

Seppo Sivonen

WHITE-COLLAR OR HOE HANDLE

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African education under British colonial policy 1920-1945

Suomen Historiallinen Seura ■ Helsinki

Photograph: One of the Malangali school "chiefs" wearing the school uniform
(source: Africa. Vol. 3. 1930.)

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■ Contents

MAP, TABLES AND PHOTOGRAPHS	7
PREFACE	9
1. INTRODUCTION	11
1.1 The problem of study: its definition and limits	11
1.2 Source materials	20
1.3 Introducing the tradition of research	24
1.3.1 The tradition of African historical study	24
1.3.2 History of education as part of the research tradition	27
2. BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY IN AFRICA DURING THE 1920S	35
2.1 Africa – “an underdeveloped treasure-house”	35
2.2 Doctrine of indirect rule	37
2.3 Paternalistic care	40
3. DIVISION OF WORK BETWEEN MISSIONS AND COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN EDUCATION OF AFRICANS BEFORE THE 1920S	43
3.1 Missions as pioneers of education	43
3.2 Greater activity by colonial governments	47
3.3 The warning of India	51
4. BEGINNING OF COLLABORATION BETWEEN COLONIAL OFFICE AND MISSIONS IN LONDON	61
4.1 Proposal by J.H. Oldham	61
4.2 Toward collaboration	70
4.3 The memorandum of 1925	76
4.4 Reception in the field	85
4.5 Collaboration on trial	98
4.6 Experience of model schools	108

5. ALTERNATIVES OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY AFTER 1925	121
5.1 The troublesome language question	121
5.2 Christian ruralism	133
5.3 Environmental ideology of education	140
5.4 The role of women	152
6. INTERNATIONAL DEPRESSION AND START OF COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY	159
6.1 Effects of economic decline in Africa	159
6.2 Guidelines for a new African policy	162
7. NEW CHALLENGES FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN THE 1930S	167
7.1 Compulsory education	167
7.2 Efforts to increase local responsibility	171
7.3 Support from anthropology	178
7.4 The school as community centre	188
8. PRESSURES OF CHANGE FROM LATE 1930S TILL WAR YEARS	199
8.1 Demands for secondary education	199
8.2 Political warning signs	207
8.3 Growing importance of adult education	216
9. THE AFRICAN UNIVERSITY QUESTION	225
9.1 Sir James Currie's plan for higher education	225
9.2 University of West Africa	231
10. CONCLUSIONS	239
ABBREVIATIONS	247
SOURCE AND LITERATURE	249
INDEX	263

■ Map, tables and photographs

MAP

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. British West, East and Middle Africa 1925. | 17 |
|---|----|

TABLES

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1. Estimated expenditure on education (£) and enrolment of pupils in government and assisted schools in the Gold Coast 1912-1917. | 50 |
| 2. Estimated numbers of mission and government schools in various British African colonies 1918-1922. | 65 |
| 3. Distribution (%) of African pupils among government and other schools in British Africa in the mid-1930s. | 203 |

PHOTOGRAPHS

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1. Three of the school Watambuli, or resident councillors.
Source: W.B. Mumford, Malangali School. Africa Vol. 3. 1930. | 115 |
| 2. Chiefs of the Central Province attending the First Course held for Chiefs at Jeanes School, Kabete, in December 1937, with Mr. T.G. Benson (Principal of Jeanes School) and Mrs. Benson.
Source: Kenya Colony and Protectorate. Native Affairs Annual Report, 1937. | 119 |
| 3. Health care was to be a main feature of african education.
Source: Homa (Malaria). Matenda (Klephantiasis). Zanzibar. | 146 |
| 4. The "school" in the bush. Source: Victor Murray, The School in the Bush. London 1929. | 204 |
| 5. Achimota, the Adminstrative Block. Source: Murray (1929). | 233 |

■ Preface

When I studied history in the late 1970s the global approach to historical problems was more fashionable than now. Despite my North Carelian background curiosity led me to the jungles of Uganda and the bush schools of Tanganyika as subjects of my first seminar work and study topics. The eagerness of Joensuu University to revive the tradition of historical study in Finland was the greatest influence behind this.

Later, aided by financial grants and in addition to other university work the focus of my studies shifted to the centre of the British Empire and its attitude to colonialism. The historical interaction of Africa and Europe was an interesting theme of study and in this process education held an important position. The archives and libraries of London became familiar in the course of years. There too one could sense the historical consequences of my theme of study in modern Europe. In the corridors of London University walked students from many African countries whose admission to advanced studies in Europe would have been no easy matter for Britain as a great power only a few decades earlier.

I too have walked in university corridors on the strength of financial support from many quarters. I warmly thank various foundations, the Ministry of Education, the Academy of Finland and the University of Joensuu for the support given to my research at various stages and its translation into English. The British Council and the British Academy have made possible the hard task of collecting source material in England. For this many thanks.

I have been led along the path of African history by Father Ambrosius and above all by Assistant Professor Seppo Rytönen of Joensuu University. The latter's prompting, guidance and inquiries concerning the progress of work deserve special thanks. I am also grateful to Olli Kaikkonen and Tuomas Takala for their preliminary examination of the present work. With the latter and with Harri Siiskonen I have deliberated on more general questions of African history. Thanks also to Heikki Kirkinen, Antero Heikkinen, Marjatta Hietala, Tapio Hämynen and Juhani Koponen who have supported my research work at various stages, and especially to Auvo Kostainen for checking my licentiate work. In England in the course of work I have had discussions with John Cameron, John Iliffe and Andrew Roberts.

Concerned with text and makeup in the final stages were Riitta Nevalainen and photographer Ilkka Konttinen of Joensuu University. The translation into English was by Henry Martin M.A. and publication by the Finnish

Historical Society was skilfully arranged by Rauno Endén. To all I am greatly indebted.

And finally: the girls of Rauhankatu. My wife Terhi and my daughters Sanni and Outi have permitted with hardly a grumble the cluttering of our home for years on end with an undetermined mass of papers connected with my studies. My heartfelt thanks for this understanding and encouragement. To them I dedicate this work.

Joensuu, Palm Sunday 1995
Seppo Sivonen

■ 1. Introduction

1.1 The problem of study: its definition and limits

In his book *Native Races and Their Rulers*, Mr Charles Temple, Lieut.-Governor of Northern Nigeria, wrote in 1918 that British Africa contained a substantial number of natives who had lost their sense of nationality. This body could not be quickly or easily influenced by any radical means. In Temple's opinion these denationalized people were sufficient to supply the clerical requirements, and he gave warning of the problems of overeducation encountered by the British elsewhere.¹ He continued, however:

"In such circumstances I am not so bold, or presumptuous, as to suggest that we should close existing schools ... the needs of commerce and government already created must be met. But I hotly oppose the extension of the system of European education to the great majority of natives who are still untouched, who I hold can, without dislocation or damage to anybody, be encouraged and assisted to develop on lines natural to them to become valuable members of the Empire."²

In referring to the dangers of overeducation the writer certainly had in mind India and the difficulties caused to the British administration by emphasis on western education at a time of rising political nationalism.³ Temple made his own analysis on the basis of Africa and his experiences in Nigeria, connecting his notion of education with the theory of indirect administration and its practical application.⁴ His arguments contain assertions and counter-assertions which are central to my study. In the first place Temple noted that trade and colonial administration needed educated Africans. Counterbalancing this was the fear that Africans as minor officials or in other employment were being educated in too large numbers, which

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¹ C.L. Temple, *Native Races and their Rulers*, pp. 220-21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 221.

³ Sir Valentine Chirol's *Indian Unrest*, published in 1910, drew much attention in England to the consequences of mistakes in Indian education policy. See Penelope Hetherington, *British Paternalism and Africa 1929-1940*, p. 18. In Aparna Basu's study *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898-1920* the author states that Lord Curzon, Viceroy at the turn of the century, had intended to shift the emphasis from higher to elementary education and from urban to rural districts because opposition to the British sprang mainly from the cities. See Basu, pp. 63, 93-99 and 228-34.

⁴ For Temple's part in the establishment of indirect rule in Northern Nigeria see Margery Perham, *Lugard: The Years of Authority, 1898-1945*, pp. 469-88.

was politically unwise. Finally Temple's analysis contains a demand which is important but seems paradoxical. Western education was for a small section of Africans only, whereas the great majority "must be assisted to develop on lines natural to them to become valuable members of the Empire".

Mr Charles Temple represented British officialdom in Africa and looked at matters of education from the standpoint of administrative requirements. That standpoint could not disregard Christian missions, which were mainly responsible for African education when Temple's book appeared. In many parts of Africa church and school were like one institution. Temple tolerated the work of the missions if it did not weaken the self-esteem of African communities. Otherwise the government had the right to limit mission work.⁵ Bearing in mind that the main task of missions in Africa was to proclaim the Christian message in the midst of peoples and cultures regarded as heathen, Temple's demand for the upholding of African self-esteem was challenging.

Like representatives of the colonial administration mission workers proclaimed their notion of the aims and practices of African education. The more the administration seemed inclined to intervene in African education, the more important these proclamations became. It was not till the early 1920s that the Colonial Office engaged in more forceful planning of education in Africa, yet there were already signs of growing interest in systematic direction of this matter during the previous decade. Then, however, demands for increased planning, direction and control came from separate colonies rather than from London. At that stage the Colonial Office had no integrated educational policy for Africa.

The substance of African educational aims from the standpoint of Christian values before the First World War is illustrated by the opinions of Donald Fraser. He was a mission worker of the United Free Church of Scotland in Nyasaland whose publicly expressed opinions on the close affinity between mission work and education were more widely known than private judgments. Fraser saw the advance of education in Africa as divided in two. Western civilization penetrating into Africa destroyed the old customs and pagan beliefs of the continent, and these objectives were approved by Fraser. But the advance of education brought problems with it. This happened if nothing was put in place of destroyed beliefs and superstitions. Traditional respect for unseen spirits vanished and people became more individualized as old restrictions of social life lost their importance. At the same time the authority of parents and traditional customs disappeared. In turn Africans quickly adopted the sceptical and materialistic European way of life.⁶

What could be done with the aid of education? Unlike Temple, who demanded that "the great untouched majority be protected from western

⁵ Temple, p. 21.

⁶ Donald Fraser, *The Future of Africa*, pp. 245-46.

civilization", Fraser the mission worker saw its consequences as two-sided. Although the spread of European culture had the disadvantages which have been mentioned, Fraser believed the church capable of supplying antidotes for these negative aspects. In 1911 he wrote:

"Education has been a necessary arm of all mission work in pagan Africa... It has been recognized that teaching in schools has produced in a greater or less degree a more open mind to rational explanations of the world in which we live, and has undermined the inexorable hold of traditional customs and superstitions. It has also prepared a way for the Gospel... Moreover, the art of reading places among them God's greatest teacher, whose voice need never be silenced – the Bible."⁷

To summarize the thoughts of Temple and Fraser it may be noted that both were disquieted by the effect of western culture, spread by education, in stressing the community spirit of Africans. They looked in different directions, however, to counteract the slackening of ties between peoples. As a representative of the church Fraser believed in the power of the church to replace vanishing social and moral values, while Temple spoke more vaguely of an African "line of independent development".

These ideas expressed by representatives of colonial administration and missionary work reveal the many interdependencies of education and society which are generally referred to as social functions of education. The well-known British sociologist P.W. Musgrave has enumerated five functions for education in advanced industrial states. He first mentions a political function which can be regarded in two ways. First, a democratic society needs political leaders at all social levels; second, education should help to preserve the existing system of government by ensuring loyalty to it. Education also has an economic function. At all levels of employment a trained labour force sufficient in numbers and quality is needed to perform its own tasks under the current technical conditions. Third, Musgrave lists the function of social selection. The education system is a central process for selecting those most capable among the total population. Education, moreover, transfers the cultural inheritance of society from one generation to another. Here Musgrave sees the need for education as, primarily a conservative element, because it is through schools that the most important patterns of social activity are transmitted. Finally, education is a means of bringing innovators to the fore. Someone must set in motion the social change which is needed for the preservation of society in the new conditions of today. Such a change may be, for instance, technical, political or artistic.⁸

In addition to the educational functions needed by the modern state Musgrave mentions a religious and a military function which are important

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⁷ Fraser, pp. 156-57.

⁸ P.W. Musgrave, *The Sociology of Education*, pp. 270-71. In discussing social selection Musgrave mentions international differences, sex distinctions, territorial factors and class status. See pp. 350-55.

at certain periods of history. In the Middle Ages, when schools were controlled by the church, their main function was to educate workers in the service of the church, while in ancient Sparta the military function of education was of central importance.⁹

Musgrave's analysis refers to modern industrial states, especially England, but similar functions of education can be suggested for the educational policy practised in British African colonies.¹⁰ The political and social power hierarchy created by colonialism needed its own African loyalists and a scheme of education which would provide service of the right political kind.¹¹ But the colonial system collapsed and the preservative role of education in this sense was not realized. Administration, church and colonial economy needed an African workforce trained for an everincreasing number of functions. Because education would be given to only part of the African population its selective nature was self-evident. Preservation of African cultures in their various elements or their adaptation through a modern system of education has been a matter of topical discussion in independent African states.¹² The views expressed by Temple and Fraser tell us that preservation or adjustment of a cultural tradition was a central question in the deliberations of colonial administration and Christian missions on the effect of education in Africa. The survey of African education entitled *A Sociology of Education for Africa* (1981) by Kenneth Blakemoore and Brian Cooksey is a comprehensive study of this field in Africa south of the Sahara. It deals, for instance, with the relation between education and social equality, the connection between education and sociocultural and economic change and the political significance of education.¹³ In evaluating the results of colonial education policy the authors enumerate many structural forms of inequality. Education was unequally distributed between colonies and among them; this meant that certain areas and ethnic groups were privileged, while those without education had less opportunity to reach positions of power and authority. Likewise, when the colonial period ended education was divided unequally between town and country and also between sexes. Regionally towns and sexually boys had the advantage. These conclusions regarding the social exclusivity of education are extended by Cooksey and Blakemoore to matters of politics, economics and race in the colonial period. The social stratification implanted by colonialism was based on western capitalist elements, not on traditional forms of inequality.

⁹ Musgrave, p. 270.

¹⁰ See Ansu Datta, *Education and Society: A Sociology of African Education*, pp. 14-53.

¹¹ For importance of political training and political socialization in Africa at this time see Clive Harber, *Politics in African Education* (London 1989).

¹² For Tanzanian viewpoint see Julius Nyerere, *Education for Self-Reliance*, pp. 44-75 in Julius Nyerere, *Ujamaa. Essays on Socialism*.

¹³ Kenneth Blakemoore and Brian Cooksey, *A Sociology of Education for Africa* (London 1981). In addition to themes already mentioned the authors deal with the sociology of schools, teaching and courses of instruction. Listed as aspects of inequality which appear in education are class background, religion, urban-rural contrast, place of birth, sex, race and capability. See p. 55.

Thus local systems of power and authority gave way to structures based on state control. Appearing at the same time were new hierarchies of class and status.¹⁴

What part was played by Christian missions in the education process? Without going into individual cases Cooksey and Blakemoore note that mission work was an essential part of colonial expansion. Despite some differences of opinion colonial administration and missions benefited by each other's presence. From the administration's point of view the workforce trained by the missions – clerks and interpreters, for instance – was necessary in the service of administration and private trading partners alike. But religious missions also needed Africans they had trained themselves as teachers and catechists. Although missions were in Africa in order to spread Christianity the authors believe that the secular influence of their schools was more important than the religious.¹⁵

Ansu Datta, a third sociologist discussing African education, takes the same line as Cooksey and Blakemoore. Colonial education in Africa contained a European basis. It placed more stress on subjects of general education, neglecting vocational, technological and professional instruction. Collaboration of church and state in Europe was extended to Africa, which freed colonial powers from a considerable burden of administration and financing. Mission education also served in the training of a commercial and administrative workforce in places for which Europeans had done no recruiting.¹⁶

In defining the political functions of education Datta notes that education contributes to the political socialization of the child. This points to the transmission of values, beliefs, ideas and patterns of behaviour and is connected at the same time with the generation, distribution and exercise of power. In conjunction with political affinities Datta also presents viewpoints which are not usually studied with methods of historical research. According to him education in general provides the young with a common cultural experience which presumably affects the expression of a feeling of national solidarity. Education leads to the strengthening of national integration, but in the light of African experience this has not succeeded. Datta believes that schools reflect political ideas in their organization, administration, prefect system, class environment, courses of study and also in the part played by teachers.¹⁷

In analyzing the economic functions of education Datta raises the much deliberated question of education as an instrument of economic growth. In this respect his study produces divergent interpretations. The economic function of education is to create a manpower for the various purposes of society. In many African countries, however, the relation of manpower requirement to education has been unsuccessfully measured. Also the

¹⁴ Blakemoore and Cooksey pp. 47-48.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 32-34.

¹⁶ Datta, pp. 16-17.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 38-43.

direction of education to natural sciences, technology, vocational or agricultural training as prerequisites of economic and technological development has not led to the success expected.¹⁸

During the decades of the colonial period, as noted, decision making on educational policy was decentralized among separate colonies and protectorates of Great Britain. Not till the 1920s did the Colonial Office in London and leading missionary bodies attempt a more systematic united policy. Studies of African educational history in the last few decades, however, have concentrated on the colonies in general. In the light of African historical study the choice was natural. Partly because of this emphasis in research policy and partly because British studies of imperialism and colonialism have shown no special interest in education, historical analysis of African educational policy at the central level of the colonial hierarchy in London has been deprived of basic research. There are several reasons, however, for such analysis to be carried out. In the study of African history and, more broadly, of development historical analysis of the interdependence of colonial ruler and subject has held an important place. This applies primarily to economic relations, whose study has centred on the pattern of operations and practical solutions followed by the European colonial powers.¹⁹ In the 1980s, on the other hand, British so-called development policy and its formulation in the mother country became a highly important theme in British historical study of colonialism. In these works too educational history is forgotten. Nevertheless purposeful planning of educational policy over several decades at the Colonial Office in collaboration with Christian missions was a vital instrument in the fulfilment of political, economic and other expectations connected with the colonies.

In my study²⁰ I examine the planning of educational policy in British African colonies and protectorates from the standpoint of central level administration. The primary concern is to analyze the planning of educational policy directed to British Africa by the Colonial Office of Great Britain and the International Missionary Council (IMC)²¹, together with factors affecting this planning in 1920-45. In accordance with the definition of educational concepts previously stated, education is understood in the present study as the executor of social functions. However, the study is not a sociological survey of the various purposes of education in Africa but a historical examination of the political and economic connections between educational planning and British African colonial policy in the above-mentioned period.

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¹⁸ Datta, pp. 43-45.

¹⁹ Examples of such study include E.A. Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa. The Politics of Economic Change 1919-39* (New York 1973) and Rhoda Howard, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Ghana* (London 1978).

²⁰ My research is a continuation of my licentiate work entitled *Koulutuksen tavoitteet trooppisessa Afrikassa Ison-Britannian siirtomaaministeriön koulutussuunnitelmien valossa n. 1920-1950*. (University of Joensuu 1981).

²¹ For history of the International Missionary Council (IMC) see William Richey Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations. A History of the International Missionary Council and Its Nineteenth-Century Background* (New York 1952).



Regionally the study is confined to tropical Africa when the main areas of British administration were Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.²²

The main questions of the study may be briefly stated as follows:

1. The political purpose of British educational policy in Africa and its connections with the theory and practice of indirect rule.
2. The economic purpose of educational policy and its connections with economic expectations for the colonies and the resulting need for a trained workforce.
3. The religious function of the educational policy, namely the importance of the International Missionary Council, its position in the British shaping of an African educational policy and its association with the forming of an educational policy by the colonial administration.

²² Northern Rhodesia was a Crown Colony, Nyasaland and Uganda were ruled as Protectorates, Tanganyika was a mandated Territory placed under British rule by the League of Nations, while Kenya, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia were ruled partly as Protectorates and partly as Crown Colonies. See George Padmore, *How Britain Rules Africa*, pp. 42, 50, 57, 97-98, 200, 204-06, 241 and 262.

When the planning of an African educational policy was specified by Great Britain's Colonial Office in London during the early 1920s it was done in close collaboration with Christian missions. With British Protestant missions collaboration was conducted through the International Missionary Council, whose headquarters were in London in Edinburgh House. The purpose of this body was to co-ordinate the work of British Protestant missions and their decisions regarding education.

Collaboration between government and missions became closer at a time when indirect rule was the administrative doctrine of British African colonies. The ideal aim of this was to utilize the traditional institutions of administration and justice which already existed in Africa, applying them in the rule of African communities, in law and in maintenance of order. Thus the colonial administration sought to reach its own ends by intervening as little as possible, or only indirectly, in the power structures recognized by Africans themselves. Practice did not always go hand in hand with theoretical calculation.²³ Hypothetically it may be supposed that while colonial educational policy aimed at supporting indirect rule to guarantee political stability it would also have to secure the recruiting of educated Africans in the service of the colonial administration and its economic infrastructure. The latter objective could not be reached without abandoning the ideals of indirect rule.

In British Africa indirect rule was applied most systematically between the world wars, when the African colonies were of relatively slight economic importance to the mother country. This was seen, for instance, in trade between Great Britain and tropical Africa. A clear change occurred after the Second World War, when British colonial policy sought to take the shape of a so-called development policy whose programmes were linked especially to the economic and social sectors.²⁴

It might be supposed that slow economic development supported indirect rule and the perception of slow, regulated social change as a vital necessity for Africa which served as its background. But it may be questioned whether Africa between the world wars was a continent of such stagnation as was generally supposed, especially if development is projected into the historical frameworks of Europe and, in particular, of the mother country. The political consequences of the First World War, social unrest in England during the 1920s and changes in the international political system at the same time, economic recession in the 1930s, growing tension in the political atmos-

²³ The study contains a chapter to indirect rule. A general picture of how this pattern of rule spread in Africa will be found in article Prosser Gifford, *Indirect Rule: Touchstone or Tombstone?*, pp. 351-91 in Prosser Gifford and W.M. Roger Louis (eds.), *Britain and German in Africa. Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule*. For conflicts of theory and practice in the application of indirect rule see Helen Lackner, *Social Anthropology and Indirect Rule. The Colonial Administration and Anthropology in Eastern Nigeria: 1920-1940*, pp. 122-50 in Talal Asad (ed.), *Anthropology & Colonial Encounter*.

²⁴ The foundation of development plans was laid in an Act "Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare", Cmd. 6175, 1940.

phere of Europe in the late 1930s and the rise of nationalism in Asia – these matters were bound to have some influence on the African dependencies.

The machinery of government brought by Europeans to Africa and the economic exploitation of the colonies demanded economic, social, political and cultural changes in African communities; these changes were reflected inescapably in aspects of educational policy in the colonies and at the Colonial Office. Pressures for change intensified in the late 1930s when indirect rule met with growing criticism in the mother country. Earlier too, as a result of the international recession signs of a policy of development in thinking and action began to emerge in the planning of British colonial policy. Planning took an increasing share in this policy. Unrest in parts of the Empire, especially the West Indies, was an undoubted propulsion of this development process.

The purpose of the present study is to illustrate and analyze the extent to which pressures for change affected the delineation of British educational policy in Africa. Between the world wars, however, this policy cannot be seen as a mere political and economic instrument of colonial administration. Education of Africans was mainly in the hands of Christian missions who had their own expectation of the future of Africa and of how education would help to achieve it. After the First World War missions found themselves in a situation where colonial administration was clearly tightening its hold on educational policy. Into this altered state of affairs another problem was introduced: the colonial administration saw education primarily in relation to the needs of government and economic life. With such an arrangement how could the missions protect their own traditionally strong position, and what was the relation of an education based on missionary ideology to the educational tasks assigned by the colonial administration?

In the western education of Africans great mainstreams such as the spread of Christianity or the adaptation of education to its own cultural environment had already emerged in the 19th century. The present study, however, is confined to the years 1920-1945 because of structural changes in British African policy. These were also perceptible as changes in educational policy. This policy based on active planning at the Colonial Office began at the same time as indirect rule, paternalistic care of peoples regarded as primitive and economic expectations of Africa as "the world's undeveloped treasure-house" laid the foundations for Great Britain's African policy. Experiences and consequences of the Second World War and the postwar strengthening of African nationalism set clear new demands for colonial policy including education. One answer to these demands was the planned development policy to which education was more and more closely linked at the end of the 1940s and during the 1950s.

As the central level of colonial administration contained no African representative it may be asked what influence Africans finally had on the shaping of their own education. Central level educational policy was naturally influenced by African reactions through feedback from the area

concerned. These perceptions were filtered through the machinery of colonial administration, however. To explain in detail the views on educational policy held by precursors of African nationalism, political and religious organizations or the trade union movement it would be necessary to investigate not only the London records but also local sources in the colonies. Nationalistic agitation in the Colonial Office was very late to appear in educational policy discussion and has been revealed more in connection with independent schools in Kenya.

1.2 Source materials

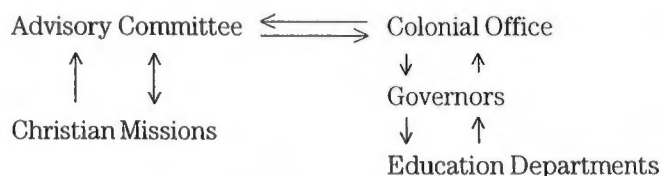
In London the Colonial Secretary answered to Cabinet and Parliament for the administration of colonies. In decision making for an African educational policy the influence of Cabinet and Parliament was slight. This was also true in a more general sense regarding colonial policy. The only regular discussions on colonial matters were held in Parliament with reference to financial appropriations for the Colonial Office. Between the world wars the mother country considered that the expense of economic and social programmes was to be borne mainly by colonies themselves, and in the somewhat scanty aid granted by the mother country to dependencies before the Second World War the direct financing of education was excluded altogether. This state of affairs continued till the end of the 1930s.²⁵ In London African educational matters were dealt with in practice at the Colonial Office and, to a great extent, by the Advisory Committee which served as an aid to the Colonial Secretary. The latter appointed the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa (ACNE) in 1923. The Committee's functions were extended in 1928 to cover colonies outside Africa, which led to a revision of its name (the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, ACEC). The Committee met regularly, often monthly. It issued general instructions which were sent as reports and memoranda to colonial Governors and Directors of Education Departments for the direction of educational policy in the colonies. The Committee held regular discussions on the general lines of this policy, but also when necessary gave its advice and opinions on educational problems and controversial questions raised by individual colonies.

The Committee was an organ through which passed all matters regarding African educational policy in London. It was composed of representatives of the Colonial Office, most importantly the Committee's permanent Secretaries and the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, who often attended meetings. In the course of years the Committee also included mission representatives and experts from English universities and schools. Further taking part in the Committee's work were representatives of political parties

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²⁵ Brett, p. 58, 120 and 133-38.

in Parliament. Similarly Governors in office and Directors of Education Departments on leave in London attended meetings. The latter were also in contact with the Colonial Office through direct official correspondence between the Office and the colonies. To sum up, African educational affairs were dealt with centrally at the Colonial Office according to the following pattern:



In collecting source material for the present study I have sought to bear in mind the process, already described, by which educational policy has been handled. Serving as main sources, accordingly, are minutes of Advisory Committee meetings, reports, memoranda, instructions and preparatory material connected with their composition. Committee papers are kept at the Public Record Office in London. At the Colonial Office another central source group consists of correspondence between the Office and colonial authorities. This correspondence is a means of elucidating the influence of officials from the colonies on the planning of educational policy by the Colonial Office. In many cases the Office and the Advisory Committee asked the opinion of Governors and education officials when preparing certain instructions or decisions. How instructions were carried out in individual colonies is not the concern of the present study. On the other hand the general reception of instructions and their application in the countries concerned has been brought out in cases which affected renewal of planning and revision of a line to be determined. Various histories of colonial education have touched on this question.²⁶

Protestant missions sought to influence the official educational policy of the Colonial Office by taking part in the work of the Advisory Committee. Acting as a long-term and influential mission representative on the Committee was J.H. Oldham, Secretary of the International Missionary Council. His term of office was from 1923 to 1936. In order to understand the views on educational policy of Oldham and missionary societies behind him the combined records of the International Missionary Council and its associate body the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Northern

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²⁶ For example with regard to Kenya see Donald G. Schilling, *British Policy for African Education in Kenya, 1895-1939* (PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin 1972), with regard to Tanganyika A.R. Thompson, *The Adaptation of Education to African Society in Tanganyika under British Rule*, (PhD Thesis, University of London 1968), with regard to Tanganyika and Ghana Martin McLean, *A Comparative Study of Assimilationist and Adaptationist Educational Policies in British Colonial Africa 1925-1953 (With Special Reference to the Gold Coast and Tanganyika)* (PhD Thesis, University of London 1978) and with regard to Ghana Philip Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana* (London 1971).

Ireland have been used with their material referring to African educational matters. The most important part of this source material is Oldham's correspondence together with the minutes and memoranda of missionary conferences. Oldham engaged in a wide correspondence not only with missions but also directly with colonial Governors and educational authorities.²⁷

In addition to Colonial Office and missionary records parliamentary minutes have been scrutinized together with private sources and records kept by advisory bodies of the Labour and Conservative Parties dealing with imperial matters²⁸. With the exception of private records the information value of these records for composing a general picture of educational policy has proved to be slight.

From the standpoint of private records the Oxford Rhodes House Library has played a decisive part in research. It contains, for instance, the private records of Lord Lugard (Governor General of Nigeria 1914-19 and also a member of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa), J.H. Oldham and A.G. Fraser (Principal of Gold Coast Achimota College). Also at Rhodes House are the private papers of Lord Hailey, who played an important part in shaping African colonial policy, and of Arthur Creech Jones, Colonial Secretary in the 1940s. These records have been available for study. As a whole their importance has also proved to be slight, however, though the correspondence of Lord Lugard with Oldham, which is included in the latter's papers, is an exception; Lugard was the chief ideologist of indirect rule. No important data were found in these private papers which would not have been found in official records.

It should also be noted that no private records have been preserved of permanent Secretaries of the Advisory Committee who were concerned in the central planning of colonial education. This is also the case with William Ormsby-Gore.²⁹ He was Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in the 1920s and exerted a decisive influence on the foundation of the Advisory Committee and its setting in motion.

In addition to records and printed sources the present study has made great use of journals and pamphlets dealing with African matters. The most important journals were the Advisory Committee's publication *Oversea*

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²⁷ Oldham's many-sided interest in Africa is concisely illustrated in the article George Bennett, *Paramountcy to Partnership: J.H. Oldham and Africa*. Reprinted from *Africa*, October 1960, pp. 356-60.

²⁸ The Labour Party was served by the Advisory Committee on Imperial Questions. For the Conservative Party the Conservative Oversea Bureau began work only in 1945. Labour Party records have been moved from London to Manchester, while those of the Conservative Party are in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

²⁹ For a long period Hanns Vischer and Arthur Mayhew served as Secretaries. The absence of Vischer's private records was revealed when Sonia F. Graham completed her work entitled *Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria 1900-1919; with Special Reference to the Work of Hanns Vischer* (Ibadan 1966). The absence of Mayhew's papers was announced in the state records of The Historical Manuscript Commission of England. For the probable destruction of Ormsby-Gore's private papers see Cameron Hazelhurst and Christine Woodland, *A Guide to the Papers of British Cabinet Ministers 1900-1951*, pp. 62-63.

Education, the International Missionary Council's International Review of Missions, the International Institute for African Languages and Cultures (IIALC)'s Africa and the Journal of the Royal Society of Africa, which was conservative in general tone and published by the African Society, founded in 1901.³⁰ Articles in journals of 1920-45 are part of the original source material. Articles connected with the theme of study were naturally published later too, in which case they are referred to in the bibliography.

It has emerged already that the main source material for this study is composed of official reports, memoranda, instructions and correspondence dealing with African educational matters. The material originated in the planning and decision-making process of educational policy, and part of it also came out in print. As a rule there is no reason to doubt the reliability of closely considered reports and memoranda, but the connections of educational and other colonial policy do not necessarily reveal themselves for general application from the documents concerned. In such cases it was necessary to seek source material connected with the preparation of completed plans and instructions: that is to say, material which often tells more of the background factors affecting decisions than is told by a completed document. Such explanatory work has naturally been possible to a limited extent only. Acquaintance with the documents concerned in preparation does not guarantee that all relevant factors will be revealed. The shaping of British colonial policy also includes conversations between gentlemen in clubs and during walks and other meetings of individuals. Suggestions of communication of this kind are found particularly in private records. Such data are not of decisive importance, however, for solution of the main problems of research.

The source material used in this study imposes certain specific limits. The Colonial Office and the Advisory Committee were responsible mainly for the general lines of African educational policy and, as already noted, educational problems of individual colonies have only been presented in this study if they were thought to have more general importance. In some cases the initiative taken by an individual colony for settlement of a particular educational issue may have led to a guiding principle of procedure for British educational policy in Africa as a whole. Educational policy followed by Colonial Office and missions was affected also by the subject of education, namely the Africans. There was no African representative in the London Advisory Committee and very rarely in corresponding governing bodies in the colonies. Colonial officials and missions made some attempt to transmit African opinions to London, but they were filtered through the interest groups which have been mentioned and can to that extent be regarded as questionable. More broadly too information reaching London from the field must be evaluated critically. Statistics have been assembled inadequately and incon-

³⁰ A good summary of journals dealing with Africa between the World Wars is Hetherington, *British Paternalism and Africa 1920-1940*, pp. 28-39.

sistently, and are therefore unreliable. It may also be asked to what extent European estimates of the educational requirement were correct in view of cultural differences. London's assessment of the situation regarding educational policy was not of course dependent solely on information from the colonies. Points of interest to other quarters concerned with African education also affected the above-mentioned estimates and imposed their own conditions for the arrangement of educational priorities.

1.3 Introducing the tradition of research

1.3.1 The tradition of African historical study

It was not until after the Second World War that African historical study underwent a period of vital change. This does not mean that no interest was felt in the continent's past far earlier. In Mediterranean circles and in the Islamic world historical writing on Africa is centuries old. Likewise, further south in Africa important historical events were transmitted from one generation to another by oral tradition. During the decades of colonial rule missionaries, colonial officials and others who had enriched their experience in Africa produced a many-sided literature which touched on historical events: memoirs, diaries, accounts of travel and so on. Again, the Africans' view of their own past was brought out by political activists who fought against colonial domination with the pen.³¹

Generally, however, Africa was regarded as "an unhistoried continent" in the decades when scientific historical writing in Europe was winning wider respect. Among the inhabitants of Africa "only the Egyptians have developed into a civilised people and away from the Nile only in Abyssinia and part of Sudan have the nations reached statehood".³² This interpretation by Erik Möller in his *Kansakuntien Vaiheet* (Finnish translation in 1950s) gives one explanation for the notion of unhistoried African peoples which long prevailed in European historical writing. In Hegel's philosophy of historical learning the degree of statehood was regarded as the yardstick of historical evaluation. This graduation left no room for a social formation more simple than the state community system of Africa.³³

In historical writing during the colonial period African history dealt emphatically with the lives of white Europeans who lived in the continent. This attitude is linked to the so-called Hamitic hypothesis which considered that African cultural achievements such as the creation of a productive food economy, the use of iron and the evolution of statehood originated either with the northern Hamitic peoples, who were lighter-skinned than those

³¹ J.D. Fage, *The Development of African Historiography*, p. 25 in J. Ki-Zerbo (ed.), *General History of Africa. Vol. I. Methodology and African Prehistory*.

³² Erik Möller, *Etelä-Afrikka*, p. 435 in Eino E. Suolahti, Antero Manninen and Kalle Salo (eds.), *Kansakuntien Vaiheet. Osa V*.

³³ Thomas Hodgkin, *Where the Paths Began*, p. 6 in Christopher Fyfe (ed.), *African Studies Since 1945. A Tribute to Basil Davidson*.

who lived south of the Sahara, or with the Europeans.³⁴

From the 19th century onward scientific historical study has stressed the importance of written original sources in the study process. Many African communities have left no written documents, and this lack of records has impelled historians to leave elucidation of the African past to other fields of science such as cultural anthropology. From the standpoint of African historical research it is regrettable that powerful trends of 19th century anthropology such as Anglo-Saxon functionalism³⁵ and French structuralism have shown no interest in the historical development of African communities. Appraisal of their functional activity or study of undesirable development phenomena caused by social change did not lead anthropologists to historical research in the true sense.³⁶ Finally it may be noted that the unhistoried state which was imagined for African communities was bound up with the international political power system between the world wars. Africa, regarded as a continent of stagnation, was a place where the European official, merchant, colonist or mission worker might place himself to carry out the paternalistic guardianship and civilizing task entrusted to him. In turn he felt entitled to take advantage of the continent's natural riches.

The connection of African historical writing with the structures of the international political and economic system may be observed also in the latest African research following the Second World War. The study tradition can be specified in the following approaches:³⁷

1. The phenomena and consequences of colonialism are interpreted behaviourally. Degrees of social development are measured in terms of the western industrial state with its belief in an ideology of growth. In comparison with this the results of colonialism, e.g. in Africa, may be considered positive. Such favourable consequences include com-

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³⁴ Edith R. Sanders, *The Hamitic Hypothesis, Its Origin and Function in Time Perspective*. JAH. No. 10, 1969, pp. 521-32. When in England the compilation of history textbooks for Africa was planned during the 1930s, many viewpoints were revealed. Some thought that the books should concentrate on Africa or tropical Africa, others emphasized geographical and economic lines of development, still others stressed the discussion of abstract ideas and controversial subjects. Some took the view that courses in history for Africans should not concentrate on Africa at all, but on themes which came to the fore in English teaching at schools. Finally there was the opinion that no full-length course in history was suited to Africans at the stage of development they had then reached: it was too ambitious and academic. History in Africa should concentrate on certain themes such as "The history of communications" or "The history of women's status in European culture". See *History Text-Books for Schools in British Tropical Africa*. Oxford 1936. CO 323/1315/1220. Colonial General 1935. File, Education. History Textbooks for African Schools. PRO.

³⁵ For functionalism in British anthropology see Talal Asad, Introduction, pp. 9-19, James Wendy, *The Anthropologist as Reluctant Imperialist*, pp. 40-69 and Stephan Feuchtwang, *The Colonial Formation of British Social Anthropology*, pp. 79-100 in Talal Asad (ed.), *Anthropology & the Colonial Encounter*.

³⁶ Adam Kuper, *Anthropologists and Anthropology. The British School 1922-72*, especially pp. 89-122 and Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *Changes in African Historical Studies in France*, pp. 202 in, Fyfe, *African Studies Since 1945. A Tribute to Basil Davidson*.

³⁷ For more detail on the tradition of African historical writing see Olli Kaikkonen, Seppo Rytkönen, Seppo Sivonen, *Afrikan Historia*, pp. 8-13.

mercial agriculture or a western educational system.³⁸

2. African-minded historical writing by Africans themselves or by Europeans and Americans. In these interpretations the position and importance of Africans are stressed in many forms of resistance to colonialism. The independent and other history of Africans before the colonial period has also been an important object of study. In West African historical study since independence glorification of the past has been less evident than in East Africa.³⁹

3. Historical study with a critical, often radical approach to structural distortions of the colonial system and modern problems of development. Economic and social research which has analyzed structures of the international economic system with its problem of developing countries has also stimulated students of history. Part of this research has a Marxist orientation. The manner of interpretation determines what importance is given to external or internal factors in the explanation of problems of development. External factors include matters subject to the laws of the international economic system, internal ones the class structures of African communities. Also to be mentioned here is ecohistory with its tracing of the interaction between mankind and nature. There are several good examples of how social and ecohistory have been cleverly combined.⁴⁰

4. Study of development policy integrated with African historical research and the British study tradition of imperialism, colonialism and Commonwealth policy. In this category several studies appeared in the 1980s with the aim of interpreting the social background of the mother country's development policy with its ideological starting-points and concrete forms of expression. Study is centred on solutions found for colonial questions by the mother country's political and other decision makers, and on factors affecting them.⁴¹

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³⁸ Among researchers to be mentioned are L.H. Gann, P. Duignan and D.K. Fieldhouse.

³⁹ With this approach to African historical writing the most solid publication is *General History of Africa*. Vol I-VIII (Unesco, Paris 1981-1985). For African historical writing after reaching independence see Caroline Neale, *Writing "Independent" History*. *African Historiography*, 1960-1980, pp. 103-20.

⁴⁰ Dependence of African development in association with the international economic and political system has been examined by writers including Basil Davidson, see for example Basil Davidson, *Africa in History, Themes and Outlines* (New York 1991), see too Bill Freund, *The Making of Contemporary Africa. The Development of African Society Since 1800* (Hong Kong 1984). For marxist writing of history see Neale, pp. 151-75 and for ecological history for example John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge 1978).

⁴¹ The official history of British development policy for Africa in its various stages is D.J. Morgan, *The Official History of Colonial Development*. Vol I-5 (London 1980). See too R.D. Pearce, *The Turning Point in Africa: British Colonial Policy 1938-48* (London 1982) and Stephen Constantine, *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy 1914-1940* (London 1984). Important new studies of private individuals who have influenced British colonial policy include John W. Cell, Hailey. *A Study in British Imperialism, 1872-1969* (Cambridge University Press 1992) and Alison Smith and Mary Bull (eds.), Margery Perham and *British Rule in Africa* (*The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. Vol. XIX. No. 3, 1991). For the tradition of study associated with the British Empire and Commonwealth see Robin W. Winks (ed.), *The Historiography of the British Empire-Commonwealth. Trends, Interpretations, and Resources*. (Duke University Press, Durham 1966) and D.K. Fieldhouse, *Colonialism 1870-1945*. Introduction, pp. 109-24. (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London 1981).

1.3.2 History of education as part of the research tradition

The research tradition of African educational history may also be examined in the light of the above division. In the decades of colonial power the scientific study of African educational and training institutions was set in motion by anthropologists and mission workers. A student of African initiation ceremonies was at the same time an analyst of the process of upbringing. An example is O. Raum's *Chagga Childhood*⁴² which studies the Chagga tribe of Northern Tanzania; at an early stage this tribe came in contact with European mission work and was receptive to European education. Raum is a good example of a mission worker who was also an anthropologist. For mission workers, as for officials and researchers serving the colonial administration anthropological studies of native upbringing had a concrete association with problems of mission work and colonial rule. Knowledge of initiation ceremonies and their partial adaptation to European education were a means of reducing friction in the collision of different cultures.⁴³

As such, anthropological research was limited to time and place. Margaret Read, anthropologist and head of the Colonial Department at the University of London Institute of Education in the 1950s, demanded in the year 1950 that the study of African educational history should elucidate the ideological aims of persons and institutions which had influenced educational work. In Read's opinion research must not be confined to the recording of administrative changes or to statistical data referring to quantitative development.⁴⁴

Margaret Read's wish was not satisfactorily fulfilled. Most outlines of educational history in the colonies – in the colonial period and later – have concentrated on the quantitative development of legislation, other regulations, administrative structures and the educational system at various levels. In these studies education is examined separately from any other social or political frame of reference. The birth of a system of western education in Africa might be called self-evident and its state of development is measured by western models. There are exceptions such as Philip Foster's *Education and Social Change in Ghana* (1959). This study explains the implanting of western education in Ghana (Gold Coast) in relation to traditional community structures and to economic and political changes during the colonial period.⁴⁵ On the whole, however, approaches of this sociological historical nature have been rare.

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⁴² O.F. Raum, *Chagga Childhood* (London 1940).

⁴³ For initiation rites in education see W.B. Mumford, *Education and the Social Adjustment of the Primitive Peoples of Africa to European Culture*. Africa. Vol. II. No. 2, 1929 and W. Vincent Lucas, *The Educational Values of Initiatory Rites*. IRM. Vol. XVI. No. 62, 1927, pp. 192-98.

⁴⁴ Margaret Read, *Studies in Education*, II. *Education and Cultural Tradition*. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at the Institute of London. Institute of Education 19.7.1950, pp. 22.

⁴⁵ With regard to West Africa for example F.H. Hilliard, *A Short History of Education in British West Africa* (London 1957) and C.K. Graham, *The History of Education in Ghana: From the Earliest Times to the Declaration of Independence* (London 1971) and with regard to East Africa S.M.E. Lugumba and J.C. Ssekamwa, *A History of Education in East Africa (1900-1973)* (Kampala 1973).

Research examining education from the African viewpoint has increased, but very rarely has it departed from the conventional notion of the social and cultural importance of education in Africa. A great part of African research, moreover, consists of outlines based on printed sources dealing with the history of education in various African countries.

Studies and articles which depart from this mainstream can also be found. Terence Ranger's article *African Attempts to Control Education in East and Central Africa 1900-1939* (1965) examines the attitude to western education of various politically aware African peoples. Ranger stresses the importance of educational research from the standpoint of other historical study. If African nationalism can be regarded as a complex of reactions directed toward modernization, the latter's chief instrument, namely the school, is an important subject in the study of nationalism. With regard to the recruitment of political leaders the study of educational resources means elucidation of the number and location of schools. Ranger suggests too that historians should seek data from schools where leading African politicians grew up and found ideas. Thus Ranger devotes attention to the many connecting links – in this case political – which historians of education should examine.⁴⁶

Part of research by Africans is linked to the tradition of study which adopts a critical attitude to colonialism and thus to the European educational system. In Walter Rodney's work *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1978), which has become a classic, education has a chapter of its own. With polemical pessimism Rodney pointedly states that the main purpose of education in the colonial period was to train Africans for the most insignificant offices of administration and as a workforce for capitalist enterprises owned by Europeans. In practice this meant that only a few Africans were chosen to take part in the domination and exploitation of the continent. For Rodney the European educational system was an important instrument of power and exploitation.⁴⁷

In the same way an article published in 1980 by Marjorie J. Mbilinyi of Tanzania takes a critical view of the structure of education in Tanganyika during the colonial period on the basis of the division of work in the country. In the author's opinion education in Tanganyika was part of the class struggle engaged in by the English middle class and the strata of Tanganyikan population which accorded with the division of work imposed by the colonial economy.⁴⁸

The colonial powers regarded the emergence of a new African elite with suspicion and sought to limit its growth by slowing the expansion of education. Those who completed their education were frustrated because

⁴⁶ Terence Ranger, *African Attempts to Control Education in East and Central Africa 1900-1939*. Past and Present. No. 32, 1965, pp. 57.

⁴⁷ Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, pp. 263-64.

⁴⁸ Marjorie J. Mbilinyi, *African Education During the British Colonial Period 1919-61*, pp. 236-71 in Kaniki, M.H.Y. (ed.), *Tanzania Under Colonial Rule*.

they could not find work within the colonial system. Their opportunities to take part in commercial ventures were reduced to a minimum. This is the assertion of A.E. Afigbo, a Nigerian specialist in the history of West Africa.⁴⁹ The same social role of an educated African elite is briefly pointed out in *The Making of Contemporary Africa* by Bill Freund (1984) in which analysis of African class structure and capitalism is the guideline for analysis of the colonial period. In Freund's view the educated elite had no systematic plan, either economic or political. Their work was bound to the commercial and administrative structures of capitalism veiled by colonialism. These structures usually tied down their illusions and ambitions. This, however, did not reduce their important status as models, father figures and potential rebels in African communities.⁵⁰

A critical approach to educational opportunities for Africans granted by the colonial power is also seen in the latest study. Anthula Natsoulas and Theodore Natsoulas in their article *Racism, the School and African Education in Kenya* (1993) and P.G. Okoth in his article *The Creation of a Dependent Culture. The Imperial School Curriculum in Uganda* (1993) examine the character of the European educational system in separate colonies, but apply their conclusions to a more general British educational policy within the Empire. Natsoulases state that from the start of the 19th century to the Second World War educational opportunities offered to Africans in Kenya were scanty and poor in quality, designed to keep Africans permanently as second-class citizens. Such education had a racist foundation intended to satisfy the needs of three European interlopers – the colonial government, the missions and the immigrants. The European ruling class tried to legitimize two aspects of its own culture in Kenya. The first was a wide-ranging philosophical belief in the stratification of the British community which the Colonial Office had established. The second was reflected in the desire of mission workers to convert the natives, which embodied the assumption that western religion was superior. To support these two aspects a power ratio between Britain and Africa was needed, and in it Britain held the ruling position permanently.⁵¹ With equal stress P.G. Okoth notes that in the colonial period education was the chief instrument in destroying the culture and ideology of the peoples of Uganda and in replacing them with the forms and ideology of European culture. At an early stage in the colonial period bourgeois culture and capitalist values were taught. This teaching was irrelevant to the needs of the people of Uganda, nor was it ever in close connection with the original culture in either a

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⁴⁹ A.E. Afigbo, *The Social Repercussions of Colonial Rule: the New Social Structures*, p. 506 in A. Abu-Boahen (ed.), *General History of Africa*. Vol. VII. *Africa Under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*.

⁵⁰ Freund, p. 151.

⁵¹ Anthula Natsoulas and Theodore Natsoulas, *Racism, The School and African Education in Colonial Kenya*, pp. 108 and 132-34 in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *The Imperial Curriculum. Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience*.

material or a spiritual sense.⁵²

A little earlier in an article entitled *British Colonial Policy: A Synonym for Cultural Imperialism?* (1988) Clive Whitehead denies that British educational policy was deliberately imperialistic and neo-marxist in its views; according to this accusation education adapted to the African cultural environment sought merely to keep the natives in a low position and to teach the few who had received education to accept the superiority of European culture. Whitehead's article is interesting in that he regards the matter also from the Colonial Office standpoint, though his sources are narrowly based in terms of historical study. Whitehead maintains that instructions from London on educational policy were not binding, which meant that there were variations of practice between different colonies. This in conjunction with a chronic lack of trained administrative and teaching personnel does not uphold the assertion that the Colonial Office was eager to follow a well considered and supported policy of cultural imperialism. In interpreting British educational policy of the 1920s Whitehead agrees with D.J. Fieldhouse that colonization was not a rational or planned state of affairs. Colonial rule was a "complex improvisation" characterized by aims which were often obscure. Whitehead also wishes to refute the notion that the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office blocked or held up the development of education in Africa for political reasons. Also, despite assertions to the contrary by neo-marxist researchers, British educational policy in the 1920s had no wish to destroy original culture but was clearly directed to its preservation. Whitehead's article in general reveals that British education in the colonies was indefinite and often contradictory.⁵³

Practical experiments in adaptative ideology are analyzed in an article by Udo Bude entitled *The Adaptation Concept in British Colonial Education* (1983) which notes that these attempts failed and were abandoned very soon after the pilot phase. To implement the new ideas proved more difficult and costly than expected, and colonial governments refused to support them partly also for political reasons.⁵⁴

To sum up from the standpoint of a radical study of development among the central problems of research are the importance of education in forming a class structure for the African community and, on the other hand, its attachment to the service of educational needs which are expedient in the eyes of the mother country. Much is still unopened in this section of the field of study, and further research is proposed also by Clive Whitehead in his article *Education in British Colonial Dependencies 1919-39: A Re-Appraisal* (1981). In Whitehead's view many of the themes of criticism directed to

⁵² P.G. Okoth, *The Creation of A Dependent Culture: The Imperial School Curriculum in Uganda*, pp. 145-46 in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *The Imperial Curriculum. Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience*.

⁵³ Clive Whitehead, *British Colonial Education Policy: A Synonym For Cultural Imperialism?*, pp. 211-28 in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *'Benefits Bestowed'? Education and British Imperialism*.

⁵⁴ Udo Bude, *The Adaptation Concept in British Colonial Education*. *Comparative Education*. Vol. 19. No. 3, 1983, pp. 341-54.

educational policy during the colonial period should be examined more thoroughly. According to the author the criticism to the quantitative development of education and to its substance – among other matters – reflects a strong wave of anticolonialism in the decades following the Second World War. He maintains that study is needed in individual colonies but also with reference to the part played by the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office and to postwar educational policy.⁵⁵

It was stated earlier that British research into imperialism and colonialism has laid no stress whatever on the historical study of education.⁵⁶ This is certainly due in part to the fact that secrecy regulations for archives applied to sources which were important for the study of educational history, especially with regard to the Colonial Office. To a great extent, therefore, research had to rely on printed sources. At their most typical these represented study in which connections between education and other historical development of the colonial system were not regarded as needing explanation. A striking exception is provided by A. Victor Murray's *The School in the Bush*.⁵⁷ This first appeared in 1929, its latest edition in 1967. Murray's book is a critical survey of the theoretical and practical problems of education in British Africa, which he also connects with wider issues of colonial rule and missionary work during the period.⁵⁸ Published in the 1920s, this work had an effect on discussion regarding educational policy in Africa and is thus a contributory factor to the present study.

Among studies which have appeared since African countries have gained independence and which have not been satisfied to examine African education without regard for background factors of colonial policy, an important work is *Pan-Africanism and Education* (1971) by Kenneth James King. It illuminates the effect of the Pan-African movement on the notions entertained by American and British educational experts regarding the education of American and African negroes from the late 19th century until the early 1930s. The spread of political radicalism among American negroes to Africa is examined, especially to Kenya, and the way this is reflected in the decisions of educational policy.⁵⁹

References to the many external factors which affected British educational policy in Africa between the world wars is made by Henry D'Souza in his article *External Influences on the Development of Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa from 1923 to 1939* (1975). D'Souza believes that the

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⁵⁵ Clive Whitehead, *Education in British Colonial Dependencies, 1919-39: a re-appraisal*. *Comparative Education*. Vol. 17. No. 1, 1981, pp. 71-79.

⁵⁶ In the previously mentioned studies of Morgan, Pearce, Constantine, Cell and Smith and Bull educational matters receive very little attention.

⁵⁷ A. Victor Murray, *The School in the Bush* (London, First Edition 1929, New Impression 1967).

⁵⁸ In his work Murray deals with many themes of importance for the present study, such as the relation of government and missions in educational work, connections between education and indirect rule and the language question.

⁵⁹ King, Kenneth James, *Pan-Africanism and Education. A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa*, *passim*.

policy of adaptation was affected by experiences of educational policy in other parts of the Empire such as India and South Africa and also in the United States. In addition the political situation of the western world influenced the ideology of adaptation. During the First World War Britain incurred a debt of 4,075,000,000 dollars to the U.S., which was paid partly in the form of investments in African mining. In the same way international communism increased its support for "coloured" liberation movements and in 1928 for "Black republics" in the United States and Africa. Again, in the 1930s England's fear of German demands in Africa had a background effect on educational policy.⁶⁰

Among studies which concentrate on British backgrounds for African colonial policy from the mother country's standpoint the only one which touches on education to any extent is Penelope Hetherington's work on the history of ideas entitled *British Paternalism and Africa 1920-1940* (1978). It examines the conception of Africa held by various parties interested in the affairs of the continent together with their understanding of problems of social change, race theories, administration, education and other matters. In the period between the world wars, Hetherington tells us, there was a growing belief in England that education was the key to all development in Africa. From this came part of the paternalistic faith of that time in the supreme power of Europeans to change African society.⁶¹

British educational policy was directed by "a continuous attempt to orient education policy in the colonies to local needs for human resource development".⁶² This is noted by Frederick James Clatworthy in his thesis *The Formulation of British Colonial Education Policy 1923-1948* (1971). Clatworthy's work is based on restricted source material, nor does it attempt to link the shaping of educational policy with wider political and economic background factors of the colonial period or with analysis of relations between missions and colonial rule. According to the author the viewpoint of his study is based only on the ideas of the London Advisory Committee. Clatworthy himself notes that British educational policy could be studied in future from the relations between the values of economic policy and political administration.⁶³

Much as it is needed, there is no analysis of collaboration between missions and colonial administration in the shaping of British African educational policy. Richard Gray touches on the theme briefly in his article *Christianity in a work* edited by Andrew Roberts entitled *The Colonial Moment in Africa. Essays on the Movement of Minds and Materials, 1900-1940* (1990). Gray stresses the importance of J.H. Oldham as a man who in

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⁶⁰ Henry D'Souza, *External Influences on the Development of Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa from 1923 to 1939*. *The African Studies Review*. Vol. XVIII. No. 2, 1975, pp. 35-42.

⁶¹ Hetherington, p. 110.

⁶² Frederick James Clatworthy, *The Formulation of British Colonial Education Policy, 1923-1948*, pp. 2-3.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

the 1920s was able to unite the humanitarian tradition with colonial policy. When collaboration began in London between missions and colonial administration, it merely signified approval of what was already established in Africa. Missions in Africa were obliged to take responsibility for growing assignments of work with dwindling resources. In these circumstances they welcomed the opportunity to preserve their leading status in education although at the same time they lost part of their former freedom.⁶⁴

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⁶⁴ Richard Gray, *Christianity*, pp. 182-90 in Andrew Roberts (ed.), *The Colonial Moment in Africa. Essays on the Movement of Minds and Materials, 1900-1940*.

■ 2. British Colonial Policy in Africa during the 1920s

2.1 Africa – “an underdeveloped treasure-house”

“Without wealth we shall not have the necessary money to spread on completely satisfactory system of education. Our wealth depends on our trade. Our trade depends entirely on our agriculture and our transportation.” So stated Gold Coast Governor Guggisberg in a speech dealing with education which he made to the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast early in 1920.¹ The Governor understood the common destiny of school reform and economic development in his country. Some years later *The Times* was able to present the Gold Coast as an example to the rest of Africa. 150 miles of railway had been built in a few years, also 2,000 miles of road, and in 1922 the country had exported a record 180,000 tons of cocoa. Guggisberg assured the newspaper, however, that the Gold Coast government had not forgotten the main task laid down by the League of Nations: “The well-being and development of people not yet able to stand by themselves form a sacred task of civilization.” In this task education held a central position.²

Guggisberg's thoughts and the Gold Coast's achievements presumably interested in particular those readers of *The Times* who were politicians and officials responsible for colonial policy. At the start of the 1920s discussion had sprung up in England concerning the future of the Empire. Its background was the country's new international status in politics and also problems of internal policy. The centre of international capitalism had moved to the other side of the Atlantic, and wartime debts to the United States combined with other foreign payments increased the pressure on exports in England. Protectionism and support for home industry threatened British efforts on traditional export markets.³ The thought of increasing the Empire's self-sufficiency in order to solve these problems was not new, but after the war it intensified and grew more topical. The British Empire might form a source of wealth with whose aid war debts could be paid and a foundation laid for the country's postwar economic growth.⁴ In trade policy the direction was forward by degrees. In 1917 England promised to

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¹ Address on Education Delivered by His Excellency the Governor at the Opening of the February Session of the Gold Coast Legislative Council, 1920, p. 4.

² Training the Negro. Lessons from The Gold Coast. *The Times* 25.4.1923.

³ Brett, pp. 71-72 and J. Forbes, Munro, *Africa and the International Economy 1800-1960*, pp. 119-26.

⁴ David K. Fieldhouse, *The Economic Exploitation of Africa: Some British and French Comparisons*, p. 599 in Gifford and Louis (eds.), *France and Britain in Africa*.

tax imperial products less than foreign ones, and Baldwin's governments continued the policy of imperial preference in the country's foreign trade. The governments of Baldwin and MacDonald also supported investment ventures directed to the Empire.⁵

Among leading politicians of both the Conservative and Labour Parties the economic policy line aiming at self-sufficiency had supporters. As E.A. Brett notes, both parties benefited from trade between mother country and colonies. Colonial welfare was based on British industry at the same time as it made possible the latter's success. Investments in the infrastructure of colonies increased production of their primary products whose sale, especially to the mother country, created markets for factory products.⁶ This was the basic concept of economic colonialism, and it was shared in the 1920s by leading politicians of the Colonial Office such as Lord Milner, L.S. Amery and the Labour Party's J.H. Thomas.⁷

The central question of domestic politics after the war was how to solve the unemployment problem, which had reached disquieting proportions. In the summer of 1921 unemployment in England had risen to over two million, forming an ever-worsening political problem as it extended. Throughout the 1920s this question had a decisive influence on planning and practical action – political and economic – directed to the colonies. At the beginning of the decade the government supported emigration by the Empire Settlement Law and in 1926 it guaranteed a loan of 10 millions for advancement of railways, roads and scientific research in East Africa, a decision intended to encourage the steel industry and engineering orders in the mother country. And in 1929 with the blessing of all parties the Colonial Development Law guaranteed a million pounds of financial assistance to stimulate investments from the Colonial Development Fund. Now, as earlier, the decision was backed more by anxiety over unemployment in the home country than by interest in projects for colonial development.⁸ During the depression the practical effect of the law remained slight, however.⁹

Plans in British African colonies for raising the share of imperial production and the first stages of financial aid did not lead to conspicuous success in the 1920s. Financial support was directed mainly to construction of an East African traffic network as a means of increasing the profitable production of cotton.¹⁰ Economic growth in the Gold Coast under Governor Guggisberg – the most notable exception in the whole of tropical Africa – was

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⁵ Ian M. Drummond, *British Economic Policy and the Empire 1919-1939*, pp. 36-37.

⁶ Brett, pp. 72-73.

⁷ Drummond, pp. 37-42. L.S. Amery was Colonial Secretary 1924-29. While touching on colonial development and research in his memoirs he mentions having inherited from his predecessor Lord Milner the idea that promotion of communications and research work was a key issue of development. See L.S. Amery, *My Political Life*. Vol. Two. *War and Peace 1914-1929*, p. 340.

⁸ Brett, pp. 115-38, Drummond, p. 37, Morgan, *The Official History of Colonial Development*. Vol. I. *The Origins of British Aid Policy 1924-1945*, pp. 35-40.

⁹ Constantine, pp. 199-201.

¹⁰ Brett, pp. 131-32 and Morgan, p. 37.

based on growing production by African farmers, especially those producing cocoa, and on favourable prices for cocoa on world markets.¹¹ The fact that trade between England and its African colonies remained less than that between England and other parts of the Empire is clearly seen in statistics. In 1920 22.2 % (value £ 101,785 000) of Britain's total exports went to the African colonies, while in 1928 the corresponding share was 11.3 % (£ 63,173 000). The same tendency was evident in imports. In 1920 total imports from British Africa were 13.5 % (£ 90,936 000) and in 1928 4.6 % (£ 40,617 000). At the same time both exports and imports grew between England and other parts of the Empire.¹² The old dominions retained their position as trading partners of the mother country better than Africa, and great quantities of primary products were bought in the 1920s from Canada, Australia and also the United States.¹³

Despite the decline of trade it cannot be maintained that in the 1920s the African colonies had ceased to be objects of economic interest in the eyes of the Colonial Office. Faith in the importance of African primary products, especially agricultural, as part of colonial economy survived in the attitudes of leading officials at the Colonial Office.¹⁴ Perhaps this was seen more concretely in the steps taken to stimulate agricultural research and training. In 1921 the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture was founded in Trinidad for all colonies, while in various parts of Africa several smaller research and training units were opened. With government support the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation (ECGC) took part through the mother country in financing research,¹⁵ and the Colonial Secretary at the end of the decade was provided with a special adviser and Advisory Committee for agricultural affairs.¹⁶ Thus as a potential "treasure-house" for primary products Africa had not lost its importance, but the achievement of actual results seemed to require an ever-growing attachment of research knowledge to colonial policy. It was also a challenge to educational policy.

2.2 Doctrine of indirect rule

Between the world wars the governing model followed by the British in their African dependencies was supported by the ideology of indirect rule. As new territories came in to the British sphere of influence the rulers had made agreements and reached decisions on measures of protection with local

¹¹ Frederick Pedler, *British Planning and Private Enterprise in Colonial Africa*, pp. 111-12 in Peter Duignan and L.H. Gann (eds.), *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960*. Vol. 4. and Howard, pp. 85-90.

¹² Fieldhouse, p. 646.

¹³ Brett, pp. 115-16.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76 and 116.

¹⁵ Montague Yudelman, *Imperialism and the Transfer of Agricultural Techniques*, pp. 350-51 in Peter Duignan and L.H. Gann (eds.), *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960*, Vol. 4. and Brett, pp. 122-23.

¹⁶ Amery, p. 345.

leaders. Reliance on the existing institutions of justice and administration was the result of practical needs. To some extent this also happened in northern Nigeria, which became an example of indirect rule in practice for other British dependencies.¹⁷ Charles Temple, who has already been quoted, defined indirect rule as follows in the year 1918:

"By Indirect Rule I mean a system of administration by which European influence is brought to bear on the native indirectly, through his chiefs, and not directly through European officers ... the European keeps himself a good deal in the background, and leaves the mass of native individuals to understand that the orders which come to them emanate from their own Chief rather than from the all-pervading white man."¹⁸

Temple's definition reveals one central idea of indirect rule, namely the direction of European rule and influence to the ordinary population through their own chiefs, the existing authorities. Because funds and officials were lacking and new areas were constantly added to the colonizing power's sphere of influence indirect rule was an economical system of administration. But from Temple's definition it may also be concluded that the European official and European influence in general must remain as insignificant as possible in relation to the majority of the population. Temple insisted that the main task of the official was to create a situation as similar as possible to the existing or perhaps the former system when emirs ruled the community beyond the reach of external influence. In his work *The Dual Mandate*, which appeared in 1922 and became the Bible of indirect rule, Lord Frederick Lugard, who as Governor directed the union of northern and southern Nigeria, stated that in the long run the old system could not be preserved. He demanded its speedy adaptation to new conditions and the establishment of a recognized, legal tribal administration in order to prevent social chaos. Lugard assigned great responsibility to chiefs and to the colonial officials guiding them. These officials must reinforce the authority of the chiefs and encourage their initiative, help them to adapt changing circumstances to old ones. At the same time the best elements of the existing community must be maintained and developed, while the destruction of national solidarity and the slavish imitation of the West must be avoided. Briefly, Lugard regarded the solidarity of tribal communities and the training of their leaders as keys to the governance of backward races.¹⁹

Lugard in fact did not deny the inevitability of change in African communities under colonial rule and regarded their political leaders, emirs and chiefs as intermediaries in the social organization of new and old. In order to

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¹⁷ For a Nigerian example see Gifford, pp. 375-78 and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene's introduction in A.H.M. Kirk-Greene (ed.), *The Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria. Selected Documents 1900-1947*, p. 3.

¹⁸ Temple, p. 67.

¹⁹ Frederick Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, pp. 217-18.

play this part, however, they must be trained. Governor Donald Cameron also drew attention to the educative function of indirect rule in finding a reason for the latter's implementation in Tanganyika in the mid-1920s. Well versed in the experiences of Nigeria, Cameron²⁰ directed a new form of rule in Tanganyika which served in turn as a model for similar innovations in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland about the year 1930.²¹

At the first session of the Legislative Council of Tanganyika in 1926 Cameron explained the factors behind his innovation. For the future of the African, said Cameron, the most important point was not to ensure his capacity as a producer but as a member of the state. But what kind of state? Cameron believed that because of education some proportion of Africans in the future would claim for themselves a large share in the rule of the country, and then the only practical form of administration was European. Cameron forecast that such an evolution would take "a century or two or three" – a European system of rule was not a topical question in Tanganyika. By taking part in indirect rule, on the other hand, Africans would share in the rule of their country at once, explained Cameron. At the same time the status given to the chiefs would construct a "bulwark" against political agitators. Such were Europeanized natives who might threaten the system in future by seeking political influence and attempting to rule the country in European style.²²

The doctrine of indirect rule and its practical applications were not merely answer to the shortage of administrative officials and funds. Indirect rule was also a political doctrine through which the traditional leaders – real or imagined – together with other authorities of African communities were secured if possible as instruments of colonial rule, at the same time preventing political and social unrest. Africans becoming Europeanized were feared as forerunners of undesirable political activism. Their prestige was not necessarily based on the prevailing power system, and in seeking opportunities to exert an influence by their own activity they might also offend against the "sanctified" hierarchy of colonial rule. Of such a development India was a warning example, and there were signs of strengthening nationalism also on the African continent during the 1920s. Analyzing the realization of indirect rule in Tanganyika John Iliffe notes that Cameron – like Lugard – saw the dangers represented by Europeanized Africans. Effective rule and political aspects were not the only reasons for the adoption of indirect rule, however. Iliffe points too to the despair over European values which appeared especially among English conservatives. Cameron also shared the scepticism of the period regarding the desirability

²⁰ For Cameron's years in Nigeria before his arrival in Tanganyika during 1925 see Harry A. Gailey, *Sir Donald Cameron. Colonial Governor*, pp. 9-32.

²¹ Gifford, pp. 351-91.

²² Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika Territory for the Year 1926. Col. 25, pp. 7-8. For Cameron's views on experience of indirect rule in Tanganyika see Sir Donald Cameron, *My Tanganyika Service and Some Nigeria*, pp. 75-118.

of merging European and non-European culture. Correspondingly, in missionary circles the scepticism in question was expressed in the theory of the "Volksmission".²³

2.3 Paternalistic care

The scrapping of European cultural values after the First World War should not be overestimated when deliberating the reasons given for avoiding the Europeanization of Africans in the 1920s. As noted earlier, political and economic factors at many levels exerted an influence when the alternatives of British African colonial policy were weighed in the 1920s. It should further be noted that between the world wars the leading ideology of colonial policy, paternalism, never called in question the supremacy of British culture in relation to the Africans.

The roots of paternalism can be sought in at least three quarters. As E.A. Brett has noted, its social background is to be found in the integration of cultural and moral conceptions among British colonial officials. These officials were products of highly respected schools and ancient universities, brought up in the virtues of honesty and obedience. In the colonies this was reflected as a feeling of moral superiority over the Africans, a sense of the immaturity and organic uniformity of those ruled.²⁴

In solving the problems of the Empire it was believed before the First World War that guardianship of subjects was a necessity, but when the war ended this belief received wide international approval. This was given concrete form in instructions issued to Britain, who had been assigned the rule of mandated territories by the League of Nations. The aim of mandatory rule was to promote to the maximum the material and moral wellbeing and the social progress of the inhabitants concerned. Although the instructions were directed to mandated territories they were regarded as minimum requirements for colonial rule elsewhere.²⁵

A third and final source of paternalism was the "dual mandate" theory, whose roots extended to the end of the 19th century but which grew in the 1920s by way of Lord Lugard's book of the same name into the dogma of colonial policy for the decade. Lugard's "dual mandate" doctrine put together the central problems of colonial rule and gave its own answers to them.

²³ The reference here was to the missiological trend led by Gustav Warneck in Germany at the end of the 19th century. It denied western materialism in the principles of mission work and proclaimed a Christianization of cultures which would finally have led to the foundation of national churches. Warneck warned against treating unfamiliar customs in the spirit of religious severity, also against confusing Christianity with Europeanization and Americanization. According to Iliffe Cameron too had acquainted himself in London with the theorists of the "Volksmission". See Marcia Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika 1891-1941*. Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands, pp 3-20 and Iliffe, pp. 320-21.

²⁴ Brett, pp. 38-42.

²⁵ Kenneth Robinson, *The Dilemmas of Trusteeship. Aspects of British Colonial Policy Between the Wars*, pp. 19-21.

To Lugard it was not right that the natural resources of Africa should remain unused because Africans themselves did not understand their value and use. Who forbids the starving people of Europe to make use of the squandered fruits of nature, he asked. European knowledge capital and energy had not penetrated into Africa merely for philanthropic reasons. Having brought Africans to a higher level of progress, they were there at the same time for the sake of the European industrial population.²⁶

In accordance with paternalistic ideology the British had a right to be in Africa and were held to it by their moral convictions, international responsibility and legitimate faith in the economic benefit they received in recompense for the sacred task of civilization. In the 1920s these views were widely accepted in England. The most prominent politicians of the decade at the Colonial Office, Milner, Amery and Ormsby-Gore were sure of the need for economic, social and especially educational development in Africa.²⁷ In defending indirect rule Amery and Ormsby-Gore believed in its importance as a political educator.²⁸ Conservatives, Liberals and Socialists apart from the radical left wing approved the ruling status of European capital in Africa.²⁹ Among colonial politicians, officials, conservative industrial circles and humanitarians of the Liberal and Labour Parties development of the colonies was equivalent to improving the output of their primary products in the service of the mother country's industry.³⁰ Better exploitation of African resources and education of the African people will not solve all our commercial problems, but they will help greatly toward their solution – so wrote Edwin W. Smith, a well-known mission worker and anthropologist in 1926. Paternalism as part of the “dual mandate” theory was not in fact an unfamiliar way of thinking to the church and missions.³¹

²⁶ Lugard (1926), pp. 613-17.

²⁷ Robinson, pp. 21-22.

²⁸ Hetherington, pp. 137 and 151.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 154-57.

³⁰ Brett, pp. 74-76.

³¹ Edwin W. Smith, *The Golden Stool. Some Aspects of the Conflict of Cultures in Modern Africa*, p. 111.

■ 3. Division of Work between Missions and Colonial Administration in Education of Africans before the 1920s

3.1 Missions as pioneers of education

Although missions may be considered the pioneers of western education in various parts of Africa, they were not the initiators. African peoples had their own traditional ways of transmitting knowledge and skills from one generation to another.¹ In such occasions of upbringing and education, as later in education provided by Europeans, representatives of religious ritual and temporal power were present.²

In communities where professional specialization had advanced further and wealth, status and power were distributed less evenly the educational system too was specialized and formal educational occasions held an important position. In the West African kingdom of Ashanti, for instance, there were court schools which gave instruction to officials serving the administration.³ Before the coming of European mission workers formal education in Africa had reached its furthest point in areas where the faith of Islam was strong. Wherever Islamic communities arose teachers were needed to instruct children and young people and to direct religious life. In addition to teachers and religious leaders Koranic schools and Islamic

¹ The traditional upbringing of Africans is often divided into formal and informal occasions of upbringing and education. If children and young people acquired the knowledge and skills of life by accompanying parents and relations to the fields, with herds of cattle, on hunting trips, in the care of children, in home tasks or by listening to the tales of older people, the cultural tradition changed direction by way of informal instructive situations. Formal education was often linked with various initiation ceremonies in which young members of the community were transferred to another institution which was important from the standpoint of different age-groups or the community itself. For the traditional upbringing of Africans see Pierre Emy, *The Child and His Environment in Black Africa* (Nairobi 1981), T.J.L. Forde, *Indigenous Education in Sierra Leone*, pp. 65-75 in Godfrey N. Brown and Mervyn Hisket, (eds.), *Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa*, P. Ocitti, *African Indigenous Education as Practised by the Acholi of Uganda* (Kampala 1973) and Blakemoore and Cooksey, pp. 16-19.

² With regard to Tanganyika see Andrew Roberts, *Political Change in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 58 in I.N. Kimambo and A.J. Temu (eds.), *A History of Tanzania*. Roberts states that during the 19th century in various communities of Tanganyika users of ritual power lost their power to military and economic leaders.

³ Blakemoore and Cooksey, pp. 19-20. In addition to the example of Ashanti the authors mention the Nigeria Nupe people among whom artisans changed their vocational skill by way of restricted professional guilds. John Tosh has noted that an upbringing at the court of the Nigerian Yoruba people provided a different political and social future from that offered by the camp education of the same people to the children of artisans. John Tosh, *Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango. The Political History of an East African Stateless Society c. 1800-1939*, pp. 54-59 and 64-69.

universities produced officials for the temporal tasks of administration and economic life.⁴

In many areas these learned messengers of Islam came into serious conflict with traditional African religious leaders.⁵ The same problem arose with European mission workers when they started the work of teaching and conversion in earnest at the start of the 19th century in Africa.⁶ It was no accident that the first centre of mission work in West Africa was Sierra Leone, where workers of the English Church Missionary Society (CMS) began their activity in 1804. Sierra Leone was a place of assembly for emancipated slaves, where the colonial government collaborated with missions to convert the population to Christianity and to teach them other European ways of living. Removed from their home districts and with the practice of their own religion and language restricted, emancipated slaves learned English and listened to promises of a better life by missionaries. In West African coastal districts school and church worked hand in hand to produce a creole elite whose cultural influence was felt not only in Sierra Leone but widely elsewhere in West Africa before European expansion began. In the course of decades missionary school activity became more widespread and at the same time the need arose for a level of education higher than the primary. In 1845 CMS opened an intermediate school for boys (Grammar School) in Sierra Leone, and the same opportunity for girls was provided four years later. At Fourah Bay a teacher training college was started; in 1876 it became a University College of the University of Durham in Northern England.⁷

As in West Africa, mission work in the eastern parts of Africa concentrated first on the coastal area. In 1844 Johann Krapf, a German in the service of CMS, had arrived in Mombasa, present-day Kenya,⁸ but more permanent mission work in this area took root only in the mid 1870s, when at Freretown near Mombasa a base was established for emancipated African slaves. Here and at the mission centre of Rabai some way inland there grew up African communities numbering hundreds of Christians among whom educational work was of central importance. In these centres at the end of the 19th

⁴ J. Spencer Trimingham, *A History of Islam in West Africa*, pp. 143-44 and I.M. Lewis, *Agents of Islamization*, pp. 27-30 in I.M. Lewis (ed.), *Islam in Tropical Africa*.

⁵ I.M. Lewis, the article mentioned, p. 29 and I.M. Lewis, *Islam and Traditional Belief and Ritual*, pp. 58-75 in I.M. Lewis, (ed.) *Islam in Tropical Africa*.

⁶ For examples of these conflicts Matthew Schoffeleers, *The Interaction of the M'Bona Cult and Christianity, 1858-1963*, pp. 14-25 in T.O. Ranger and John Weller (eds.), *Themes in the Christian History of Central Africa*. For initiation rites used in Christian education see Terence Ranger, *Missionary Adaption of African Religious Institutions. The Masasi Case*, pp. 14-26 in T.O. Ranger and I.N. Kimambo (eds.), *The Historical Study of African Religion*.

⁷ A full study of the history of schools in Sierra Leone has been made by D.L. Sumner in his work *Education in Sierra Leone*. For early phases of Grammar School and Fourah Bay see pp. 38, 51, 57, 63-67, 106-07, 114-115, 130. See too Christopher Fyfe, *Reform in West Africa: the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, pp. 47-50 in J.F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds.), *History of West Africa*. Vol. 2.

⁸ A.J. Temu, *British Protestant Missions*, p. 7.

century a total of over 350 schoolchildren were attending the separate establishments for boys and girls.⁹

Mission work became firmly established and expanded territorially inland as colonial conquests proceeded and colonial rule consolidated. Although government representatives left African education mainly to the missions they were not entirely out of contact with educational policy. On the Gold Coast the government had founded its own schools in the early 19th century¹⁰ and had published a recommendation in 1852 (An Ordinance to provide for the better education of the inhabitants of Her Majesty's forts and settlements on the Gold Coast) which aimed at the instruction of teachers in schools supported by the government. Attempts to increase the number of government schools by this means remained unfulfilled, however, partly through shortage of teachers, partly through insufficient financing.¹¹ In 1862 the government decided to assist the mission schools financially. At the end of the century new regulations caused this aid to be appointed in accordance with results achieved by the schools.¹²

A similar attitude to mission school work on the part of colonial rule continued for a long period elsewhere in West Africa. Aid was irregular until in 1882 legislation applying to the whole of British West Africa sought to specify the division of work between governments and missions. In its main features the 1882 ordinance had the same provisions for Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria, while in details note was taken of the special conditions in each colony.¹³ For Sierra Leone the main points were:

1. The setting up of a Board of Education, to consist of the members of the Executive Council, together with four nominated members, of whom three were to represent the Missionary Societies.
2. The payment of grants-in-aid to private schools if they were open to all children irrespective of race and religion.
3. The better training and certification of teachers.
4. The establishment of schools including industrial schools, to be administered and financed by Government.¹⁴

The legislation of 1882 shows that in West Africa the colonial administration wished to assume a more active role in the education of Africans. In the innovations which were aimed at many details point to the example followed by England, the mother country, with regard to the setting up of Boards of Education, financial aid by the government and closer supervision.¹⁵ On the Nigerian side A. Babs Fafunwa notes that it was the English legislation which had served as an example for the conditions under which the government

⁹ Robert W. Strayer, *The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa. Anglicans and African in Colonial Kenya, 1875-1935*, pp. 14-21.

¹⁰ Foster, p. 49.

¹¹ H.O.A. McWilliam, *The Development of Education in Ghana*, pp. 26-28.

¹² Foster, p. 83.

¹³ R.J. Mason, *British Education in Africa*, p. 23.

¹⁴ Hilliard, p. 27.

¹⁵ See Graham, pp. 112-13.

granted aid to the missions. Aid intended for the payment of teachers depended, in fact, on school organization, discipline, number of examinations, general efficiency, number of subjects studied and average school attendance.¹⁶

Thus regulations controlling relations between church and state in England pointed the way for legislative decisions between governments and missions in African colonies. Indirectly the Colonial Office in London also influenced the framework of collaboration, though the immediate importance of this should not be overemphasized. Before the 1920s the Colonial Office issued only one comprehensive recommendation for the education of subjects in the African colonies. This was in 1847 in the form of a report by a Committee set up by the Privy Council to discuss education. The report was sent to the West Indies and West Africa with the hope that vocational and agricultural colleges be established in these territories. Such schools would have provided both theoretical and practical instruction, and pupils would have contributed to their maintenance by their own work.¹⁷ In the same way J.S. Laurie, reporting on education conditions in Sierra Leone for the Colonial Office, at the end of the 1860s recommended special government aid to schools whose instruction included carpentry and agriculture for boys and weaving and housekeeping for girls. Although these recommendations in their original form were not carried out immediately the procedure sketched by Laurie became general in British West Africa at the end of the 19th century.¹⁸

Among the objectives imposed on the educational work of missions the connection of theory and practice, that is simultaneous instruction in literacy and the use of the plough had been matters of public interest throughout the 19th century. This is partly explained by the struggle against slavery, in whose wake the expansion of mission work to Africa occurred. It is well known that in England the slave trade was resisted not only by humanitarians but also by representatives of trade and industry hoping that the country would be swiftly industrialized. By this body the civilizing work of mission employees in barbaric Africa could be seen as a means of spreading such knowledge and such skills in Africa as would contribute also to the ending of the slave trade. Western Europe, where industrialism was growing, awaited new export products from Africa whose transmission had not been advanced by slavery.¹⁹ Even David Livingstone, in the mid-19th century attacking slavery which was still strong in East Africa, appealed also

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¹⁶ A. Babs Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria*, p. 94. For relations of church and state in English education see John Lawson and Harold Silver, *A Social History of Education in England*, pp. 226-31, 268-270, 315-19 and James Murphy, *Church, State and Schools in Britain, 1800-1970*, pp. 31-60.

¹⁷ Foster, pp 54-56 and Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African. A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education*, p. 130.

¹⁸ Sumner, pp. 81-84 and appendix VIII and Ashby, pp. 153-55.

¹⁹ Max Warren, *The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History*, pp. 17-35, J.B. Webster, A.A. Boahen and H.O. Idowu, *The Revolutionary Years in West Africa since 1800*, pp. 76-80 and Fyfe, pp. 33-35.

for "an open commerce for trade and Christianity".²⁰

There are many examples of attempts to change the substance of mission education from "booklearning" to practical skills in various parts of Africa in the second half of the 19th century.²¹ Historians of education note, however, that they were largely unsuccessful. In East Africa, when CMC from the 1880s onward began to offer more teaching in the Swahili language and more vocational instruction, lack of funds and the attitudes of mission leaders caused difficulties well into the 20th century.²² Regarding West Africa Foster notes that vocational training could not compete with other education. Africans did not send their children to schools which did not appear to provide opportunities for them to rise in the hierarchy of profession and status created by the colonial administration.²³

3.2 Greater activity by colonial governments

In West Africa during the 1880s there was a stronger tendency to guide relations between governments and missions by means of administrative orders; this was in the period of more active colonial conquest. A Berlin Conference in 1884-85 served to lay down the ground rules for the purpose of dividing Africa between European rivals. It was a long time, however, before territorially limited and occasionally renewed administrative instructions for the organization of African education guaranteed efficiently supervised and directed education for West Africa. On the Gold Coast chief responsibility for education still rested with missions after the instructions of the 1880s. According to Foster these instructions merely served to define the framework within which scanty government aid could be granted to individual schools.²⁴ In Nigeria missions increased the number of their schools as much on their own initiative as with government support.²⁵ Regarding primary education in Sierra Leone, E.G. Rowden, Director of the Education Department in Lagos, drew attention to many abuses in his report of 1909. Among his recommendations was a reduction of denominational schools maintained by the church.²⁶

Education management took a step forward when individual colonies were given special Education Departments in the central administration. On the Gold Coast this happened in 1887, in Sierra Leone in 1911 and in South Nigeria in 1903.²⁷ In East Africa Professor J. Nalson Fraser made a report in 1909 giving one of the main reasons for the poor quality of the educational

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²⁰ Roland Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, p. 11.

²¹ King, pp. 43-47.

²² Strayer, pp. 14-21 and Robert I. Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia 1880-1924*, p. 122.

²³ Foster, pp. 87 and 105-06. Compare with Ranger (1965), p. 69.

²⁴ Foster, pp. 82 and 104.

²⁵ Hilliard, p. 124 and Fafunwa, p. 95.

²⁶ Hilliard, p. 38.

²⁷ Gifford and Weiskel, p. 687.

system in Kenya: this was the lack of an organ to shape and govern educational policy. After this recommendation Kenya was given a Education Department with a Director and an Education Board consisting of representatives of the colonial government, missions and emigrants a few years later. As executants of the government-approved educational policy Fraser proposed the missions, and he recommended government aid for schools whose instruction included vocational subjects.²⁸

There were many problems which the establishment of Education Departments did not solve in African education. The activation of governments raised new questions, in fact: what would be the attitude of missions to the increased interest shown by governments and to the conditions attached to the granting of aid; would colonial governments be content to pursue their own educational aims through missions or would they found schools of their own to an increasing extent? How in general should the relation between theoretical and government-favoured practical education be regarded in Africa, and how should account be taken of the values and way of life behind original African culture? These questions exerted pressure for the specification and integration of educational policy in the colonies as in London.

A policy of integration required from the colonies ever more precise data on the state of African education. Reports and recommendations from various colonies during the 1910s still sought to clarify the division of work between government and missions and, more generally, to find remedies and new alternatives for educational policy. One pioneer was Hanns Vischer, who served as Director of the Northern Nigerian Education Department from 1914 to 1919.

Before taking office Vischer had presented a plan to the Governor and the Colonial Secretary indicating that the government should confine its educational work to Muslim territories. Thus missions would be given an opportunity to widen their educational contribution in other areas. Vischer made it a condition, however, that mission schools should be government-supervised. Before drawing up his plan Vischer had acquainted himself with school matters on the Gold Coast and in Lagos, Egypt and Sudan. Contact, especially with James Currie, Director of the Sudan Education Department from 1900 was important because Currie had been in correspondence with Governor Lugard on the subject of Muslim education. Vischer found much to praise in the work of the Sudan Education Department. Collaboration between the Department and the Muslim sheiks increased the popularity of education and jointly directed schools were also a means of reducing among the rising generation the influence of fanatics pursuing religious and political ends.²⁹ The Sudan educational system had been constructed with Indian problems in mind, and the reforms carried out in India, adopted also in Sudan, were now transmitted through Vischer to West Africa.³⁰

²⁸ Schilling, pp. 98-100.

²⁹ Sonia Graham, pp. 67-75.

³⁰ Mohamed Omer Beshir, *Educational Development in the Sudan 1898-1956*, pp. 26-28.

According to Vischer the purpose of education in Northern Nigeria was 1) to develop the national and racial characteristics of the natives on such lines as will enable them to use their own moral and physical forces to the best advantage; 2) to widen their mental horizons without destroying their respect for race and parentage; 3) to supply men for employment under the Government; 4) to produce men who would be able to carry on the native administration in the spirit of the Government; 5) to impart sufficient knowledge of Western ideas to enable the native to meet the influx of traders, etc. from the coast with the advent of the railway, on equal terms; 6) to avoid creating a "Babu" class; and 7) to avoid encouraging the idea, readily formed by Africans, that it is more honourable to sit in an office than to earn a living by manual labour, by introducing at the earliest opportunity technical instruction side by side with purely clerical teaching.³¹

The policy of innovation in Nigeria was not confined to Vischer's plans. In 1914 Lugard drew up an exhaustive memorandum which illustrated quite openly the problems facing education. In it he recognized the great contribution made by the missions, but also some unfavourable results. The government should examine carefully criticisms which had been levelled at the school work of the missions and think out necessary innovations. Lugard himself perceived two main abuses:

- a) The young men are unreliable and lack integrity, self-control and discipline, and show no respect for authority; a large proportion are ill-educated.
- b) The output is insufficient, so that Nigeria has not only to draw on neighbouring West African Colonies (90 % of the Native Clerical Staff of the Northern Provinces are not natives of Nigeria), but also on the West Indies etc.³²

Lugard's accusations against education provided by missions should not be exaggerated, however, He was prepared to continue collaboration between government and missions and to seek solutions which mission workers could approve.³³ But it was clear that in the mid-1910s the colonial government of Nigeria was making still more definite conditions than those already imposed on this collaboration. The government insisted, for instance, that it should supervise all the country's schools including those which did not receive government aid. At the same time government and mission schools must follow similar methods of discipline and teaching as far as possible.³⁴

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³¹ Graham, pp. 75-76.

³² Frederick Lugard, Memorandum on Education in Nigeria, 12.11.1915, p. 1.

³³ For example E.A. Ayandale, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914. A Political and Social Analysis*, p. 303.

³⁴ F.D. Lugard, Memo. 4. Education, 1919, p. 132 in A.H.M. Kirk-Greene (ed.), *Lord Lugard. Political Memoranda. Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political & Administrative 1913-1918*. See too F.D. Lugard, *Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration, 1912-1919*. Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty. Cmd. 468, pp. 59-67.

In instructions accompanying the Education Ordinance of 1916 the efficient inspection of schools was emphasized as a condition of government assistance. Of the sum awarded 30 % was decided on the basis of school atmosphere, discipline, organization and moral instruction.³⁵ When Lugard's plans to unite the Education Departments of Northern and Southern Nigeria were opposed in London Vischer's concepts remained as guidelines for educational policy in Northern Nigeria for the next few years.³⁶

In Nigeria the aims of increasing the number of those educated and also to direct the substance of education led to increased control by the colonial government. As in Nigeria, the Gold Coast colonial government found a revision of educational policy necessary at the end of the 1910s. Despite the budgetary obligations of the First World War³⁷ the government was able to increase appropriations for education, as was seen in the numbers concerned.

Table 1. Estimated expenditure on education (£) and enrolment of pupils in government and assisted schools in the Gold Coast 1912-1917.

Year	Amount (£)	Enrolment of pupils in government schools	Enrolment of pupils in assisted schools
1912	26,793	2,304	16,220
1914	29,903	2,620	17,626
1917	37,511	3,559	21,165

Source: Legislative Council of the Gold Coast. Message addressed by His Excellency the Governor to the Legislative Council when presenting the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the Year 1919, p. 65.

After the war Governor Hugh Clifford was satisfied with development during the war years, but did not consider the appropriations received by education sufficient. The aim he proposed was to provide primary education for all children of school age in the Colony and in Ashanti. Clifford did not believe that the missions would be able to respond to the challenge this implied, though he believed they were prepared to approve the aim and to assist in its achievement.³⁸

Gordon Guggisberg, who followed Clifford as Governor in 1919 shared the attitude of his predecessor and demanded reforms for the Gold Coast educational system which were urgent and also far-reaching. The govern-

³⁵ Nigeria, Regulations made under the Education Ordinance, 1916, p. 10.

³⁶ Albert Ozigi and Lawrence Ocho, Education in Northern Nigeria, pp. 44-49.

³⁷ Michael Crowder, The 1914-1918 War and West Africa, p. 505 in Ajayi and Crowder (eds.), History of West Africa. Vol. 2.

³⁸ Legislative Council of the Gold Coast, Message addressed by His Excellency the Governor to the Legislative Council when presenting the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the Year 1919. 28.10.1918, pp. 65 and 68-69.

ment must give more systematic encouragement to schools receiving aid and must achieve better collaboration between Education Department and private schools. First on the list of reforms, however, was reorganization and expansion of the Education Department.³⁹ In 1920 Guggisberg set up a Committee to make clear how reform work should be carried out. Having completed its work rapidly the Committee noted in its final report of May 1920 that close collaboration was in progress between government and missions. If Education Department and missions on their own account understood each other's special duties and difficulties there would be no disturbance of collaboration in future, the report predicted.⁴⁰ Collaboration was desired, but for its realization the Gold Coast colonial government wished to impose certain as yet not clearly defined conditions.

Similarly in the eastern and middle parts of the African continent from 1915 to 1920 there was a search for procedures suited to the purpose of collaboration between government and missions. In Uganda the two parties were negotiating their future collaboration in the autumn of 1918. Here too the government had promised additional financial aid to mission schools.⁴¹ At the beginning of the 1920s the four most important missions of Uganda had what amounted to a monopoly of education at all levels.⁴² In Northern Rhodesia the Native Schools Proclamation enacted in 1918 provided that the opening and maintenance of schools should depend on colonial government assent.⁴³ In Kenya during July 1918 the government had appointed a special Committee to examine the educational requirements of all races in the country. In its final report the Committee stated that except in the Muslim coastal area the expansion of African education would best be carried out through the existing organizations of the missions.⁴⁴

3.3 The warning of India

From the mission standpoint active participation by colonial governments in educational matters signified greater uncertainty in future. Although in Kenya it was believed that education would best expand through the missions, attitudes throughout British Africa were not equally favourable. On the other hand, for the leading bodies of Protestant missions Africa was not the only or the greatest cause of anxiety before the First World War.

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³⁹ Address on Education delivered His Excellency the Governor at the Opening of the February Session of the Gold Coast Legislative Council, 1920, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁰ Report of the Educationists Committee appointed by His Excellence the Governor on the 5th March, 1920 to Advise the Government on Educational Matters, together with Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee, p. 65.

⁴¹ J.H. Oldham, A Survey of the Effect of the War Upon Missions. V. Christian Education. IRM. Vol. IX. No. 33, 1920, p. 10.

⁴² O.W. Furley and T. Watson, A History of Education in East Africa, p. 186.

⁴³ Text of Northern Rhodesia Native School Proclamation 1918 No. 3, 1918, p. 1. Box 1212. Northern Rhodesia. File, Education General. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 50.

⁴⁴ Report of the Education Commission of the East Africa Protectorate, 1919, p. 6.

Events in Asia especially inspired the thought of a more integrated policy of education by missions in the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910.⁴⁵

At this Conference a special commission on education affairs found several weaknesses and dangers which threatened the status of missions in education on the mission fields. Part of the criticism was directed to the substance and methods of teaching, which were seen as estranging converted Christians from their fellow human beings and which did not meet the requirements of the pupils' future life. The reason for these weaknesses was found in English and American teaching methods and the use of the English language.⁴⁶

But the Edinburgh Conference was not convened merely for the sake of these educational weaknesses. One reason for the meeting was the rise of nationalism in Asia, which set problems for all mission work including education.⁴⁷ National agitation in Japan and China had appeared in the form of demands by the educational systems of those countries, and elsewhere in British dependencies the missions observed that education supervised and financed by government was expanding. This made the missions uneasy, for they feared that with their poorer resources they might be forced to provide a poorer form of education and at the same time to fall out of the mainstream of educational development. To resist this threat greater concerted efforts than before were needed by the missions.⁴⁸

Regarding Africa the Edinburgh Conference had little to offer as yet. Rising Asian nationalism overshadowed African affairs and the tightening grip of western colonialism there.⁴⁹ The Conference did however take note of the dangers to white mission schools arising from the foundation of independent churches, the Ethiopianist movement which had spread from South Africa to the Zambezi.⁵⁰ Similarly the tendency to stress the importance of education as a communicator of practical skills in Africa received the blessing of Edinburgh.⁵¹

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⁴⁵ From the standpoint of Protestant mission work the Edinburgh Conference had a great importance for future decades. Not only was the expansion of mission work and its internal state examined there more widely than ever before, but the continuation of collaboration in international mission work was also guaranteed. See Martin Schlunk, *Kristillisen lähetystyön historia*, pp. 198-201.

⁴⁶ World Missionary Conference, 1910, Report of Commission III. Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life, pp. 5-8.

⁴⁷ As influential factors in the background of the Edinburgh Conference Hogg has listed the Boxer rebellion in China, the difficult situation of the Manchu dynasty, Japan's defeat of Russia in 1904 and rising nationalism (especially in Turkey), the expansion of Islam and the national, economic and social tendencies connected with notions of race. Hogg, p. 104.

⁴⁸ World Missionary Conference, Report of Commission III, pp. 5-8.

⁴⁹ See Hogg, p. 104.

⁵⁰ The first independent church was founded in South Africa during 1833. In the following decade several "Ethiopian" churches were founded in South Africa. The churches were so named because their supporters asserted an independent, black appropriation of an ancient Biblical and Christian inheritance. They echoed the words of the Psalmist (Ps. 68.31) and recalled the apostle Philip's baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch. See Gray, pp. 148-58.

⁵¹ For the effect of war on mission work in Africa see C.P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*. Vol. IV, 1914-1954, pp. 9-81.

After the Edinburgh Conference collaboration between the Protestant churches increased although the turmoil of the First World War imposed limits on this. During and after the war the main focus of Protestant educational work remained in Asia. One move concerning Africa should be noted, however. It happened in April 1914, when a group dealing with Christian education as part of a Continuation Committee set up in Edinburgh proposed sending a study Commission to West Africa. The Commission was to examine West African educational questions as widely as possible and was to be guaranteed adequate representation of the missions.⁵²

A.H.L. Fraser, Chairman of the above-mentioned group, submitted a proposal on this matter to the Colonial Office, which did not warm to it, however.⁵³ An interesting point in the memorandum sent to the Office was a demand for creation of "a national spirit" in Africa. Interesting at least if by "national spirit" is meant even slight political activity in West Africa. Lugard had warned of this and had spoken of the danger of African newspapers circulated among African schoolboys;⁵⁴ political agitation in West Africa could not be completely disregarded, in fact. Since A.H.L. Fraser was a former Deputy Governor of Benegal and a Fraser work group had been active in Indian questions it was naturally aware of the political associations of "national spirit". Thus Fraser and his companions stressed the creation of "national spirit" in relation to the land, to manual skills and the language, not directly to political consciousness. They wished for stimulation of the African countryside and traditions, not for westernized political agitation.⁵⁵ A memorandum issued by the missions in 1914 contained many ideas for the realization of Hanns Vischer's Nigerian educational reforms combined with notions expressed some years earlier.

Because of London's parsimonious attitude Colonial Secretary Harcourt suggested local approaches instead of sending a Commission. In each colony missions should formulate practical proposals to meet local needs, having submitted them to governments for attention and discussion.⁵⁶ At this stage, in fact, the Colonial Office wished to leave the practical decisions of educational policy at colony level, and a similar new proposal by the missions had to wait some five years for concrete realization.

In any case a proposal of 1914 tells of the growing anxiety of missions over their position in West Africa as early as the mid 1910s and of their wish to clarify the situation in collaboration with the Colonial Office. In this way it led

⁵² Fraser to Harcourt 3.4.1914. Box 263. West Africa. File, Education, General Material. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 1.

⁵³ Butler to Fraser 17.6.1914 and Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference. Committee on Education in West Africa. Submitted by the Chairman to the Hon. L. Harcourt, Colonial Secretary. April 3, 1914. Box 263. West Africa. File, Education, General Material. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 1 and 2.

⁵⁴ Lugard (1919), p. 126.

⁵⁵ Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference. Committee on Education in West Africa, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁶ Butler to Fraser 17.6.1914.

to the beginning of closer collaboration later. The proposal to send a study Commission to West Africa occurred at the same time as Frederick Lugard's critical evaluations of the state of education in Nigeria.⁵⁷ Likewise, many abuses in the Sierra Leone educational system had been made public several years earlier. Against this background the request to send a Commission to West Africa was not a misguided phenomenon. The same is proved by the above-mentioned memorandum sent to Harcourt on this matter.

In this memorandum the missions admitted that government criticism had increased especially with regard to the substance of education provided by the missions and the discipline of schools, but they saw no hostility in this. All in all Fraser's proposal contained unreservedly the hope of collaboration between government and missions. In the common aims of African educational policy the missions saw many acceptable principles. The status of religion in African schools caused the missions no anxiety, and on the secular side of teaching the memorandum recognized as a starting point the economic and social processes of change taking place in Africa.⁵⁸

In peacetime and with a growing population the country's productivity was confronted with greater and greater challenges, trade seemed to be surpassing all expectations and Africa was also rich in natural resources. On this foundation Africa, if well administered, had hopes of swift development toward a civilized society. At this critical moment, however, Africans needed well directed education which would prepare them for new conditions and lead them on the paths of progress. This matter affected government as much as missions. The memorandum issued by the missions left no doubt that the basis of all education received by the negro race was the point of departure for an emerging industrial society.⁵⁹

Study of the West African educational situation came to nothing in 1914, and the next decisive steps toward integration of educational policy in Africa by missions and colonial administration came only several years later. In the war years missions were interested in their own freedom of action and in securing the position of German missions.⁶⁰ After the war "commission policy" took on new speed, but first in the direction of India, where again there were problems. In 1919-1920 the Principal of Ceylon Trinity College Alexander Fraser, son of A.H.L. Fraser and brother-in-law of J.H. Oldham, led a British-American study Commission in India. Thus through personal relations the affairs of India and Africa were linked closely together.

In India missions were anxious because matters of education were being transferred to provincial governments to an increasing extent, with the result that non-Christian Indians had a say in affairs and financial support

⁵⁷ Lugard, Memorandum on Education, 12.11.1915. Appendix I. Speech on Education by His Excellency the Governor-General. 4.4.1914.

⁵⁸ Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference. Committee on Christian Education, Memorandum on Education in West Africa. Box 263. West Africa. File, Education, General Material. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 1.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Hogg, pp. 169-89.

from provincial governments was not so reliable as from the British. In the Commission's final report, however, this was not noted as a serious problem. The danger was rather that in the eyes of ordinary people government and missions were identified together and it was therefore necessary to stress the part played by the missions as representatives of the highest Christian consciousness in the western world.⁶¹

After India the next move of "commission policy" took place in Africa. Fraser's Indian Commission was a joint venture of British and American missions, and in the same manner combined work was continued in the direction of Africa. There too one of the foremost questions was the relation between missions and colonial governments. The International Missionary Council and especially its Secretary J.H. Oldham perceived storm signals after the war not only in Asia but also in Africa. When Oldham in the early 1920s brought up the effects of war on mission work and education particularly, the Fraser Commission was still in India. In addition to Indian matters Oldham commented on African mission work, where there were favourable but also, as noted, disquieting features. The Uganda colonial government's promises to increase further the aid offered to mission schools was one of the favourable features. Oldham was also satisfied with the reforms of Nigerian educational policy. In the 1916 Nigerian Education Ordinance and the instructions following it Oldham valued highly the emphasis on development of character and the insistence on compulsory moral and religious education in government schools and in those receiving government aid.⁶² Among British missions the Nigerian Education Ordinance had been given a favourable reception as soon as it came into force. It was considered eminently worth supporting by the missions, who believed that, like Nigeria, other West African colonial governments would welcome collaboration between government and missions if the latter evolved a judicious educational policy.⁶³

Alongside the good news from Uganda and Nigeria came the Native Schools Proclamation for Northern Rhodesia in 1918, which was condemned by Oldham. This had been devised, he said, without hearing the missions, although all education in Northern Rhodesia was in their hands. Similarly Oldham criticised the strict rules imposed by the government for the opening and direction of schools.⁶⁴

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⁶¹ For the increase of state responsibility in the Indian educational system see Shiv Kumar Saini, *Development of Education in India. Socioeconomic and Political Perspectives*, pp. 45-55, Arthur Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India. An Examination of the Christian Forces at Work in the Administration of India and of the Mutual Relations of the British Government and Christian Missions 1600-1920*, p. 170, Bruce Tiebout McCully, *English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism*, pp. 141-44 and 167, Sidheswar Saika, *History of Education in India*, pp. 33-42, R.P. Singh, *Education in an Imperial Colony*, pp. 118-122, Surenda Prasad Sinha, *English in India. A Historical Study with Particular Reference to English Education in India*, pp. 85-112 and Basu, pp. 63, 93-99 and 228-34.

⁶² Oldham (1920), pp. 8-11.

⁶³ Conference on Christian Education in West Africa 18.7.1916, Minutes, p. 3. and Oldham to Fraser 31.7.1916. Box 263. West Africa. File, Education, General Material. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 2.

⁶⁴ Oldham (1920), p. 10. For pioneering mission work in education in Northern Rhodesia see Rotberg, pp. 107-26.

Collaboration, in fact, did not proceed throughout Africa without snags, and if problems of India were studied with the aid of a Commission, why not those of Africa also? Such a proposal had been made before the war, and the local solutions recommended by the Colonial Office did not appear to serve the interests of the missions in all respects. While Fraser was still in India plans for the dispatch of a survey Commission to Africa had already started.

The proposal to send this Commission was made by the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society to the central organ of North American missions serving abroad (The Committee of Reference and Council of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America). In autumn 1919 the American Phelps-Stokes Fund had promised to finance the venture.⁶⁵ American-British collaboration was evident in the membership of the Commission. It was led by Dr Thomas Jesse Jones, born in Wales but having done his life-work in the United States. As an expert on the educational affairs of the American black population he had in 1916 published a report in two parts: *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States*. Recommended in this for the black population is an education suited to their own needs.⁶⁶ In the southern United States this meant supremacy of agriculture and industrial skills over academic knowledge.⁶⁷ Besides Jones the Commission contained the Americans Henry Stanley Hollenback who had served as a missionary in Angola and whose speciality was the instruction of Africans in health, hygiene, agriculture and animal husbandry and the Commission Secretary Leo A. Roy, an expert on industrial education for black pupils.⁶⁸ In March 1920 the British missions had decided to appoint their own representative to the Commission because they believed that the Commission's survey would then have a more favourable effect in England. A. W. Wilkie was chosen.⁶⁹ He had done mission work on the Gold Coast, where his achievements for education had previously won recognition from Oldham. Finally the Commission included James Emman Aggrey, an African-born teacher, who had continued his education in the United States.⁷⁰

The Commission began its journey to Africa in August 1920 from Liverpool, and the following year Jones reported on results to the English government and missions.⁷¹ A few months later Oldham published his *Papers on Educational Problems in Mission Fields*, which evaluated the state

⁶⁵ Phelps-Stokes Fund was established in 1911. Its purpose was to support in particular the education of black Americans and Africans together with research work connected with it. See James H. Hilliard, Thomas J. Jones, Charlie T. Loran, Joseph H. Oldham, Anson Phelps-Stokes and Monroe Work, *Twenty Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1911-1931* (New York 1931).

⁶⁶ See Oldham's review on Jones' book in *IRM*. Vol. VII. No. 26, 1918, pp. 242-47.

⁶⁷ King, pp. 33-34 and 56.

⁶⁸ Thomas J. Jones, *Education in Africa: A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa* by the the Education African Education Commission, pp. XIII- XVI.

⁶⁹ Jones (1922), p. XIV.

⁷⁰ Oldham to Fraser 31.7.1916. Box 263. West Africa. File, Education, General Material. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 2.

⁷¹ Jones (1922), p. XVII-XVIII.

of mission work and education. If this publication is compared with the final report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1922, many connections can be observed. The journeys of these Commissions to India and Africa had indicated to Oldham in great detail the strategy of the future. He was within his rights here because in June 1920 the International Missionary Council in Crans, Switzerland had appointed him to give special attention to educational matters because the state had tightened its grip on them.⁷² In October 1921 he was given authority to continue this work at Lake Mohonk, New York, USA.⁷³

It was for the purposes of the Lake Mohonk Conference that Oldham's above-mentioned publication weighing up the problems of education had been written. In it the fact was noted that mission workers in future must work in quite a different world. If this were not understood, Christian education in Asia and Africa would be a thing of the past. Naturally Oldham again expressed his anxiety over the growing interest in educational matters shown by governments, but besides this there were other challenges to the school work of the missions. Christian education everywhere must respond to new and higher standards, and to Oldham's mind a great step forward had been taken when it was found possible to adapt education to the life, environment and real needs of pupils. Oldham feared, however, that mission workers, administration representatives and school employees with their heavy load of work would not be able to keep in touch easily with the far-reaching changes occurring in the theory and practice of education. Next Oldham weighed up the activated interest of governments in educational matters and its connection with political aims. School was a place where a uniform culture was created as a basis of nationality, and therefore the state felt a political interest in the supervision of education.⁷⁴ Naturally Oldham also gave instructions for the future. The instruction of mission workers must be on as national a basis as possible. Their hope and their task should not be the instilment of western thinking, customs, traditions or social institutions in other people. Oldham did not of course approve absolute state control and direction in the development of a national education system, but demanded that the missions themselves should devise a clearly defined policy in a new situation. He found it important, however, for government and mission representatives to be in unofficial contact before the shaping of a final programme of educational policy.⁷⁵

Oldham's thoughts were not new. The compatibility of education and the "national spirit" had been mentioned by Vischer in Nigeria and by the

⁷² Minutes of the International Missionary Meeting Held at Crans Near Geneva. June 22-28, 1920, pp. 12 and 17-18.

⁷³ Minutes of the International Missionary Council. Lake Mohonk, New York. U.S.A. October 1-6, 1921, pp. 17-18.

⁷⁴ J.H. Oldham, Papers on Educational Problems in Mission Field, pp. 50-54. Compare with J.H. Oldham, Notes on the Educational Situation. Box 218. Africa General Education: Policy. File, Important Notes/1917/1925. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 212.

⁷⁵ Oldham (1921), pp. 56-65.

missions in their proposal to send a mission to West Africa in 1914. The report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission after the Lake Mohonk Conference was known to Oldham already, and it too drew attention to the new challenges of the national element. The report noted that a strong movement to nationalize education had embarrassed the missions. It recommended collaboration with the government in this matter, considering it more important than association on any other issue. The report favoured the following division of work. The government must ensure African opportunities for education which would enable them to play an effective part in the life of their colony. The best result would be reached by maintaining schools and helping to define the standard of education at all levels while also allowing other interests to found their own schools when these did not conflict with the welfare of the colony. The report praised the mission schools and private schools in general for their pioneering spirit and widespread activity. They completed the educational work of governments in areas where it was insufficient. They were experimental stations where new ideas were applied in practice and finally, of course, they were centres of Christian education.⁷⁶

The Phelps-Stokes Commission report, in fact, indicated in many ways the lines of activity to be followed by missions in their division of work with the government. The state's increased interest in and ultimate responsibility for the education of the colonial population were facts which must be accepted. The missions were prepared for collaboration but not of course to give up control of educational policy to government representatives alone. The task of the mission schools was to advance the Christian faith, yet in the "nationalization" of education, its adaptation to the African soil, government and missions seemed to be striking the same note in the definition of their purposes.

Oldham and the Phelps-Stokes Commission's final report swore by an ideology of adaptation which rejected the excessive westernizing influence of European education in Africa. This aim could not be disconnected from wider political phenomena, although Oldham in his publication addressed to Lake Mohonk denied the political aims of education. Kenneth King has also showed clearly that behind the journey made by the Phelps-Stokes Commission lay political factors. In the early spring of 1919 W.E.B. Dubois, leader of the Pan-African movement, was arranging in Paris the first Pan-African Congress; Dubois and Thomas Jesse Jones were known to be in deep disagreement on the nature of black American education. Dubois had strongly criticized the line represented by Jones, which provided practical education for negroes at the expense of booklearning. As Dubois saw it, such education showed a misuse of political power by white Americans. And at the same time as Dubois arranged the Congress in Paris, Dr Jones sought to accelerate the dispatch of the study Commission he would lead to Africa.⁷⁷

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⁷⁶ Jones (1922), pp. 90-91.

⁷⁷ King, pp. 56 and 128-29.

King's views were confirmed by the diary of Jones' journey to Africa. The diary make clear that the part played by the African Aggrey, who travelled with the Commission, became important. Undoubtedly he had been chosen at least partly because he might serve as a bridge between members of the study Commission and Africans. It emerges from Jones' diary that Aggrey also had political functions the discharge of which satisfied Jones. In Sierra Leone Aggrey led leading Africans of Freetown from church to church, and on the Gold Coast it is noted that Aggrey made fun of the movement of Marcus Garvey. In the same way he announced the fraudulence of Garvey's movement in Nigeria.⁷⁸ In question here is the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation -movement led by Jamaica-born Garvey, whose aim was to establish an African state free of Europeans. It was to be a home country for American negroes as well as Africans.⁷⁹ Although Dubois and Garvey were both in pursuit of better conditions for the black population of America and Africa, they were not in collaboration. To Dubois Aggrey was an insolent demagogue, and Aggrey for his part condemned the activity of Dubois.⁸⁰

But political factors alone do not suffice to explain the wider background links between educational aims presented in the Phelps-Stokes Commission. The Commission's report was also a document which brought out the possibilities for economic exploitation in Africa, showing how well directed education could bring this goal nearer. Africa was no longer "The Great Dark Continent" but "The Continent of Great Misunderstandings" and "the treasure-house of the world". Utilization of African natural resources, development of the fruits of its soil, its minerals and water-power all depended on effective education for Africans. The ideology of adaptation proclaimed by the Commission combined Christian ideals and the pragmatic aims to be achieved with the help of education. Thus health education was care of the body, "the temple of the Holy Spirit" and agriculture was collaboration with God.⁸¹ Through the Commission British missions too were binding themselves to these aims. At the same time, with the publication of the report a stage had been reached where there seemed to be possibilities for a more concrete association between missions and the Colonial Office.

⁷⁸ Dr. T. Jesse Jones' Private Journal. August 1920 to March 1921 - Liverpool to West, Equatorial and South Africa, pp. 10, 22 and 72. Box 263. West Africa. File, Phelps-Stokes Commission: T. Jones' Journal. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 5-6. See too E.W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa. A Study in Black and White, pp. 149-63.

⁷⁹ R.D. Ralston, Africa and the New World, p. 771 in A.Adu Boahen (ed.), General History of Africa. Vol. VII. Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935.

⁸⁰ Andrew Roberts, African Cross-currents, p. 259.

⁸¹ Jones (1922), pp. 1-2, 20, 28 and 57.

■ 4. Beginning of Collaboration Between Colonial Office and Missions in London

4.1 Proposal by J.H. Oldham

A concrete proposal for the start of collaboration came from the missions. This was on March 13th 1923, when J.H. Oldham sent a letter to William Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, asking him for a discussion on matters of African education. He noted at the same time that the report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission had influenced his thinking. Oldham hoped that collaboration between government and missions would be as far-reaching as possible. To be effective, however, this collaboration demanded a precise definition of government policy.¹

There have been conflicting interpretations of this proposal in studies which have dealt with or touched on African education. Roland Oliver maintains that the proposal came from Ormsby-Gore; the Colonial Office was prepared for this because the missions appeared to have the enterprise and good sense to change an educational policy which had become an object of criticism. At the same time Oliver notes that Oldham was a little surprised by the proposal because he himself would have wished to advance more slowly in the matter.² A doctoral thesis by Donald G. Schilling on the educational history of Kenya has a different interpretation: the proposal is attributed to Oldham. His motive consisted of the anxieties he expressed at Lake Mohonk and elsewhere. As Schilling sees it Oldham was a suitable collaborator also from the Colonial Office point of view because he did not seek to keep all education in the hands of the missions.³

Records of the International Missionary Council support the interpretation that the proposal came from Oldham. But was he a sure choice for collaborator from the Colonial Office viewpoint? Some matters need to be made clear. Were the missions involuntarily seeking for advantages in colonial policy, or was Oldham using the tactics of his ideology of adaptation to ensure the continuance of mission school work in Africa? On the other hand, did the Colonial Office believe that its own educational aims would be reached through the missions, and what in fact were its ultimate aims? To answer these questions would require a precise analysis of negotiations between missions and Colonial Office after Oldham's proposal. Merely to

¹ Oldham to Ormsby-Gore 13.3.1923. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, CBMS Memo. on Educational Policy 1923: Approach to Colonial Office. CBMS/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 221.

² Oliver, pp. 265-66.

³ Schilling, pp. 287-90.

combine the opinions of the Phelps-Stokes Commission automatically with the notions of the British missions does not provide an adequate explanation. The ideas of the Phelps-Stokes Commission might have been suitable instruments for Oldham merely at that moment as he selfishly sought to advance the cause of the missions.

In summer 1922 after a mission Conference held at Canterbury Oldham had made a long journey to India, returning in March 1923.⁴ While in India he had attended a Conference at Moga in the Punjab which dealt with the results of the Fraser Commission and educational problems of rural India.⁵ As an Empire Educational Conference was planned for June 1923 the early spring of that year was a favourable time for Oldham to act. Before getting in touch with the Colonial Office Oldham had presented his ideas to Sir Michael Sadler⁶ and Frederick Lugard. Sadler, a recognized expert from the Ministry of Education, had been in connection with schools in the United States specializing in negro education.⁷ In 1917-19 he had led a journey by the Calcutta University Commission to India and thus acquainted himself with educational questions of the moment in that country. In 1923 he was appointed a Master in Oxford University.⁸ Sadler was hesitant at first with regard to Oldham's plans and doubtful of the government's reaction. Oldham sought to allay his doubts by insisting that the missions wished to ensure the activity of their schools for no other reason than to serve the education of Africa well. Oldham further assured Sadler that for the benefit of Africans education had to be based on religion; the experience of India showed, he continued, that private education permitted initiative, experimentation and the development of specialities.⁹ In a letter to Lugard Oldham praised the views which the former had expressed in his Dual Mandate regarding collaboration between government and missions, and mentioned his wish for a general discussion with Lugard on educational matters in Africa.¹⁰

With these contacts Oldham was evidently seeking preliminary opinions on his plans held by experts on education who were esteemed at the Colonial Office. To refrain from an approach to the Colonial Office was not recommended by Sadler and Lugard because the proposal of Oldham to Ormsby-Gore was soon realized after consultation. Ormsby-Gore reacted favourably and suggested that Oldham draw up a memorandum dealing with the aims of African education and with collaboration between government and missions. It should be ready in May 1923, when Oldham and the Governors

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⁴ Clatworthy, p. 16.

⁵ Report of a Conference Held at Moga, Panjab, on Rural Education in India, December 5.-11.1922 (Following the Findings of the Village Education Commission of 1919-20), p. 1.

⁶ A book of memoirs based on Sadler's life has been compiled by his son. See Michael Sadleir, Michael Ernest Sadler (Sir Michael Sadler K.C.S.I.) 1861-1943. A Memoir by his Son. London 1949.

⁷ King, p. 48.

⁸ Sadler, p. 264.

⁹ Oldham to Sadler 9.3.1923. Box 512. W.M.C. Continuation Committee; Committees and Correspondence. File, Education Committee. Sir Michael Sadler 1920-1927. CBMS Archives. SOAS and Clatworthy, p. 17.

¹⁰ Oldham to Lugard 9.3.1923. Mss. Afr. s 1829. Box 3. East Africa Commission - General Correspondence. File 1, 1922-31, The Rt. Hon. Lord Lugard. J.H. Oldham Papers. RHL.

of various African colonies might assemble to discuss views on education.¹¹ On the same day Oldham asked Dr Jones to assist him and to come to England for the meeting in May.¹² In his proposal Oldham left details open for further talks. He suggested negotiations with a view to collaboration, nothing more. There was nothing surprising in the Colonial Office's favourable reception to this. The Empire Educational Conference was due in summer 1923, and discussion was thus desirable with the Colonial Office and the most important representatives of mission education. The report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission was known at the Office, and in it wider collaboration was proposed between the parties responsible for African education. Also, in Africa, especially the Gold Coast, a reform of educational policy was in progress which affected relations between missions and colonial administration. To be remembered alongside these private occurrences is the colonial policy line followed by Colonial Secretary Amery and Ormsby-Gore which publicly demanded that African education be developed in concert with social and economic development.¹³ When the missions led by Oldham had announced themselves willing to shape their educational policy in new forms acceptable to the government, there was nothing to prevent Ormsby-Gore negotiating with Oldham in this matter. From 1920 onward Oldham had fought publicly against the misuse of African labour in Kenya, making clear to the Colonial Office his idea of the principles of trust administration.¹⁴ On the strength of these views Ormsby-Gore could believe in mutual understanding between government and missions in colonial policy as in other matters. Finally, however, all depended on what Oldham proposed in the memorandum requested.

In order to ensure approval of his memorandum at the coming meeting Oldham looked for support in advance from many quarters. He made sure of backing from Lugard, the Governors of Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Gold Coast and from the leading English bishops.¹⁵ The Archbishop of Canterbury too had been in touch with the Colonial Office before the meeting, and Oldham hoped he would do the same with the Ministry of Education.¹⁶ At Oldham's request Lugard too had written to Ormsby-Gore, who invited him to the coming meeting.¹⁷

¹¹ Oldham to Jones 23.3.1923. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, CBMS Memo. on Educational Policy 1923: Approach to Colonial Office. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 221.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ See for example Amery, pp. 335-43 and Hetherington, pp. 48-49.

¹⁴ Anthony Clayton and Donald C. Savage, *Government and Labour in Kenya 1895-1963*, pp. 115-16 and 144.

¹⁵ Oldham to Lugard 28.3., 12.4., 3.5., 18.5. and 29.3.1923 and Lugard to Oldham 14.4., 19.5., 27.5. and 1.6. 1923. Mss. Afr. s 1829. Box 3. File 1, 1922-31, The Rt. Hon. Lord Lugard. J.H. Oldham Papers. RHL and Oldham to Archbishop of Canterbury 3.5.1923. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, CBMS Memo. on Educational Policy 1923. Approach to Colonial Office. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 221 and Clatworthy, p. 30.

¹⁶ Oldham to Archbishop of Canterbury 11.5.1923. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, CBMS Memo. on Educational Policy 1923: Approach to Colonial Office. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 222.

¹⁷ Lugard to Oldham 19.5.1923. Mss. Afr. s 1829. Box 3. File 1, 1922-31, The Rt. Hon. Lord Lugard. J.H. Oldham Papers. RHL.

While the memorandum was still in preparation mission representatives discussed it on 4th May. At that meeting Oldham brought out several interesting viewpoints in the arguments advanced by his memorandum. He complained that the missions had not been publicly recognized in Africa and that too much power was concentrated in local Governors. He proposed the establishment of advisory bodies for the colonies, and he thought it desirable that missions should be able to foresee the terms of government instructions before they were put into final shape. Finally Oldham noted that British policy was determined by commercial interests.¹⁸

About a month later the expected meeting took place. Besides Oldham the meeting was attended by Ormsby-Gore, Lugard, Doctor Jones, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Doctor Williams of CMS, the Governors of Nigeria, Gold Coast, Kenya and Nyasaland, the Colonial Secretary from Tanganyika and officials from the Colonial Office. No record of the meeting is available, but to judge by the final result Oldham presented his memorandum with arguments somewhat different from those he had expressed to the missions. The meeting was a success. After it he was able to tell Archbishop Davidson that "little opposition" had been shown by officials of the Colonial Office, but this Oldham attributed to misunderstanding, and in any case the attitude of the Governors had overcome this resistance.¹⁹

More important than Oldham's procedures, however, was the substance of the memorandum itself. This aimed at the approval of missions, Colonial Office and Governors. For the first group it was vital that the importance of religious teaching be stressed. Reasons were given for this by referring to several official statements from various parts of the British Empire, to views expressed in Lugard's Dual Mandate and to the practice followed by the Belgians in the Congo.²⁰ The strong position held by the missions in African education was also shown by Oldham in statistics.

Data based on statistics and on estimates available from colonies on the extent of education in numbers of schools 1918-22. On government schools in Northern Rhodesia there were no sure data, and for Uganda the total number of pupils was estimated in the memorandum at over 79,000. It is certain that these figures did not represent the exact truth but, as stated earlier, such was not the purpose of the statistics. By showing the numerical superiority of mission schools Oldham increased the self-confidence of the missions; at the same time he wished to inform representatives of the colonial administration that the missions were indispensable for African education. An exact picture of the division of responsibility between govern-

¹⁸ Meeting of Education Committee 4.5.1923. Box 512. W.M.C. Continuation Committee; Committees and Correspondence. File, Education Committee. CBMS Papers re Education in Mission Field Committee Meetings 1920-1925. CBMS Archives. SOAS.

¹⁹ Oldham to Archbishop of Canterbury 6.6.1923. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, CBMS Memo. on Educational Policy 1923: Approach to Colonial Office. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 222.

²⁰ Educational Policy in Africa. A Memorandum Submitted on Behalf of the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland. Appendix.

Table 2. Estimated numbers of mission and government schools in various British African colonies 1918-1922.

	Mission schools	Government schools
Gambia	9	1
Sierra Leone	134	14
Gold Coast	198	19
Northern Nigeria	107	15
Southern Nigeria	1602	45
Kenya	500	5
Uganda	79,631 (pupils)	-
Nyasaland	2,030	-
Northern Rhodesia	457	1 (?)
Southern Rhodesia	856	2

Source: Educational Policy in Africa. A Memorandum Submitted on Behalf of the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, p. 1.

ment and missions did not emerge from the statistics, however, because part of the education provided by missions was financed by the government.²¹

Such a division of work Oldham saw as necessary in the future also. According to the memorandum morally beneficial education based on religion would best be realized if the government remained as a helpful background force for private school activity. African education could not be achieved with the resources of the missions alone, however, and this demanded collaboration between the parties concerned. In order to obtain the blessing of colonial officials Oldham appealed to Ormsby-Gore's insistence in Parliament on the moral and material development of Africans and on their educational advancement. In the memorandum it was further stated that from the economic viewpoint an improvement of the native community's health, wealth and intelligence was important. Training of leaders should be so directed that it did not separate them from the rest of the population. But while Oldham, using the arguments of indirect rule, offered education which would benefit the economic development and political system of African communities, he was quick to deny that training in practical skills – which his aims provided for – would mean keeping Africans in a inferior and subordinate position. As a whole the memorandum proposed objectives which were acceptable to the administration. It made economic success conditional on African health, wealth and intelligence, and was on the right lines in a political sense also. The ultimate aims of the missions were not sufficiently clarified, however. As before, they were linked with religious approaches, but for their realization government

²¹ Statistics have mentioned the number of schools receiving aid in various colonies. They include 105 in Gambia and 16 in Southern Nigeria.

support still appeared to be necessary; also needed was the pursuit of purposes acceptable to the colonial administration. On the other hand Oldham had complained of the commercial interests involved in British policy and repudiated the connection between practically-inclined education and subjection of the Africans.²² And finally, approval of the memorandum did not in itself yet guarantee the start of actual collaboration among London's decision-making bodies.

However, Oldham's memorandum was a concrete proposal to make such collaboration possible.²³ Approved at a meeting on 6th June was the establishment of an Advisory Committee in London which would act in concert with the Colonial Office. The setting up of such a permanent Committee was a clear reinforcement of the planning and direction of African educational policy in the heart of the Empire. For the missions this had its advantages. Oldham had criticised the undue exercise of power by Governors, and the missions now had an opportunity – through representation on the Committee – to influence the decisions of educational policy at the stage of preparation, which Oldham had advocated in many connections. The same practice was desirable in colonial capitals also. For the Colonial Office the creation of the proposed Committee, new as it was, did not constitute a revolutionary decision. The establishment of advisory bodies for the greater effectiveness of colonial policy was becoming a regular practice. In 1909 the Advisory Medical and Sanitary Committee for Tropical Africa had been set up, and in 1921 Winston Churchill had appointed a commercial adviser to give assistance in matters of commercial policy.²⁴ For educational matters in the colonies collaborative bodies between government and missions had long existed.

For the creation of the London Advisory Committee and its future work it was important for the discussion, planning and direction of educational policy to be set in motion. On the tasks of the Committee Oldham made his own comments in his memorandum proposing its establishment.

The Committee was to be a co-ordinating body for matters of colonial education which examined affairs as a whole on a general level. With the continuing importance of educational technology and expertise London was obliged to learn from foreign experience, including the know-how acquired in educating the negro population of the United States. The Committee must examine and clarify the education of the "less advanced races" in its wide aspects so as to avoid mistakes and waste of funds. Experience had shown that the results of education were not always as desired. Although the memorandum gave no concrete example here, it is not difficult to guess that the reference was to India. Finally Oldham appealed to the British obligation of trusteeship. He maintained that the 19th century was a period when

²² Educational Policy in Africa. A Memorandum Submitted on Behalf of the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, pp. 1-3.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁴ Amery, p. 338 and Cosmo Parkinson, *The Colonial Office from Within 1909-1945*, p. 45.

development of material resources had taken first place. The 20th, he thought, would prove the importance of the human factor in the life of mankind. In such a development the proposed Committee would be a pioneer.²⁵

As a tactical approach, therefore, Oldham spoke of educational aims at a general, easily acceptable level. His memorandum did not overemphasize the safeguarding of missionary interests. But immediately after a meeting at the Colonial Office he wrote to G.T. Manley, a CMS pastor, a letter which reveals his basic thoughts:

“As things are at present we are absolutely at the mercy of Governors and Directors of Education, who may have an antimissionary bias or who may be bureaucratic in their doings. In India we have been protected since 1854 by a Charter which recognized the place of private educational agencies within the Indian system. In Africa we have nothing of the kind. The whole object of the Memorandum is to guard against these dangers.”²⁶

When Ormsby-Gore in Parliament and at the first meeting of the proposed Committee enumerated the functions of the latter, he did not in fact depart from the line followed by Oldham. He too stressed the advantages of experience and the duty of the British to rule their colonies well. Ormsby-Gore mentioned frankly the mistakes made in India and hoped that the establishment of the Committee would prevent the same fate in Africa. Economic development brought more tolerable living conditions to the Africans, which increased the demand for education but gave rise to additional problems. These were, in Ormsby-Gore's opinion, the financing of education and relations between government and missions. He promised that governments would contribute to financing, though to a limited extent. Finally he proclaimed his own view that no attempt to educate the natives would succeed without the inclusion of religion.²⁷

The Committee's field of work was specified in its main regulation, which included eight points. According to them the Committee must:

1. To obtain and, in so far as may seem desirable, to publish information regarding the state and progress of education in the Crown Colonies and Protectorates and mandated territories in Africa.
2. To obtain information regarding the education of backward races and communities in other parts of the world and regarding the educational work of other governments: e.g. negro education in the United States, native education in the Union of South Africa, the

²⁵ Educational Policy in Africa, A Memorandum Submitted on Behalf of the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, p. 3.

²⁶ Oldham to Manley 4.5.1923. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, CBMS Memo. on Educational Policy 1923: Approach to Colonial Office. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 223.

²⁷ Minutes of ACNE 9.1.1924. Box 222. Africa General Education: A.C.A.E. Minutes (Printed) Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa, 1924-1928. Mc. No. 257 and Parliamentary Debates: Official Report. Fifth Series Vol. 167. House of Commons 1923, pp. 498-99.

educational work of the American Government in the Philippines, of the Belgian and French Governments in Africa, etc.

3. To advise officers of the education departments in the African Crown Colonies and missionary educators where they can best study particular problems in which they may be interested, and to put within the reach of teachers the best available experience and knowledge relating to their tasks.

4. To keep in touch with British schools and universities with a view to keeping the claims of educational services in Africa before them and to assist in recruiting good men for educational work.

5. In consultation with the colonial governments to help in thinking out the kind of education best adapted to the needs of the inhabitants of the African colonies and the best means of providing it.

6. To consider and advise regarding the means of bringing about the most effective and harmonious co-operation between the state and private agencies in education.

7. To afford a means of consultation and reference with foreign states for the furtherance of a common international policy and co-operation in matters of African education.

8. To advise the colonial governments in any matters which may be specifically referred by them to the Committee.²⁸

Most probably this list of functions was prepared officially at the Colonial Office. Its composer may have been Sir Herbert Read, an Assistant Under-Secretary of State who had taken part in an early stage of the Committee's work. The functions were loosely described and of a largely technical nature. A policy of adaptation was mentioned but not particularized. In the same way collaboration between the state and those engaged in private education was said to be desirable, but future details were left for later deliberation by this indefinite regulation defining the tasks of the Committee broadly.

For efficiency the Committee needed a permanent Secretary acceptable to all parties concerned who would act as an official at the Colonial Office. Immediately after the initial meeting began the search for a suitable Secretary by the Office and Oldham together. First to emerge as serious candidates were Dr Jones and C.T. Loram, an official of the South African Native Affairs Commission.²⁹

Oldham first supported Jones because his experience in the United States had taught him to achieve valuable results without continual expenditure of money. At the same time Oldham believed that Jones would be beneficial in avoiding the mistakes made in India.³⁰ Ormsby-Gore and Lugard, whose

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²⁸ Constitution and Functions of Advisory Committee. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Advisory Committee: Constitution 1923; Reconstitution 1928. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 223.

²⁹ King, p. 52 and Clatworthy, p. 34.

³⁰ Oldham to Lugard 29.5.1923. Mss. Afr. s 1829. Box 3. File 1, 1922-31. The Rt. Hon. Lord Lugard. J.H. Oldham Papers. RHL.

opinion was also asked, did not think on the same lines as Oldham. Ormsby-Gore wished to have "a man of our own", not the American Jones.³¹ Lugard for his part thought Jones too tolerant, a man who was "too ready to agree with everyone and to praise the authorities".³² Loram's candidature finally collapsed because of salary and pension conditions he could not accept.³³ Oldham had considered Loram the greatest expert on native education in the British Empire, but on the other hand suspected him of overstressing the South African viewpoint when thinking of Africa in a wider sense.³⁴

When nothing came of the appointment of Jones or Loram a new name appeared, that of Hanns Vischer. He was known to Lugard through service in Nigeria, and Oldham too thought him the person the Committee needed and was searching for.³⁵ A skilful linguist who could draw on experience in mission work and colonial administration service, Vischer³⁶ must have seemed a man well suited to the Committee's future work, especially as his ideas on Nigerian education were promising.

Vischer, when elected Secretary, was accompanied by a distinguished gathering. Attending the Committee's first meeting on 9th January 1924 with Vischer were Ormsby-Gore and Sir Herbert Read from the Colonial Office, Sadler, Lugard, Oldham, the Bishop of Liverpool, Bishop Bidwell representing the Catholics and Sir James Currie who had earlier acted as Director of the Sudan Education Department and was a Director of the Empire Cotton Corporation when the Committee was established.³⁷

Thus Colonial Office and church were represented on the Committee, and as colonial Governors and Education Department Directors were expected to take part in its work when in England, the voice of those working in the field could also be heard.³⁸ Committee members were experienced both in India and in Africa. Sir James Currie transmitted valuable educational experience from the Sudan and the economic viewpoint of an important corporation. On his election as Secretary Vischer's message to the missions

³¹ Ormsby-Gore to Oldham 9.6.1923. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Colonial Office 1923/36. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 224 and Oldham to Sadler 15.6.1923. Box 512. W.M.C. Continuation Committee; Committees and Correspondence. File, Education Committee. Sir Michael Sadler 1920-1927. CBMS Archives. SOAS.

³² Lugard to Oldham 1.6.1923. Mss. Afr. s 1829. Box 3. File 1, 1922-31. The Rt. Hon. Lord Lugard. J.H. Oldham Papers. RHL.

³³ Oldham to Read 29.11.1923. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Colonial Office 1923/36. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 224.

³⁴ Oldham to Sadler 15.6.1923. Box 512. W.M.C. Continuation Committee; Committees and Correspondence. File, Education Committee. Sir Michael Sadler 1920-27. CBMS Archives. SOAS.

³⁵ Oldham to Lugard 13.11.1923. Mss. Afr. s 1829. Box 3. File 1, 1922-31. The Rt. Hon. Lord Lugard. J.H. Oldham Papers. RHL and Oldham to Sadler 7.11.1923. Box 512. W.M.C. Continuation Committee; Committees and Correspondence. File, Education Committee. Sir Michael Sadler 1920-1927. CBMS Archives. SOAS.

³⁶ For Vischer's background of mission work see Graham, Appendix A.

³⁷ Minutes of ACNE 9.1.1924. Mc. No. 257.

³⁸ The term of office for Advisory Committee members was three years, after which they could be reappointed. Expenses arising from Committee work, including salaries of Secretaries, were paid from colonial budget funds. These principles were defined in Committee regulations. See Constitution and Functions of Advisory Committee. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Advisory Committee. Constitution 1923; Reconstitution 1928. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 223.

regarding future policy was simple. Africa needed clerks, artisans and others to help Europeans. The sudden opening up of African countries, a great war and the events following it demanded an expansion of education. But the missions no longer needed to bear the responsibility of African education alone; it would be conducted in collaboration with the government, on whom rested ultimate responsibility for the natives under its care.³⁹ As bearer of this government responsibility Ormsby-Gore was able with satisfaction to announce the establishment of the Committee to Parliament.⁴⁰ It is true that discordant voices were heard, for African newspapers in West Africa had been completely opposed to the setting up of the Committee. In London, however, this had no effect on the course of events.⁴¹

4.2 Toward collaboration

The emergence of the London Advisory Committee was an important step in the budding collaboration between colonial administration and missions at the heart of the Empire. Not only structural forms were needed, however, but also joint plans and instructions for educational policy issued in the name of the Committee. The time for these was soon to come, but first the interest of the Committee was directed to East Africa.

Dr Jones attended the first meeting of the Committee as a visitor, receiving thanks for his journey to West Africa and also for his intention to make a similar journey of investigation to the eastern parts of Africa.⁴² This new journey had been agreed upon in the early summer of 1923, when Jones and Anson Phelps-Stokes, President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, had met Ormsby-Gore, Oldham, Lugard and the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴³ On 25th July Ormsby-Gore informed Parliament of the plan and expressed the hope that a new Commission be sent to East Africa.⁴⁴ The second Phelps-Stokes Commission was more a British venture than its predecessor. The Colonial Office and the new Advisory Committee were represented on the journey by Hanns Vischer, who thus had an opportunity immediately after his appointment to acquaint himself on the spot with educational problems of the moment in East Africa. Another English member of the Commission was CMS Educational Secretary Garfield Williams. Others present on the journey were Dr Jones as leader, Aggrey, Dillard as President of the Jeanes and

³⁹ Hanns, Vischer, *Some Aspects of African Education*. CMR. Vol. LXXVI, 1925, pp. 157-58.

⁴⁰ *Parliamentary Debates: Official Report*. Fifth Series - Vol. 167. House of Commons 1923, pp. 498-99.

⁴¹ The Gold Coast Leader wrote as follows of the Committee's foundation: "This leads us for observe that the tendency of forming Committees in England to deal with matters purely African, however competent such Committees may be, does not inspire confidence in Africans". The Gold Coast Leader 16.2.1924. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Advisory Committee. Constitution 1923, Reconstitution 1928. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 223.

⁴² Minutes of ACNE 9.2.1924. Mc. No. 257.

⁴³ Thomas J. Jones, *Education in East Africa. A Study of East, Central and South Africa by the second African Education Commission*, pp. XVIII-XXIV.

⁴⁴ Jones (1925), p. XIX.

Slater Fund and member of the United States General Education Board and Leroy Shantz of the United States Department of Agriculture. C.T. Loram, who had been a candidate for the position of Secretary to the London Advisory Committee, travelled with the Commission for part of the journey at the expense of the South African government. The Commission further included two Secretaries, James W.C. Dougall from Scotland and George B. Dillard from the other side of the Atlantic.⁴⁵

The missions and the Advisory Committee expected results from the new Phelps-Stokes Commission especially with regard to Kenya and Uganda. In these countries changes were occurring in educational matters which seemed inexplicable particularly from the mission standpoint. About a month before Dr Jones had been commended by the Advisory Committee he had attended a meeting with representatives of British missions. In negotiations for the coming journey to East Africa the problems of Kenya were prominent in discussion. Fraser referred to a great reduction in the numbers of the Masai because of warfare and forced labour, and all in all Kenya was described as a "storm centre" about which factual information was needed.⁴⁶

What kind of storm centre was Kenya then? During 1923 the conflict between whites and Indians had intensified because Europeans wished to remove Indians from the highlands settled by whites and to restrict the immigration of Indians together with their political rights. Following the example of Gandhi the Indians were seeking to free themselves, in Kenya as elsewhere, from oppressive orders and forms of racial discrimination.⁴⁷ The Kenya crisis had aroused great notice in London, and the British humanitarian movement, especially the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, gave general support to the Indians, leaving the missions, who had favoured the whites, isolated and angry. In London groups supporting both whites and Indians looked for support from the International Missionary Council, and in this situation Oldham aimed at a neutral position.⁴⁸ The Colonial Office decided this dispute with a well-known proclamation which promised supremacy in Kenya neither to the whites nor to the Indians, but to the country's Africans.⁴⁹

The Phelps-Stokes Commission sailed to East Africa well aware of the situation in Kenya, and from London Oldham had tried in advance to prepare the Commission's reception on its arrival. To the Governor of Kenya he wrote that the Commission's members had been deliberately chosen with the country's political background in mind. He gave the Governor his view,

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⁴⁵ Jones (1925), pp. XVIII-XXIV.

⁴⁶ Conference of Representatives of Missionary Societies to meet Members of East African Commission 8.1.1924, pp. 1-4. Box. 232. East Africa Education, File, London Meeting of British Societies and Commission Members 8.1.24. IMC/CBMC Archives. Mc. No. 17.

⁴⁷ J.W. Cell, *By Kenia Possessed. The Correspondence of Norman Leys and J.H. Oldham 1918-1926*, p. 47.

⁴⁸ Cell (1976), pp. 48-50.

⁴⁹ Clayton and Savage, p. 122 and Cell (1976), p. 50.

moreover, that the interests of Europeans and Africans in the country were not conflicting but complementary. From this viewpoint the Commission had at least two suitable members. Experience of racial relations in the southern parts of the United States was the strong point of Dillard, while Aggrey was an exceptional African in Oldham's opinion. He had two important characteristics: Aggrey believed that education should start from the bottom, not from the top, and he had the ability to make Africans believe in the vital importance of practical education. This was beyond the ability of a white person, in Oldham's opinion.⁵⁰

Thus the Phelps-Stokes Commission in East Africa found itself not only dealing with matters of education but also building harmony between the races. Kenneth King, who expounded the results of the journey in detail, states that the Commission came to the final conclusion that the white government of Kenya needed no further criticism but support in its native policy.⁵¹

Even before the journey was made, however, its results were feverishly awaited in London, above all by the International Missionary Council. The Colonial Secretary was in the process of appointing a Committee whose task was to clarify the principles of a declaration of African privileges in East Africa. In Oldham's view it would be pointless for this Committee to investigate educational matters further if the results of the Phelps-Stokes Commission were available in time. The Commission represented the interests of the missions, and its exposition of education conditions in East Africa must not be watered down.⁵²

Gradually information from East Africa trickled into London, transmitted by Hanns Vischer. From the first Vischer regarded the situation in Kenya as complicated and noted that all parties hoped for a solution to it. For colonial officials the political atmosphere was chaotic and the missions, who did not know the situation, disputed among themselves.⁵³ In April 1924 Vischer sent from Dar es Salaam a more detailed survey of the problems in Kenya which he had drawn up with Dr Jones. In it the authors find reasons for the importance of African education in many scourges afflicting Kenya. Mortality was high among Africans, especially small children, and therefore the need for a workforce was alone a sufficient reason for preserving African life. This in turn made the training of African teachers and leaders necessary in order to improve health conditions and to direct education in the sphere of agriculture and handicraft industry. This was vital for the economic operation of villages and, in a wider sense, the country as a whole. Also, collaboration between Africans and non-Africans must be encouraged. Recent

⁵⁰ Oldham to Coryndon 16.1.1924. Box 232. East Africa Education. File, Phelps-Stokes Commission: Commission Papers. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 21.

⁵¹ King, p. 127.

⁵² Oldham to Vischer 1.2. and 10.4.1924. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Advisory Committee Secretaries. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 226.

⁵³ Vischer to Oldham 24.3.1924. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Advisory Committee Secretaries. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 226.

experiences and unrest in Kenya stressed the need for African leaders with good sense, and such were, in the view of Jones and Vischer, those who were loyal to the "true interests" of the country.⁵⁴

The Commission's advance report sent to London reflected the final report to come. Ideologically it contained nothing new. The policy of adaptation was suited to Kenya in the same way as to other parts of Africa and the negro population of the United States. In London Oldham had reason for satisfaction. The development of collaboration between the races in Kenya was to be hoped for, and the ideas of members of the East African Commission showed that the education of Africans could not be purely negative to white interests. In population and economic policy education was an important contributory factor which the white minority had no reason to belittle. The social and humanitarian significance of education had a connection with economic interests. Oldham was evidently capable of using such connections to advantage. He informed Vischer that he would use the information obtained from East Africa as a means of influencing Colonial Office policy with regard to Uganda and Kenya.⁵⁵

Several matters were brought together in the summer of 1924. In July Colonial Secretary Amery appointed a Commission to clarify the East African situation with Ormsby-Gore as its head. The Commission's function was to find out the general economic situation in East Africa and the steps which should be taken to advance social development. At the same time economic relations between Africans and non-Africans must be examined, with special attention to working conditions. Finally the Commission must explain the taxation applied to Africans and the share of it which was used in services for their moral and material development.⁵⁶

In defining the Commission's function there was, strictly speaking, no mention of education. The Phelps-Stokes Commission had examined education and was returning from Africa. As Ormsby-Gore, Chairman of the three-man⁵⁷ East Africa Commission, was also Chairman of the London Advisory Committee information drawn from the Phelps-Stokes Commission was automatically available to the new Commission too. Some Phelps-Stokes members reached England in summer 1924 and in July Vischer communicated the results of the journey to the Advisory Committee.⁵⁸

In September the results of the East African journey received the final blessing of the missions at a wide-ranging Conference at High Leigh where

⁵⁴ Advance Confidential Report on Visit of Phelps Stokes Commission to East Africa, by Major H. Vischer 25.4.24, pp. 1-6. Box 226. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Memoranda - Committee Papers. Report of Tours. Mc. No. 317.

⁵⁵ Oldham to Vischer 1.2. and 10.4.1924. Box 219. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Advisory Committee Secretaries. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 226.

⁵⁶ East Africa, Report of the East Africa Commission. Cmd. 2387, 1925, p. 3.

⁵⁷ In addition to Ormsby-Gore the Commission included Major A.G. Church from the Labour Party and F.C. Linfield from the Liberal Party. In 1925 Church became a member of the Advisory Committee on Education at the Colonial Office. See Report of the East African Commission, p. 2 and Minutes of ACNE 16.1.1925. Mc. No. 258.

⁵⁸ Minutes of the ACNE 24.7.1924. Mc. No. 257.

the achievements of the Commission were discussed together with the future educational policy of the missions in Africa in a more general sense. The ideas of the Commission were presented by Jones, Vischer, Williams, Aggrey, Loram with Oldham and Lugard. The Conference approved a final resolution which fully agreed with the views brought out by Dr Jones, Chairman of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. Jones had introduced to those attending the Conference a paper with exactly the same content as the one he had submitted to the government of Kenya. In it the aims of education were defined as the character development through religious and moral instruction and the advancement of hygiene, health, agriculture and gardening, together with industrial skills and education of women. To be established in Africa were small "out-schools" for the spread of educational propaganda; further aims would be prevention of disease and epidemics, encouragement of agriculture and other economic activities and also the elimination of political, economic and social unrest among the population. These schools were to teach "colonial patriotism" and loyalty to the crown.⁵⁹ On the basis of this introduction by Jones the Conference approved the declaration An Educational Policy for African Education in which the aims of education and its organization were defined at a more general level:

1. The determination of the objectives of education adapted to the needs of the individual and of the community.
2. The differentiation of the education of the masses from the education of the teachers and leaders, and recognition of the fact that the same objectives are applicable in different forms to the education of both masses and leaders.
3. Provision for the inspections, supervision and friendly visitation of all educational institutions.
4. The organization of the school system, and
5. The co-operation of government, missions, settlers and traders and natives in the education of Africans.⁶⁰

In a separate resolution it was added that education should be based on Christianity and Christian ideals.⁶¹

Thus at High Leigh the missions committed themselves to a controlled educational policy in which allegiance to the Crown and the colonial system must be guaranteed in addition to the practice of Christian ideals. This merging of interests was not accepted unreservedly by the missions,⁶² but Oldham evidently succeeded in quietening doubts.⁶³

⁵⁹ Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Objectives, pp. 1-2. Outlines of Introductory Addresses. Box 216. Africa Education: High Leigh Conference 1924. File, Report & Prior Documents. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 184.

⁶⁰ Christian Education in Africa. Conference at High Leigh. Hoddesdon, Sept. 8-13, 1924, pp. 3-4.

⁶¹ Ibid, pp. 2-3.

⁶² Full Notes of Discussion, African Conference, High Leigh September 1924. Relations with Government in Education, pp. 1-4. Box 216. Africa Education: High Leigh Conference 1924. Typescript. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 183.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 4-5, See too J.H. Oldham, Christian Education in Africa. CRM. No. 75, 1924, pp. 305-14.

After High Leigh official publication of the Phelps-Stokes report was still required. This happened in March 1925, when the occasion was marked by the presence of all the most prominent figures in British African educational policy led by Ormsby-Gore.⁶⁴ The report published, like its predecessor, was a strongly convincing document for a policy of adaptation. In the literature of research less attention has been given to the report's defence of colonial administration and economy. Objectively speaking, Committee members together with the Colonial Office Advisory Committee and British missions who had warmly upheld the report made no attempt to dispute the common interests of education and colonial rulers.

The report stated that Africa was full of untouched natural resources, and Shantz, a representative of the United States Department of Agriculture who had written his own chapter of the report stated that "if the Native is to hold his place in the world... he must meet the economic pressure of the outside world... He must adapt his production to world needs and make himself a contributor of raw material wanted by the industrial world or give way to other people who are willing and anxious to take his place".⁶⁵ With regard to international politics also the Anglo-American report reflected the feelings of its time, not forgetting the fear of Bolshevism brought about by the Russian Revolution.⁶⁶ The report stated:

"Already unwise and ignorant leaders are teaching false doctrines that cause dissension, irritation and unrest. The Great War started ideas and movements, suspicions and ambitions, hopes and desires that are extending and deepening among the masses. The increasing entrance of Europeans into the heart of Africa, whether in Government and missions or as traders and settlers, is working radical changes in the life of the people. Gossip rumours and propaganda are brought from Europe, Asia and America, and distributed in the huts and kraals of these primitive people. There is a crying need for wise leaders who both understand their own Native people and apprehend somewhat of the real meaning of civilization and Christianity ... they will learn that the progress and civilization of all nations have required the assistance of other nations, that hermit peoples have usually been stagnant peoples, that the principle of self-determination is an important half truth, that the complementary half-truth is altruism or brotherhood, which passes on experiences and achievements to others."⁶⁷

⁶⁴ List of those present. Box 219. Africa General: A.C.E.C. File, Government Dinner to Dr. Jesse Jones 26.3.25. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 231.

⁶⁵ See a publication by Homer L. Shantz, Agriculture in East Africa, pp 373-75 in Jones (1925).

⁶⁶ Jones (1925), p. XIII. In the report it is stated: "Just as commerce knows no national boundaries, so epidemics, whether of disease or of Bolshevism, or of warfare between groups, quickly spread from country to country, and can only be controlled by modern science and an enlightened public opinion".

⁶⁷ Jones (1925), p. 44 and L.J. Lewis, Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa, p. 104.

The quotation tells many things. Africa must be kept from political and other unrest, and in this task the part played by enlightened leaders was important. Religious instruction was one specific for the production of these hoped-for leaders. All in all Africa was a continent requiring external help and guidance in accordance with a government of trusteeship.

4.3 The memorandum of 1925

The London Advisory Committee had met only a few times when the lack of a set of general instructions for educational aims and procedures became increasingly apparent. From the start, however, the educational plans for Uganda, whose pattern showed the way for the formulation of such instructions, seemed likely to be an obstacle to future collaboration between missions and Colonial Office. In summer 1923 the government of Uganda had appointed E.R.J. Hussey,⁶⁸ a former senior Inspector of Schools in Sudan, to investigate the general development of the Uganda education system, to make recommendations and to take notice of the fact that among some native groups the desire was increasing to obtain higher education outside Uganda.⁶⁹ Such a trend affected the Colonial Office as well as the missions because in Uganda educational policy was focused on education provided by the missions.⁷⁰

Because of events in Uganda the London Advisory Committee waited for information from Hanns Vischer, who had travelled with the Phelps-Stokes Commission, regarding not only Kenya but also Uganda. However, in a report on Uganda sent to London in the course of his journey Vischer was satisfied merely to note the existing situation.⁷¹ A more important subject of discussion than the Vischer report and the data on Uganda provided by the Phelps-Stokes Commission was the above-mentioned Hussey report when it was completed at the beginning of 1924. Hussey, moreover, had been appointed as the new Director of the Uganda Education Department.⁷²

In his report Hussey valued the ideas published in the first report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, but had some divergent opinions also. In Hussey's view the Commission had overemphasized the quantitative side of education, and he noted that for economic reasons expansion of the school system must be relatively slow in countries at an early stage of development. He himself preferred a suitable level of education to an emphasis on

⁶⁸ See from Hussey's time in Uganda E.R.J. Hussey, *Tropical Africa 1908-1944. Memoirs of a Period*, pp. 63-80.

⁶⁹ Hussey to Archer 23.2.1924. Enclosure 1 in Archer to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 14.4.1924. Box 228. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers - Uganda. IMC/CBMC Archives. Mc. No. 359.

⁷⁰ Furley and Watson, pp. 103-18 and 186.

⁷¹ Advance Confidential Report on Visit of Phelps-Stokes Commission to East Africa by Major H. Vischer 25.4.24, pp. 6-9. Box 226. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Memoranda - Committee Papers. Report of Tours. Mc. No. 317.

⁷² Furley and Watson, p. 189.

numbers. Hussey also wrote that African tribes and sections of population differed a good deal in intelligence, and therefore a uniform system was not necessarily suitable for these different elements. Hussey further reminded his readers of the contrast between Africans and American negroes.⁷³

From these starting-points Hussey recommended measures of educational policy which did not win unreserved approval among the missions of Uganda. The latter criticised Hussey's recommendations on the ground that they would lead to a dual system in which the government would take part in the organization of primary education alongside the missions. At the same time the missions feared that the financial support they received would be reduced. Hussey, they said, had not paid sufficient attention to religious instruction, to the education of great population masses or to the education of women. Hussey's notion of strengthening the Makerere College which offered higher education threatened to undermine ordinary education. Nor had Hussey taken account of African opinion stated the missions in their criticism.⁷⁴

With its defence of quality and high standards the Hussey report stressed the opportunities for higher education than before which should be offered to Africans. Mission educational work was again focused on primary education. Hussey's task had been to find methods of counteracting the politically doubtful trend caused by the increased desire of Africans to study abroad. Differences of viewpoint between the missions and the Director of the Education Department were indisputable.

Differences of opinion came before the new Advisory Committee in London. In July 1924 both Hussey and Garfield Williams, who was responsible to the CMS for educational matters and had taken part in the journey of the Phelps-Stokes Commission to East Africa, were heard by the Committee, from whose standpoint the situation was awkward. The Committee was obliged to settle a dispute between the Director of an Education Department in an individual colony and the country's important missions. The matter had to be dealt with at a moment when part of the second Phelps-Stokes Commission had returned to London and collaboration between Colonial Office and missions was about to begin, but without general instructions of any kind on African educational policy. Thus the pattern of a solution for the Uganda question foresaw future collaboration by the Committee in a wider sense also.⁷⁵

Discussion in the Committee divided members between advocates of higher vocational education and supporters of more general primary education. The front line ran mainly between Lugard and Currie, who supported

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⁷³ Report on the Uganda Protectorate Addressed to His Excellency Sir G.F. Archer by E.R.J. Hussey 10.6.1924, pp. 1-2. Enclosure 1 in Hussey to Chief Secretary to the Government, Entebbe 10.6.1924. Box 228. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers - Uganda. IMC/CBMC Archives Mc. No. 359.

⁷⁴ Memorandum on Native Education in Uganda by J.J. Uganda and H.T.C. Weatherhead. Enclosure 1 in Archer to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 14.4.1924. Box 228. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers Uganda. IMC/CBMC Archives. Mc. No. 359.

⁷⁵ Minutes of ACNE 24.7. and 30.7.1924. Mc. No. 257.

Hussey's proposals in many respects, and mission representatives. Lugard stressed the links between education and economic life. In the cotton-producing areas of Uganda, he said, native communities were becoming "unbelievably wealthy". In Lugard's opinion the government should take part in teacher training, and he further maintained that in 20 years the missions had made no assessment of the importance of educational aspects. Their work had been a resource of the work of religious conversion.⁷⁶ Currie in his turn referred to the demands of Africans that they should have higher education to fit them for official positions. In a similar vein officials of the Colonial Office defended the Makerere plan especially in view of the growing demand for administrative functionaries.⁷⁷ Representing the missions, Garfield Williams criticised in particular the plan to train village school teachers at Makerere because experience had shown that students who went to cities did not wish to return to the countryside. He also defended schools which were below official standards, considering them the primary force to set in motion the cultural development of Africans.⁷⁸ Oldham for his part appealed to the view held by Aggrey that the educational standard of eastern Africa was lower than in western Africa, for which reason future education must not concentrate solely on the training of officials.⁷⁹

Disagreement over the lines followed by educational policy led finally to a compromise proposal drawn up by Michael Sadler. Once more he quoted the warning example of India, where higher education alone had been the main concern. For Uganda he made the proposal that the country should develop both Makerere and primary education. At that moment funds should be directed to the training of circulating teachers and the improvement of existing schools, but in addition to this a good "High School" like Makerere was needed. Doctors, engineers and teachers must be trained there. It was also an institution, Sadler stated, where English manners of the highest class and the rules of fair play could be taught.⁸⁰

Sadler's proposal was approved by the Advisory Committee.⁸¹ It had been skilfully composed, with note taken of the viewpoints of all parties to the dispute. Training of circulating teachers was in the interest of the missions, and it was being put into practice in Kenya, where the establishment of a school for this purpose was among the most important achievements of the Phelps-Stokes Commission.⁸² Similarly the missions had worked from the first for the development of primary education, a point which Sadler noted in his proposal. In the same way proponents of Makerere found support for their suggestions. Nor did Sadler forget the political side. In the training of

⁷⁶ Minutes of ACNE 24.7. and 30.7.1924. Mc. No. 257.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Minutes of ACNE 24.7.1924. Mc. No. 257.

⁷⁹ Minutes of ACNE 30.7.1924. Mc. No. 257.

⁸⁰ Minutes of ACNE 30.7.1924. Mc. No. 257 and A.C.A.E., Memorandum on Education in Uganda (Sadler Memo.). Box 228. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers - Uganda. IMC/CBMC Archives. Mc. No. 360.

⁸¹ Minutes of ACNE 23.10.1924. Mc. No. 258.

⁸² King, pp. 150-53.

Africans of the future conspicuous stress was laid on the education of character and the rules of fair play.

Discussion of education in Uganda was always concerned with the relation between Christian and other aims. Mission representatives in Uganda as in London showed anxiety over secularization of education as collaboration between government and missions increased. At High Leigh in early autumn 1924 an introductory speech on relations with the government in the British colonies of tropical Africa was given by Garfield Williams of CMS who had taken part in the decision over Uganda. In this introduction he defined his own aims in education, which were the cultivation of Christian character and the establishment of the kingdom of God in human minds. If the government did not strive for the same or even move toward these aims, he wanted no part of collaboration. Moreover, if the government produced an educational system whose function was to meet its own requirements – which were concerned with low-ranking African officials or inferior functions of trade and industry – the result of such a system would be anarchy. Williams was prepared to collaborate, but in the last analysis the government should hold fast to Christian objectives in common with the missions.⁸³

In late autumn 1924 the discussion on Uganda resolved itself into the compromise already mentioned in connection with Sadler. Arising at the same time and brought to a head partly by the problems of Uganda was the need to define the general principles of British educational policy in Africa. A document containing such a definition had already been discussed before the High Leigh Conference.⁸⁴ The matter came up in the Advisory Committee discussion behind the scenes in October 1924.⁸⁵ Lugard then told the Committee that it would perform an important service if it could agree on the guiding principles of educational policy on which it had been formed. Oldham added that in such a declaration it was necessary to deal with relations between government and private interests, means of ensuring that the best men were secured for teaching in Africa and finally the position of the native language in African education. The formulation of general principles was left to Lugard.⁸⁶

The matters to be included in these general principles were not surprising. Inclusion of the language question, which appears to be separate, in the list of proposals is largely explained by the fact that great attention had been paid to it at High Leigh, and also the intensified study of African languages was a topical question in the same circles which were responsible for the shaping of African educational policy.⁸⁷

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⁸³ Full Notes of Discussion, African Conference, High Leigh September 1924. Relations with Government, pp. 1-2. Box 216. African Education. High Leigh Conference 1924. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 183. See too Garfield Williams, *Relations with Government in Education: British Colonies in Tropical Africa*. IRM. Vol. XIV. No. 53, 1925, pp. 3-24.

⁸⁴ Full Notes of Discussion, African Conference, pp. 2-3.

⁸⁵ Clatworthy, pp. 84-85.

⁸⁶ Minutes of ACNE 6.10.1924. Mc. No. 257 and 258.

⁸⁷ Edwin W. Smith, *The Story of the Institute. A Survey of Seven Years*, pp. 1-2. Africa. Vol. VII. No. 1, 1934.

In preparing the most important expression of opinion on African education during the colonial period Lugard was in touch with Oldham, Jones, Sadler, Currie and Fraser, Principal of Achimota College on the Gold Coast. Collaboration between Lugard and Oldham was especially close in the preparation phase.⁸⁸

In Lugard's first draft Oldham had certain objections. He did not approve Lugard's thought that the Chairman of Advisory Committees on education in the colonies should automatically be Director of the Education Department. Second, Oldham wished to make it clear that leaders to be trained for Africa should not be separated from the rest of the population. Third, he stressed that the London Advisory Committee was responsible also for the advancement of higher education, and for this Africans must have opportunities as far as funds permitted.⁸⁹

In November Oldham was able to present mission leaders with a new version in which Lugard had obviously taken note of Oldham's criticism. The chairmanship of Advisory Committees was not mentioned at all. Lugard proposed that education produce leaders who would not be separated from their own tribe. In a paper regarding higher education – confidential at this stage – it was stated that although the first task was to raise the efficiency level of the great population groups, higher education must not be neglected. Lugard did not make the advance of higher education dependent on funds, however: in his view it was suited to those whose character, ability and temperament enabled them to assimilate it and then work at responsible tasks in official bureaus and private service.⁹⁰

The missions had no further objections in the matters mentioned. Criticised on the other hand were government rights of control and the education of the sons of chiefs. Mr Manley of the CMS was uneasy because Kenya officials regarded all mission work as education, a danger which also lurked in Uganda. Manley demanded separation of education from evangelical work, and freedom to preach. Nor did Manley like the thought that the government treated Christianity and Islam on equal terms.⁹¹ He feared that the missions would come too much under government control.

Regarding the education of the sons of chiefs those attending the meeting had many objections. In his introduction Lugard had stated that they should be trained in the duties of a leader, taught responsibility and readiness for public service. Farmers for their part must be taught diligence and love of

⁸⁸ Perham (1960), pp. 660-61 and Clatworthy, pp. 84-89.

⁸⁹ Oldham to Lugard 8.10.1924. Mss. Afr. s 1829. Box 3. File 1, 1922-31. Rt. Hon. Lord Lugard. J.H. Oldham Papers. RHL.

⁹⁰ A Draft of a Memorandum on Educational Policy in Africa by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa. J.H. Oldham to the Members of the Sub-Committee on Christian Education. 20 th November 1924. Box 512. W.M.C. Continuation Committee; Committees and Correspondence. File, Education Committee. C.B.M.S. Papers re Education in Mission Field, Committee Meetings 1920-1925. CBMS Archives. SOAS.

⁹¹ Education Committee. Notes of meeting of Sub-Committee held on 4th December, 1924. Box 512. W.M.C. Continuation Committee; Committees and Correspondence. File, Education Committee. C.B.M.S. Papers re Education in Mission Field, Committee Meetings 1920-1925. CBMS Archives. SOAS.

agriculture.⁹² These differences of emphasis aroused suspicion among the missions, and Dr Jones also expressed anxiety. In his opinion Lugard's ideas here were in conflict with the rest of the matter concerned. The duty of diligence, he maintained, should not be imposed on farmers alone, and in addition he wished to avoid the notion that the sons of chiefs should be educated differently from others. E.W. Smith reminded listeners that the sons of chiefs did not always become chiefs themselves, and Dr Williams believed that the government ought not to produce a traditional aristocracy in Africa.⁹³

The opinions of the missions and Dr Jones did not necessarily question indirect rule, but reflected the facts arising from the practice of colonial administration. The latter was obliged to recruit "chiefs" sometimes from outside the traditional aristocracy,⁹⁴ which in suitable cases could not be repugnant to the missions. Jones' objections for their part raised the point that the ideology of adaptation affected chiefs and their sons as well as others. Lugard perhaps did not always remember to stress this aspect sufficiently. Replying to the question of excessive government supervision Oldham had resort to political arguments. A government had the right of control if public order was threatened. Individually Oldham referred to ethiopianism, which to him had been a problem for years.⁹⁵ He also wished to stress the importance of religion because if this was not made abundantly clear governments would be afraid to recommend religious teaching. The missions also wished teacher training to be a chapter on its own, and they wished moreover to stress the importance of the scout and similar movements in Africa.⁹⁶

The views of Jones and the missions were seen in the final memorandum prepared by Lugard. New expression had been given to the original form of education for chiefs, which was not directly spoken of at all. Instead it was stated that education must help to bring forward capable, reliable and public-spirited leaders who belonged to the same race as those surrounding them. Education realized in this way would reduce the gap between the educated class and the rest of the community whether they were chiefs or peasantry.⁹⁷

However, it was not merely a question of training enlightened leaders. The object was also to raise individuals who were more efficient in their own way

⁹² A Draft Memorandum on Educational Policy in Africa, p. 3.

⁹³ Education Committee, Notes of meeting of Sub-Committee held on 4th December, 1924.

⁹⁴ For West Africa see A.E. Afigbo, *The Establishment of Colonial Rule 1900-1918*, pp. 444 in J.F.A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds.), *History of West Africa. Vol. Two* and A.E. Afigbo, *The Warrant Chiefs. Indirect Rule in Southeastern Nigeria 1891-1929*, pp. 296-305.

⁹⁵ Education Committee. Notes of Meeting of Sub-Committee held on 4th December, 1924. Box 512. W.M.C. Continuation Committee; Committees and Correspondence. File, Education Committee. C.B.M.S. Papres re Education in Mission Field, Committee Meetings 1920-1925. CBMS Archives. SOAS.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, Memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies. Cmd. 2374, p. 4.

of life and who furthered the development of the whole community. This would be done by teaching people agriculture, industrial skills, health care and matters which closely touched their lives in general such as the virtues of citizenship and readiness for service. Behind this list is found the basic starting principle of the ideology of adaptation, which left its mark on the whole substance of the memorandum. In it was stated that:

“Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution.”⁹⁸

What were the forces of natural growth and evolution? They are not particularized in the memorandum, but certain points can be noted. In accordance with the attitude of the missions the memorandum stressed the teaching of religion and moral instruction which, if properly taught, would guarantee that ties with civilization were not harmful and new ideas caused no antagonism against the secular authority in power. Education must strengthen responsibility toward the tribal community.⁹⁹

Religious teaching – though only if well conducted – was therefore a cause of changes and an alleviator of their unwished-for consequences. Economic changes in Africa were referred to somewhat indirectly. Colonial governments were increasing their hold on education because economic development in the African colonies had brought increased funds. But the memorandum referred also to the duties of guardianship which had increased the interest of governments in African education.¹⁰⁰

These phrases in the last analysis appealed to the ideology of adaptation though in a somewhat roundabout way, and their background was collaboration between Colonial Office and missions as much in London as in individual colonies. In the memorandum it was stated that collaboration between government and missions should be furthered in all ways. The government welcomed and encouraged all voluntary educational work which fitted in with general policy. But it reserved for itself the general direction of educational policy and inspection procedures for all schools. The government guaranteed its assistance to private schools conducted in accordance with approved rules and reaching required standards. The memorandum admitted that it was economical to make use of voluntary education because of the limited funds available for education.¹⁰¹

These limited resources were also referred to when speaking of higher education for Africans. Chief attention in coming years must be given to primary education in practical skills; higher education in general must be

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⁹⁸ Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, p. 4.

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 3-5.

increased only within the framework permitted by resources.¹⁰²

The agreement of 1925 was the official start of collaboration between Colonial Office and missions for the planning of African education. From the government standpoint it was expedient to work with the missions. The latter had an efficient network of education in Africa, and by using it the government was able to pursue its own ends in educational policy. This presupposed agreement by the missions with the ideas of the colonial administration on the aims of education in Africa. Events leading to the agreement of 1925 show that the missions were prepared for this, though they expected benefits in return. At High Leigh the missions had stressed the Christian basis of all education,¹⁰³ and in the agreement of 1925 the importance of religious teaching was not underrated. Thus the missions received the promise of continued emphasis on Christianity in the colonial education system and an opportunity for obtaining government financial support at the same time.

Soon after the preparation and issue of the memorandum its chief architects turned public attention to the document which had emerged, at the same time finding a reason for certain points in it.

In the attitudes adopted by Oldham there was no especial novelty. He praised the favourable reaction of the memorandum to religion and moral instruction and stated that the missions would stand by the government in power to carry out the other aims of education proposed in the memorandum. In his view they aimed at raising Africans to the status of richer and more complete man- and womanhood.¹⁰⁴ In Frederick Lugard's article, which the Colonial Office had printed for propaganda circulation later,¹⁰⁵ the writer brought out with surprising frankness aspects of educational policy which make use of the colonial administration. He wrote that African education must concentrate on primary education. In addition to general education this must give instruction to produce more enlightened handicraft workers, cotton growers, groundnut producers and so on for the colonies. Expansion of primary education and direction of indispensable higher education in the service of aims more clearly productive than before were politically expedient matters which would reduce the danger of a separate "intelligentsia" or politically troublesome class emerging. Thinking of the same objective, Lugard recognized the importance of religious and character training.¹⁰⁶

Soon after publication of the 1925 memorandum, that of the East African Commission headed by Ormsby-Gore also appeared. Since educational matters had been left to the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the Advisory

¹⁰² Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, p. 4.

¹⁰³ See p. 74.

¹⁰⁴ J.H. Oldham, Educational Policy of the British Government in Africa. IRM. Vol. XIV. No. 55. 1925, pp. 421-27.

¹⁰⁵ Minutes of the ACNE 27.5.1926. Mc. No. 259.

¹⁰⁶ F.D. Lugard, Education in Tropical Africa. The Edinburgh Review. Vol. 242. No. 493, 1925, pp. 1-19.

Committee Ormsby-Gore's Commission confined itself to saying that its opinions were not opposed to the line adopted.¹⁰⁷ Ormsby-Gore in fact was Chairman of the Advisory Committee, and A.G. Church, another member of the Commission, joined the Advisory Committee after the East African journey.¹⁰⁸ The final report of the East African Commission had one noteworthy feature, however: it discussed education emphatically from the standpoint of the administration. The importance of mission educational work was recognized, but at the same time its weak points were listed: its chief aim was conversion, and its nature was too near to booklearning. It was high time for the government to take education in hand.¹⁰⁹

The educational memorandum of 1925 was produced in the time of Amery, a Conservative Colonial Secretary. But among the Labour Party too its substance seemed to meet with approval. It was as a representative of Labour that the above-mentioned A.G. Church had been appointed to the Advisory Committee. He belonged to the wing of the party which supported a British Empire of maximum selfsufficiency. Church was also a member of the Empire Industries Association which pursued this aim.¹¹⁰ The Advisory Committee on Imperial Questions, which advised the Labour Party, did not give its time to educational matters except for one memorandum issued in 1925. Its author was Harry Snell,¹¹¹ a member of Parliament who represented a more humanitarian wing of the party than Church. In his memorandum Snell noted that the views of the Labour Party on education among subject peoples need not differ substantially from the memorandum of 1925. To be sure he suspected that the educational policy adopted was too paternalistic, but he reminded readers that school was the most important and perhaps the only source of culture for natives. He also condemned the religious ideas to be taught to natives as outworn.¹¹²

Historically the situation in Africa was a reminder of the lines of development followed by the history of education in the mother country. The claim of the Anglican church, dating from the Middle Ages, to a monopoly of education collapsed by degrees from the 19th century onward. Changes in the social structure of England, growth of industry and urbanization, caused great social problems. Poverty, crime and child labour – all seemed to go hand in hand with illiteracy. Enlightenment and provision of primary education for the poor began to appear as indispensable social innovations.¹¹³

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¹⁰⁷ Report of the East Africa Commission, p. 53.

¹⁰⁸ See p. 73 note 56.

¹⁰⁹ Report of the East African Commission, p. 50.

¹¹⁰ Paratha Sarathi Gupta, *Imperialism and the British Labour Movement, 1914-1964*, pp. 68-69.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

¹¹² Labour Party Advisory Committee on Imperial Questions, Memorandum No. 23 January 1926. British Commonwealth Labour Conference 1927, Questionnaire on Subject Peoples - Education. Memorandum by H. Snell, M.P. Box 654. L.P.Imp.Ac. Memos. 1-90, 1924-32. The Labour Party Archives.

¹¹³ Lawson and Silver, pp. 226-28.

By a law passed in 1870 the so-called dual system was created in England. Private schools received state aid, but in addition the law obliged towns and municipalities to establish primary schools for the public. The increased part played by the state in the direction of education was seen also in the growth of administrative machinery. The Ministry of Education, founded in 1899, was the central administrative organ which led and supervised the general development of the country's education.¹¹⁴

The Anglican church did not give up its strong position without resistance. In the first phase the church sought to oppose the increase of public supervision in its own schools¹¹⁵ and in many areas was openly antagonistic to the Education Boards set up after the law of 1870. These Boards became administrative bodies at the local level, and church representatives, like others, had to compete for membership.¹¹⁶

The state's increased interest in education has been explained as the wish to produce more professionally skilled workers for industry. When competition between England and other industrial states of Europe intensified at the end of the 19th century this aim became still more important as a reason for the necessity of educating the poorer section of the population. The church, by taking part through its own schools in the same social endeavour, sought to preserve the vitality of basic Christian values among the community.¹¹⁷

4.4 Reception in the field

The White Paper of 1925 was a much-needed official indication of African educational policy, but the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office and missionary societies did not confine themselves to a mere definition of the main issues of policy. The case of Uganda showed that both the Committee and the central body of the missions were obliged to take a stand on the separate educational problems of individual colonies and might thereby advance the realization of their own aims. Naturally the response of colonial Education Departments and missions to moves made by London or to proposals for the solution of individual questions affected the planning of British educational policy for Africa and the pattern of future decisions. Particularly the transmission of important instructions to the field was significant for the discovery of new solutions. When the Governors in spring 1923 had approved collaboration with the missions in negotiations held in London, it was expected that similar messages would resound from the colonies with reference to the decisions of 1925. Accomplishment of the ideology of adaptation, closer collaboration between missions and colonial

¹¹⁴ H.C. Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760*, pp. 117-9 and 109-11.

¹¹⁵ Hurt, pp. 35-6.

¹¹⁶ Lawson and Silver, pp. 314-15 and 319.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 231-32 and 318.

governments and retention of a clear authority for educational policy in government hands were decisions which influenced the future of the educational field in an important way. Indications that these lines of action were winning approval in Africa had already been given by trends in educational policy in the early 1920s.

On the Gold Coast the first half of the 1920s had been a time of active desire for innovation in the arrangement of educational matters. Guggisberg, an energetic Governor, had appointed in May 1922 a special Committee to investigate the foundation of a new type of secondary school and its mode of operation on the Gold Coast.¹¹⁸ The Committee's work resulted in the establishment of Achimota College, the future "flagship" of educational policy in western Africa, which began its work after careful preparation in 1927. Achimota was a special institute by the dimensions of British Africa as a whole, and its mode of operation determined by the ideology of adaptation told its own tale that educational policy on the Gold Coast would follow the lines adopted by London.¹¹⁹

In April 1925 Governor Guggisberg notified the Colonial Office that the local Educational Board, including African and mission representatives, had unanimously approved the country's new regulations for education. In drafting these Guggisberg had frankly appealed in favour of London's new educational policy, saying that by approving the new regulations the members of the Board would make history and perform a revolutionary act in the educational system. Africans would be given wider opportunities than ever before and their country would be freed from the greatest evil which had ever confronted it. By this Guggisberg meant an unsuitable educational system which produced only a large number of literate unemployed, half African and half European. Their education up till then had provided a glimpse of the highest notions of western civilization, but was still insufficient to help them to grasp these ideas or to apply them to practical conditions. In other words the school system of that moment was denationalising Africans, and in the opinion of Guggisberg a denationalised country was a bad state of affairs.¹²⁰

In addition to the ideology of adaptation the educational policy adopted by the Gold Coast followed the instructions favoured by London in other respects. All schools were placed under government supervision, which in Guggisberg's view afforded protection to teachers, pupils and population. Likewise the country's new Educational Council very clearly represented government interests, which naturally eased the establishment of a policy

¹¹⁸ Interim Report of the Educationists' Committee 1922. Appointed by His Excellency the Governor 23rd May, 1922.

¹¹⁹ Round Table, Achimota. Reprinted by Permission from the Round Table, pp. 78-83 December, 1925.

¹²⁰ Finlay to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 29.4.1925. Enclosure 1, Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Education, Held in the Council Chamber, Accra, on Thursday, the 26th March, 1925. Box. 229 Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Gold Coast. IMC/CBMC Archives. Mc. No. 377.

favouring the colonial administration. Besides the Governor the new Educational Council included the Secretary of Colonial Affairs, the Director of the Education Department, the Principal of Achimota College, three officials of the colonial administration appointed by the Governor, four similarly appointed representatives of missions and educational organizations and four African members, again chosen by the Governor.¹²¹

Guggisberg was satisfied with his achievements. Leaders of the most important missions had taken part in preparing the regulations and the Educational Council had approved them in March 1925. Guggisberg was finally able to inform London that the innovations carried out on the Gold Coast corresponded fully to the views made public by the London Advisory Committee.¹²² London too was satisfied with the action taken on the Gold Coast. Which, as the Colonial Office noted, gave a fresh impetus to the new African educational policy followed by the Advisory Committee. Certain points were criticised nonetheless by members of the London Committee. Doubts arose over the classification of schools according to their efficiency, though the Committee finally approved the principle that aid granted to efficient schools should be given to heads of missions, not to the schools themselves. It was the task of missions to intervene if any school received less aid than usual. The Committee also intervened in the language question, maintaining that English should not be taught in infant schools. This proposal was included in the Gold Coast regulations as it was feared that any other practice would arouse the opposition of Africans.¹²³

The Gold Coast also served as an example to Sierra Leone. There too in the early 1920s educational policy encountered great pressure for innovation, and new regulations for education came into force at the beginning of 1925. The reasons for these reforms were similar to those in other British colonies. In Sierra Leone, as elsewhere, many rural church schools were inadequately equipped and poorly staffed. The standard of teaching was low. The country had no teacher training establishment, and curricula were observed to be unsuitable. The government was willing to intervene.¹²⁴

When the Governor of Sierra Leone sent the Colonial Office an analysis of the educational situation in his colony at the end of 1925, his point of comparison was the educational policy of Guggisberg. He agreed that the

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¹²¹ Finlay to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 29.4.1925. Enclosure 1, Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Education, Held in the Council Chamber, Accra, on Thursday, the 26th March, 1925. Box. 229 Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Gold Coast. IMC/CBMC Archives. Mc. No. 377.

¹²² Guggisberg to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 20.6.1925. Box 229. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Gold Coast. MC. No. 377. Guggisberg wrote, "that our proposed system correspond generally with the views published by the Advisory Committee. The chief points in it are a) Thoroughness of education, b) Improvement in status and quality of teachers, c) Character training, d), Correlation of education and local conditions, e) Co-operation with and support of Missions f) Government control."

¹²³ Amery to the Deputy Governor 13.10.1925. Box 229. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Gold Coast. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 378.

¹²⁴ Slater to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 19.11.1925. Box 229. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Sierra Leone. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 371.

government must supervise mission school work and that education must be directed by the ideology of adaptation. He had certain reservations regarding the latter idea, however. He supported character training, but with reference to the principle that every school should provide instruction in health and welfare, also teaching for the advancement of industry, he stated that Sierra Leone was conservative and progressive at one and the same time. The Freetown Secondary School, he reported, was proud to include Latin and Greek in its curricula, while at the Fourah Bay College (supervised by Durham University) more and more young students were interested in the B.A. degree. The Governor admitted that in every protectorate farmers and handicraft workers were needed more than clerks, and this aspect must be kept in mind by government and missions alike. He also related that all government and most mission schools possessed farms of varying size where pupils experimented with commercial plant species.¹²⁵

Sierra Leone with Fourah Bay College was one of the educational centres of western Africa, and thus it seemed less straight forward to carry out a policy of adaptation there – without ambiguity – than on the Gold Coast. However, no stiff resistance to the London line was shown.

The same did not happen in the small colony of Gambia, where the basic problems were similar to those in the bigger colonies. In the Governor's words, they were "forced to read the history of failure". This applied to men who had rejected agriculture in pursuit of knowledge which they did not assimilate but which in arrogant ignorance they thought they had achieved. The Judge of the Supreme Court, who agreed with the Governor, wrote as follows:

"To my mind Education – as we understand that term – is still on its trial in West Africa, and should not be unduly extended until we can be sure that it will do more good than harm. I, for one, would far rather see a few well educated men for whom useful employment can be found, than a large number of alleged intelligentzia who either cannot, or will not, do honest work. Agriculture is the foundation of everything out here ...".¹²⁶

The basic attitude shown here was agreeable to the planners in London, and when Gambia reported an improvement in its education situation the news was received in London with satisfaction. Reforms included foundation of a teacher training establishment at Bathurst by a Wesleyan mission and the adoption of compulsory education in the capital.¹²⁷

In Nigeria criticism of mission education had exerted some influence on the reforms made under Lord Lugard's leadership after the First World War.

¹²⁵ Slater to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 19.11.1925. Box 229. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Sierra Leone. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 371.

¹²⁶ Armitage to the Seceretry of State for the Colonies 15.6.1926. Box 229. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Gambia. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 375.

¹²⁷ Minutes of ACEC 20.6.1929. Box 222. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. Minutes (printed). Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, 1929-1936. Mc. No. 262.

It has been further noted that in 1918 the government gave an order enabling it to control the foundation of mission schools in the country's northern provinces. These instructions provided that no mission or private person or employee on behalf of a mission might open or maintain a school in the provinces of the north without written permission from the Governor.¹²⁸ In this way the government regulated the expansion of Christian education in muslim districts.

At the beginning of the following decade the renewal of primary education became a question of the moment in the country's southern regions also. The Governor stated that a considerable demand for education had been encountered. It had arisen among tribes which not long before had been subject to primitive forms of heathenism including human sacrifice and cannibalism. This demand occurred now at a time when the government was forced to adopt strict measures of economy and therefore could not respond to it. In the Governor's view not only lack of funds but also insufficient personnel made it impossible to deal with existing requirements.¹²⁹

As a solution the Governor suggested collaboration with the missions. In any case primary education must go hand in hand with religious principles. He proposed the foundation of a new Educational Council which would deal with the secular subjects of primary education but not interfere with religious instruction given by the missions. The Council would be given extensive powers to decide and demand courses which would be of maximum benefit to inhabitants of the southern provinces. The Governor continued that in his opinion there were few among the missionaries who did not complain of the present wretched state of affairs. This, if it went on, would have disastrous consequences for the rising generation. The Governor wished the Colonial Office to pay special attention to badly directed schools for which young men with little education themselves were often responsible. It was a generally accepted view, he thought, that the products of such schools were for the most part idle and useless.¹³⁰

The Governor's proposed plans, if carried out, would have meant material government aid for the missions. There were three main conditions for this aid. First, an inspectorate must be appointed. Second, precise standards of efficiency must be determined. Third, the government must provide financial aid for the training of African teachers.¹³¹

The Nigerian proposals were weighed up in London. One of them was for expansive collaboration with missions and the proposals also included critical examination of schools which were unsatisfactory.¹³²

London also made comments which were expected. The Advisory Com-

¹²⁸ F.D. Lugard, Protectorate of Nigeria. An Ordinance to Enable the Governor to Control the Establishment of Mission Schools in the Northern Provinces of the Protectorate, p. 2. No. VI. 22.3.1918. Lagos 1918. Box 230. Africa General Education, File Nigeria. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 387.

¹²⁹ Clifford to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 12.3.1924. Box 230. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Nigeria. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 387.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Minutes of ACNE 16.1. and 28.1.1925. Mc. No. 258.

mittee considered that the Governor should keep in his hands the right of inspection and control over all education provided in Nigeria. Support must also be given to educational endeavours which conformed to the general policy of education. The Committee's recommendation to the Nigerian authorities was condensed in the following instructions:

1. At the head of the Education Department should be the Director of Education, whose duty, in addition to direct responsibility for Government Educational Staff and Institutions, will be to co-operate with the Mission bodies and with other Government Departments in carrying out the policy of Native Education laid down by the head of the Administration. Besides these duties he would have to attend to the question of languages to be used in the programme of instruction, the production of suitable text books, etc., etc. His department should be strengthened especially in regard to the Inspectorate and his status in the Administration should be "recognised as that of the Head of one of the more important Departments".
2. The supervision of elementary education should be carried out in close co-operation with an Advisory Board on which the various Missionary bodies are fully represented. This Board should be advisory to the Lieutenant Governor and should include besides the Director of Education as Chairman or Vice-Chairman, Senior Officers from the Medical and Agricultural Departments, Missionaries, Traders and representatives of Native opinion.
3. For the proper supervision of the various schools, Supervisors should be selected and appointed from the various Missions as well as from the Government Inspectorate for the inspection of schools in the different districts.
4. While leaving elementary education in the village schools to the Missions, the Committee holds that it is incumbent upon the Government to provide facilities for more advanced and specialised training in Secondary, Technical and Higher Schools, where arrangements should be made for the Missionary bodies to provide for the spiritual needs of pupils belonging to different churches.
5. The Director of Education and the Advisory Board while controlling, through Supervisors, elementary education, will be able to make from time to time the necessary proposals for the gradual building up of a complete school organisation embracing all schools, leading from the village school eventually to a University College.

Attention was also paid in London to the right of Governors to close a Education if it contained rebellious, disloyal, immoral or otherwise troublesome characters. The same right applied if a school staff was incompetent or poor in quality, or if a school location was dangerous to health.¹³³

¹³³ Amery to the Governor of Nigeria 14.2.1925. Box 230. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File Nigeria. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 387 and Minutes of the ACNE 28.1.1925. Mc. No. 258.

The Governor made his own comments on the recommendations of the Advisory Committee, stating that Nigeria had no inspectorate at that moment, nor were educational organizers supervised in most of the southern provinces. He added that if "Hedge Schools" were to be supervised it should be done by the government, not by missions.¹³⁴

The Governor's attitude to the ideology of adaptation was interesting. Though he expressed full respect for the aims of the Advisory Committee he wished to make it known that the education to be provided directly for the natives of Nigeria was determined to some extent by the demand. It should be remembered, the Governor thought, that the unusual wish now shown by the rising generation in West Africa to acquire a little book-learning or at least the elementary ability to read and write was due mainly to the widespread belief that these achievements would free them from manual labour. It was not too much to say, he continued, that the partly educated Africans produced yearly by the present system – or lack of one in the southern provinces – were more or less cut off from their fellows and their tribal and family obligations, which were of old enforced by unshakeable belief in local spiritualistic and animistic superstitions and that they derived from the so-called "education" which has been imparted to them nothing save a notable deterioration of character and a rejection of the responsibilities and duties proper to their natural state as members of a family and of a tribe.¹³⁵

Although in Sierra Leone and Nigeria there were doubts regarding immediate acceptance of the ideology of adaptation, the reaction of the colonial administration to the main questions of the new educational policy was on the whole favourable. In central and eastern Africa the situation seems to have been more complicated.

In the mid-1920s an increase of appropriations for education in Northern Rhodesia was praised in London.¹³⁶ Earlier, however, Northern Rhodesia had been a source of regret to the missions, and now too the country had a special problem which – the missions felt – deserved the attention of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee. Particularly in the northeastern part of Northern Rhodesia economic conditions were unsatisfactory in the extreme. When natives left their homes to escape unpaid taxes they constantly complained against the government. This, the missions believed, was having a detrimental effect on relations between natives and the whole European community. The missions recalled that there were great numbers of natives in industrial areas who fostered dissatisfaction and spread popular agitation; it would be a great benefit to the Africans if they could earn their tax money near home. As soon as possible the natives should be offered instruction in

¹³⁴ Memorandum on the Subject of Primary Education in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria by Sir Hugh Clifford, pp. 1-2. London 7th July. Box 230. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Nigeria. IMC/CBMC Archives. Mc. No. 387.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2-3.

¹³⁶ Minutes of ACNE 11.12.1924. Mc. No. 258.

agriculture which would help them to exploit the natural resources of their country. A letter to London continued:

"In view of the intention of the Government to assist native education, especially education that is Industrial and Agricultural, the strong desire of the Colonial Office to stimulate the growing of cotton within the Empire, especially by natives, the desire for work on the part of numbers of natives, the lack of employment under present conditions, the excellent facilities for transport existing South of Tanganyika for the export of economic products, we would suggest that the appointment of a Director of Native Development for N.E. Rhodesia would be a very profitable undertaking. Failing this, assistance in the way of a grant to Missions working along these lines would be, we believe, a valuable investment."¹³⁷

The missions could not have expressed more clearly their support for the economic aims of imperial policy in Northern Rhodesia. It was not surprising that the Governor agreed with them. He proposed to promote the education of natives through the machinery created by the missions, while noting that they themselves had admitted the need for an increase in the central direction of educational matters. Work should start with development of primary schools, whose teaching staff in Northern Rhodesia was inferior in the Governor's view; effective supervision was also lacking. Part of government aid should be applied, with the help of the missions, to the training of native teachers. Special attention must be paid to training which would qualify teachers to give instruction in technical and particularly in agricultural subjects.¹³⁸

Thus in Northern Rhodesia the choice of subject matter seemed to be proceeding in good understanding between missions and colonial administration. In administrative arrangements too the missions were active, no doubt because of their previous experiences. The Anglican Bishop of Northern Rhodesia and the Secretary of the local Missionary Conference, Pastor J.R. Fell, approved a plan for the appointment of an advisory body to deal with educational matters on the spot. It would have nine members representing all central missions. Inspection of schools was the general responsibility of Education Department Director, while part-time inspection duties would be assigned to five mission representatives.¹³⁹ In April 1925 the suggested advisory body was set up in conjunction with the office of Education Department Director. In this office G.C. Lathman started work briskly, seeking to take control of the direction and supervision of the

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¹³⁷ W. Govan Robertson, Suggestions to the Northern Rhodesia Government on the Question of Native Development on behalf of the London Missionary Society, Central Africa District Committee in Stanley to Thomas 13.9.1924. Box 230. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Northern Rhodesia. IMC/CBMS Archives Mc. No. 392.

¹³⁸ Stanley to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 25.11.1924. Box 230. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Northern Rhodesia. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 392.

¹³⁹ Ibid and Minutes of ACNE 11.11.1924, Appendix III.

country's educational system.¹⁴⁰

In Nyasaland, a smaller neighbour of Northern Rhodesia, matters did not run so smoothly. From the first there were problems in the practical application of the new educational policy. Immediately after Dr Jones' visit to the country the Governor informed London that the deficiencies in education there were for economic reasons. He valued the contribution made by the missions, but added that, although the government must expand and develop work through the missions it must not be content merely to see that the rules were kept and financial aid distributed to them. It was the government's duty to provide educational opportunities directly to all natives who preferred openings offered by the government. In this connection he pointed to the Muslim population in particular. The Governor also proposed the appointment of a Director of Native Education whose first duty was to prepare a fresh educational code.¹⁴¹

This was done, and in January 1927 Mr Gaunt, who had been appointed, drew up a memorandum on the state of education in Nyasaland. He expressed surprise at the extensive educational opportunities already existing in the country. This was thanks to the missions. In practice all missions gave opportunities for manual work and education in the service of industry. But the Director of the Education Department had also found a number of village schools which had appalled him. In the past mistakes had been made, and political anxieties were in Gaunt's mind as he analysed educational affairs in the country of his appointment. Education which stressed reading and writing did not lead forward, nor did it train children for manhood or to deal with life's problems:

"... Can we be surprised that many become a prey to agitators who gave them wilfully false interpretations of events. The child, born say 1890, becoming a man in the Great War years, found his cosmos tumbling about his ears and proved a ready victim of the Communist with his theory of destruction. If we review conditions at home in recent years, what do we find? A Vague enervating unrest pervading all sections of society. Communist Sunday Schools and widespread anarchical tendencies amongst the working classes. And when we turn to Egypt and India, what do we meet? Discontented Zaghulists and depressing Gandhism. Nor has Africa escaped the machinations of the Marcus Garveys of the Negro World ... Here in Africa we are dealing with an impressionable people already awakening to class-consciousness. We are forced to the conclusion that learning, unless most carefully handled, can become a very dangerous thing."¹⁴²

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¹⁴⁰ John P. Ragsdale, *Protestant Mission Education in Zambia, 1880-1954*, pp. 76-78.

¹⁴¹ Bowring to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 11.6.1924. Box 230. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Nyasaland. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 398.

¹⁴² Memorandum on Education in Nyasaland, pp. 1-3. Education Department, Zomba. December 1926. Enclosure in Bowring to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 25.1.1927. Box 230. Africa Education General: A.C.E.C. File, Nyasaland. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 398.

Gaunt's memorandum, in fact, was also clearly a political announcement. Separation of Africa from earth-shaking anarchy and class-conscious communism depended on the education provided for Africans. Contented, loyal citizens must be raised in Africa, which meant that character-building and religious instruction held an important position in education. At the same time Gaunt stressed the significance of agricultural instruction and teacher training which included manual work. The Education Department Director was willing to collaborate as far as possible with the missions in matters of staff and financing. Aid granted to missions depended on measures of inspection at schools, teacher training and the standard reached, attention paid to agriculture and to technical and industrial instruction, sanitation and personal cleanliness; it also depended on the effectiveness of lessons devoted to health and recreational opportunities. Gaunt, however, was also prepared to close some schools in order to ensure the efficiency of those which remained.¹⁴³

This was quite enough to satisfy London.¹⁴⁴ Inefficient and politically dangerous schools were in the line of fire and yet the government was prepared to collaborate with the missions. Measures of educational guidance too seemed to be proceeding, as planned, in tune with the government. In spring 1927 the Nyasaland Education Department produced a further memorandum dealing with the effect of native education on productivity and general development in the Protectorate. In it Gaunt stated that opponents of native education appealed to the view that "the raw native" was a better man and worker than the educated native. Gaunt himself did not believe this, however.¹⁴⁵

In October 1925 a Conference assembled in Dar es Salaam at the invitation of Governor Donald Cameron for the purpose of discussing and agreeing upon the country's future educational policy; it was attended by Tanganyika mission representatives, colonial administration officials, trade and plantation delegates, a few African and one Indian representative.¹⁴⁶ Cameron, appointed Governor of Tanganyika a few years earlier, had served previously under Frederick Lugard where he had acquainted himself with the central notions of adaptation in indirect rule. In Tanganyika the new Governor started an energetic renewal of the country's administrative system in line with the principles of indirect rule. He also observed African living conditions while travelling to various parts of the country. A new set of instructions for Tanganyika in accordance with indirect rule was completed in 1926.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Memorandum on Education in Nyasaland, pp. 5-6. Mc. No. 398 and 399.

¹⁴⁴ Minutes of the ACNE 28.1.1925. Appendix IV. Mc. No. 258.

¹⁴⁵ Memorandum on Native Education and Its Effect upon Production. Education Deptment. Nyasaland. 2.3.1927. Box 230. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Nyasaland. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 399.

¹⁴⁶ Tanganyika Territory, Conference Between Government and Missions. Report of Proceedings. Held at Dar es Salaam 5th to 12th October, 1925.

¹⁴⁷ Iliffe, pp. 320-34 and Asko Mielonen, Paikallishallinto Tanganjikassa maailmansotien välisenä aikana. Epäsuoran hallinnon päämäärät ja käytäntö, pp. 44-45 and 51-58.

This policy of innovation in itself laid a foundation for critical examination of educational conditions in the country. But here too new waves of opinion were making themselves felt in London. In Cameron's opinion the 1925 White Paper was a "Charter of Education".¹⁴⁸ The same grandiosity was expressed by Rivers-Smith, Director of the Education Department, who stressed the primacy of African requirements at the Dar es Salaam Conference and announced the creation in Tanganyika of an educational system which has been achieved nowhere else in Africa. To be noted in this system was its suitability for Africa and the psychology of Africans. It guided the individual along lines of development suited to his natural surroundings. Western education must be reduced to a minimum, merely to remove from African communities the misconceptions arrogated by civilization.¹⁴⁹

Like his colleague in Nyasaland the Education Department Director in Tanganyika was disquieted by the social and political effects of education. According to Rivers-Smith world peace and the lines of development to be followed by the African community depended largely on the future education of Africans. He referred to the growth of African class-consciousness during the war, demanding a new point of view on educational ideas. Rivers-Smith made a strong claim for uniformity in educational policy, a clear appeal to the country's missions.¹⁵⁰

At the Dar es Salaam Conference the colonial government of Tanganyika declared itself a full-blooded supporter of the new educational policy both in substance and in administrative application. In a discussion of substantive decisions pastor R.D. Hult expressed the thanks of the missions to the government for the views on education presented in the memorandum of the London Advisory Committee. Hult, however, maintained the importance of the bush schools in the forefront of education and considered the raising of their standard to be the first cause for anxiety. At the same time he defended the status of tribal languages in the African educational system. In Tanganyika too representatives of the colonial administration had stressed the importance of supervision and inspection; in Tanganyika these demands were especially applicable to bush schools.¹⁵¹

After the Dar es Salaam Conference new instructions for education were completed and an Advisory Committee for school matters was set up with a majority of mission representatives. At the same time in Tanganyika it was desired to prevent competition between missions by putting the establishment of new schools in the hands of Provincial Education Committees.¹⁵²

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¹⁴⁸ Tanganyika Territory, Conference Between Government and Missions, p. 4.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-8.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8 and 31-32.

¹⁵² Tanganyika Territory, Education Department, Education Bill and Regulations. Dar es Salaam 1927. Box 228. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers - Tanganyika 1924/33. IMC/CBMS Archives Mc. No. 355. J.H. Oldham had helped to prepare regulations while visiting Tanganyika and attending a meeting of the country's Advisory Committee for Education.

In Kenya too collaboration between government and missions had been stimulated by the visit of the Phelps-Stokes Commission.¹⁵³ Inefficiency in inspection procedures troubled the Education Department,¹⁵⁴ and plans for stricter supervision of missions together with reports of inefficiency in their schools were brought to the notice of the London Advisory Committee at the end of 1925. The country's missions, which had earlier refused government aid, now expressed a wish for support in the framework of the new educational policy. The Governor saw this change in a positive sense because it enabled schools which received aid to accept supervision and the government's programme. At the same time efficiency and collaboration could be increased.¹⁵⁵

In June 1926 the Director of the Kenya Education Department sent a long memorandum to London which revealed views which were less than flattering to the missions. He also presented the special and complex situation of Kenya in an interesting manner. He designated four classes of people in Kenya who must be considered in African education. First, officers of the administration. The Director of Department believed that they were a fine group of men carefully chosen, highly esteemed and with the best university education. They kept a jealous eye on native interests, wishing to see their people happy and prosperous. The attitude of these officers to mission representatives was interpreted by the Director of Department as follows: "They have simply nothing in common with them." A mission worker might be a former gardener or labourer who had felt it his vocation to preach the word. Officers were also distressed at the numerous inefficient and undisciplined schools maintained by missions in their districts. They were eager for well-disciplined government schools which would form an organized part of their administration and contribute to human diligence and welfare.¹⁵⁶

A second group, as defined by the Education Department Director, consisted of settlers who were also, as interpreted by him, a fine group of men. Although members of the Legislative Council outside the ranks of officers had approved collaboration with missions in principle, for some years they had made stubborn efforts to abolish aid to the missions and to use their influence for the foundation of government schools. Settlers feared the influence that missions were exerting to a growing extent over Africans, arousing anti-immigrant feeling in them at the same time. The Department Director related that Archdeacon Owen had recently stated in public that

¹⁵³ Grigg to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 24.10.1924. Box 227. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers - Kenya 1925/34. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 336.

¹⁵⁴ Orr to Vischer 19.11.1925. Box 227. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers - Kenya 1925/34. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 336.

¹⁵⁵ Grigg to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 29.12.1925. Box 227. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers - Kenya 1924/33. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 336.

¹⁵⁶ The Principles of African Education in Kenya Colony. Written solely for the information of the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Advisory Committee on African Education by J.R. Orr, Director of Education in Orr to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies 29.6.1926. Box 227. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers - Kenya 1924/33. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 336.

Africans would soon establish trade union movements which in England had caused deep unrest and disbelief with regard to the aims of mission work.¹⁵⁷ A further point mentioned was that among mission representatives people of individuality and high education were a minority. They firmly opposed foundation of government schools and were defenders of African interests to the exclusion of all else. Last and most important in the classification was the African who amid all agitation sought opportunities to send his son to Tuskegee, England, South Africa or Ceylon.¹⁵⁸ In the Department Director's opinion, however, the African education problem in Kenya was a problem of race in its acutest form, and education must find an aim above race and class interests. This meant the welfare of the colony as a whole: "Kenya first." This objective could be reached only by collaboration, just as African education must rest on four basic principles: Christianity, an aim above race and social class, collaboration and village education.¹⁵⁹

In Kenya accordingly the colonial government embraced the main principles of the new educational policy although special circumstances in the country gave special features to its implementation. Collaboration with the missions was treated with reserve, and there seemed to be strong support for expansion of government education among officers and immigrants alike. Fear of a social awakening among Africans had been noted in Kenya as elsewhere. In substance the development of education was along the paths of ideological adaptation. A further indication of this was the Governor's appointment of a special Committee to elucidate agricultural instruction among the country's Africans.

The background of this Committee's appointment was that no specialized agricultural instruction was received in schools controlled by the government and receiving aid from it. It was also observed that instruction given in Kenya tended to separate natives from the countryside because natives wished to become carpenters, masons, clerks and teachers for non-native areas.¹⁶⁰

In its final report the Committee recommended that, as an improvement, agricultural instruction should be started at the earliest stage. It should form an essential and compulsory part of education in all African primary schools in rural districts.¹⁶¹ In a personal comment the Education Department Director admitted that literature, science and art were achieved in cities and universities, but this did not apply to a country totally dependent on agriculture as a source of income. If a form of education were allowed which produced opposition to agriculture, the road to final ruin lay ahead. For this reason re-evaluation and a new direction of children's studies were needed.

¹⁵⁷ The Principles of African Education in Kenya Colony, pp. 4-6.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

¹⁶⁰ Organisation of Agricultural Education for Africans. Report of Committee. Box 227. Africa General Education. A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers - Kenya 1925/34. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 337.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

A child will naturally prefer those subjects which in the opinion of the country constitute progress. These subjects would be the source of his prosperity and upon these will his heart be set. They had not included agriculture hitherto, but if it were given a more important place in the studies of all schools, if it led to better earnings and progress, the attitude of the whole rising generation would change spontaneously.¹⁶² A letter from the Governor to London noted, however, that the Education Department Director did not favour the inclusion of agriculture in primary education. In his view it was unrealistic and wasteful to teach agriculture to those who intended to work in industry. If it was desired to train three or four hundred carpenters or masons, they should be allowed to give up agriculture.¹⁶³

4.5 Collaboration on trial

All did not go according to the plans made on paper, however, and news of friction between government and missions soon began to resound from Africa to London. A stand had to be taken on these disputes at the heart of the Empire. On the Gold Coast in March 1928 there arose in the local Education Board a controversial question which affected the closing of mission schools. The Committee dealing with the matter stated that the main reason was the lack of competent teachers and made proposals for improvement. In the countryside teacher training establishments must be founded with teachers having an adequate command of English. Also to be founded were rural schools of a sufficient standard which would give "simple instruction" especially in the native language, to be performed by local men of good and strong character. Teachers for rural schools must be recruited as far as possible from the home district. They would be provided with a house and garden for which rent would be paid. The purpose of these recommendations was to be rid of incompetent mission education and to support teaching which drew its substance from local rural conditions.¹⁶⁴ On the Gold Coast, however, this line of ruralism did not receive unanimous support,¹⁶⁵ nor did the Gold Coast disputes attract great attention in London. The Advisory Committee was mainly interested in the development of Achimota.

¹⁶² Agriculture Education. Memorandum by the Director of Education J.R. Orr 2.8.1927. Box 227. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers - Kenya 1925/34. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 337.

¹⁶³ Barth to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 11.7.1929 and Observations of the Director of Education on Agriculture Education for Africans. Box 227. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers - Kenya 1925/34. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 339.

¹⁶⁴ Report of the Committee appointed by the Governor in March, 1928, to Consider the Problem Created by the Closure of Inefficient Schools. Box 267. West Africa: Gold Coast. File, Education. Mc. No. 75.

¹⁶⁵ Report of the Committee Appointed by Governor in March 1928, to Consider the Problem Created by the Closure of Inefficient Schools. Box 267. West Africa: Gold Coast. File, Education. Mc. No. 75.

Mission education was also an issue in Nyasaland, where the policy piloted by Gaunt, Director of the Education Department, soon led to problems. Solutions for them were being sought in London. At Zomba in May 1927 a Conference was held to deal with native education in Nyasaland.¹⁶⁶ The occasion was historic, for this was the country's first large-scale meeting on this subject. As the Governor said, this was happening in a situation where the government was taking control of educational policy. He thanked the missions for their esteemed work in Nyasaland, but made no secret of the fact that there was rancour between missions themselves. This was due to doctrinal questions and to differing dogmas and principles. The Governor hoped that the Zomba Conference would find a common foundation for the country's education policy. This work was directed by the Phelps-Stokes Commission, the Ormsby-Gore Commission which had visited East Africa and the principles of the Colonial Office 1925 memorandum. In preparation for Nyasaland were a statute with regulations for the direction of education and council to deal with education in conjunction with the central administration. Included in these plans was the idea that the government had the right to forbid the opening of a school if the council did not regard the foundation of a new school as necessary.¹⁶⁷

At the Zomba Conference the rancour mentioned by the Governor became a subject of discussion. Pastor E.D. Bowman said that he was on the whole prepared for collaboration with the government, but he opposed the government's approval – in addition to ordinary schools – of chapels and classes maintained by the church in which reading and writing were taught. This he saw as a serious injury to the aspirations of the missions to found schools for the teaching of matters which were important for adaptation: handicraft, hygiene, sanitation, agriculture etc. In Bowman's opinion the institutions he had criticised were important only for purposes of religious upbringing. The Conference reached the conclusion that reading was an essential part of religious teaching,¹⁶⁸ and that agriculture must belong to the teaching programme of every school.¹⁶⁹

For Nyasaland new education legislation was ready in May 1927.¹⁷⁰ All missions at the Conference except UMCA (Universities' Mission to Central Africa) had approved collaboration with the government,¹⁷¹ but Oldham in July the same year received a letter from the Church of Scotland, which had been active in Nyasaland, stating that a serious situation had arisen in the country. The church felt that financial support by the colonial administra-

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¹⁶⁶ Nyasaland Protectorate, Report of the Native Education Conference held at Zomba, May 17th to 20th, 1927.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-14.

¹⁶⁸ Report of the Committee Appointed by the Governor in March 1928, p. 17. The writing was not considered an essential part of religious instruction.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹⁷⁰ Supplement to the Government Gazette. Vol. XXXIV. No. 7. 23rd May, 1927. An Ordinance to Provide for the Management of Education in the Nyasaland Protectorate.

¹⁷¹ Kelvin N. Banda, *A Brief History of Education in Malawi*, p. 71.

tion was not properly directed, the Roman Catholics receiving too large a share. Also important was the fact that Roman Catholic educational policy did not follow the general line. Oldham's help was now asked for because the Governor of Nyasaland discouraged the missions whenever he could. The new legislation, on superficial scrutiny, was said to leave enormous power in the hands of the government.¹⁷²

In London problems of Nyasaland were discussed in early autumn 1927. The whole question was regarded as an internal concern of the missions in which there was no need to intervene.¹⁷³ After the meeting, however, Oldham approached W.B. Stevenson with a confidential letter in which he stated his belief that the Committee considered it undesirable to say anything about Nyasaland which might give the impression that the Colonial Office was giving way to pressure from the missions.¹⁷⁴

Thus attempts by the missions to change the legislation for schools in Nyasaland were in vain. The Colonial Office was also able to appeal to the fact that the legislation had been prepared in collaboration with the missions. The Colonial Office was satisfied nonetheless with the situation as a whole: education in Nyasaland was coming under government supervision, and internal pressures were in the right direction. The Colonial Office had no further wish to intervene in the internal affairs of the missions.

Although the London Advisory Committee adopted a very cautious attitude to problems raised by the missions on the Gold Coast and in Nyasaland, the question of closing schools was not confined to these cases. The same question came up in Nigeria. The situation in Nigeria became acute when E.R.J. Hussey was appointed Director of the Education Department in 1929. His first move was to draw up new educational plans for the northern and southern parts of the country¹⁷⁵ and to analyze the current state of education as a background. The main reason for difficulties in the north, as Hussey saw it, was not the government and its anti-mission policy but the prejudices and conservatism of all social classes in that region. If eyes had been turned earlier to Mecca in the east, now thanks to economic forces they were directed to the west, to the material advantages and know-how of western civilization. To improve conditions in the north Hussey proposed expansion of elementary education with inclusion of practical agriculture and handicraft, foundation of teacher training centres and incorporation of Koranic schools in the rest of the educational system. They too must include secular instruction in addition to religious teaching. According to him, emirs and Koranic school teachers in the north were in favour. In Zaria too more advanced education must be developed. Finally Hussey demanded the

¹⁷² Stevenson to Oldham 9.7.1927. Box 1209. Nyasaland, Education. File, Education Ordinance: Corres. w. Scottish Churches. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 16.

¹⁷³ Minutes of the ACNE 14.9.1927. Mc. No. 260.

¹⁷⁴ Oldham to Stevenson 15.9.1927. Box 1209. Nyasaland, Education. File, Education Ordinance: Corres. w. Scottish Churches. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 17.

¹⁷⁵ Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria by E.R.J. Hussey. 15th February, 1930. London 1930.

beginning of education for girls and an all-embracing expansion of mission and government education in pagan areas.¹⁷⁶

Among the educational weaknesses of southern parts of Nigeria Hussey directed his criticism to primary education. In his view the number of pupils educated for eight years, that is up to Standard VI was too great, because after that stage they were unwilling to work in manual labour. Education was expensive, too formal and theoretical. To improve the situation he proposed for the majority of pupils six years of elementary education followed by six additional years and finally, for part of the pupils, vocational training at a higher level. The latter would prepare pupils to work as medical assistants, engineers, teachers of higher middle schools and in other vocations. Hussey was also dissatisfied with the criteria according to which aid was apportioned to mission schools. To him it was incredible that the government should pay large sums to an increasing extent in order to expand primary education, which was already considerable, up to Standard VI. This would deepen and accentuate the social problem which arose when a large number of half-educated young people could not find work as clerks or something similar. They were, however, unwilling to take up manual work. Hussey was prepared to forbid the establishment of new schools in areas where education was already sufficient. In the north assistance to missions depended on their willingness to follow new plans. Hussey was willing to give further aid to native administration in addition.¹⁷⁷

The new outlines of educational policy for Nigeria naturally did not satisfy the missions. Hussey seems to have been troubled by the same problem which appeared in Temple's time: an oversupply of education causing social and political difficulties. Very dubious from the mission point of view were Hussey's intentions to support education for the native administration and to bring Koranic schools nearer to the rest of education.

Both in Nigeria and in London the missions rose in opposition. In March 1930 The Christian Council of Nigeria, central organ of Protestant missions in Nigeria, composed a memorandum to Hussey's proposals. Appealing to the government the missions pointed out that they represented the hopes and feelings of the people and were responsible for 90% of education.¹⁷⁸

Although the missions were pleased that the new plans gave them more representation in the country's educational council, they repeatedly objected to Hussey's proposals. They did not approve the lowering of teachers educational standard nor the reduction of the elementary school syllabus. Their opinion was that the main concern of education was development of character, not vocational training, which meant that they did not see school garden plots as essential to education. In general to lower the level of schools

¹⁷⁶ Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria, pp. 5-13. See too Hussey, pp. 82-83.

¹⁷⁷ Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria, pp. 23-24.

¹⁷⁸ The Christian Council of Nigeria, Memorandum on Educational Matters, p. 1. Box 274. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Proposed Ordinance 1930 - Memoranda. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 141.

was to lower "the general cultural level". It was the fault of too high wages that clerical work was so popular. It was also natural that representatives of the church should not be pleased with the new ideas for financing education.¹⁷⁹

Differences of opinion between the Education Department Director and the missions in Nigeria affected basic matters in the whole field of African education and thus became the subject of exhaustive discussion in Nigeria and London alike. The deputy Governor of Nigeria, Frank Baddeley, was in accord with Hussey's proposals. To be sure, he pointed out to the Colonial Office that the success of the plan would require the good-will of both missions and educated Africans.¹⁸⁰ According to Governor Thomson Hussey's plans were also on the right political lines, because they dealt with a matter which, if neglected, would be politically serious. By this he meant the over-education of clerks. But Thomson understood the attitude of the missions to the control imposed on them, and considered it unjustified at that moment to recommend complete approval of the new policy with regard to mission schools. The Governor wished to hear the opinion of London on the matter.¹⁸¹

Before the Colonial Office Advisory Committee expressed itself on the new plans for Nigeria the parties concerned exchanged views in order to avoid a collision.¹⁸² Hussey thought that the opinion of perceptive Africans was behind his plans, but he suspected that the press and African members of the Legislative Council would criticise them for political reasons. Although there were problems with the missions Hussey believed that they would follow the government path under the compulsion of African opinion. Catholic and Protestant missions had united in their outlook, but Hussey believed that economic motives lay behind the opposition to his proposals.¹⁸³

When the matter was raised in May 1930 at the London Advisory Committee¹⁸⁴ Oldham had already approached Hussey because it was intended at the meeting to bring up Oldham's own view of the Nigerian situation. It was also necessary for Hussey to be personally present. In a letter to Hussey Oldham said that he did not oppose the main principles of Hussey's policy, which he saw as the product of great statesmanship. However, the plans served the ends of the government and left the missions with a poor provision. He wished to use all his influence to make the missions collaborate

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¹⁷⁹ The Christian Council of Nigeria, Memorandum on Educational Matters, pp. 2-5.

¹⁸⁰ Baddeley to Passfield 11.3.1930. CO 583/173/826. Nigeria, Original Correspondence 1930. File, Educational Policy in Nigeria. PRO.

¹⁸¹ Thomson to Passfield 8.4.1930. CO 583/173/826. Nigeria, Original Correspondence 1930. File, Educational Policy in Nigeria. PRO.

¹⁸² Heads of Missions' Meeting with the Director of Education, 18th March 1930. Box 274. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Proposed Ordinance 1930 - Memoranda. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 141.

¹⁸³ Hussey to the Chief Secretary to the Government 20.3.1930 and 31.3.1930 and Melville to the Governor of Lagos 21.3.1930 in Baddeley to Passfield 11.3.1930. CO 583/173/826. Nigeria, Original Correspondence 1930. File, Educational Policy in Nigeria. PRO.

¹⁸⁴ Minutes of ACEC 29.5.1930. Mc. No. 263.

with Hussey's proposals. The proposals must, however, meet with his own complete approval. If collaboration were to be achieved it was essential that Hussey and Oldham reach a final understanding with regard to the schools to be assisted and Oldham hoped for such a united view while Hussey was in London¹⁸⁵. In conclusion Oldham did not regard Hussey as responsible personally for the difficulties which had arisen, which were partly the result of inefficient mission organization.¹⁸⁶ To the Archbishop of Nazareth Oldham had expressed his understanding of Hussey's basic opinion: "if education is to be good it must be done by government". This meant increased financial support for government schools while assistance for missions stayed at the same level as before.¹⁸⁷

Oldham in fact was fully prepared to back Hussey's proposals if he could find acceptable principles in them. To break off collaboration with the government was not at all desirable: at the same time the devolution of too much power on the government should be prevented.

Before the Colonial Office meeting Hussey too conferred in Lagos with missions operating in Nigeria. He assured them of his wish to collaborate, but demanded collaboration from them at the same time. He regarded his plans for educational policy as in line with Colonial Office instructions. In their turn the missions stated that the status quo was satisfactory and that they did not support a lowering of the standard of elementary education.¹⁸⁸ When the missions next met together their view was that Hussey's programme produced only "a few seeds of development." However, the true problem of the educational situation was not village school instruction but the teacher who taught there.¹⁸⁹

In personal encounters the missions prepared Oldham for the Colonial Office meeting. This took place on May 29th. Oldham, in presenting an important memorandum,¹⁹⁰ stressed that it was not intended to oppose Hussey's objective, but to reveal the means by which mission assistance could most effectively contribute to the reaching of those objectives. The missions were able, in fact, to agree with many of Hussey's proposals. They approved the foundation of a vocational school providing higher education although it was not allowed to receive funds at the expense of other grades. There was also no opposition to the middle school planned by the govern-

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¹⁸⁵ Oldham to Hussey 16.5.1920. Box 274. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Director of Education. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 139.

¹⁸⁶ Oldham to Hussey 20.5.1930. Box 274. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Director of Education. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 139.

¹⁸⁷ Oldham to the Archbishop of Nazareth 10.4.1930. Box 274. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Proposed Ordinance 1930 - Correspondence. IMC/CBMS Archives Mc. No. 147.

¹⁸⁸ Conference Between the Director of Education and Heads of Missions at Lagos, on the 18th and 19th March 1930. Box 274. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Proposed Ordinance 1930 - Correspondence. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 141.

¹⁸⁹ Notes of the Meeting on the Educational Situation in Nigeria 22nd April, 1920, at Church Missionary House. Box 274. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Proposed Ordinance 1930 - Memoranda. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 142.

¹⁹⁰ A.C.E.C., Nigeria Education, Memorandum by Mr. J.H. Oldham, May 1930. Box 274. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Proposed Ordinance 1930 - Memoranda. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 142.

ment to follow elementary education, but other classes receiving funds must also be allowed. As expected, the innovations contemplated for elementary education were the most problematical part of Hussey's proposals. More data were demanded, especially with regard to teacher training.

Oldham further suggested that existing bush schools could be used as the most effective means of contact with the bulk of the population. The standard of teacher training must not be lowered, and as a final point in Oldham's memorandum, the possible financing of mission education by the native administration must be carefully examined. Oldham's last point was that when radical plans for innovation were made in future the missions must first be consulted.¹⁹¹

Discussion by the Advisory Committee did not change the basic facts. Hussey repeated that the native administration would handle most education in future and Oldham listed the main points of his memorandum, recalling the African view that the standard of elementary education must be kept as before. The matter was referred to a sub-committee which included Oldham and Hussey.¹⁹²

In June this sub-committee issued its own conclusions and had evidently brought its work to a point where the Advisory Committee was able to approve its proposals unanimously. In presenting these Miss Burstall mentioned that the sub-committee had found it difficult to combine new and excellent suggestions with the system followed by the missions in past years. It had now become clear, however, that without undue difficulty the missions would be able to shift from the existing system to a new one. In proposals approved by the Committee the new educational opportunities suggested in Hussey's memorandum for north and south Nigeria were warmly welcomed. The government should assist the missions with the first two classes of the middle school. The missions believed that these schools might possibly provide instruction to follow the elementary education which was regarded as beneficial.¹⁹³

By taking part in the emergence of a new type of school the Nigerian missions evidently believed that they could help to ensure that the educational standard of the country did not decline because elementary education was shortened. But although negotiations in London ended in mutual understanding, the local situation still remained unclear. In Nigeria it was indeed disturbing. In September 1930 a further meeting to discuss the Nigeria question was held at Edinburgh House. Considered there was the possibility of sending a representative of the Nigerian missions to guarantee the success of Christian education in southern Nigeria. This official was to represent the missions collectively to the government. A similar venture was

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¹⁹¹ Minutes of ACEA 29.5.1930. Mc. No. 263 and the above-mentioned memorandum.

¹⁹² Minutes of ACEA 29.5.1930. Mc. No. 263.

¹⁹³ Minutes of ACEC 19.6.1930 and Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Advisory Committee at its Meeting on May 29th 1930 to Consider the Proposals for Re-organisation of Education in Nigeria. Box 274. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Proposed Ordinance 1930 - Memoranda. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 143.

in progress in East Africa also. A possible candidate for Nigeria was Victor Murray, well known in educational circles as the author of *The School in the Bush*.¹⁹⁴

The sending of a representative to Nigeria appeared indispensable because of indications that information on Hussey's plans was not conclusive. The plans of the missions were restricted, however, because their representative would make no more than a journey of investigation to Nigeria, an idea which was approved both in London and Nigeria.¹⁹⁵ His task would be to compose a statement of the principal facts in regard to the present position of Christian education and the problems it has to face, the views of the missions, churches and Christian Council regarding a co-ordinated policy for the future and the means of carrying it out. Finally he must make necessary observations on the state of education in Nigeria on the basis of what he had noticed there.¹⁹⁶

The candidate Victor Murray travelled as planned, his journey paid for by the missions and the Phelps-Stokes Fund. He was expected to exercise a certain caution because he might be regarded as a spy by the government, and in other respects too his task was problematical.¹⁹⁷ Murray himself was disturbed at the financial burden imposed on the missions by his journey, though he consented to make it.¹⁹⁸ It is interesting that the missions and Oldham turned to Murray in particular.¹⁹⁹ Not only had he criticised indirect rule in unmistakable terms; he had also spoken against the educational ideas of Dr Jesse Jones. His thinking was not unknown to Oldham, who in June 1931 wrote to Murray that Jesse Jones had looked at him "with a horsewhip" at a meeting on the 29th, and he added "I think it would be a good thing if you could meet him and have it out".²⁰⁰ Murray answered frankly: "this business about Jesse Jones seems to me to be all rather silly ... I am sure he is a nice

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¹⁹⁴ Note on Conference on Christian Education in Southern Nigeria and Notes of a Meeting on the Nigeria Educational Situation. Held 22rd September, 1930, at Edinburgh House. Box 274. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Proposed Ordinance 1930 - Memoranda. IMC/CBMC Archives Mc. No. 143.

¹⁹⁵ Education in Nigeria. Confidential Notes of the Conference with Victor Murray 29th June, 1931 at Edinburgh House. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Victor Murray Scheme: Preparation meetings. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 149.

¹⁹⁶ "Terms of Reference", Memorandum on Christian Education in Nigeria, p. 2. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Victor Murray Scheme: Preparation meetings. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 148.

¹⁹⁷ Extract in Wakeman to Hooper 10. November 1930. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Murray Scheme: proposal for Adviser on Education: Societies. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 149 and Education in Nigeria. Confidential Notes of the Conference with Victor Murray 29th June, 1931 at Edinburgh House. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Victor Murray Scheme: Preparation meetings. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 149.

¹⁹⁸ Murray to Oldham 25.3.1931. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Murray Scheme: Corres. W. A. Victor Murray. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 153.

¹⁹⁹ Both Oldham and Mayhew published reviews of Murray's book entitled *The School in the Bush*. See Oldham, IRM Vol. XIX. No. 73, 1930, pp. 124-27 and Mayhew's review in *Overseas Education*. Vol. 1. No. 3, 1930, pp. 107-12. In Oldham's opinion no book on African education so worth reading and so readable had been written up to then. He thought, however, that the books of Jones and Murray complemented each other.

²⁰⁰ Oldham to Murray 7.7.1931. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Murray Scheme: Corres. W. A. Victor Murray. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 153.

little man and I'd love to meet him, but as for agreeing with his educational views I am afraid I don't and can't."²⁰¹ To Hussey Oldham said he was not absolutely sure that Hussey was the man he was looking for, but he was in any case the best available.²⁰²

This discussion and other association between Murray and Oldham seemed to indicate that British Protestant missions were seeking support in educational ideas which differed from those of Jesse Jones. From the standpoint of collaboration between government and missions Murray's journey was not an especially encouraging experience. The Nigerian Christian Council gave him the impression that it felt overshadowed by Edinburgh House in its relation to the Colonial Office. It also seemed that Hussey "did not play the game by them" and that Edinburgh House had agreed with his plan. It seemed to missions in the field that their cause had been neglected because of events in London.²⁰³ Oldham for his part regretted the hostility of the missions toward the government and at the same time publicly analyzed relations between Governor Cameron and the missions. Indirect rule in particular was a matter which divided the missions.

Sharing Cameron's views also was a small minority of the missions, especially the Germans, and here Oldham pointed out Gutmann of Kilimanjaro. He also said that he knew Murray did not agree with the ideas of Cameron or Gutmann. This, however, was not in the first instance a quarrel between the missions and government but a difference in the understanding of the relations of the individual and society. This was one of the most profound questions in the world. Oldham admitted that it had far-reaching effects on mission work and would be one of the greatest issues lying before them.²⁰⁴

Murray's relations with Hussey had not run smoothly, and he regretted that Vischer and Mayhew did not like his attacks on Hussey. In Murray's own opinion he had merely demanded that the government recognize the missions as partners of equal standing.²⁰⁵ He also pointed out clearly to Hussey that the missions did not trust him.²⁰⁶ Murray had been told, moreover, of Hussey's repeated statements that he would drive the missions out of educational work and that after the disturbances of Aba an actual campaign against the missions had started.²⁰⁷

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²⁰¹ Murray to Oldham 20.7.1931. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Murray Scheme: Corres. W. A. Victor Murray. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 153.

²⁰² Oldham to Hussey 20.10.1930. Box 274. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Director of Education. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 139.

²⁰³ Murray to Oldham 8.6.1932. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Murray Scheme: Corres. W. A. Victor Murray. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 154.

²⁰⁴ Oldham to Murray 20.6.1932. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Murray Scheme: Corres. W. A. Victor Murray. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 154.

²⁰⁵ Murray to Oldham 12.7.1932. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Murray Scheme: Corres. W. A. Victor Murray. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 154.

²⁰⁶ Murray to Hussey 12.7.1932. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Murray Scheme: Corres. W. A. Victor Murray. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 154.

²⁰⁷ Wakeman to Murray 15.7.1932. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Murray Scheme: Corres. W. A. Victor Murray. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 154.

With the Aba riots the disputes between missions and government touched on the political situation in Nigeria. Linked with them was a good deal of rancour arising from personal relations, which made the solution of problems difficult. Despite these difficulties Murray drew up a programme of educational policy in which he proposed that the missions should improve the standard of bush schools, the training of teachers, the education of girls and the higher education of both sexes. At the core of Murray's thinking was the strengthening of Christianity and vitality in villages through education. However, it was not intended to publish Murray's original programme in the form of a report. Oldham was playing all the time behind Murray's back. In a confidential letter to Hussey he pointed out that Murray's sharp attacks on Hussey – typical of Victor Murray – would not be published and should be treated for what they were worth.²⁰⁸

In any case Murray's programme was published at the demand of the missions – without personal references – in autumn 1932 for the information of mission circles. It was hoped that it would contribute to the collaboration of missions and government, and it was noted at the same time that the two would more easily work together if the hopes of the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office were realized.²⁰⁹ Murray saw that the primary objective of mission education in Nigeria was the African village, whose communal life was affected by education in three ways. First, it was directly connected with tribal customs and institutions. In most villages these were still strong, but in Nigeria, as elsewhere in Africa, "we are witnessing a process of detribalization". The opening up of the country through roads, railways and motorbuses combined with efficient political administration was bound to bring villages within the sphere of modern trade. People in the distant bush felt the magnetism of the towns. In this process of change the missions must serve primitive people and help them to preserve a social and spiritual community in which the best of the new and the best of the old were harmonized.²¹⁰

Second, there were economic factors. The aim of the missions could not be other than a healthy economic life for villages. Schools were dependent on the goodwill of parents, and the African was aware of the material benefit offered by education. And regardless of who owned the schools, the status of the missions depended on what people expected of them. In Murray's opinion the central problem of the missions in African village education was how to combine the achievement of a better standard of living with the aim of their spiritual work.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ Oldham to Hussey 31.5.1932. Box 274. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Director of Education. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 140.

²⁰⁹ Note of Meeting with Mr. Murray, 3rd June 1932. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Murray Scheme: Report. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 155.

²¹⁰ A Missionary Educational Policy for Southern Nigeria. Statement prepared by Victor Murray, at the request of the Christian Council of Nigeria, pp. 2-3. Reprinted from the IRM, October 1932.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Third, in African villages there was the issue of the native church and its native leadership. In Murray's belief a gradual increase of African responsibility was welcome although the process was bound to be slow.²¹²

When Murray's ideas were discussed in London during summer 1932 he stressed that the policy outlines in the report represented the views of the missions, not his own. Mr Thompson saw, however, that these views differed substantively from what was reported in the African field. There were indications that Murray laid less stress than other writers on the importance of the African tradition in constructing a new society with the help of education.²¹³

4.6 Experience of model schools

Apart from written declarations and decisions, model schools in various parts of Africa were a means of applying the new educational policy in practice. Their activity received more attention than that of ordinary schools at the Colonial Office, in missionary circles and among the general public who were interested in such matters. Particular examples in the mid-1920s were Achimota College on the Gold Coast, schools directed by W.B. Mumford in Tanganyika and the Jeanes School for teacher training at Kabete in Kenya. They were given constant publicity in the columns of periodicals dealing with Africa, which caused their experiences to exert an indirect influence on the planning of future educational work.

As mentioned earlier, in March 1920 Gold Coast Governor Frederick Gordon Guggisberg appointed D.J. Oman, Director of the Education Department, to direct a Committee which recommended, among other proposals, foundation of a secondary school on the Gold Coast. The best site for it was thought to be near the village of Achimota.²¹⁴

In May 1922 Guggisberg appointed a new Committee to examine the details of a proposal made two years earlier. In the Governor's opinion secondary education and teacher training should be combined in Achimota, and the school should be open to both boys and girls. In the Committee's final report co-education was admitted to be the ideal aim, but the admission of girls to Achimota was still not recommended. It was resisted by chiefs, church leaders, women teachers, one mission school headmaster and a few lawyers. The Committee also rejected a proposal by some church leaders that in Achimota pupils should live in accommodation supervised by the church and that those training to be teachers should be separated from

²¹² A Missionary Educational Policy for Southern Nigeria, p. 4.

²¹³ Notes of meeting with Mr. Murray, 3rd June 1932. Box 275. West Africa: Nigeria Education. File, Murray Scheme: Report. Mc. No. 155.

²¹⁴ Report of the Educationists' Committee Appointed by His Excellency the Governor on 5th March, 1920 to Advise the Governor on Educational Matters, together with Minutes of the Meetings of the Committee, p. 42.

other students.²¹⁵

In the early 1920s Achimota was undoubtedly the most prominent venture in Governor Guggisberg's innovative education policy. Factors in the background of this policy have been comprehensively analyzed by R.E. Wraith, who noted that Guggisberg stressed the training of character. He believed that children should be placed in boarding schools because in normal day schools moral training was "almost impossible".²¹⁶ Inclusion of technical instruction in secondary education was another of Guggisberg's ideas. According to Wraith Guggisberg was a warm supporter of the opinions of the Phelps-Stokes Commission when it visited West Africa. To him Hampton and Tuskegee seemed the incarnation of his own thoughts, an education rooted in their own soil and founded on manual and vocational skills. It was practised within the community giving a central position to character training and inspired by religion.²¹⁷

For the direction of Achimota Guggisberg secured two well-known names: A.G. Fraser, leader of the Village Education Commission with its Indian tendency, and Aggrey of the Phelps-Stokes Commission.²¹⁸ The choice of Fraser as Principal and of Aggrey as his deputy was made in London with Oldham's recommendation.²¹⁹ Fraser agreed to accept the appointment on condition that Aggrey became his assistant and that Achimota became a Christian college which should have free hands in matters of religion.²²⁰ Thus Governor Guggisberg obtained at the head of his model school a man who was favoured by the missions and who approved the main ideas of adaptation ideology.²²¹ Fraser himself stated that the plan for the foundation of Achimota "is based on a statesmanlike policy". He valued plans which stressed games and the corporate life of the students. He also regarded as important the instruction of women in conjunction with Achimota.²²²

In London such a model institution as Achimota, planned in accordance with a policy of adaptation, naturally attracted great attention from the first. In the early phase of its work the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office had discussed Achimota from time to time. Points raised were the appointment of Fraser, the range of education to be given at Achimota, its connec-

²¹⁵ Interim Report of the Educationists' Committee 1922. Appointed by His Excellency the Governor 23rd May, 1922, pp. 24-26 and 38-39. See too C. Kingsley Williams, *Achimota: the Early Years 1924-48*, pp. 17-18.

²¹⁶ R.E. Wraith, *Guggisberg*, p. 130.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

²¹⁸ Williams, pp. 4-14.

²¹⁹ Oldham to Guggisberg 14.1. and 23.2.1924 and Guggisberg to Oldham 5.3. and 19.4.1924. Box 226. West Africa: Gold Coast, File, Achimota: the Governor (Guggisberg). IMC/CBMC Archives. Mc. No. 266.

²²⁰ W.E.F. Ward, *Fraser of Trinity and Achimota*, p. 170.

²²¹ Ward states that the reports of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions in fact merely repeated what Fraser had brought to notice in the report of the Village Education Commission. See Ward, p. 149. See too Francis Agbodeka, *Achimota in the National Setting. A Unique Educational Experiment in West Africa*, pp. 20-38.

²²² Fraser to Furse 1.2.1924. Mss. Brit. Emp. s 283. Box 4. File 1. A.G. Fraser Papers 1922-67. RHL.

tions with English universities and the possibility of co-education there.

When Fraser finally accepted from the Gold Coast the post at Achimota his appointment was still discussed by the London Advisory Committee. No one actually opposed the choice at this stage, although Sir James Currie suspected that it might have been wiser to appoint a layman. His reason for this was that some students would come to Achimota from schools where religious instruction had already been given. Fraser, who was heard at the same meeting, showed a liberal attitude to religion, however. He promised instruction in the Koran and expressed no opposition to other constructive religious teaching.²²³

For the scope of teaching at Achimota Fraser had his own proposals. Although it was to be a college for higher learning a kindergarten and primary school were to be attached to it. For this Fraser had his reasons. He wished to educate students of Achimota from the first "in the right spirit". In Fraser's view the mind of a native boy at puberty turned in on itself, but by so arranging education that he received it long before puberty it was possible later to concentrate on practical work and games so as to prevent a pupil from becoming too introspective.²²⁴ If education of boys and girls was started at six years of age, under good teachers they would reach the highest level of primary education a few years earlier than usual. In Fraser's opinion this rapid and thorough education from 6 to 13 years was "a sine qua non of university education". Achimota would be a model for other schools in this education which took account of the problems of puberty.²²⁵

Despite local opposition co-education was the wish of both Guggisberg and Fraser for Achimota. It was to extend to the highest classes of primary education at least, and further if parents wished. Fraser had no personal experience of such education, but thought it the only means of avoiding endless postponement of education for girls.²²⁶ In addition to educational aspects Fraser had sexual considerations in mind when he advocated co-education. To him the favourable attitude of Africans to sexuality was the "curse" of Africa, but the situation was not helped by the advice of missions to treat a man as a dangerous "animal". This led to the end of contact between boys and girls. Again Fraser found here the typical features of puberty among Africans. He wrote:

"Almost every observer of African life has remarked on the way the African brain ceases to develop after puberty. From my limited experience I should say it does not cease to grow where it is given a reasonable chance through sexual purity. But this overindulgence is so widespread and it has caused so much mischief that many have come to look on this stoppage of brain development in Africa as a

²²³ Minutes of ACNE 13.3.1924. Mc. No. 257.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ Enclosure in the Debuty Governor to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 4.12.1924. Box 229. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Gold Coast. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 379.

²²⁶ Williams, pp. 42-44.

natural law. To free our peoples from this is the first and greatest gift education can hope to offer."²²⁷

The majority of the London Advisory Committee were reserved in their attitude to co-education. Ormsby-Gore as Chairman took the view that boys and girls should be kept separate from the first. If the opposite were done he feared that the natives would turn against Achimota. But he suggested that a recommendation be made to Fraser that co-education should not continue past the age of eight.²²⁸

A more painful issue in the light of adaptation ideology was the question of linking higher education at Achimota with London University. If a college was to be founded on the Gold Coast in accordance with orthodox adaptation ideology, why was it necessary to establish an immediate connection with the European examination system?

Fraser himself was in favour of connection with London. He had many reasons for this, mainly practical. London examinations were recognized as good throughout the Empire. In the second place they demanded exactitude and thoroughness in a way that other universities did not. Third, London could send not only papers but also experts and inspectors at government request. In addition it could allow subjects which the government thought desirable for education on the Gold Coast. Fraser calculated that the London Matriculation could be passed in four years after beginning college, intermediates in Science and Arts two years later.²²⁹

A greater question of principle was, however, why could an African examination system not be devised for Achimota, or why was it not desired? Guggisberg himself stated in London that Africans who went to Europe sought a career in such fields as law and medicine in preference to administration. But Africa needed "leaders of the right type" and they could be educated, thought Guggisberg, at boarding establishments like the English public school. Achimota had been founded so that African boys need not be sent to Europe.²³⁰

Fraser was also one of those educators who were disturbed by the denationalization of Africans. He wrote:

"Well, quite obviously, the schools cannot nationalize the African. We cannot remake the African in his own image. But we can try to see that he understands the new factors that are coming into his country so rapidly, the meaning of the changes they are effecting, and the nature of the traditional laws, customs and lore threatened. We can show him parallels elsewhere and help him to study them and think on them. We

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²²⁷ Ward, p. 200.

²²⁸ Minutes of ACNE 24.2.1925. Mc. No. 258.

²²⁹ Gold Coast, A Review of the Events of 1924-1925 and the Prospects of 1925-1926 by His Excellency Brigadier-General Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, p. 98.

²³⁰ Minutes of ACNE 13.3.1924, Appendix C. Remarks by Sir G. Guggisberg on the Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Native Education at the Colonial Office, 13th March 1924. Mc. No. 257.

can get him keenly interested in and thinking over the life of his village. But the adaptation of the new to the old, the synthesis, we must leave him to make.”²³¹

Fraser supported a combination of new and old, for change in Africa was unavoidable. This may partly explain his view that Achimota should be linked to London University with regard to higher education. But there were other factors in the background. In the Advisory Committee the matter was again raised that Africans should not be left with the impression that local examinations were inferior to their European counterpart. In Sadler’s opinion it was impossible to leave Africans with no opportunity to continue their studies outside the country. On the other hand, if an African remained under western influence without traditions it would destroy him. Oldham again referred to India, pointing out that the natives were not satisfied with examinations at the local standard. Church proposed a gradual raising of the local examination standard and did not support the linking of Achimota to a university abroad. He too thought it important to avoid letting Africans imagine that they were receiving higher education which was not up to foreign standards.²³²

In the background were political influences, thought Fraser.²³³ He was left to co-ordinate the views expressed, and despite all doubts the Advisory Committee was inclined to support the London connection, defining the matter as follows:

“The Committee concur that for the present the London intermediate and matriculation examination standards should be adopted. The question of conferring degrees need not at present be considered in further detail, but the Committee is unanimous in its view that the attitude of Western education (which is in large part fundamentally critical and impatient of assertion without proof) is difficult for an African – whose attitude of mind is that of acceptance – to assimilate, and to adjust with his obedience to good authoritative tradition. The Committee, therefore, welcomes every effort to provide the highest possible standards locally in order to minimise the necessity for youths to go to a foreign country.”²³⁴

Thus even the plans for founding Achimota reflected the practical difficulties of reconciling local African needs with the demands of Europeanization. The same problem appeared in Tanganyika, where the most far-reaching attempts to bring the ideology of adaptation to a practical level were the educational experiments of W.B. Mumford. The first of these was at Bukoba and the second at Malangali. Mumford arrived at Bukoba as headmaster of the government school in 1923 and started at once to arrange

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²³¹ A.G. Fraser, *Aims of African Education*. IRM. Vol. XIV. No. 56, 1925, p. 515.

²³² Minutes of ACNE 24.2.1924. Mc. No. 257.

²³³ Minutes of ACNE 9.4.1925. Mc. No. 257.

²³⁴ Minutes of ACNE 10.3.1925. Mc. No. 257.

the organization and teaching of his school in accordance with tribal structure and traditional African notions of upbringing. He divided his pupils into tribes which as far as possible corresponded to the tribal distribution of the Bukoba area. A student council was formed with Mumford as "Great Chief" at its head. In the council boys acquainted themselves with school administration, acted as a school "lawcourt" and were in charge of a fund. In all this Mumford's wish was to train boys for their future tasks in the service of indirect rule. Scouting activity was to instill love of the countryside in pupils and prevent them moving to the towns. They must not be educated as "well-dressed and self-important" clerical types. Teaching was designed to keep them in rural districts, with agriculture, stock-raising and manual training as important elements.²³⁵

In 1924 Mumford reported with satisfaction that there was no sign of the clerical types or young political agitators whom he opposed.²³⁶ Yet the final result was a disappointment to him. The experiment failed because pupils did not attend school as he had expected. Mumford's own explanation was: excessive amount of work, shortage of assistant staff and the fact that he did not know the characteristics of African culture well enough. Foundation of a scout movement had led pupils to call themselves scouts and not to use their tribal names. Preference for the Swahili language at the expense of local languages was also a mistake, and such matters – small as they were – left school activity with no basis of local African character.²³⁷ Mumford admitted that the school, if organized by Africans, might have developed in a different direction.²³⁸

There were further reasons for the failure of the school. Its popularity decreased because African chiefs in the district had local schools in the early 1920s. As the colonial government strengthened its hold on education the chiefs of Bukoba gave up their earlier custom of maintaining school buildings and supporting education in a material sense.²³⁹ C.M. Baker, who followed Mumford as headmaster at Bukoba, pointed out in turn that local Africans were not interested in education because they could earn money in coffee growing.²⁴⁰ Bukoba was a centre of coffee production in Tanganyika.²⁴¹

Mumford's attempt at Bukoba happened before an important Conference at Dar es Salaam where he acted as secretary. The failure at Bukoba did not dismay the Tanganyika Education Department or Mumford himself. In 1927 he started organizing a new attempt, this time at Malangali in south-west Tanganyika. His startingpoint now was the encounter of African and Euro-

²³⁵ Tanganyika Territory, Annual Report of Education Department, 1924, pp. 27-31.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

²³⁷ W.B. Mumford, Native Schools in Central Africa. JAS. Vol. XXVI. No. CIII, 1927, pp. 238 and 243-44.

²³⁸ W.B. Mumford, Education and the Social Adjustment of Primitive Peoples of Africa to European Culture. Africa. Vol. II. No. 2, 1929, p. 144.

²³⁹ Mbilinyi, pp. 258-59.

²⁴⁰ Tanganyika Territory, Annual Report of Education Department. 1925, p. 45.

²⁴¹ Iliffe, p. 281. Iliffe states that in the Bukoba area after the mid-1920s there arose "a collective obsession" on the subject of coffee growing.

pean culture and its consequences. He maintained that the prolonged contact of primitive peoples with the white race led to a degeneration of their skills, morale and physical characteristics, causing dissatisfaction and idleness. Pointing to the fate of Tasmanian natives and American Indians he predicted that in the sphere of European cultural influence the number of Africans would decrease sharply. In the tropical climate, where it was difficult for white people to work, shortage of labour threatened as the population diminished. In Mumford's opinion it was in the common interest of Africans and Europeans for the former to adapt themselves to changing cultural relations.²⁴² He had three objectives for his own school. First, within its framework healthy and acceptable features of native social behaviour must be looked for. Second, he wished to find ways of preserving these features in an organized school. Finally, the relation of old and new cultural elements in school work must be settled.²⁴³

Mumford's plan was set in motion in Malangali during April 1928. After some anthropological research it was observed that two contributory factors of tribal tradition were important for school work. One was Watambuli, an institution of elders whose task was to help the chief in matters of administration, justice and warfare. The other, Wigendo, was the traditional system of education in the area. The chief gathered youths around him who performed military duties and were taught of important historical events.²⁴⁴ These institutions were adapted by Mumford to his own school. In the evening bonfires were lit and pupils dressed in traditional clothes; school buildings resembled African structures and teaching equipment was kept simple in the African style.²⁴⁵ Mumford also divided his school into various lines of study: one was for instruction of future chiefs, one for farmers and artisans, a third for minor clerks with a knowledge of English.²⁴⁶

Mumford's venture was in difficulties by 1930. Africans were opposed to a school which was neither properly African nor European.²⁴⁷ A study conducted in the Malangali area during the 1930s showed that Africans valued education which gave them opportunities for a well-paid profession. English language and agriculture with a view to commercial farming were considered useful subjects.²⁴⁸ Eventually high officials of the colonial administration also turned against Mumford's school. An exception was Rivers-Smith, who supported the Malangali experiment, seeing it as an example of how his own educational aims could be carried out in practice.²⁴⁹ Rivers-Smith left Tanganyika at the beginning of 1931 and the new Education Department Director, A.M. Isherwood, did not believe in the possibilities of

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²⁴² Mumford (1929), p. 139.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

²⁴⁴ W.B. Mumford, *Malangali School*. Africa. Vol. III. No. 3, 1930, pp. 268-69.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 269-79.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 279-284.

²⁴⁷ David R. Morrison, *Education and Politics in Africa. The Tanzanian Case*, p. 58.

²⁴⁸ Gordon G. Brown and Bruce A. Hutt, *Anthropology in Action*, pp. 218-19.

²⁴⁹ Thompson, p. 113.

*Three of the school
Watambuli, or
resident
councillors.*



Malangali. Isherwood and Mumford were not on the best of terms and in 1933 Isherwood decided to convert Malangali central school into a rural school whose administration was more in the hands of natives. Governor Cameron also had reservations about Mumford's experiment and finally the difficulties of an economic depression played their part in causing the failure of Mumford's second venture. Having tried in vain to resist changes in his school Mumford went on holiday to the United States and resigned his position in 1934.²⁵⁰ He wished to return to Tanganyika, but an obstacle was Isherwood's educational policy, which he regarded as conservative. Vischer advised him to abandon these plans and keep to his university tasks.²⁵¹

Both on the Gold Coast and in Tanganyika the efforts of model schools to put in practice the ideology of adaptation in the most orthodox way possible foundered on the realities of the society surrounding them. Bound to a financial economy as they were, it was impossible for African communities to take a step backward and create schools based mainly on the values and

²⁵⁰ Walter Morris-Hale, *British Administration in Tanganyika from 1920 to 1945*, pp. 99-106.

²⁵¹ Mumford to Malinowski 22.7.1933. Malinowski Papers, File, Malinowski: General Correspondence. The London School of Economics.

experience of the old society. The same fate appeared to be in store for Kenya.

The model for the Jeanes School in Kenya was in North America. In 1907 Miss Anne T. Jeanes, a Quaker from Philadelphia gave a million dollars for education of the black population in their own rural schools in the southern states. A pioneer in this work was Miss Virginia Randolph, who succeeded in making her school "a living integral part of the community and an influence for the improvement of social conditions in the neighbourhood."²⁵²

The idea of a Jeanes School came to Kenya from America through the Phelps-Stokes Commission. The school at Kabete in 1925 was first financed by the American Carnegie Corporation. A few years later the Kenya government also took part and in 1934 took over full responsibility.²⁵³

The Kabete School for teachers was the first of its kind in Africa, and at the time of its foundation it was, in the government's view, "the most important institution of African education in the whole of Kenya".²⁵⁴ The intention of this school was to provide for carefully chosen African teachers and their wives an intensive course which would prepare them for leading positions in the community. In addition to the usual primary school subjects Jeanes teachers were instructed in skills and knowledge which were important from the social viewpoint. They would act as circulating teachers who helped others in primary schools.²⁵⁵ The first Principal at Kabete was Pastor J.W.C. Dougall of the Mission Church of Scotland.²⁵⁶ He had been a Secretary of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and was in regular close contact with Oldham and with other mission circles in London.²⁵⁷

Reports told that Kabete was making a serious attempt to act in accordance with its original ideology. The first subjects were:

- methods of teaching,
- reading, writing and arithmetic in Swahili,
- singing,
- physical training and games,
- religious and moral instruction,
- simple hygiene and sanitation,
- simple agriculture, including ploughing,
- simple carpentering,
- thatching,

²⁵² Furley and Watson, p. 132.

²⁵³ Ibid., pp. 164-65.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 164.

²⁵⁵ Educational Policy in Kenya - Kenya Missionary Council 1927, Appendix, James W.C. Dougall, Report of Jeanes School for the Training of Native Teachers. Box 227. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers - Kenya. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 337.

²⁵⁶ The Advisory Committee in London was unanimously behind the selection of Dougall. See Minutes of ACNE 11.12.1924. Mc. No. 258.

²⁵⁷ Oldham and Dougall engaged in an extensive correspondence at the time of the foundation plan for the Jeanes School and the selection of Dougall as Principal. See for instance Oldham's declarations to Dougall regarding his appointment. Oldham to Dougall 16.2. and 28.10.1925. Box 244. East Africa. Kenya. Jeanes School. Kabete. File, J.W.C. Dougall 1924/30. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 187.

- sundry brick making,
- curing of skins and hides,
- the silk industry and
- blacksmithing and tinsmithing.

For wives the following subjects were included:

- reading, writing and arithmetic in Swahili,
- religious and moral instruction,
- simple hygiene and sanitation,
- general principles of maternity work,
- care of children,
- first aid and simple nursing,
- selection and cooking of native foodstuffs and
- sewing, knitting and dressmaking.²⁵⁸

The school arranged much more than ordinary teaching. Connected with it was a stock farm and courses were provided for health workers and co-operative society organizers. In the evenings the school served as an adult education centre for farmers. It also organized a Co-operative Credit and Savings Society to help African small farmers and published a newspaper called *Habari* in Swahili. Thus the school and the local community tried to keep in the closest possible touch. By 1931 Kabete had sent 71 teachers into the field and 349 village schools were reported to be subject to their teaching. Among those who praised the school were the biologist Julian Huxley on a visit to East Africa, and after ten years of work its reputation and influence were felt in Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.²⁵⁹

But there were also difficulties. Teachers closely identified with missions regarded some African cultural traditions as harmful and evil although the idea of the Jeanes School was to keep up and stimulate the native skill of Africans and to preserve their traditions. It was reported from the school that African people accepted no innovation before they could see it in operation. Because of opposition it was difficult for schools to begin their work of enlightenment. There were problems too in the collection of money and thus in the initiation of any type of innovative work. Gatherings of people were difficult to arrange without "envy and jealousy".²⁶⁰

The importance of money to pupils and their community also seemed to flavour the activity of Kabete. Model houses were said to be built of such expensive materials that teachers could not afford to build similar ones in their own villages. Thus the idea of model houses for teachers collapsed for material reasons. In the annual report for 1930 it was stated that the school

²⁵⁸ Kenya Colony. Training College for Jeanes Teachers. Box 227. File, Kenya - Jeanes School, Kabete 1924-36. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 342.

²⁵⁹ Furley and Watson, pp. 165-66.

²⁶⁰ Enclosure Jeanes School, Kabete, Kenya. Report of the First Refresher Course and Reunion of Jeanes Teachers. 2nd - 6th April, 1928 in Denham to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 2.6.28. Box 227. File, Kenya - Jeanes School. Kabete 1924/36. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 342.

shop had turned out a particularly successful venture. The shop had been established for the instruction of pupils but also as a contributory factor to community life. It was reported to have brought school and community closer to each other.²⁶¹

Regarding training in the use of leisure time the same report tells us:

"We had sketches on the Dispensary, the Clean Shop and the benefits of the Credit Society. Much of the explanation has to be done by dialogue, as in plays on the benefits of education or the cause of plague, and it is often difficult to secure the necessary plot and action without which an audience can neither be amused or interested very long. It is still a source of surprise to the staff and visitors that the sketches can go off with such vigour and ease when the performers have so little training... In addition to the propaganda plays we carried on with programmes of African tales, riddles and customs. We find that the African tales, for example the animal stories, can be dramatised with great vividness and effect. The conduct of debates was also taught. We had interesting debates on the "good old days" versus the new days."²⁶²

In 1930 a special feature at the Jeanes School consisted of intelligence tests which were well known to the London Advisory Committee. These tests, carried out by the psychologist R.A.C. Oliver, were designed to assist the selection of natives for tasks which demanded good intelligence. It was also intended to use them in comparing East African tribes with each other. Comparison of Africans and Europeans on the basis of the tests was to be done with reservations, however, because when people grew up in different surroundings the subject of their assessment was not necessarily the same.²⁶³

In Kenya during the 1930s the future of Jeanes education as a whole was threatened and thus became the subject of deliberation by the London Advisory Committee.²⁶⁴ The original aims, which included better teachers, better homes, health and leisure time activities, had not been achieved as expected. The poor standard of equipment for teachers and village guides was seen as the reason for this. But the Principal of the Jeanes School granted that the training of Jeanes teachers had not been wasted because other teacher training was assuming a Jeanes character, while new educational instructions from the Colonial Office in 1935 and a Conference at Salisbury dealing with the Jeanes movement had promoted the idea of rural collaboration for a common object. The work now demanded new co-ordinators of village development programmes and collaboration between

²⁶¹ Jeanes School, Kabete, Report for the Year 1930, Box 227. File, Kenya, Jeanes School. Kabete 1924/36. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 342.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Minutes of ACEC 21.11.1935. Mc. No. 271.



Chiefs of the Central Province attending the First Course held for Chiefs at Jeanes School. Kabete, in December, 1937, with Mr. T.G. Benson (Principal of Jeanes School) and Mrs. Benson.

local chiefs and the administration. In Southern Rhodesia it had also been suggested that there was no chance of saving the Jeanes programmes unless teacher training was placed in administrative hands.²⁶⁵

In his report as Principal T.G. Benson let it be understood that the missions had found it problematical to provide Jeanes teachers with funds and that they were to some extent dissatisfied with the whole system: "The official atmosphere surrounding the training might result in a leak of spiritual growth and also in the men becoming somewhat swollen-headed". The solution perceived by Benson was that the government and local organs of administration should have paid the whole salary of Jeanes teachers. Although this might have led to control by District Educational Boards, actual inspection should have remained in the hands of the missions in Benson's view.²⁶⁶

It was presumed in London that the future of all Jeanes education was threatened. The Advisory Committee's opinion was that the government of Kenya should take a stand in the matter. As in addition the Colonial Office had sent Sir Alan Pim to Kenya to examine administrative expenses, there was fear of a loss of government funds for Jeanes education.²⁶⁷ The fear proved to be exaggerated, however, because the answer came from Kenya that there was no reason for anxiety regarding the continuation of Jeanes teacher training.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ Minutes of ACEC 21.11.1935. Mc. No. 271.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ A.C.E.C., F.J. Pedler, Jeanes School in Kenya. Box 227. File, Kenya - Jeanes School. Kabete 1924/36. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 343.

As regards response from the field it may be said in summary that the colonies were mainly enthused by realization of a policy of adaptation. Colonial governments kept an ever-tightening hold on educational affairs, and when school subject matter was revised the requirements of a rural community were stressed. Governors and Education Department officials wished to put London policy on a practical level. But below the surface many tensions were concealed from the first. The missions' fear of excessive government control over education aroused doubts, as events in Nyasaland and Nigeria showed. In connection with the foundation of Achimota, in Mumford's school experiments and at the Jeanes School in Kenya experience had produced no clear final result by the beginning of the 1930s, but here too it was apparent from the first that adaptation could not be brought to the level of realization without taking note of African reactions. In this atmosphere of differing expectations and conflicts even the main line of the policy of adaptation was analyzed in many different ways by the missions and the colonial administration.

■ 5. Alternatives of Educational Policy after 1925

5.1 The troublesome language question

Discussion on how to adapt education to African conditions led quickly to the problem of language in school teaching. Was this to be performed in African schools as far as possible in local tongues, and what was the status and proportion in teaching of English, language of the Empire? This was not a matter of education policy alone. Increased communication among Africans at schools and how it should be encouraged and increased contacts between pupils and the English-speaking colonial community were questions of the utmost political sensitivity. Exchange of opinions on this matter and the lines followed in official policy relating to it reveal also the more general connections between British colonial and educational policy.

In the light of the policy of adaptation and its aims the encouragement and use of African languages in teaching had its reasons. In the White Paper of 1925 it was noted that adaptation and the language issue belonged together; it was also stressed that research into African languages was necessary. Study of the native language for teaching purposes was important in the view of the Colonial Office, and as a concrete measure it was proposed that experts should work together in composing textbooks, receiving support from colonial governments and missions. All subjects and especially history and geography should be adapted to African conditions, and where possible textbooks designed for English schools should be replaced by books better suited to an African environment.¹

From this emphasis on language research it will be seen that the use of African tongues in teaching and their practical application in support of the policy of adaptation were not without problems. Frederick Lugard pointed out that only a few African languages were suited to writing and it was also difficult for Europeans to learn these languages. Despite these difficulties, however, Lugard was prepared to recommend an African native language for teaching in lower classes.²

A similar line appeared, in concert with official education policy, in the decisions of the Advisory Committee regarding the language question. In April 1925 Hanns Vischer sent a memorandum to the colonies in which he noted that the African was especially proud of and pleased with his own

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¹ Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa. Cmd. 2374, p. 6.

² Lugard (1925), pp. 15-16.

language: "To hear an African telling a story gives one the impression of an artist who expresses himself in music or in colour or in plastic form." Vischer's reason for using African languages in teaching was that the language a child spoke and understood best on entering school was most effective in the first phase of instruction.³ Borrowing the ideas of the German linguist Diedrich Westermann, Vischer combined the use of African languages with preservation of the African "soul".⁴ It was maintained in Vischer's memorandum that in tropical Africa all primary education should be given in the native language. In areas where this was limited to a small community some more widely spoken African language should be used, or a connected language formed of related tongues. In such cases English was not to be considered. It must be taught well if at all, and not before the secondary stage was reached.⁵

The most important statement on languages by the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office was completed in April 1927. Its substance was in accord with Vischer's earlier memorandum. Reasons for using African languages in primary education were as before: efficiency in teaching, psychological motives and arguments of linguistic philosophy borrowed from Westermann. A factor of social background can be seen in the demand that education must guarantee a development which did not turn the rural population into a separate social class. There was reason for such a fear if educated people lost contact and opportunities for easy communication with the uneducated.⁶

The missions, which had supported the aims of the 1925 education memorandum, were also in line with the Colonial Office in their attitude to language policy in the mid-1920s. At High Leigh the missions listened to an old truth proclaimed by Westermann: if it was not desired to bring Christian belief to Africa as a white man's religion it must be implanted deep in the African mind. Christianity must be taught in people's own languages, and for a mission worker language was "one of his essential tools".⁷ Before the general instruction on language issued by the Colonial Office the Protestant missions had made their own recommendation in Le Zoute during 1926. This stated that "for educational and other reasons" education, at least in the first phase, must be in the native language.⁸

In finding reasons for their views on language policy members of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee and mission representatives both ap-

³ A.C.A.E. Memorandum No. 3. The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education. African 1110, pp. 2-6. Box 225. Africa Education General: A.C.E.C. File, Vernacular. Mc. No. 308.

⁴ Ibid. p. 5. See too Diedrich Westermann, *The Place and Function of the Vernacular in African Education*. IRM. Vol. XIV. No. 53, 1925, p. 25.

⁵ A.C.A.E., Memorandum No. 3. The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education. July, 1925, pp. 2-6.

⁶ A.C.A.E., *The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education*, African 1110, pp. 3-6.

⁷ Full Notes of Discussions, Africa Conference. High Leigh, September 1924. Box 216. Africa Education: High Leigh Conference 1924. Typescript. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 183.

⁸ Edwin W. Smith, (ed.), *The Christian Mission in Africa: A Study based on the Work of the International Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, September 14th to 21st, 1926*, p. 113.

pealed to the ideas of the German Professor Westermann. At the same time the language question was linked to the Hamitic theory cultivated by German linguists and to the interpretation of African history associated with it.

At the beginning of this century Germany was ahead of England and France in the study of African languages and cultures. The Hamburg Colonial Institute founded in 1907 was a centre of scientific work which was largely responsible for the publication of German theoretical research on Africa. Through German influence many Africanists in continental Europe shared the view that African people's had no indigenous history. As stated earlier, this view is supported by the Hamitic theory that African civilizations and most important cultural achievements were the work of Hamitic peoples who came to Africa from Asia. These notions of an unhistoried Africa were originated by G.W.F. Hegel who, in his analysis of the peoples of the world, did not count Africans among those who had influenced intellectual development.⁹

Important German names in connection with the Hamitic theory are those of Professor C. Meinhof and D. Westermann, whose ideas were recognized elsewhere in Europe, including England, during the first decades of this century.¹⁰ What Hanns Vischer borrowed from Westermann in the instructions he issued to colonial Education Departments on the subject of language policy seems to have been highly beneficial to the aims of colonial policy and indirect rule. The instructions state that "language and mentality are so close to each other that education which takes no note of the indivisible connection between African language and way of thinking is based on false principles and will estrange the individual from himself, his past, his traditions and his people. However, the paternalistic responsibility of the white race for the future of Africans and the indispensability of a European presence in Africa were not questioned by Westermann. African culture was to be enriched by the best features of western culture.¹¹ African progress, he believed, was impossible without European and American help.

Collaboration between British and German linguists appeared in concrete style when studies were started by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, which operated in London. Thus appeals for intensified study of African languages did not fall on deaf ears. At the High Leigh Conference missions had already decided to set in motion a project for the foundation of an international Institute for study of African languages and literature.¹² Oldham and other men of ideas sought support for this

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⁹ D. Olderogge, *Migrations and Ethnic and Linguistic Differentiations* pp. 271-74 and P. Diagne, *History and Linguistics*, pp. 245-46 in J. Ki-Zerbo (ed.), *General History of Africa*. Vol. I.

¹⁰ Carl Meinhof, *The Soul of an African Language*. IRM. Vol. XVI. No. 61, 1927, pp. 76-84.

¹¹ Diedrich Westermann, *The Value of the Africa's Past*. IRM. Vol. XV. No. 59, 1926, pp. 429-30.

¹² For the early stages of the Institute see Smith (1934), pp. 1-27 and Daryll Forde, *Anthropology and the Development of African Studies*. *Africa: The Tenth Lugard Memorial Lectures*. Africa. Vol. XXXVII. No. 4, 1967, pp. 390-94.

suggestion in Germany from Professors Westermann and Meinhof,¹³ and in May 1925 Oldham and Vischer travelled to Bremen in order to discuss the foundation and functions of the Institute with Westermann and Professor Richter.¹⁴

A meeting marking the foundation was held in London in September 1925, by which time international support had grown wider. Notice of the plan had been given around Europe, in countries including Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and Sweden.¹⁵ The original plan stressing language study was quickly discarded when the function of the Institute was seen as follows: "To promote an understanding of African languages and social institutions, with a view to their protection and use as instruments of education."¹⁶ When the Institute officially began work in July 1926 its aims were designed as follows:

1. To study languages and cultures of the natives of Africa.
2. To give advice and aid in the publication of studies on African languages, folklore, and art.
3. To constitute a bureau of information for bodies and persons interested in linguistic and ethnological researches and educational work in Africa.
4. To make and carry out any arrangement for joint working co-operation with any other society or body having any objects similar to those of the Institute.
5. To assist in the production of an educational literature in the vernacular.
6. To bring about a closer association of scientific knowledge and research with practical affairs.
7. To promote an understanding of African languages and social institutions, and to study the possibility of their use as instruments of education.
8. To encourage international co-operation and all questions connected with the mental development and technical advancement of the people of Africa.
9. To grant and pay such salaries, pensions, gratuities or other sums in recognition of services as may from time to time be sanctioned by the Executive Council herein after referred to.
10. To undertake such other activities as may be deemed incidental

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¹³ Comments on proposed organization and scope of Bureau by Westermann, Meinhof, Struck. Box 204. Africa General: International Institute of African Languages and Culture. File, History. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 44 and Westermann to Oldham 15.12.24, 24.5.25 and 26.12.25 and Oldham to Westermann 23.12.24. Box 204. Africa General: International Institute of African Languages and Culture. File, History. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 47.

¹⁴ Notes of conversation at Bremen between Westermann, Richter, Vischer, Oldham 16.5.25. Box 204. File, History. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 44.

¹⁵ Agenda. Conference Sept. 21/21, 1925. Minutes of Meeting held at School of Oriental Studies 21/22.9.25. (printed), Box 204. File, History. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 45.

¹⁶ Ibid.

and conducive for the foregoing purposes.¹⁷

It was further stated in the regulations that the Institute must be completely non-political and must not intervene in political and administrative matters.¹⁸

Many of the Institute's functions were such that they tended to support the educational policy adopted in British colonies. This was guaranteed by the composition of its governing bodies. The first Chairman of its Executive Council was Lugard, while Vischer acted as Secretary in the initial stage; Oldham was first a member of the Executive Council¹⁹ and later in the 1930s served as Administrative Director. Professor Westermann's status was also prominent. He was at first one of the two Directors of the Institute and the editor of its periodical called *Africa*.²⁰

In the first years Westermann was also called on to perform much research work which was demanding and arduous. In swift succession he was invited to various parts of Africa as an expert to examine problems connected with the development of African languages; in the late 1920s decision-makers in London were thus able to read of Westermann's research ventures and other skilled work on the Gold Coast and in Sudan, East Africa, Nigeria and Liberia.²¹ Similarly articles published in *Africa* by linguists and mission workers acquainted with language questions helped to stimulate the study of African languages.²²

The foundation of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures and the programme of its policy were attempts to create better chances of success for the ideology of adaptation in African education. The actual statement of a language policy for the Institute had to wait till 1930, when it was composed by Father Schmidt. It laid down that school teaching for the first three years must be in the native language alone. This was followed by a period when pupils began to study a European language while other teaching continued in the native language. European languages were a means of giving Africans "free access to the sources of European life and thinking". Nevertheless teaching in higher classes should still continue in the native language. This was intended to develop the language and produce native literature, and it would also maintain ties between the educated and the living masses. In this way western knowledge would advance the development of the whole population.²³

In this announcement of a programme there was nothing revolutionary.

¹⁷ Constitution of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, p. 6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁹ Major H. Vischer, International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, p. 3. Box 204. File, History. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 46.

²⁰ The first volume of the publication appeared in 1928.

²¹ International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. Annual Report. The Work of the Institute in 1928. Reprinted from *Africa*. Vol. II. No. 2, 1929, pp. 1-2.

²² See first volumes of *Africa* 1928-30.

²³ International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, Resolution passed at 8th meeting of Executive Council (Use of Vernacular in Education). Rome, Oct. 1930.

Teaching in an African language was limited to the first phase of education, and it was admitted that Africans must be brought in contact with the achievements of western culture by means of European languages. In the language policy decisions of the Colonial Office and the missions, the possibilities of native language use had been directed at the first years only, and then too the aim was set as an "aspiration".

All this posed questions on the status of the English language. To what extent should English be taught to Africans, and at what stage should it replace the native language in teaching? It was clear that teacher training and development of literature in all African languages was not possible. It was known in London that in various parts of Africa the people wished to learn English. Lugard had written, for instance, that African farmers were interested in education because the English language would make trading easier.²⁴ However, in drawing up the first language programme which they sent to the colonies for comment, the members of the Advisory Committee evidently did not wish to recognize this African "thirst" for the learning of English. In Vischer's memorandum of 1924 it was recommended that the teaching of English begin only at the secondary stage. The decision of the missions at Le Zoute was similar in substance.

In Africa this view of the Committee that English teaching should start only at the secondary stage, which would have excluded from the English language Africans who had been through primary education, was condemned very clearly. It was opposed by colonial officials and many mission representatives. Reasons given for the adoption of English as a teaching language even at the primary stage were of many kinds. The Governor of Sierra Leone pointed out that in an area of 27,000 square miles within the frontiers of the Protectorate 25 different languages were spoken and not one of them seemed likely to be adopted as a common language. Only English, which was popular among the people, suited that purpose. The Governor also warned that parents would refuse to send their children to school if an African language were chosen for teaching instead of English.²⁵

In comments from elsewhere in West Africa the traditions of the English language were mentioned as a means of communication in trade, administration and cultural life. And Africans had the will to learn it.²⁶ Arthur A. Wilkie representing the Mission of Scotland reported from the Gold Coast that the only schools unpopular among Africans were those which offered teaching in a native language. He recommended English in primary education. From the same colony Harry Webster of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission said that he was sympathetic at heart to the ideas of the London Advisory Committee, but in the light of present colonial history teaching in

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²⁴ Lugard (1925), p. 16.

²⁵ Luke to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 5.5.1926. Box 225. Africa General: A.C.E.C. Memoranda-Committee Papers. File, Vernacular. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 310.

²⁶ Armitage to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 14.4.1926 and Thompson to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 21.5.1926. Box 225. Africa General: A.C.E.C. Memoranda-Committee Papers. File, Vernacular. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 309.

English should begin at the primary stage.²⁷

In East Africa the situation was different owing to the strong and historic status of the Swahili tongue. Swahili for teaching in schools had been supported by the colonial rulers of German East Africa, and after the First World War it also had British support. S. Rivers-Smith, Director of the Tanganyika Education Department in the mid-1920s, did not wish to confine Africans to knowledge of their tribal languages for reasons of taxation and for the sake of economic development. For the working efficiency of colonial administration Swahili was a better alternative than tribal languages which isolated Africans.²⁸

I.R. Orr, Director of the Kenya Education Department, sought to justify the use of Swahili by maintaining that it was important for the needs of the colonial administration and the spread of information; it could also be used as a church and a school language among Africans in various parts of the country. Also white farmers could communicate with workers in Swahili. In Tanganyika as in Kenya the Education Department Director also believed that the teaching of English could not be limited to secondary school. Orr predicted that before long English would replace Swahili, and for this reason its teaching before the secondary grades was necessary.²⁹

In East and Central Africa too attitudes to the English language among mission workers resembled the ideas of colonial officials and mission workers who had worked in West Africa. If a school gave no opportunities for learning English, Africans acquired that skill elsewhere.

Undoubtedly this criticism of Vischer's memorandum had an effect in London, at the Colonial Office and in its Advisory Committee. In the 1927 instructions entitled *Vernacular in Native Education* it was stated that acquaintance with the English language must be started in the upper classes of primary schools. English was also indispensable in classes higher than primary education. The Committee found reasons for the status of English by noting that Africans wished to learn English because of the economic benefit it provided. The colonial administration needed English-speaking Africans for the development of Africa. It was further noted that English opened the way to a rich and widespread culture; in a rapidly changing world of science and machinery literature in the English language was an instrument enabling Africans to control their environment better.³⁰ Similar ideas were presented by missions at Le Zoute and in language instructions issued by the International Research Institute of African Languages and Cultures in autumn 1930.

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²⁷ Wilkie to the Director of Education 11.12.1926 and Webster to the Director of Education 30.12.1926. Enclosure 3 in Maxwell to the Secretary of State 5.5.1926. Mc. No. 409.

²⁸ S. Rivers-Smith, *The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education*. Enclosure in Cameron to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 16.4.1926. Box 225. Africa General: A.C.E.C. Memoranda-Committee Papers. Vernacular. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 310.

²⁹ Orr to the Colonial Secretary 8.2.1926. Enclosure in Northcote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 23.4.1926. Box 225. Africa General: A.C.E.C. Memoranda-Committee Papers. File, Vernacular. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 309.

³⁰ A.C.E.C., *The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education*, pp. 10-11.

In London the colonial government and the missions were faced with the fact that English must be taught to Africans from the beginning of their education. The reckless optimism shown in the policy of adaptation had to give way to the realities of the field of education. The retreat was performed with caution, however. This is shown by the exchange of views on the status of the English language which took place after the instructions of 1927 in the Advisory Committee and in other connections.

The Imperial Education Conference which assembled in London in the summer 1927 discussed the language question among other matters. Its report tells us that representatives of the colonial administration were clearly in line with the policy of adaptation. With regard to English teaching they were cautious, supporting limited movement forward. Experience had taught that superficial teaching of English was dangerous: it tended to separate the pupil from the past of his race without offering him a sure future.³¹

In the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office of advance for English was settled with approval. In December 1929 Sadler was able to state in the Committee that an African in search of progress must learn a certain amount of English. This must not lead to a destructive change, however: it should increase the pride of Africans in their race. By learning English Africans gained knowledge of better health care, animal husbandry and communal welfare among other matters.³²

In 1931 a sub-committee appointed by the Committee to study the problem of bilingualism in Africa came to a similar conclusion. African colonies needed a relatively small part of the population with a knowledge of English. Its size depended mainly on the commercial and administrative requirements of each colony. As a language of culture English had a comparatively small part to play. For pupils whose education was limited to primary education the Committee recommended "short", "simple" and "practical" English. This satisfied the needs of economic life and trade.³³

The English teaching requirement limited to the needs of colonial administration and accepted by the Colonial Office encountered surprising

³¹ Imperial Education Conference 1927. Report of Proceedings, pp. 44-46.

³² Minutes of ACEC 12.12.1929. Mc. No. 262.

³³ A.C.E.C., A Note on the Replies Received from the African Colonies to the Committee's Memorandum on the Aims and Methods of Language Teaching. Box 223. Africa General: A.C.E.C. Memoranda-Committee Papers. File, Language Teaching. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 283. See Byrne to Passfield 19.2.1931 enclosed with H.S. Scott, Teaching of English in Native Schools, Wade to Passfield 17.10.1930 enclosed with Memoranda drawn up by the Director of Education, Burns to Passfield 22.10.1930 enclosed with Memoranda prepared by the Director of Education, Northcote to Passfield 11.10.1930 enclosed with Memoranda, Byrne to Passfield 4.10.1930 enclosed with Memoranda by the Acting Director of Education, Perryman to Passfield 17.9.1930 enclosed with Memoranda by the Director of Education, Jardine to Passfield 5.9.1930 enclosed with Memoranda by the Director of Education, Workman to Passfield 9.8.1930 enclosed with Memoranda Aims and Methods of Language. Training in the Colonies, du Boylay to Passfield 22.7.1930 enclosed with Memoranda prepared by the Acting Director of Education and embodying the views of the Principal of Achimota on the Subject. CO 323/1080/4. Colonial General 1930. File, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies: language teaching. PRO.

public criticism. The English Parliament devoted little time to African education, but the language question was a subject of criticism which crossed the threshold of discussion.

A minister of the first Labour Party, the former Liberal Josiah Wedgwood spoke generally for his party when Parliament discussed colonial matters. He was known to respect Lord Lugard, but in July 1930 when speaking in favour of English in the education of Africans Wedgwood was firmly against the official policy. He demanded the teaching of English to Africans because it would enable them to safeguard their political and economic rights. The English language was a key to "liberation", though within the Empire at this stage. Wedgwood pointed in particular to Kenya, where Swahili was preventing the learning of English. This practice, thought Wedgwood, prevented Africans reaching higher levels of civilization and equalling the advancement of the white race. If Africans were incapable of reading legal documents they were helpless in matters of wages and rights. Give English learning a chance was Wedgwood's appeal.³⁴

Wedgwood condemned limitations to the learning of English with arguments which were political and connected with the social oppression of Africans. Under-Secretary of State Drummond Shiels stated in reply that not too much importance should be attached to the fear which might arise from the teaching of English. Shiels said he had heard that it might be dangerous to train a "black-coated brigade" if all Africans wished to become government officials. But the chances of this happening were very limited in his view. The majority went in for other professions.³⁵

Discussion in Parliament showed that English teaching was also an important political question. But in public criticism of the language policy pursued by the Colonial Office still other viewpoints were exposed. Professor Victor Murray, whose book *The School in the Bush* published in 1929 gained much publicity with its biting criticism of African education policy, also called into question the reasons given for language policy. One target of his criticism was the relation between the African soul and language, made mysterious in the style of Hegel and emphasised by Westermann. He wrote:

"If not more than 20,000 people on the Gold Coast speak Ga, while ten times that number speak Akan, is the soul of the Akan people ten times more worth preserving than the soul of the Ga? Moreover, even if, as a matter of practical politics, it is not possible to train European teachers and print books in every African "dialect", that exists, whose business is it to decide what shall and what shall not be propagated? If it is the European philologist's, is he not an outsider who comes to a nation to "destroy" its soul and kill its mental individuality," which Professor Westermann tells us we are not to do? And once it has been

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³⁴ Parliamentary Debates: Official Report. Fifth Series - Vol. 240. House of Commons 1930, p. 1471.

³⁵ Ibid.

decided that a certain tribe's mother-tongue is not to be encouraged, its soul is no more violated if the people learn English than if they learn Ki-Swahili, except that the latter has an African rather than an Indo-European form.³⁶

Victor Murray found to develop the use and understanding of African languages and English at one and the same time. Only the English language and the world of experience enriched by it would lay a foundation for literature in an African language.³⁷

The quotation from Murray also makes clear that he was somewhat disturbed by Swahili as an obstacle to the teaching and learning of English. After the instructions issued in 1927 the position held by Swahili, especially in Uganda, was the most difficult language problem before the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office. It involved not only the relation of Swahili and English but also the competition between Swahili and Luganda. The settlement of this matter was interesting in the sense that the Colonial Office had to decide on a line which would support the ideology of adaptation or, in other words, favour a language whose status was decisive for the identity of the local community. The alternative was to reject such a programme and to find such weighty reasons for the promotion of Swahili that a vigorous local language would be less desirable as a teaching language.

The Governor of Uganda had announced the approval of Swahili as a common language for the Protectorate in 1927.³⁸ Although in reply to Vischer's memorandum he had recommended several African languages for primary teaching he had solid grounds for favouring Swahili. For effective administration and education it was the language to be recommended. Since in some parts of Uganda, such as the Eastern Province, different languages were spoken, some belonging to different language groups, Swahili was of special advantage.³⁹

In London the Governor's decision had its supporters and opponents. In the Advisory Committee Vischer supported the Governor's opinion, but H.D. Hooper representing CMC believed that to adopt Swahili as a general language in the Eastern Province would cause difficulties to mission workers. Native language literature was sufficient in Hooper's view, and Swahili should be eliminated from schools.⁴⁰ Professor Westermann, the Committee's authority in language matters, happened to be in East Africa, and it was therefore suitable to ask his opinion on the problem which had arisen. Westermann telegraphed his support of Swahili to London, asking the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures for a similar expression of opinion.⁴¹ The Committee obliged. Church representing the

³⁶ Murray (1967), pp. 135-54, especially pp. 141-45.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-53.

³⁸ Gowers to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 25.11.1927. Box 228. Africa General Education. File, Committee Papers - Uganda. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 361.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Minutes of the ACNE 16.2.1928. Mc. No. 261.

⁴¹ Minutes of ACEC 17.5.1928. Mc. No. 261.

Labour Party considered English a better alternative than Swahili as second language, however.⁴²

The decision in favour of Swahili did not satisfy the missions operating in Uganda for long, however.⁴³ In February 1932 two Anglican and two Catholic bishops sent an extensive joint memorandum to the Colonial Office on the relation of Swahili and Luganda in Uganda. In their memorandum the bishops asked two questions: which African tongue should be adopted as a common language for the Protectorate, and at what stage should it be introduced as a teaching language? The bishops also had a list of several points which condemned the adoption of Swahili as a general language.

The bishops listed the following reasons for opposing Swahili:

1. Swahili is not mother tongue of any people in the Protectorate. It may be learned academically in the schools, but it is never heard in the homes.
2. Grammatical or classical Swahili, which is supposed to be the language taught in the schools, is, as has been said, practically unintelligible outside educational circles.
3. The task of teaching classical Swahili in a country where it is mother tongue of no tribe, is formidable indeed.
4. Swahili is not popular in Uganda.
5. One of the reasons at the back of this objection to Swahili is, no doubt, the fear that its introduction will mean gradual elimination of their own vernacular, and with it the loss of their national or tribal individuality.
6. The exaggerated emphasis placed on the teaching of Swahili tends to give it a quite disproportionate importance in the minds of teacher and pupil.

The bishops also found many advantages in the Luganda language. It was spoken in a large part of Uganda, it was closely related to other Bantu languages and it had a literature comparable to the Swahili. Moreover, Luganda was spoken in Kampala, where all tribes assembled, and missions used it in all central schools and colleges and in public services in cathedrals. It was a church language for which teachers were available. Finally the bishops opposed the adoption of a common language in schools at too early a stage.⁴⁴

The missions used Oldham as a means of putting pressure on the Colonial Office to deal with the matter.⁴⁵ At the same time Archbishop Goodier of

⁴² Minutes of ACEC 17.5.1928 and 26.7.1928. Mc. No. 261.

⁴³ Growers to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 13.2.1932. Box 228. Africa General Education. File, Committee Papers - Uganda. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 362.

⁴⁴ Memorandum on the Teaching of Swahili in Elementary Schools in the Protectorate of Uganda by J.J. Uganda and J.W. Cambling in Growers to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 13.2.1932.

⁴⁵ Oldham to the Archbishop of Canterbury 1.1932. Box 260. East Africa. Uganda Education. File, Swahili. IMC/CBMS Archives Mc. No. 398.

Canterbury wrote both officially and unofficially to the Colonial Office urging that it be discussed in the Advisory Committee.⁴⁶ Thus the Uganda language question was raised in prestigious quarters to the status of an important problem, while it was hoped that the Governor himself would ensure that the matter was more closely discussed in London.⁴⁷ Morris, Director of the Uganda Education Department, dissociated himself from the whole confusion and wrote to Oldham that no problem would have arisen if he had been in Uganda and not out of the country. He regarded the whole affair as a misunderstanding.⁴⁸

The Governor conveyed the attitude of the bishops to London, at the same time condemning their opinions against Swahili and in favour of Luganda. He regarded the data they presented as largely wrong and misleading. Behind the whole matter, he thought, were European and African church members rather than local inhabitants.⁴⁹ A historian of CMS brings out a wider viewpoint. In his belief the Baganda chiefs feared that the favouring of Swahili would be an obstacle to the learning of English. Other chiefs too wished for English in their schools, not Swahili or Luganda. Chiefs also opposed Swahili for political reasons, because its promotion supported unification of the East African colonies.⁵⁰

In 1928 the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office had given its support to Swahili, and when the matter came up for discussion again the result was the same. With the Committee thus decided in favour of Swahili it was considered that the bishops of Uganda in the end were not completely opposed to Swahili, though they did not approve it. In the opinion of the Committee the use of Swahili did not after all remove African native languages as a medium of teaching in schools. It was finally decided by the Committee that the gradual advance of Swahili as a common language for the Protectorate must not be despised.⁵¹

This decision was a defeat for the missions and in this case for CMS. Contributing to the attitude of the missions was the connection of Swahili with Islam. Neither this reason nor the opposition of Baganda chiefs to the expanding use of Swahili in schools was sufficient in London to obtain clear support from the International Missionary Council. Oldham wrote to the bishop of Uganda that the Colonial Office did not consider the rejection of Swahili desirable.⁵² It would be a blow to the venture of colonial unification

⁴⁶ Sargent to Oldham 17.2. and 20.2.1932. Box 260 File, Swahili. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 398.

⁴⁷ For example Vischer to Oldham 29.1.1932. Box 260. File, Swahili. IMC/CBMS Archives Mc. No. 398.

⁴⁸ Morris to Oldham 18.2.1932. Box 260, File Swahili. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 398.

⁴⁹ Gowers to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 13.2.1932. Box 228. Africa General Education. File, Committee Papers - Uganda. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 362.

⁵⁰ Gordon Hewitt, *The Problems of Success. A History of Church Missionary Society 1910-1942*, pp. 248.

⁵¹ Minutes of ACEC 14.3. and 21.4.1932, Annex, Report of the teaching of Swahili in Uganda. Mc. No. 270.

⁵² Oldham to the Bishop of Uganda 21.4.1932. Box 260. File, Swahili. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 399.

in East Africa to make a decision against Swahili in language policy. Since in any case the attitude toward promoting English was cautious, support for Swahili in Uganda suited the pattern. It was a better choice for second language than English advocated by politically enlightened African chiefs. This political reality was known to Oldham although he explained to the bishop of Uganda that he and Archbishop Goodier would use their influence to ensure that advantage was not taken of the Advisory Committee's opinion by introducing Swahili too soon as a teaching language.⁵³ In fact the Committee approved Swahili as a standard language for Uganda, but no recommendations were made regarding its use as a teaching language or the stage at which it should be adopted for this purpose.⁵⁴

5.2 Christian ruralism

Collaboration between Colonial Office and missions in the shaping of an African education policy was based initially on an ideology of adaptation approved by both parties. But did this combined view persist after the 1925 agreement, or did both sides have hidden aims in pursuit of their own advantage? The question can be examined by analyzing the discussion which took place in England after 1925 on the ideological foundations of the African education policy.

In his study entitled *Pan-Africanism and Education* Kenneth King has stated that Dr Jones, Oldham and C.T. Loram of the South African Native Affairs Commission were a triumvirate who tried to secure in practice the approval and diffusion of Jones educational ideas in Africa, in mission circles and among the European governments.⁵⁵ J.W. Cell to some extent disagrees. The theories of Jones, he believed, were an end in themselves, while to Oldham they were merely "building blocks". They could be supported until better aims could be found. According to Cell Oldham stressed no particular doctrines in the book he had written with Betty Gibson on African education, but quoted Julian Huxley, Victor Murray, Bruno Guttmann and Alexander Fraser among others.⁵⁶

The above-mentioned book did not appear until 1931 and by the time of its publication Oldham was obliged often to make public his understanding of the most important aims of African education. But what finally were these aims to which Oldham wished to guide the education policy of the missions with his "building blocks"?

He had to deliberate and explain publicly an exhaustive answer to this question as early as the autumn of 1926, when Dr Norman Leys attacked in the press the new British education policy for Africa. Leys, who had done a

⁵³ Oldham to the Bishop of Uganda 15.3.1932. Box 260. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 399.

⁵⁴ Minutes of ACEC 15.3.1934. Mc. No. 270.

⁵⁵ King, pp. 52-56.

⁵⁶ Cell (1976), pp. 68-70.

long spell of work as a doctor in Africa, on returning to his home country had taken an active part on discussions on a labour policy for Kenya.⁵⁷ In this connection too he was in regular correspondence with Oldham. As a Christian but also a socialist he did not approve the policy of adaptation conceived by Dr Jones and shared by Colonial Office and missions, but attacked it with a flood of invective in the *Manchester Guardian* during October 1926. He wrote:

"The Black man's offence is that he is proving himself to be fully human in spite of having treated for generations as sub-human...To those who are familiar with colonial opinion in such matters there will be nothing surprising in all this. But it is quite another matter to find that certain missionary bodies are beginning to act on these ideas. A certain American education expert, of whom, by the way, educated negroes in America are by no means enamoured, toured Africa, East and West, and discovered the horrifying fact that African children were being taught just what European children are taught."⁵⁸

Dr Leys' criticism of the missions was severe. With little concealment he accused them of propagating an education policy for subjection of Africans, approving the ideas of Dr Jones who was criticised by educated American negroes, and ultimately becoming tools of colonial governments.

The missions were bound to take notice of such hard criticism. Their reply, naturally, was composed by Oldham, who soon sent his answer to the editors of the *Manchester Guardian*. He also responded to the main points of Leys' criticism. Oldham drew attention to the fact that in the International Conference on mission work which had assembled in Belgium a month earlier representatives of the African race had also been present. Among those attending the Conference, which dealt extensively with educational questions, were Pastor John Dube and Z.R. Mahabane from South Africa and many well-known negro representatives from the United States. In Oldham's view these representatives would not have approved the education policy depicted by Dr Leys. Oldham also defended Dr Jones, whose opinions, he said, played a central part in educational work to be performed not only in Africa but also in England. He urged Leys to acquaint himself with Achimota, the College of the Prince of Wales on the Gold Coast. In this government school, thought Oldham, Africans were provided with the best possible education by western standards. Its directors Fraser and Aggrey believed, however, that a bridge must be built between western knowledge and African tradition. Oldham also referred to the criticism directed by educated Indians and Chinese against missions. Education had been too western in character and had a denationalizing effect. Supporters of nationa-

⁵⁷ For the writings of Leys on Kenya see Norman Leys, *Kenya* (third edition London 1926) and Norman Leys, *A Last Chance in Kenya* (London 1931).

⁵⁸ Leys, Letter to the Editor *Manchester Guardian*, 16.10.1926 in Cell (1976), p. 277. See too Norman Leys, *Kenya*, pp. 406-08.

lism and educated people demanded the adaptation of education to different national conditions and the needs of the countries concerned was Oldham's defensive argument.⁵⁹

Oldham had no doubt that there were people who wished Africans to remain permanently "hewers of wood and drawers of water", but neither Dr Jones nor the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office nor yet the missions defended this view.⁶⁰

As the exchange of opinions continued, the main ideas of both writers remained as before. The basic factors of education defended by Jones and Oldham, namely health of body and mind, understanding of the environment and ability to control it, building up of sound and healthy home and the right use of leisure and recreation as part of the rhythm of life were regarded as platitudes by Leys, who did not understand in any case what "rhythm" had to do with education. Africans, thought Leys, needed an education which prepared them to be free citizens in a free society. With examples from biblical history he opposed the stressing of nationalistic aspects in African education, pointing out that not even friends of the new policy maintained that the main purpose of the Kenyan government was enlightenment in education. Its central aim was production of a different type of wealth.⁶¹

The opinions expressed by Leys on African education are explained by his broader views and objectives concerning colonial administration. He condemned an administration which tried to uphold tribalism. Indirect rule he considered reactionary and sentimental, and African traditional institutions should not be preserved artificially. However, as an interim measure indirect rule was acceptable as a practical necessity, though it was to be condemned ideologically. For these ideas Leys sought political support from the British general public and the Labour Party, as was seen also in his busy correspondence with the press.⁶²

In his rejoinder Oldham disputed that education which took note of African conditions signified keeping Africans in an inferior position. Education in Africa must be different from in Scotland because Africa was not the same as Scotland. Oldham denied that the missions and the Colonial Office had been shutting "the door of progress" to Africans with their education policy.⁶³

If the press discussion of Leys and Oldham is analyzed from the viewpoint of Oldham and, through him, the missions, it will be seen to rest on the ideas of Dr Jones regarding the functions of an adaptation policy in Africa. At the same time Oldham defended the Colonial Office for adopting the same way

⁵⁹ Oldham to the Editor Manchester Guardian, 29.10.1926 in Cell (1976), pp. 278-79.

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 279.

⁶¹ Leys to the Editor Manchester Guardian, 6.11.1926 in Cell (1976), pp. 280-83. See too Leys, Christianity and Race: A New Policy for Missions. The Scots Observer, 13.11.1926, Leys, Missions and Governments: Objects of Christian Education. The Scots Observer, 27.11.1926 and Leys to the Editor. The Scots Observer, 25.12.1926 in Cell (1976), pp. 283-94.

⁶² For the ideas of Leys on British colonial policy and rule see Cell (1976), pp. 7-36.

⁶³ J.H. Oldham, African Education: Missions and Government. The Scots Observer, 18.12.1926 in Cell (1976), pp. 290-93.

of thinking. The policy of adaptation, it was maintained, suited national purposes in Africa – whose purposes Oldham did not reveal, but used Asia as an example here. Historically and politically, however, in the 1920s the rise of nationalism in Asia was on a different scale from in Africa. The linking of African cultural traditions to educational policy was seen by opponents of the official education policy as a means of keeping Africans permanently as “hewers of wood and drawers of water”.

For his part Oldham had sharply rejected shutting “the door of progress” to Africans. The same theme of “progress in Africa” had been expressed by Frederick Lugard when in September 1926 he addressed a considerable body at a Conference of the International Missionary Council held at Le Zoute.⁶⁴ It was in fact the decisions of this Conference which had caused Dr Leys to start his attack on the new African education policy a month after the Conference was held.

The Conference at Le Zoute was attended by 221 representatives from 14 countries including some – as stated earlier – from the African churches of South Africa. Le Zoute was intended as a forum where Dr Jones, Oldham and Lugard could introduce the principal aims of Britain’s new education policy to Protestant missions working in Africa: these aims were the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and the collaboration of missions with governments in accordance with the 1925 White Paper. The Conference was thus a comprehensive occasion to crown the policy of adaptation and the beginning of work in association.⁶⁵

The internal stresses of this collaboration and, especially, of the education policy approved by Colonial Office and missions had angered Dr Leys. At Le Zoute the missions specified their view of the division of work between governments and missions. As recommended by the Conference, the shaping, general direction and administration of education policy together with school inspection procedures were the concern of the government. In these functions missions were obliged to assist governments through advisory bodies already formed or about to be formed. According to recommendations the missions were chiefly responsible for all primary and secondary education and for teacher training. The main task of governments was to take charge of higher grades and of vocational training.⁶⁶

Apart from specifying the division of work the Le Zoute Conference produced nothing new. Recommendations on the aims of education and the subject matter of teaching were in accord with Phelps-Stokes Commission reports and the 1925 White Paper. Education was to be based on the life of the surrounding community. Hygiene, health education, agriculture and industry were at the centre of teaching. In addition, all education was to be coloured with character training based on Christianity.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Smith (1926 b), pp. 148-53.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 82 and 180 and Box 217. Africa Education: Le Zoute Conference 1926. File, Preparatory Material. IMC/CBMS Archives Mc. No. 193 and 194.

⁶⁶ Smith (1926 b), pp. 110-11.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

Particularly in the light of the Kenya example Leys had accused the new education policy of serving productive considerations alone. What can be said of this criticism with the Le Zoute Conference in mind? What was the progress toward which Africans would be led with the help of education, in the words of Lugard and others? Lugard's speech concentrated on international collaboration in Africa. This affected rule by mandate and economic co-operation, in which all members of the League of Nations should take part, thought Lugard. Referring to the obligations of rule by mandate Lugard saw a sign of progress in the aim of guiding "child-races of Africa" towards a future – however distant – in which they would be able "to stand alone in the strenuous conditions of the modern world". Another sign was the way of thinking which perceived that subject races had their own mentality, traditions and customs combined with an appreciation of the supernatural and spiritual which has formed the basis of their social evolution. Lugard continued that this recognition of the necessity of adaptation in the largest sense – or in some cases the evolution of systems based on non-western models – was still approved only slowly, although great progress had been made with regard to education in this matter.⁶⁸ Louis Franck of the host country Belgium spoke of the same things, but expressing more clearly than Lugard the different character of Africans. Great mistakes had been made, he thought, in the first efforts of leadership from Europe. The errors were two in number: a policy of imitation and neglect of the moral aspect of life. It followed from this that education in Africa must be directed for the sake of the life of the black man. The African way of thinking was different from the European. While Europeans lived among abstractions Africans lived in the presence of actual concrete things. Finally, said Franck in summary, it was vitally necessary to hold a balance between native progress and economic development. All colonial decision-makers ought to keep this aim in view, and in Franck's opinion mission workers played an important part in this great task.⁶⁹

Dr Jones also listed new attitudes to Africa which concerned natural resources and human exploitation. The vast wealth of Africa was becoming known among students on raw materials. Jones nonetheless rated the policy followed by governments and others working in Africa higher than economic opportunities. But most important of all for Africa's future, he thought, were the new attitudes which were forming among governments, economic interests, mission workers, natives and international rulers. In classifying them Jones now saw an actual trend on the part of governments which aimed at the true welfare of natives. Separately he also mentioned ideas of rule by mandate, foundation of an Advisory Committee in London and the participation of natives in rule. Governments were striving for the health, hygiene and sanitation of Africans, basing these activities on a larger conception of

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⁶⁸ Smith (1926 b), pp. 148-51.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-38.

human welfare.⁷⁰

On the strength of the Le Zoute Conference and the dialogue of Oldham and Leys it might be concluded that in official African education policy missions shared the views of the colonial administration. The same sources might lead to the interpretation that, by collaborating, the missions wished to exert a personal influence on change in Africa and the new forces affecting it. If we examine still more closely some of the principal ideas of the missions on education policy, their own ideology of education, that is the implanting of Christian ruralism, is revealed in clear outline.

Oldham stressed the importance of large population groups for African economic and other development.⁷¹ Combined with the ideals of Christian ruralism these educational aims of the missions were strikingly revealed at an international level during the Jerusalem Conference of the International Missionary Council held in 1928. Its final resolution was that mission work must aim from the first at the building of a Christian and rural civilization on the mission field. Throughout the world this civilization affected the welfare of probably a thousand million people and gave opportunities for wise and permanent exploitation of the greatest of all material resources: the God-given earth. This demanded the utilization of all new science. Rural civilization would be composed of "intelligent, literate and efficient" country people. It would be well organized and directed and would take an active part in world affairs: economic, political and social liberation together with continuing human progress. For the achievement of this aim rural schools and their teachers were of primary, central importance. Christianity was established in civilization through a spiritual inheritance which had to be given a Christian character. Therefore missions must give special attention to preservation of rural customs, native language and social system because the best conservative elements were found in them.⁷²

The missions were interested in rural development before the Jerusalem recommendations, in connection with educational issues in India.⁷³ The building of a Christian community through the work of rural school teachers was also central to the activity of the Jeanes School in Kenya from the mid-20s onward. The missions felt great interest in this experiment.⁷⁴ After the Jerusalem Conference, however, the ideals of Christian ruralism seemed to rise to a higher status among the aims of education policy set by missions in Africa and elsewhere.

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⁷⁰ Smith (1926 b), pp. 128-30. Compare with Thomas Jesse Jones, *Four Essentials of Education* (New York 1926).

⁷¹ See for example J.H. Oldham, *Recent Tendencies in African Native Education*. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, pp. 657-66. Vol. LXXV, 1927 and J.H. Oldham, *White and Black in Africa. A Critical Examination of the Rhodes Lectures of General Smuts*, pp. 3-5.

⁷² *The Christian Mission in Relation to Rural Problem*. Report of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council. March 24th - April 8th, 1928. Vol. VI, pp. 287-300.

⁷³ Report of Conference Held at Moga, Panjab, on Rural Education in India. December 5-11, 1922 (Following the Findings of Village Education Commission 1919-20).

⁷⁴ See John Anderson, *The Struggle for the School* pp. 19-21.

A sign of this was also provided by Oldham's attitudes to mission and educational work at the turn of the 1920s and 30s. His most important words on the subject were in a booklet entitled *The Remaking of Man in Africa* which was written with his colleague Betty Gibson and based on careful elucidation. The function of this publication was to guide the educational work of missions in Africa, and its content was a clear expression of the ideals of Christian ruralism. The mission church and hospital, also the schools and teacher-training schools in the mission sphere of influence must work for the spread of Christianity, each as part of a combined effort, so that Christian belief affected all life and human relations. Thus a village community could be made into a "living" and "interesting" unit in which Christian faith and rural community life were combined.⁷⁵

From the writings of J.H. Oldham on Christian education can also be traced his basic ideas on the functions of education in Africa. From these it is clear that he linked education to the battle being waged throughout the world between Christian understanding and modern secularization. The problem of western civilization was, he thought, that the natural sciences, technical inventions and the present economic system had become an end in themselves, and man had lost his connection with the eternal. Human beings lived as detached "atoms" without discipline, respect, clear leadership or knowledge of the purpose of life.⁷⁶

In Europe the forces promoting secularization now threatened Asia and Africa. Nationalist leaders in Asia were turning their backs on religion and new economic forces were breaking up the traditional social order everywhere. In Oldham's opinion man was physically part of nature, rationally part of the human community and, as God's creation, in touch with the final and eternal.⁷⁷ This totality must be noted in education. Ultimately both the spread of the gospel and education had the same end in view, the comprehensive development and salvation of mankind. A school, thought Oldham, had two functions: its technical task was to teach reading, writing, arithmetic and so on, but it had a spiritual task at the same time.⁷⁸ When Oldham stressed that living Christianity was realized in human relations, the same thought was seen in this definition of the ideal school:

"...where the staff and the majority of the pupils are Christian, and in which consequently the school community practices the Christian way of life in an atmosphere of faith and worship; a school which is not primarily a place where lessons are learned but one where a life is lived."⁷⁹

⁷⁵ J.H. Oldham and B.D. Gibson, *The Remaking of Man in Africa*, pp. 52-58, 63-71 and 139-43.

⁷⁶ J.H. Oldham, *Christian Education: Its Meaning and Mission*, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁷ Oldham and Gibson, pp. 17-21, J.H. Oldham (1931 a), pp. 3-4, J.H. Oldham, *Education and Evangelism* (London 1931) and J.H. Oldham, *What Is Christian Education*, IRM. Vo. XIX. No. 74, 1930, pp. 277-82.

⁷⁸ Oldham and Gibson, p. 22.

⁷⁹ Oldham (1931 a), p. 18. See too J.W. C. Dougall, *The Relationship of Church and School in Africa*. IRM. Vol. XXVI. No. 102, 1937, pp. 204-213.

In the light of Christian ruralist ideals mission school work had to concentrate mainly on the countryside. At the beginning of the 1930s a similar declaration of programme was made by Victor Murray after his experiences in Nigeria. Despite this he had raised other considerations in 1930. He stated: "In the New Testament we are among the cities. It was not in the quietness of the rural village that the Christian gospel was worked out, but in the slums of Corinth, of Ephesus and of Rome". In Murray's opinion a concept such as rural culture did not exist. It was people who gave a purpose to things: "it is town that interprets the country". In connection with education he asked further whether city or countryside produced the Christian character. Neither, answered Murray. And the African character was not produced "by lumps of soil or raffia mats any more than it can be produced by English history or by that curious thing called moral instruction". Ultimately, thought Murray, the solution of all problems depended on the nature of a person's belief, not on the nature of his work.⁸⁰

5.3 Environmental ideology of education

Alongside the Christian view of education stressed by the missions there was much discussion in colonial administration circles in the late 1920s and early 30s on the biological approach to African education. From biology a philosophical and scientific basis was sought which was connected as comprehensively as possible with all educational activity in Africa.

The Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office began to discuss the biology question on the initiative of the British Social Hygiene Council. The Council had sent to the Imperial Education Conference a memorandum in which it stressed the need for biology teachers in colonies as a means of reaching a higher standard of health and sexual instruction.⁸¹ The matter was not officially discussed at the Conference, but Directors of African Education Departments who were acquainted with the above initiative considered the matter highly interesting and important. The subject was then transferred to the Advisory Committee.⁸²

Although discussion of biology in the Advisory Committee was connected with African conditions, in English education too biology had been a central theme for several decades. Teachers for the secondary grades and for universities had been trained, but for the primary grades biology was in a weaker position. There was hope of improving this situation in the late 1920s, and it was encouraged by the conception of biological thinking which

⁸⁰ A. Victor Murray, *Christianity and Rural Civilization*. IRM. Vol. XIX. No. 75, 1930. pp. 388-97.

⁸¹ Submission by British Hygiene Council to Members of Imperial Education Conference and Memorandum from British Social Hygiene Council to Imperial Education Conference. Box 225. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C., File, Biology. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 303-305.

⁸² Proposals from British Social Hygiene Council. Box 225. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Biology. IMB/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 304 and Minutes of ACNE 14.9.1927. Mc. No. 260.

had the support of modern educational psychology.⁸³

The Advisory Committee enlisted the wellknown biologist Professor Julian Huxley as advocate of the biological approach.⁸⁴ Beside Huxley the main composers of the memoranda dealing with biology which were sent to colonies in the years 1928-31 were Dr K.W. Spencer of the Ministry of Education and S.A. Hammond, a former School Inspector in Northern Nigeria who, with Huxley and Spencer, represented practical experience of Africa.

The biologists did not examine African education from the standpoint of a separate subject, but understood biology as a broader starting-point for analysis of African education and social conditions. In the opinion of Huxley and Spencer biology was important for its outlook on natural science: chemistry, physics and botany were one-sided in this respect. Physics and chemistry might be basic sciences for industrial areas, but biology must be the basic science in agricultural countries. It benefited not only farmers but also merchants and representatives of the administration. In tropical districts where conditions based on agriculture prevailed and where animals and plants were exposed to diseases, biology must be the basis of natural scientific instruction and the introduction to other sciences.⁸⁵ For the ordinary person chemistry and physics led only to "the examination room". But "corn is not grown in a crucible", as Huxley and Spencer pointed out.⁸⁶ As a comprehensive outlook on African education biology did not affect natural sciences alone. Julian Huxley proposed an extension of the biological approach to all civilized communities and saw biology as a subject which linked natural sciences to the humanities. In 1930 he predicted that after one or two generations population would be one of the most important political questions. The biological viewpoint, he thought, was indispensable for any intelligent interest in future politics.⁸⁷

For Africa biology might be the subject which linked the pupil to his tradition and environment, so that biological knowledge might replace the material which had earlier been transmitted through traditional tribal education. This affected everything from production to sexual customs.⁸⁸ In spring 1930 after his journey to East Africa Julian Huxley explained the importance of biology by saying that it combined separate subjects with each other. To him it was the only link between the various subjects and

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⁸³ Biology and Nature Study in the School Curriculum by Dr. K.W. Spencer, Board of Education (printed). Box 225. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Biology. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 305.

⁸⁴ For the phases of Julian Huxley's life see J.R. Baker with A Bibliography compiled by Jens-Peter Green, Julian Huxley. Scientist and World Citizen 1887 to 1975 (Paris 1978) and Julian Huxley, Memories (London 1970).

⁸⁵ Memorandum Prepared by Professor Julian Huxley and Dr. W.K. Spencer for the Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa, pp. 1-6. Box 225. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Biology, IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 305.

⁸⁶ A.C.E.C., Draft Memorandum. Biology in Tropical Africa, pp. 1-2. Box 225. File, Biology. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 305.

⁸⁷ Biology and the Humanities. The Times, 10.2.1930.

⁸⁸ Memorandum Prepared by Professor Julian Huxley and Dr. W.K. Spencer, p. 5.

education. The classical system seemed to Huxley absurd in Africa, nor could education be based on modern languages or literature. Again, Africans opposed a system where vocational training was given the central part. The only remaining possibility, thought Huxley, was to create in East Africa a system based either on history and geography or on the natural sciences. History and geography were inferior alternatives because they made it difficult to avoid "the spirit of book-learning" which was to be shunned in Africa. Also it was more difficult to combine natural sciences with teaching centred on history and geography than to combine a moderate amount of history and geography with a system emphasizing natural sciences.⁸⁹

Inspector S.A. Hammond too demanded that biology should be the scientific basis of British African education. He approached this demand on the strength of a multiple hierarchy of needs. They were: 1) food, 2) shelter, 3) health, 4) training in use of natural environment, and knowledge of nature, animate and inanimate, in relation to man and his work, 5) understanding of social organization and government (for ownership, work, trade, communications, preservation of goods, and knowledge, education), 6) intellectual training, 7) character training up an higher standard of morality.⁹⁰

Both Huxley and Hammond were able to present several concrete examples of how the biological approach would be exploited in practical school work. Biologism must not be a mere theoretical frame of reference. Thus the need for food in Hammond's hierarchy of needs led to practical farming, gardening and the study of biology to support them. This could include botany and zoology, pedology and an acquaintance with animal breeding. Use of natural environment demanded that the African should rise above his primitive needs of food and shelter. To achieve a better standard of living he must be able to create handicraft products or exchange his products by trade. Since the world was more interested than before in the natural resources and foodstuffs of Africa, agriculture, stockraising and mining were becoming important. Schools must teach a knowledge of nature, animate and inanimate, in relation to man and his work.⁹¹ Stressing the biological interdependence of scientific and humanistic subjects, Huxley insisted that in self-expressive studies such as drawing, singing, dancing, acting and handicraft one objective was to unite them in an estimable African practice which already existed. In the same way geography and history teaching should be focused on local conditions, and the African child must be taught to take an interest in and be proud of his tribal history and tradition.⁹²

The theoretical nature of the biological approach would not have appealed to Colonial Office functionaries if it had not also provided a concrete

⁸⁹ Biology and the Biological Approach to Native Education in East Africa. Report by Professor Julian Huxley, April 1930. *African (East)* 1134, pp. 10-14.

⁹⁰ Memorandum on the Subject of Biology and African Education. S.A. Hammond. November 1927, pp. 1-2. Box 225. File, Biology. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 304.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Biology and Biological Approach to Native Education in East Africa, pp. 1-2 and 42-45.

advantage for colonial administration. In the views of biologists and in the reasons given for their notion of education solid connections of colonial policy were often hidden in the theories they represented. The central feature of biological thinking was the evolutionist interpretation with its multiple historical development of human communities.

In a memorandum prepared for Africa in the early spring of 1928 Huxley and Spencer sought a basis for their conception of biological education in practical philosophy, by which they understood practical ideals. True ideals were formed on a basis of practical experience. People thought and imagined in accordance with their understanding, and their scale of values was linked to their activities. These varied between cultures, peoples and individuals. Although education had universal aims, its objectives in different cultures acquired a different content arising from the variation of practical ideals. Because these ideals were based ultimately on a way of life the basis of education in the last analysis was in the way of life of each community. With the guidance of practical philosophy the aims of education differed in England and Africa. Because of local environment education in England was urban and in Africa ruralist. England was a commercial, industrial and mechanised society, while in Africa agriculture and manual skills were dominant. As Africans worked with livestock and grain they were in touch with the surroundings which shaped their practical ideals. Huxley and Spencer did not deny a change in Africa, but admitted that it would happen only through evolution. To avoid chaos changes must occur on the basis of everyday human life.⁹³

Penelope Hetherington reckons Huxley among those critics of colonial policy in Africa between the world wars who considered that England had exploited Africa in the past. He was also one of those writers who put moral and social issues before economic development. He believed in indirect rule, but compared conservative views on the limitation of educational opportunities for Africans with the views on limited education for the working class which conservatives held in England. He believed that Africans should be offered the full range of educational opportunities, vocational and in other branches.⁹⁴

As an evolutionist⁹⁵ Huxley believed that education affected social development, which was also apparent in the reasons he found for his biological outlook. He wrote that in his community as a living organism human activities depended on environment just as their continuance was upheld by organized tradition. As mankind gained increasing control over his surroundings, changes occurred in the idea-content of tradition. Thus the education which was indispensable for the upholding and advance of human communities had to be fitted closely to the needs of every society in its own environment. And in Huxley's opinion an organism separated from its

.....
⁹³ A.C.E.C., Draft Memorandum. Biology in Tropical Africa, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁴ Hetherington, pp. 95 and 122-23.

⁹⁵ See Baker, pp. 30-38.

surroundings had no biological significance. This affected other organisms besides humanity, but matters were complicated in the case of humanity by the social environment and traditions which existed in addition to physical and organic associations. In some respects social surroundings were the most important part of the human environment. In terms of education these ideas led to the attribution of great importance to local and regional matters which were stressed in teaching. But, Huxley advised, mankind had the ability to break bounds, which implied a challenge to education. The educational system must grow from local to worldwide significance, from this day to the future and from reality to possibilities and ideals. An educational system growing from the environment should not forget the "higher activities" of man: literature, music, knowledge in itself, inspiring religious and ethical ideas also belong to the framework of the biological theory of education. But they had value only when they took root in local human nature, surroundings and culture. Otherwise they lost vitality and served only to destroy local culture and tradition.⁹⁶

These views supported Huxley's belief in the evolution of education and in the ability of the African to receive instruction. In the mid-1930s he was also engaged in refuting pseudo-scientific racist ideas which emerged during an exchange of opinions on aspects of biological education.⁹⁷

Inspector Hammond explained African social organization in terms of biology. Not only the human physical body was affected, but also family relations, social organization and racial advancement. The springs and principles of communal organization could be sought in the evolution of the human race and animals, and from lower organisms.⁹⁸ From these thoughts it was not a long step to conceptions which stressed racial differentiation. When Hammond was dealing with the requirements of African education and character training he pointed out that the difference between African and English ways of thinking must be admitted. This difference was not superficial: its roots were in the original organisms from which racial habits and traditions of thinking had grown. Europeans and Africans needed to collaborate, however, and the gap separating them must be reduced where it was narrowest. The European and the primitive way of thinking were nearest to each other, continued Hammond, in the conduct of everyday matters. From this it followed that practical work in schools must not form merely a large part of teaching, but its foundation, the "raison d'être of the whole".⁹⁹

In connection with the discussion of biology one may also point to British notions on the teachability of Africans. During the period studied this matter was in no way publicly emphasized. The subject was delicate and, as noted

⁹⁶ Biology and the Biological Approach to Native Education in East Africa. Report by Professor Julian Huxley. April 1930. *African (East)* 1134, p. 8-9.

⁹⁷ Hetherington, p. 79.

⁹⁸ Memorandum on the Subject of Biology and African Education. S.A. Hammond. Nov. 1927, pp. 2-3. Box 225. File, Biology. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 304.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

by Penelope Hetherington, few writers who made public their attitude to African affairs defended the expansion of work concerned with the intellectual ability of African because its results would have had a direct influence on education policy.¹⁰⁰

However, the subject of teachability was made indirectly public through those who were prominent in education. Oldham suspected that Africans might be incapable of maintaining the complex organization of a modern state without assistance, although he hoped that this idea was mistaken. Lugard in turn believed that "pure negro stock" was at lower level of evolution with a less developed brain and nervous system than others. Similarly Church of the Labour Party and Oldham made public their ideas on racial purity. Guggisberg, Fraser, Huxley, Leys and professor Macmillan for their part were in the other camp, refusing to believe that there were scientific proofs of African racial inferiority.¹⁰¹

In the 1930s the London Advisory Committee members were also obliged to take a stand on African teachability in connection with intelligence tests carried out in Kenya. The greatest stir was caused when Dr H.L. Gordon published the study he had made in Kenya of African intelligence and the brain cubic capacity of Africans compared with that of Europeans.¹⁰² This led Gordon to the conclusion that among Africans there was a clear tendency to "mental deficiency". He did not regard it as good that European education should be forcibly imposed on "primitive brains".¹⁰³

Oldham felt that the whole matter must be carefully watched. He deliberated with Mayhew and Vischer, and Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald also wished to talk with him of Gordon's plans for further study. In reply to the Prime Minister Oldham stated that "in these matters only first-rate science is of any use".¹⁰⁴ In Gordon's research Oldham did not have full confidence, and he called the further studies in question because of the results they might have in the service of administration and education. It satisfied Oldham that Gordon's possible further study was postponed till the completion of Hailey's future investigation on Africa. Mayhew for his part saw in Gordon's studies more extensive signs of reactionary movement which was spreading over East Africa with the purpose of limiting aims and enterprise in education.¹⁰⁵

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¹⁰⁰ Hetherington, p. 80-81.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 76-86.

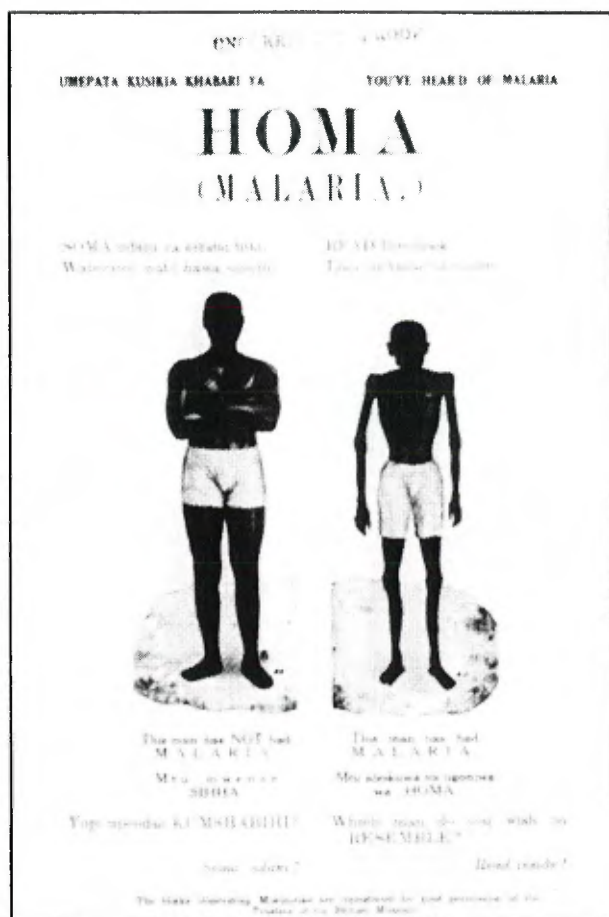
¹⁰² Charles H. Lyons, *To Wash an Aethiop White. British Ideas about Black African Educability 1530-1960*, pp. 133 and H.L. Gordon, *Amentia in the East African*. *Eugenics Review*. Vol. XXV. 1934.

¹⁰³ Lyons, pp. 133, note 20.

¹⁰⁴ Oldham to Davies 11.10.1934, MacDonald to Oldham 30.10.1934 and Oldham to MacDonald 31.10.1934. Box 200. Africa General. File, Mental Development of the African: proposed enquiry. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Oldham to Tomlinson 30.1.1935 and Mayhew to Oldham 8.12.1933. Box 200. Africa General. File, Mental Development of the African: proposed enquiry and Box 219. Africa General Education: Advisory Committee on Education in Colonies, File, Advisory Committee Secretaries. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 8 and 229.

The evolutionist interpretation based on biology supported indirect rule and the education policy which accorded with it. Also, with reference to the Colonial Office and the colonial administration an education policy stressing biology had economic points of interest. From Hammond's interpretation we see the value of manual work as the central guideline of education and, more broadly, education tied to the African agricultural community and taking its foundation from biology could not be opposed to British economic expectations of Africa. Huxley too pointed out that the economic future of Africa would be dependent on agriculture for a long time ahead. Economic



Health care was to be a main feature of African education.

development, moreover implied an improvement in health conditions, and the realization of both would require more efficient training in agricultural and health matters.¹⁰⁶ In a book published after his African journey Huxley devoted one chapter to "Biology, Empire and Education" in which he predicted that the future of Africa would depend primarily on biology.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Biology and the Biological Approach to Native Education in East Africa, p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ Julian Huxley, Africa View, pp. 357-65.

It was from this direction too that the Colonial Office sought advantages from the biological approach. Under Ormsby-Gore's leadership it was disturbed by the number of officials with biological training in the African colonies. In a speech to University Vice-Chancellors and School Headmasters in October 1929 Ormsby-Gore expressed himself as follows:

"The overseas trade of these Colonies has trebled in the last twenty years, and its principal expansion has been since the war. It now amounts to £ 500.000.000 sterling. Practically the whole of this wealth is represented by agricultural production. In recent years quite half the appointments have been new ones, i.e., were demanded by the increase of staff and not for replacements. Looking to the future, the main increases are likely to be in the Agricultural, Veterinary, and Education Departments, for the principal effort on which we are now engaged is the application of science to the development of the potential resources of the tropics. So far from this period of expansion showing any sign of ending, I think it is only just beginning...that our requirements are seldom for chemists, but are in the main in the biological field."¹⁰⁸

Ormsby-Gore expressed his view of the importance of biology in the colonies in other connections also.¹⁰⁹ Likewise Julian Huxley saw the opening of extensive opportunities for biologists in Africa¹¹⁰ and the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office stated its wish from the first that the English Ministry of Education should give attention to the development of a biological outlook in officials and teachers on their way to Africa.¹¹¹ In secondary schools biology was not of central importance, and in the opinion of Sir Percy Nunn teachers with a biological way of thinking could not be sent to Africa at all, because the teaching of biology in English schools was "lamentable".¹¹² Thus for British officials going to Africa with a university education the appeals of Huxley and others on behalf of biology fell on virgin academic soil.

What also shows the importance of the biological approach is the fact that regarding its introduction into African schools the opinion of universities was asked as much as that of African education officials.

The first comments on the ideas of Huxley, Spencer and Hammond were cautious and hesitant. The notion of a biological approach was not sharply rejected; among others Rivers-Smith, Director of the Tanganyika Education Department, said that his schools already had a biological foundation in view

¹⁰⁸ Opportunities for Biologists in the Colonial Services. Speech delivered by the Right Hon. W. Ormsby Gore, M.P., at a Meeting of Vice-Chancellors and Head Masters at Board of Education, 24th October, 1929. Printed for the Use of the Colonial Office. Miscellaneous 402.

¹⁰⁹ See Ormsby-Gore's speech at the British Commonwealth Education Conference held in London, June 1931, London. Oversea Education. Vol. III. No. 1, 1931, p. 3.

¹¹⁰ Julian S. Huxley, A Field for Biology. The Needs of the Tropics. Vacant Posts. The Times 28.11.1930.

¹¹¹ Minutes of ACEC 16.2.1928. Mc. No. 260.

¹¹² Minutes of ACEC 18.12.1930. Mc. No. 263.

although the subject itself did not appear in the syllabus.¹¹³ Similarly in Nyasaland the thought of a biological approach was approved by laymen directing the Education Department.¹¹⁴ The missions were opposed.¹¹⁵ In turn, the Director of the Education Department of Northern Rhodesia warned of the dangers of materialism if the scientific attitude was over-stressed in the education of natives.¹¹⁶ Rivers-Smith and R.J. Mason, Superintendent of Education for Tanganyika, doubted the ability of Africans to assimilate the ideas of an exact science, let alone the theory of evolution. Only knowledge which brought direct benefit interested them.¹¹⁷ In addition the lack of teachers was revealed in almost all comments arriving from Africa. All in all the response from Africa showed that Education Departments in the colonies considered biology teaching important, but rather as a new subject than as a theory to regulate education as a whole.

Scientists were also doubtful. When the London Advisory Committee met to discuss the matter Professor Gray, who had been invited to attend, regarded familiarity with physics and chemistry through biology as "a revolutionary suggestion" in the academic sense, although he supported the idea in connection with African education. Sir Percy Nunn proposed that the biological approach be first tested in some English schools and in teacher training at Oxford and Cambridge. He believed on the other hand that the biological approach was not the only possibility in Africa.¹¹⁸

An actual breakthrough for the biological approach was also hindered by publication of Huxley's ideas on the effect of the missions in African education. In March 1930 Huxley wrote as follows in *The Times*:

"The great dangers of native education in the past have come from the academic fallacy... The same tendency has been at work in Africa, largely as the result of missionary education. For one thing the missionary's prime aim is to convert. Too often he has encouraged the native to behave that all his old customs and beliefs were wrong... In the second place, the education the missionary has provided has very often been purely academic, altogether out of relation with the ideas or the need of the African."¹¹⁹

As discussion was set in motion mission representatives strongly favoured an increase of biological teaching in Africa. There are several examples of

¹¹³ Rivers-Smith to the Honourable the Chief Secretary 27.6.1928. Enclosure to despatch No. 573 of 10/7/28. CO 822/ 10/14. East Africa. Original Correspondence 1927-1928. File, Biological Teaching in Tropical African Schools. PRO.

¹¹⁴ The Acting Director of Education to Chief Secretary 10.9.1928. Enclosure No. 1 in Nyasaland 446 dated 17.10.1928. CO 822/ 10/14. PRO.

¹¹⁵ Ibid and Church of Scotland Mission, Biology in Tropical Africa. Comments on the Draft Memorandum of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa. 1.6.1928 in the Acting Director of Education to Chief Secretary 10.9.1928. CO 822 10/14. PRO.

¹¹⁶ Director of Education to the Honourable the Chief Secretary 36.1928. CO 822 10/14. PRO.

¹¹⁷ See for example S. Rivers-Smith to Honourable the Chief Secretary 27.6.1928.

¹¹⁸ Minutes of ACEC 15.5.1930 and 18.12.1930. Mc. No. 263.

¹¹⁹ Julian Huxley, *More Aspects of Africa*. III. Educating the Native. *The Better Way*. *The Times*. 12.3.1930.

this. Hammond's paper, which the Colonial Office sent to Africa, appeared in a periodical of the International Missionary Council.¹²⁰ For the Jerusalem Missionary Conference Oldham and Professor Weigle of Yale University had composed an article in which they stated that emphasis on the teaching of biology was interesting from the mission standpoint. In the writers' opinion biology was important for agriculture, hygiene and also for the destruction of black magic and witchcraft.¹²¹ In discussions of the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office it was revealed, moreover, that mission workers in London University, though reluctant at first, had taken a favourable view of biological teaching.¹²² Nor did Oldham and Edwin Smith of the Bible Society condemn the biological approach, though Smith stated that the teaching of natural sciences must reinforce religious instruction, and he believed that a good teacher would act accordingly. Smith's opinion was that biology would have a strengthening effect on the unification of African communities and would raise their life to a higher level.¹²³

However, the approval of biology as a subject and the understanding of its importance in Africa did not yet mean that missions had accepted the biological approach for all education or that a secularist frame of reference had replaced Christianity as a starting-point for African education. After Huxley's public criticism of mission education work, ideas defending the missionary outlook were also published. Oldham and Smith both criticised Huxley's disparaging attitude to the teaching of religion in Africa. For mission representatives religion remained a factor which brought together education and the various subjects.¹²⁴

In discussion at the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office the thoughts of the biologists drifted into a process of many phases which eventually watered down the ideas of Huxley and other defenders of the biological approach. A sub-committee under the influence of Mr Stockdale, an adviser on agricultural matters at the Colonial Office, came to the conclusion in December 1930 that biology should be taught in African schools, but not as a separate subject. Biology should be included in other teaching such as agriculture, gardening and health education.¹²⁵

When the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office discussed the results of the sub-committee many obstacles in the path of the biological approach came to light. The relation of biology to the whole framework of African education, the lack of experience and the preconceptions regarding African ability to understand the principles of biological teaching – all these aroused

¹²⁰ A.S. Hammond, *Biology and African Education*. IRM. Vol. XVII, 1928.

¹²¹ J.H. Oldham and L.A. Weigle, *Preliminary Papers Prepared for the Council*. Religious Education, pp. 29-30. Report of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council. March 24th April 8th 1928. Vol. II.

¹²² Minutes of ACNE 15.12.1927. Mc. No. 260.

¹²³ Minutes of ACEC 15.5.1930. Mc. No. 263.

¹²⁴ See Smith's review of Huxley's book entitled *Africa View*. *Oversea Education*. Vol. II. No. 3, 1931, pp. 146-47 and Oldham and Gibson, pp. 21-22.

¹²⁵ Joint Agricultural and Education Committee. A Memorandum on Professor Huxley's Proposals for a Biological Approach to Education in East Africa. Box 225. File, Biology. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 306.

the suspicions of Committee members. The matter was transferred to a new sub-committee headed by Sir Percy Nunn which issued its report, *The Place of Biology in African Education*, in September 1931.¹²⁶

The sub-committee had prepared its report in collaboration with Huxley, biologists at English universities and schools, the Agricultural Advisory Council of the Colonial Office and school officials who had worked in Africa. The report did not deny the great importance of biology in the African colonies: biology studies were needed in Africa more than elsewhere. On the other hand the sub-committee admitted that in view of living conditions and requirements of the community a suitable objective might be to combine separate subjects together. However, biology need not necessarily hold a central position in all schools and in all teaching, nor need it be a uniting factor. In some African schools handicraft teaching might well be considered the core of instruction. Finally, the sub-committee thought that an integrating factor for school teaching need not be precisely defined, nor did the common aims of the community necessarily presuppose a uniting subject or groups of subjects in schools.¹²⁷

The central message of the report was that the sub-committee rejected the biological approach envisaged by Huxley for African education. This was a reflection of the views held by the Education Departments of colonies and by agricultural experts at the Colonial Office, who had never supported the above approach. Further confirmation of the rejection came from East Africa.

The Colonial Office had sent Huxley's report and the sub-committee's statement to the East African colonies, asking for an opinion. To West Africa these declarations went for information only. East African Governors and Education Department Directors were in favour of the "environmentalist" notion of education, but wished to stress the sub-committee's comments on Huxley's report. Environmentalist education did not mean that biology should necessarily hold the central position.¹²⁸ R. Caldwell, Director of the Northern Rhodesian Education Department, suspected that the missions who worked there were opposed to education with biology at its centre. In support of this he quoted the view of the head of a Jesuit school in Northern Rhodesia:

"We have a "centre" in a religion which is not merely 'soul to save' but is a social, historical, moral, civic, artistic, poetic and even linguistic culture and one which has actually civilized at least three continents and can and will civilize this."¹²⁹

¹²⁶ A.C.E.C., *The Place of Biology in African Education*. 23.9.1931. Box 225. File, Biology. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 307.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ A.C.E.C., *Report of the Biology Sub-Committee on the Replies Received from the British East African Territories to the Secretary of State's Despatch on the Place of Biology in Education*. Box 225. File, Biology. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 307.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, Extract from Memorandum by Mr. R. Caldwell, Director of Education, Northern Rhodesia.

In spring 1933 when the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office gave its final word on the biology discussion, the impression remained that colonial governments were more than willing to work in accordance with the general policy advocated in the memorandum if it was read in conjunction with the Committee's comments. The Committee's final attitude to the matter was that biology teaching in the colonies was to be promoted on the basis of Huxley's report, but must be interpreted in strict conformity with the comments and recommendations of the sub-committee which had dealt with the matter. In practice there was no absolute need for biology to play a central part in teaching provided the latter took place in a manner which took note of surrounding conditions – in accordance with environmentalism, in fact.¹³⁰

Regarding the aims of British education policy in Africa the long discussion on biology sought to produce something new, but its results remained slight. In its basic features the African education system in which biologists wished to have more teaching of biology or a broader biological approach to teaching as a whole was similar to systems which had been outlined in other connections. To teach the biological way of thinking to as many Africans as possible in all schools was – in an oblique sense at least – an instrument for development of primary colonial production and, if properly taught and socially interpreted, it was not in conflict with the educational aims of indirect rule. The new element in it was that it stressed a scientific and secularist way of thinking in place of a Christian outlook. It gave a scientific framework to agriculture, stock-raising, health education, hygiene etc. The biological approach to education sought to go a step beyond the aims expressed in the reports of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions.

Ultimately, however, the biological approach was not recommended in London for all education and all schools in Africa. It was apparent that mission representatives did not approve the biological approach because it was in conflict with their Christian outlook on life. In the opinion of agricultural experts at the Colonial Office, moreover, African schools did not need a special biological foundation. Teaching of agriculture, stock-raising, hygiene etc. in itself guaranteed an opportunity for more theoretical study of biological foundation. An educational programme in accordance with the Phelps-Stokes Commissions was sufficient. Similarly, Directors of East African Education Departments understood that they were carrying out an environmentalist education policy before Huxley's recommendations.¹³¹ Finally too there were many practical problems, above all the shortage of suitable teachers, which had the effect of watering down the biological approach.

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¹³⁰ Minutes of ACEA 25.5.1933. Mc. No. 269.

¹³¹ A.C.E.A., Report of the Biology Sub-Committee on the Replies Received from the British East African Territories to the Secretary of State's Despatch on the Place of Biology in Education. Box 225. Memoranda-Committee Papers. Biology. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 307.

5.4 The role of women

In the course of international research a considerable amount has been written on the status of the African woman during the last ten years.¹³² These studies emphasize the great economic and social importance of women for the wellbeing of the African family. At times this thought also appeared in public opinion literature concerning Africa between the world wars. In educational planning too this theme had emerged, and the ideology of adaptation included many points of emphasis which were expected to turn out better in the education of girls and women than in that of boys and men.

Training of girls and women in preparation for a working life was deliberated in the reports of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and in the mission Conferences held at High Leigh and Le Zoute. When the Phelps-Stokes Commission visited East Africa the attention it gave to education of females was certainly due in part to the influence of Mrs Vischer, who was present on the journey.¹³³ The Commission saw the education of women mainly as the training of an enlightened, exemplary mother of a family. A woman was a buyer and preparer of food, but she was not merely a cook: she was also a gardener and a field worker who cultivated land. The Commission reckoned that in the near future other professions would be open to the African woman, the most likely being teaching and nursing of the sick.¹³⁴

The policy of adaptation stressed the importance of education connected with agriculture in Africa, and in this light the part played by the African woman in cultivation of the land was a matter which could not be ignored in education. This came up in the report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and also in several speeches by missionaries in the 1920s. But the opportunities of the African woman for a different future also raised disturbing questions for European educators. Ideas on the education of women and girls which were expressed at the High Leigh Conference tell us of this.

At the Conference Mrs Wilkie of CMS demanded that the missions should know the nature of the girls they wished to educate. This was a confusing period, she thought, but prospects of an independent career for the African woman were still distant. For a long time ahead, in Mrs Wilkie's view, the purpose of education would be to train girls to be good wives and mothers. Africans had long been satisfied with a good cook and what that implied, but now they wanted a social companion. This gave rise to the fear, however, that a woman who provided intelligent company would not be able to cope with "the kitchen side of life".¹³⁵

Thus Mrs Wilkie offered a future beside the stove to educated African girls as to others, and Mrs Parker Crane saw still further possibilities. Women

¹³² See for example Maria Rosa Cutrufelli, *Women of Africa. Roots of Oppression* (London 1985).

¹³³ Jones (1925), p. 339.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-42.

¹³⁵ High Leigh Conference, *The Education of Women and Girls*, September 1924, pp. 1-4. Box 207. Africa Education Group 1925-30. File, Memoranda. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 86.

teachers were needed in church circles, where women were employed as social workers, schoolmistresses, ladies' companions, deaconesses and so on. This was merely the beginning, however.¹³⁶ For his part S. Rivers-Smith, Director of the Tanganyika Education Department, warned that education took women away from home and the fields. Finally references were made to this African approach by Dr Aggrey, who stated that the reason for many African problems was the lack of female education. He complained that girls sent to England came back as "ladies" and that women's education generally ended too soon or advanced in the wrong way. Aggrey also wished to emphasize that many African communities were matrilinear, a mother having more rights of supervision than a father. They possessed a great deal of power and might be leaders of armies; if they were told that the Christian church enjoined them to keep their mouths closed, that was the wrong procedure.¹³⁷ Aggrey's words, in fact, were at least a partial condemnation of an education which offered women a place in the community which was taught by the church and subordinate to men.

Sufficient progress was made at Le Zoute for a list of recommendations in female education to be presented. There was no direct encroachment on the professional image of girls or women, but it was stated that their education must be simultaneous with that of boys. Both must be coordinated with each other. An interesting point in the recommendations was a proposal to set up a special commission or committee whose task was to help and advise those who worked in connection with female education.¹³⁸

In London the missions had held combined meetings on the subject of female education before the suggested committee was set up. Missionary workers stressed their anxiety that the traditional status of the African woman as food supplier and thereby esteemed cornerstone of the community was changing with the advance of a money economy. When the man made money as cultivator of coffee, cotton and other crops, the independent economic status of the woman was threatened.¹³⁹

Early in 1927 when the missions in London saw that the government was becoming active in the matter of female education, they found it necessary to draw up their own line of policy. It was known that Miss Whitelaw had just reported on the state of women's education in East Africa to the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office and had recommended the advancement of such education by the missions in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. At the same time she had criticised the missions for not taking sufficient note of the recommendations which the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the 1925 White Paper had prescribed for the promotion of education for girls and women.¹⁴⁰

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¹³⁶ High Leigh Conference, *The Education of Women and Girls*, pp. 4-5.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹³⁸ Smith (1926 b), pp. 112-13.

¹³⁹ Such conferences were held regularly in 1927. See Box 207. Africa Education Group 1925-30, Files, Women & Girls Education; Education of Women & Girls British Group 1925-7 and Education of Women & Girls, British Group. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 79-80.

¹⁴⁰ Miss Whitelaw, *Education of Women and Girls*. Box 207. File, Africa Education Group 1925-30. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 79.

A concrete result of this activation was a meeting of missions and Directors of education Departments which was held in June 1927 at Edinburgh House, those present including Directors of Department from Tanganyika, Uganda, Nigeria and the Gold Coast. No final decisions were reached at the meeting, however, although for the missions Canon Broomfield from Tanganyika expressed the principles in whose light the whole matter was to be examined. He stressed the drawing up of expositions which would make clear the living conditions of Africans at that moment, tribal social customs, social customs of the family within the tribe, ordinary home life of women and girls, religious and semi-religious beliefs and behaviour, attitudes to marriage and moral questions, also particular strong and weak points which were typical of native girls. In the second place Broomfield stressed the suitability of the education which had been planned for the life which girls would enter after school.¹⁴¹

Among representatives of the colonial administration the most important speech was made by Rivers-Smith of Tanganyika who saw that education of girls and women would have a favourable effect on infant mortality and would thus aid the growth of population resources in his territory, which was extensive but poor. And he again stressed the importance of women for the development of agriculture. From the standpoint of all communal development in African villages in the future, the educated wife of a teacher would be in a more active position than before. With reference to mission activity Rivers-Smith stated that the government was awaiting developments. When their turn came to speak Hussey of Uganda and Grier of Nigeria stressed the importance of the missions in the education of girls and women, and this field of education did not seem to allow governments to gain much ground.¹⁴²

In London the mission meetings which had concentrated on female education ended without producing a joint declaration of programme. On the other hand these meetings expanded rapidly to include other problems of education in Africa. These discussions had an important bearing on a booklet by Oldham and Gibson which appeared in 1931 entitled *The Remaking of Man in Africa*. This work devoted a whole chapter to the education of women and girls, and it may be considered a summary by Protestant missions of discussion on this subject and a guide to future action.¹⁴³

Oldham and Gibson laid great stress on education of the whole community, which included as an important item the education of women and girls of different ages. However, the aims and attitudes for which they were

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¹⁴¹ The Education of African Women and Girls in Tanganyika. Memorandum by the Rev. Canon Broomfield. June 1927. Box 207. File, Education of Women & Girls, British Group 1925-7. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 80.

¹⁴² International Missionary Council, Notes of a Meeting of the Group of Education of African Women and Girls with the Directors of Education of Tanganyika, Uganda, Nigeria and the Gold Coast held at Edinburgh House on 24th June, 1927. Box 207. File, Education of Women & Girls, British Group 1925-7. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 79.

¹⁴³ Oldham and Gibson, pp. 97-107.

prepared by education had not changed unusually since discussion in the 1920s. The most likely career for an African woman was marriage, although in circumstances which had changed there was an increasing need for other alternatives. The prospects of women were widening as stimulators of their own community in social and economic matters and as guides and teachers. Some African women with higher education were needed – as wives for educated men – but in the opinion of Oldham and Gibson their number was small.¹⁴⁴

A woman's place was the home. Apart from this the educated African woman might be helpful as the advocate of ventures aiming at the wellbeing of her village, as a teacher with a Christian upbringing, as the colleague of a male teacher or in care of the sick. These were the most important choices of career which the missions believed would be available for educated African girls in the 1920s and early 1930s. The small scale of women's education compared with that of men and boys was a clear statistical fact.¹⁴⁵ But the part played by an African woman as wife of a teacher or preacher was of great importance. And although with her children she had no time for classroom teaching, her home with clean, healthy children, a productive garden, chickens and goats depended more on her than on her husband. All in all, the problems of the African marriage and its relation to Christianity were an object of great interest to mission educators in London during the 1930s.¹⁴⁶

By the colonial administration the education of girls and women in the colonies was left mainly to mission workers. In London the ideas of the Colonial Office on the same subject were produced by women members of the Advisory Committee. They raised the problems of female education in the Committee while the missions thought out their own solutions.

To be regarded as the official attitude of the Colonial Office to this matter are the ideas expressed in the White Paper of the mid-1920s. They state that in Africa better education for girls and women is urgently needed. At the same time the difficulties and delicacy of the problems involved could hardly be overestimated. In its recommendations the memorandum gave the following reasons for female education: 1) the most intelligent, well-educated boys needed educated wives; 2) women teachers were needed for teaching hygiene, public health care, sick nursing, domestic economy and household management; 3) besides primary education the education of adult women must also be provided.¹⁴⁷

Despite the memorandum of 1925 the Colonial Office Advisory Committee remained somewhat inactive with regard to female education for the next five years. In 1928-29 Miss Fegan, a member of the Cambridge

¹⁴⁴ Oldham and Gibson, pp. 98-103.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-73.

¹⁴⁶ Oldham and Gibson, p. 67 and James W. Welch, *Can Christian Marriage in Africa be African*, Reprinted from IMR, January 1933.

¹⁴⁷ A.C.E.C., *Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa*. Cmd. 2374, pp. 8-9.

University library staff, made a journey to Nigeria, the Gold Coast and French West Africa on which she reported with reference to women's education.¹⁴⁸ In this connection, however, she repeated much of what had been said before. The only actual career open to the African woman was marriage: even a woman teacher was rarely free to work after the age of about 20.¹⁴⁹

In March 1931 the Advisory Committee took the initiative and gave its women members Miss Burstall and Miss Whitelaw the task of preparing a memorandum dealing in general with women's education in the colonies.¹⁵⁰ Behind this idea were the educational regulations for the Gold Coast, referring to which Miss Burstall desired an agreement to the effect that colonial education councils should always include a woman member.¹⁵¹ Starting from this separate question, the problem of female education grew into a broader conception. In the completed memorandum the authors stated that since the White Paper Africa had echoed and re-echoed with demands for better educated companions and housewives.¹⁵² Also stressed in the memorandum was the part played by women as promoters of Christian upbringing, which implied a large contribution by the missions to women's education. The training of women as spiritual and social benefactresses of homes was reflected too in the ideas of Burstall and Whitehall on the substance of education.¹⁵³

The authors noted that economic change might alter the functions of the African woman, but they regarded this as regrettable if it happened quickly. There were three reasons for this. The first was physical. Second, in the authors' opinion African women had not learnt to use spare time, which they now had as a result of liberation from active outdoor work. Finally Burstall and Whitehall feared that freedom from food production would cause the African woman to lose some of her former status.¹⁵⁴

In the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office, however, discussion shifted to other matters. The Committee decided to recommend to University Examination Boards and Secondary Schools Examination Council that music, crafts and arts of home life should have equal standing with languages and sciences in colonial school examinations. A second concern which was pointed out especially by Lugard and Currie, the "old guard" of the Committee, was the opportunity of African girls to come to England to study for the profession of teacher and in other fields. Supporting Lugard and Currie,

¹⁴⁸ A.C.E.C., E.S. Fegan, Report on the Education of Women in West Africa. Box 224. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Education of Women and Girls. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 294.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Minutes of ACEC 19.3.1931. Mc. No. 268.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² A.C.E.C., The Education of African Women. A Memorandum by Miss Burstall and Miss Whitelaw, pp. 1-2. Box 224. File, Education of Women and Girls. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 295.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-10.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

Directors of Education Departments who attended the discussion thought it a better alternative to provide women with training in their own colonies. Lugard also warned that coloured students very often returned home bitterly opposed to Europe. Drummond Shiels for his part was prepared to allow African girls to come to England because in many parts of Africa there were no prospects of higher education. Thus it was not fair to penalise representatives of the present generation who were capable of further education.¹⁵⁵

A sub-committee was formed to deal with this, but its achievements came to very little.¹⁵⁶ At the suggestion of the Ministry of Education the examination question was left undiscussed.¹⁵⁷ When African female education was returned to more seriously in the early 1940s it was noticeable that this work was only beginning in Africa.

The reasons observed for the paucity of women's education were lack of money, public opinion in Africa and England, the small number of European and educated women in Africa and the long-standing existence of problems connected with education of women and girls there.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Minutes of ACEC 21.5 and 23.7.1931. Mc. No. 264 and 265.

¹⁵⁶ Minutes of ACEC 23.7.1931. Mc. No. 265.

¹⁵⁷ A.C.E.C., African Women's Education. Sub-Committee Interim report. Box 224. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Education of Women and Girls. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 296 and Minutes of ACEC 21.4.1932. Mc. No. 265.

¹⁵⁸ A.C.E.C., Report of a Sub-Committee on the Education and Welfare of Women and Girls in Africa. African 1169. February, 1943.

■ 6 International Depression and Start of Colonial Development Policy

6.1 Effects of economic decline in Africa

The collapse of the New York stock exchange in 1929 caused a multiple crisis among financing establishments in the industrial centres of the world. Severe deflationary pressure spread everywhere. Banks went out of business, investments were cut, money was devalued and depression was accompanied by massive unemployment. Social unrest increased. Economies dependent on primary production suffered most acutely of all from the problems of world trade. Such was the case with colonies south of the Sahara with an export trend. With this collapse in world commerce the volume of African foreign trade in 1929-32 fell 42 %, this being divided more or less evenly between all districts and territories. The value of world trade as a whole dropped still more during these years.¹

In England the depression years increased unemployment and social dissatisfaction. From June 1929 to August 1931 unemployment rose from 1.1 million to 2.8 million. More and more too were on short-term engagements and outside the unemployment registers. And when unemployment increased, so did government public expenditure. In order to finance this the government had to increase taxation and borrowing. At the same time, however the trade balance worsened. Whereas in 1928 the trade surplus stood at 104 million pounds, in 1931 there was a deficiency of 114 million.² But the depression was no worse in England than in Germany or the United States, and economic recovery had started in the mid-1930s. One means of solving problems in the mother country was a new colonial policy and economic attitude to the dominions.³

During the depression the dominions and colonies were in debt to Great Britain. As specialists in primary production they were also eager to secure the position of their export products in the markets of Great Britain and to obtain most-favoured-nation treatment. At an Imperial Economic Conference held in Ottawa during July 1932 the colonies and protectorates were not directly represented, but the atmosphere was favourable to such treatment. In February 1932 *The Times* stated optimistically that the 50 million population of the non-independent colonies and the £ 500 million yearly value of trade with them represented an area of raw material supply

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¹ Munro, p. 150.

² Andrew Thorpe, *Britain in the 1930s*, pp. 62-63.

³ *Ibid.* p. 64.

and marketing which was capable of great expansion. Such areas could not be underestimated in any plans for imperial economic development.⁴

The economic potential of dominions and colonies stimulated a great variety of economic activity in the mother country's relation to the colonies. Completed in 1931 was a study of economic affairs in the Empire and a department was formed at the Colonial Office which specialized in economic matters. Held in August 1929 was the first meeting of the Colonial Development Advisory Committee. By 1940 this Committee had published 11 reports and met 125 times. The most important measure, however, was the Colonial Development Act of 1929, which for the first time promised regular funds for colonial development.⁵

For the Colonial Development Fund, which had been established by Act as a special measure, Parliament voted a certain sum as an appropriation yearly. The maximum was £ 1 million a year. In practice recipients of aid were chosen by the Colonial Development Advisory Committee. When the Act was in its preparatory stage Sir Oswald Mosley, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, wished to include also "promotion of public health". On the initiative of Lord Eustace Percy education was to be added too. Finally, however, the Colonial Chancellor regarded education as belonging to the normal range of affairs which could be dealt with by putting pressure on the administrative machinery. The Chancellor conceded, however, that technical training, when it applied to industry, might come within the range of the Act.⁶

The Development Act of 1929 has been linked with attempts to solve Great Britain's difficult unemployment problems, though it was not expected to have an immediate effect on their solution. In August 1929 the Colonial Secretary sent a letter to the colonies and mandated territories explaining the purposes of a loan available from the Development Fund. Plans to be financed must be economically sound, though not necessarily productive at once.⁷ In practice London was extremely disappointed in the progress of the plans. Later assessments showed that the Act provided only marginal relief for the financial anxieties of colonial governments. As a rule the Act enabled only small-scale ventures to be carried out, mainly in the areas of traffic, urban services and public health. In directing financial support London took note of the plans which were most relevant to metropolitan industry. The two biggest projects had a total value of £ 1 million, amounting to almost a quarter of all allocation for Africa. These projects were in direct relation to Britain's iron and steel industry. One was construction of a bridge over the Zambezi River which would make a commercial rail connection from Beira in Nyasaland to Northern Rhodesia. The other was exploitation of newly

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⁴ Morgan, pp. 1-2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-47.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

discovered iron ore in Sierra Leone.⁸ Elsewhere, in East Africa for instance, the effects of the 1929 Act remained relatively modest. One reason was lack of interest in the Act, which in turn was due to the difficult economic situation when it was first passed.⁹

The depression had its effect on colonial economies despite development legislation. Regarding Tanganyika it is noted by John Iliffe that after the New York stock exchange collapse the dependence of the country's economic structures on industrial states was revealed. This appeared most clearly in the fall of export prices. In 1929-32 export prices for coffee in the Bukoba area fell from £ 59 a ton to £ 20 a ton, and in the Sukuma area the situation for cotton prices was of the same order. The crisis also showed up the uneven development between districts concerned with export, areas which produced food and those which provided labour. As tax and customs revenue decreased, government income fell by a quarter between 1929-30 and 1933. Tanganyika received a loan of £ 500,000 from the Development Fund, but avoided bankruptcy only by reducing its official staff and services and by abandoning development projects for ten years. During the depression attempts were made to increase home production by Africans with such measures as the "Grow more crops" campaign started in 1932. This was reflected in the country's education policy.¹⁰ By 1939 Ghana had received £ 108,695 from the Development Fund. This was used to finance prevention of cattle plague, the Tamale water supply programme, provision of electric light for the Cape Coast and training of forestry officials. Rhoda Howard points out that this financial support was merely an addition for projects that the government would have funded in any case. They were not innovative, nor did they show the way to a new type of development.¹¹

News of the effects of the depression followed the same trend in other parts of Africa. In Nigeria export prices fell and consumer prices rose. The depression was felt with especial force in tin mining areas, where many workers became unemployed because of lack of wages. Export agriculture no longer showed a profit, and farmers who had produced foodstuffs for urban workers and for mining areas found that their markets had collapsed.¹² In Kenya agricultural policy had long favoured white farmers. Whereas before the First World War at least 75 % of all export items were produced by Africans, at the end of the 1920s more than 80 % were produced by immigrants. During the depression the financial state of white farmers also worsened, as was seen, for instance, in the reduced area of cultivated land.¹³

In Nyasaland reduced government revenues led to economic cuts and

⁸ Munro, pp. 154-55, Morgan, pp. 49-61 and Constantine, pp. 203-21.

⁹ Brett, p. 134.

¹⁰ Iliffe, pp. 342-56 and Erkki Kontro, *Tanganjikan maatalouden muutokset maailmansotien välisenä aikana. Brittiläisen epäsuoran hallinnon talouspolitiikka ja vientimaatalouden kehittyminen*, pp. 104-14.

¹¹ Howard, p. 158.

¹² Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*, p. 416.

¹³ Brett, pp. 171-186.

increased migration of labour to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. As men went to work beyond the country's frontiers, other members of families remained at home to grow foodstuffs with the aid of an ever-decreasing workforce. By 1930 an estimated quarter of men fit for work were employed outside Nyasaland. This meant that during the 1930s the country's government became ever more dependent on taxes collected from Malawi people working abroad.¹⁴

6.2 Guidelines for a new African policy

The depression years and the 1930s signified the start of an emerging development policy for the British colonies. Pressures for change in the 1929 Act grew toward the end of the decade and led in 1940 to a new Act, The Colonial Development and Welfare Act. The negotiations which preceded it at the Colonial Office had brought out the need to revise development policy in the West Indies and also in Africa. The Colonial Office admitted many omissions in the preceding years; in Northern Rhodesia, for instance, despite wealth produced by the mines, housing, education, social services and economic reconstruction had all been neglected.¹⁵

The ability of the Empire to serve the economic interests of the capital was visible outside the government during the 1930s. Amery and other supporters of the Empire kept their ideas to the fore in organizations such as the Empire Economic Union and the Empire Industries Association. But because an economic strategy exploiting the Empire did not appear to produce the advantages aimed at immediately, an economic orientation of another kind emerged. Experience had shown that export promotion, while stimulating economic development within the Empire, had little direct effect on the employment situation. Discussion and proposals for solution of the mother country's economic problems began increasingly to look for signs of a course to be followed which would spur the economy at home rather than in the Empire. An important contribution to this discussion was made by Keynes' General Theory which appeared in 1936.¹⁶

As social and economic conditions in the colonies were worse in the 1930s than in the previous decade, the opinion emerged that they were likely ground for the social disorders which had appeared in the West Indies and Africa. This in turn led to numerous reports on conditions in the Empire during the 1930s. International competition for colonies was also growing. London was disturbed by Italian intentions in Africa and by Germany's loud demands for return of the territories lost to her under the Versailles Treaty of 1919. Discussion of colonies also increased in Parliament, especially with

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¹⁴ Bruce Fetter, *Colonial Rule and Regional Imbalance in Central Africa*, pp. 55-58.

¹⁵ Morgan, pp. 64-71.

¹⁶ Constantine, pp. 226-28.

reference to the West Indian unrest and to labour problems and social conditions in the Empire.¹⁷

New organs were added to the Colonial Office and directed their activity in accordance with a new policy. Set up in 1937 was the Colonial Empire Marketing Board whose function was to activate colonial economies by supporting sale of their products in England and other countries. In 1937 the Colonial Office acquired a special adviser for labour questions, and the idea of a department concentrating on social matters sprang from the trade union movement.¹⁸

In Africa too the depression generated activity in a new manner. The nationalist movement in West Africa during the 1920s gradually died out, and as the next decade began political movement was still inactive. The West African National Congress and the Pan-African Movement had died out and Marcus Garvey was in exile. But political activism began to seek new inspiration from international communism. Political activism also sprang up in organizations of African students abroad, such as the West African Students Union formed in London during 1925.¹⁹

Economic problems also generated economic organization among Africans. In Nigeria and Ghana cocoa farmers tried to keep the price of their products high through their own organizations. Their economic resources were limited and one after another went bankrupt. On the Gold Coast agents, drivers and market saleswomen admitted a common interest in supporting the sales prohibition of cocoa in 1937-38.²⁰ In eastern Nigeria women revolted against taxes and demanded that the British leave the country.²¹ In the mining district of Northern Rhodesia unrest sprang up halfway through the decade and a special commission was set up to examine the situation. During the 1920s a substantial growth of copper production in Northern Rhodesia had made the country economically dependent on one product. Multinational mining companies practised strict industrial paternalism in which skilled work was reserved for white people in accordance with South African racial discrimination.²²

Workers, recruited through the Protectorate and from neighbouring countries, lived in poor conditions and worked under severe, often brutal discipline. In 1931 the price of copper production fell violently. Mines were closed and the economic consequences were disastrous through much of Northern Rhodesia. Unemployed workers, white and black, left the country or remained in poverty. Tax revenues decreased, compelling the govern-

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¹⁷ Constantine, pp. 229-33.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 232-33. For Colonial Office organization see also Parkinson, pp. 52-61.

¹⁹ J.B. Webster, *Political Activity in British West Africa, 1900-1940*, pp. 568-95 in J.F.A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds.), *History of West Africa. Vol. Two*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 583-87, Peter Wickins, *Africa 1800-1980. An Economic History*, p. 166 and Howard, p. 218.

²¹ S.M. Martin, *The Long Depression: West African Export Producers and the World Economy, 1914-45*, p. 82 in Ian Brown, *The Economies of Africa and Asia in the Inter-war Depression and Isichei*, pp. 400-01.

²² J.D. Hargreaves, *Decolonization in Africa*, p. 35.

ment to cut costs, especially in health care, education and agricultural services. In 1933 those who had fled to the countryside were still afflicted by drought and swarms of locusts which destroyed the harvest.²³

When the output of copper-producing areas improved in the mid- 1930s it was still based on low wages and strict discipline. Life in towns and mining districts remained hard for workers and those seeking work. Crime in the mining area grew, and various religious groupings acquired supporters in population centres and rural districts alike. In May 1935 the riots and strikes which have been mentioned broke out as a result of the tax burden, poor working conditions and racial discrimination. Six strikers were killed in the course of the unrest.²⁴

Alongside events in Africa criticism of indirect rule increased in the mother country during the 1930s. Hetherington points out that criticism was directed to two main questions: should African institutions be preserved or should they be developed as a foundation for gradual political innovation? Some critics believed that there had been no protection of old institutions from the outset. The old sources of political legality had been destroyed immediately, the more democratic aspects of African communities had been weakened and African aristocrats had achieved a position from which only the British administration was able to remove them. Indirect rule artificially maintained the power of "discouraging" and incompetent chiefs. Paternalistic colonial policy allowed Africans no say in their own affairs. Support for the development of education in particular was increasing. There should be an immediate expansion of the political and civil rights of Africans.²⁵ In 1940 the socialists, who were eager to influence the future of Africa, founded a pressure group, The Fabian Colonial Bureau. Fabians stressed construction of a progressive community, increased welfare, better education and economic planning. These measure were precursors of African self-rule.²⁶

The new development plans were upset by the outbreak of the Second World War. In instructions to the colonies the Colonial Office made clear that ventures financed by the mother country were to serve the war economy. It wished, however, to cause as little disturbance as possible to existing social services and development efforts; this was because it was important for the British to uphold their reputation as an enlightened ruler. During the war, in any case, the colonial Empire was regarded in England as an important supplier of raw materials and foodstuffs to the mother country engaged in hostilities. Even as the war broke out, however, it was reckoned in London that the political status of the colonies would change as the war ended, and for this reason political trends were stressed in development ventures. The Empire must be kept as satisfied as possible.²⁷

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²³ Hargreaves, p. 35.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 36.

²⁵ Hetherington, pp. 141-49.

²⁶ Hargreaves, pp. 61-62.

²⁷ Morgan, pp. 72-75, see too Constantine, pp. 246-57.

In 1940 the Colonial Development and Welfare Act promised £ 5 million annually for the following ten years to support development programmes in the colonies. Yearly expenses for the programmes thus financed rose from £ 177,802 in 1940-41 to £ 2,806, 456 in 1944-45. However, the sum was less than the Act would have made possible.²⁸

Analyzing the 1940 the Colonial Development and Welfare Act Stephen Constantine sees in the background features which are political rather than economic. Although this had been described as the first unselfish Act in the whole history of the British Empire, opinions of a different kind were also uttered. Ultimately the Act gave little compared with what Great Britain had obtained from other parts of the Empire. Constantine interprets the 1930s as a watershed during which the moral aspect of colonialism and British achievements were regarded with severe criticism in the home country and abroad. Imperial stability was threatened not only with social unrest and rising nationalism but also from Germany, Italy and Japan and even through the unsympathetic scrutiny of the United States. In these conditions the traditional justice of the colonial administration seemed increasingly worthless. Protective rule and a civilizing mission in the colonies had signified economic stagnation, social unrest and political disagreement. As an answer to the new situation a more constructive policy of trusteeship must be planned with the explicit purpose of improving social conditions. In Constantine's words this was "a method of removing legitimate grievances in the colonies, re-establishing the Empire and defusing criticism of British colonial rule". Colonial development and welfare were thus focused on a defensive operation which would offer new justification for the permanence of colonial rule.²⁹

In the war years there were many and varied signs of a new system – political and administrative – under construction. In Parliament during 1943 Oliver Stanley announced the aim of self-government within the British Empire,³⁰ and in the first days of the war Malcolm MacDonald as Colonial Secretary asked Lord Hailey to new study of local administrative structures in British Africa. As a result of the war it was believed that African political consciousness would rise and lend force to demands for more progressive and liberal institutions. For this reason the Colonial Office wished Lord Hailey's survey to be conducted in secret with no reference to official connections.³¹ Hailey's report came into wider circulation only in 1944. His importance in the background of new political forces in Africa was considerable in other respects too.³² In April 1941 he was invited to preside over an

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²⁸ Morgan, p. 73 and Constantine, p. 258.

²⁹ Constantine, pp. 259-60.

³⁰ Hargreaves, p. 57.

³¹ The telegram of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governors of Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia 10.12.1939. Mss. Brit. Emp. s. 342. File, Secretary of State's proposals made for Journey to African Colonies to be made in 1940-41 + accompanied (F. Pedler of Colonial Office). The Hailey Papers. RHL.

³² For Hailey's part in the shaping of a new African policy see Cell (1992), 241-81, see too John Darwin, *Britain and Decolonization. The Retreat from Empire in the Post-War World*, pp. 51-53.

official Committee whose task was to direct postwar colonial reconstruction.³³ In connection with administrative innovations Hailey had stated publicly that except in Uganda, Northern Nigeria and some parts of West Africa the British had derived little benefit from organs of local administration.³⁴ What Africa urgently needed, in Hailey's view, was a political elite capable of leading a modern state.³⁵ In West Africa during 1938 the rise of a new political nationalism had been foretold when Isaac Wallace-Johnson moved from Accra to Sierra Leone where he formed Youth League-organisations in several cities. On the Gold Coast in the same year J.B. Danquah organized the Gold Coast Youth Conference to discuss the country's economic and social problems.³⁶ The local British administration in West Africa was also prepared for swifter changes than London. In Nigeria and on the Gold Coast African members were invited to the Executive Council and on the Gold Coast in 1942 Governor Sir Alan Burns proposed an African majority for the Legislative Council. Hailey and others in London opposed this suggestion, believing it was primarily important to wait for growth in the welfare and political consciousness of the great majority of Africans.³⁷

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³³ Hargreaves, pp. 60-61.

³⁴ Lord Hailey on African and Indian Government. United Empire, January 1939, p. XIII. Box 202. Africa General. File, Needs of Colonies. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 28.

³⁵ Hetherington, pp. 139-40

³⁶ Webster, p. 592 and Hargreaves, p. 38.

³⁷ Hargreaves, pp. 62-63, see too Ronald Robinson, Andrew Cohen and the Transfer of Power in Tropical Africa, 1940-1951, pp. 50-61 in W.H. Morris-Jones and Georges Fischer, Decolonisation & After. The British and French Experience.

■ 7. New Challenges for Educational Policy in the 1930s

7.1 Compulsory education

The international depression made itself apparent in a concrete sense when decisions on educational policy were made at the Colonial Office. Even the continuation of secretarial work in the Advisory Committee was threatened. As Oldham received financial support from beyond the Atlantic, however, the Committee was able to continue the employment of its Secretaries.¹ The depression was evident too in the planning of educational policy. One example of this was provided by the plans made by the Colonial Office to improve education despite economic difficulties in Africa. One idea was to introduce compulsory education in the colonies.

In the Advisory Committee the question of making education compulsory was raised in July 1929 on the initiative of the Governor of Gambia. He proposed an ordinance which would enable such an aim to be realized, stating that it had the support of population and missions alike.² In London the Colonial Office was sceptical, however, doubting whether sufficient staff could be obtained.³

It was partly on the initiative of Gambia, we may be sure, that this issue was reinvestigated more precisely in spring 1930. The purpose was to examine the current position of compulsory education in the colonies generally, and also to ensure that colonial governments gave their attention to this matter.⁴

In accord with the view of the Advisory Committee the Colonial Office reacted halfheartedly to the Gambia proposal, and the thorough examination of this question was therefore highly surprising. A confidential memorandum prepared by the Colonial Office in May stated that the general adoption of compulsory education could not be considered at that moment. The reasons were economic factors and lack of teachers in many territories. On the other hand it was admitted that in some colonies compulsory education had been tried, and it was hoped that such experimentation would continue in other colonies also. There were reasons to recommend this. In the first place compulsory education was not merely a means of getting children to school, but also a way of making their teaching more economical,

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¹ Clatworthy, pp. 56-59.

² Minutes of ACEC 20.6.1929. Mc. No. 262.

³ Ibid.

⁴ A.C.E.C., Compulsory Education. Preliminary Note on the Desirability of Stimulating Interest on the Subject. March 1930. Box 223. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Compulsory Education. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 284.

so that public funds were not wasted. In the second place compulsion need not necessarily be universal. For economic and other reasons it was wise to concentrate it in certain areas.⁵ It was further stated in the memorandum that the wish of parents was not the only reason for providing education: there were also risks that social classes or races who were allowed to live in perpetual ignorance might become a danger to the whole community.⁶ These sociopolitical arguments may have been references to India, where the latest five-year survey of education had gone into this matter.⁷

The memorandum was composed for internal use at the Colonial Office, but on its basis a start was made in examining the subject on local ground. In September 1930 the Colonial Secretary sent a circular letter to Africa in which he stated that particular attention must be paid to the dangers of mass education which was misguided and on uncertain foundations. He stressed the importance of quality over quantity in the early stages of education, agreeing here with the ideas of the Advisory Committee and the opinions of the Colonial Office. The possibility of securing the right foundations for some form of local compulsory education, he wrote, was worth careful examination.⁸

The Colonial Secretary saw no urgency in the matter.⁹ Committee Secretary Mayhew had also suggested that there was an area between compulsory and voluntary education. Referring to the experience of India and Ceylon Mayhew maintained that the fight against illiteracy was an undoubted waste of time unless it was combined with careful preparation for steadily advancing compulsory education.¹⁰

From the London viewpoint the progress of compulsory education must be gradual and its purpose the support of more efficient education. Reading between the lines, another reason for it could be seen as anxiety over the progress of education among communities who had been unevenly exposed to it. In the Advisory Committee this matter had always had political connections.

Despite the economic situation the Colonial Office set out to investigate the question of compulsory education in various parts of the Empire. The answers from Africa were not encouraging, which was certainly no surprise. Regions outside Africa were better prepared for the gradual advance of compulsory education.¹¹

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⁵ Colonial Office Conference 1930. Compulsory Education in the Colonies. Memorandum Prepared in the Colonial Office. May 1930. Box 223. File, Compulsory Education. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 284.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ A.C.E.C., Compulsory Education. Preliminary Note on the Desirability of Stimulating Interest on the Subject. March 1930.

⁸ Sir Passfield's circular to the Officer Administering the Government 4.9.1930. Box 223. File, Compulsory Education. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 284.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ A.C.E.C., Compulsory Education. Preliminary Note on the Desirability of Stimulating Interest on the Subject. March 1930.

¹¹ Minutes of ACEC 25.5.1933. Mc. No. 269.

From a few of the colonies Mayhew, the rest of the Committee and the Colonial Office met with some sympathy, but on the basis of the response from Africa their plans were economically impossible to realize in practice. Thus the Governor of Sierra Leone J.A. Byrne wrote that in person he strongly supported the introduction of compulsory education to the Free-town area and, if it proved successful, the venture might be extended throughout the colony. But because of the current economic situation no detailed plan could be undertaken. In the Protectorate the Governor saw no chance of taking the matter further for a long time, although in the Protectorate area no less than 98 % of children were illiterate and in the colonial area 50%.¹²

Nigeria was prepared for experiments in compulsory education in Lagos and other coastal cities.¹³ In Uganda too plans might be gradually carried out one district at a time, but not in the immediate future.¹⁴ In other areas of Africa the response was still less promising. In Gambia the wish for compulsory education had decreased, and Governor H.R. Palmer was now able to state that it was difficult to find funds for the upkeep of even one government school in Georgetown.¹⁵ In Northern Rhodesia it was considered a waste of time even to discuss the matter.¹⁶ The Gold Coast was not prepared for local ventures,¹⁷ let alone others, and in Tanganyika it was stated that the time was not yet ripe.¹⁸ Nyasaland was against the whole undertaking.¹⁹

Summing up this response, Arthur Mayhew was obliged to record that the African colonies were almost unanimous in their suspicion of an attempt to make education compulsory. Mayhew calculated that opposition was the result of several facts. In some colonies, apart from the Indian element responsible public opinion was seen to resist compulsion. In London, however, it did not become clear whether the views of native leaders were feared, or those of the public as a whole. On the other hand compulsion might seem unnecessary where the general demand for education was strong or, in the opposite case, where apathy and lack of interest made compulsion in

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¹² Byrne to Passfield 17.10.1930. CO 323/1072/8. Colonial General 1930. File, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies: compulsory education. PRO.

¹³ Baddeley to Passfield 22.10.1930. CO 323/1072/8. File, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies: compulsory education. PRO.

¹⁴ Gowers to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 18.12.1930 with a copy of a report by the Director of Education. CO 323/1072/8. File, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies: compulsory education. PRO.

¹⁵ Palmer to Passfield 21.11.1930. CO 323/1072/8. File, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies: compulsory education. PRO.

¹⁶ Maxwell to Passfield 18.11.1930 with the extract from the Advisory Committee on African Education on the problem of compulsory education. CO 323/1072/8. File, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies: compulsory education. PRO.

¹⁷ Northcote to Passfield 14.4.1931 with Enclosure sgd. D.J. Oman, Director of Education. CO 323/1072/8. File, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies: compulsory education. PRO.

¹⁸ Enclosure No. 1. in Jardine to Passfield 4.3.1931. CO 323/1272/8. File, Advisory Committee on the Education in the Colonies: compulsory education. PRO.

¹⁹ Thomas to Passfield 11.2.1931. CO 323/1072/8. File Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies: compulsory education. PRO.

practice impossible. Resistance was also apparent to a coercion which sent children to schools which were considered to some extent experimental. In the fourth place doubts were felt as to effectiveness of the teaching provided. Also clearly publicised was the need to increase the number of competent teachers if it was desired to obtain results from compulsion. Finally, resistance was due to economic facts which made it impossible to realize attempts which might otherwise have succeeded.²⁰

Arthur Mayhew, however, did not allow these facts to still the progress of his thoughts. In a memorandum he reminded readers that the response from Africa had not weakened the idea that waste of public funds could be prevented by some degree of force.²¹

Not all Committee members interpreted the response to the Colonial Office's circular letter as favourably as Mayhew. In Sir George Maxwell's opinion London ought not to frustrate local ideas, nor did he support Mayhew's reiterated proposal that gradual coercion, once started, should be repeated and reinforced in new recommendations directed to Africa. Sir James Currie saw a political side to the question. Compulsory education might be seen as an attempt to attack native religion and ways of thought and this would entail political risks. As still other Committee members treated Mayhew's ideas with reserve, a new sub-committee headed by Mr Somerville was formed to deal with the matter.²²

The sub-committee completed its work in spring 1933²³ and suggested guidelines for the progress of compulsory education. In the final report, to which supporters and doubters had both contributed, the idea of compulsion was not relinquished. Referring to experience in India, the report stressed the support of the local community in the planning and execution of compulsory education projects. At the same time the report emphasized the effect of compulsion on educational efficiency, a matter which had been under consideration throughout. The aim was to ensure regular school attendance and completion of the course by a reasonable number. For the most difficult point, the question of financing, the report gave several proposals. An enthusiastic local population would be prepared for the necessary construction work, schools could be shared and grouped more economically in most territories, and resources must be moved to areas wishing for education from areas where there was less desire to improve the status of schools.²⁴

²⁰ A.C.E.C., A Memorandum on Replies Received from Colonial Governments to the Secretary of State's Despatch on Compulsory Education, pp. 1-5. CO. 323/1166/3. Colonial General 1923-1933. File, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. Memoranda on compulsory education. PRO.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²² Minutes of ACEC 12.1.1933. Mc. No. 269.

²³ A.C.E.C., Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Committee at the Meeting held on 12th January, 1933, to consider the replies received from the dependencies to the Secretary of State's Circular despatch on the subject of compulsory education in the light of the discussion at that Meeting, and in relation to Native education only. CO 323/1208/10. Colonial General 1934. File, Compulsory Education. PRO.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

Thus in the proposals of the report the line taken by Mayhew from the first was victorious. Compulsory education was favoured for the sake of efficiency. However, the recommendation was confined to areas where education was otherwise provided. On the strength of experience in India the Committee offered the model of "voluntary compulsion". The idea was to show parents and local people that neglect of education was a serious social abuse. The main Committee also approved the report of the sub-committee.²⁵ When the Colonial Secretary sent it to the colonies he stressed that this was not the right moment to accelerate the direction of extra funds for education. The main purpose of the report was to help Governors to utilize funds which were already available.²⁶

7.2 Efforts to increase local responsibility

Not only compulsory education but also the effects of the depression formed a background when the London Advisory Committee began deliberations on the subject of increased African responsibility, especially on the economic side, for education. Secretary Mayhew brought up this matter in the Committee during the autumn of 1929.²⁷ It was thought necessary to inquire first how economic and administrative responsibility in the colonies was currently divided between government and local organs of administration. An impetus had been lent to this inquiry by a sub-committee studying educational affairs in Kenya whose function was also to determine the distribution of economic aid to the missions.²⁸

Early in 1931 when a sufficient number of opinions had been collected from Africa a sub-committee was set up at Oldham's suggestion to analyze them.²⁹ Directors of Education Departments were also heard, and in this connection E.R.J. Hussey told of the situation in Northern Nigeria. There, he said, the local administration provided funds for practically all elementary education although the government assisted missions and schools which served the local area more widely. Use of funds was decided by the local administration, but government officials were in a position to influence the decisions of emirs. In Hussey's view the question to be decided in Northern

²⁵ Minutes of ACEC 25.5.1933. Mc.No. 269.

²⁶ P. Cunliffe Lister's circular to all colonies and protectorates excluding Malta, Gibraltar, Somalia, Mauritius, Seychelles, Hong Kong, Barbados, Br. Guinea, Jamaica, Leeward-islands, St. Kitts, Dominica, Trinidad, Windward-islands, Bahama, Bermuda, Br. Honduras T.T. and Palestiina 31.8.1933. CO 323/1208/10. Colonial General 1934. File, Compulsory Education. PRO.

²⁷ Minutes of ACEC 21.11.1929. Mc. No. 267.

²⁸ Lord Passfield's circular 28.2.1930. Box 221. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Educational Functions of Local Authorities. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 251 and A.C.E.C., Proposals for an enquiry into relations at present existing between the various colonial governments and local authorities within their areas in educational administration. Box 224. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Educational Functions of Local Bodies Sub-Committee. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 286.

²⁹ Minutes of ACEC 19.2.1931. Mc. No. 268.

Nigeria was the ability of the government to use the personal influence and wealth of the emirs for the advancement of local school conditions. In southern parts of the country the central administration had a strong grasp of local officialdom. There too the local administration paid part of the expense of its own schools. Hussey claimed to know the situation in Uganda also; there, he said, the delegation thought necessary by the government determined relations between the local level and the central administration. When Hussey left, the country's local administration had been responsible for collecting funds for elementary education in its own areas. Their use, however, was subject to government rules and supervision. All in all Hussey believed that in both Nigeria and Uganda local authorities could be given more responsibility.³⁰

C.W. Wakeman shed further light on the Nigerian situation from the mission worker's viewpoint, and according to him there was no undesirable competition at that moment between mission schools and those maintained by the local administration; on the other hand many mission representatives wished for no publicity in the whole matter. Many missions benefited from funds provided by the local administration, and publicity was not necessarily to their advantage.³¹

The response from Africa showed that the part played by local administration and the responsibility for education in its territories varied between countries, but ultimate control remained firmly in the hands of the central administration. In Nyasaland, to be sure, the Education Department Director complained that government control over education was not complete. He also predicted that in the following few years problems would arise among local administrative organs. He foresaw such problems especially in connection with the foundation of non-Christian schools, the parties concerned being organs of administration containing local chiefs and organs dealing with educational matters.³²

Philip Mitchell of Tanganyika believed that local administration should be trained to practise greater responsibility. It must be given opportunities to do this, if necessary at the cost of efficiency in some cases. Education would thus take better root, European staff could be reduced in number and local interest in education increased. In Tanganyika relations between government and local administration were stated to be satisfactory. Education Department Director Rivers-Smith wished to add, however, that Africans could not be given full responsibility for two generations, and for that length of time the Education Department would continue to exercise firm academic control. He too considered relations between missions and local adminis-

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³⁰ Educational Functions of Local Bodies Sub-Committee. Minutes of the First Meeting, held 23.4.31. Box 224. File, Educational Functions of Local Bodies Sub-Committee. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc.No. 286.

³¹ A.C.E.C., Local Authorities Sub-Committee. Minutes of the Meeting held 8.7.31. Box 224. File, Educational Functions of Local Bodies Sub-Committee. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 286.

³² Ibid.

tration satisfactory and steadily improving. In Tanganyika there appeared nothing to prevent more effective collaboration by the native administration with the missions or even the provision of financial aid by the former to the latter.³³

In Northern Rhodesia the pattern was not the same. There Africans were not represented even in local advisory educational bodies. Mr Latham as Education Department Director thought the time not yet ripe for this. He also felt that African opinion would be heard through the missions. Latham's attitudes were strict in other respects too. The time was not ripe for delegation of power to local organs, nor could control of funds be given to advisory bodies. In Northern Rhodesia it was observed that the natives wanted government schools partly for religious reasons and partly because they were regarded as better equipped and more efficient.³⁴

On the Gold Coast the Education Department Director found relations between missions and government to be fairly satisfactory, nor was anything known of general dissatisfaction between missions and local administrative organs. Admittedly disputes occurred here and there between chiefs and mission workers.³⁵

Messages from Education Department Directors told what was already known in London of practices in the field. Relations between local administration, missions and central administration varied in different colonies, and it was not easy to give recommendations or instructions for a uniform pattern of administration or financing. There was willingness to transfer power to a local level, but only in the indefinite future. Missions were naturally disturbed by the financing policy of the local administration: did the latter support mission education or only its own schools? There were hints of the second development. This may explain the fact that Oldham wished to deal with the matter and to reach a solution approved by the Colonial Office.

The report of the sub-committee which dealt with the matter was composed by Oldham himself. In July 1932 it was before the Advisory Committee, and by then comments on it had also been received from Africa.³⁶ Ideas in the field had not changed. As the report stated, the pattern to be followed in Uganda was to be recommended elsewhere from the mission point of view. As Education Department Director in Uganda, Morris stated that relations between missions and the local administration were excellent in the country. District Boards under Education Department supervision were responsible for the supply of funds and for inspection of

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³³ Local Authorities Sub-Committee. Minutes of the Meeting held 6th August. 1931. Box 224. File, Educational Functions of Local Bodies Sub-Committee. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 286.

³⁴ Minutes of Local Authorities Sub-Committee Meeting held 16th September 1931. Box 224. File, Educational Functions of Local Bodies Sub-Committee. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 286.

³⁵ Local Authorities Sub-Committee. Minutes of the Meeting held 16.9.1931. Box 224. File, Educational Functions of Local Bodies Sub-Committee. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 287.

³⁶ Minutes of the ACEC 21.7.1932. Mc. No. 268.

sub-grade and elementary education. These Boards dealt with all education in the district, whether government or private. Out of tax revenues the Board supplied aid to the missions, who were also guaranteed – through local councils – greater power over elementary education than elsewhere in Africa.³⁷

In its report the sub-committee showed the character of the local administration and the importance of advisory bodies in various colonies and also the patterns of organization which were developing in Africa. In the sub-committee's opinion it was desirable in general to put more trust in local administration, for instance in the inspection and financing of elementary education. Regarding the composition of advisory bodies the inclusion of mission representatives was seen to be needed and it was also hoped that Africans would be included to a greater extent than before, provided they had the ability to serve in such bodies. According to data received from Africa it was only in Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika that there were representatives of Africans in advisory bodies. The sub-committee wished, however, that such bodies should remain advisory in character, just as the central administration should keep the highest authority for educational policy in its hands.³⁸

Local responsibility for school affairs must be increased, however, and the sub-committee believed that African opinion should be heard in the organization of education. The setting up of local bodies to deal with school affairs guaranteed a source of valuable information for officials; it also served as a channel through which the Education Department could explain its policy and train African opinion in a progressive sense. Despite these views the sub-committee's final conviction was that patience must be shown in the increase of local responsible bodies, and the matter must be pursued under the supervision and initiative of the central administration. The sub-committee further suggested that the status of schools under local African administration should be made clear together with their future policy. As local aid for education was considerable this proposal for clarification was especially important for the missions. This was apparent too in the sub-committee's recommendations. These stipulated that control of local funds should belong to the local body dealing with school affairs as in Uganda, not to the general body of local administration as in Tanganyika. This guaranteed to representatives of schools receiving extensive aid an adequate opportunity for decision making in educational policy. The activities of local administrative bodies should be confined mainly to inspection and financing of elementary schools. Regarding relations between central and local administration the sub-committee warned that rapid development of local schools and their financing from local funds might materially change the balance between government and private schools. So far the government had affected the use

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³⁷ A.C.E.C., Sub-Committee on Local Authorities. Box 224. File, Educational Functions of Local Bodies Sub-Committee. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 288.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

of these funds and controlled them. Finally, in order to avoid misunderstanding, publicity and co-ordination of financing sources was desirable.³⁹

The main Committee approved the sub-committee's report and recommended to the Colonial Secretary that it be sent to the colonies.⁴⁰ It was left for the Secretary to decide how firmly the central administration should control African administrative bodies. This matter caused doubt to Lugard and Mr Green, however. If supervision was too strict, African enthusiasm for education might flag. Lugard composed a personal memorandum on this. He disapproved of the sub-committee's proposal for educational taxation of the native administration, which in his view was a mere addition to other direct taxation of Africans and which was already heavy according to data obtained from Kenya, for instance. And as most of these taxes went to mission schools Lugard believed that such assistance belonged to the central administration.⁴¹

All in all, the sub-committee's report sent to Africa pursued the advantage of the missions. It sought to guarantee a firm position for the missions with regard to financing by the local administration, and while the final decision rested with the central administration the system used in Uganda was regarded as commendable. It guaranteed the exercise of local power in a way which served the interests of the missions.

In this sense comments from Africa on the report were important and interesting. When answers had been received by September 1933 they were submitted to a new sub-committee for examination.⁴² Matters had not changed greatly from the earlier exposition, but attitudes to the proposed increase of local administrative power, and, with them, the relation between missions and local administration were by no means clear in all respects.

In Northern Rhodesia it was noted that the government was solely responsible for the education of Africans. For the most part local councils received help from the native administration and from progressive Africans. But in Northern Rhodesia it was observed that in these organs Africans were reluctant to express their opinions on education when missionaries were present, while owing to language difficulties and lack of education native administration representatives were for the moment unable to understand discussions taking place in local advisory bodies. Among themselves they were willing to discuss government education policy and methods. All things considered, the Governor felt that the current situation was highly satisfactory. To give economic responsibility at the local level was considered premature.⁴³

³⁹ A.C.E.C., Sub-Committee on Local Authorities. Box 224. File, Educational Functions of Local Bodies Sub-Committee. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 288.

⁴⁰ Minutes of ACEC 21.7.1932. Mc. No. 268.

⁴¹ Ibid. and Annexure, Memorandum by Lord Lugard on Report of Sub-Committee re Educational Work of Local Bodies.

⁴² Minutes of ACEC 28.9.1933. Mc. No. 269.

⁴³ Kennedy to Cunliffe-Lister 29.4.1933. CO 323/1208/7. Colonial General 1933. File, Proceedings of a sub-committee on relations between colonial governments and local authorities. PRO.

Replies from East and Central Africa were not encouraging. In Zanzibar the local Advisory Committee had not met for years, and because of conditions in the country the British colonial representative stated that there was no reason to set up local district councils in the country. It would be a long time before any considerable aid for education could be expected from regional council funds.⁴⁴ In his turn the Governor of Nyasaland regarded the whole matter as theoretical in view of conditions in his country. There was no local administrative organ, he said, with a special interest in education. The Committee advising the country's central administration had no African member because it had been difficult to find a single suitable African.⁴⁵

In Kenya, however, there was enthusiasm. It was reported that progress had been made in accordance with the recommendations of the sub-committee, though on a small scale only. But the Governor's Deputy H.M.M. Moore warned London especially that African independent schools and their foundation and maintenance must be handled with the greatest care and sympathy. Only thus could it be ensured that the enthusiasm felt for these schools would be steered into the right channels. Africans would not give large sums for education if they were kept at a distance from the making of decisions.⁴⁶ In Tanganyika meanwhile Isherwood reported his suggestion that practically all elementary education could be covered by a local tax imposed by the native administration. All elementary schools of the government and the local administration would thus come under the actual local authority. If it were further agreed that assistance would be paid from the local education tax to schools which were eligible for aid, the demand would arise for firmer control of elementary education at the local level. Development of local control and interest might be a slow process, however, and in Isherwood's view the appointment of local organs to control local funds and supervise elementary education would take time. In Tanganyika the time was not ripe for a system like that in Uganda.⁴⁷ From West Africa the only reply to the report sent by the Colonial Office was from Gambia. There too it would take years before the native administration would be capable of establishing and maintaining educational institutions.⁴⁸

Before the sub-committee started to prepare a possible rule of procedure it became known that in Tanganyika the colonial government had rejected the plans of the Education Department Director for a local tax on elementary education. The Governor of Tanganyika agreed with the London Advisory Committee's idea that final responsibility for elementary education belonged to the government. A further reason for the collapse of the Education Department plans was the fear that taxation would cause difficul-

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⁴⁴ Rankind to Cunliffe-Lister 14.8.1933. CO 323/1208/7.

⁴⁵ Young to Cunliffe-Lister 24.12.1932. CO 323/1208/7.

⁴⁶ Moore to Cunliffe-Lister 22.2.1933. CO 323/1208/7.

⁴⁷ Jardine to Cunliffe-Lister 30.1.1933 with copies of memoranda by the Secretary for Native Affairs and the Acting Director of Education. CO 323/1208/7.

⁴⁸ Palmer to Cunliffe-Lister 9.8.1933. CO 323/1208/7.

ties between missions and native administration.⁴⁹ In Tanganyika it was decided, however, to supplement central administration funds with local funds on a gradual and local basis. It was believed that such a system would be accepted in Bukoba and elsewhere.⁵⁰ Other Education Department Directors in East Africa were following the same lines, stressing that native administration schools should be preserved as government schools subject to the Director of the Education Department.⁵¹

Exchange of opinions on the question of administrative responsibility for education showed that in the field there was ultimately no great wish to increase local responsibility. East Africa was perhaps best prepared to do so, but unwilling to take action. A message from Tanganyika reported that there at least progress was retarded by the attitude of the missions. In West Africa little interest was shown in the matter, no doubt because the local administration was different from its counterpart in the east.

The sub-committee which dealt with the matter was faced with these facts. Under Oldham's direction it arrived at no important proposals for innovation. The sub-committee's memorandum was complete at the end of 1933.⁵² It expressed encouragement at the enthusiasm felt by East Africa. It was only in Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika at that moment that the native administration was in practice assisting education, and the facts raised by the report affected these countries mainly as a result. There was no wish to call in question the ultimate control of the central administration over education as a whole. Funds obtainable through the local administration merely increased the resources of the central administration, and these funds alone could not cover the cost of education. In general, data were needed on the various sources of financing. Only thus could a far-reaching and well considered policy be formulated and practised, and only thus could confidence be maintained among the missions.⁵³

Collaboration between African administrative bodies in the direction of schools financed by them was seen as a valuable means of developing local initiative and enterprise. At the same time it was doubted whether such collaboration was the best means of satisfying local demand for a share in education. The sub-committee recommended that local interest be channelled in such a way as to include not only all elementary education but also native and government schools and those receiving assistance. Control of funds at the local level must belong to the local organ of school administra-

⁴⁹ Educational Functions of Local Authorities - Africa, pp. 10-12. Box 224. File, Educational Functions of Local Bodies Sub-Committee. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 289.

⁵⁰ Tanganyika Territory, Legislative Council, Memorandum on Education in Tanganyika, p. 3. Sessional Paper No. 4. of 1934.

⁵¹ Educational Functions of Local Authorities - Africa. Box 224. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Educational Functions of Local Bodies Sub-Committee. IMC/IBMC Archives. Mc. No. 289.

⁵² Minutes of ACEC 21.12.1933. Mc. No. 269.

⁵³ A.C.E.C., Educational Functions of Local Bodies in Tropical Africa. Sub-Committee on Local Authorities in Education Report. Box 224. File, Educational Functions of Local Bodies Sub-Committee. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 290.

tion which exercised the power delegated to it for a certain school grade. In these organs Africans must be represented, but so also must mission workers. The sub-committee based its attitude on the argument that distribution of funds through another organ of local administration would not be directed to education, and on the other hand, when Africans were trained for self-rule the responsibility entrusted to them must be real, not pretended. African ideas and initiative should not be subjected to an organ controlled by the views of European officials and mission workers.⁵⁴

The functions of local administrative organs dealing with school matters were to investigate educational needs in their areas and to follow steps of development toward improvement; in addition they might – in accord with the rules and principles of the Education Department – intervene in the distribution, opening and closing of schools, in the apportionment of assistance and in the adaptation of school courses to local requirements. Such an organ must be a meeting place for different interest groups, but Oldham could not resist stressing that it was essential to secure the position of missions if the local organ treated them capriciously or inadequately, especially in the distribution of funds.⁵⁵

In February the report was sent from the Colonial Office to Africa, where it was found to be important especially with regard to Nigeria, Uganda, Tanganyika and Kenya.⁵⁶ There matters connected with the division of power had been the main subject. Finally in December 1934 the London Advisory Committee decided to leave the question as it was for the time being. In Oldham's opinion it had received sufficient notice and aroused interest in the colonies as elsewhere. A further reason for the decision, undoubtedly, was that the Committee was preparing at the same time a basic programme of wide scope for African education. At this stage London had nothing new or concrete to propose in the current matter.⁵⁷

7.3 Support from anthropology

In the 1920s, when the machinery of administration already had its roots in the colonies and pressures of economic change were apparent, a research of social development was obvious.⁵⁸ Research conducted by the British in their colonies on the subject of economics, social aspects and cultural changes was not in practice set in motion until the 1930s after the depression years. This happened at first with notable financial support from the

⁵⁴ A.C.E.C., Educational Functions of Local Bodies in Tropical Africa. Sub-Committee on Local Authorities in Education Report.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Plymouth to Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Kenya, the Protectorate of Uganda, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, the Territory of Tanganyika and Zanzibar 7.2.34. Box 224. File, Educational Functions of Local Bodies Sub-Committee. IMC/CBMC Archives. Mc. No. 291.

⁵⁷ Minutes of ACEC 20.12.1934. Mc.No. 270.

⁵⁸ See for example William Ormsby-Gore's survey Research and Experiment in Oversea Education. Oversea Education. Vol. 1. No. 1, 1929, pp. 1-3.

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In the early 1930s, it is true, signs of the kindling of research work were already in the air. In 1931 The International Missionary Council founded a new department in Geneva. This was entitled the Department of Social and Industrial Research, and it began a study, interesting from the educational viewpoint, of the effects of modern industry on African life in Northern Rhodesia. It was supported by the Carnegie Corporation.⁵⁹

The missions and British colonial rule were also pioneers in the technology of adult education. During the mid-1930s in East Africa the ideas of J. Merle Davis stimulated experiments in the use of films for teaching. These were supported by the British Film Institute and the Colonial Office. Now, as before, familiar persons such as Oldham, Lugard, Vischer and Mumford were active in the background.⁶⁰

The Carnegie Corporation had also financed intelligence tests on Africans by the English psychologist R.A.C. Oliver, who has been previously mentioned, in Kenya during the early 1930s.⁶¹ The influence of Oldham and Vischer was felt in the background of this work too. In the London Advisory Committee Oliver's journey to East Africa was discussed several times and it was agreed that he might examine the Jeanes School in Kenya. Secretary Mayhew composed a memorandum on the subject in which he hoped that colonial governments would give attention to psychological tests and their potential value in colonies.⁶² In this connection Rivers-Smith made public that in psychological circles a notion prevailed of "the primitive mentality of Africans". A native child possessed a quite different mentality and psychology, and for this reason there was a psychological right to bring up Africans in their own native language.⁶³

Most notable, however, from the standpoint of new lines in colonial policy was an extensive survey of African conditions – economic, social, administrative and educational – directed Lord Hailey and started in 1935. This massive study entitled African Survey was completed at the end of the decade. The idea of composing it came from General J.C. Smuts, who had advocated such a study in a lecture at Oxford in 1929. The working group preparing this work included Lugard, Oldham and Professor Julian Huxley. It too was financed partly by the Carnegie Corporation.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Research produced J. Merle Davis' extensive report *Modern Industry and the African*. An Enquiry into the Effect of the Copper Mines of Central Africa upon Native Society and the Work of the Christian Missions (London, First edition 1933, Second edition 1967).

⁶⁰ See L.A. Notcutt and G.C. Latham, *The African and the Cinema* (London 1937).

⁶¹ Lyons, pp. 144-45.

⁶² Minutes of ACEC 10.1., 21.3., 18.6., 26.9. and 17.10.1929 and A.C.E.C., A Note on Psychological Tests of Educational Capacity and on the Possibility of their Use in the Colonies. Box 223. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Psychological Tests. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 281, Mc. No. 261 and 262.

⁶³ Minutes of ACEC 12.12.1929. Mc.No. 262.

⁶⁴ W.M. Hailey, *An African Survey* (London 1938). See too Cell (1992), p. 219-222, Hetherington, p. 102, Cell (1976), p. 82 and John W. Cell, Lord Hailey and the Making of the African Survey. *African Affairs*. Vol. 88. No. 353, 1989, pp. 481-505 and C.E. Barton Worthington, Lord Hailey on the African Survey: Some Comments. *African Affairs*. Vol. 89. No. 357, 1990, pp. 579-83.

Behind the previously mentioned study of Northern Rhodesia, which was important from the educational viewpoint, lay special problems of the country's copper district which had become more acute because of the number seeking work there during the depression years. These background forces were known too for their connections with educational policy. In autumn 1930 an assembly at Edinburgh House discussed results of mining operations in Southern and Central Africa. In these discussions the question also arose of what the various churches and missions were doing to meet spiritual and social requirements in the mining areas of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Katanga in the Belgian Congo.⁶⁵

This survey venture was carried out and its results were presented by its leader J. Merle Davis in June 1933 in London. Summarizing the chief trends of change in Africa Davis pointed out that the continent was changing rapidly and in this process industry, government and mission workers must be in close contact with each other. He further perceived that mission workers were in a position to mediate between the disintegrating force of industrialism and the stabilizing policy of indirect rule by the government. These influences were to be felt in both directions. From the missions he also demanded indirect rule and knowledge of the law; it was thus that Davis considered the study of anthropology important in mission education.⁶⁶

Referring to education Davis stressed primarily the education of women and girls and its importance. Women and girls had no contact with white men who had long exerted an influence on the education of male Africans. In the second place Davis was not satisfied with the technical training of Africans; the function of this was to serve the transitional communities of the countryside, the mining areas and the cities.⁶⁷

It was also mentioned in the published report that the problems of education were due to the policy of stabilization. No system of education could operate with anything approaching 100 % efficiency unless it could define its aims and purpose. Davis himself designated two prevailing schools of thought in his educational policy. Wage earners saw that the less education an African received, the more compliant he was to the white man's will. The other school of thought regarded the African as a skilled producer who could be taught to grow coffee, cotton, groundnuts and other crops. This group wished the same education for its children as white people received.⁶⁸

In his book Davis brought out the basic problem of African educational policy faced with economic change on the one hand and elements stressing the permanence of indirect rule on the other. Education must be cognisant

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⁶⁵ Notes of Conference of reps. of missionary societies working in southern half of Africa 7.11.30. Suggested enquiry regarding the spiritual and social needs of the mining centres in Africa. Box 1212. Northern Rhodesia. File, Mining Development. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 47.

⁶⁶ Notes of Africa Group meeting 9.6.1933 to discuss Mr. J. Merle Davis' report. Box 1212. Northern Rhodesia. File, Mining Developments. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 47.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Davis, pp. 105-06.

of this existing conflict as also of the economic and political principles in conflict in Rhodesia. In a country where mission workers, he thought, were not helpless in face of these trends, three types of education should be noted. First, there must be a form of education suited to the majority, which lived in distant villages subject to tribal organization and made its living by agriculture. Second, there must be a form adapted to the needs of the various native communities in the copper and railway zone. Although the rural and tribalistic background of these communities must be borne in mind, education should be so directed as to interpret the effects and demands of industry and urban environment on the pupil, helping him to adapt to them and to live in these surroundings. The third requirement was for native communities in a transition stage between rural and urban life. These were villages in close contact with mission stations, government establishments and European settlements along the railway. They also included villages where men and women moved regularly to and from the copper zone or other centres of European employment and which kept in touch with the outside world. This type of community, thought Davis, was the most problematical from the standpoint of education. The influence of mission workers on this transitional community was most marked in the stabilization of country or town, where it guided population trends and formed social and economic patterns.⁶⁹

The study carried out by Davis touched on the problems connected with new ideas on education which were caused by the process of irrevocable change in African society. An ideology of education adapted inflexibly to a stagnant society was unsuitable even for a slowly changing African society or to those societies which in the course of economic expansion were obliged in any case to give up their former way of life. The same set of problems came up in a five-year plan drawn up in 1932 by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. The intention was to apply limited resources to the solution of special main problems. As stated in the research programme:

"The fundamental problem arising from the interpenetration of African life by the ideas and economic forces of European civilization is that of the cohesion of African society... It is proposed, therefore, that the enquires fostered by the Institute should be directed towards bringing about a better understanding of the factors of social cohesion in original African society, the ways in which these are being affected by the new influences, tendencies towards new groupings and the formation of new social bonds, and forms of co-operation between African societies and Western civilization."⁷⁰

Already apparent were the firm, close relations of this Institute with those

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⁶⁹ Davis, pp. 320-21.

⁷⁰ Kuper, p. 132.

responsible for educational planning at the Colonial Office. From the announcement of the Institute it can also be observed that in the 1920s after aid had been sought for research especially into language problems a question of growing importance emerged in the 1930s: the effect of education on the process of social change in African communities. Not only did this appear in announcements of research policy, but also in exchanges of opinion between anthropologists or those interested in this branch of science, and in practical research work in Africa. Speeches by anthropologists on connections between education and social change became clearly more frequent halfway through the decade as they sought solutions to problems whose contradictory aims were a perpetual trouble to colonial officials and mission workers.

Bronislaw Malinowski, pioneer of the functionalist school of thought,⁷¹ had proposed in the late 1920s limits to the division of work between anthropologists and colonial administration. Anthropology examined facts and processes connected with practical problems and left the application of results to the final decision of the administrator and (journalist). Malinowski spoke of indirect culture control, which in his opinion was the only way of developing education and other matters along African lines of development. In accordance with this notion Africans themselves must be given opportunities to exercise some form of culture control in education. On the other hand Malinowski at that stage predicted the emergence of a new trend of anthropology. Its function was to examine the diffusion of European influence in the African community. Malinowski hoped that study of this kind would cast a theoretical light on problems associated with contacts between cultures, transference of ideas and customs and the whole problem of diffusion. At the same time such study might help the colonial administration in its practical problems.⁷²

It will be seen that in the announcement of programme by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures as in the writings of Malinowski the study of change is not underrated. However, in practical field research scholars of the Institute in the 1930s left largely untouched the study of processes of change which infringed "social cohesion". Anthropologists of the functionalist school of thought laid stress on understanding the importance of social phenomena in communities of our own time. They looked for a status quo in which customs, beliefs, values and other such matters would satisfy human needs in reasonable harmony. To functionalists the historical essence of any cultural phenomenon was either insignificant or irrelevant.⁷³

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⁷¹ For the close connection of functionalism with biology see Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Scientific Basis of Applied Anthropology*, p. 8. See too Max Cluckman, *Malinowski's Sociological Theories* (London 1943) and Wendy, pp. 41-69 in Asad (ed.), *Anthropology & the Colonial Encounter*.

⁷² Bronislaw Malinowski, *Practical Anthropology. Africa*. Vol. II. No. 1., 1929, pp. 22-38.

⁷³ Kuper, pp. 132-39 and Forde, pp. 394-95.

The effect of anthropology, especially on education, can be examined on at least two levels. First, anthropologists were able to produce evidence of traditional African methods of education and upbringing. In the 1930s and 40s such studies were comparatively small in scope, however, and in 1950 Margaret Mead noted that this neglect had occurred despite the aim of official educational policy, which was to adapt western education to the conditions of African society.⁷⁴ In the same way systematic attempts in practice to adapt formal western education to African tribal traditions and to changing circumstances continued to be rare.⁷⁵

Thus the benefit of anthropological study remained slight from the standpoint of decision-making in official educational policy. In the mid-1930s, however, Malinowski, Lucy Mair and other anthropologists devised a theoretical model for a policy of adaptation in Africa, where "social cohesion" had unavoidably collapsed under the pressure of colonialism and economic forces. For anthropologists the question was linked primarily to the interaction of education and African culture, but at the same time the problem was connected inescapably with other social functions of education.

When Malinowski surveyed the practical aims of African education he reached a conclusion which in his own opinion was not new. In a world where Africans lived in political subjection, without economic independence, nourished by another race and civilization, education had two functions. First, it must teach the African the knowledge and skills he needed for collaboration with Europeans and in the service of white people. Second, education must cause a minimum of disintegration and disharmony in African communities. And the educated African must be able to identify fully with his own cultural heritage.⁷⁶

These thoughts were not new. For years at the Colonial Office and in missionary conferences answers to exactly the same questions had been sought. But the anthropologists model solution was new. "Education is bigger than schooling" was at the core of Malinowski's thinking. Here he was looking at the process of upbringing outside formal education which was carried on in the African family and community, in age groups, ceremonies and so on. The task of the anthropologist was to examine the functions of the primitive institutions in various tribes from the standpoint of community activity; he must weigh up the old moral values of Africa together with social attitudes and cultural customs which passed from one generation to the following by means other than formal education. Such scrutiny of the process of upbringing helped to determine what should be preserved in African culture and what changed. It was also a means of keeping the African

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⁷⁴ Read, p. 22.

⁷⁵ L.J. Lewis, *Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas*, pp. 56-64. Compare with Mumford (1929), pp. 265-92, Lucas, pp. 192-98 and Brown and Hutt, pp. 215-19.

⁷⁶ Bronislaw Malinowski, *Native Education and Culture Contact*. IRM. Vol. XXV. No. 100, 1936, pp. 493-94.

character of upbringing despite social changes. In the mid-1930s Malinowski believed that detribalization in Africa as a whole had not gone too far as yet. Most Africans still lived in "an African world" where the educative forces of family, community and age group in modified form were able to survive even in a changing Africa.⁷⁷

In basic thinking the views of other anthropologists on African education in the 1930s were similar to those of Malinowski. The function of anthropologists was to inspect and guide school authorities and mission workers in the preservation of modern educational institutions in such a way as not to cause unnecessary differentiation in families whose children went to school. On the other hand the anthropologist could advise decision-makers by making clear what kind of school was most expedient in the light of future African circumstances. It could be said that anthropologists were seeking ways of carrying out a policy of adaptation outside the formal school system. Traditional African institutions, ceremonies, rites of initiation and so on were to be kept up although western education was penetrating into Africa.⁷⁸

Fundamentally the views of anthropologists were conservative, and it is interesting that Frederick Lugard and J.H. Oldham, leading ideologies of African education in the 1920s, stressed the importance of anthropological study in carrying out an educational policy in the post-depression years.⁷⁹ In the same way S. Rivers-Smith, Director of the Tanganyika Education Department, demanded that anthropological and ethnological study go hand in hand with educational development.⁸⁰ Likewise, T.G. Benson, who succeeded Dougall as Principal of the Jeanes School in Kenya, avowed that neither the western system nor western Christianity, was altogether suited to the African. The assistance of applied anthropology was needed.⁸¹ But equally important for the future was the fact that from the mid-1930s onward the trend shown by anthropologists was opposed by a large number of people who exerted a notable influence on the planning of an educational policy for Africa at the Colonial Office. In background these persons differed, but they had in common a critical attitude to indirect rule and the educational policy supporting it. This was directed in critical tones also to views on education which reflected the socially static nature of anthropologists. In

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⁷⁷ Malinowski (1936), pp. 480-515.

⁷⁸ See for example L.P. Mair, *The Anthropologist's Approach to Native Education*. *Oversea Education*. Vol. VI. No. 2, 1935, pp. 53-61, L.P. Mair, *Native Policies in Africa*, especially pp. 261-86, E.G. Malherbe, (ed.), *Educational Adaptions in a Changing Society*, pp. 423-31 and 519-520, Arthur Mayhew, *Aims and Methods of Indigenous Education in Primitive Societies*. *Oversea Education*. Vol. X. No. 2, 1939, pp. 68-74 and M. Fortes, *The Scope of Anthropology*. *Oversea Education*. Vol. X. No. 3, 1939, pp. 125-30.

⁷⁹ Frederick Lugard, *Education and Race Relations*, *JAS*. Vol. XXXII. No. CXXVI, 1933, pp. 10-11 and J.H. Oldham, *The Educational Work of Missionary Societies*. *Africa*. Vol. VII. No. 1, 1934, pp. 51-52.

⁸⁰ S. Rivers-Smith, *The Education of Backward Peoples*. *Oversea Education*. Vol. III. 1932, p. 63.

⁸¹ T.G. Benson, *Some Problems of Education To-Day*. *Oversea Education*. Vol. VII. No. 1, 1935, pp. 10-15.

the mid- and late 1930s this group of critics included members of a Committee which had directly advised the Colonial Office on African education. These were Sir James Currie, Professor W.M. Macmillan, a historian⁸² who in 1933 had returned from South Africa to England, and the Committee Secretary Arthur Mayhew. Public speeches made by Victor Murray and Lord Hailey also received abundant publicity and notice from Committee members. They too were critical of indirect rule.

Professor Victor Murray was suspicious of the institutionalism of Malinowski and other anthropologists; his opinion was that not too much attention should be paid to the value of institutions as such. If education in Africa were used to preserve institutions which no longer satisfied human needs, it would lead to a mistaken formalism, said Murray. It would stress the external nature of the community rather than its inner life. In Murray's opinion education was both a disintegrating and an integrating process. An African youth attending school might be compared with an English youth who left home when he went to college. In accordance with the Christian outlook on life Murray believed in the integrating force of the Christian faith in Africa as elsewhere, but this process of integration worked not through institutions but through human feelings.⁸³

In Murray's opinion indirect rule as an immutable institution no longer met the full needs of Africans in the mid-1930s. In 1934 he wrote his article *Education Under Indirect Rule*,⁸⁴ which received a great deal of notice. In it he noted that in Africa we were not dealing only with chiefs and ordinary people. In Africa a third class had sprung up, for the most part Christian and with a European education of some length. The political education of this class, thought Murray, was the main problem of persons doing educational work in Africa from the standpoint of indirect rule. On the other hand the elementary education requirement in the colonies was similar whatever the system of rule. No amount of "biological approach" altered the fact that an ever growing number of Africans wished to have a European education.⁸⁵

Professor Murray's proposals for the improvement of educational policy were interesting and several years ahead of the innovations mentioned in the official policy. In Murray's view indirect rule must be developed on a new level. Although elementary education was to be promoted, more attention than before must be paid to higher education. Educated Africans must be offered opportunities to seek official positions and work which demanded initiative instead of service in subordinate status. Chiefs must be included in the educated class, but their sons must have a general education like others, not merely be taught to rule. Murray also predicted that in the end Africans

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⁸² Professor Macmillan was in close collaboration with the Labour Party and explained the idea of political self-rule to the African colonies in the 1930s. See Hetherington, pp. 16-17 and 25-26.

⁸³ Malherbe, pp. 426-27.

⁸⁴ Victor Murray, *Education Under Indirect Rule*. JAS. Vol. XXXIV. No. CXXXVI, 1935.

⁸⁵ Murray (1935), pp. 229-34 and Murray (1938), pp. 404-08.

would themselves decide in what direction their future would evolve.⁸⁶

Professor W.M. Macmillan's analysis of African education in the mid-1930s closely resembled the ideas of Murray. He too criticised anthropologists who wished to preserve "truly genuine Africans". Macmillan's opinion was that the educated African should resemble a European rather than his brother living in the bush. Macmillan predicted that the future of Africa was not in the hands of chiefs but in those of Africans superior to the common population. Social development on the Gold Coast, in Nyasaland, Lagos, some parts of Uganda and in Transkei pointed to this fact. Indirect rule at its best worked well enough, thought Macmillan, whether a chief was educated or not. But before long indirect rule would not work without educated Africans because whites could never do all the work which in Africa needed to be done. Like Murray Macmillan hoped that indirect rule would be put into practice by increasing opportunities for work by educated Africans. This policy was not realized everywhere. On the Gold Coast, for instance, people were too advanced to be forced back into an outdated tribalistic system under reactionary chiefs.⁸⁷

Both Murray and Macmillan criticised indirect rule and especially the status of educated Africans outside of the Advisory Committee at the Colonial Office. This criticism was linked to the more widespread disapproval of indirect rule which was expressed in England at the same time.⁸⁸ From halfway through the decade, moreover, political organizations arranged and led by educated Africans, especially in West Africa, directed their activity more strongly than before against indirect rule; at the same time they demanded increased opportunities for African education.⁸⁹ What is more, criticism by Murray and Macmillan occurred at the same time as anthropologists led by Malinowski had made their own proposal for realization of a policy of adaptation. The criticism of Murray and Macmillan together with their demands for a renewal of education policy were a clear alternative to the anthropological line.

The next chapter will examine how these opposing views were expressed in the official assignment of aims for education policy at the Colonial Office. When members of the Advisory Committee at the Colonial Office expressed their views publicly, it was noted that even by the mid-1930s Lugard and Oldham believed in the possibilities of anthropology as a solution of educational questions. Sir James Currie differed, demanding more higher education for Africans after the depression years. He also thought that the

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⁸⁶ Murray (1935), pp. 229-34 and Murray (1938), pp. 432-33. For Lugard, however, Murray's views on indirect rule did not shed the extra light he had desired. Also, he felt, they were somewhat dogmatic and in parts illogical. Lugard to Mayhew 17.2.1936. Mss. Lugard. Box 123, File 7. Correspondence Victor Murray 1936. Papers of Frederick Lugard. RHL.

⁸⁷ W.M. Macmillan, *The Importance of Educated African*. JAS. Vol. XXXIII. No. CXXXXI, 1934, pp. 137-42.

⁸⁸ See Hetherington, pp. 147-49.

⁸⁹ See for example Webster, pp. 575-83 and 590-95 and Webster, Boahen and Idowu, pp. 306-08. See too Ben N. Azikiwe, *How Shall We Educate the African?* JAS. Vol. XXXIII. No. CXXXXI, 1934, pp. 143-51.

practical application of indirect rule required training of African officials.⁹⁰

In the second half of the decade the problems of indirect rule and suspicions regarding the contribution anthropology might make to the solution of educational questions were more and more clearly revealed by members of the Advisory Committee. In 1937 Ormsby-Gore hoped that the British would have their educational aims in the colonies clearly in view. In the Secretary's view the actual, acute and urgent problem at that stage was how to avoid conflict between indirect rule and the product of the education of the individual to his full capacity.⁹¹ Arthur Mayhew, permanent Secretary of the Committee, was very doubtful of the ability of anthropology to solve educational problems in practice;⁹² in his book on colonial education which appeared in 1938 he wrote:

"There was a tendency at one time to regard tribal structure as a museum-piece to be preserved, because it is African, from all change. It is recognised now that because it is African and because it is alive it is bound to change and must be allowed to change. Tribal life is dynamic, and the African has a gift for assimilation."⁹³

Opinions expressed in public tell of the problems encountered in London by planners of an African education policy in the mid-1930s when it had become increasingly apparent that in spirit the 1925 White Paper was no longer suited to all parts of Africa. Primarily the problem seemed connected with relations between the educated population and indirect rule. Against this were the conservative anthropological view which supported indirect rule and sought solutions in traditional African education, and, on the other hand, the view which demanded a change in indirect rule and educational policy. According to the latter Africans should be educated for tasks in a form of indirect rule which was expanded. Responsible functions should be assigned not only to chiefs and their sons but also to educated Africans. Supporters of this line such as Murray, Macmillan, Currie and Mayhew were publicly against fostering the "genuine African" through education.

The African Survey directed by Lord Hailey was an attempt to settle which alternative in educational policy was best suited to the colonial administration. This study during the Second World War was an inspiration to the colonial development and planning policy which was then set in motion, and in general it was without enthusiasm for anthropology as an aid to colonial administration. In Africa education was and must be "an instrument of

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⁹⁰ Gifford and Weiskel, p. 700, Hetherington, p. 122 and Oversea Education, Notes. Vol. IV. No. 2, 1933, p. 82.

⁹¹ W. Ormsby-Gore, Educational Problems of the Colonial Empire. JRAS. Vol. XXXVI. No. CXLIII, 1937, pp. 163-69.

⁹² Mayhew (1939), pp. 68-74.

⁹³ Arthur Mayhew, Education in the Colonial Empire, p. 111. Compare with H.S. Scott, The Development of Education of the African in Relation to Western Culture, pp. 693-98 in Harley V. Usill (ed.), The Yearbook of Education 1938. Scott, a former Director of Education Department and a member of the ACEC in the late 1930s, doubted whether Africans would accept traditional African education as the basis of future education.

change", in the words of the study. The task of a school was to teach Africans to deal with existing surroundings but also with new conditions. Methods must be new, not follow traditional customs of tribal instruction.⁹⁴

7.4 The school as community centre

At the British Colonial Office in the 1930s a memorandum made in 1925 remained the most important document concerned with official educational policy. At the end of the 1920s the difficult language question found a solution. Similarly, discussion on the origins of ideological values in education died down in the early 1930s. The subjects which rose to the surface during the depression were rather the economic side of education and its efficiency measured accordingly. Associated with these matters was a decision on how government support for the missions was to be directed. The basic condition for receiving aid was that the missions in their schools should keep the same level of instruction as in government schools. This starting principle was accepted for the most part in the colonies, though it was not allowed to be the seed of increasing assistance.⁹⁵

Following the depression in the 1930s the line of policy followed by the Colonial Office in African education was revealed during 1935 in a publication entitled *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities*.⁹⁶ By the Colonial Office this memorandum was sent to Education Departments in the colonies in order to supplement and in some respects to remodel the aims of education set out in the 1925 memorandum. By examining the background, preparation and content of the memorandum one can determine how the economic and political aims of the colonial administration – Christian ruralism, the biological outlook, the benefit of anthropology – were expressed in the decade's most important set of general instructions for education.

The background of the memorandum leads us to East Africa and to the yearly Conference of Education Department Directors held at Dar es Salaam in June 1933. At the Conference these Directors gave their own views on the aims of education in East Africa. The objective was a pyramidal education system whose foundation was elementary education in the native language. Education was to be expanded as much as possible, but training for administrative duties and technical vocations must be carried out under careful control. Opportunities for higher education must be offered on a limited basis, with note taken of each colony's resources in this connection. Improvement of teacher training for elementary schools must be aimed at.

⁹⁴ Hailey, p. 1207. See too Murray's favourable review of Hailey's study in Murray, *An African Survey*. Lord Hailey. *Oversea Education*. Vol. X. No. 3, 1939, pp. 150-52.

⁹⁵ A.C.E.C., *Memorandum on Grants by Government in Aid of Certain Kinds of Educational Institutions*. Miscellaneous 417, 1930 and A.C.E.C., *Memorandum on Educational Grants-in-Aid*. Miscellaneous 417. Revised edition April, 1933.

⁹⁶ A.C.E.C., *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities*. Col. 103, 1935.

At the same time teaching must be developed deliberately in the direction of practical agriculture. The basis of all education was the aim that education should contribute to "the increase of beneficial production".⁹⁷

The line marked out for educational policy by Education Department Directors in East Africa stressed the development of elementary education which, like all education, should have the closest possible connection with productive activity, especially agriculture. Visible behind this decision were colonial financing difficulties caused by the depression: it was desired to make education, more clearly than before, a factor which would stimulate economic production.⁹⁸

In November 1933 the Colonial Office Advisory Committee was confronted with the decisions of Education Department Directors in East Africa which aroused immediate astonishment in London. Hanns Vischer, Arthur Mayhew and Lord Lugard all believed that the programme specified in Dar es Salaam was not in consonance with the aims set out in the 1925 memorandum. Similarly Oldham wondered what the East African Education Department Directors could mean by their specification. The matter was left for more thorough investigation by a sub-committee to be set up.⁹⁹

Although Sir James Currie led the sub-committee it is clear from the minutes that it was left to J.H. Oldham to define the sub-committee's attitude to the Dar es Salaam programme.¹⁰⁰ When Oldham presented his report to the main Committee he mentioned that he had been in touch with various Education Department Directors. These had generally believed that "the increase of beneficial production" was not a sufficient aim of education. Regarding the position of agriculture in relation to education there had been a variety of opinions, however. In Oldham's personal opinion the main purpose of the memorandum was to stress the thought that education in Africa was for the whole population, not only its young members. The basis of the memorandum now completed had been the White Paper of 1925, but it was desired in the new memorandum to take note of the experience acquired in work for the benefit of rural communities after 1925.¹⁰¹ A visitor to the Committee, E.G. Morris, who had been appointed Director of the Kenya Education Department, also expressed his satisfaction with the sub-committee's report; at the same time he pointed out that the Education Department Directors in East Africa had wished to stress the importance of agriculture in East Africa, to which sufficient attention had not been paid.¹⁰²

What then was understood by the social tasks of education in tropical

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⁹⁷ Proceedings of Conference of Directors of Education in Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar held at Dar es Salaam. June 1933. CO 822/48/10. East Africa. Original Correspondence 1933. File, Education - General Policy. Recommendations of Governors' Conference. PRO.

⁹⁸ For the change of direction in Tanganyika education policy during the depression years see Morris-Hale, pp. 107-33, with regard to Kenya Schilling, pp. 356-63.

⁹⁹ Minutes of ACEC 23.11.1933. Mc. No. 269.

¹⁰⁰ Minutes of ACEC 4.10.1934. Mc. No. 270.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

Africa in the light of the 1935 memorandum? In the first place the memorandum dealt only with education intended for the rural population, and therefore did not include higher education or issues involving education in towns and industrial areas. The general aims of education set out in the memorandum were broader than the Dar es Salaam definition with its stress on productive efficiency. The starting principle was "the improvement of the total life of the community". To reach this end the school was only one instrument, however, and the main idea of the memorandum was to make clear the interaction of school and other factors affecting community life.¹⁰³

The memorandum dealt mainly with elementary and rural adult education, so that its attitude to labour policy concerned the labour requirements of the village community. It stated that the function of elementary schools was not to train farmers, carpenters or masons. However, the subject matter taught at these schools might create an atmosphere in which the instruction given by Agricultural Departments was more easily absorbed, and in this way the elementary school could help to produce an increase in the number of progressive farmers. To achieve the same end propaganda in favour of agriculture was spread by teachers, while the "young farmers clubs" led by them and the work done on land provided by the schools were also important. The memorandum introduced the idea of a new type of education to follow the elementary education (rural community middle school) within whose framework more advanced pupils could be instructed in progressive methods and problems. As long as post-elementary village education was designed for urban professions the practice of agriculture rested on the shoulders of Africans who were less intelligent and ambitious. The purpose of the new type of school was to alleviate this problem. In general the memorandum stressed the direct interaction of education and economic policy, and because African life was and must be chiefly dependent on agriculture the education of Africans should concentrate on helping farming communities. Thus adult education must include instruction in farming and in the marketing of cash crops intended for export.¹⁰⁴

In defining the aims of education the memorandum did not directly touch on the problems of indirect rule. It mentioned, however, views which had been published in the mid-1930s on the status of educated Africans in the practice of indirect rule. The memorandum stated among other things that for the achievement of aims at the local level collaboration was needed with Education Department officials, personnel of other Departments, mission representatives and African members of the local administration. But in the long-term view support from the small but growing number of Africans who had received a western education was equally vital for improvement of the life of African communities.¹⁰⁵

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¹⁰³ A.C.E.C., Memorandum on the Education of African Communities. Col. 103, p. 1-2.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3 and 6-14.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-19.

The memorandum imposed no particular conditions on the selective process of education. As stated earlier, rural districts, like others, needed intelligent Africans, and to draw such people into a sphere of education where agriculture predominated was important. On the other hand the 1935 memorandum announced vigorously the need for adult education. This matter was considered so important, in fact, that adult education must be developed even if it meant a temporary limitation of education opportunities for the young. Improvement of community life as a whole did not succeed without adult education, and to provide this was a task not only for the Education Department but also for representatives of other administrative Departments and for the co-operative movement. The ideal school was a place where after teaching hours the adult population assembled under the direction of teachers to discuss matters of importance to the community. The services of film and radio must also be tried in adult education, part of whose subject matter must be economic and social advancement in the community.¹⁰⁶

To assimilate Africans into western culture or to keep them in their own cultural traditions – this was a constant problem for British educational policy in Africa. In the 1935 memorandum it was stated that the life of the community must be as close as possible to its own institutions and traditions, and moral forces already at work in the community must be given as much attention as possible in teaching. Economic forces and new ideas, on the other hand, weakened social ties and traditional community restraints. They encouraged individualism, which destroyed some of the best elements of community life. If education encouraged this process to continue, then according to the memorandum its effects would be more harmful than constructive.¹⁰⁷

This did not mean, however, that the African community ought not to change. A school must transmit new ideas on agriculture, health care and other matters, but at the same time changes were needed in concepts, customs and social institutions. Christianity or Islam must advance the moral growth of individual and community where old primitive beliefs in a supernatural world were disappearing. The church was a connecting link between school and community because its circle included old and young; it affected family life as a whole and endeavoured to serve all the community. The memorandum also focused on the need for sociological and psychological study in order to examine processes of change and their direction, and it referred to current notions of anthropologists on the process of upbringing outside formal education.¹⁰⁸

While preparing the memorandum of 1935 Oldham was in touch with many persons interested in educational matters in Africa. From these connections, from discussion of educational policy in the mid-1930s and

¹⁰⁶ A.C.E.C., Memorandum on the Education of African Communities. Col. 103, pp. 10-14.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 2 and 8-9.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 8-9 and 14-15.

from the general aims of British colonial administration in a broader sense are to be found background factors which affected the content of the memorandum.

Thanks to the position of the African colonies as producers of primary products for the mother country and for world trade, training in agriculture continued to receive foremost attention in African educational policy. It is clear from Oldham's correspondence that in the memorandum drawn up by him his views on the status of farming in the education of Africans were in harmony with the opinions of Professor F.L. Engeldow and Mr Stockdale, an agricultural expert at the Colonial Office. Professor Engeldow was on the teaching staff of Cambridge University. Stockdale and Engeldow doubted whether it were possible to give competent professional instruction in agriculture as part of elementary education;¹⁰⁹ the memorandum itself spoke only of the function of these schools in creating a favourable atmosphere for agricultural propaganda. According to Oldham, Stockdale and Engeldow, in fact, it was not worth starting the practical professional teaching of agriculture in the first years of elementary education. This opinion can be interpreted as opposed to the ideas of the East African Education Department Directors at Dar es Salaam.

The London Advisory Committee had also found that the definition expressed at Dar es Salaam laid too much stress on the connection of education with productive activity. Thus the educational aims of the 1935 memorandum could not be explained merely in terms of the economy and labour policy. Sir James Currie criticised Oldham's opinions in this respect while the memorandum was under preparation. He felt that he knew the dangers of thinking too much in terms of production, but on the other hand it was only professional training which laid the foundation of a more "liberal" education. First, thought Currie, poverty must be removed from Africa: this was the prerequisite for the advance of social and moral development. Ultimately, however, he was prepared to agree with the views expressed in Oldham's memorandum.¹¹⁰

Some of the attitudes revealed in the 1935 memorandum were affected by the criticism aimed at indirect rule; this was apparent above all in the opinion that support for educated Africans was important for the realization of future educational objectives. As a whole, however, the aims cannot be explained by reference to the problems of indirect rule. The memorandum dealt with elementary and rural adult education, while the political issues of

¹⁰⁹ Oldham to Currie 1.6.1934, Stockdale to Oldham (without date) and Engeldow to Vischer 10.5.1934. Box 221. File, Education for Rural Communities. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 253, 254 and 256. Stockdale defined the limits of assimilation by the African community thus: export economy demanded that the African should know the destinations of his products. However, this was of minor importance save as an example that there was a world outside their immediate surroundings and Africans should supply products for it in order to maintain contact.

¹¹⁰ Currie to Oldham 3.5.1934 and Oldham to Keppel 9.5.1934. Box 221. File, Education for Rural Communities. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 253 and 254.

indirect rule mainly concerned other forms of education. In preparing the memorandum Oldham was in touch with Lord Lugard, Professor Victor Murray and W.M. Macmillan, whose opinions differed on connections between education and indirect rule in Africa. Lugard, the principal ideologue of indirect rule, regarded as still valid the memorandum he himself had composed in 1925 – in its main features, that is – and doubted the need to draw up new aims in education for Africa. Victor Murray agreed with the content of Oldham's memorandum, but felt that the same thoughts had been expressed already in a book entitled *The Remaking of Man in Africa*. In turn, Professor W.M. Macmillan stressed the need to listen to African opinion when planning educational policy for that continent.¹¹¹

Also with a share in the 1935 memorandum were the anthropological views of the functionalist school of thought. This is immediately apparent from the memorandum. During its preparation Oldham was acting as Administrative Director of the International Research Institute of African Languages and Cultures. Thus he was well acquainted with the state of anthropological study with regard to Africa. J.W. Cell tells us that Oldham and Malinowski were in very close collaboration.¹¹² Oldham's personal interest in the assistance anthropology might provide for the educational problems of Africa came out in his correspondence¹¹³ and in other ways while the memorandum was prepared.

In his survey of mission education in 1934 Oldham made excuses for the interest shown by the missions in anthropology. In his opinion mission workers were deeply interested in anthropological study and were conscious, on the other hand, of the mistakes they had made in the understanding of African institutions and mentality. Mission work, thought Oldham, had not broken up the unity of African communities. Rather it was economic forces which did so, and of this the missions were more aware than before.¹¹⁴

Anthropological views and thoughts which emerged in the memorandum on the closest possible relation between education and the institutions and traditions of African communities might be interpreted as an apology for indirect rule. This is certainly true, but it should be remembered at the same time that the 1935 memorandum came to birth by the agency of mission educational policy. The educational aims set out in the memorandum are well suited to the objectives of the missions in missionary work, social work and education in Africa. From the standpoint of these aims, moreover, anthropological study was important. The missions held a central position in the elementary and adult education of rural communities, and the ideal African community presented in the memorandum of 1935 bore a strong

¹¹¹ Lugard to Oldham 24.2.1934, Murray to Oldham 1.2.1934 and Macmillan to Vischer 21.3.1934. Box 221. File, Education for Rural Communities. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 254 and 255.

¹¹² Cell (1976), p. 74.

¹¹³ Oldham to Jones 6.2.1934. Box 221. File, Education for Rural Communities. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 253.

¹¹⁴ Oldham (1934), pp. 51-52.

resemblance to the ideal community of Christian ruralism.

From the mission standpoint education was a means of implanting the Christian faith as the old moral sanctions disappeared in Africa. Successful mission work did not take place with the aid of Scripture lessons alone, but was promoted by all school activities which reflected the Christian life.¹¹⁵ On the other hand "the improvement of the total life of the community" was the aim stated in the 1935 memorandum, and to achieve it the school was only one means. Oldham tells us that in the mid-1930s the missions had begun to show more interest than before in planned collaboration between all activities affecting community life. In practice the missions with their mission stations, schools of various types, hospitals and so on already possessed the facilities for this purpose.¹¹⁶

From North America, China, Denmark and England¹¹⁷ the missions had examples of experience with many-sided social work, especially when performed with the help of adult education. The experience in England was linked with the 1935 memorandum as a separate supplement. In English rural districts during the early 1930s unofficial bodies known as Rural Community Councils were set up; they directed collaboration of the authorities with voluntary organizations for the purpose of improving the economic, social and educational circumstances of their own community. In the depression years these Councils concentrated their work on alleviating problems caused by unemployment. Their work included many forms of adult education, and they were thus able to make suggestions on this subject to the colonies.¹¹⁸

From the mission standpoint it was also to be hoped that colonial governments and the Colonial Office in London would continue to favour educational work by voluntary organizations. Even if government and missions agreed on the general principles of education, regulation by government Education Departments must not be too strict.¹¹⁹ The 1935 memorandum stressed the importance of voluntary organizations and the church in education which sought comprehensive social development for the rural community. Church, Education Department, other Departments and Africans themselves must pursue this aim together with the aid of formal education and instructional work outside it.¹²⁰

If on the strength of its content one can conclude that the 1935 memorandum pursued the aims of mission education, this was also revealed by Oldham's correspondence during the work of preparation. As already noted, during the depression years the position of the Advisory Committee at the

¹¹⁵ Oldham (1934), pp. 58-59.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹¹⁷ Oldham and Gibson, pp. 64-65.

¹¹⁸ A.C.E.C., Memorandum on the Education of the African Communities. Col. 103. 1935, Appendix and Thomas Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, pp. 278-79.

¹¹⁹ A.C.E.C., Memorandum on the Education of the African Communities. Col. 103, pp. 15-19 and Oldham (1934), pp. 54-56.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

Colonial Office was in the balance owing to financial difficulties. Its work continued, however, when the Carnegie Corporation through the Colonial Office granted it a thousand pounds for the years 1933-39. This aid came from appropriations which were intended for educational and cultural research in British colonies.¹²¹

This assistance guaranteed that the Committee's permanent Secretaries Vischer and Mayhew were able to continue their work. Early in 1934, however, the situation of the Committee seemed to Oldham uncertain. In his opinion the Committee must show its usefulness to African colonial governments if it intended to keep its status. An opportunity for this came when the Committee set about defining its attitude to the decision taken by East African Education Department Directors at Dar es Salaam.¹²²

In preparing the memorandum Oldham thought he had an opportunity to present once more the basic principles of Dr Jones' theory of education, which to him was still up to date.¹²³ But the new idea of education as an attempt to improve community life as a whole was such as to demand the scrapping of the traditionalist and scholastic notion of education. To establish it successfully would require changes in educational practice and also administration.¹²⁴ There were good chances of its approval at the Colonial Office because Vischer hoped Oldham would convince not only the Office in its entirety but also the African governments that education was not a matter for the Education Department alone. If this succeeded, believed Vischer, the Committee would have done the most important work of its term of office.¹²⁵ Oldham himself believed in the success of his idea, though with reservations. In February 1934 he wrote to Dr Jones with reference to his report:

"This has to pass through several tests, and it may be finally and completely suppressed at any stage. It has first to go to a strong sub-committee of the Advisory Committee, then to the Advisory Committee itself and then be dealt with by the Colonial Office. None of these may like it: the last-named certainly will not. If, however, the Advisory Committee endorses it they may swallow it."¹²⁶

One-sidedness and firm concentration on matters of rural education, however, did not make the 1935 memorandum as noteworthy as the 1925 White Paper. The Colonial Office did not request comments on it from Africa or associate itself closely with the memorandum. In sending the memoran-

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¹²¹ Clatworthy, pp. 60-61.

¹²² Oldham to Lugard 26.2.1934. Box 221. File, Education for Rural Communities. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 253.

¹²³ Oldham to Jones 6.2.1934. Box 221. File, Education for Rural Communities. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 253.

¹²⁴ A.C.E.C., Memorandum on the Education of the African Communities. Col. 103, p. 15.

¹²⁵ Vischer to Oldham 19.2.1934. Box 221. File, Education for Rural Communities. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 256.

¹²⁶ Oldham to Jones 6.2.1934. Box 221. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Education for Rural Communities. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 253.

dum to the colonies Cunliffe-Lister, the Colonial Secretary, wrote that it introduced a broadening of the views held by the Advisory Committee and that he himself was in no way committed to approval of their outlook.¹²⁷ At the Colonial Office it was suspected that to emphasize the position of a teacher and his wife or wives would easily cause friction and problems between chiefs and leaders. In Vischer's opinion the aim should be something like the old tribal education, and this, in his view, was also the aim of the memorandum.¹²⁸ Despite this, during the 1930s Oldham's memorandum remained the most important instructional document on African education to leave the Colonial Office. It can be regarded as a dividing line among British educational objectives. Its birth and its content were affected by several different factors. The specification produced at Dar es Salaam did not satisfy the London planners with its one-sided stress on connections between education and production, and the 1935 memorandum served as a counterbalance. It examined elementary education and rural adult education, matters which interested the missions. In the second place it introduced the idea of collaboration between different Departments, also the aim of making education a contributory factor to social development of the community. Thanks to rural adult education this aim also suited the interests of the missions. In practice it was endeavoured to nurture the idea through the activity of the Jeanes Schools, although the operation of the pioneer school at Kabete in Kenya hung in the balance because of economic and other difficulties.

In London during 1935 further steps were taken on behalf of the memorandum by Dr McLean in order to make more generally clear the economic aspects of education. The result of this work was a memorandum which proposed that in each colony an exposition should be composed on whose basis a programme and development plan for education should be made. Education must be organized with an eye to the social and economic needs of each area. McLean sought to promote collaboration between Departments in the colonial administration, which was an important starting point later for development programmes also.¹²⁹ In London, however, McLean's ideas met with no great response. They were considered too specific, self-evident and primitive. In general McLean dealt with matters which were completely clear to everyone who worked in the colonies.¹³⁰

The depression made itself clearly felt in various matters which were

¹²⁷ Cunliffe-Lister's circular to Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, N-Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, Somaliland, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia 27.3.1935. CO 847/6/8. Africa 1935-1936. File, Education of African Communities. PRO.

¹²⁸ J.E.W. Wood's minute 2.10. and Hanns Vischer's minute 12.10. CO 847/3/15. Africa 1934. File, Education of African Communities. PRO.

¹²⁹ The Economic Aspect of Economic Development of the Colonies. Memorandum by Dr. W.H. McLean. Box 224. File, Sub-Committee on Social and Economic Development. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 292 and Minutes of A.C.E.C. 22.1.1934, 26.11.1936 and 22.7.1937 and A.C.E.C. 34/37. CO 323/1415/6. Colonial General 1937-38. File, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies: activities of a sub-committee on social and economic development. PRO.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

stressed in British education policy for Africa and even in attempts to create a new line. Efforts were made to render education more efficient with less funds by means of compulsory education. A further aim was to increase the responsibility of Africans in the financing of their education, but this was held up by the fear of giving Africans more administrative power.

As the depression strengthened the need for more efficient agricultural production it became urgent to find solutions for questions of rural education. This was perceived in anthropological discussion and in the memorandum composed by Oldham in 1935. Although Oldham was disturbed by the thought that the demand for increased useful production was overstressed in education policy, the basic issues remained largely unchanged in the new instructions. The 1935 memorandum wished to create an atmosphere which would contribute to an increase in the number of progressive farmers. At the same time, however, the depression years brought a second power trend into education policy; its symptoms could be seen, for instance, in the expositions of Dr McLean. Although these aroused little response in London the period of postelementary and more systematic education policy was starting.

■ 8. Pressures of Change from Late 1930s till War Years

8.1 Demands for secondary education

When representatives of the University of London Institute of Education examined the state of British colonial education near the end of the 1930s, forecasts were extremely pessimistic. According to them it would take as much as 700 years, in East Africa over 1000, before the whole African population learned to read and write at the present rate of educational progress. In Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia 80 %, in Tanganyika 94 % and in Uganda 99 % of school age children did not receive elementary education. These figures did not include bush schools.¹ In 1932 it was estimated that in the year 1929 one child in six in British Africa had been given an education at government or private schools.²

If one examines the work of the Advisory Committee at the Colonial Office in the late 1930s it is apparent that some parts of the 1935 memorandum were innovative, but the aims it proposed were inadequate from the first. In 1937 when W.B. Mumford analyzed native education in various colonies, he came to the conclusion that there were still two schools of thought. One encouraged European education and languages, while the other favoured native schools which provided teaching along native lines, bore in mind native ideals and gave equal status to new and old languages.³ On the other hand the memorandum prepared by Oldham looked at matters emphatically from the standpoint of mission interests and thus did not sufficiently foresee the need for administrative innovation and the growth of colonial export economies; these facts created other demands than those for the development of elementary or rural adult education. Expositions made by the Colonial Office and its Advisory Committee near the end of the 1930s seemed to indicate this. Pressure was now directed to expansion of an education higher than elementary.

Completed in early 1936 by the Advisory Committee was a survey of professional training in the colonies.⁴ The depression had shown that

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¹ W. Bryant Mumford and B. N. Parker, *Education in British African Dependencies. A Review of the 1935 Annual Reports on Native Education in Nyasaland, N. Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Uganda, Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone*. Reprinted from JRAS Jan, 1937, pp. 18 and 22-23.

² Rennie Smith, *Education in British Africa*, JAS. Vol. XXXI No. CXXIII, 1932, p. 61.

³ W.B. Mumford, *A Comparative Survey of Native Education in Various Dependencies*. Reprinted from the Year Book of Education 1937, p. 13.

⁴ A.C.E.C., *The Development of Vocational Education in the Colonies*. Oversea Education. Vol. VII. No. 4, 1936, pp. 171-79.

general professional or vocational training should be planned to suit local needs, following the development of each territory. In examining the past evolution of vocational training the survey gave no statistics, but noted that in general this type of education was scanty in the colonies. Professional workers trained in the colonies could be classed as assistants, artisans, foremen, mechanics, measurement recorders, draftsmen, inspectors, health inspectors and technicians. An assistant acquainted with several trades, capable for instance of repairing machines and building residential housing was suitable for work in colonial rural districts. Interesting experience of the training of assistants in post-elementary classes had been obtained in Tanganyika, for instance.⁵ The survey dealt also with vocational training in agriculture and health care, expressing the view that all such training, in accordance with the 1935 memorandum, should be directed to the social and economic development of the community. It became clear that secondary vocational training was needed in the colonies, but professional skills connected with agriculture, trade, residential construction, health, sanitation and water supply could be taught through adult education.⁶

This exposition in general terms was followed by a more detailed survey of professional training in agriculture in the colonies made by Dr H.A. Tempany, Agricultural Adviser to the Colonial Office. In their 1931 Conference colonial Agricultural Department Directors had expressed the hope that professional training for agriculture would be available for young people who had given up elementary education. Elementary education which merely "breathed" the spirit of agriculture was not enough. Oldham had drawn attention to the same matter in his memorandum and, as was noted, this was in line with the ideas of agricultural experts at the Colonial Office. The survey pointed out that professional training in agriculture was necessary in the colonies because cultivation had become more and more scientific in its basic principles and because in some colonies unemployment had grown. The survey laid stress on collaboration between Agricultural and Education Departments in the colonies.⁷

Surveys of colonial African education in the late 1930s had certain features in common. More post-elementary education than before was needed for Africans, who were required for the efficiency and economic productivity of the colonial administration. Indirect rule must be modified and the way opened for assimilation of western culture by Africans. Education was a common concern of the officials of colonial administration, especially those relating to schools, agriculture and health, and it had to be planned in accord with the development of the colonial economy and the

⁵ A.C.E.C., *The Development of Vocational Education in the Colonies*, pp. 171-79. Under the Syllabus of Instruction for Tanganyika in 1935 assistant workers were given three years of training after the first four school years. Tanganyika Territory, Education Department, *Syllabus of Instruction*, 1935, p. 53.

⁶ A.C.E.C., *The Development of Vocational Education in the Colonies*, pp. 175-79.

⁷ Colonial Office, *A Survey of Vocational Agricultural Education in the Colonial Empire*, Col. 124, pp. 1-5.

policy behind it. As the position of Africa in colonial economy was and in the opinion of planners would continue to be dependent on agriculture and other primary production, education must ultimately be based on this fact despite its various steps of development. Education in a systematic sense, its combination with economic decision making and collaboration between Departments – these were the central issues raised at meetings of the Advisory Committee in the last years of the 1930s. Especially exhaustive was the Committee's discussion of the views expressed in Lord Hailey's African Survey on the general situation of African education policy and on ideas of development. Lord Hailey himself attended the Committee's sessions, bringing out suggestions, from the London viewpoint, for the improvement of systematic education and estimates of the trend which should be emphasized in future education policy for Africa.⁸

Although in Hailey's opinion education was the only matter on which the Colonial Office had given specific instructions, practice in the field varied. He proposed the appointment of a new official (Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State) whose task would be to visit the colonies constantly and advise local governments on how to carry out the policy directed by London. Education policy should be practised more uniformly in the colonies, thought Hailey. In defining the education policy line Hailey supported the broadening of elementary education in all possible ways and the systematic development of higher education. In his perception Africa at that moment needed Africans at the intermediate grade of working life rather than at the highest grade. Broadening the administration and social services would require development of secondary education. It was not worth concentrating on university education at the present stage, believed Hailey.⁹

It is apparent that Hailey's opinions were consistent with the surveys examined above. The administrative and economic situation differed in various colonies, but it seemed to London at the end of the 1930s that African education policy as a whole was in need of innovation. Secondary education must be systematically developed to suit the economic and administrative level reached by each colony although there was uncertainty regarding the future of Africa. It is interesting that this trend of development occurred at the same time as changes in the membership of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee. In 1936 a considerable number left the Committee who had been mainly responsible for planning British education policy in Africa since the 1920s.

Among those who left were Lord Lugard, Oldham and Sir Percy Nunn.¹⁰ A year later Sir James Currie died.¹¹ Vischer and Mayhew continued to serve the Committee until the 1940s. In 1939, following the proposal of Lord

⁸ Minutes of ACEC 20.4., 18.5., 20.5. and 20.7. 1939. Box 236. Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies (Africa). Minutes 1934-1948. CBMS Archives. SOAS.

⁹ Minutes of the ACEC 18.5. and 20.7.1939.

¹⁰ Oversea Education. Vol. VIII. No. 3. 1937, p. 173.

¹¹ Minutes of ACEC 22.5.1937.

Hailey, Christopher Cox assumed the office of Educational Adviser at the Colonial Office. After this Vischer and Mayhew served in the capacity of experts.¹² However, in its final years the Committee cannot be called a specialist group. The core of its membership still consisted of former colonial officials, mission representatives and well-known men from English school and university life.

Systemization, collaboration of Administrative Departments and development of multigrade education made it necessary for planners in London to have better information on the progress of education as a whole in the colonies during past decades. The Committee itself regarded the annual reports of Education Departments as unsatisfactory: statistical data in particular were deficient and unsystematic. These statistics were of little value, in fact, because the figures shown in them had been gathered from different parts of Africa by different methods. The same conclusion was reached in 1937 by a Commission visiting East Africa to investigate higher education. Statistical comparison of educational development in different colonies was made difficult by the fact, among others, that the terminology used to describe school grades differed greatly among African colonies. Also it was the general custom in Africa to use names for schools which were merely descriptive rather than indicative of their precise level of instruction: such names were village school, central school and community school.¹³

From the standpoint of information to London the appointment of Christopher Cox as a travelling Educational Adviser was an improvement. Before this, however, comparative statistics on the state of education in different colonies had been shown in Lord Hailey's African Survey. These data were from the mid-1930s and, with some exceptions and reservations, they indicate the basis on which a more uniform and systematic education for Africa must be realized

Percentages have been calculated from numbers of pupils shown by Hailey. Data for Basutoland and Bechuanaland are from 1934, for Tanganyika, Nigeria, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone from 1935, for Southern Rhodesia from 1935-36 and for other countries from 1936. Percentages are based on Hailey's absolute figures for all schools. Government-aided schools were mostly mission establishments. Non-aided schools were also for the most part mission schools which either did not desire or did not obtain government financial support.

The figures of the table show that in African education supported solely by the government was on a small scale. The greatest exception was Zanzibar, where among an Islamic population Christian mission schools had no success.¹⁴ British education policy in Africa was based on collaboration

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¹² Minutes of ACEC 16.11.1939.

¹³ Minutes of ACEC 18.5. and 20.5.1939 and Hailey, pp. 1304-305.

¹⁴ John Cameron and W.A. Dodd, *Society, Schools & Progress in Tanzania*, pp. 75-76. The authors tell us that in the early 1930s Koranic schools on the island had three times as many pupils as Christian mission and government schools.

Table 2. Distribution (%) of African pupils among government and other schools in British Africa in the mid-1930s.

	Government schools	Government-aided schools	Non-aided schools
Basutoland	0.5	82.1	17.4
Bechuanaland	-	100.0	-
Swaziland	3.0	48.6	48.4
Southern Rhodesia	0.4	97.2	2.4 ¹⁾
Northern Rhodesia	1.4	23.2	75.4
Nyasaland	0.1	29.3	70.7
Tanganyika ²⁾	3.6	8.8	87.6
Uganda	0.9	14.4	84.7
Kenya	5.0	40.1	54.9
Zanzibar	81.9	-	18.1
Nigeria	3.9	15.5	80.6 ³⁾
Gold Coast	9.3	63.6	27.1
Sierra Leone	3.4	79.0	17.6
Gambia	1.3	95.0	3.7

Source: Hailey, p. 1308.

¹⁾ Estimated figure.

²⁾ Tanganyika was a British mandate.

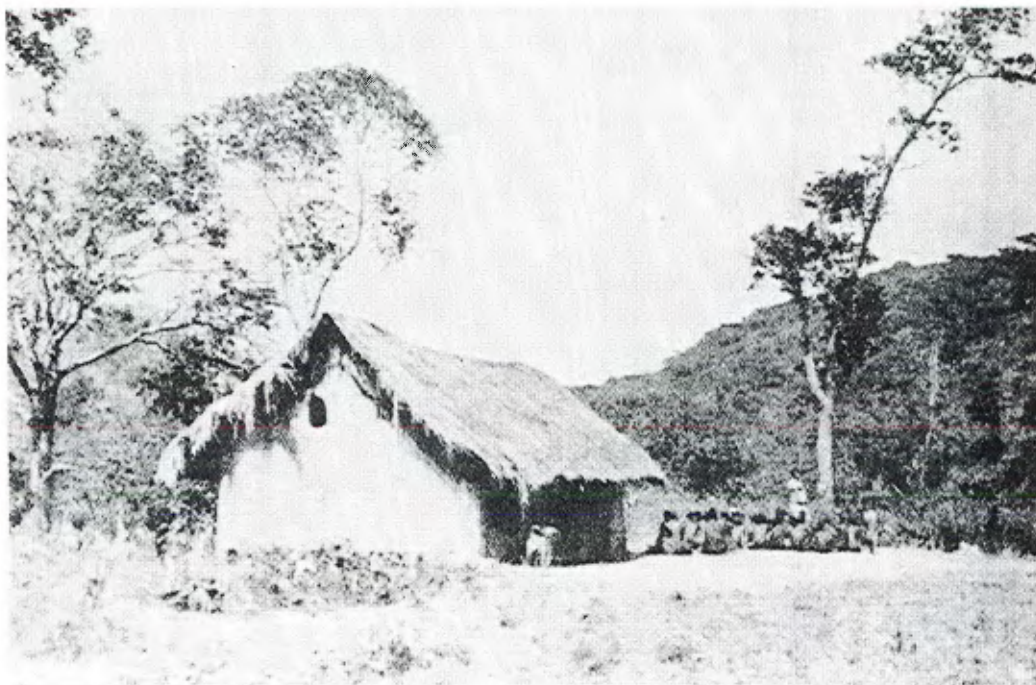
³⁾ Includes Koranic schools 59.3 %.

between government and missions which, as statistics show, succeeded best in Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Southern Rhodesia, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia. Schools remaining outside government support were especially numerous in West Africa (Nigeria) and in East and Central Africa. In Nigeria the majority of these schools were Islamic Koranic schools. But in other colonies also it is questionable whether establishments belonging to this group can be counted as actual schools. Most of them were so-called bush schools run by missions, in which other teaching was provided besides religious. In classification they are below the level of regular elementary schools. In Tanganyika the government left these establishments as centres of conversion outside the school register until 1936.¹⁵ If these schools were removed from the statistics, the position of the government would become clearly more important.

In the mid-1930s by far the greatest part of African education was carried out in the above-mentioned bush schools or in regular elementary schools. Secondary schools at that time numbered as follows: Southern Nigeria 30, Northern Nigeria 12, Sierra Leone 9, Gambia and Bechuanaland 4, Gold Coast 3, Swaziland and Basutoland both 1. In East and Central Africa the

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¹⁵ L. Dolan, *Transition from Self-Reliance in Tanzanian Education*, p. 105.



*The "school" in
the bush.*

situation was clearly worse. In Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia during 1937 there was no secondary education, while in Kenya and Tanganyika it was merely at the planning stage. Makerere College in Uganda was the only school in East Africa where boys were able to follow the full programme of secondary education.¹⁶ The same division between West and East Africa was also seen in higher education. In the 1930s West Africa had three schools part of whose teaching was regarded as higher education. These were Fourah Bay in Sierra Leone founded in 1876, Achimota on the Gold Coast (1925) and Yaba Higher College near Lagos in Nigeria (1932). In the late 1930s the possibilities of providing higher education at Makerere College in East Africa were still under investigation.¹⁷

There were many reasons for the better state of education in West Africa compared with East and Central. Already in the 19th century anti-slave trade mission work had led to an expansion of mission education. On the Gold Coast Governor Guggisberg's active education policy on behalf of the government gave an example to other West African colonies. As connections were active in the 1920s between West Africa and international political activity by the black races, it may be supposed that demands by Africans themselves for more education had an effect on the educational policy of colonial governments.

To draw the line between vocational and other training in Africa was difficult and in many cases unnecessary. Most children and young people

¹⁶ Hailey, pp. 1242-43.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1248.

learned the working skills they needed at home, in the forest, on the fields and so on,¹⁸ but in the colonial period general education too had a clearly vocational basis often. A number of elementary or secondary schools provided vocational training. Visiting Africa, Victor Murray was able to state that it was difficult to distinguish schoolboys from apprentices, since both took part simultaneously in manual training at mission schools.¹⁹ When Yaba College opened its doors in 1932 its object was to train assistant officials for duties in the colonial administration, agriculture, forestry, health care, surveying and veterinary work. Higher education thus had a clearly vocational trend. In the period 1932-1944 an average of less than 40 pupils arrived annually.²⁰ From both East and West Africa Hailey reported attempts to increase agricultural instruction and handicraft as part of general education, but in practice, especially in West Africa, most education continued to be aimed at the English examination.²¹ In addition to vocational training within general education there were very few special vocational training schools in the colonies. Such instruction was generally carried out by Departments of colonial governments which trained Africans directly for their service.²²

From the standpoint of colonial governments and missions African education was mainly focused on elementary education, but formal western education as a whole touched only a small part of the total African population or of school age Africans in the colonies. In tropical Africa in the mid-1930s it was only in Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Basutoland that 30 % or more of school age children (5-15 years) were receiving elementary education. Corresponding percentages at the same time were: Northern Rhodesia and Uganda 25-30, Tanganyika 15-20, Kenya and Bechuanaland 10-15, Nigeria and Gold Coast 5-10, Sierra Leone and Gambia less than 5.²³

These statistical figures seem to show that the proportion of school-age children receiving education was higher in East and Central Africa than in West Africa. Earlier it appeared that post-elementary education in West Africa was ahead of the east and central parts of Africa. Statistical comparisons between African colonies are problematical owing to the diversity of educational systems and terminology. The above statistical data are based on figures provided by colonial Education Departments and are merely indicative of a trend. The picture is further complicated by the bush schools maintained by missions, which are included in the figures. If they were left out the share of Uganda, for instance, would be only 10 %.²⁴ As there were many bush schools in the eastern and central parts of the continent they increased the percentage shares of East and Central African colonies. Here

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¹⁸ See for example D.N. Sifuna, *Vocational Education in Schools*, p. 5.

¹⁹ Murray (1967), p. 100.

²⁰ Gifford and Weiskel, pp. 705-06.

²¹ Hailey, pp. 1243-48.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Statistical data are shown in an article by W.B. Mumford and R. Jackson, *The Problem of Mass Education in Africa*. *Africa*. Vol. XI. No. 1, 1938, pp. 187-207.

²⁴ Mumford and Jackson, p. 188.

the borderline between the lower grades of elementary school and remote mission schools was uncertain. In West Africa there were fewer bush schools and thus they did not raise the number of elementary school pupils statistically.

The studies which have been mentioned investigated the state of vocational training in the colonies and the lines it would follow. In addition, in the late 1930s came a survey of development possibilities for higher education in East Africa. The report entitled *Higher Education in East Africa* of a Commission which travelled in East Africa during 1937 was limited regionally to eastern parts of Africa and especially to Makerere College in Uganda which had developed to the level of a university on the initiation of Philip Mitchell, who had served as Governor of Uganda. The Commission was led by Assistant Colonial Secretary Lord De la Warr, who at that time was also Chairman of the Advisory Committee at the Colonial Office.²⁵ If the aims of African education policy are considered as a whole, the general designations of educational objectives expressed by the De la Warr Commission were indicative of development after the Second World War. In fact, the views of the Commission did not affect merely East Africa or Uganda but tropical Africa in a wider sense, also with reference to other than higher education.

The starting point of the report was that Africa was "in transition".²⁶ With this in mind its definitions of the social aims of education produced new perceptions from the planners of official education policy; at many points too it raised basic questions of this policy in Africa.

In its report the Commission stated its hope that elementary education would be available to all who remained in the countryside as farmers. Girls too – as future wives of farmers – needed elementary education beside boys. But Africa "in transition" needed other Africans in addition to farmers, and particularly the colonial administration needed them. According to the report Europeans needed a body of African officials at their side for the sake of administrative efficiency. Apart from this, a European official in Africa was expensive.²⁷

Bold and intelligent Africans must be given opportunities for something higher than elementary education. The Commission was aware, it stated, of the danger of creating an educated class which was unemployed. This problem had been examined, however, and in East and Central Africa at least the danger was not immediate.²⁸

This attitude to the training of an African workforce for the most demanding tasks of colonial administration was reflected in an interesting manner by the report in comments on indirect rule and on the cultural environment for which Africans must be educated. Africans could no longer be regarded

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²⁵ Colonial Office, *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa*, Col. 142. See too Morris-Hale, p. 147.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 7 and 14-16.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

as "museum pieces". Western civilization had irreversibly affected the old tribal system and former ways of life. Contrary to what was generally thought in Europe African civilization was not static. Throughout history in Africa a slow but steady change had taken place in political, economic and social organizations. The assimilation of African and European culture was unavoidable. Because the African economy was based on agriculture, however, African education must reflect this basis from the foundation upward: elementary education in rural surroundings and atmosphere and higher education conducted in a way which did not estrange pupils from the countryside. In basic economic structure African society had not changed, thought the Commission, but its integration into world economy created a basis for cultural assimilation.²⁹ As the report states, the new African society "will possess its own moral and other sanctions which in some respects will be partly Western and partly African, and in other respects neither African nor Western".³⁰

Confusion over the aims of British educational policy at the end of the 1930s is reflected by the opinions of W.B. Mumford in 1939. After his experience in Tanganyika Mumford, who had become an instructor at London University of teachers going to Africa, found it possible to say that he had no clear idea of the economic, political or cultural future of African people. Mumford analyzed accurately the power of colonialism and economic factors in general to determine the course of African education. In the 1920s, he said, policy demanded that Africans should be educated at the same time for colonial and international economic requirements, for the political needs of Africans and foreigners and educationally for the sake of Africa and the rest of the world. The situation had changed after the depression. Relations between Europe and the colonies demanded new assessments and this affected African education. It was not clear to Mumford himself whether Africans should now be educated with an eye primarily to the economic demands of the rest of the world and only secondarily with their own hopes as object. Mumford also deliberated on whether there would in this situation be room for limited African independence in a political, economic and cultural sense.³¹

8.2 Political warning signs

One sign of a growth in political and cultural independence in Africa consisted of movements through which Africans wished to support the foundation of their own schools. This activity was at its strongest in East

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²⁹ Colonial Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa, Col. 142, pp. 7-11.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³¹ Educational Implications of the Changing Attitudes of Europe to the Colonies. Discussions at Ley House, Worth Sussex, June 1939. An unpublished record of discussions. The Library of Institute of Education. University of London.

Africa. Division of responsibility between missions and local administration in the control and economy of African education during the depression of the 1930s was discussed quite extensively in London. Toward the end of the same decade the foundation of schools by Africans themselves, especially in Kenya, occupied London decision makers and planners of educational policy. The question was important because the movement was generated by African work and activity. A similar stirring was visible in neighbouring Tanganyika.

Independent schools in Kenya had started in the 1910s. Their foundation was linked with the desire of African churches to separate themselves from the European-led Christian missions: one reason for this was disagreement over the ritual of circumcision. In the background, to be sure, there were also political, social and economic factors of wider scope. Probably the first of these schools was organized in the province of Nyanza by John Owalo and the Nomiya Luo Mission he had founded in 1910. These schools were under church management until the 1950s.³²

The first independent Kikuyu schools started in 1927, when disputes had arisen between the CMS and African parents on how independent church conferences should be organized. A new turn in the foundation of schools took place in 1929, when quarrels over female circumcision became more intense. Accusations were most strongly directed against Protestant missionary societies led by the Scottish mission. By 1931 organizations had been started to pursue the aim of African schools: the Kikuyu Karinga Education Association (KKEA) and the Kikuyu Independent School Association (KISA). They functioned until 1952, when a state of emergency was declared in Kenya because of the Mau Mau danger. KKEA identified itself with the Orthodox Church of Africa, while KISA sought support from the missions and the administration.³³

In Kenya during 1940 there were 300 independent schools with 60,000 pupils. Because the number of schools had risen considerably in 1938 the Education Department Director forbade the opening of 38 new schools the same year. In his opinion their opening could not be justified on other than political grounds.³⁴ In the previous year the colonial administration had already criticised independent schools because Africans had refused to obey officials of the Education Department. Some schools had not closed their doors despite the government order. In the Education Department report for that year there is a wide-ranging analysis of independent schools and the problems appearing in them. It states, for instance:

"The objects of the KISA are to further the interests of the Kikuyu and of its members and to safeguard the homogeneity of interests of the

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³² Nganga Njoroge, *An Outline of the Historical Development of Primary Education in Kenya, 1844-1970*, pp. 101-02. See too Daniel N. Sifuna, *Development of Education in Africa. The Kenyan Experience*, pp. 136-37.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-06.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-06.

Kikuyu nation, such as spiritual, economic, social and educational matters...The extensiveness of these objects of a "Schools Association" must weaken the effectiveness of such associations as an education organization; such a wide target suggests that political ammunition is to be fired with the educational gun."³⁵

The report continued by saying that organizations maintaining independent schools were enormously proud and not without reason, since they had started over 50 schools entirely on their own initiative and with their own funds. Naturally they felt a strong interest in the ownership of these schools and regarded government supervision as an intrusion, especially when it was performed by an official appointed for this purpose. They welcomed their own circulating teachers and those appointed by themselves, but did not favour European strangers.³⁶

They regarded the appointment of Europeans as a threat to their schools and feared that their control would be gradually taken from them. Meanwhile the Education Department Director reported many weaknesses of the independent schools to London. He noted that in most schools instruction was in the hands of student teachers who were only a little ahead of the pupils in their own studies. Buildings which served as schools were usually large and well built but had only one room because they also served as churches. Many were too dark inside and had badly placed windows. Many schools had a football field, but only a few had footballs.³⁷

In order to exercise more effective control over the closing and foundation of independent schools the colonial government of Kenya planned new legislation. It sent the following proposal to London:

"If, in the case of any private school for the education of Africans it appears to the Director on the report of an inspector or of a person specially authorized or from his own inspection either that the curriculum approved as required by selection of this ordinance is applied or that the school is not being properly conducted, he may give notice to the manager ordering such alteration in the conduct of the school as he may think necessary to be made within a time fixed by such order and if the same be not made to his satisfaction within the time specified he may, after consulting the District Education Board appointed under the District Education Boards Ordinance, 1934, or, if there be no such Board, after consulting the Advisory Council on African Education, order such school to be closed."³⁸

The new legislation which allowed schools to be founded only with the approval of the Education Department Director was justified in London on

³⁵ Kenya. Education Department, Annual Report 1937, p. 56.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-58.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-68.

³⁸ Enclosure in Wade to MacDonald 17.7.1939. CO 533/512/3. Kenya Original Correspondence 1939. File, Education Legislation. PRO.

the ground that present legislation gave the Education Department Director and local Education Boards no control over foundation of new schools. In Kenya a local Advisory Committee on African Education and local missions had approved the stricter line imposed on independent schools by the colonial administration, but a separate Committee advising on Indian education resisted it. It saw the purpose of the law as political: the intention was to control the foundation of African independent schools more and more strictly.³⁹

At first the proposed law had a chilly reception in London. In discussing the matter the London Advisory Committee understood the anxiety of the missions but also the views of the administration. Discussion ended with an announcement to the effect that the Committee hoped the government's policy toward independent Kikuyu schools would continue to be encouraging. It was also hoped that the Education Department Director would approve payment of assistance for a limited time to mission or independent schools whose prospects of development were good.⁴⁰

By Kenya the attitude of London was interpreted as meaning that the Colonial Office and its Advisory Committee thought the Kenyan government was using its increasing power against the independent school movement and that the legislation might endanger the prevailing relation between the government and the movement. It was also suspected in Kenya that the ideas of Pastor J.W.C. Dougall had substantially influenced the outlook of the Colonial Office. A memorandum rejected the ideas of Dougall, however, and with them the notions entertained by the Secretary and Committee; all in all, Dougall's data on Kenya were regarded as deficient.⁴¹

In a memorandum sent to London it was admitted that the movement of formerly independent schools was strongly suspected by government, Education Department and majority of European missions because it was thought to be largely political and directed against missions and government. Also schools adherent to the movement were thought to be far less efficient than mission schools competing with them. By local order the opening of schools was limited, and from 1936 onward the Education Department Director was able to close any private school if the approved course of study was not followed or if the school was not well conducted. The memorandum pointed out, however, that in the last three years a great change had taken place in attitudes toward the independent school movement on the part of the administration and the Education Department. In September 1937 the government had assigned a special official to assist schools of the movement. These on the whole were treated on equal terms with other new schools with regard to applications for opening. They also

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³⁹ Enclosure in Wade to MacDonald 17.7.1939.

⁴⁰ Minutes of the ACEC 15.6.1939.

⁴¹ Memorandum Independent Schools Movement prepared by the Director of Education, p. 1 in Moore to MacDonald 3.2.1940. CO 533/521/9. Kenya Original Correspondence 1940. File, Independent Native Schools. PRO.

received government aid. The memorandum further denied the assertions of Dougall that the missions were deprived of aid and that schools of the movement were privileged because they were directed by Africans.⁴²

At the Colonial Office it was suspected, however, that in Kenya the independent school movement was interpreted more as a political than an educational force. And Africans were beginning to imagine that the government intended to halt the independent school movement. It was not believed in London, moreover, that Africans could be convinced that the independent school question would be examined in Kenya objectively. The attitudes of the missions contributed to this view.⁴³ Also H.S. Scott, a former Director of the Education Department in Kenya, expressed himself strongly, pointing out his especial dissatisfaction that the government proposed to prevent the opening of schools even if they were under administrative control and conducted adequately from the professional and hygienic standpoint. As Scott perceived it, the matter was looked at entirely from the political, not the educational point of view. The Committee members also decided not to recommend proposals by the Governor because these were not in accord with their own recommendations, and they wished the Colonial Secretary to take an appropriate stand in the matter.⁴⁴

In a letter sent to Kenya in October 1939 Colonial Secretary MacDonald stated that difficulties in the reopening of KKEA schools were largely a political matter, and it was extremely fortunate that before the outbreak of war the Education Department Director had been able to reach an understanding with the organization concerned. This raised the hope that a source of political friction had been eliminated. The Colonial Secretary further suggested the rejection of new legislation, which should be replaced by the establishment of relations through rule by tactics.⁴⁵

On January 1940 Governor Henry Moore of Kenya sent a semi-official letter to the Colonial Office in which he answered the proposal to reject the intended legislation. Moore related that he had discussed the matter at length with Education Department Director Lacey, whereupon they had agreed to resist the proposal. Moore also suspected that Scott and Dougall, whose ideas were five or six years old, had influenced the Committee's opinions.⁴⁶ In a new letter to London Moore insisted that in Kenya there was no intention to injure the independent school movement but only to regulate it and to add to the efficiency of the intermediate standard. To the question of whether political reasons were affecting the enactment of necessary legislation at that moment he answered that in view of the political situation

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⁴² Memorandum Independent Schools Movement prepared by the Director of Education, pp. 1-4.

⁴³ Minutes by F.J. Pedler to G.W.St.J. Chadwix 9.8.39, Arthur Mayhew to F.J. Pedler 10.8.39 and A.J. Pedler to Sir C. Parkinson 14.8.39. CO 533/512/3. Kenya Original Correspondence 1939. File, Education Legislation. PRO.

⁴⁴ Minutes of ACEC 23.9.1939.

⁴⁵ MacDonald to the Officer Administering, The Government of Kenya 17.10.1939. CO 533/512/3. Kenya Original Correspondence 1939. File, Education Legislation. PRO.

⁴⁶ Extract from a semi-official letter from Moore to Dawe 16.1.1940. CO 533/521/9. Kenya Original Correspondence 1940. File, Independent Native Schools. PRO.

at the local level there was no reason to prevent the passing of the law. It contained no racial discrimination and no actual divergence from approved practice. Before the letter sent by the Colonial Office an understanding had been reached in Kenya with KKEA. Finally Moore insisted that the government of Kenya had in no way restricted African education, as could be seen in the appropriations of 1940 for the support of African education. He hoped that the Colonial Secretary would approve the proposals of Kenya.⁴⁷

In March 1940 Moore received a confidential reply from the Colonial Office; in it the Colonial Secretary said that he had gained considerable new information from the Governor's letter and from the memorandum accompanying a letter from the Education Department Director. He therefore intended to approve the new legislation proposed by Kenya.⁴⁸ It also appeared that the body of officials at the Colonial Office wished to support the Kenya proposals. In a set of notes drawn up for Lord Dufferin a Colonial Office official, A.J. Dawe, stated that on several occasions he had referred to the difficulties of striking a balance between Committee enthusiasm and local reality. He thought that the Colonial Secretary should have reacted with greater detachment to the views expressed by the Committee and Dougall. As the memorandum from the Kenya Education Department Director generated a certain amount of enmity against Dougall he suggested that a "cleaned-up version" be shown to the Committee.⁴⁹

This was done. In March 1940 the Committee had before it a new memorandum on the independent schools of Kenya which had been prepared at the Colonial Office. At this meeting Cox welcomed the Committee's decision to recommend a continuation of the Kenya government's policy at that moment. He also reported the Governor's assurance that the new laws did not seek to hinder the independent school movement and were not racist. Among Committee members suspicion of the new legislation still lingered, and it was suggested that the desired result might be obtained by withholding aid from schools which were unsatisfactory. On the other hand Lord Dufferin as Chairman considered it difficult for the Committee to give advice which differed from the views of Sir Henry Moore in case Moore found it necessary to use his power to close schools. The Committee finally decided to ask Kenya for a yearly report on the consequences of the exercise of power. If power was wrongly used, the Committee had the right to change its opinion.⁵⁰

Thus London finally yielded to the stricter policy shown by Kenya toward independent schools. Educational factors were important, but undoubtedly

⁴⁷ Moore to MacDonald 3.2.1940. CO 533/521/9. Kenya. Original Correspondence 1940. File, Independent Native Schools. PRO.

⁴⁸ The Secretary of State for the Colonies to Moore 8.3.1940. CO 533/521/9. Kenya Original Correspondence 1940. File, Independent Native Schools. PRO.

⁴⁹ Minute by A.J. Dawe to Lord Dufferin 5.3.1940. CO 533/521/9. Kenya. Original Correspondence 1940. File, Independent Native Schools. PRO.

⁵⁰ Minutes of ACEC 14.3.1940. CO 965/4. Social Service. File, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. PRO.

there were political reasons also. In June 1939 Dougall suggested at a meeting of the Advisory Committee that there were other factors behind the movement than hostility toward the missions. To his mind the movement was "primarily nationalist and political". It flourished mainly through the political activity of the white minority in Kenya whose methods it often imitated. Also it was dissatisfied with the existing educational system because it did not provide enough higher education and because, the Kikuyu thought, the government discriminated unfairly against the aspirations of independent schools.⁵¹ This was already apparent in disagreements between government and school operators over the language of teaching and the curriculum in these schools. The government wished Swahili to be used in teaching, but directors of schools opposed this. The syllabus, which were heavily criticised by the Education Department, included English and mathematics but also African traditional customs. English was taught from the first Standard onward. As Africans interpreted it, these schools sought to prepare Africans for modern life. They did not prepare pupils to grind away for government examinations. Thus songs were sung to emphasize uniformity, not tribalism. In sport it was endeavoured to arrange competitions between pupils of many races, but the government forbade whites and Indians to take part in them. In folk dancing acquaintance was made with dances of other peoples. Independent schools taught their pupils to honour their own culture, uniformity, economic requirements and political consciousness.⁵²

The colonial government's wish to close schools conducted by Africans themselves was not confined to Kenya. During an exchange of opinions on independent schools in Kenya reference was made to the practice prevailing in Tanganyika and Nyasaland of closing schools at the government's wish.⁵³ In Nyasaland too local chiefs had tried to limit the foundation of schools belonging to different churches in the same district because it would have meant splitting African communities into different sections. In London the matter was considered primarily administrative and political: the Advisory Committee did not wish to take a stand on it.⁵⁴

In Tanganyika the situation was more problematical. Schools maintained by the native administration had been founded since 1926 and in 1927 the government directed that these schools should be government establishments. No schools received aid without recommendation from the Education Department Director, and the opening of schools depended to a great extent on availability of competent teachers.⁵⁵ In 1933 Education Depart-

⁵¹ Minutes of ACEC 15.6.1939.

⁵² Njoroge, pp. 112-18, Kamuti Kiteme, *The Impact of A European Education Upon Africans in Kenya: 1846-1940*, pp. 151-52.

⁵³ Memorandum Independent Schools Movement by Director of Education, p. 4 in Moore to MacDonald 3.2.1940. CO 533/521/9. Kenya. Original Correspondence. File, Independent Native Schools. PRO.

⁵⁴ Minutes of ACEC 22.4 and 27.5.1937.

⁵⁵ For the background of native administration schools in Tanganyika see Morris-Hale, pp. 71-84.

ment Director Isherwood proposed that the local administration should have full responsibility for all aid given to missions, including elementary education for Africans.⁵⁶

It was naturally desired to bring this matter to the knowledge of London because it meant not only that local administration had the right to found schools which were necessary for elementary education: it also provided an economic hold on mission school work. In Tanganyika the missions in a body resisted the intentions of Isherwood. In a local Advisory Committee of African Education Protestant Missions issued a wide-ranging memorandum on the subject in which they pointed out that Isherwood's proposal would mean increased unpopularity for education and a weakening of the missions status. Perhaps the African local administration did not distribute aid impartially because its own schools were numerous and also Africans might feel themselves defrauded by the missions in the matter of school maintenance. All in all, Isherwood's plan was considered immature in Tanganyika. The Catholics for their part demanded that the government should not recognize a single school which was not under direct European control. Such schools in their opinion were "seed-plots of the evil elements of paganism".⁵⁷ In London Oldham was more cautious in his attitude, and he was even the first to congratulate Isherwood on excellent work for the advance of education in Tanganyika.⁵⁸

In dealing with this matter the Advisory Committee in London mentioned many other reasons for rejecting the proposal which had come from Tanganyika. Currie and Lugard perceived that the education of Africans would be weakened if it was transferred to the native administration. Plymouth as Chairman listed a large number of doubtful questions. What would financing by the native administration have meant to the poorer districts? Now that payment for the education of Europeans in Tanganyika had been transferred to the central administration, was it right to make local funds accountable for the education of natives? Were not fluctuations in local finances greater than at the central administrative level, and how in that case could stability be assured? Did not responsibility for financing mean demands for greater control over it? Who would be responsible for appointment of teachers, for working arrangements and payment, and what would the plan mean to the missions?⁵⁹

It was very clear that in the light of these doubts the Committee would not approve Isherwood's proposal for financing of education from the local budget.⁶⁰ P.E. Mitchell, a leading official of the native administration in

⁵⁶ Memoranda on Education in Tanganyika. Sgd. A.A.M. Isherwood. Box 228. Africa General Education: A.C.E.C. File, Committee Papers-Tanganyika 1924/33. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 254-55.

⁵⁷ Tanganyika Territory, Proceedings of the Advisory Committee on African Education at the ninth Meeting held on 28th March 1933, pp. 8-20.

⁵⁸ Oldham to Isherwood 21.3.1933. Box 258. East Africa. Tanganyika Education. File, Director of Education. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 370.

⁵⁹ Minutes of ACEC 16.3.1933. Mc. No. 269.

⁶⁰ Minutes of ACEC 27.4 and 22.6.1933. Mc. No. 269.

Tanganyika, had also given warning that Africans would demand greater power to control education at the lower grades if the ideas of Isherwood were realized.⁶¹ As Mitchell put it: "If a healthy local government system is to develop here, it is necessary to go slow."⁶² Finally came a message from Isherwood in Tanganyika that he understood the attitude shown in London. After his memorandum, moreover, a survey made in Tanganyika had shown the necessity of lowering taxes for Africans throughout the territory.⁶³

The examples of Kenya, Nyasaland and Tanganyika showed that in London the cases of the various colonies were dealt with in separate ways. Competition between the churches in education was not a matter in which the London authorities wished to intervene, nor were they prepared to give final power of decision to Africans for control of local schools. This, as the case of Tanganyika tells us, made it difficult in practice to transfer an important financing responsibility to Africans. Politically, the expansion of African independent schools in Kenya was London's greatest affliction. At the end of the 1930s another sensitive area for education, politically and socially, was the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia. In the explosive Copperbelt unrest triggered by tax increases had led in 1935 to the death of six people at Ndola. Only two weeks after this at General Missionary Conference discussion arose on the insufficiency of education in the Copperbelt. This led to combined efforts by the missions to develop local education from the elementary to the adult level.⁶⁴ In February 1937 the London Advisory Committee discussed Oldham's memorandum which dealt with church mission work in the Copperbelt. In the course of this it became abundantly clear that conditions in the district were still unsatisfactory not only from the educational standpoint but in general. There were many reasons for this. No mission was fully informed of the work done by other missions, and this created problems. The district contained 3,000 children of school age, but hardly a single school. Growing children learned bad habits which were put into practice. In addition disturbances on the Copperbelt had shown that older children had become a positive danger to the whole community.⁶⁵

To correct this state of affairs the missions produced a plan providing for the establishment of a school in connection with each mine; the missions would be obliged to supply six teachers for each of them. The plan also called for the appointment of an educational expert. His services would be available to all pupils. Although mine management seemed exceedingly reluctant to support the construction of schools, some mines hinted that they would contribute. At a meeting of the Advisory Committee the bishop of

⁶¹ Mitchell to Secretary of Native Affairs 19.2.1933. Enclosure in Jardine to Cunliffe-Lister 17.7.1933. CO. 691/129/5056. Tanganyika. Original Correspondence 1933. PRO.

⁶² Mitchell to Oldham 22.5.1933. Box 258. East Africa. Tanganyika Education. File, Director of Education. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 371.

⁶³ Isherwood to Oldham 26.4.1933. Box 258. File Director of Education. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 370.

⁶⁴ Peter Desmond Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1833-1945*, p. 186.

⁶⁵ Minutes of ACEC 25.2.1937.

Northern Rhodesia supported collaboration between missions with regard to education and welfare although he wished each mission to preserve its own spiritual work. The Roman Catholic Church and the Dutch Reformed Church did not intend to join in this collaboration. At this stage, however, the London Advisory Committee did not make recommendations regarding the Northern Rhodesian plans, but waited for more detailed suggestions.⁶⁶

From Northern Rhodesia there soon resounded in London the news of practical attempts to improve the school situation in the Copperbelt. A Native Literary Committee had been set up in the country with the task of promoting the spread of literature among Africans; it was also intended to provide kindergarten schooling and to found a secondary school for children whose parents were of more permanent standing. A further intention was to move older children as soon as possible from industrial areas to villages in the country.⁶⁷

In the Copperbelt collaboration between missions began on the practical level and, as a 1938 report tells us, in a highly favourable atmosphere. The country's Education Department, local administration and body of officials had supported the aim of working together. But there were problems. They were both educational and concerned with evangelical work. Doubts had arisen on whether to approve complete government control of financing. Next, missions were disturbed over the training of teachers. Was it better to train them in the midst of unusual local circumstances or at fairly distant and secluded mission centres in the country? Again, the missions were exercised in mind by the youthful criminality which ruinous urbanization might cause, and by the possibilities of vocational training for girls and young women.⁶⁸ In the following year's report it was possible to state, however, that collaboration with the Education Department was "most genuine and encouraging".⁶⁹

8.3 Growing importance of adult education

The above-mentioned statistical information told us that in the mid-1930s only a small part of the African population in the colonies came within the scope of education. The expansion of elementary education and the inclusion of adults in educational activity were themes on which the Colonial Office concentrated after the Second World War. Completed in 1944 was a new memorandum entitled *Mass Education in African Society*⁷⁰ which

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⁶⁶ Minutes of ACEC 25.2.1937.

⁶⁷ Acting Governor to Ormsby-Gore 14.4.1937 and A Memorandum Containing Recent Information from the Government of N.R. Regarding the Education of Native Children in the Cobberbelt. CO 795/91/45137. Northern Rhodesia. Original Correspondence 1937. File, Educational Facilities for Natives in the Copperbelt. PRO.

⁶⁸ United Missions in the Copper Belt. Second Annual Report 1937-38, pp 8-9. Box 1212. Northern Rhodesia. File, Mining Developments. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 49.

⁶⁹ United Missions in the Copper Belt. Third Annual Report 1938-39, p. 7. Box 1212. Northern Rhodesia. File, Mining Developments. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 49.

⁷⁰ A.C.E.C., *Mass Education in African Society*. Col. 186. See too W.E.F. Ward, *This Mass Education Business*. Oversea Education, Vol. XIX. No. 3, 1948, pp. 678-83.

contained partly the same ideas as the 1935 memorandum and partly an examination of the aims of African education in a new light.⁷¹ Development plans following unrest in the West Indies in the early 1940s also laid stress on the connection between education and community welfare.⁷²

In the war years discussion on colonial education policy in Africa still showed conflict of aims or confusion. S.I. Kale, an African representative of Lagos Grammar School in Nigeria, asked in 1941 whether education must lead to detribalization. At that moment, he felt, teaching and organization of education should be directed more to making contact with the life of the community or the tribe. But it must be recognized at the same time that the school could not prevent detribalization because active forces such as trade, industry, immigration and mission work were already in operation.⁷³

In February 1941 at the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office A. Creech Jones of the Labour Party raised the question of adult education. He asked what information was available at the Colonial Office on the development of adult education in Africa. The matter was timely because of a recent report on the Copperbelt dispute.⁷⁴ According to Christopher Cox adult education was a topical question, but because of the war situation the Colonial Office did not find it suitable to undertake a laborious investigation of the subject. There was no wish at that moment to trouble African colonial governments with inquiries demanding a great deal of work.⁷⁵

In March the same year Creech Jones approached Cox by stating that the Advisory Committee had given relatively little attention to adult education. In Creech Jones' opinion a country neglecting liberal education would suffer sooner or later: besides vocational training account must be taken of people's needs as citizens and workers. Rapid changes produced by economic and social forces within the Empire created restless activity and legitimate political ambition. According to Creech Jones legislation applying to economic difficulties demanded close collaboration between people and governments. The problem of direction must be admitted if repeated obstructions and disorder were to be avoided in certain colonies.⁷⁶

Cox acceded to the proposal of Creech Jones⁷⁷ and the subject of adult education was raised at the Committee the same spring. At a meeting in May

⁷¹ For connections between the 1944 memorandum and Oldham's memorandum 1935 and for development of the idea of community education against the background of the 1930s see A.J. Loveridge, *British Colonial Experience in Educational Development. A Survey of Non-Formal Education for Rural and Agricultural Development*, p. 21, T.R. Batten, *School and Community in the Tropics*, pp. 10-11 and M.E. Sinclair with Kevin Lillis, *School and Community in the Third World*, p. 21-35.

⁷² See *Oversea Education, School and Community Welfare in the West Indies*. Vol. XIV. No. 4, 1943, pp. 150-57.

⁷³ S.I. Kale, *Must Education Lead to Detribalization?* *Oversea Education*. Vol. XII. No. 2, 1941, pp. 60-64.

⁷⁴ Minutes of ACEC 27.2.1941.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Creech Jones to Cox 28.3.1940. CO 859/22/3. Social Service 1940. File, Adult Education. PRO.

⁷⁷ Cox to Creech Jones 11.4.1940. CO 859/22/3. Social Service 1940. File, Adult Education. PRO.

Cox announced the opinion of the Colonial Office that the scarcity of elementary education, especially in the African colonies, should be dealt with as soon as possible. This applied also to adult education. In the first place, expansion of both adult and primary education would require considerable funds. Before either programme could be started, thought Cox, it was necessary to re-examine the whole problem of mass education, adult and primary. Next, in primitive and indigent Africa an effective expansion of primary education was only possible in the near future, economically, if instruction was limited to the minimum required for literacy. Even this would be wasted if the literacy acquired was not kept up among those who had left school. Finally Cox presented the point of view that expansion of primary and adult education should be examined in relation to each other, but also in relation to the policy composed in the 1935 memorandum.⁷⁸

More detailed scrutiny of the questions outlined by Cox remained for the sub-committee he led to perform. In composition the sub-committee was typical of British educational planning for Africa. It represented the Colonial Office, missions, English university personnel and former colonial officials. The sub-committee included Bishop E. Meyers of the Roman Catholic Church, Pastor H.M.C. Crace of the Protestant missions, Professor Macmillan, Julian Huxley, historian Margery Perham and Professor Fred Clarke, pedagogue from University of London. Also taking part in the sub-committee's work were Arthur Mayhew, Margaret Read and Margaret Wrong, Secretary of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa.⁷⁹ The function of the sub-committee was to examine the best approach to the problem of literacy in large population masses and to adult education other than literacy in the most backward colonies. At the same time note must be taken of the aims set out in the 1935 memorandum for education of the community as a whole.⁸⁰ For the purposes of this work the Colonial Office obtained information on the state of adult education in the colonies⁸¹ and was deeply interested at the same time in the development of adult education in Soviet Union and in China.⁸²

In June 1942 F. Clarke was able to present a confidential memorandum on this subject to members of the sub-committee. In it Clarke outlined the basic questions facing the sub-committee and a new strategic plan for adult education to be carried out in the colonies. Clarke brought up this matter because there were increasing doubts over the way in which the memorandum on adult education would develop from the 1935 Memorandum on the Education of African Communities. After 1935 "much had happened". Clarke proposed too that in most colonies adult education should be dealt with as a matter between generations and the original and rapidly changing

⁷⁸ Minutes of ACEC 22.5.1941.

⁷⁹ Minutes of ACEC 22.5.1941 and A.C.E.C., Col. 186, p. 3.

⁸⁰ Minutes of ACEC 16.4.1942.

⁸¹ Ks. CO 859/44/2. Social Service 1941. File, Education. Adult Education. PRO.

⁸² CO 859/44/2. Social Service 1941. File, Education. Adult Education. PRO.

western civilization.⁸³

In a memorandum of 1944 which was prepared by the sub-committee and largely written by Professor Clarke⁸⁴ four main objectives were assigned to mass education. First, education for children must be extensively increased with the aim of education for all in the near future. Second, literacy must be spread among the adult population in conjunction with literature and library services. Without books and libraries enduring literacy was hard to acquire. Third, mass education must be so planned that it was felt to belong to the community, so that the local population would support first. Finally, plans for mass education and for welfare must be prepared together so as to form a manysided well-balanced whole.⁸⁵

The memorandum noted the necessity and urgency of mass education because of social, political and economic problems. "Everywhere in recent years we have seen the speed of social change increasing". As the Colonial Office saw it, these social changes were undoubtedly linked to a planned policy of development and to its function of raising the colonial input. There were clear connections between mass education and the development programmes of the 1940s. They were revealed by the aims mentioned in the memorandum and also by its definition of the curriculum of mass education. Here the memorandum stated that an extensive development of material resources in the colonies was an approved starting-point for postwar planning. Plans were also needed for social, political and educational progress in the colonies, and mass education had a leading part to play in these aspirations. This was because mass education included instruction in health and agriculture, rural economics, building up of strong units of local government, sound family and social life and spare time activity.⁸⁶

From the memorandum and from the survey of mass educational aims made by Professor Clarke for the Colonial Office it is clear that the new education policy also took note of political change in the colonies. As the memorandum put it, true democracy could not be realized where the purpose of education was not understood, where it was not available to the great majority.⁸⁷

The "borders" of democracy were revealed in Clarke's notion of a common national feeling which, he thought, might become a key factor in colonial

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⁸³ Notes on Some Considerations Affecting the Framing and Execution of a Plan of Adult Education in the Colonies. CO 859/44/2. Social Service 1941. File, Education. Adult Education. PRO.

⁸⁴ Minutes of ACEC 15.7.1943.

⁸⁵ A.C.E.C., Mass Education in African Society. Col. 186, p. 8.

⁸⁶ Wartime influence on mass education, its aims and methods is also discussed in the memorandum, which states, however, that there is a difference between mass education and propaganda. But during the war years, especially in Africa, there had been cause to pay great attention to the education of adults. They were given reasons for the events of the war and told how they might take part in the war effort either as soldiers, by producing foodstuffs, by using less foodstuffs themselves or by giving financial support for the war. A.C.E.C., Mass Education in African Society. Col. 186, pp. 17 and 55.

⁸⁷ A.C.E.C., Mass Education in African Society. Col. 186, p. 4 and Confidential Print: Africa. Memorandum on Mass Education of African Colonial Peoples. Print. No. 1171. 1943. PRO.

development and in relations with Britain. Earlier this feeling had been realized in small units, now the time had come to broaden it. To build loyalty which was created in limited conditions into something true and expedient in expanding circumstances was a delicate task for the educator. It also meant a revision of old institutions which stood in the way of new ideas and contacts.⁸⁸ But the 1944 memorandum repeated the aims of previous reports by continuing to take a cautious view of changes in the African community. Despite the pressure of innovations mass education must seek to maintain "social cohesion".⁸⁹

If mass education had such important functions in the colonies it is not surprising that the matter was often raised in the Advisory Committee. Cox had already stated that to carry out mass education in the colonies would require funds and that many problems stood in the way of its practical application. Lack of suitable personnel was a general difficulty noted in colonial response to the memorandum.⁹⁰ Northern Rhodesia wished to stress the development of a financial basis at the same time as education and literacy. The Colonial Office was reminded that in Scotland the growth of literacy was followed by considerable emigration, of which there were signs in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. A letter from the Governor expressed doubts on the possibility of voluntary work to spread literacy in African conditions.⁹¹ In sending the memorandum of Clarke's sub-committee to the colonies Oliver Stanley had stated that he doubted the possibility of announcing a precise time for the total elimination of illiteracy.⁹² In the colonies mass education could not be realized in a flash, and much of the necessary practical experience was obtained only in the 1950s.

But Creech Jones, the moving spirit in this cause, was far from satisfied with the 1944 memorandum on adult education. It had serious weaknesses, he thought, arising from insufficient realism in approaching the problem. Creech Jones listed three main deficiencies in the report. It did not address a single word to what he considered the most serious problem of Africa, namely poverty, it took no note of the models provided by Russia and China for the African situation and, thirdly, Creech Jones criticised the teaching of religion, which was divided between sects hostile to each other, thus losing

⁸⁸ This referred also to indirect rule as an institution. The memorandum stated that wherever native local administration was trained and progressive it was an important contributory factor in mass education programmes. Where local administration was backward it must not be allowed to prevent the carrying out of mass education programmes if requirements were great in a given area and if other community elements were progressive. CO 879/148, Print. No. 1171, p. 20.

⁸⁹ A.C.E.C., *Mass Education in African Society*, p. 6.

⁹⁰ See CO/859/85/9, 11-12. Social Service 1945. Files, *Mass Education in the Colonies*. Comments on Report by Gold Coast, Tanganyika, Sierra Leone and CO 859/85/15-16. Social Service 1946. Files, *Mass Education*. Comments on Report by Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia. PRO.

⁹¹ Enclosure 1. Memorandum on Colonial 186. "Mass Education in African Society" in Waddington to Hall 14.2.1946. CO 859/85/6. Social Service 1946. File, *Mass Education*. Comments on Report by N. Rhodesia. PRO.

⁹² Stanley to Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar 31.12.1943. CO 859/44/3. Social Service 1943. File, *Mass Education in the Colonies*. PRO.

a good deal of the available energy. Creech Jones asserted the importance of social changes such as distribution of property, good and sufficient food and wage level, free education and the repeal of all laws controlling race and passports. Such changes in the style of Russia and China would arouse popular enthusiasm, especially in Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and South Africa. In Creech Jones' opinion an actual movement of mass education could not exist except as part of a broad political, religious or psychological movement. What was needed in Africa was a concrete list of problems and decisions on means of ending them. In this way the uniformity and efficiency needed for mass education might be discovered with African support. In cynical terms Creech Jones summed up by saying: "We should, like Marshal Stalin or Marshal Chiang Kai Shek, have something to teach, instead of our present amiable desire to teach something."⁹³

Although it was known that the fieldwork needed for mass education would encounter many difficulties, the matter remained under active discussion in the Colonial Office Advisory Committee throughout the war years. It was intended to gain the first practical experience in Kenya, where the education of soldiers returning from the war was timely. The Colonial Office saw in this an opportunity for experiment in adult education, and centres were established in Kenya for training soldiers as artisans, skilled workers, clerks and so on. The army helped to arrange this experiment.⁹⁴

The Kenya experiment was linked to the education of adults, a contributory factor in mass education. It was limited in scope, but to carry out: more extensive programmes in the colonies seemed problematical in many ways. Above all, colonial Education Departments did not believe that mass education programmes could be realized without expert personnel.⁹⁵ During spring 1944 Education Department Directors in East Africa discussed mass education, bringing up many aspects which in their view prevented realization of the London plans in the manner desired. First, they criticised the 1944 memorandum for dealing with Africans only, taking no account of other populations in East Africa. Mass education could not operate on a voluntary basis, and the necessary funds and personnel were lacking. And even if these were supplied, partly from London, Africans would not feel that mass education campaigns were their own. Directors argued that Africans lacked the outlook for such work. At the same time they considered London's visions of a rapid improvement in literacy unrealistic. Even if funds and teachers were available to a "fantastic" degree, it would take some 50 years to achieve general adult education. Nor did they agree with the view that education of adults at the present stage was more important than education for the young. They believed that mass education might increase the

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⁹³ Note on Colonial Office Advisory Committee's Report on Mass Education in African Society, (Col. No. 186), 1944 March 4. Mss. Brit. Emp. s 332. Box 34. File, Education I, General. Arthur Creech Jones Papers. RHL.

⁹⁴ Minutes of ACEC 21.6. and 22.9.1945.

⁹⁵ Minutes of ACEC 15.3.1945.

economic, physical, political and social progress of the colonies, but there was a danger that the opposite might happen. Education might become superficial, lagging behind economic and other development which formed the true basis of education.⁹⁶

At the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office the stand taken by Education Department Directors received attention, and Committee members looked for means of realizing mass education also in ways differing from the 1944 memorandum. Margaret Read's opinion was that efforts had been made to relate mass education too closely to general education and development programmes. The chief emphasis should be on adult education, she thought. Examples of how to carry this out could be found in the English universities and labour organization. For the spread of literacy, on the other hand, a method could be used in which those who had received more education taught others to read. Sir H. Scott for his part believed that mass education would not be properly understood in Africa. In the colonies, he said, the notion was widespread that Africans merely wanted better value for money and did not need such educational "patent medicines" as the school authorities proposed. Educators in turn thought that education was not a matter for the Education Department alone. Education included all things which advanced the spiritual, economic and political life of the community. As a mission representative Pastor Grace defended the bush schools and their importance to mass education as a cheap method of education. The possibilities of visual teaching equipment, especially the film in mass education were also discussed by the Committee. A further possibility was that Africans themselves might assume responsibility for general education without many European personnel. This, however, presupposed the creation of a class of Africans to be accountable in the colonies.⁹⁷

Colonial views on mass education and the Committee's discussions showed that many difficulties lay before the plans formed in London. Mass education demanded funds; the outlook of colonial authorities was suspicious and the attitude of Africans to the new education policy as a whole seemed uncertain. If one examines the 1925 and 1935 memorandums of the Colonial Office directing educational aims for Africa it will be seen that they also serve the aims of the missions in Africa. The emergence of both had been influenced first and foremost by J.H. Oldham. The memorandum of 1944 on mass education was set in motion by the Colonial Office, with Christopher Cox in charge of its preparation. The implementation of this programme was strongly pursued by Creech Jones and Andrew Cohen, who directed the Labour Government's African policy. In the 1940s the influence of the missions in shaping a new education policy for Africa was no longer decisive.

⁹⁶ Proceedings of the Conference of Directors of Education of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar held in Nairobi on the 23rd to 26th February, 1944. CO 822/115/7. East Africa Original Correspondence 1944-46. Educational Conferences. PRO.

⁹⁷ Minutes of ACEC 21.3. and 16.5.1946.

On the other hand the sub-committee which prepared the 1944 memorandum included church representatives, and nothing in the discussions of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee indicates that the missions opposed the new education policy. In the 1944 memorandum note was taken of the importance of mission workers in the field of mass education because they had direct connections with African communities.⁹⁸ The memorandum also wished to point out that the aims set forth in 1935 were still relevant in the 1940s. For the most part the objectives of the new education policy did not conflict with the views of mission workers. Margaret Wrong, a member of the sub-committee, wrote in 1944 that missions and churches had often taken the initiative in campaigns for literacy: they had good opportunities for doing so.⁹⁹ Yet Protestant missions in the 1940s did not formulate a common attitude to the mass education policy, and the opinions of mission workers in the field need not necessarily follow the views of London. In the 1940s news travelled from Africa of literacy campaigns organized by missions and of other educational projects in accord with the aims of mass education; but there was also fear that the new policy would harm the ideals of Christian ruralism and social cohesion in the African community.¹⁰⁰ In general terms mass education in the 1940s was still at the planning and discussion stage, and for colonial authorities and mission workers alike it demanded great further exertions.

From the London standpoint mass education programmes in Africa did not start moving in the manner hoped for, although development programmes like political education, demanded an extension of literacy to a growing proportion of the people and adult education adapted to development programmes. In different colonies the attitude of colonial authorities, mission workers and Africans to mass education was bound to vary, but many still more common factors stood in the way of its accomplishment. In 1948 when W.E.F. Ward examined the question from the British viewpoint¹⁰¹ he analyzed an accumulation of problems facing mass education which appeared insuperable. Ward asked what mass education actually was. Although everyone speaks of it, no one says what it is. There was very little difference, he said, between the everyday work of a doctor, an agricultural expert and a school official. In the same way the methods of mass education were inadequate. Mission workers and officials had too much work to enable them to carry out mass education successfully; it was difficult in the colonies to devise a national appeal in the style of China, Russia or Turkey: "our

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⁹⁸ A.C.E.C., *Mass Education in Africa*, p. 9.

⁹⁹ Margaret Wrong, *Mass Education in Africa*. *African Affairs*. Vol. 43. No. 172, 1944, p. 110.

¹⁰⁰ R.R. Young, *An Adult Literacy Campaign in Sierra Leone*. *Oversea Education*. Vol. XV. No. 3, 1944, pp. 97-100, T. Price, *A Contribution to the Practice of Mass Education of Colonial Peoples*. *Oversea Education*. Vol. XVI. No. 1, 1944, pp. 56-60 and N. Langford-Smith, *Mass Education and Rural Africa*. *IRM*. Vol. XXXIV. No. 134, 1945, pp. 121-35 and *Oversea Education*, Vol. XVI. No. 4, 1945, pp. 164-66.

¹⁰¹ Adult education in the light of British policy after the Second World War has been discussed by Olli Kaikkonen in his study entitled *Adult Education as an Instrument of Development Policy in Uganda from the Second World War to Independence*. (University of Joensuu 1988)

country needs you, and you are more useful when educated." The multiplicity of languages also made literacy campaigns more difficult.¹⁰²

As Ward put it, the aim of mass education was to train the whole community, and in underdeveloped tropical areas its realization ultimately demanded the raising of general education and literacy to so high a point in one area at a time that the area concerned produced persons who spread education itself beyond the community.¹⁰³

The method sketched by Ward was realistic in the light of African educational statistics. At the end of the 1940s only a very small proportion of the British African population was educated and literate. Reliable and sufficient data on the extent of literacy in the colonies during the 1940s were not available, but in 1944 Margaret Wrong estimated that only 5 % of the inhabitants of British African colonies were literate. For nomadic tribes this estimate was too high, while in places where missions had a good network of schools literacy might be 50 % or more. Similarly, urban and mining centres were ahead of secluded rural districts.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, when a Commission led by A.L. Binns in 1952 examined the educational situation in East and Central Africa, it expressed surprise in its final report that the churches played such a small part in adult education work. It was surprising in the Commission's view because loss of literacy led to loss of faith in religion and, on the other hand, adult education seemed well suited to the missions.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Ward, pp. 679-82.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 683.

¹⁰⁴ Wrong, pp. 105-06.

¹⁰⁵ The Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office, *African Education. A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa*, p. 106.

■ 9. The African University Question

9.1 Sir James Currie's plan for higher education

When in June 1932 the Directors of East African Education Departments held their annual Conference in Zanzibar the agenda included plans for development of Makerere College in Uganda. With satisfaction Directors were able to note that early in the following year it was intended to start teaching at Makerere which would lead to matriculation by means of London University.¹

At this stage members of the Zanzibar Conference could not imagine that plans connected with Makerere would lead to a long discussion in London concerned with matters of principle in the higher education of Africans. It also produced a picture of future education policy for the continent which served as an alternative to the 1935 memorandum prepared by Oldham.

When the London Advisory Committee had the Makerere plans before it they aroused many protests, primarily from veteran members such as Currie. In his opinion to link Makerere with the London University Examination system was not commendable, nor did he regard as decisive the general view that Africans themselves demanded European standards and would not be satisfied with anything else. Vischer in turn stated that his discussions with Africans had shown the conviction of the latter that no professional man would get work in Africa unless he was qualified in some institute outside Africa. At the same time Vischer brought out the political side. If the British did not help Africans to obtain the qualification they desired it would be interpreted as an attempt to keep them in inferior occupations. The ideas of Vischer were supported by Church, a Labour Party member who was prepared to encourage Africans to come to England for university education if Africans who had qualified at Makerere were not ranked on the same level as those who had qualified from English universities.²

The attitudes of East African Education Department Directors led to the formation of a sub-committee led by Sir James Currie³ and thereby to a notable report on education policy. During its composition the significance of higher education as a politically delicate matter became clearly apparent.

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¹ Technical Conference of the East African Dependencies. Proceedings of Conference of Directors of Education of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar. Held at Zanzibar. June, 1932. Box 228. File, East African Conferences. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 351.

² Minutes of ACEC 12.1.1933. Mc. No. 269.

³ Ibid.

In the final report the ideology of adaptation as a basic line of education policy was admitted, but at the same time, it was noted, educational opportunities in Africa had grown to such an extent that there were pupils able and willing to pass university examinations. Especially in West Africa such pupils left their home country to study in Europe or America. Such education was also available in Africa as a precondition for women's university studies. The report criticised the line of development which increased the wish to take European examinations in Africa.⁴

In addition to educational aspects the Currie report drew attention to the departure of Africans to Europe and America as a social and intellectual development to be regretted. The current situation was seen as a challenge to British prestige and administrative efficiency. From the British standpoint it was not desirable that Gordon College in the Sudan should need to rely on the American university in Beirut for the further education of Africans, or that West African students should continue their studies in America. The political difficulties and economic disadvantages of such practices needed no exaggeration, the report stated.⁵

To counteract these developments which were bad for British prestige the Currie sub-committee proposed raising some African institutions to the actual status of universities. As a first step collaboration with London University was recommended, and it must be ascertained whether the university was willing to shape its demands to suit African requirements. In such development work it must be made absolutely clear to Africans themselves that African universities were not mere imitations designed to sidetrack African ambitions.⁶

Concerning further plans for higher education the sub-committee regarded Achimota, Yaba, Makerere and possibly Gordon College as sufficient to meet the demands of their own areas. Also the possibilities of Fourah Bay College should be taken into account in future. In East and West Africa alike, however, collaboration with establishments providing higher education was important. In the initial phase the most important subjects were medicine, engineering, agriculture, veterinary work, commerce, applied sciences and law.⁷

Finally the sub-committee emphasized that the present situation could not continue without danger. If properly directed the higher education longed for by Africans could lead to economic, social and cultural development, but neglect would produce social and political confusion. In the background of Currie's sub-committee lay the perpetual fear that British

⁴ A.C.E.C., Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider the educational policy underlying paragraph 19 of the Report of the Conference of Directors of Education of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar held at Zanzibar in June, 1932, pp. 1-3. CO. 847/3/2. Africa. Original Correspondence 1934. File, Reports on Educational Policy: higher education for Africans. PRO.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

rule in Africa would be threatened if higher education was placed in foreign hands. For instance, the news was disquieting that Africans were moving to Moscow in order to study.⁸

Currie's report gave an important viewpoint on education policy, and comments on it were therefore desired from the colonies. Before they were received the London Advisory Committee gave its attention to a speech made by Governor Cameron at the opening of Yaba College. In April 1934 Cameron was also a visitor to the Committee. He then stated his opinion that the Currie report was too abstract. The problem, Cameron thought, was simple. The Nigerian government wanted educated Africans, and Africans wanted education which would enable them to earn their living in government service. The aim of the new Yaba College was to offer education in practical subjects such as technics, agriculture, medicine and teacher training. Hussey, who was Director of the Nigerian Education Department, defined the aim of the College as an offer of university-type education which was not necessarily of university standard. He wished to preserve the links of Yaba with London University and also laid stress on collaboration between West African colonies. In the longer term however, Nigeria needed its own university.⁹

The African university question continued to be discussed in London, although practical solutions could not be reached quickly. In West Africa negotiations were needed on collaboration, while in East Africa Education Department Directors assembled during January 1935 in Nairobi to consider Currie's proposals. There it was stated that it would take at least five years, more likely ten, before Makerere was in a position to give its whole attention to university education. Otherwise Department Directors were satisfied to hear that the number of Africans moving abroad had lessened. They were also in favour of a "universal" and public university. In their opinion too education at this level could be adapted to the local environment more readily than before, but in the long run there was no eager demand for higher education in East Africa.¹⁰

Thus messages from East Africa were in no way encouraging. In August 1935 the Governor of Uganda, B.H. Bourdillon, wrote to the Colonial Office that in general he agreed with the Education Department Directors in their January announcement. He too thought that in the Protectorate at that moment there was little demand for higher education. It was not expedient, believed the Governor, to fulfil a growing demand by means of courses in

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⁸ A.C.E.C., Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider the educational policy underlying paragraph 19 of the Report of the Conference of Directors of Education of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar held at Zanzibar in June, 1932, pp. 1-3. CO 847/3/2. Africa. Original Correspondence 1934. File, Reports on Educational Policy: higher education for Africans. PRO.

⁹ Minutes of ACEC 26.4.1934 and 31.5.1934. Mc. No. 270.

¹⁰ Technical Conference of East African Dependencies. Proceedings of Conference of Directors of Education of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar. Appendix II. University for Africans, pp. 1-4. Held at Nairobi, January 1935. CO 847/5/7. Africa. Original Correspondence 1935. File, Higher Education for Africans.

which the special needs of Africans were kept in the foreground. In this respect too he supported the Education Department Directors.¹¹ In Kenya, meanwhile, the need was for education in general rather than for higher education, and this primary need must be satisfied first. However, the Kenyan government had nothing against the gradual development of Makerere.¹² In Tanganyika the response was in the same spirit. It was considered that the plan for Makerere would dispel the suspicions of Africans that they were being kept in the background and deprived of the opportunities which the future economic and social development of their country might offer.¹³

In March 1936 the Advisory Committee in London discussed West African comments on the Currie report. In the opinion of James Currie himself the questions raised in his report were more urgent than the Governors seemed to realize, especially the Governor of the Gold Coast.¹⁴ The Director of the Gold Coast Education Department had informed London that public opinion on the Gold Coast, especially the educated class, would probably oppose plans to develop higher education on West African lines. This class was strongly suspicious of any step which might seem like an attempt to respond to the demand for African education on the conditions of another class. Their objective was to make sure of a qualification in Europe and those who could afford it left local opportunities unused. In addition intercolonial jealousy prevented any colony supporting another which might specialize in the development of one exclusive field of education. The Education Department Director was also anxious because colonies might not be able to employ all who had received higher education. It must be remembered, he wrote, that Africans could be appointed to official posts only as a gradual process and that the government, all in all, had done enough for the country's actual needs in more advanced education. Emphasis was laid in London on the danger which would arise with estrangement from African opinion, and it was realized that political and social confusion would arise from neglect of more progressive education. But although such neglect would certainly bring these undesirable results, a system leading to overproduction would have caused great dissatisfaction and unrest. He believed that the opportunities already existing on the Gold Coast were elastic enough to meet the country's needs.¹⁵

In general, thought the Committee, internal jealousy was preventing effective collaboration in that region, and Hussey pointed to similar ideas

¹¹ Bourdillon to the Secretary of State for the Colonies 16.8.1935. CO 847/5/7. Africa. Original Correspondence 1935. File, Higher Education for Africans. PRO.

¹² Byrne to MacDonald 3.10.1935 with "Memorandum for Governors' Conference Higher Education for Africans" prepared by the Government. CO 847/5/7. Africa. Original Correspondence 1935. File, Higher Education for Africans. PRO.

¹³ MacMichael to MacDonald 23.11.1935 with a memoranda setting for the vision of this Government on the conclusions of the sub-committee. CO 847/5/7. Africa. Original Correspondence 1935. File, Higher Education for Africans. PRO.

¹⁴ Minutes of the ACEC 26.3.1936. Mc. No. 272.

¹⁵ Hodson to MacDonald 12.10.1935 with a memorandum by the Director of Education. CO 847/5/7. Africa. Original Correspondence 1935. File, Higher Education for Africans. PRO.

among African members of the Achimota Council. For this reason governments should be more patient in their thoughts of unification for schools located in different colonies. Professor Coupland also stressed the danger of public opinion in West Africa if it drifted into particularism, which was so regrettable a feature in the West Indies. Ought not the governments of West Africa to have halted this process, he asked, and suggested at the same time that the growth of a federative university in West Africa would guarantee the preparation of a provisional programme.¹⁶

In deliberating the reasons for the particularism in question Sir William Gowers pointed out that natives of the Gold Coast considered Nigeria to be the homeland of indirect rule, which was in turn the victory of reaction over intelligence. Burney for his part saw two opposing tendencies in African education. One was its evolution into higher education in West Africa, the other was development of the Jeanes system. To his mind there was no reason why they should not live alongside each other, but on the other hand it was not easy to avoid the creation of a small intelligentsia separated from the concrete needs of the community as a whole. Dr Burstall maintained that a small intelligentsia already existed with a core of students who took their first examinations in England. By keeping students in Africa for their first examination accord was strengthened between intelligentsia and local community. Finally the Chairman remembered to warn against giving the impression that university education in West Africa was different from education in England.¹⁷

London was disappointed in the response from East Africa. In Currie's opinion matters appeared to be moving slowly, and the comments of the four Education Department Directors showed no enthusiasm. He also suspected that economic difficulties had received too much notice in the matter. In other respects too Advisory Committee members seemed not to understand the slight interest shown by Education Department Directors in an important subject, and again the possibility was noted that in the absence of higher education Africans would go to America or Moscow and would come in large numbers to England.¹⁸ Pessimism in London was further increased by the news that at a conference in Lagos, West Africa, a conference had noted in connection with higher education that the time was not ripe for any final steps to be taken.¹⁹

In London matters advanced, however. In autumn 1935 it was agreed on the strength of Currie's proposal that a special Commission be sent to East Africa to examine the position of Makerere College. Before London University could assist in the establishment of higher education in East Africa further information was needed concerning Makerere, an idea which was

¹⁶ Minutes of the ACEC 26.3.1936. Mc. No. 272.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Minutes of the ACEC 19.9.1935. Mc. No. 271.

¹⁹ A.C.E.C., Interim Report of Sir James Currie's (Higher Education) Sub-Committee CO 847/5/7. Africa. Original Correspondence 1935. File, Higher Education for Africans. PRO.

supported by the Director of Uganda Education Department.²⁰ Although the sending of the Commission did not yet mean a great change of attitude in higher education policy, a change of atmosphere had appeared in East Africa during the negotiations for its dispatch. Education Directors in the area now wanted proper foundations for the development of higher education to be settled as soon as possible: at an early stage too the gradual evolution of Makerere into an East African University must be clearly predicted.

With these instructions the Commission left for East Africa, but before departure it was informed of a memorandum issued by the Uganda government, which stated that for years the development of Makerere had been considered an important question. Although the demand for higher education in Uganda was confined to a small minority, this contained almost all the influential Africans, especially in the Buganda monarchy. Thus the political importance of this matter was beyond doubt. On the contrary, early action was necessary for prevention of uncertainty. Once doubts arose they were difficult to destroy. The Governor wished to make this public when speaking at Makerere in December 1935.²¹

The results of the Commission's investigations appeared in a 1937 report which was mentioned earlier, *Higher Education in East Africa*.²² It pointed out that secondary education would be continued at Makerere, after which further education would be represented by the Higher College of East Africa (later, as its status grew, the name might be University College of East Africa).²³ In November the same year the East African situation came before the London Advisory Committee. Opinions on the future of Makerere varied between Committee members. Mr Vaughan feared that he could not visualize sufficient students in higher education for 20 years. Church took the view that there was no need to delay the opening of the College because no less than 13 years earlier a large number of young people had gone abroad to acquire higher education. Donald Cameron too interpreted his discussion with the Governor of Uganda as meaning that there was no difficulty in finding enough well educated boys even from Uganda to enter College, although Mr Burney regretted the poor standard and insufficiency of Uganda education in general. The most positive view was taken by Dr

²⁰ Minutes of ACEC 24.10. and 21.11.1935. Mc. No. 271.

²¹ Minute by the Governor of Uganda on Makerere College in relation to Higher Education of Africans in East Africa (printed). Box 225, File, Higher Education. IMC/CBMS Archives. Mc. No. 316.

²² Colonial Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa. Col. 142.

²³ Colonial Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa, Col. 142, p. 79-80. In 1944 representatives of the educated African elite in Kenya complained to the Asquith Commission, that Makerere had not lived up to African expectations. Parents who could afford it sent their sons to South Africa for advanced education. They stated that they would not "accept anything inferior to established world standard". See Memorandum on Higher Education in British East African Colonies by E.W. Mathu, B.W. Paul, L.W. Kamau, Francis Khamisi and S.O. Josiah 24.4.1944. CO 958/2 Colonial Higher Educational Commission (Asquith Commission), 1943-1944, File, The 15th meeting of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies - Minute of the 28th meeting 12th October. PRO.

Burstall, who compared the situation in Uganda with English educational history. He thought the College would be a stimulus to the East African school system as a whole and therefore valuable. He pointed to the improvement of women's education in England. It had started with the establishment of colleges. Apart from these observations discussion in the Committee was still concerned with the fear that Africans would go elsewhere, even Africa were not improved immediately.²⁴

The Advisory Committee wanted to give such an impression externally. Mr Dougall noted that the Committee should agree with the liberal and progressive ideas expressed in the report, and should let Africans understand that the government favoured advanced education for Africans. In conclusion the Committee made the following recommendations:

"The Committee cordially supports the proposals of the Commission for the provision of higher education in East Africa. It welcomes the liberal and progressive policy recommended in the Report for the development of the Higher College for East Africa. It desires at the same time to emphasise the Commission's view that a great expansion of secondary education is essential to provide a satisfactory basis of education. It is anxious that the recommendations be put into force without delay, with special attention to the necessity for the training of teachers both for primary and secondary education.

The Committee desires to endorse the recommendations of the Commission on page 18 of their report that financial assistance for the endowment of the Higher College should be sought from the Imperial Government and any other sources outside East Africa which it may be decided to approach. It views with apprehension the possibility of a complete breakdown of the proposals if their execution were to depend solely on the amounts which the East African Governments could provide, having regard to the other demands on their resources, including the urgent demand of their own educational services."²⁵

9.2 University of West Africa

Thus the London Advisory Committee had given its blessing to the development of Makerere as a centre of higher education serving East Africa. Regarding West Africa the situation was still open. In August 1939 West African Governors held an important consultation on this matter, and journeys of inspection were made to Achimota and Fourah Bay College, as to Makerere earlier; these were reported to the London Advisory Commit-

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²⁴ Minutes of ACEC 25.11.1937.

²⁵ Ibid.

tee. These opinions of West African Governors on higher education policy were naturally considered important in London as guidelines for the future.

As a conclusion to their Conference the West African Governors made the following announcement:

"The Conference recorded agreement that the establishment of a West African university was an ideal at which they should aim. They considered that it would be some time before this ideal could be achieved but agreed that in the interim such steps as might be taken to expand the scope of higher education in the respective institutions shall always be compatible with that ultimate object."

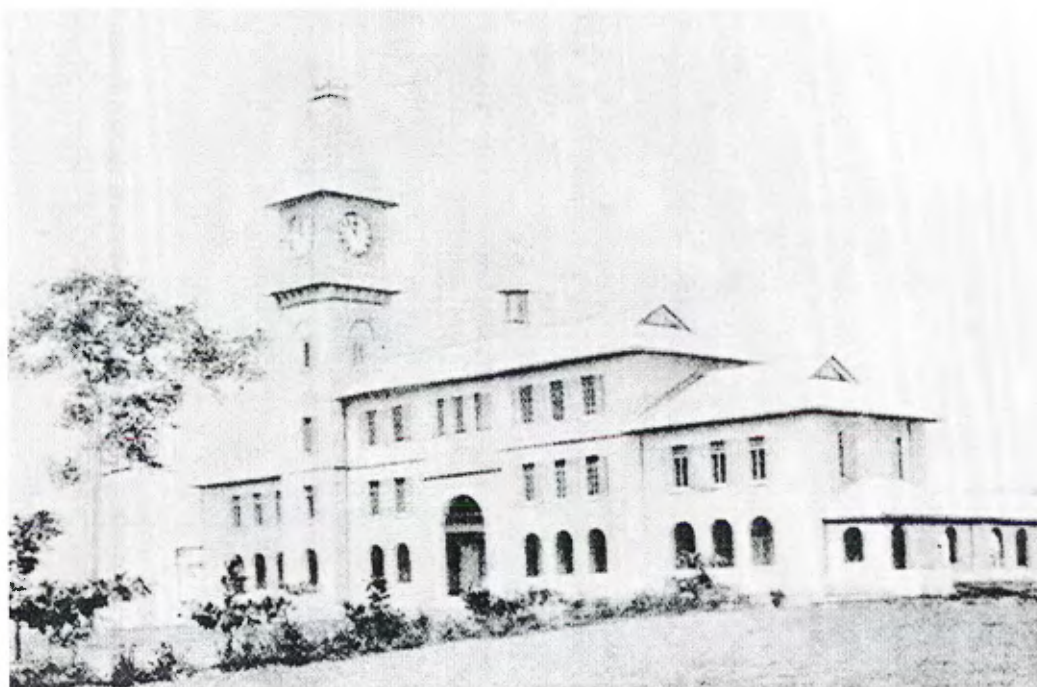
"The conference also agreed that the best method of progress toward the goal of a West African university was to establish the closest possible general co-operation between the three existing institutions of Achimota, Yaba and Fourah Bay with the object of avoiding wasteful duplication and establishing the various courses of study upon a common basis."²⁶

At this early stage the Governors, sketching a more distant objective, demanded a more closely defined general picture with structure and aims. In itself the university was not the final aim: it must reach its justification through the influence it exerted on the social, economic and intellectual life of the country. If its work was limited to sheer output, to routine teaching methods and production of men and women who had passed examinations, it would have little value. It might then become a centre of undeserved dissatisfaction arising from political and other sources. On the other hand a university which fully trained students to take responsible posts and to act as the focus and distributor of the country's highest intellectual forces might be a power of great strength and animation.²⁷

In addition to the opinions of West African Governors London was eagerly awaiting results which might come from the inspection of Achimota College. The past years of Achimota were interesting from the inspection viewpoint. The reputation of Achimota, officially opened in 1927, had rapidly spread through Africa, which meant that students were recruited also from beyond the Gold Coast and West Africa. From the first, however, there had also been criticism of Achimota and the policy of adaptation it adopted. The critics included educated Africans and nationalists, mission workers and Europeans on the Gold Coast and outside it. Mission and other schools feared that Achimota would swallow up their resources. To some educated Africans Achimota represented the institution of colonialism and its teaching was inferior to that given to English children. Europeans in Accra shunned the

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²⁶ A.C.E.C., Higher Education in West Africa. Report of the Sub-Committee on the Recommendations of the Governors' Conference, p. 14. CO 847/18/9. Africa. Original Correspondence 1940. File, Higher Education for Africans. PRO.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.



*Achimota, the
Administrative
Block.*

higher education provided by Achimota as a rule, and between officials of the administration there was jealousy over appropriations, especially during the depression.²⁸

The Achimota inspection Commission was appointed by the Governor of the Gold Coast. Acting as its Chairman was A.W. Pickard-Cambridge of Oxford University; other members were G.P. Dunn, a retired Inspector of Schools, Miss E.C. Oakden, also a Inspector of Schools, F.B. Stead, a retired Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools and Hanns Vischer, Secretary of the Advisory Committee.²⁹

Before starting work the Commission was given three tasks. The first was to examine the normal working methods and circumstances of Achimota students and the qualifications and working conditions of teachers. Second, the Commission was to examine the financial state of the College and the possibilities of development. Third, some far-reaching questions of education must be surveyed, with note taken of the College's aims and its status within the educational system of the Gold Coast and West Africa as a whole.³⁰

In the conclusions it reached after this inspection the Commission drew attention to several important matters in defining the motives of students together with the aims and level of education. The latter was seen as a means for young Africans to achieve equality with Europeans. This again led to the

²⁸ Agbodeka, pp. 78-82 and 132-44.

²⁹ Achimota College, Report of the Committee appointed in 1938 by the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony to inspect the Prince of Wales College, Achimota.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

fact that the insignia of education were more respected than the education itself. Students could obtain the benefit of a little independent reading and thinking but lose the best that a school or college had to give. Also, teachers were naturally eager to promote the success of their pupils in examinations. They were thus in danger of giving too much ready-made instruction and being too little concerned with the development of genuinely independent minds. The Commission did not wish to deny the existence of these dangers in connection with Achimota. Insufficient knowledge of English and lack of time were also seen as impediments to effective education. There was also a danger that education, which was almost entirely European in its planning and subject-matter would lose its grip on African life.³¹

The Commission was convinced that people who spent their lives in a tropical country in the tradition of African history and customs and within the framework of their own political, social and working habits needed suitable education as a background. Although this trend had advanced at Achimota in collaboration with Cambridge University, the Commission strongly recommended the foundation of a separate Institute of West African Culture. Teaching in literature, history, geography, mathematics and in natural and other sciences must be in relation to indigenous African life.³²

Achimota was also in financial difficulties, and there could be no large-scale solution to this problem without a substantial increase in funds. Money was needed for investment and for other general expenses. The Commission wished that the government could have increased its support and that private donors together with the great business companies of West Africa had treated the College with the enthusiasm it deserved.³³

Despite this criticism the Commission noted that the original conceptions of Achimota had been realized to a great extent. But no final steps toward higher education in the whole of West Africa could be taken before the development of secondary education. And the university which was ultimately founded in West Africa must not be merely a European institution mechanically transferred to Africa but a genuinely African structure. With regard to the ideas behind it attention must also be paid to collaboration with Colleges already providing higher education.³⁴

In London the latest happenings in West Africa were deliberated during 1940.³⁵ It was in the spirit of the sub-committee which had dealt with the matter that the Advisory Committee interpreted the Nigerian government view which West African Governors had adopted; according to this view West Africa should proceed more slowly than East Africa in developing higher education. The situation was strange because in social and economic

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³¹ Achimota College, Report of the Committee appointed in 1938 by the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony to inspect the Prince of Wales College, Achimota, pp. 148-9.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-4.

³⁵ Minutes of ACEC 18.4 and 16.5. 1940.

structure and in general educational standard the West African coastal area was far more advanced than East Africa. In addition, many years earlier West Africans had gone to Great Britain for university education, and some educated Africans held high office on the Gold Coast. The Committee suspected that this discouraging attitude was due to misunderstanding of East African enterprise. In West Africa it was not as easy to create a structure like Makerere as in the eastern parts of Africa. This was not because education had an inferior position, however, but because in other respects the situation in West Africa was more confused.³⁶

In West Africa the situation was known to be complex. The most advanced West Africans continued their studies abroad and held English degrees in high regard, having no regard for local substitutes. Also, in British West Africa there were four separate areas with their own administration, and in three of them an institute providing higher education already existed. The colonies had economic problems and the foundation of school teaching needed to be strengthened. But, the Committee believed, none of these problems were insuperable-obstacles to the approval of a West African University as an aim in view. In the absence of such a policy the situation grew more and more complex, endangering future prospects. And, as had happened elsewhere, West Africa might soon find itself in possession of a university which was little more than an organ of examination with little or no control over the teaching given in its name. In other ways too the future did not appear good: capital interests were more intensely pursued, Colleges were more reluctant to give control to a university, standards fell to the level of the weakest College, wastefulness continued and teacher resources overlapped.³⁷

The sub-committee which examined the state of higher education in West Africa denied being in a position to define higher educational policy in that region. It must be content to express its considered opinion and to state that to shape such a policy was an urgent necessity. However, the sub-committee wished to emphasize two main principles to be noted in all aspects of policy:

- a) The standards of attainment for the degree or diploma of a West African University should be in no way inferior to those of a British Universities.
- b) The degree or diploma of a West African University should be officially recognized as equivalent to a British degree for purposes of entry into employment.³⁸

Beside these long-term objectives the sub-committee proposed some immediate steps to be taken. In examinations and diploma work all unnec-

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³⁶ A.C.E.C., Higher Education in West Africa. Report of Sub-Committee on the Recommendations of the Governors' Conference, p. 15. CO 847/18/9. Africa Original Correspondence 1940. File, Higher Education for Africans. PRO.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

essary overlapping must be avoided. And for purposes of collaboration a preparatory organ must be set up to control existing Colleges. Finally, working opportunities for highly educated Africans must be investigated thoroughly. All in all, higher education policy in West Africa was still so problematical that, in the sub-committee's opinion, it demanded the appointment of a new Commission of inquiry.³⁹ The main Committee agreed with this view.⁴⁰

The sub-committee's suggestions for the appointment of this Commission were carried out. Professor H.J. Channon, who joined the Advisory Committee in 1940, played an active part in matters connected with higher education; in November 1940 he sent Cox a confidential memorandum expressing his serious concern over British higher education policy in Africa. In a covering letter he pointed out rapid changes which were occurring in tropical areas. The longer the war lasted, the more swiftly deep-rooted public opinion and unjustified ideas would mature. Channon foresaw further problems for the British if the fluctuating and ill-defined higher education policy practised in some areas was not provided with general objectives.⁴¹

In a memorandum he defined as confidential Channon expressed his opinion that Britain's higher education policy was influenced by experience in India and by the wish to postpone the development of such education indefinitely. Leading to this was the fear of political and economic consequences if a highly educated class were brought into the midst of natives. But the matter had been wrongly understood, thought Channon. Difficulties in the past had arisen because the basic principles of university teaching were insufficiently realized. A university must not be – as had been frequently and dangerously the case – a mass-productive vocational machine through which matters of vital importance for the future passed indifferently. It must be a place where carefully chosen young people of adequate intelligence received not only professional education but also qualifications for citizenship in a much broader sense.⁴²

In April 1941 Channon was appointed to lead a sub-committee whose task was to prepare the form and functions of a new Commission to examine higher education.⁴³ Matters advanced sluggishly, and it was only in December 1942 that Colonial Secretary R. Cranborne arrived at the decision to set up a Commission to explain the state of higher education in West Africa. The main facts connected with this were political in the Secretary's opinion. Whatever action was taken, West African future development must be borne in mind, also the speed at which and the manner in which political power was

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³⁹ A.C.E.C., *Higher Education in West Africa*, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁰ Minutes of ACEC 12.12.1940.

⁴¹ Channon to Cox 12.11.1940. CO 859/45/2. Social Service 1941. File, Education. Co-operation of British Universities with Higher Educational Institutions in the Colonies. PRO.

⁴² H.J. Channon, *Some Observations on the Development of Higher Education in the Colonies*. CO 859/45/2. Social Service 1941. File, Education. Co-operation of British Universities with Higher Educational Institutions in the Colonies. PRO.

⁴³ Ashby, pp. 206-07.

transferred to the Africans.⁴⁴ In July 1943 after long planning the Commission was appointed with Walter Elliot as Chairman. Its assignment was to report on the organization and facilities of the existing centres of higher education in British Africa and to make recommendations regarding future university development in this area.⁴⁵

The Commission headed by Elliot did not reach unanimity in its views, which weakened the final result of its work. The majority of the Commission included the Chairman, conservative members and three African representatives. This grouping regarded the territorial differences of West African colonies and their separate development as important. As the advance of Achimota, Yaba and Fourah Bay to the status of universities had been discussed earlier, the main proposal of the majority was to found three separate Colleges. This would be done by establishing a new College of university standard at Ibadan in Nigeria, while Achimota would be made into a university and Fourah Bay reorganized to serve both Sierra Leone and Gambia. The majority further recommended that one area in three should have its own Technical Institute.⁴⁶ The minority of the commission included its leftwingers and liberals, A. Creech Jones, Julian Huxley, Margaret Read, Geoffrey Evans and H.J. Channon who supported the foundation of a manysided, well-integrated university for the whole of West Africa. The location suggested for it was Ibadan. Besides this Territorial Colleges would operate in Nigeria, on the Gold Coast and in Sierra Leone, the latter also serving the requirements of Gambia. Assignments of these Territorial Colleges would be advanced teaching in preparation for the university, teacher training, vocational studies and extramural programmes. The minority based its attitude on the supply of students, on economic reasons and on the availability of competent staff.⁴⁷

When the Commission to investigate higher education in West Africa was appointed, a Conservative government under Winston Churchill was in power. When the Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa was put before Parliament in June 1945 the report of the majority was accepted as a starting point for higher education policy in West Africa. In the following month, however, the General Election was won by the Labour Party and the report became the subject of serious deliberation at the Colonial Office where one member of the minority, Arthur Creech Jones,

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⁴⁴ Lord Cranborne's draft to Lord Harlech December 1942. CO 847/21/6. Africa 1942. File, Higher Education for Africans. PRO.

⁴⁵ Outward telegram to Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia 12.8.1943. CO 847/21/7. Africa 1943. File, Higher Education for Africans. PRO.

⁴⁶ Colonial Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. Cmd. 6655, pp. 123-24. See too I.C.M. Maxwell, *Universities in Partnership. The Inter-University Council and the Growth of Higher Education in Developing Countries 1946-70*, pp. 84-87 and A. Babs Fafunwa, *A History of Nigerian Higher Education*, pp. 59-65. Members of the Commission included the Chairman Walter Elliot, H.J. Channon, J.R. Dickinson, J.F. Duff, Sir Geoffrey Evans, Julian Huxley, B. Mouat Jones, Arthur Creech Jones, Eveline C. Martin, Margaret Read, A.E. Trueman, I.O. Ransome-Kuti, K.A. Korsah and E.H. Taylor-Cummings.

⁴⁷ Colonial Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. Cmd. 6655, pp. 141-76. See too Maxwell, pp. 87-89 and Fafunwa, pp. 66-68.

was about to become Colonial Secretary.⁴⁸ For educational and administrative reasons officials at the Colonial Office preferred the recommendations of the minority, and it was believed that Nigeria would have no difficulty in agreeing. At the same time, however, these officials wished to take note of reactions on the Gold Coast and in Sierra Leone.⁴⁹ The Colonial Secretary informed Parliament of matters concerning African higher education in October 1945.⁵⁰ Now the attitude of the Colonial Office conveyed to West African Governors favoured the opinions of the Elliot Commission minority, and thus the dispute of the next few years on West African higher education policy was ready to begin.⁵¹

Working together with the Elliot Commission was another Commission to investigate higher education policy in British colonies; this was headed by Sir Cyril Asquith. Its task was "to consider the principles which should guide the promotion of higher education, learning and research and the development of universities in the colonies". The Commission was also to investigate possibilities of collaboration between colonial establishments providing higher education and universities and similar institutions in the mother country.⁵² In its final report the Asquith Commission recommended the foundation without delay of colleges at university level in the West Indies and West Africa. Makerere should be developed to become a university serving East Africa. Thus the Commission arrived at the foundation of a single university for East and West Africa, and made the opinions of the Elliot Commission minority complete.⁵³

⁴⁸ Fafunwa, pp. 6-67.

⁴⁹ Reports on Higher Education in the Colonies. Note of a Meeting Held in Sir Arthur Dawe's Room. 14.8.1945. CO 859/86/4. Social Service 1945. File, Education. Co-operation of British Universities with Higher Institutions in Colonies. PRO.

⁵⁰ Parliamentary Debates: Official Report. Vol. 414. House of Commons, 1945-46, pp. 1993-95.

⁵¹ For stages in the establishment of West African universities see Maxwell, pp. 90-195.

⁵² Telegram to all Colonies (excluding Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia). 13.8.1943. CO 859/45/6. Social Service 1943. File, Education. Co-operation of British Universities with Higher Educational Institutions in the Colonies. Information Required by the Colonial Higher Education Commission. PRO.

⁵³ Colonial Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies Cmd. 6647, p. 104. See too Maxwell, pp. 90-94.

■ 10. Conclusions

The present study has examined education policy practised by the British Colonial Office and Protestant missions in African colonies and protectorates during the period 1920-1945. Education has been regarded as a means to colonial policy goals primarily in a political and economic sense. At the same time the study has examined the connections of this viewpoint with the aims of Christian education pursued by the missions. As a historically political frame of reference the ideology of indirect rule can be taken to indicate this period. Economically the African colonies were a source of potential wealth.

In presenting these conclusions let us first examine the connections of education and colonial rule, second African economic expectations in relation to educational policy, and third the collaboration of state and missions in the assignment of aims for African education.

This study shows clearly that the planning of African education and the assignment of its aims were in close connection with background events in the colonial politics of the time. Rising nationalism in Asia, political activation of the black population in America, and signs of emerging nationalism in Africa were background factors in the journeys of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and in the establishment in London of an Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa. In this connection reference was even made to the Russian Revolution and the spread of Bolshevism in Africa. Threatening factors in international politics made it necessary for colonial rule to define its educational policy more clearly than before, and in a way which supported Britain's own political aims in Africa.

These aims took their substance from the ideology of adaptation, which suited the objectives of indirect rule. Education of Africans must be adapted to the African cultural tradition and physical environment, which meant in practice that it must be provided selectively. Expansive aims were directed primarily to primary education, and the development of higher education would be slowed with the warning example of India in mind. But Africa had received the spark of westernization, and a static Africa, in accordance with Lord Lugard, was felt to be absurd as a starting-point. If indirect rule functioned through African chiefs and leaders, the latter could be given an education which kept them in contact with their people but at the same time contained the doctrine of British "fair play" added to the knowledge and skills connected by rule with the western way of life. This was expressed in a concrete sense by the White Paper of 1925, for instance, also by discussion of the line of education to be followed in Uganda and by experiments in

Africa, especially at Achimota and in tests conducted by W.B. Murnford.

Politically important too was the language question in African schools. The response from the African colonial administration showed that for political reasons it was no longer possible in allocations to make use of African languages. Further substantial obstacles were the many practical difficulties of extending the use of African languages in schools.

Besides the language question political arguments weighed in the balance of many other decisions in educational policy. They were connection with compulsory education and in unwillingness to increase African influence in local resolutions during the 1930s. Even the lack of development in women's education could be defended as a means of preventing "ladylikeness". Political doubts were most clearly seen, however, in the slowing of higher education and African study abroad.

Behind the foundation of Achimota was the wish to keep higher education along African lines and in Africa itself. The same arguments were repeated in discussions and plans for construction of Makerere as a College of higher education to serve East Africa. Although the policy of the London Advisory Committee, the Colonial Office and the missions was uniform in its main lines, there were certain differences of emphasis. The most conservative attitude to the raising of education outside Africa and thus to the cultivation of political consciousness was that shown by Lugard and Currie as representatives of the Advisory Committee. They were prepared, however, to develop on African soil a form of higher education for Africans with an emphasis on the practical. Since mission school work was focused on the primary and on increasing mass education Oldham too was no eager supporter of higher education. In the initial stage of the Advisory Committee's work a more liberal line was followed by Sadler and later by left-wing Committee members.

Politically speaking, attitudes to the lines of African education approved in the 1920s changed as a result of external pressures and for other causes in the late 1930s. Education of Africans abroad could not be prevented and, among other things, fear of the attraction exerted by Moscow disquieted educational planners in London. Establishment of an African higher education system was unavoidable. This emerged in the plans of James Currie for East Africa. In the West African University venture it was likewise emphasized that Africans must not feel study in Africa to be inferior to its equivalent in Europe. During the Second World War at latest it had become clear that the exposure of Africans to political influence could no longer be prevented and that this must be prepared for by developing higher education.

Political calculation was not confined to the planning of education at a higher grade. Signs of growing unrest amid the common people arose in Africa during the 1930s. Economic depression in the 30s and political agitation in other parts of the Empire at the end of the decade were signals that political activation might grow in Africa, as elsewhere. To take a single example, London was startled by the independent schools of Kenya and

their political ties with a mood of opposition to the colonial administration. In the mining area of Northern Rhodesia social abuses were another threatening factor. Help was sought through the church and measures of coercion. But it was a question also of raising the level of culture and education in the broad masses – on conditions specified by the Europeans. In this sense adult education became an important political instrument.

The war years and a clear realization that the postwar political situation in the African colonies would change accelerated plans for adult education in the 1940s. Indirect rule had incurred growing political criticism in the 1930s already, and with new aims for development of adult and higher education the colonial authorities might hope to play a part in shaping a new political and administrative pattern in the African colonies. At the same time the direction of education policy in London was becoming more and more clearly detached from the influence of the missions. After the Second World War the definition of this policy became the task of the colonial administration with growing distinctness. The new stirring of nationalism in Africa was a far more concrete source of danger to the Empire than the "Garveyism" or "Ethiopianism" of the 1920s. In this situation the church could no longer respond educationally to the objectives of the highest colonial administration in London.

Figures illustrating structures of colonial economy in this study tell us that tropical Africa was a continent of economic opportunity rather than a veritable "gold-mine". In Great Britain's foreign trade the status of the African colonies was not great, but in solving the country's economic problems Africa was expected to play an important part. This was seen, for instance, in the exchange of views on unemployment problems in the mother country. In the depression years colonial economies were hard-pressed, and as a rule direct financial support from London to the dependencies had to wait until after the Second World War. Development legislation in 1929 brought scanty results to the colonies.

Africa was expected to be, above all, an agricultural producer. Industrialization remained in the background. These starting-points were also visible in shaping the aims of educational policy.

Recommendations by the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and the memorandum of 1925 announced the aim of developing rural communities through education. This must be directed to great areas of rural population, and the main idea behind it was adaptation to rural living conditions. Thus in definitions of educational subject-matter the promotion of agriculture, stock-raising and public healthcare was seen to be important. This was the best means of training healthy African producers rooted in the countryside. Who would cultivate either for their own needs or, to an increasing extent, for export. In order to preserve his position in the distribution of world economy the African must be content with this. Paternalistic colonial doctrine had already announced the right of Europeans to exploit the unused natural resources of Africa.

Criticism of official education policy was aimed forcefully at the wish to keep Africans as "hewers of wood and drawers of water". To grasp the hoe handle must be made at least as interesting as to engage in office work, and well-grounded counter-arguments must be found to the above criticism. From the missions this appeared as a strong announcement in defence of the ideals of Christian ruralism. Genuine love of one's neighbour and social brotherhood could best be carried out in the rural community of Africa. Christian ideals and economic aims keeping the African on his patch of ground suited equally well the political and the economic objectives of colonial rule. On the other hand secularistic emphasis on environmentalism or the importance of biology in subjects of instruction for Africans were supporting the same thing in their subject-matter. Supporters of biology sought more scientific and worldly reasons for agrarian and nature-related teaching

One means of achieving these aims of education consisted of model schools, and among these the Jeanes Schools in particular were close to the interests of the missions. Reports from Africa showed, however, how great the practical problems were which arose in the work of such model schools. And in Kenya as earlier in Malangali and elsewhere the growing importance of monetary economy raised doubts among Africans as to the substance of teaching in model schools. In West Africa attachment to an export economy and weakening of the social fellow-feeling caused by the slave trade may have contributed to the fact that Jeanes ideology did not have the same significance as in the eastern parts of the continent.

The importance of education for the whole African community was stressed in the 1935 memorandum composed by J.H. Oldham. In it a healthy Christian rural society was seen as an ideal community still to be achieved through education. The urban population with its thirst for higher education was left aside.

As already noted, however, with reference to employment policy and the economy the Oldham memorandum was outdated even as it came into being. Needed in the colonies – to a slight extent at least – was more specific vocational training for the professions, also higher general education for manpower in official administration and in economic life. This was shown by investigations of the special needs of education carried out in the late 1930s.

Apart from rural districts there was only one problem area – exceptional in an economic sense – which emerged with special emphasis in the work of the London Advisory Committee. This was the mining area of Northern Rhodesia, where were concentrated not only an economic production structure of unusual character but also great social and potentially political problems. It was clear that the African population could not be kept in rural centres alone when economic realities demanded other than a rural workforce. For Northern Rhodesia help was still sought from the increasing educational work of the missions: this was because the mining companies did not seem overwilling to shoulder the responsibility of education themselves.

During the Second World War adult education was stressed because the work of political enlightenment was important. At the same time a memorandum of 1944 pointed out the importance of the African productive contribution to the economic efforts of the war years. As appropriations for colonial development were tied unmistakably to ventures supporting the war exertions of the mother country it was natural that this should be reflected in the 1944 memorandum. At the same time it partly recalled the Oldham memorandum of 1935, though without the Christian enthusiasm. Although political changes to be expected after the war seemed to provide for the development of higher education especially in West Africa, the practical realization of higher education had to be "rested" while the war lasted. Then it was more important, with the help of adult education and campaigns directed at large sections of the population, to secure the exertions of African members of the Empire at the side of the mother country.

A third point examined in this study is the relation between the education policy of the Protestant missions and that of the Colonial Office, and also the influence of the missions in general on the shaping of education policy in British Africa. This channel of influence was effectively operated by J.H. Oldham, who had long defended the common interests of the missions.

The rise of nationalism in Asia was a threat to the status of mission education as national forces demanded wider powers of decision in the education policy of their countries. Events in India particularly were a warning to missions working in Africa. Although in Africa after the First World War there were no signs yet of truly dangerous political opposition to the colonial administration, the missions took measures in advance to avoid the mistakes made in India. They wished and they were able with great success to engross themselves in the formulation of an official education policy both in London and in individual colonies.

Suggestions for the reports of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and for collaboration on education policy between missions and Colonial Office came from missionary circles. Negotiations between church and colonial administration representatives produced a White Paper which guided the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office and the education policy of 1925 and on whose content Oldham was able to exert a wide influence.

In this connection the missions wished to show the colonial administration that the main part of African education was in their hands and that collaboration with them was in the government's interest. This was especially true because the missions were prepared to shape their education policy in the direction approved by the Colonial Office. Mission education policy had been accused of breaking up traditional African communities by means of booklearning and religious instruction. The missions admitted that this criticism was partly justified, but were ready at the same time to change their teaching. The ideology of adaptation, which served the aims of indirect rule and the economic efforts directed at Africa, was adopted with little friction

by the missions. Education which aimed at elementary education among the common people and stressed rural vocational skills also served the objectives of Christian mission work.

Approval of this ideology was expressed with emphasis in publications of Christian ruralism. Agricultural work was seen in the ideal light of Christianity and a community whose core consisted of church and school was a model of early Christian brotherhood. In western culture this brotherhood was already destroyed or in process of destruction. This conservatism was also apparent in the interest shown by missions in anthropological research during the 1930s. Preservation of an ideal Christian community in a changing society and in the face of shifting economic realities was difficult, and research into African cultures might be able to offer assistance. To be sure, a stronger mainstream was displacing such conservatism in the planning of African education policy in the mid-1930s. Naturally too the missions tried with all their might to maintain the importance of religious teaching in African schools. When this was called in question – in connection with environmentalism and Huxley's biologism, for instance – the missions rose in opposition. And with reference to the criticism of Norman Leys, for example, Oldham did not see that the new education policy of the missions and the colonial administration in general was keeping Africans in a subordinate position despite the aims of education in the service of production. In his writings Oldham tried constantly to express views which emphasized the importance of the human being amid social changes in Africa. The person mattered more than pursuit of materialistic advantage, political administration or production in itself. As, however, the implanting of this doctrine of humanity in Africa seemed to be realized best with an education policy which also suited the secular aims of the colonial administration, collaboration between the latter and the missions was possible in London during the 1920s. Among the objectives of official education policy in the late 1930s more advanced vocational training and higher education took a more prominent place, and as a result the educational ideology of the missions was no longer so important to the colonial administration. In London educational planning was moving outside the sphere of mission influence. Political factors also played a part, as already noted.

Power was needed to put into practice the ideology of educational policy, while the missions required an administrative apparatus for the preservation of their status in the educational fields of Africa. Oldham exerted a powerful influence for the missions in the London Advisory Committee, and in the same way mission representatives sought to achieve the best possible position in advisory bodies for educational affairs in individual colonies.

However, administrative questions and division of power seemed to produce many causes of friction; all in all collaboration in Africa ran by no means as smoothly as London expected. From time to time, suspicion of the missions reached London from official quarters. This was caused by competition between missions and by the position and importance of the bush

schools in the education system. The missions defended the bush schools for the civilizing work they did, while the colonial administration saw them merely as ineffective establishments for religious conversion. If not controlled they might even be the seed of social problems.

Relations between missions and colonial administration were most acute in Nigeria, where London wished to intervene in the conflict. Finally an understanding was reached and it appeared that behind the disputes lay problems of human relations. It is interesting that in connection with Nigeria the "witchhunt" against the missions was at least partly associated with the Aba riots. Confidence that mission education did not arouse African feeling against the colonial administration did not disappear with the affirmation of a common ideology of adaptation.

From the mission standpoint a second problem in the division of their administration power consisted of African attempts to increase their own responsibility in education direction. The mission attitude to these ventures was negative. The increased exercise of African power and especially the direction of financing to missions through African administration was a foretaste of what had happened in India. An administrative body ruled by Africans was a less reliable distributor of financing than an administrative mechanism controlled by Europeans. Thus the attitude of the missions to the expansion of independent schools in Kenya, for instance, was unfavourable.

Regarded as a whole, British educational policy in Africa for the period 1920-45 followed the historic span of colonial development. Reinforcement of the colonial system in Africa during the 1920s rested on indirect rule and on the economic benefits of primary production by Africans from the standpoint of the mother country. Befitting the pursuit of these aims were an education policy jointly formulated by colonial administration and missions and its practical application in Africa. The depression and indications of a change in the status of colonies in the late 1930s also had an influence on points of emphasis in education policy. In the 1930s, to be sure, no powerful changes in this sense had yet occurred. However, discussion and plans for a change of emphasis from elementary to higher education and vocational training were already starting. Only in the 1950s did the Second World War, growing African nationalism and plans for a new ideology of development to make more effective use of colonial economic resources in Africa create challenges for more concrete changes in educational policy.

■ Abbreviations

ACNE	Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa
ACEC	Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies
ACAE	Advisory Committee on African Education
BA	Bachelor of Arts
CO	Colonial Office
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CMR	Church Missionary Review
ECGC	Empire Cotton Growing Corporation
IMC	International Missionary Council
IMC/CBMS	International Missionary Council/Conference of British Missionary Societies
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
IILAC	International Institute of African Languages and Cultures
IRM	International Review of Missions
JAH	Journal of African History
JAS	Journal of African Society
JRAS	Journal of Royal African Society
KISA	Kikuyu Independent School Association
KKEA	Kikuyu Karinga Education Association
OE	Oversea Education
PRO	Public Record Office
RHL	Rhodes House Library
UMCA	United Missions of Central Africa

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Index

- Afigbo, A.E. 29
 Agrrey, James 56, 59, 70, 72, 74, 78, 109, 134, 153
 Amery, L.S. 36, 41, 63, 73
 Asquith, Cyril 238
- Baddeley, Frank 102
 Baker, C.M. 113
 Baldwin, Stanley 36
 Benson, T.G. 119, 184
 Bidwell, Bishop 69
 Binns, A.L. 224
 Blakemoore, Kenneth 14-15
 Bourdillon, B.H. 227
 Bowman, E.D. 99
 Brett, E.A. 36, 40
 Broomfield, Canon 154
 Bude, Udo 30
 Burney, Mr., a member of ACEC 229-230
 Burns, Alan 166
 Burstall, S.A. 104, 156, 229-231
 Byrne, J.A. 169
- Caldwell, R. 150
 Cameron, Donald 39, 94-95, 106, 115, 227, 230
 Cell, J.W. 133, 193
 Channon, H.J. 236-237
 Church, A.G. 84, 112, 145, 225
 Churchill, Winston 66, 237
 Clarke, Fred 218-220
 Clatworthy, Frederick 32
 Clifford, Hugh 50
 Cohen, Andrew 222
 Constantine, Stephen 165
 Cooksey, Brian 14-15
 Coupland, R. 229
 Cox, Christopher 202, 217-218, 220, 222, 236
 Crace, H.M.C. 218, 222
 Cranborne, R. 236
 Crane, Parker 152
 Creech Jones, Arthur 22, 217, 220-221, 237
 Cunliffe-Lister, P. 196
 Currie, James 48, 69, 77, 80, 110, 156, 170, 185-187, 189, 192, 201, 214, 225-240
- Danquah, J.B. 166
 Datta, Ansu 15
 Davidson, Randall 64
 Davis, J. Merle 179-181
 Dawe, A.J. 212
 De La Warr, Lord 206
 Dillard, George B. 70, 72
 Dillard, James Hardy 70
- Dougall, James, W.C. 71, 116, 184, 210, 212-213, 231
 D'Souza, Henry 31-32
 Dube, John 134
 Dubois, W.E.B. 58-59
 Dufferin, Lord 212
 Dunn, G.P. 233
- Elliot, Walter 237
 Engeldow, F.L. 192
 Evans, Geoffrey 237
- Fafunwa, A. Babs 45
 Fegan, E.S. 155
 Fell, J.R. 92
 Fieldhouse, D.J. 30
 Foster, Philip 27, 47
 Franck, Louis 137
 Fraser, A.G. 22, 54, 56, 71, 80, 109-112, 133-134, 145
 Fraser, A.H.L. 53-54
 Fraser, Donald 12-14
 Fraser, J. Nalson 47-48
 Freund, Bill 29
- Garvey, Marcus 59, 93, 163
 Gaunt, R.F. 93-94, 99
 Gibson, Betty 133, 139, 154-155
 Goodier, Archbishop of Canterbury 131
 Gordon, H.L. 145
 Gowers, William 229
 Gray, Professor 148
 Gray, Richard 32
 Green, Mr., a member of ACEC 175
 Grier, S.M. 154
 Guggisberg, Gordon 35-36, 50-51, 86-87, 108-111, 145, 204
 Gutmann, Bruno 106, 133
- Hailey, William 22, 145, 165-166, 179, 185, 187, 201-202, 205
 Hammond, S.A. 141-142, 144-145, 147-148
 Harcourt, Lewis 53-54
 Hegel, G.W.F. 24, 123, 129
 Hetherington, Penelope 32, 143, 145, 164
 Hollenback, Henry 56
 Hooper, H.D. 130
 Howard, Rhoda 161
 Hult, R.D. 95
 Hussey, E.R.J. 76-77, 100-107, 154, 171-2, 228
 Huxley, Julian 133, 141-151, 177, 179, 218, 237, 244
- Iliffe, John 39, 161
 Isherwood, A.M. 114-115, 176

- Jeanes, Anne T. 116
 Jones, Thomas Jesse 56, 58-59, 63-64, 68-70, 72-74, 80-81, 93, 105-106, 133-135, 137, 195
 Kale, S.I. 217
 Keynes, John Maynard 162
 King, Kenneth 31, 58-59, 72, 133
 Krapf, Johan 44
 Lacey, Mr., Director of Education 211
 Lathman, G.C. 92, 173
 Laurie, J.S. 46
 Leys, Norman 133-38, 145, 244
 Livingstone, David 46
 Loram, C.T. 68-69, 71, 74, 133
 Lugard, Frederick 22, 38-41, 49-50, 54, 62-64, 68-70, 74, 77-81, 83, 88, 94, 121-126, 129, 136-137, 145, 156-157, 175, 179, 184, 186, 189, 193, 200-201, 214, 231, 240
 MacDonald, James Ramsay 145
 MacDonald, Malcom 165, 211
 Macmillan, W.M. 145, 185-187, 193, 218
 Mahabane, Z.R. 134
 Mair, Lucy 183
 Malinowski, Bronislaw 182-184, 186
 Manley, G.T. 67, 80
 Mason, R.J. 148
 Maxwell, George 170
 Mayhew, Arthur 106, 145, 168-171, 179, 185, 187, 189, 195, 201-202, 218
 Mbilinyi, Marjorie 28
 McLean, W.H. 196-197
 Mead, Margaret 183
 Meinhof, C. 123-124
 Meyers, E. 218
 Milner, Lord 36, 41
 Mitchell, Philip 172, 206, 214-215
 Moore, H.M.M. 176, 211-212
 Morris, E.G. 132, 173, 189
 Mosley, Oswald 160
 Mumford, W.B. 108, 112-115, 120, 179, 199, 207, 240
 Murray, A. Victor 31, 105-108, 129-130, 133, 139-140, 185-187, 193, 205
 Musgrave, P.W. 13-14
 Möller, Erik 24
 Natsoulas, Anthula 29
 Natsoulas, Theodore 29
 Nunn, Percy 147-148, 150, 201
 Oakden, E.C. 233
 Okoth, P.G. 29
 Oldham, J.H. 21-2, 32, 54-8, 61-74, 78-81, 83, 99-100, 102-107, 123-125, 131-136, 138-139, 145, 149, 155, 167, 171, 173, 177-179, 184-186, 189-194, 196-197, 199, 201, 215, 222, 225, 240, 242-244
 Oliver, R.A.C. 118, 179
 Oliver, Ronald 61
 Oman, D.J. 108
 Ormsby-Gore, William 22, 41, 61-70, 73-74, 83-84, 111, 147, 187
 Orr, I.R. 127
 Owalo, John 208
 Owen, Walter 96
 Palmer, H.R. 169
 Percy, Eustace 160
 Perham, Margery 218
 Phelps-Stokes, Anson 70
 Pickard-Cambridge, A.W. 233
 Pim, Alan 119
 Plymouth, Lord 214
 Randolph, Victoria 116
 Ranger, Terence 28
 Raum, O.F. 27
 Read, Herbert 68-69
 Read, Margaret 27, 218, 222, 227, 237
 Richter, Professor 124
 Rivers-Smith, Stanley 95, 114, 127, 147-148, 153-154, 172, 179, 184
 Roberts, Andrew 32
 Rodney, Walter 28
 Rowden, E.G. 47
 Roy, Leo A. 56
 Sadler, Michael 62, 69, 78-80, 128, 240
 Schilling, Donald G. 61
 Schmidt, P.W. 125
 Scott, H.S. 211-212, 222
 Shantz, Leroy 71, 75
 Shiels, Drummond 129, 157
 Smith, Edwin W. 41, 81, 149
 Smuts, J.C. 179
 Snell, Harry 84
 Somerville, Mr., member of ACEC 170
 Spencer, K.W. 141-142, 147
 Stanley, Oliver 165
 Stead, F.B. 233
 Stevenson, W.B. 100
 Stockdale, Frank 149, 192
 Tempany, H.A. 200
 Temple, Charles 11-14, 38, 101
 Thomas, J.H. 36
 Thompson, E.W. 102-108
 Thomson, Greame 108
 Vaughan, W.W. 230
 Vischer, Hanns 48-50, 53, 57, 69, 72-74, 76, 106, 121-123, 125-127, 130, 145, 179, 189, 195-196, 201-202, 225, 233
 Vischer, Mrs., 152
 Wakeman, C.W. 172
 Wallace-Johnson, Isaac 166
 Ward, W.E.F. 223-224
 Webster, Harry 126
 Wedgwood, Josiah 129
 Weigle, A. 149
 Westermann, Diedrich 122-125, 129-130
 Whitehead, Clive 30-31
 Whitelaw, A.M. 153, 156
 Wilkie, A.W. 56, 126
 Wilkie, Mrs. 152
 Williams, Garfield 64, 70, 74, 77-79, 81
 Wraith, R.E. 109
 Wrong, Margaret 218, 223-224
 .
 .
 .