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Book Reviews

The Kachamba Brothers' Band By G. Kubik [in German] Vienna, Osterreichische Ethnologische Gesellschaft, 1972, Acta Ethnologica et Linguistica No. 27, 90 pp. no price indicated.

In these two publications, a book and accompanying record, Gerhard Kubik is presenting the results of research in central African popular music. Serious studies of popular music are infrequent, and this work is a significant addition. The publication of book and record together is an ideal format for presenting a type of music which may be unfamiliar to the reader-listener. Studies of music have generally been presented in the form of a book with musical examples or else a record with explanatory notes. In this set the book and the record are fully complementary.

One drawback is that the record has been issued without any indication on the jacket that there is a book to go with it, probably because the record appears also to have been designed for the pop music market in Malawi. This study seeks to understand the position of the Kachamba Brothers' Band and their music in relation to modern music in south-east Africa in general.

The first two chapters of the book present the background of the band giving biographical information of the players. It is formed basically by Daniel and Donald Kachamba, playing the guitar and the pennywhistle respectively. In performances other people join them playing the one-stringed bass and rattles. Daniel learned to play the guitar in Salisbury. In Malawi the band played in bars or else as street performers, which is not unlike former African likembe minstrels. Kubik found them in 1967 playing in the streets of Blantyre and recorded them at that time. When he returned in 1972 he found they had separated, but he got them together, made recordings, and later arranged for them to perform with him in East Africa and Europe. Unfortunately most of the research has been done only with these musicians themselves, and there is little on the social context in which they would normally perform.

Chapter Three deals with the band and its place in the music of Southern Africa. Kubik feels that modern Malawian music combines something of the South African style as well as the style from Zaire. This brings out an interesting problem in ethnomusicology. The Zairean guitar style is plucking strings individually, whereas the South African style is mainly strumming. The music on the record sounds like the latter, but the performer has told the ethnomusicologist that he conceptualizes the music in separate voice lines, more like the Zairean style. The conceptualization of the performer and the sound as heard by the listener is not always the same. The instruments of this band are the same as those popular in South Africa in the 1950s, especially those used in kwela. Kubik says that the Malawian music is based on Simanjemanje (modern African rock), but the more expensive instruments are not available in Malawi so they use the more readily available instruments.

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The fourth chapter deals with the repertoire and origin of the music. Daniel Kaehamba has composed some of it, but much of it is adapted from records, even to phonetic reproduction of foreign texts. The compositions are mostly topical songs, often with highly symbolic meanings which are not understandable to the outsider.

The musical instruments themselves are described in the fifth chapter. The pennywhistle (called kwela-flote in German) is adapted by expanding the mouth hole and putting the lip over part of the labium (sounding hole) when playing. The guitar is adapted by removing the number five string. Daniel Kaehamba uses a variety of tunings, with secret names for them so they cannot be copied by someone else. In addition to rattles, the one-stringed bass is often used. This is a rather large box with a pole on one side of it. A string is stretched from the top of the pole to the box, and it is plucked when playing the instrument.

Chapter Six contains specific notes about the material on the record, including the Chewa texts and English translations made by Daniel Kaehamba himself. The fifteen songs are mostly topical, dealing with love and troubles. One is in praise of President Banda. Eight songs are in Chewa (one of which is mixed with Shona), two are in English and three are Zulu, learned phonetically. Several types of music are given — Sinjonjo, Double-step (Simanje-manje), Twist, Limbika, Shake-Shake and Lumba (Rhumba). The songs are placed on the record in the order they were recorded, but none of the 1967 recordings are included.

The strummed guitar and the string bass are heard in all of the songs. The songs have the strong pulsing beat which is so popular in urban African music today, but there is little syncopation. The one-stringed bass has some lively and interesting bass lines in some of the songs. Just listening to the record does not give a clear idea of why Kubik considered this group particularly interesting or important. The academic interest of the book overshadows the musical interest of the record.

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The author has written a thought-provoking, but admittedly preliminary, inquiry which he presents in two main parts. The first portion draws a community profile, concerned inter alia with early history, segregation and discrimination, and land and trade policies; the second discusses Indian political activity. He avoids firm conclusions, but remarks that ‘the largely apolitical Indian usually has been galvanised into political action for his own interests’ — except in his response to developing African nationalism. He comments also that Indians in Rhodesia enjoy what many perceive of as being a precarious existence.

The fundamental issue the paper raises is whether or not a broad community profile can be drawn to cover Indian experience in Uganda and Rhodesia. I believed that this could be done until I read Patel’s study; for it demonstrates that the variable factors are so numerous that no cohesive form can be achieved because the circumstances in which the two communities developed have been so completely different.

It is the early years which are crucial, and too little weight is given to them in this paper. Indians penetrated into Uganda when the British were weak, whereas they entered Rhodesia under the cover of Chartered Company strength. The British in Uganda had to ally themselves with segments of society in Buganda and then negotiate with neighbouring political units, a situation which led to the preservation of African rights through a series of agreements. The 1900 Uganda Agreement, by which Buganda maintained a separate identity until the removal of the Kabaka four years after the
Protectorate became independent, was most significant as it conditioned the process of social, political, religious and economic change throughout the Protectorate in the colonial period. In Rhodesia, the Chartered Company first overawed the Shona, then took Matabeleland by force and finally crushed effective African opposition for decades in the course of suppressing the 1896 risings. The British in Uganda remained responsive therefore to African wishes while the Chartered Company and its successor governments could ignore them until the late 1950s.

The British depended upon Indians economically just as they depended upon Africans politically. Both Alidina Visram and Bousted Ridley and Company pushed up into Buganda from their bases in Zanzibar but, whereas the European firm found it difficult to recruit and then maintain a suitable manager, its Indian competitor had no difficulty in obtaining skilled agents. It was, therefore, to Alidina Visram's shops that the British turned to supply the beads, brasswire and cloth required to maintain officials at eleven out-stations in the early 1900s. These and other Indian subordinates were well-placed to participate in the economic development of Buganda, and then Uganda, following the completion of the Mombasa-Kisumu railway and the improvement of Lake shipping. The Chartered Company on the other hand could turn to European merchants in the early years whose companies did not face competition from 'passenger' Indians.

Passenger Indians could not penetrate into Rhodesia in significant numbers until the German East Africa Line provided passages from Bombay to Beira, trans-shipping at Zanzibar, by 1894 and before the railway reached Umtali in 1898 by which time they faced a hostile reception. This stemmed from the European response to the influx of 'free' Indians in 1891, which had led to an anti-Indian press campaign in 1892 and an attempt to place Indians in African urban locations in 1893 and 1894, as well as to official hesitation in granting licences to Indians.

Indians in Rhodesia existed on sufferance but those in Uganda could flourish, subject to a discrimination exercised by the colonial regime almost as stringently against European civilians as against them.

There is equal divergence in their political position, although common roots exist in their status as British subjects. Rhodesia enjoyed a partially elected Legislative Council from 1899 and, since the constitution was theoretically colour-blind, any distinctly Indian political voice has been smothered since that time. Uganda moved to a partially nominated Legislative Council in 1920, when the British were motivated by economic reasons to create or expand such bodies and when they were susceptible to pressure on the Colonial Office through the Indian Office because of the mass-nationalist upsurge in British India itself. Uganda's Indians thus exercised a distinct political voice until British strategic interests changed and British India achieved independence, whereupon the Uganda Legislative Council began to resemble a proto-parliament to the immediate economic disadvantage of Indians, as Patel has shown, and ultimately to that of European officials and civilians.

Although broad comparative perspectives cannot be achieved, the author's paper demonstrates that significant progress can be made in more limited areas, particularly regarding the circumstances in which Indians protested and became politicised and, possibly, regarding the prerequisites for their movement onto the land. It is to be hoped that Patel will expand on these themes.

The author evinces an underlying concern for the future which G. W. Shepherd transmutes in his Foreward into advocacy of an end to Rhodesian Indian neutrality. Shepherd might consider the recent history of Ismailis in Uganda and Tanzania which suggests that, whatever Indians do, they are lost.
This revision and updating of the classic *Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa*, first published in 1937, is to be welcomed, both as a teaching work and (in Schapera's words) as 'a satisfactory manual of South African Ethnography' (p.xii).

Immediate questions will be asked about how the new edition compares with the old, what the coverage is like, and how the new contributors have acquitted themselves.

The first noticeable feature of the volume which Hammond-Tooke has edited is its more detailed documentation. In a Bibliographical Index of well over a thousand sources it is possible to pick out not only at least 200 pre-1936 ethnographic texts, including and extending those in the original 'General Ethnography' bibliography, but at least 250 post-1936 genuine ethnographic contributions, that is, descriptive social anthropological as opposed to historical, medical or physical anthropological items. This bibliography alone is a substantial contribution for the benefit of scholars and students.

The actual subject coverage of the book has been narrowed to the extent that the former sections on language and music have been omitted, and this in a volume which has been extended from 453 to 525 pages. Here the editor's explanations that pressure on space and the development especially of linguistic studies prevented their inclusion must be respected. The reorganization of the contents in three progressive sections is also a useful feature of the new volume.

The change in the title will not have escaped notice, and the editor refers to it with a useful disquisition on the modern vagueness and ambiguity of the term 'tribe'. In spite of this, 280 'tribes' are listed in the Tribal Index of the present volume compared with 266 in the old book, although the entry against 'tribe' in the comprehensive Subject Index is a modest one.

To some people the contrasts of subject treatment between the old and the new volume will suggest an interesting historical development of South African ethnography over the space of two generations. Even in the four introductory chapters which deal with the background — 'The People and their Environment' — there is a real difference of approach. The traditional broad classificatory stance towards races by Raymond Dart in the original Chapter 1, for example, has been replaced by the modern biological focus on populations in which Phillip Tobias, writing with his usual clarity, stresses the environmental pressures which have led African Negro populations to diverge in genetic constitution. The distinguished ethnologist van Warmelo, the only contributor whose work was also in the original volume, now renames his former 'Grouping and Ethnic History' chapter more appropriately 'The Classification of Cultural Groups', updating the terminology (Zulu-speaking Nguni for Natal Nguni, North Sotho for Transvaal Sotho) and extending the ethnic descriptions with additional documentation. 'Material Culture' by Margaret Shaw in Chapter 4 stands alone as a systematic and well-documented treatment instead of being merged, as it formerly was, in Schapera and Goodwin's chapter 'Work and Wealth'.

In Part II, 'The Traditional Societies', Basil Sansom deals with 'Traditional Economic Systems', but as in Part I, ecologically oriented, with an interesting developmental thesis that a) the traditional economics of Bantu tribes in southern Africa were of two kinds, produced as adaptations to the contrasting ecologies of east and west, and that b) the unitary subsistence economy of traditional times has been superseded by a dual economy marked by the interpenetration of subsistence and market sectors.

A chapter of great interest to social anthropologists will be Eleanor Preston-Whyte's contribution, 'Kinship and Marriage', drawing together in the modern style material which in the old volume was spread between two different chapters on 'Social Organization' and 'Individual Development'. Preston-Whyte's analysis is truly comparative and goes beyond the descriptive ethnography of the original contributions. With much more material now to hand, it is a praiseworthy attempt to marshall, and one suspects often to reconcile, fieldwork at
varying levels of competence. This is a substantial contribution to our overview knowledge, and the author gives credit for the help of Professor Eileen Krige.

The chapter on ‘Growing Up’ by Virginia van der Vliet is a similarly competent extension of new from previous material, with a real attempt at analysis. Sansom’s chapter on politics, ‘Traditional Rulers and their Realms’, is a little disappointing from an ethnographic point of view in that while he adopts a useful theoretical approach supported by case studies with some success, this tends to obscure the basic ethnographic parameters of Bantu political life, for which one still might have to refer to Schapera’s contribution in the original book. The same might be said of Myburgh’s chapter, ‘Law and Justice’, but for very different reasons. In spite of being well documented and utilising the highly relevant distinction between public and private law, the work appears somewhat diffuse although it has value in detail.

David Hammond-Tooke’s own contribution of two chapters on religion and magic marks a modern advance on the earlier chapters by Eiselen and Schapera and Winifred Hoernlé respectively. He deals first with the Bantu world-view as a system of beliefs, and in the second chapter with the working out of these beliefs in action. The result is good ethnographic coverage together with a willingness, previously evinced in his inaugural lecture, to come to terms with the psychological components of social life, a fairly recent trend in anthropology.

The four chapters of Part II deal with social change and the processes of urbanization.

University of Rhodesia

D. H. READER


The significance of Christianity in Africa has never been limited to the purely theological implications of its teachings. Its introduction into Africa coincided with the advent of Western imperialism in much of the continent; and the conversion of individuals often was regarded as a sign that they had adopted Western cultural standards and had turned their backs on their own traditions. In much of Africa the task of introducing Western social services also fell to the missionary and for years the educational and medical facilities of the continent

Benyon’s historical introduction, of considerable value, somehow fits into the first section of the book, or should at least be read early. Desmond Hobart Houghton’s account of ‘The Process of Economic Incorporation’ naturally follows on. The book concludes with two valuable chapters — the one on ‘The Influence of Christianity’ by Pauw, again with fine comparative ethnography, and the other on ‘The Impact of the City’, by Allie Dubb, an overview of urban Bantu life presented with his usual crispness and rigour. As he says in his conclusion: ‘There is no doubt that since Ellen Hellmann wrote her chapter ‘The Native in the Towns’ in the original 1937 edition of The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa, urban studies have come a long way.’

In spite of the gaps (to which Dubb also alludes), this reviewer would say that the present volume demonstrates the same proposition of progress for ethnographic studies as a whole in southern Africa. The editor is inclined to be apologetic in his Preface about sheer lack of information and patent inaccuracies and misunderstandings, particularly in the earlier sources for this book. It may be that contributors have papered over the cracks a little too well and thereby produced some spurious concordances. Nevertheless one cannot fail to be impressed by the sheer technical, qualitative and quantitative improvements in ethnography and analysis in this volume over its now largely superannuated predecessor. Whatever one’s views on the current state of anthropological theory, the vigour of its ethnography, at any rate in this part of the world over the last thirty-five years, cannot be doubted. This book must take its place as essential reading for southern African ethnography, and a sound guide to sources.
were largely controlled by the various churches and societies working in Africa. The missionaries more than any secular authority encountered Africa at all levels and probably they were the most profound agents of change on the continent. No one concerned with the political, sociological and cultural life of Africa can afford to ignore their past and continuing significance.

This first volume in what it is hoped will become a series acknowledges this and thus fulfills a real need. The fact that it is interdisciplinary — educationists, historians, theologians and sociologists are among its contributors — indicates the breadth of the impact of Christianity on Africa. At the same time, more than a century after the first significant inroads were made by the missionaries into the traditional life of Africa, the book shows that we have reached a point where we can evaluate that impact with some detachment. Paradoxically this detachment is possible because of the very strength of Christianity in Africa. The insistence of many early missionaries on a rigorous orthodoxy that was felt to be necessary if the young churches were to survive — embattled as they believed them to be by paganism — has been replaced by a new generation of Christians both black and white that looks on African traditional religion with more sympathy and acknowledges the ethnocultural content of much of the so-called orthodoxy. The Revd H. P. Hatendi, for example, is able to maintain that the marriage according to custom of a Christian Shona should be recognized as valid by the Church: "Marriage within a dynamic community and according to custom deepened and enriched by Christian insights, should be encouraged" (p.149). This suggestion that Christianity has become a part of the cultural subconsciousness of the Shona and that this should be acknowledged although none of the external trappings of allegiance to a particular sect are apparent, is an indication of the necessary movement away from the dangerous identification of Christianity with the West.

Many of the articles are historical and a contribution like Hatendi's can be read against accounts of the traditional attitude of missionaries to local cultures. D. N. Beach's important article on the Southern Shona missions (which have not been studied in any detail before) shows features in those missions familiar to any student of missionary history: the inability of the missionary to recognize value in traditional religions, the adoption of Christianity for local political advantage and so on. At the same time, however, this mission was largely in the hands of Africans and was thus one of the few nineteenth century missions whose impetus derived from within Africa itself. Equally important was the fact that large numbers of converts were made before the Occupation and the success of the mission did not depend on the more familiar associations between Christianity and an Imperial power. N. M. H. Bhebe's essay on the Kalanga and Ndebele missions shows a more familiar line-up. Missionaries working in the direct sphere of Lobengula's influence appreciated that they would only make headway if the power of the King were broken and nearly all were enthusiastic advocates of imperial intervention in Matabeleland. Similarly Dachs's article on Sotho-Tswana missions shows that the missionaries worked quite openly for political change and often there was a clash between missionary and chief on wholly secular matters.

One of the most interesting features of Christianity in Africa has been the growth of the so-called independent churches. These breakaway movements from the original missionary congregations command a huge following throughout the continent and their popularity suggests the need in Africa for a Christianity where there is not even covert foreign control. M. L. Daneel's essay on independent churches in Mashonaland is an interesting survey. He examines the relationship between them and the traditional and government authorities and the nationalist parties. He concludes that the usual account offered for the formation of these churches as a statement of political alienation does not seem to be true in Mashonaland. Not only does their growth not appear to be related to particular political issues but they have shown themselves to be consistently and strenuously opposed to nationalism. Their appeal according to Daneel is in their 'presentation of Christianity in a typically African guise, which rings true according to African perception' (p.188).
From the beginning the Church in Southern Africa has been unable to separate itself from political issues and in the last twenty years individual Christians and even some Churches have emerged as strenuous critics of the racial policies of the white Southern African regimes. It is appropriate that this selection should end with two articles examining aspects of this confrontation. Both T. McLloughlin and the Revd D. B. Schultz concern themselves with the Catholic Church in Rhodesia but the situation they describe is probably true of all the major Churches: that European congregations are unwilling to be directed by their spiritual leaders on political issues. One of the reasons for this is the obvious one that Whites are so caught up in the institutional privileges afforded them by segregationist legislation that they are unwilling to examine its moral justice. But it could also be argued that many white Christians do not believe that social morality is an appropriate area for the church’s concern since traditionally the church has been inclined simply to reflect prevailing social attitudes. In the context of this collection, however, white hostility to the ‘political sermon’ is ironic as in the past Church has underwritten the processes of imperialism and few Whites would have regarded that as anything other than wholly just and appropriate.

A. J. CHENNELLS


In the introduction Hendrikz explains the circumstances in which three distinct papers are published together; admittedly there are common links but the papers are not as unified as the single title suggests and certainly they do not flow into, or build one upon the other.

The first paper by Orbell entitled ‘The early years: the vital years of childhood’ surveys evidence from such sources as Werner, Bernstein, Blesheuvel, Piaget to The Times Education Supplement and United Kingdom political party manifestes all of which have contributions to make about the effect of the pre-school environment on individual progress in school. This is a familiar social problem of modern societies and as most of the evidence is taken from studies of European, American and Coloured immigrants groups it is difficult to see how ‘suitable volunteer adolescents’ would serve as adequate substitutes for the full-time mature ‘tender loving care’ of a mother particularly in the local African context.

The contribution by Freer, ‘Sex bias as a variable in primary education’, is a useful survey of the work done in identifying the different rates of development of boys and girls, and the influence of the sex of the teacher on the different sexes, and it draws attention to the resulting problems in a co-educational school. In spite of the reference to these studies the author supports co-education but makes little reference to any studies which bring out their advantages over single-sex schools.

Hendrikz, in her paper, ‘Sex differences in scientific and mathematical competence at adolescence’, makes, among other things, considerable reference to her own work with European and Shona High School children in Rhodesia. In order to make statistical results more palatable to members of a public audience there seems to be a danger in overgeneralizing from data which show slight differences in particular situations. As a result equal importance is attached to all data as long as it supports the main argument. I wonder, for instance, whether African boarding-school girls are conveniently described as having lives ‘much less circumscribed’ than day-school girls because they score better on spatial and conceptual tests. As the difference is described as only fractional the evidence becomes very thin indeed. I find it difficult to agree that ‘a start has been made in unravelling some of the mysteries of the interaction of genetics and environment in the development of human abilities’ (p.29). What I am more conscious of is that the knot seems to get bigger and more involved. Whereas the debate in education lay
between innate and environmental influences, that is the predetermined and the modifiable, we now have to consider biological influences which may be genetic or hormonal!

The articles are well presented with supporting references and very readable. The provocative arguments of the authors in the situation of a public lecture add a greater stimulation than one normally finds in a university occasional paper.

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G. KENDALL


The biographies of Southern African liberals make depressing reading for they are invariably stories of lost causes. As our politics move further from compromise and as the white elites fortify themselves against any possibility of peaceful change, the liberal tradition from John Philip to Alan Paton seems always to have been simplistic in its analysis and naive in its optimism.

Many of the voices of that tradition were (and indeed still are) churchmen, but even these can be seen as eccentric within their own ecclesiastical establishments. Nor is this unexpected for the Church in Southern Africa has more often reflected the racial conventions of our society than has that society exemplified the gospel. The Anglican church has in particular always been torn between its role as a sort of unofficially established church of the ruling group and its duty, which a few of its members have seen as paramount, of protesting against legislation and customs that cannot be accepted as Christian.

The two extremes of Anglicanism in Rhodesia are represented in the careers of Arthur Shearly Cripps and Bishop Paget. Cripps from the beginning of his long life in Africa identified with the African cause and dragged out the last years of his life, blind, bewildered by the turn of events around him, and living, perversely enough, in poverty. Paget retired from Rhodesia to Natal, a successful career churchmen, honoured by the Whites whose complacency in their own righteousness he had done very little to disturb.

The backgrounds of the two men were not dissimilar. The families of both were firmly rooted in the Victorian professional classes and both were public school and Oxford men. But Cripps was a scholar who at Oxford produced some conventionally effete poetry, while Paget represented muscular Christianity and with his good looks and mediocre intellect suggests the ideal Anglican priest that recurs so often in Edwardian novels. Their initial response to Rhodesia was also predictably different. Early on in his life in Rhodesia Cripps decided that the Anglican church had sold out to the interests of the Chartered Company and this polite alliance which he believed continued with Responsible Government was the object of bitter satire. In his novel Bay-Tree Country, a settler who has flourished like the green bay-tree of his title and who has been notorious for his harshness to Africans has bishop and archdeacon officiating at his funeral, between them providing an 'Anglican train-de-luxe' to send him on his way. It is Bishop Beaven, Paget's predecessor, whom Cripps is attacking here but Paget would undoubtedly have played his part at a fashionable Rhodesian funeral with spirit.

From the beginning both Beaven and Paget were quick to defend the settlers against attacks from England. In a letter to The Times in 1920, Beaven has spoken of the kindness with which Africans were treated by Whites and in another widely reported speech had claimed they 'were dealt with in that spirit of even handed justice for which the flag of Britain stands'. During the depression Paget appealed for more priests
to come and work among the settlers and held out as a bait their 'courage, cheerfulness and hospitality.' This list of settler virtues is a significant one suggesting as it does, the cozy atmosphere of a parish and ignoring the very real challenges to the Christian ministry which Rhodesia offered and of whose nature Cripps was so aware. Of Beaven's speech Cripps wrote: 'God forgive him if he really said that'; and he opposed Paget's election partly because he represented the Anglican establishment that had, in Cripps' opinion, little sympathy with his own belief that the Church should identify with the Shona. Paget, on the other hand, within a few months of his arrival in Salisbury labelled Cripps as a 'well known poet and eccentric', although later he was to claim that he recognised his saintly character.

It is tempting to see as admirable Cripps' social and ecclesiastical unorthodoxy and to dismiss Paget as a trimmer. Such a conclusion would certainly be justified from their respective biographies. Geoffrey Gibbon's book suggests a man of considerable organisational ability, most of whose work was concerned with white Rhodesians. The missionary expansion that took place during his episcopate seems to have been haphazard and usually as the result of his giving his blessing to someone else's initiative. The growth of white parishes by contrast was carefully considered and organised. Canon Gibbon maintains that his book is a memoir and not a critical biography and it would be unfair to expect him to comment on inconsistencies of attitude and temperament in Paget. Nevertheless he acknowledges as ironic that protests against removals of people in Manicaland should be followed soon after by fulsome praise for Huggins' plans for urban Africans, but the implications of the irony are not investigated. On small issues Paget did show some political courage. He flew in the teeth of white opinion by letting African clergy dine at Bishop's Mount or by staying in their houses during visitations, and he was known in the Salisbury Club as a 'nigger lover'.

But such obvious courtesies probably arose out of common decency rather than any deeply felt conviction. On the whole Gibbon gives us a picture of a man who saw little to criticise in the Rhodesia of his time and who identified quite contentedly with the Huggins government. The book shows so little awareness of the issues by which we could now judge the success or failure of a thirty year Rhodesian episcopate that it is impossible to draw any conclusions about Paget's stature with confidence. It resembles nineteenth century hagiography in its enthusiasm for its subject and is probably interesting only to those who knew the Bishop.

Steere's biography of Cripps reminds us that the Anglicanism could on occasion oppose the establishment, although Cripps resigned as a priest of the diocese in order to be more free to lash out at government and church authorities. This book is not sufficiently detached from its subject. Its weaknesses are anticipated by its curious subtitle. What, one wonders, made Cripps' life epic? He lost every important battle that he fought, usually because he misjudged the apathy in England for African rights and in turn the determination of the settlers for their rights. His poetry shows him again and again imposing images of Arcadia on Mashonaland, a quirk that produces some very fine poetry, but outside his poetry is responsible for attitudes that sentimentalize the Shona out of existence. His main battle was indeed to preserve a Shona idyll that existed only in his poetic imagination and led him into oddly contradictory positions. In his book *Africa for the Africans* (1927) we find him supporting segregation as the only way in which Shona society can be left intact. Twenty years later he wrote a note to be inserted in all unsold copies of the book which confessed that segregation could not be "righteous policy for a British colony" nor 'for Christian people', but what he believed should take its place he probably did not know. He chose to live as closely to the Shona as he could and silent identification with them and their style of life replaced, for the last twenty years of his life, his earlier outspoken advocacy of their rights. Cripps' life is epic only in its isolation from England and from other educated people who shared his love of literature. His only real achievement was as a poet and this side of him Steere hardly touches on.

Our final assessment of the two men will probably be more favourable to Paget than to
Cripps' monument as a missionary are the various crumbling churches he built about his district and the devastated acres of Maronda Mashanu where people were allowed to plough and cut down trees as they liked. His influence never extended beyond his own district and without his poetry he would probably be forgotten. Page on the other hand did build for the future and finally his compromise was more creative than Cripps' obduracy.

A. J. CHENNELLS


The author explains that his book 'is intended to provide an assessment of educational co-operation in the Commonwealth, during both the imperial and post-imperial periods. There has been no attempt to examine the educational policies or institutions of individual territories, except in so far as they have affected the development of international co-operation' (p.5). Even within this limitation, Atkinson deals with a vast subject and the chief value of this book is as a wide-ranging documentary survey rather than as a definitive assessment, especially as the author relies heavily on official reports and accepts their statements somewhat uncritically.

Atkinson begins with the general influence of British life on the Commonwealth. First he assesses the influence of the English language and then he states that a second influence, namely 'the rule of law and democratic ideals of government, has had less obvious effects in many parts of the Commonwealth. African countries, during the early years of independence at any rate, have increasingly tended to react in favour of the traditional norms and attitudes of African culture' (p.8). This judgement reflects perhaps an oversimplified view of both de-colonisation and African culture. The creation in certain African countries of what Atkinson goes on to describe as the 'autocratic framework of the one-party state' might be seen as not so much a reaction as a replacement of the imperial autocratic framework by a centralised single-party democracy which aims to facilitate what Atkinson describes as 'a transformation of the sharply defined group relationships of tribal society' (p.8). This introductory chapter is completed with a view of the evolution of the Commonwealth concept from an adherence to the 'holist' philosophy of General Smuts down to the 1963 Ditchley Park Conference definition of it as 'an association of peoples rather than an organisation of governments' (p.12). An important aspect of the subsequent assessment of events is to show how Commonwealth co-operation has grown to embrace some nations which were never under British rule, and excludes others which were.

The second chapter, entitled 'Imperial Legacy', sketches aspects of imperial education from the exclusively Anglican denominationally-orientated 'mistake' of the Tudors in Ireland (p.15) down to Milner who made the 'first real attempt at a thorough-going programme of development through the Colonial Empire as a whole' (p.23). Naturally, such a broad survey must overlook certain aspects of imperial education but surely the origin and development of 'industrial training' at least requires some mention in any assessment of Commonwealth co-operation. Similarly twentieth century Colonial Office policies on education in Africa, which Atkinson deals with at some length, need to be assessed in their nineteenth-century historical perspective, with reference to Kay-Shuttleworth's 'Practical Suggestions' of 1847 and the policies of Earl Grey and Sir George Grey in various colonies (see A. E. du Toit, The Earliest British Document of Education for the Coloured Races, Pretoria, Univ. of South Africa, 1962, Communication No. C34).

Moving into the twentieth century, Atkinson first reviews the significance of the Imperial Education Conferences in 1911, 1923 and 1927; but it is not clearly stated whether the recommendations of these conferences on such things as teacher exchanges and conditions of
service applied equally to all races in the Empire. Such imprecision is confusing, for Atkinson next goes backward in time to the turn of the century, and with particular reference to the West Indies, Malaya and West Africa, considers educational difficulties which presented a ‘uniformly desolate picture’ (p.30). The reader has to assume that Atkinson is now talking about non-white education. From the turn of the century, the author moves rather swiftly forward to the 1920s and assesses what he considers to be an initiative taken by administrators in Africa itself to ‘lay down principles of educational development for the Colonial Empire as a whole’ (p.30). In connection with the 1923 White Paper on Kenya which announced the paramountcy of indigenous interests in colonial policy, and also the 1925 Colonial Office memorandum ‘Education Policy in British Tropical Africa’, Atkinson dwells at some length on the influence and ideas of Lugard and Guggisberg. Most attention is given to Guggisberg as the founder of Achimota School: ‘To a greater extent than Lugard, he was concerned with the problem of producing a responsible and capable leadership class, in a setting where British influence had already been in operation for more than a century before’ (p.34). Guggisberg, Atkinson asserts, also struck ‘at the central problem of educational organisation in any developing country’, namely, the need to ensure the ‘identification between the educative influences of the home and of the school’, lest pupils ‘always run the risk of lacking any sure foundation in either the old or the new cultural traditions’ (p.35). Atkinson sees the ideas of Lugard and Guggisberg as most influential in ‘a much wider movement of heart-searching and renewal amongst British colonial administrators during the years which followed the end of the First World War’ (p. 37).

Unfortunately, only superficial note is taken of the influence at this time of the American sponsored Phelps-Stokes Commission. Its leader, Dr Thomas Jesse Jones, is only mentioned in a footnote and his chief supporter in Africa, Dr C. T. Loram, is not mentioned at all (p.38). Surely the widely felt influences of these two men in colonial Africa and in the United States required critical attention in any ‘assessment of educational co-operation in the Commonwealth’ at a time when Whites determined black needs and when policies often selfishly repressed rather than encouraged black advancement and aspiration (see R. D. Heyman, ‘C. T. Loram: a South African liberal in race relations’, The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 1972, 5, 41-50; K. J. King, Pan-Africanism and Education, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971). The rest of this chapter is connected chiefly with the Colonial Development Acts which Atkinson sees as ‘essentially altruistic’ expressions of colonial policy (p. 55). In answer to critics of colonial policy before 1945 who ‘even went so far as to suggest that the courses being devised for Africans were intended to keep them in a permanent position of social and intellectual inferiority’ (p. 63), Atkinson concedes that ‘paternalistic ideals, no matter how sincere, could hardly fail to arouse some measure of resentment from people who were impatient for a swift and decisive ascent to political power. Nevertheless, these considerations must not be allowed to obscure the significance of the ultimate purpose which British Administrators had in mind. They were working, as one of their number explained, in the light of certain clear convictions: “a belief in the potential equality of all races of mankind” ’ (p. 63). Atkinson clearly has little sympathy for those leaders who strove for the swift emancipation of Africa from British rule and who, he suggests, were merely seeking political power. It seems that Atkinson identifies himself with the paternalists who believed in the ‘potential’ equality of all races. It is particularly unfortunate that he has not considered the investigations of King into Phelps-Stokesism, Pan-Africanism and British and American policies on black education between the wars, for this would have given him a less idealised picture of Colonial Office policy and a more sympathetic appreciation of black aspirations. Moreover, reference to King’s work might have made Atkinson realise that there was not a great deal that was ‘new’ about certain political and social aspirations in newly-independent black African States which he considers later on in his book (p. 66).

At least half of Educational Co-operation in the Commonwealth is devoted to developments since 1945. In this connection, particularly since the Colombo Conference in 1950, Atkinson has performed a useful service in providing what is probably the first attempt to
gather into a single narrative all educational schemes which have affected the Commonwealth and its world relations down to the early seventies. In a project of such complexity some factual errors crop up almost inevitably. Some of the slips made by Atkinson, however, suggest that he is only superficially aware of the historical significance of some of his material. For example, in a chapter entitled 'Higher Education' Atkinson states: 'In one of the most thoughtful papers read before the Congress of 1912, Sir George Parker, Organising Representative of the Rhodes Scholarship Trust, pointed to the wide variety of knowledge and experience available amongst university teachers throughout the Empire' (p. 137). Here (and in the index) Atkinson is in fact referring to Sir George Parkin, Organising Secretary to the Rhodes Trustees, who had a wide knowledge of education all over the empire as well as in the United States, and whose biography Atkinson might well have consulted (see Sir John Willison, Sir George Parkin: A Biography, London, MacMillan, 1929). In his assessment of the Commonwealth Scholarship schemes Atkinson refers to Rhodes Scholarships only in a footnote (p. 170) and the authority cited, F. Aydelotte, is misspelt and not included in the bibliography; also W. C. F. Plomer's Cecil Rhodes, (London, P. Davies, 1933) is somehow transformed into The Rhodes Scholarships. These errors lead one to suspect that Atkinson only considered Parkin superficially and Rhodes Scholarships as an afterthought. Moreover, the educational activities of that eminent Rhodesian Rhodes Scholar, Kingsley Fairbridge, as well as the scholarship scheme which bears his name, are entirely ignored by Atkinson.

It would require more space than that afforded here to review all aspects of Commonwealth co-operation which Atkinson happens to assess. Suffice to say that students of Rhodesian history will find much of local interest, particularly in the relations between Rhodesia and the outside world as they affect our University. Also with local relevance, Atkinson considers the activities and influence of Jeanes Teachers, Ranch House College, The Capricorn Africa Society and special assistance given to Blacks from Rhodesia at universities and other educational institutions in foreign and Commonwealth countries. The three final chapters of the book assess a diversity of educational schemes and relationships, the nature of which, as the titles of each chapter suggest, namely 'Research', 'Methods and Media' and 'Bridge Building', can be summarised as parts of a far from simple process of promoting peace and understanding in a not always very harmonious Commonwealth and in an uneasy world. It is unfortunate, however, that when Atkinson here surveys the work of Milner and Smuts in connection with specialised Commonwealth studies, he singles out Smuts for particular reference to his 'traditional Afrikaaner [sic] belief in the intellectual and administrative superiority of the white man' (p. 178), whereas Milner revealed in his public utterances very similar prejudices.

In conclusion, then, Atkinson has conducted a broad and often very useful survey, but numerous points make one doubt whether the historical assessment is entirely accurate, well-balanced and dispassionate.

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