Rhodesia (ALCNR), a seminal event in Zambian literary history.

In Table 1, I have indicated the three major vernacular histories written in Northern Rhodesia before the inception of the ALCNR in 1937. Pride of place must go to Reverend Adolphe Jalla's *Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi*, the first full-length history of a Zambian people to be published in the vernacular. Originally composed and published in Sesuto, the Paris missionary's book was translated into Lozi in 1921. Two revised editions (1932 and 1939) followed during the next twenty years, thus ensuring the local fame of this classic of Zambian historiography.⁵ The third and fourth volumes of *Ifya Bukaya*, the White Fathers' series of Bemba school readers, were the next significant contribution to the development of a written historiography in the vernacular languages of Northern Rhodesia. Compiled mainly by Fathers Jan van Sambeek, François Tanguy and Edouard Labrecque on the basis of the detailed historical enquiries conducted by scores of nameless Bemba-speaking catechists, they contained the first published vernacular account of the history of the Bemba of Chitimukulu. Insofar as they came under the sway of the Bemba in the course of the nine-

Table 1 Relationship between Written Vernacular Histories and Missionary Activity in Colonial Zambia, 1900-1937. Each text is ascribed to the missionary denomination to which the author belonged or in which he received all or most of his primary schooling.

Mission	Text
Paris Missionary Society	JALLA, A., <i>Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi</i> [History of the Lozi Nation] (Cape Town: OUP, 1909)
White Fathers	VAN SAMBEEK, J., <i>et al.</i> , <i>Ifya Bukaya</i> [About Citizenship]: <i>Third Bemba Reader</i> (Chilubula: White Fathers, 1932); <i>Ifya Bukaya: Fourth Bemba Reader</i> (Chilubula: White Fathers, n.d. [?1932])
Dutch Reformed Church Mission	JERE, M., ‘Ciyambi ca Angoni’ [The Origin of the Ngoni], unpublished manuscript, c. 1935. This formed the basis of J. Bruwer, <i>Mbiri ya Angoni</i> [History of the Ngoni] (Mkhoma: DRC Mission Press, 1941)

teenth century, the histories of neighbouring societies are not entirely absent from these two texts. Finally, in about 1935, Maikol or Mikaele Jere, a Madzimoyo-based Dutch Reformed evangelist, collected ‘Ciyambi ca Angoni’, which was later incorporated in Rev. Jan Bruwer’s *Mbiri ya Angoni*.⁶

Whereas all missionary groups operating in Northern Rhodesia were eventually led to recognise the value of the teaching of literacy in their proselytising efforts and spent considerable time and energy in reducing to writing the languages, and sometimes the dialects, of the peoples among whom they operated,⁷ it was only the Paris Missionary Society (PMS), the White Fathers (WF) and the Dutch Reformed Church Mission (DRCM) which saw fit to employ the linguistic expertise thus accumulated to print local oral traditions during the first four decades of the twentieth century. In order to account for this peculiarity, the timing of the arrival of the earliest representatives of the missionary societies concerned is the first aspect to be borne in mind. The security of these pioneers, who settled in the heartlands of the Lozi, Bemba and Ngoni before the effective inception of British rule,⁸ depended to a large extent on their ability to establish a *modus vivendi* with not-yet-emasculated African rulers. By taking an active interest in their hosts’ politics, customs and history, early missionaries enhanced their chances of survival in potentially hostile environments. A by-product of this dynamic was that later missionary or missionary-trained authors were able to draw upon a comparatively vast body of knowledge of local societies.

The nature of the polities encountered by early European missionaries can also be presumed to have had a bearing upon the readiness with which these latter entered the terrain of historical reconstruction. In spite of their differences, Lozi, Bemba and Ngoni societies shared a series of common political traits and related attitudes as regards their histories. The recognition of the institution of kingship provided these communities with a unifying principle of hierarchy and a degree of political stratification. By virtue of their privileged positions, kings and subordinate hereditary title-holders had a vested interest in the preservation of the memory of the past—especially the most recent one, which, in all three cases, had been marked by highly successful processes of military expansion and political incorporation. A far from negligible result of the late-nineteenth-century conquests of the Lozi, Bemba and Ngoni was the diffusion of the languages employed by their ruling elites. Together with Tonga, Lozi, Bemba and Nyanja became the only officially recognised vernaculars in Northern Rhodesia ('The Big Four'). The relatively broad regional markets created by this combination of endogenous processes and colonial decision-making meant that cash-strapped missionaries could reasonably expect to recoup part at least of the expenses sustained in the publication of the aforementioned historical texts.

The above considerations, however, also apply to missionary denominations (for example the Plymouth Brethren-Christian Missions in Many Lands (PB) or the London Missionary Society, which settled in the Bemba-speaking heartland of the kingdom of Kazembe between 1899 and 1900) which played no significant part in the early production and publication of written vernacular histories. Therefore, I would argue that the single most important factor behind the PMS, WF and DRCM's historiographical activities was their members' belief in the possibility of turning pre-colonial political institutions to Christian purposes. This notion is clearly discernible in the records and actions of all three missionary societies in the first decades of the twentieth century and it provided a degree of consistency to otherwise widely differing evangelical policies. Faithful to the spirit of Cardinal Lavigerie's instructions—'*dans une société violente, subdivisée en une multitude de tribus qui vivent à l'état patriarcal, ce qui importe surtout c'est de gagner l'esprit des chefs. On s'y attachera donc d'une manière spéciale, sachant qu'en gagnant un seul chef on fera plus pour l'avancement de la Mission, qu'en gagnant isolément des centaines de pauvres Noirs*'⁹—the WF in North-Eastern Rhodesia never gave up the hope of finding their 'Black Clovis' among Bemba rulers. In a similar vein, from the beginning of his stay in Bulozhi, Rev. François Coillard realised the potential advan-

tages to be derived from the conversion of King Lewanika. It is indeed 'no exaggeration to say that Coillard was obsessed by the idea that he had to win Lewanika for Christ.'¹⁰ This initial approach resulted in the fashioning of a close and enduring relationship between PMS and Lozi royals and aristocrats, an aspect of the early colonial history of Bulozhi often noted by contemporary observers and later scholars.¹¹ The South African background of the Dutch Reformed missionaries may be held to account for their deeply ingrained preoccupation to 'preserve the traditional structures' of their charges in Eastern Zambia.¹² A natural outcome of this tendency was the recognition of the social role of local authorities, whose conversion Rev. William H. Murray, leader of the DRCM in Malawi between the beginning of the twentieth century and 1937, planned to achieve through a policy of 'constant personal contact'.¹³ While the analysis of the factors which militated against all these projects of Christianisation of Northern Rhodesian chieftaincies falls outside the scope of our discussion, it is important to point out that evangelical strategies of this sort were bound to generate a sustained interest in the attributes and histories of those chiefly institutions upon which missionaries placed so great a burden of expectations.

The foundation of the African Literature Committee of Northern Rhodesia ushered in the second phase in the development of a literate vernacular historiography in colonial Zambia. As shown in Table 2, this period, roughly delimited by the economic boom of the late 1930s and the victory of the nationalist movement in the early 1960s, was characterised by a terrific increase in the number of historical publications.

In the 1920s, missionary societies in Northern Rhodesia, influenced by an unprecedented wave of international interest in the cultural value of African vernaculars and by the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission,¹⁴ began to take their role as providers of educational and general reading matters for the newly literate Africans more and more seriously. While Rev. S. Douglas Gray, of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society,¹⁵ saw the 'creation' of a 'vernacular literature' as one of the most urgent tasks facing Christian missions in Northern Rhodesia,¹⁶ Fr. Tanguy, WF, thought that 'no missionary work [*was*] of greater consequence [...] than that of providing the Church with an adequate literature.' In the same breath, Tanguy pointed out that 'vernacular books appeal[*ed*] to the people more than [*those in*] European languages.' They were thus more likely 'to cause a reading habit among Natives'.¹⁷ This broad inter-denominational agreement gave additional weight to the missionaries' repeated calls for 'substantial' governmental 'assistance towards the publication of approved secular school literature'

in the vernaculars.¹⁸ Colonial policy-makers wavered until 1935, when the Copperbelt riots impressed upon most of them the need to provide ‘cheap and suitable literature’ to counter what were perceived to be the pernicious effects of the ‘circulation of Watch Tower’ publications.¹⁹

Two years later the ALCNR was born. Funded by the Native Development Board and, as from 1941, by the Native Education Department, the Committee’s multifarious tasks included the recommendation of suitable books in English and ‘books for translation into one or more’ of the vernacular languages of the colony. The Committee was also expected to promote local authorship by suggesting ‘what further books [were] required and who should [have been] asked to write them.’ Finally, it was the Committee’s responsibility to arrange for the publication and later distribution of the books it had selected.²⁰ Missionary interests in the Committee—which also comprised senior colonial officials and literate Africans—were represented by Rev. Arthur J. Cross, Baptist leader of the United Missions in the Copperbelt and member of the Literature Sub-Committee of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia, and by D. Greig, manager of the United Society for Christian Literature Book Depot in Mindolo, Kitwe.

Table 2 Relationship between Published Vernacular Histories and Missionary Activity in Colonial Zambia, 1938-1964. The main sources of information on the educational background of the African authors listed below are abbreviated as shown at the bottom of the table:

Mission	Text	Source
Paris Missionary Society	IKACANA, N.S., <i>Liaba za Makwangwa</i> [History of the Kwangwa] (London: Macmillan [with JPBNRN], 1952)	LI
	MUPATU, Y.W., <i>Mulambwa Santulu u Amuhela bo Mwene</i> [Mulambwa Santulu Welcomes the Mbunda Chiefs] (London: Macmillan [with JPBNRN], 1954)	GP
White Fathers	CHIMBA, B., ed. F. Tanguy, <i>A History of the Baushi</i> (Ndola: ALCNR, 1943). This is a revised version of E. Labrecque, ‘Milandu ya Kale ya Baushi’ [The Old History of the Ushi], unpublished typescript, 1938 TANGUY, F., <i>Imilandu ya Babemba</i> [History of the Bemba] (London & Cape Town: OUP [with ALCNR], 1948) LABRECQUE, E., ed., <i>History of the Bena-Ngoma (Ba-Cungu wa Mukulu)</i> (London: Macmillan [with JPBNRN], 1949)	LV

Table 2 (cont.)

Mission	Text	Source
	LABRECQUE, E., ed., <i>Ifikolwe Fyandi na Bantu Bandi</i> [My Ancestors and My People] (London: Macmillan [with JPBNRN], 1951)	
Dutch Reformed Church Mission	MWALE, E.B., <i>Ŵa Acewa</i> [The Chewa] (London: Macmillan [with JPBNRN], 1952)	M; HL; VG
Universities' Mission to Central Africa	FIELD, A.S., <i>Visilano. Tales Concerning the History of N.E. Rhodesian Tribes</i> (London: The Sheldon Press [with ALCNR], 1940) MUNDAY, J.T., <i>Inyendwa (W. Lala-Maswaka Traditions)</i> (London: The Sheldon Press [with ALCNR], 1941)	
Plymouth Brethren (Christian Missions in Many Lands)	CHINYAMA, T., <i>The Early History of the Balovale Lunda</i> (Ndola: ALCNR, 1945)	PW
Methodist Missionary Society	GRAY, S.D., <i>Shishimi shaBeneMukuni</i> [The Traditions of the Bene Mukuni] (Cape Town: OUP [with JPBNRN], 1954)	
Society of Jesus	SHILLING, P., 'Monze Mukulu' [Chief Monze], published in one volume with the 1st edn. of J. Syaamusonde, <i>Naakoyo Waamba Caano Caakwe</i> (Ndola: ALCNR, 1947)	IN; PS
South Africa General Mission	CHIBANZA, S.J., <i>Buyumu Bwabukasempa</i> [The Kasempa Chieftainship] (n.l. [but Lusaka: Northern Rhodesia Publications Bureau], n.d. [but 1962])	PW
London Missionary Society	KALIFUNGWA, W., ed. F. Tanguy, <i>History of the Ba-Luunda</i> (Ndola: ALCNR, 1943)	KK

- GP: G. Prins, ed., *Self-help at Makapulwa School, an Autobiography by Yuyi W. Mupatu with Contributions from R.B. Muleto and A.L. Mufungulwa* (Lusaka: Institute for African Studies, 1980), pp. 15-17.
- HL: H.W. Langworthy, 'A Political History of Undi's Kingdom to 1890: Aspects of Pre-Colonial Chewa History in East Central Africa', PhD, Boston University, 1969, p. 98.
- IN: Interview with Ivonne Ndaba, Casimiro Malilwe & Dominique Moya, Chikuni, 18 May 2001.
- KK: Interview with Kunda Kalifungwa, Kitwe, 1 July 2001.
- LI: Interview with Liwali Ikacana & Gertrude Njekwa, Lusaka, 26 January 2002.
- LV: L. Verbeek, *Filiation et Usurpation. Histoire Socio-Politique de la Région entre Luapula et Copperbelt* (Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1987), p. 361.

- M: 'Publications Bureau Literature Competition', *Mutende*, 13 October 1949.
- PW: P.D. Wilkin, 'To the Bottom of the Heap: Educational Deprivation and its Social Implications in the Northwestern Province of Zambia, 1906-1945', PhD, Syracuse University, 1983, pp. 188, 250.
- PS: P. Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia, 1883-1945* (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1990; 1st edn., 1974), p. 88.
- VG: Verstraelen-Gilhuis, *Dutch Mission Church*, p. 133.

Despite its limited resources and uncertain administrative status—only resolved with the foundation of the Joint Publications Bureau of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1948-9 as a separate government department under the Secretary for Native Affairs²¹—the ALCNR proved to be the catalyst for which emerging vernacular historians had been waiting. If we exclude vernacular translations from English or other European languages (27 items), dictionaries (one) and phrase books (one), so-called 'tribal histories' represented nearly fifty per cent (7:15) of all the original vernacular works sponsored, subsidised or directly published by the ALCNR between 1938 and 1948—by far the dominant subject matter.²² This mushrooming of vernacular histories was the result of both an explicit interest on the part of the members of the Committee,²³ and, especially, the policy of promoting regular literary competitions where 'tribal history' figured invariably as one of the recommended topics.²⁴ It was only from about 1950 that the dominance of vernacular histories in the literary output of the JPBNRN gave way to other fast developing forms of writings: novels and, as we shall see later, vernacular ethnographies. The Nyanja literary competition of 1953-4 was the first openly to exclude chiefly or tribal histories from the range of suggested subjects.²⁵ Even then, however, vernacular histories continued to be produced, with six new Zambian historical texts being published during the first six years of the Bureau's existence.

In the course of this phase of unprecedented historiographical expansion, several of the limitations of the previous period were overcome. The monopoly of PMS, WF and DRCM was finally broken, as European members of smaller, more recently established missionary societies joined the quickly expanding group of published vernacular historians. The works in Senga and Lala of Annis S. Field and Rev. John T. Munday, of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), and that in Lenje of Rev. Gray may be mentioned in this context.²⁶ More significantly, owing to the explicit encouragement of the Committee-Bureau, this new phase of history-writing was marked by the impetuous rise of African authors, who supplanted their erstwhile missionary mentors as the principal producers of published vernacular histories. The creation

of an environment conducive to the development of African literary initiative meant that the cultural predispositions and evangelical strategies of the various missionary denominations lost much of their former momentousness. Despite the fundamental hostility to the study of African culture and political organisations of such groups as the PB and the South Africa General Mission (SAGM),²⁷ pupils of their schools were now empowered to write and publish their historical texts independently of the sectarian and eurocentric approach of the missions in which they had been educated and by which they were sometimes employed. Thomas Chinyama, a teacher-evangelist in charge of one of the first out-schools of the PB's Chitokoloki Arnot Memorial School in the Balovale District, and Simon J. Chibanza, a clerk in the Solwezi boma and 'one of the very earliest and able SAGM converts' in the Kasempa District, are two cases in point.²⁸ Behind both of these new developments there lay the linguistic policy of the ALCNR, which, from a very early stage, had resolved not to limit its publication programme to the four officially recognised vernaculars of the colony.²⁹ Without this decision, none of the aforementioned histories of relatively minor ethnic and linguistic groups would have appeared in print.

There still remained, however, a great many vernacular histories which either failed to meet the Committee-Bureau's requirements or were simply never brought to its attention. Had we taken these unpublished works into account, our table would have had to show such texts as Simon Vibeti's 'History of the Biza', which the ALCNR handled repeatedly between 1937 and 1944, Daniel Mukoboto's 'Mambunda History',³⁰ Harry M. Nkumbula and Robinson Nabulyato's essays on the history and customs of the Ila,³¹ a Tabwa history by an unknown author,³² Fr Labrecque's 'The Story of the Shila People. Aborigines of the Luapula-Mweru along with Their Fishing, Hunting Customs, Folklores and Praisewords',³³ John Boyola's 'History of the Tumbuka of Lundazi' (n.d.), Mwewa Makoyo Lubansa's 'Imilandu ya Bena-Ngumbo' [History of the Bena Ngumbo] (1954), and Rev. Johasaphat Malasha Shimunika's 'Likota lya Bankoya' [The History of the Nkoya People].³⁴

Features of the texts

Having sketched a rough chronology of the development of historical writings in the vernaculars of colonial Zambia, we can now turn to examining the generic features of these texts.³⁵ Without wishing to underrate the significance of their local specificities—a result of the different circumstances and political contexts of their composition—I

would argue that the overwhelming majority of these publications, whether written by European missionaries or their African pupils, were informed by a deep-rooted belief in the immanence of ‘tribes’. By portraying the latter as given social formations, which had been in existence in their contemporary shape since the beginning of time or thereabouts, these texts promoted and popularised the view that African communities in Northern Rhodesia had always been organised along tribal lines.³⁶ Far from exhibiting an awareness of the fluid and situational nature of ethnic affiliations—and despite the clear indications to the effect that, in some areas at least, tribes as coherent socio-political structures were recent developments, the fruits of the disruptions and realignments of the late nineteenth century, or had simply never existed—vernacular historians perceived and described tribes as an irreducible attribute of mankind itself.

A brief survey of the first sections of Tanguy’s *Imilandu ya Babemba*, one of the most influential and widely read of all Zambian vernacular publications, illustrates the principal narrative conventions through which the notion of tribal immanence was typically conveyed. Like Jalla, who in the preface of *Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi* postulated the remoteness and hence ultimate irretrievability of the earliest stages of the history of the ‘Barotse’,³⁷ Tanguy buries the slippery question of the origins of ‘his’ tribe under thick layers of time: ‘many years ago in the darkness back of time the Babemba lived far away to the west in the country which is now called Angola.’³⁸ After hinting at a ‘probable’ link between the Bemba and the followers of ‘Nubemba’ Afonso I, the second Christian king of Kongo, Tanguy deals extensively with the ensuing ‘dispersal of people’, another common theme of both oral and written traditions. Some ‘wandering’ children of Nubemba found their way to ‘Buluba’, where ‘they mingled with the natives’ and ‘gradually with them formed one tribe, speaking the same language, Chiluba.’ The logic of migration being inescapable, once they ‘became numerous, they did as do the bees: they swarmed.’ Under the leadership of the Luba, Mukulumpe, the by now fully fledged Bemba resumed their eastward march and settled on the Lualaba river.³⁹ By introducing at this point the figures of Mukulumpe’s ‘councillors’ (*bakabilo* and *bacilolo*)—who impress upon the chief the need to punish his adulterous son, Chiti or Chitimukulu⁴⁰—Tanguy falls prey to another classic misconception of oral or orally derived texts: the tendency entirely to obliterate the complexity and time-depth of the processes whereby hierarchical and administrative systems are likely to have come about. There are other examples of this form of telescoping. Thus, the ‘immense caravan’ that followed

Chitimukulu and his brother Nkole once they separated from their father comprised a substantial proportion of the title-holders who would later form the core of the Bemba polity in Lubemba.⁴¹

Within the picture of tribal timelessness conjured up by the assertion of distant origins, the fascination for meteoric population movements and the simplification of intricate patterns of political growth, all potential for historical transformation is delegated to inter-tribal conflict. After their split from the Lunda of Kazembe and the Bisa resulted in the inception of yet two more full-blown tribes, the Bemba of Chitimukulu undertook a series of military forays on the periphery of the future heartland of their state. Tanguy's description of the confrontation between the Bemba and the Lala is suggestive of the extent to which vernacular historical publications contributed to crystallise porous cultural distinctions into self-validating ethnic stereotypes. The Lala, a 'timid people', made their 'submission to Chiti and asked him to give them one of his men, brave and strong, to be their chief so that under his government they too could become a strong tribe.' By the same token, following the death of Chitimukulu and Nkole, and while the colonisation of Lubemba was already afoot, the Mambwe are said to have accepted the leadership of a Bemba warrior on the ground that the latter came 'from a strong tribe and, under his rule, we too shall become a war-like tribe.'⁴² With the Bemba safely installed in Lubemba, we can leave Tanguy and his much less fanciful treatment of nineteenth-century dynastic politics and external wars.

While the preconceptions that shaped Tanguy and most of his colleagues' writings were in no small part the result of too literal an interpretation of the self-serving oral traditions of high political offices, it is important to note that what ensured their widespread acceptance and political impact was the fact that they tallied neatly with the 'hegemonic, taken-for-granted assumption within the British colonial world that the basic social unit within which rural Africans lived was the "tribe".'⁴³ It is obviously not coincidental that the late 1930s and 1940s—what we may term the 'golden era' of literate vernacular history in colonial Zambia—was also the period of the initial implementation of Indirect Rule. By producing tribal histories, or by training increasing numbers of Africans to do so, missionaries provided the cultural rationale for the social and administrative engineering that colonial officials were then striving to put into practice. In this regard, vernacular authors played a more fundamental role than contemporaneous colonial historians,⁴⁴ or the anthropologists of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.⁴⁵ For while the English works of the latter propagated a simplified, ready-to-

use concept of tribe within restricted spheres, those of the former circulated extensively among Africans, as demonstrated by their frequent editions and reprints.

Above all, one is struck by the number of copies printed on each occasion. One or two examples will suffice here. In 1943, the ALCNR commissioned 2,000 copies of Barnabas Chimba’s *History of the Baushi* from the Lovedale Press. Two years later, when the pamphlet was reprinted, the copies required had already become 3,000. For the second edition of 1949, the JPBNRN felt able to guarantee a sale of 5,000 to Oxford University Press, which had in the meantime bought the rights of the book. A guarantee for 10,000 more copies was agreed upon when this unlikelyst of best-sellers was reprinted in 1956 and 1958.⁴⁶ The success enjoyed by works centring on demographically stronger and historically less shallow ethnic groups is perhaps less puzzling. In 1948, the Committee-Bureau guaranteed 10,000 copies of Tanguy’s *Imilandu ya Babemba* to OUP. With sales of well over a thousand in 1949, 1950, 1954 and 1956, the Bureau’s guarantee can be presumed to have been successfully fulfilled by the late 1950.⁴⁷ The 2,500 copies which the Bureau promised to buy from OUP when it issued the fifth edition of Jalla’s *Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi* in 1951 were snatched within little more than one year. Three years later, when the book was reprinted, the Bureau was now so confident as to guarantee a sale of 5,000 copies.⁴⁸

Table 3 Editions and Reprints of Published Vernacular Histories in Colonial Zambia, 1900-1964. Main sources: *List of Books*, and *Annual Reports of the JPBNRN*, 1949-1960 (Lusaka: Government Printer).

Text	Editions (and Reprints)
Chimba, <i>History of the Baushi</i>	1943 (1945); 1949 (1956, 1958)
Chinyama, <i>Early History of the Balovale Lunda</i>	1945 (1948)
Field, <i>Visiilano</i>	1940; 1949
Ikacana, <i>Litaba za Makwangwa</i>	1952 (1956, 1964)
Jalla, <i>Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi</i>	1909; 1921; 1932; 1939; 1951 (1954, 1959)
Munday, <i>Inyendwa</i>	1941; 1945; 1950
Mupatu, <i>Mulambwa Santulu</i>	1954 (1958)
Mwale, <i>Acewa</i>	1952; 1960; 1962
Labrecque, <i>Ifikolwe Fyandi na Bantu Bandi</i>	1951 (1958)
Tanguy, <i>Imilandu ya Babemba</i>	1948; 1963
Van Sambeek, <i>Ifya Bukaya:</i> <i>Third Bemba Reader</i>	1932 (extracts reprinted in <i>Ifya Bukaya: Selected Bemba Reader. Interim Edition</i> [Lusaka & Blantyre: JPBNRN, 1950; repr. 1952])

Mission schools in rural areas were no doubt the principal outlets for published vernacular histories. Apart from relying on the third and fourth volumes of *Ifya Bukaya*, teachers of Standards III and IV in WF's schools in the 1940s were directed to employ both Chimba's *History of the Baushi* and Wilson Kalifungwa's *History of the Ba-Luunda*.⁴⁹ Gray wrote his compilation of oral traditions with the explicit aim of counteracting the 'erosion of the original Lenje culture' by teaching its basic historical foundations to the pupils of Methodist schools in the Lenje-speaking areas of the Central Province.⁵⁰ In the 1950s, UMCA's schools in the Eastern Province were reported to be making large use of Field's *Visi-ilano*.⁵¹ But adult readers in the ethnically mixed towns along the line of rail were no less interested by this phenomenal increase in the availability of reading material of an historical nature. The WF's 'Chibemba readers', for instance, found a keen audience among Bemba-speaking labour migrants on the Copperbelt in the early 1940s. 'Each evening prior to evening school', the newly built Book Room of the Mindolo Book Depot was 'mobbed' by students in search of their 'favourite books'.⁵²

Thus ensured of a wide readership, vernacular histories shaped the Africans' perception of the social reality around them and hardened their feelings of ethnic identity at a time in which colonial administrative policies were working towards the same goal. G.H. Wilson, the Secretary-designate of the JPBNNR, came very close to acknowledging this when he sought to account for the high sales of tribal histories—and the ensuing ALCNR's decision to concentrate on their publication—by adducing that these books served primarily 'to stimulate self-respect and thought on modern problems of civics.' They could thus be deemed to have been 'more valuable than the works directly aimed at improvement and directly concerned with civics which we have produced.'⁵³

Another typical preconception informed the vernacular historiography of colonial Zambia and gave additional substance to the idea of the immanence of ethnic identities. Apart from historical and political factors, tribal distinctiveness was also believed to rest on the existence of a set of mutually exclusive norms of social conduct. 'Here there are so many tribes'—declared in 1950 the Lunda historian Chinyama, one of the representatives of Chief Ishinde's Superior Native Authority in the Western Province African Provincial Council—'and each has its own customs.'⁵⁴ Again, these 'customs' were conceived of as having been in place since time immemorial, the only commonly acknowledged element of change being the imposition of colonial rule, which had either banned or made obsolete some of them. But this recognition of the cultural impact of colonialism was rarely translated into an

awareness of the pliability of ‘customs and traditions’ or their often trans-ethnic character: before the arrival of the whites, no African would have been in any doubt as to what rules of conduct his tribal affiliation required him to subscribe to. These notions were to be fully developed from the late 1940s onwards by an emerging group of authors whose works can be said to have given birth to vernacular ethnography in colonial Zambia as a literary genre in its own right.

Table 4 Relationship between Published Vernacular Ethnographies and Missionary Activity in Colonial Zambia, 1938-1964.

Mission	Text	Source
Paris Missionary Society	SILISHEBO, D.L., <i>Bundui mwa Bulozi</i> [Fishing in Bulozi] (Cape Town & Johannesburg: Juta [with JPBNRN], 1952)	M
	SAKUBITA, M.M., <i>Za Luna li lu Siile</i> [Our Vanishing Past] (London: Macmillan [with JPBNRN], 1954)	IC
	MUMBUNA, M., <i>Muzibe za Muleneni</i> [You Ought to Know Something About the Chief's Village] (London: Macmillan [with JPBNRN], 1957)	AM
	MUPATU, Y.W., <i>Bulozi Sapili</i> [Bulozi in Days Past] (Cape Town: OUP, 1959)	GP
	MUYUNDA, K., <i>Bukwala bwa Malozi</i> [Lozi Craftmanship] (Lusaka: Northern Rhodesia Publications Bureau, 1964)	YL
White Fathers	KASONDE, E., <i>Imilimo ya Bena-Kale</i> [Activities of the People of Old] (London: Macmillan [with JPBNRN], 1952)	PK
	CHIKOTI, S.B., & BWALYA, T., <i>Inkulilo sha Babemba</i> [The Customs of the Bemba] (Lusaka & Blantyre: JPBNRN, 1957)	HH
	SILAVWE, N., <i>Bashimicelo</i> [Iron-Smelters] (Lusaka: JPBNRN, 1962)	HH
Universities' Mission to Central Africa	CHIMAMU, A.M., <i>Myezi</i> [Months] (London: Longmans [with JPBNRN], 1953)	AH
Plymouth Brethren (Christian Missions in Many Lands)	SAKATENGO, J.C., <i>Vilika Vyachisemwa Chalovale. Tribal Customs of the Lovale</i> (Ndola: ALCNR, 1947)	NC
	MWONDELA, W.R., <i>Mwaya Mangana Avalwale</i> [Correct Behaviour Among the Lovale] (London: University of London Press [with Northern Rhodesia Publications Bureau], 1964)	Biographical details on the back cover of the book

Table 4 (cont.)

Mission	Text	Source
Methodist Missionary Society	MATTHEWS, J.L., <i>Zyaciindi Azyasunu</i> [Life in the Past and in the Present]. <i>Tonga Second Primer</i> (London: Longmans [with JPBNNR], 1953) GRAY, S.D., <i>Shilabo shaBeneMukuni</i> [The Customs of the Bene Mukuni] (Cape Town: OUP [with JPBNNR], 1954) SYABBALO, E., <i>Basimpongo Makani Esu</i> [About Herdboys] (London: United Society for Christian Literature—Lutterworth Press [with JPBNNR], 1961)	M; TM
Society of Jesus	MUCHANGWE, I.H., <i>Kubangwa kwa Batonga</i> [The Tonga Custom of Knocking Out the Front Upper Teeth] (Lusaka & Blantyre: JPBNNR, 1950) CHIITAUKA, A.W., <i>Uli Muzubonzi?</i> [What's Your Tribe?] (Cape Town: OUP [with JPBNNR], 1957) CHIITAUKA, A.W., <i>Tulengwa Twabasikale</i> [The Customs of Our Ancestors] (Cape Town: OUP [with JPBNNR], 1961) NCHETE, D.C., <i>Maambaamba Musaama</i> [Gossip, My Friend] (London: Macmillan [with JPBNNR], 1961)	IN IN IN
Seventh Day Adventist Mission	YAMBA, D.L., <i>Inshila ya Cupo</i> [The Road to Marriage] (London: Macmillan [with JPBNNR], 1958)	MM
Unknown	SIYWA, N.K., <i>Silimo mwa Bulozzi</i> [Activities in Bulozzi] (London: United Society for Christian Literature—Lutterworth Press [with JPBNNR], 1959) MUKUKA, J.B., <i>Imikalile ya ku Lubemba</i> [Life in Lubemba] (Lusaka & Blantyre: JPBNNR, 1952)	

- AH: Interview with Andrew Hamaamba & Augustine Namakube Chimuka, Lusaka, 26 April 2002.
- AM: A. Mumbuna, 'The Life History of the Late Mufaya Mumbuna', manuscript in possession of the author, 2001.
- GP: Prins, *Self-help at Makapulwa School*, pp. 15-17.
- HH: Hugo Hinfelaar, personal communication to the author, 6 May 2002.
- IC: I. Sakubita Chali, 'Autobiography [sic] of the Late Augustine Maimbolwa Mabebo Sakubita', typescript in possession of its author, n.d.
- IN: Interview with Ivonne Ndaba, Casimiro Malilwe & Dominique Moya.
- M: 'Publications Bureau Literature Competition', *Mutende*, 13 October 1949.
- MM: M.C. Musambachime, 'Dauti Yamba's Contribution to the Rise and Growth of Nationalism in Zambia, 1941-1964', *African Affairs*, XC (1991), p. 261.

NC: N. Chikomo to author, n.d. (but early February 2002).
PK: Interview with Peter Kasolo, Lusaka, 25 June 2001.
TM: T.I. Matthews, ‘The Historical Tradition of the Peoples of the Gwembe Valley, Middle Zambezi’, PhD, University of London, 1976, p. 460.
YL: Interview with Yuyi Libakeng’i, Lusaka, 5 July 2001.

Table 5 Editions and Reprints of Published Vernacular Ethnographies in Colonial Zambia, 1900-1964. Main source: *Annual Reports of the JPBNNR*, 1949-1960 (Lusaka: Government Printer).

Text	Editions (and Reprints)
Chimamu, <i>Myezi</i>	1953; 1957 (1964)
Kasonde, <i>Imilimo ya Bena-Kale</i>	1952; 1958; 1961 (1962, 1964)
Matthews, <i>Zyaciindi Azyasunu</i>	1953 (1957, 1960, 1963)
Mukuka, <i>Imikalile ya ku Lubemba</i>	1952 (1956, 1958, 1962, 1964)
Mumbuna, <i>Muzibe za Muleneni</i>	1957 (1960)
Sakubita, <i>Za Luna li lu Siile</i>	1954 (1958)
Silishebo, <i>Bundui mwa Buloz</i>	1952 (1956)

Tribal Customs of the Lovale—to take the earliest published specimen as an illustration of the general characteristics and shortcomings of the literature under review—is not written for an anonymous public. Jeremiah Sakatengo’s readers, with whom the author empathises by means of the frequent use of the expression ‘*etu Valovale*’ (‘we, the Luvale’), constitute a self-contained moral community, the boundaries of which are defined by shared social conventions. The sole aim of these conventions, which include the sacredness of clan affiliations and generational solidarities brought about by the *mukanda* or male puberty ceremony, is to ensure harmony and swift resolution of conflicts. Like most of its successors, indeed, *Tribal Customs of the Lovale* is pervaded by a ‘cultural nationalist’ nostalgia for the times in which this partly mythical system of social relations at the village level worked to the full, unhampered by the intrusion of modernity.

The fact that, as shown in Tables 4 and 5, the production of vernacular pamphlets devoted to the reification of tribal customs peaked in the 1950s suggests that these writings were first and foremost a response to the challenges posed by the expansion of the copper industry, the growth of urbanisation and the increasingly evident erosion of pre-capitalist mechanisms of social control. Although written some years after the end of the period with which we are chiefly concerned, the following invective by Yuyi Mupatu, Lozi author and educationalist,

may be safely assumed to typify the preoccupations that animated most vernacular ethnographers in the late colonial era.

Thieves and 'freebooters are young men who reached Grade Seven but fail to get means of peaceful living. These are those beings who left school with one aim—sitting in an office all the days of their lives and laughing to scorn men who are sweating when ploughing. These are the boys whose parents failed to control them. These are the boys who left school without knowing their tribal history or culture. These are the boys who imitate white men in all manners and despise their own culture. [. . .]. They think and believe that an educated man is free to do what he likes, that freedom is freedom in all manner of actions. They have no respect towards chiefs and old people. Their parents cannot order them to do any work because they have received some Western education. They twist the hair of their heads because they want their hair to be long and take the shape of the white people's hair. They paint their bodies with 'Ambi', removing the natural pigment. Many of our school children put on mini dresses, showing their private parts. They paint their lips with red ochre. They encourage their heads to be shaggy. All this is done so that they may appear like white people. Dear reader, just think how wrong this habit of copying is!⁵⁵

A similar anxiety informs *Inshila ya Cupo*, Dauti Yamba's booklet on marriage. The text consists of a dialogue between Shiwaililwa, a wise old man whose marriage, 'blessed by the ancestors', has stood the test of time, and Tebulo, a much younger man who has already married and divorced three times in the course of his short adult life. Shiwaililwa overcomes Tebulo's initial reluctance to talk by pointing out that 'youngsters who do not listen to their elders become useless'. He then goes on to expound on how, unlike 'children of nowadays', Luapulan peoples never used to 'rush into things' and were willing to endure lengthy periods of betrothal and marriage preparation. This was what ensured the stability of traditional unions. Needless to say, Tebulo is eventually won over by the forcefulness of Shiwaililwa's arguments and resolves to do his best 'to become like the people of the olden days. [. . .]. From today onwards, even though I do not have children of my own, I will make a point of teaching good habits to the youth.'⁵⁶

But this reactionary longing for a disappearing world in which women and youngsters knew their place and respected their ancestral traditions should not be overemphasised, for the biographies of such authors as Yamba himself and Sakubita (not to speak of Nkumbula or Nabulyato, who, as we have seen, wrote unpublished ethno-histories of the Ila) demonstrate that an uneasy balance could be struck between social conservatism and political innovation. While seeing independence from British rule as the necessary outcome of the process of rapid modernisation which Northern Rhodesia was then undergoing, many vernacular ethnographers could not help feeling uneasy about the possible

social consequences of this same process. What was needed was a bulwark against the perceived threat of moral disruption; hence the appeal to what they deemed to be the best aspects of the pre-colonial heritage. That this heritage could only be articulated in ethnic terms should come as no surprise, given what has been said about the pervasiveness of the tribal discourse at all levels of colonial Zambian society.

Conclusion

Are the writings discussed in this article and the ideas that underpinned them simple relics from the Zambian colonial past? An answer is provided by Table 6, though the data is almost certainly incomplete.⁵⁷

Most of these texts, and even some of those which were never reprinted after independence, have continued and continue to be read in language classes in Zambian primary and secondary schools.⁵⁸ Their diffusion and appeal in rural areas remain high, as noted by scores of recent fieldworkers.⁵⁹ While there is no reason why this should not be so—after all, these publications form an integral part of Zambian intellectual history—an uncritical acceptance of their tribal paradigms cannot be condoned, if only because

it is one of the characteristics of ethnicity that once it has been constructed no other sort of primary identity seems imaginable. Modern tribal entities are thus stretched back into the past in a way that does serious violence to African historical realities and to the range of possible and actual ways of organising social solidarity.⁶⁰

Table 6 Editions and Reprints of Colonial Vernacular Histories and Ethnographies in Post-Colonial Zambia.

Text	Editions (and Reprints) Post-1964
Chiitauka, <i>Tulengwa Twabasikale</i>	1966 (1978, 1994, 1996)
Chiitauka, <i>Uli Muzubonzi?</i>	(1968, 1989)
Ikacana, <i>Litaba za Makwangwa</i>	(1967); 1969 (1971, 1974, 1978)
Jalla, <i>Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi</i>	(1969 [twice], 1970, 1973); 1996
Kasonde, <i>Imilimo ya Bena-Kale</i>	(1965, 1966, 1968)
Mukuka, <i>Imikalile ya ku Lubemba</i>	(1965)
Mumbuna, <i>Muzibe za Muleneni</i>	(1969, 1971, 1972, 1983)
Mupatu, <i>Bulozi Sapili</i>	1978
Mwale, <i>Acewa</i>	(1966, 1967); 1971; 1973; 1982
Sakubita, <i>Za Luna li lu Siile</i>	(1972, 1974)
Syabbalo, <i>Basimpongo Makani Esu</i>	(1965)
Tanguy, <i>Imilandu ya Babemba</i>	(1968, 1969, 1971, 1973, 1996)

The desirable development now is of a local ethno-historiography, which through the medium of English or the vernaculars would transcend—and not, as is still too often the case, merely reproduce—the most glaring limitations of the literature examined in this article while maintaining its popularity.

NOTES

1. The postdoctoral research upon which this piece is based was made possible by the generous award of a Study Abroad Studentship (2001-2002) by the Leverhulme Trust. I also wish to thank Professors Andrew Roberts, Richard Rathbone, Terence Ranger, John McCracken and David Gordon for their comments on a draft of this paper. Drs Hugo and Marja Hinfelaar, the organisers of the seminar 'History of the Catholic Church in Zambia Project', University of Zambia, Lusaka, 12 January 2002) at which it was initially presented made equally pertinent suggestions. None of the aforementioned scholars, of course, should be held responsible for any error or misconception which remain in this article despite their much appreciated cooperation.

2. Relevant studies of similar *problématiques* in other African contexts are J.-P. Chrétien, 'Confronting the Unequal Exchange of the Oral and the Written', in B. Jewsiewicki & D. Newbury, eds., *African Historiographies. What History for Which Africa?* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1986), pp. 75-89; J.D.Y. Peel, 'The Cultural Work of Yoruba Ethnogenesis', in E. Tonkin, M. McDonald & M. Chapman, eds., *History and Ethnicity* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 198-215; R. Law, 'Local Amateur Scholarship in the Construction of Yoruba Ethnicity, 1880-1914', in L. de la Gorgondière, K. King & S. Vaughan, eds., *Ethnicity in Africa. Roots, Meanings and Implications* (Edinburgh: Centre of African Studies, 1996), pp. 55-90.

3. R. Papstein, 'From Ethnic Identity to Tribalism: The Upper Zambezi Region of Zambia, 1830-1981', in L. Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (London: James Currey, 1989), pp. 372-394, and W. van Binsbergen, *Tears of Rain. Ethnicity and History in Central Western Zambia* (London & New York: KPI, 1992).

4. G. Macola, 'Literate Ethnohistory in Colonial Zambia: The Case of *Ifikolwe Fyandi na Bantu Bandi*', *History in Africa*, XXVIII (2001), pp. 187-201.

5. An English translation of the 1921 edn. by S.B. Jones—'History, Traditions and Legends of the Barotse People'—was commissioned by the Colonial Office (African, no. 1179, n.d.). This was later published as *The Story of the Barotse Nation* (Lusaka & Blantyre: JPBNNR, 1961).

6. 'The Origins of the Ngoni', an English translation of 'Ciyambi ca Angoni' by Rev. C.B. van der Walt of Tamanda Mission, is to be found among the manuscripts housed in the Institute for Economic and Social Research (INESOR), Lusaka. See also G. Verstraelen-Gilhuis, *From Dutch Mission Church to Reformed Church in Zambia* (Franeker: T. Wever, 1982), pp. 133, 340.

7. As examples of the vast literature dealing with the linguistic policies of early European or American missionaries in central and south-central Africa, see J. Fabian, 'Missions and the Colonization of African Languages: Developments in the Former Belgian Congo', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, XVII (1983), pp. 165-187; B. Yates, 'Knowledge Brokers: Books and Publishers in Early Colonial Zaire', *History in Africa*, XIV (1987), pp. 311-340; T.O. Ranger, 'Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika: The Invention of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe', in Vail, *Creation of Tribalism*, pp. 118-150.

8. After a first visit to Lewanika in 1878, Rev. F. Coillard, PMS, inaugurated a mission station near Lealui, the Lozi summer capital, in 1886. At the end of 1898, the dying Mwamba III Mubanga Chipoya granted Bishop J. Dupont, WF, permission to establish Chilubula Mission in Lubemba. Magwero Mission was founded in 1899 among

the recently defeated Ngoni of Mpezeni by DRCM missionaries from Mvera, in present-day Malawi. Mvera itself had been opened ten years earlier among the Ngoni of Chiwere.

9. 'Instructions pour les Missionnaires de la Première Caravane Destinée aux Missions de l'Afrique Equatoriale', March 1878, in C.M.A. Lavigerie, *Instructions de Son Éminence le Cardinal Lavigerie à Ses Missionnaires* (Maison-Carrée: Imprimerie des Pères Blancs, 1927; 1st edn., 1907), pp. 81-82.

10. P. Bolink, *Towards Church Union in Zambia. A Study of Missionary Co-operation and Church-Union Efforts in Central Africa* (Franeker: T. Wever, 1967), p. 55. Cf. also G. Prins, *The Hidden Hippopotamus. Reappraisal in African History: The Early Colonial Experience in Western Zambia* (Cambridge: CUP, 1980), p. 204.

11. See, e.g., G. Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland, 1887-1969. A Political History of Zambia's Western Province* (London: Hurst, 1970), pp. 110, 120-121.

12. Verstraelen-Gilhuis, *Dutch Mission Church*, p. 108.

13. M.W. Retief, *William Murray of Nyasaland* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1958), p. 132. See also C.M. Pauw, 'Mission and Church in Malawi. The History of the Nkhoma Synod of the Church of Central Africa, Presbyterian, 1889-1962', DTh, University of Stellenbosch, 1980, pp. 119-126.

14. A.S. Gérard, *African Language Literatures. An Introduction to the Literary History of Sub-Saharan Africa* (Harlow: Longman, 1981), pp. 183-184; S. Küster, *African Education in Colonial Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Government Control, Settler Antagonism and African Agency, 1890-1964* (Hamburg: LIT, 1999), pp. 312-317.

15. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the Primitive Methodist Missionary Society merged into the Methodist Missionary Society in 1932.

16. S.D. Gray, *Frontiers of the Kingdom in Rhodesia* (London: The Cargate Press, n.d. [?1929]), p. 102.

17. F. Tanguy, 'Christianity and Africa', n.d. (?1920s), Personal Notebook, pp. 34-35, White Fathers' Archive-Zambia (WFA-Z), 1M-I 10.

18. See, e.g., 'Resolutions of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia, 1927', encl. in J.R. Fell to Chief Secretary, 20 August 1927, National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), RC/365.

19. *Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Disturbances in the Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1935), cited in 'What Should the Native Read', *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 28 April 1937.

20. C.J. Tyndale-Biscoe to Chief Secretary, 21 January 1937, NAZ, SEC2/1138.

21. The JPBNNR was reincorporated into the Northern Rhodesian Ministry of African Education in 1959. After the withdrawal of Nyasaland in 1962, the Northern Rhodesia Publications Bureau (Zambia Publications Bureau from 1964) carried on its activities until 1968, the year in which it was finally dismantled and its functions taken over by the Kenneth Kaunda Foundation-National Educational Company of Zambia.

22. *List of Books Sponsored by the Nyasaland Education Department and by the Northern Rhodesia African Literature Committee and by the Joint Publications Bureau of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1949). Since I did not take into account the publications of the Nyasaland Education Department between 1938 and 1948, the figures presented above differ from those contained in the tables included in G.H. Wilson, 'The Northern Rhodesia-Nyasaland Joint Publications Bureau', *Africa*, XX (1950), pp. 60-69.

23. As early as July 1937, the Committee resolved to consult the editor of *Mutende*, the government newspaper for Africans, with a view to ascertaining whether there were 'any natives who [were] writing books about their own tribes.' Minutes of the Third Meeting of the ALCNR, 27 July 1937, NAZ, SEC2/1141.

24. A first vernacular competition was held in 1939-40: two of the four prize-winning essays, by Godwin Mbikusita Lewanika and J.H. Mutale, were histories of the Mbunda and Bemba, respectively (*Mutende*, 5 December 1940). After three relatively unsuccessful English essay competitions in 1941, 1943 and 1944, the Committee reverted

to a vernacular competition in 1945-6. New competitions in both English and the vernaculars were held in 1948-9 and again in later years.

25. Look Up. *The Magazine of the Publications Bureau of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, September 1953, p. 40.

26. Field, *Visilano*; Munday, *Inyendwa*; Gray, *Shishimi sha BeneMukuni*.

27. Wilkin, 'Bottom of the Heap', p. 174.

28. Ibid., pp. 188, 250; Chinyama, *Early History of the Balovale Lunda*. Initially compiled in English in the late 1930s, the Kaonde version of Chibanza's *Bufumu Bwabukasempa* did not see the light until the 1940s and was only published in 1962. The original English text and other historical essays by the same author are to be found in S.J. Chibanza, *Central Bantu Historical Texts I. Part II: Kaonde History* (Lusaka: The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1961). I have examined Chibanza's remarkable life and works in 'The Historian Who Would Be Chief: A Biography of Simon Jilundu Chibanza III (1899-1974)', *Journal of African History*, forthcoming.

29. Minutes of the Fourth Meeting of the ALCNR, 22 October 1937; Minutes of the Sixth Meeting of the ALCNR, 21 January 1938, NAZ, SEC2/1141.

30. Notice of the preparation of this manuscript is given in the Minutes of the Thirty-Seventh Meeting of the ALCNR, 4 December 1942, NAZ, SEC2/1140.

31. Minutes of the Fifty-Fourth Meeting of the ALCNR, 27 October 1944, NAZ, SEC2/1140.

32. Minutes of the Seventy-Sixth Meeting of the ALCNR, 26 July 1946, NAZ, SEC2/1140.

33. Minutes of the Seventy-Ninth Meeting of the ALCNR, 24 January 1947, NAZ, SEC2/1140.

34. Most of these texts made their way into the library of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (RLI); a number of them—notably, Vibeti's, Nkumbula's (English version), Nabulyato's, Boyola's and Lubansa's—are still housed in the INESOR, the RLI's latest offshoot. Labrecque's Shila history can be consulted in the WFA-Z, 1M-H 6,7. Shimunika's work has been published, thirty or so years after its initial preparation, by W. van Binsbergen, ed., *Likota lya Bankoya* (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1988). The Nkoya version of *Likota lya Bankoya* is also to be found—together with an English translation and a magnificent textual analysis—in van Binsbergen, *Tears of Rain*.

35. Unless otherwise indicated, English translations of all the vernacular publications mentioned in this article were either located in the TH 2/17 series of the Archive of the History Section of the Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, or personally commissioned during my stay in Zambia.

36. The clan histories by Munday (*Inyendwa*), Labrecque (*History of the Bena-Ngomu*) and Chibanza (*Bufumu Bwabukasempa*) are the only notable exceptions to this pattern.

37. Jones, 'History, Traditions and Legends'.

38. I am quoting from an untitled English translation, by Tanguy himself, of *Imilandu ya Babemba*, typescript, n.d., p. 2, WFA-Z, 1M-H 14, 15.

39. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

40. Ibid., p. 4.

41. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

42. Ibid., pp. 11, 16.

43. K. Crehan, *The Fractured Community. Landscapes of Power and Gender in Rural Zambia* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), p. 54. See also van Binsbergen, *Tears of Rain*, pp. 61-2.

44. See E.H. Lane-Poole, *The Native Tribes of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia (Notes on their Migrations and History)* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1949; 1st edn., 1938); K. Bradley, *The Story of Northern Rhodesia* (London: Longmans [with ALCNR], 1946; 1st edn., 1940); G.C. Clay, *History of the Mankoya District* (Lusaka: The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1946); J.M. Winterbottom, 'Outline Histories of Two Northern Rhodesian Tribes', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal (Human Problems in British Central Africa)*, 9 (1950), pp.

14-25; W.V. Brelsford, *The Tribes of Zambia* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1957; 2nd edn., 1965); F.M. Thomas, *Historical Notes on the Bisa Tribe, Northern Rhodesia* (Lusaka: The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1958).

45. The RLI researchers' unquestioned 'reliance on the tribal model' is discussed by W. van Binsbergen, 'From Tribe to Ethnicity in Western Zambia: the Unit of Study as an Ideological Problem', in van Binsbergen and P. Geschiere, eds, *Old Modes of Production and Capitalist Encroachment. Anthropological Explorations in Africa* (London: KPI, 1985), pp. 181-234. Cf. also Crehan, *Fractured Community*, pp. 55-62, and, for a less critical assessment, L. Schumaker, *Africanizing Anthropology. Fieldworks, Networks, and the Making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. 114, 156.

46. *List of Books; Annual Report of the JPBNNR for the Year 1949* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1950); *Annual Report of the JPBNNR for the Year 1956* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1957); *Annual Report of the JPBNNR for the Year 1958* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1959).

47. *List of Books; Annual Report of the JPBNNR for the Year 1949; Annual Report of the JPBNNR for the Year 1950* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1951); *Annual Report of the JPBNNR for the Year 1954* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1955); *Annual Report of the JPBNNR for the Year 1956*.

48. *Annual Report of the JPBNNR for the Year 1952* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1953); *Annual Report of the JPBNNR for the Year 1954*.

49. White Fathers, *Notes on Religion, Geography, History, Civics, Agriculture for Standards III and IV* (Chilubula: White Fathers, 1944), pp. 35-36.

50. Gray, *Shishimi shaBeneMukuni*, p. iii.

51. R. Apthorpe, 'Problems of African History: The Nsenga of Northern Rhodesia', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal (Human Problems in British Central Africa)*, 28 (1961), p. 55.

52. D. Greig, in 'United Missions in the Copperbelt—Annual Report 1940-1', encl. in A.J. Cross to C.J. Tyndale Biscoe, 12 January 1942, NAZ, ED1/2/18.

53. G.H. Wilson, 'Memorandum on Possible Central African Literature Bureau', 1949, encl. in Bruce-Roberts to 'Administrative Secretary', 27 August 1949, NAZ, ED1/19/1.

54. This was Chinyama's rationale for opposing a motion aimed at reducing the responsibilities of maternal uncles towards their nephews among matrilineal peoples. *Record of the First Meeting of the Western Province African Provincial Council, Held on 28th-30th March, 1950, at Ndola* (Government Printer: Lusaka, 1950).

55. Prins, *Self-help at Makapulwa School*, pp. 56-59.

56. Yamba, *Inshila ya Cupo*, pp. 8, 12, 13-14.

57. Paradoxically—and very sadly—the records of the ALCNR and JPBNNR are far superior to those of their post-colonial successor, the Kenneth Kaunda Foundation-National Educational Company of Zambia (now Zambia Educational Publishing House).

58. *Approved and Recommended Books for Use in Zambian Schools 1999* (Lusaka: Curriculum Development Centre, 1999).

59. See, e.g., Prins, *Hidden Hippopotamus*, p. 275, n. 56; G. Macola, *The Kingdom of Kazembe. History and Politics in North-Eastern Zambia and Katanga to 1950* (Hamburg: LIT, 2002), pp. 16-17.

60. T. Ranger, 'African Identities: Ethnicity, Nationality and History. The Case of Matabeleland, 1893-1993', in J. Heidrich, ed., *Changing Identities. The Transformation of Asian and African Societies under Colonialism. Papers of a Symposium Held at the Centre for Modern Oriental Studies, Berlin 21-22 October 1993* (Berlin: Verlag Das Arabische Buch, 1994), p. 180.