

DECISION-MAKING IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE GAMBIA AND MALAWI
DURING THE PERIOD 1925 - 1945

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A B S T R A C T

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This study is predominantly concerned with two African states, The Gambia on the West Coast and Malawi in the East Central Region. Both had been dependencies within the British Empire and while they shared a common colonial heritage, the overall experience was not identical and their respective educational administrative structures mirrored the dissimilarities.

Commencing with the Colonial Office in London, aspects that are relevant to the British Colonial Administrative System are examined: in particular, the basic philosophy and personnel of the Home Civil Service; the fundamental economic thought underlying administration of the Empire; and the unique, if somewhat eccentric recruitment apparatus for colonial service administrators and technical staff, as developed by Major Furse. In the field, decision-making in educational matters was influenced, often indirectly but nonetheless profoundly, by individual Africans and people of African descent, and examples from both parts of the continent and elsewhere receive consideration; sometimes within the context of the contemporary social environment.

In the account of the establishment of the Education Departments in The Gambia and Malawi reasons, motives and difficulties are described and certain basic differences between the two systems receive comment. The conceptual framework within which, and the theoretical foundations upon which, educational administration in general and decision-making in particular operate receive close attention with special reference to modern theories germane to the hypothesis.

From non-governmental and governmental archives the decision-making process, with the inter-play of individual factors and mild intrigue, is developed and analysed. The gulf between theory and practice, as revealed in the material, reinforces the contention of the hypothesis. The structured investigation of the theme terminates about 1945 but in the conclusions certain later events and developments are outlined by way of indicating the dynamic nature of the topic and its interrelationship with non-predictable outcomes.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

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INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF INTENT

Hypothesis

It is argued that in decision-making in educational administration in The Gambia and Malawi the most important and decisive factors were individual and pragmatic rather than institutional and systematic in strict accordance with preconceived theories or models.

Accordingly there was not a goal-oriented Colonial Office, located at the centre of a vast organisation and governed by a uniform set of theories and values, controlling the orderly expansion of colonial education but rather too often erratic and conflicting development determined by the sometimes idiosyncratic attitudes and values of particular individuals, expatriate or indigenous, with access to power.

Critics of the former British Empire have, at some stage, attacked the educational policy of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as carried out by the Colonial Service administrative and professional officers on the spot, as being not only cultural imperialism but also economic imperialism designed, at its worst, to produce a permanently subservient people in the territories concerned. It is hoped to indicate that there was, in effect, no central policy but only general guidelines, that were manifest in many ways over a long period of time, for example Advisory Committee and Conference recommendations, and that these guidelines were worked on, very much like raw material, by local factors, forces and pressure groups to produce systems of education that while bearing a superficial similarity to each other were, in reality, often quite different.

Basic Differences¹

In land area The Gambia² comprises about 11,295 square kilometres and Malawi about 118,500 square kilometres. The latter figure includes approximately 24,500 square kilometres of lakes of which Lake Malawi is the largest lake.

The people of The Gambia comprise the real indigenous stock, West Sudanic Muslim tribes, Mandinka, Wollof and Fulani, to mention the main groups only, intermixed with West Indian and Sierra Leonean settlers. The non-Africans comprise a few Europeans and some Syrians and Lebanese living in and around

the capital, Banjul.³ Although some of these people have been living in the country for a very long time, they do not comprise a settler group, who have acquired African land, for political pressure or any other purpose, such as could be found in Malawi. The Gambian "strangers", as they were called, were engaged in trading, government service or missionary work. Accurate population statistics do not exist but in 1965 it was estimated that the total population of The Gambia was 350,000 of which the non-African component was less than 1000.

Malawi, on the other hand comprised about 3,500,000 of which the non-Africans numbered about 6,000. These were mainly about 4,000 Asians and about 2,000 Europeans, a racial description not necessarily indicating continent of origin. A small number of people of mixed race should be included. The Africans are of Bantu stock and the largest groups are Chewa, Ngoni and Tumbuka.

A very rough occupational guide is that the Africans were peasant farmers or agricultural labourers; Asians were traders; Europeans were settler planters or expatriate government officers and missionaries. It is of interest to note that in the 1945 Nyasaland Census no attempt was made to record African occupations. By 1965 these occupational categories were no longer fixed, some may say that they never were; Africans particularly were entering jobs previously reserved for Asians and Europeans. It could be said, as compared with The Gambia, the breaking down of the racial job barriers was not always undertaken easily and considerable ill-feeling existed in certain quarters. President Banda faced a serious revolt in his country over this very issue in 1964; some of his government thought that localisation was proceeding too slowly.

Economic Activities

For most of the time span covered by this study, 1925 to 1945, it can be said that The Gambia was a monoculture, the single crop being groundnuts and the country's wealth depended upon the fluctuations in groundnut production and world market prices. The annual production of unshelled nuts in 1965 was estimated at 83,000 tons. Groundnut production occupied most male Gambian farmers while their womenfolk were concerned with

rice growing, rice being the staple diet for a growing proportion of the population, despite the fact that large quantities of rice were being imported from the Far East. In the earlier part of this study millet and similar grains had provided the staple diet and not rice.

Malawian agriculture was better balanced and, as a result, the country appeared marginally wealthier than The Gambia. Malawi, unlike The Gambia, from very early days had European settlers who owned large estates but, over the years, the settlers have been bought out chiefly by the Government or individual Malawians. However, more than 90% of cultivated land was in the hands of Africans. The main crops were maize, providing the staple diet of the population; tea, grown longer in Malawi than anywhere else in Africa, replaced coffee on many plantations; tobacco, now plantation-based but grown since old slave days; tung oil, from deciduous trees introduced by the Arabs; groundnuts, of a superior quality to those grown in The Gambia; coffee; swamp rice; "Irish", as opposed to "sweet", potatoes.

As far as livestock was concerned The Gambia was considered overstocked and attempts to establish a livestock industry, meat packing and hide exports, were not very successful. To a very great extent the Gambian regarded cattle as a measure of wealth; the larger the herd the richer the owner. Malawi was a complete contrast with the lowest ratio of livestock to human population in Africa, eight people to one animal. Goats, sheep and pigs existed in fair numbers. With so few Muslims, pigs abound in parts of Malawi. Animal husbandry was principally the specialism of European farmers.

Forestry in both countries had received considerable support from the respective government departments in each territory and was, during the two decades under investigation, generally the only government department to make a profit.

Both countries were developing their fisheries, The Gambia mainly along the Atlantic coastline and Malawi in the two lakes, Malawi and Chilwa.

Notes and References

- 1 Drawn from the following sources:
Africa South of the Sahara; London; Europa Publications; 1975
 Gailey, H.A.; A History of The Gambia; London; Routledge & Kegan Paul; 1964
Gambia, The; London; CIO; undated booklet
Gambia, The; London; Ministry of Overseas Development and CIO; 1974
Nyasaland, a visitor's guide; Zomba; Government Printer; 1951
Nyasaland Calling; a travel guide; Johannesburg; Nyasaland Publicity Committee; 1948
Malawi 73/74: A Guide for the Visitor; Blantyre; Department of Tourism; 1973
 Pike, J.G. and Rimmington, G.T.; Malawi; Oxford University Press; London; 1965

- 2 In general, for the purpose of this study the modern names The Gambia and Malawi will be used but attention is drawn to the following quotation from McCracken, J.; Politics and Christianity in Malawi:

"Proper names in Malawi have been spelt in many different ways over the last hundred years. I normally follow recent usage except where a new name (e.g. Nsanje for Port Herald) might confuse the reader or where I quote directly from a contemporary source. The term 'Malawi' is used for the geographical region covered by the modern nation state and 'Nyasaland' for the British protectorate ... 'The Northern Province' in Malawi has taken different forms at different times. I use it consistently to describe the region of Livingstonia's influence running roughly from Karonga to Kasungu. The term 'Malawian' and 'Nyasa' are both used in describing that country's inhabitants."

It is intended to follow McCracken's practice in this study and to extend it to The Gambia. However, it should be noted that The Gambia comprised both a Colony and a Protectorate.

- 3 Formerly Bathurst

P A R T O N E T H E F R A M E W O R K

C H A P T E R O N E

THE BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM:

COLONIAL EDUCATION SYSTEM ¹

The Colonial Office

Located in London this government department was headed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a Minister of the Crown on whose advice the Crown acted in the exercise of its sovereignty and jurisdiction over the non-self-governing territories. The staff of the Colonial Office were members of the Home Civil Service. Although in theory these civil servants were likely to be transferred to other Departments (Ministries) of State, the Colonial Office tended to retain its own. In so far as the environment in which one works has an effect upon one's work and ideas it is not inappropriate to quote a description of the "Office" that was still to be true at the beginning of our period, viz., 1925:

"In 1918 the Colonial Office was busier than it had been before the war but an amateurish, clublike atmosphere was still to be discerned in it. The handful of senior officials had worked there all their lives and knew each other well. They worked, before blazing fires in winter, on the affairs of remote territories which most of them had never seen, never expected to see and did not particularly want to see. ... An unusually high proportion of them were bachelors and they had time to dabble in hobbies. One enjoyed studying trees, another etymology, another currency, another whaling. 'This', wrote Sir Thomas Lloyd, a later Permanent Under-Secretary to the Colonial Office, 'was of great benefit to the Office in the days when life was simpler and the need for expert, whole-time Advisers had not made itself felt.' " 2

The following quotation well summarises the overall administrative framework. It is reported to have been made by L.S. Amery when addressing a meeting of the Royal Empire Society; no date is given but possibly it belongs to 1934.

"Mr Amery said that those responsible for the Colonial Office after the War (1914-1918) realised that the situation called for far-reaching change in methods. It no longer sufficed to suppress warfare and slavery. What was necessary was something more positive and creative - the change from a mere controller of decent behaviour to a Ministry of Transport, Education,"

"Education, Health and so on, which needed strong central management, for which the old organisation of the Colonial Office was unsuited, based as it was on geographical sub-division, which could not guarantee effective progress over such a wide front. The French system of sub-division by subjects would not have done, but he and Sir Samuel Wilson (Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies) enlarged the general departments and added outside expert committees, thus gradually creating a good working system. They also added to this a greater degree of contact, with increased facilities for inter-change and then they built up on the old Colonial Services one Colonial Service, with a common sentiment, binding the Empire together."

The reorganisation of 1925 somewhat modified the old-world atmosphere but not entirely as the following quotation, relating to Sir Kenneth Blackburne's brief stay at the Office, 1939-1941, indicates:

"To the astonishment of the young Assistant Principal of the twentieth century, he might enter the room of a senior officer and find him standing at an old-world high desk, delicately penning a minute; and, unless he had the benefit of a classical education (which I didn't), he would be horrified to find on the following day the elegantly written minute sitting on his desk spiced with Latin or Greek tags. He had to learn that the cryptic and seemingly meaningless words 'at once' written under the initials of a senior officer meant that action was authorised on the lines recorded in the minute, and he had to submit to having his attempts at drafting a letter or official despatch ruthlessly changed; even a draft inviting a visitor to call at the Office 'next Wednesday at 2.30 p.m.' might be changed to 'at 2.30 p.m. on Wednesday next'. All these quaint customs vanished of course in a flash after the outbreak of war."

(The 1939-1945 War) 3

To identify an unorthodox administrative system may partly explain the lack of activity far away in the colonies.

From 1925 onwards the Dominions Office, a separate office suggested by the Secretary of State, Amery, took over the affairs of what were called the self-governing dominions, viz., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and Newfoundland. The Colonial Office was henceforth concerned with the non-self-governing territories, a classification covering The Gambia and Malawi. There were four types of dependent territories, viz., colonies, protectorates, protected states and trust territories. We are only concerned with the first two. A colony can be described as a territory which became part of

the Crown's possessions by settlement, conquest, cession or annexation; the Crown exercised absolute sovereignty. The inhabitants were legally British subjects. On the other hand, protectorates were never formally annexed. The Crown acquired jurisdiction over them through agreement with the inhabitants as represented by kings, chiefs, or "other authorised persons". Basically, the Crown offered protection in exchange for rights of trade and evangelisation.

The subtlety of this distinction between a colony and a protectorate was generally lost upon the inhabitants of The Gambia, and no doubt upon the British at home, who found it hard to understand why Banjul in the "Colony" had eight schools and approximately 2,104 children in them, while Basse and other towns in the "Protectorate" did not have any educational facilities. Reliable statistics for the time are hard to obtain but the following figures give a rough guide to population distribution:

Population in the Colony	25,000	1947
Population in the Protectorate	246,886	Gambia
		census figures.

Despite the alleged difference in the provision of amenities between the Colony and the Protectorate there was in practice little difference in the actual working administration. The inhabitants of protectorates, one should note, were not British Subjects but British Protected Persons - a significant difference in certain circumstances, such as rights of entry into the United Kingdom.

An enlightening quotation from the 1931 report of the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament on closer union in East Africa is as follows, but it applied to West Africa also:

"The principle of trusteeship implies not only the avoidance of direct injustice to the natives as individuals but also the more positive obligation to afford to the natives, as a race, both time and opportunity to develop their latent capacities and play such part as they may eventually prove capable of playing in the ultimate destiny of the country. Every opportunity for advancement should moreover be afforded to such natives as may reach a higher level than is common to their race." 4

In the actual working of the Colonial Office right down to its incorporation into the Department of Technical Co-operation in 1961, there appeared to be a rough division of labour between the "subject" departments that dealt with agriculture, education, health, public works and so on, and the "geographical" departments that were concerned with the individual relationship of each territory with the British Government. Today, in the Ministry of Overseas Development, this division is no longer "rough" but has become permanent.

Concerning the subject departments, Jefferies (1956) said:

"There is obviously no problem of Colonial agriculture, Colonial public health or Colonial education, as such, there are only problems of agriculture, health and education which arise in the Colonial territories but would equally arise if the territories were independent or were dependent upon some other Power than Britain." 5

This comment of Jefferies is not strictly true. Part of this thesis is an attempt to disprove Jefferies. The problems came in many forms and it did matter very much whether the people helping to solve them were British, French, German, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Anglican, trader, missionary, colonial service officer, "higher-income group", "lower-income group" ... the list is endless. Each one had his own concept of reality.

There can be little doubt that today government throughout the world impinges more upon the lives of individuals than it did, say, fifty years ago. This is certainly true of Britain. However, to a certain extent the system that prevailed then was what most people expected and accepted. Nevertheless the basic philosophy is adequately although perhaps too simply, summarised below.

The majority of the civil servants had no personal knowledge of the places with which they dealt although, at the middle and lower levels, they needed a knowledge of "Regulations for His (or Her) Majesty's Colonial Service", Colonial Regulations, and how to apply them. The Colonial Office "looked after the London end" and left the Governors to govern the territories. At the higher levels the C.O. staff had to be aware of the views and policy of the Secretary of State

and, accordingly, be able to take decisions in the name of the political head and to frame them in the proper form with suitable language. Finally, they needed the skill to negotiate with the Treasury and their colleagues in other government offices.⁶

Much was always made of the fact that the colonies or dependent territories were separate units and not extensions of the United Kingdom. In economic terms this meant that the territories were supposed to be financially self-supporting. In rare cases where the budget could not even provide for the most basic administration, grants-in-aid were made by the Home Government.⁷ Commercial development was left to commercial interests and basic social services were provided by the limited local resources.⁸ One significant result of this policy was that salaries and pensions of expatriate officers were not provided from UK government funds but from local revenue. During the political upsurge towards political independence this "expatriate salary factor" was often used in the "exploitation" argument.

The changes resulting from the reforms of 1925 went some way to modernise the Colonial Office. Further reforms over the years continued the trend and "things were never the same again."

The 1925 new departmental structure was as follows:

(Nine in all)

Eight Geographical:

East and Central Africa (two)	West Africa (two)
West Indies	Middle East
Far East	Mediterranean

One General Department, including Establishment affairs of both the Colonial and Dominion Offices.

By 1955 there were thirty departments, viz.,

Nine Geographical:

East and Central Africa (two)	West Africa (two)
West Indies (two)	South East Asia
Pacific	Mediterranean

Four Overseas Service Division

Seven Economic Division

The diagram above covers the Office down to the era of independence for the territories. There was a Legal Adviser, with the rank of Deputy Under-Secretary with two departments and a number of legal officers, who also serviced the old Commonwealth Relations Office.

Within the Departments the working structure was as follows:

Civil Service titles:- Assistant (Under-) Secretary
 |
 Two or more Principals
 |
 Assistant Principals
 |
 Executive Officers
 |
 Clerical Officers
 |
 Messengers/Typists 9

Before looking to where the action was, it is of interest to note the Secretary of State's Advisers and how that group of influential experts came to develop.

As long ago as 1909 the first advisory committee was formed, viz., the standing Advisory Medical and Sanitary Committee for Tropical Africa. In 1922 its terms of reference were extended to cover all the dependent territories. 1923 saw the establishment of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa and this committee too extended its activities to all the territories five years later.

The A.C.N.E.T.A. was formed as a result of suggestions arising from the first visit to Africa of the American financed Phelps-Stokes Commission. It later changed its name to the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. Major the Right Hon. W.G.A. Ormsby Gore, who had been a member of the A.C.N.E.T.A. since its inception, speaking at the 1927 Colonial Office Conference of the extension of the Committee's work said:

"... extra expenditure involved would have to be met by contributions from those Dependencies whose educational problems would now be brought under review by the enlarged Committee." 10

The A.C.E.C. was not formed at once as the initial response from the 1927 Conference was to suggest the establishment of a Colonial Advisory Education Council comprising two committees, one for education in tropical Africa and the other

for education in Asian and other colonial territories. The approximate cost of the new scheme would be £6,000 p.a., to be raised by proportionate contributions from colonial governments.

At first these two committees had full time professional secretariats partly financed from the (poor) colonial governments but, gradually, these services were rightly absorbed into the Colonial Office structure and home financed.

From 1926 advisers were appointed to the Office staff, first, in that year, the Chief Medical Officer followed by the Agricultural Adviser, 1929, and a Labour Adviser, 1938. The adviser who concerns us most, the Educational Adviser, was appointed in 1940 at the same time as an Adviser for Animal Health. The first incumbent was Mr C.W., later Sir Christopher, Cox and in the case studies his role as "trouble shooter" becomes apparent although that was not his main, nor intended, function. With the decline of Empire and growth of Commonwealth the functions of the Educational Adviser expanded and, today, in the O.D.M. there is now a Chief Educational Adviser with a subordinate staff of Advisers.

Also working in an advisory role, sometimes, were the most senior civil servants who were nearest to the Secretary of State the Minister of State and the Permanent and Parliamentary Under-Secretaries. These were called Private Secretaries, the most senior being the Principal Private Secretary. As mentioned earlier, these officials also provided the continuity, and experience, that a system of changing parliamentary superiors required.

The subject Advisers were not directed by, nor, as their titles state, did they give directions to, the administrative departments of the Office. Eventually there were twenty-six Advisory Committees, some were technical and others assisted in policy formation; the latter were presided over by the Minister of State or Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State with a senior administrative officer as deputy chairman. The Adviser and head of the Office department sat as members.

As will be noted below, the A.C.E.C. was not regarded with too much favour by the Home Civil Service "establishment".

In those days, "advisers" and "advisory committees" were viewed with some suspicion, if not dislike.

The Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa 11

Major Hans Vischer, C.B.E., secretary of the A.C.N.E.T.A. provided a very comprehensive memorandum on his Committee for the 1927 Colonial Office Conference.

The origins of this body, an organisation that contributed significantly to educational reform and administrative development connected therewith, down to political independence, dated from a Conference held at the Colonial Office on the 6th June, 1923.

This 1923 Conference was to consider a Memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State, by the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland. The list of participants is indicative of the importance attached to the matter:

Major W.G.A. Ormsby Gore	(chairman)	Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State
Sir Hugh Clifford		Governor of Nigeria
Sir Gordon Guggisberg		Governor of the Gold Coast
Sir Romsford Slater		Governor of Sierra Leone
Sir Robert Coryndon		Governor of Kenya
Sir George Smith		Governor of Nyasaland
Mr A.C. Hollis		Tanganyika Territory
The Archbishop of Canterbury		
The Reverend, later Dr, J.H. Oldham		Secretary of the International Missionary Council
The Reverend Dr Garfield Williams		Church Missionary Society
Dr T Jesse Jones		Phelps-Stokes Fund of America
Sir Herbert Read		Assistant Under-Secretary of State
The heads of the four African Departments at the C.O.		

Following this Conference the Secretary of State created the A.C.N.E.T.A. with the following terms of reference:

"To advise the Secretary of State on any matters of native education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa, which he may from time to time refer to it, and to assist him in advancing the progress of "

"education in those Colonies and Protectorates." 12

Its general functions may be summarised as follows:

- (a) to obtain current information about Tropical African education,
- (b) to obtain comparable information, from other nations, regarding education of dependent peoples,
- (c) to inform government and missionary educationists where they might best study their problems,
- (d) to maintain liaison with British educational institutions and provide them with information and recruitment requirements,
- (e) to collaborate with colonial governments in planning African educational provision,
- (f) to advise on the best co-operation between government and the voluntary agencies,
- (g) to maintain international contacts regarding African education,
- (h) to give specific advice to colonial governments when directed.

The 1923 foundation members of the A.C.N.E.T.A. , that included Sir Michael Sadler, Master of University College, Oxford, Dr T.P. Nunn, Principal of the London Day Training College and the Reverend J.H. Oldham, whose activities can be seen in some detail in Chapter Six, were well chosen and indicate that something serious was intended. However, today, we might rightly criticise the financial arrangements because the expenses had to be met by the Tropical African Dependencies. The expenses were salaries for the Secretary and his office staff and travelling expenses incurred by members attending meetings, and cost of printing special documents for distribution.

The Colonial Office provided the Secretary with office accommodation and, it is assumed, equipment and stationery. The minutes of meetings were printed and distributed to the Governors by the C.O. but were all confidential and so not available to the general public.

The Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies
The old A.C.N.E.T.A. was dissolved and the A.C.E.C.

constituted w.e.f. 1st January, 1928.

The Secretary of State's Despatch of the 4th December, 1928 said:

"The Committee's functions will be solely advisory, and it will have no executive authority, but it is my intention to make the fullest use of the exceptional experience and knowledge which the Committee so constructed can bring to bear on problems in which Governors and Directors of Education may seek advice. I have no doubt from my experience of the valuable work of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa that the new Committee with its wider province can be of the greatest service to the cause of education and its development throughout the Dependencies which are ready to participate in these arrangements." 13

Now there were joint secretaries, Messrs Vischer and Mayhew. The A.C.E.C. met, generally, once a month. Pedagogical, organisational and administrative matters appeared regularly on its agenda.

There were demands for an Educational Bulletin but no immediate steps were taken. However, three important memoranda were published from 1925 onwards, that provided significant guidelines:

- (a) On the Policy of Native Education;¹⁴
- (b) On British Education Staff;
- (c) On the Use of the Vernacular in Native Education.

The 1930 C.O. Conference noted that "Oversea Education", the new educational journal, was being well supported by the colonies.

Vischer provided much detail on the activities and work accomplished by the Committee, an example being the proposals that led to the establishment of the post-graduate course and special missionary course at the London Day Training College, now the University of London Institute of Education.

Colonial Government Scholarships

There was an appendix to Vischer's memorandum dealing with the work of the Director of Colonial Scholars, post established in 1902,¹⁵ one of the Crown Agents who received an honorarium of £3 p.a. for each scholar, that concerned the placement and welfare of students while in the U.K. It was stated that colonial governments had been granting scholarships to local students since 1876 or earlier. In the list of scholarships

then awarded there were none for African territories. However, there was a reference to a Union of Students of African Descent, the Students' Christian Movement and a Committee of the Victoria League that offered services to Africans who arrived in the U.K. independently but, to quote "a correspondent" himself quoted:

"... these efforts avail little, especially as affecting the independent and more difficult kind of African who come to this country on their own and want, above all, to be free from control. They are the people who get into trouble."

Such was one attitude.

Below are comments on the examination standards for the local entry of clerks, and others, into the colonial services. The only reference to the two countries under consideration was the following statement:

"In Nyasaland candidates for the Native Clerical Service are required to pass a special qualifying examination and must be in possession of a certificate not lower than the Second Class VI Standard, but it should be mentioned that, in view of the shortage of candidates coming forward for the Service in Nyasaland, the Governor has recently instituted a special training class under the supervision of the Assistant Secretary."

One comes close here to a significant reason for the apparent tardiness of governments, such as that for the Nyasaland Protectorate, to encourage the opening of secondary schools:

"It appeared that in the majority of Colonies Government service was regarded as the goal to be aimed at by pupils in both Government and missionary schools, and that the number of candidates far exceeded the posts available ... As a result, except in those Colonies where openings existed in business and commercial firms, a large semi-educated class was created, disappointed by the failure of their ambitions and unfitted, through their purely clerical training, to succeed in industrial or agricultural work." 16

Two solutions were proposed:

- (i) to review examination standards: presumably this meant raise the standards of primary school leaving certificate so as to reduce the numbers of those eligible for secondary education;
- (ii) to specially select, at an early age, only a few candidates for special post-primary education, in a similar way to the practice in French colonial territories.

Before turning to the officers in the field, their organisation and recruitment, it should be noted that two other organisations assisted the Colonial Office in various specialised and technical ways, viz., the Crown Agents for the Colonies and the Oversea Audit Department with its own Oversea Audit Service. One of the Crown Agents' functions was the recruitment of technical officers, usually on contract rather than permanent and pensionable terms of service.

The Colonial Service

The most important fact to note, in the first instance is that there was no one British Colonial Service but many Colonial Services or mini-civil services based upon the individual territories. The apparent drawback was the absence of a real career structure spanning the Empire, except for a limited number of special technical officers. The exceptions were certain judicial officers, the highest ranks of the administrative services, that is, governors, auditors and cartographic surveyors.

"Each Colonial Government is a separate administrative entity. Members of the Colonial Service serving in any Colony are public servants of that Colony and their salaries are paid from local revenue. The Colonial Service thus differs from other British public services in that it is not a single service for purposes of administration and discipline. Opportunities occur, however, for members of each Colony's public service to be considered for promotion or transfer to the public service of other Colonies. This fact, and the fact that all officers serve under a single basic code of regulations laid down by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, give reality to the idea of a comprehensive Service covering the Colonial territories as a whole." 17

Sir Charles Jeffries, a Joint Deputy Under-Secretary of State, makes the point again when mentioning the differences between the British and French Colonial Systems:

"... at all times the public service of each administrative unit of the Colonial Empire was constitutionally a separate and self contained entity, and that every officer of the so-called Colonial Service was in fact in the employment of one or other of the territorial governments and not in any sense in the employment or pay of the United Kingdom government, the Colonial Office, or the Secretary of State." 18

"... the French system differed radically from the British, in that the services in the field overseas always included a substantial element of staffs"

"employed by and responsible to the metropolitan government." 19

In general, however, officers served their time in one territory and, at the 1927 C.O. Conference, consideration was given to memoranda submitted on this topic from disgruntled officers, departments or colonies. The proposal to establish a single Colonial Service "financed by contributions to a central pool", was made following complaints from the smaller colonies that they could not afford to employ resident technical experts nor remunerate visiting ones.

On the question of a unified Colonial Service a report by W. Gowers was read, giving the advantages and problems, and, in the end, a resolution in favour was passed:

"This Conference considers unification of the Colonial Services desirable if a generally acceptable scheme can be devised, and requests the Secretary of State to appoint a Committee to prepare a detailed scheme for submission to the several Colonial Governments." 20

Allied to this question of interchange and transfer was added that of interchange between the Colonial Office and the Colonial Services. Some officers, generally from the administrative services, were seconded to work in London over the years, and a few C.O. officials undertook tours of duty overseas but integration between London and colonies was never achieved. The official reason was that such a practice would divorce the staff of the Colonial Office from the remainder of the Home Civil Service, a service, incidentally recruited on a more competitive formal basis than that applied by the C.O. recruiting officer and his assistants.

It is most likely that the Home Civil Service establishment did not want integration for a variety of, from their socio-political point of view, good reasons. In the long run, and that means down to the modern activities of the Ministry of Overseas Development, much invaluable skill and practical expertise was lost as a result of that inflexibility.

Traditionally, the Crown had the right of patronage in filling Governorships and some other senior posts, although their salaries were paid from local sources. Over the years the system expanded as the needs, conditions and number of territories expanded but, in essence, it remained the same

almost until the Service or Services, disappeared. The Secretary of State filled posts with people selected by him and then their salaries and pensions were paid from locally raised funds. These salaries bore a closer relationship to those pertaining in the metropolitan country than to what the territory concerned could conveniently pay, the argument being that if this were not so no personnel would be found to work overseas.

After the turn of the century demands for staff were such that a more regular system was felt desirable. Eventually, in 1910, Major R.D. (later Sir Ralph) Furse was appointed Assistant Private Secretary with the task of reorganising the recruitment of colonial service staff. He was provided with a small staff, who were not established Home Civil Servants, and he developed a network of contacts in public schools and some colleges of the older universities that facilitated his recruitment work.

If it can be said that a particular group of "Colonial Service" officers were more important than any other group then that distinction must go to the "Administrative Service". Far away in the colonies, out in the field it was the District Officer/District Commissioner, the Provincial Commissioner or Resident who was the key person. It is, therefore, of interest to note how such officers were selected under the system developed by Furse.

"The actual machinery of recruitment was, by British Civil Service standards, almost unbelievably casual ... The only competitive examinations were for the "Eastern Cadetships" for Ceylon, Malaya and Straits Settlements and for the Pacific service. Other appointments were by interview. Furse, under various designations, administered colonial recruitment over the staggering period of 38 years - from 1910 to 1948. His only absence was during his military service in the 1914 war when there was practically no recruitment anyway. At the end of his career in 1948 he still on occasion wore the same suit of brown West of England tweed in which he had arrived at the Colonial Office on his first day in 1910. He had been to Eton and to Balliol College, Oxford, where he had obtained a third-class degree in "Greats". In choosing staff he admitted to a weakness in sympathising with others who had got "thirds". 21

"Furse attached high importance to the impression given by a candidate at an interview ... In the 1920s Furse"

"and his assistants worked together in a big room next to that of the Secretary of State. Their desks were far enough apart for them all to be able to conduct interviews at the same time; out of the corners of their eyes they looked at each other's candidates. Furse found this a sound arrangement. 'Interviewing boards normally sit on one side of a table, with their victim on the other' ... 'For instance, a man's face, may not reveal that he is intensely nervous. But a twitching foot, or hands tightly clenched under the table, will tell you this, and you can make the necessary allowances and deductions.' " 22

Recruitment and Training of Colonial Civil Servants

Furse provided a memorandum on this topic for Conference consideration and discussion, in which he gave his personal views:

"The Private Secretary (Furse himself) is responsible only for recruitment from outside the Colonial Service. He therefore does not deal directly with questions of promotion and transfer and although he has been called upon to recruit for a number of senior appointments - especially in Education and in Scientific Departments - he is mainly concerned with recruitment for the junior grades."23

This thesis postulates that the individual rather than the system alone is responsible for decisions and Furse provides clues to his criteria when selecting individuals in the following statement:

"There seems to be a lack of enterprise and a tendency to stay at home amongst the post-war (1914-1918 war) generation. This has been commented on at the Headmasters' Conference and elsewhere, and has, I believe, been noticed by the Civil Service Commissioners, who recruit for different groups of services. This tendency may be largely due to a temperamental reaction from the war, but there appear to be other factors at work; though in discussing them I know that I am on difficult and, possibly, controversial ground, and can only give my opinions for what they are worth. The kind of man who usually proves most fitted for the services under discussion needs certain personal qualities and an educational background mainly to be found in the type of family which has been most severely hit by the war. The loss of his father or elder brother may strengthen the desire to keep a boy at home. Beyond this we have the undoubted fact of the limitation of families; and it was generally the younger sons of large families who went overseas in the past. Economic pressure has also made it harder for such families to send sons to University. Fewer of them, therefore, get the type of education we prefer, and, as, for climatic reasons, we cannot usually send a man out till he is 21½, those who cannot go to a University tend to drift into other employment before we can take them."

"It must also not be forgotten that we lost 30,000 officers killed in the war. The effect of such a wholesale destruction of leaders cannot be made good in a short time, and it is men with the qualities of leadership whom we especially need." 24

Furse was underestimating the casualty figures:

"Three quarters of a million men from the United Kingdom were killed during the first World war. The Empire lost another 200,000 - nearly a third of them Indians; in all, a death roll approaching one million. ... war selected its victims in a peculiarly harsh way. Casualties were about three times heavier in proportion among junior officers than with common soldiers. This struck at the highest in the land. Asquith lost his eldest son; Law lost two sons. The roll of honour in every school and college bore witness to the talents which had perished - the men of promise born during the eighteen-nineties whose promise was not fulfilled." 25

Returning to Furse, on the quality of personnel he said:

"(a) As development progresses there is a growing need for high intellectual ability among recruits for the African Administrative Services, without any relaxation of the necessity for insistence on those qualities of personality and character which are essential to the proper handling of natives."

"(b) Whereas in pre-war times the other departments had, on the whole, to be content with a somewhat lower personal (sic) standard, it is now recognised that many of them, for example, the Educational, Agricultural, Forestry, and Veterinary Services, need men of similar standing in this respect to the Administrative staff, with the addition of professional qualifications." 26

There was a hint of training staff specifically to meet Colonial Office requirements:

"... in recruiting for such a service as Education, it would no longer be possible to rely on the candidate with professional experience, but that we should have in the main to recruit the "raw material" as it left the Universities, and train it ourselves." 27

Furse referred to the recruitment network built up through contacts with University Appointments Boards, Agricultural Colleges, Medical Schools "and similar institutions", as well as over one hundred leading schools, the latter, with nineteen year old leavers, being a prime source for the colonial police. The Dominions as well as the U.K. comprised the recruitment area. Of a method, much used today, he had this to say:

"In addition, we have made extensive use of advertisement in the Press in respect of particular vacancies."

"Here, however, it is necessary to use discretion, for experience has shown that in regard to some classes of appointments advertising merely leads to a large number of applications which on investigation turn out to be worthless. Much time is thereby wasted, and this method should only be resorted to, in such cases, if all others fail". 28

Specifically on the Oxbridge ethos Furse said, apropos recruitment into the Administrative Services in Tropical Africa:

"Experience had also shown that life and education that these residential Universities provides produce a considerable number of men fitted for successful work among native races ...". 29

At the 1927 C.O. Conference some recruitment statistics were provided and appreciation paid to the service provided by Furse; the job distribution is interesting:

<u>Branch</u>	<u>1919</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1922</u>	<u>1923</u>	<u>1924</u>	<u>1925</u>	<u>1926</u>	<u>Years</u>
Administrative	108	179	90	18	67	72	85	103	
Educational	13	37	43	29	30	43	46	76	
Total (all branches)	295	551	387	174	233	352	422	441	

Further, on social class:

"... the Representatives of the African Dependencies welcomed the transfer of the Tropical African Services Courses to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (from the Imperial Institute in London). There appeared to be good ground for believing that the presence at their Universities of men selected for the Colonial Services undertaking postgraduate courses would have the effect of attracting in an increasing degree the attention of the University authorities and the undergraduates to the possibilities of careers in the Colonial Services." 30

The lack of public interest in the Empire received a mention:

"The Conference recognized the value of an educational campaign in this country to overcome the prevailing ignorance with regard to the Colonies and their services." 31

A class distinction existed in the overseas services between those officers, usually permanent and pensionable, recruited through the Colonial Office and those, usually on a time contract, recruited through the Crown Agents. In modern terminology, the latter might be regarded as the supervisory or lower-middle-level cadre. This point is raised because educational facilities to train local citizens for this type of employment were conspicuous by their absence. Generally, secondary schools were needed to provide this type of manpower and

although The Gambia had some post-primary provision Malawi had none; there was a fear of training too many unemployable school leavers, apart from the shortage of funds. Technical training also requires a fairly sophisticated planning schedule to ensure that the type and numbers of technicians required appear just when needed. That expertise was rare in colonial days. Below is a list, covering 1926, of all Crown Agents' technician appointments, for all territories. The mix is interesting likewise the numerical distribution between occupations:

"Accountants and Storekeepers	23
Architects	9
Artisans (Workshop); Fitters, Turners, Erectors, Boilmakers, Mechanics, Locomotive Foremen, etc.	66
Clerical	37
Draughtsmen	10
Engineers (Public Works)	129
Engineers (Railway)	27
Engineers (Electrical)	28
Engineers (Marine)	10
Foremen of Works	128
Foremen, Post and Telegraphs	7
Locomotive Drivers	37
Lunatic Attendants	7
Masters and Mates	11
Police and Prison Officers	203
Platelayers	10
Printers and Linotype Operators	5
Sanitary Inspectors	34
Traffic Departments: Assistant Traffic Superintendents, Traffic Inspectors, Station Masters, Guards	23
Miscellaneous	32
	836 " 32

Training programmes for such officials would have been hard to organise, at that time, in The Gambia and Malawi.

This system and procedure however did produce some excellent administrators but it was not the same as that used by the Home Civil Service.

In 1930 the Personnel Division was established following recommendations of a Committee headed by Sir Warren Fisher and Colonial Office Conference of the same year. Rather than consider one Colonial Service, a series of functional services, within one overall organisation, was accepted, viz., the Colonial Administrative Service, the Colonial Agricultural Service, the

Colonial Education Service and so on. The establishment of these professional services did not occur all at once. For example, the Agricultural Service was founded in 1935 and the Education Service two years later. Of course, as mentioned below, this did not mean that professional services were entirely ignored; often the administrative officer or police magistrate would be given an educational "brief".

There were two sections of the new Division, the first still under Furse's control that dealt with recruitment under a new Colonial Service Appointments Board chaired by the First Civil Service Commissioner. The second section dealt with serving officers, i.e., matters of conditions of service, promotion, transfer and pensions. The system was somewhat modified over the years. For example, the committee approach to promotion was not altogether satisfactory, and in 1950 a reorganisation brought recruitment, promotion and transfers together in three "Staffing Departments" while a fourth department dealt with conditions of service. 1954 saw the renaming of the division as the Oversea Service Division.

Later developments outside the period under investigation illustrate how the original basic concepts of colonial administration persisted. In October 1954 Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service came into being but it was still not a fully unified Service, based on the United Kingdom, from which officers would be lent to overseas governments that needed and requested them. H.M.O.C.S. may be likened to the armed forces of the Crown. When a particular officer's services were no longer required, a situation that developed from the 1960s onwards, there was not automatic path to a similar post at home, as there was for many French colonial officers. However, there were various schemes involving the payment of lump-sum compensation for loss of career, early pensions plus a fairly generous interpretation of Home Civil Service examination requirements, all designed to help the overseas officer whose career was cut short by the march of events leading to political independence for the territories. An Overseas Services Resettlement Bureau was established also to assist overseas officers to "resettle" in the United Kingdom or to find work overseas again. But an air of "ad hocery" seemed to pervade the running down of the

so-called Overseas Civil Service. For many years the Treasury had successfully prevented the linking of the H.M.O.C.S. with any permanent Home Civil Service and, at some levels of the Home Civil Service a certain lack of sympathy existed towards the placing of H.M.O.C.S. officers in home posts: the expression "retreads" was occasionally used to describe such officers. Concerning pensions, even today the British Government still has to take over the major responsibility for the payment of all these pensions; although for some years grants-in-aid have been made to most former dependent territories to cover the cost of expatriate pensions.

Service of British Teachers in Colonial Schools

Not unconnected with this matter the 1927 C.O. Conference heard an official of the British Board of Education explain the difficulties, largely concerned with superannuation contributions and their transferability while teachers were serving overseas.

A theoretical scheme was discussed whereby the colonial government would pay what is called today the employers' contribution and, upon return to the U.K. the government concerned might be able to recover the contribution from the employing L.E.As.

Over the years various ad hoc schemes were tried but, largely due to the fact that British teachers did not, and still do not, belong to a unified teaching service, a universal system of interchange and exchange never developed.

In the Dependent Territories

The Governor was regarded as the king-pin in the system of relationships between the United Kingdom and the dependent territories. He was appointed, and held office at the pleasure of, the Sovereign. In the territory he personified the Crown and had its executive powers. The two basic functions were the power of assenting to legislation and exercising the Royal prerogative of mercy.

Whereas in the United Kingdom the Crown acted only upon the advice of Ministers, in the colonies the Governors were under no such control. When appointing Governors the Crown sought ministerial advice in furnishing them with their Commissions and Royal Instructions defining their authority. Thereafter there

was little constraint from London.

The exact position of the Governor varied from territory to territory but, basically, the British imperial system was an elaborate one pinnacled by the interaction between the Secretary of State, with the Colonial Office as his secretariat, on the one hand and the individual Governor, and his secretariat, on the other. The Governor would be advised by his Executive Council, a body comprising, in the main, the most senior officials, but he was under no obligation to accept their advice. Later Legislative Councils or Assemblies, the unicameral bodies that discussed legislation and finance, developed in most territories. In most cases, the Governor endeavoured to take consideration of local public opinion; a delicate operation in the era leading to political independence when partial observers exclaimed "too little and too late." The pointer then was the clear statement:

"The basic purpose of British colonial policy is simple. It is to guide the colonial territories to responsible self-government within the Commonwealth in conditions that ensure to the people concerned both a fair standard of living and freedom from oppression from any quarter." 33

Relations between Technical and Administrative Staff

"... the doctrine is that within his particular sphere of administration the Administrative officer, whether he be a Lieutenant-Governor, a Provincial Commissioner, or a District Officer, is the representative of the Government in all its functions." 34

Thus, there had to be tact and consultation by all concerned. There was little danger of a technical project being cancelled by a junior administrative officer at the Secretariat because the head of a technical department would always be given the opportunity of discussing the matter in person with the Governor or the Colonial Secretary.

On promotion to the highest posts, e.g., Governorships or Colonial Secretaryships, it was inevitable that the trained administrator would be given preference over the specialist but, there were at the 1930 C.O. Conference, two Governors who were medical men while, in the past, Survey and Legal Officers had attained Governorships. However, there is no record of an educationist who ever became a Governor.

"It was perhaps not surprising that at an early stage in the development of a territory a political officer in"

"the province or district, anxious to secure peace and order, should be embarrassed by the demands and activities of technical officers, which complicated the already often delicate relations with the indigenous population. On the other hand, technical officers might overlook political considerations."

"There were thus, on the one hand, the difficulties of the central Government, i.e., the adjustment of the relations of the central with the provincial administration and of the central secretariat with the heads of the several technical departments. On the other hand, there were the local problems which confronted the administrative officer in the province or district in his relations with technical officers."

"Some Governments held that it was an advantage to place administrative officers in charge of technical departments. ... In the Tropical African Dependencies the question of the relations between administrative and technical officers in the province and district was particularly important. The general principle to be observed was that administrative staff in the provinces were the principal executive officers of Government, and that the technical departments should in no case take executive action without acquainting the principal administrative officer in the province or district, as the case might be, of their intended action; for in that area the administrative officer was, though to a necessarily limited extent, the representative of the Governor. Such a position made it essential that the attitude of the administrative officer to his technical colleagues should correspond to the attitude of the Governor to heads of departments. Too often in the past the administrative officer had regarded himself as a departmental officer whose duties were confined to the strictly limited sphere of preserving peace and order in the districts." 35

With the growth of the professional or technical departments there developed other systems of administration subordinate to the wider colonial administration. Education was usually organised as a hierarchy, a model of which can be seen in Appendix III.

Generally, movements took place from "schools" to "office" because very often it was the only way to the top. The advantage was that a very wide range of experience was gained by an education officer as he/she moved, on transfer, from small district office to teacher training college to "elite" government secondary school, to the inspectorate, and to the secretariat.

For the recruitment of permanent professional or technical officers more regular methods were used than for administrative

staff. Generally, the same qualifications were required for them as would have been asked for similar work in the U.K.

Below are the entrance requirements for an Education Officer post-1945. Before the Second World War the professional qualifications were not necessary although, with the growing sponsorship of the Colonial Department of the London Day Training College, an increasing number of E.Os., in the late 1930s, were professionally qualified.

"5. Qualifications

(i) Immediate appointments

(a) For permanent and pensionable appointments in general education: a University Degree, preferably with Honours, together with a Teacher's Diploma or equivalent professional qualification, or in lieu of such professional qualification sufficient proved experience of school teaching.

(b) For permanent and pensionable appointments in technical education: an appropriate Diploma or equivalent technical qualification and sufficient proved experience of teaching.

(ii) Appointments after professional training

A University Degree, preferably with Honours." 36

So, in general, a reasonable standard was expected and obtained. In the territories, the various professional or technical departments were subordinate to the "Administrative Service"; thus, the Provincial Commissioner or Resident was senior to, say, the Provincial Medical Officer or the Provincial Education Officer.

During the Second World War and the early Post-War Years, the need for specialised social and economic development became so pressing that D.Cs. found themselves presiding over specialist committees whose expertise they could barely comprehend. Thus they became generalist chairmen, trying to "hold the ring" and, in so doing, achieving less than desired, largely by satisfying none of the specialist departmental officers. The need for a development chairman became pressing.

This chapter ends with a study of the views and opinions of a man who, though typical of his time, can be called a moulder of British colonial educational policy prior to the

Second World War.

Arthur Mayhew, C.M.G., C.I.E., was, for many years, Joint Secretary, with Hans Vischer, of the Secretary of State's A.C.E.C. He was a man of much experience, having served in India before commencing his work in London. 37

Travel was less convenient, though perhaps more comfortable, during the 1930s, but he journeyed far and attended two important educational conferences in 1936, firstly at Yale University and secondly at Hawaii University. He supported the establishment of the Colonial Department at the London Day Training College.

The Colonial Office files, some of which are examined in Part Three below, for the period show his influence in the pages of closely handwritten notes, comments and memoranda emanating from him on almost every educational policy topic that caused discussion and decision-making in London. In time he tended to surpass Vischer, the first recognisable educationist in the Colonial Office.

Basic Attitudes

Today his unfortunate choice of words would offend:

"... we have (in tropical Africa) for the most part primitive races that seem at present to have but little to contribute ..." 38

But he was a man of his times. He was not embarrassed to digress into somewhat sweeping ethnological statements. He felt that the British somewhat illogical approach was more efficacious than the more centralised system of, say, the French. He had no apparent ideas of racial superiority for he attributed the achievements of the West to:

"... environment, history and geography ... rather than to blood, or length of head or weight of brain."

As with most people he could not resist a nostalgic backward glance:

"... we call in mind the horrors to which standardisation of taste and culture, mass-production, and subjection to machinery have brought us. We realise, because we no longer enjoy it, the value of personality and individualism in all aspects of life. We shrink from imposing on other races a uniformity that will reduce their rich and coloured variety to the drab monotony of the western world." 39

Mayhew, in his writing, would seem a universalist. Western man was the sum of many parts, laboriously constructed over the centuries from many sources. The Western gifts had to be transmitted to the benighted. He was putting the "White Man's Burden" into educational assumptions and, perhaps, objectives, but with a sense of humility and Christian conviction. It would seem that his views were challenged at the 1936 Honolulu Conference by educationists from other countries, especially the U.S.A.

Below is an example of a philosophy bound to lead to conflict in Bantu society, where group conformity is a virtue:

"The educator's prime object of attention is individual personality, not a group or a group's mode of life. Individual personality is determined in relation to other personalities." 40

There is a slight modification but still a strong individualist slant in the following statement:

"The educator's attitude towards distinctive cultures must not be sentimental. He will value a mode of life or means of self-expression (art or language), not (in italics) because it is different from all other modes but because: (a) it is needed by the group as a means of survival; (b) it permits the development of individual qualities desirable in man, viewed as a human being and not as a member of a group; (c) it is capable to a distinctive contribution to the pattern of human life. Survival or surrender of a culture must depend on the decision of the group, trained by the educator to evaluate and criticise that culture in response to external stimuli." 41

Established Principles

Mayhew places responsibility for the seeming vagueness of overall colonial educational policy upon metropolitan philosophy:

"Colonial education departments depend ultimately for their charter on the attitude of the House of Commons and English nation towards life. But the English nation has not got an attitude, in the sense that the French nation or the totalitarian state has an attitude. ... the English people are vague in their thought and inarticulate in its expression. ... There is no one document which defines the official attitude to our subject races." 42

The next quotation comes nearer the truth. Referring to the responsibilities of a League of Nations mandate and Lugard's "dual mandate" he adds:

"Our task is twofold - so to develop the lands and races committed to our charge as to benefit the world as a whole, including, of course, ourselves, and also the races that inhabit those lands." 43

However, he made it clear that if education officers wanted guidance on political aims, then education for self-government was one such aim. But education departments would wait in vain for guidance from the English (Mayhew uses "English" where, today, we would use "British") through constitutional channels; whatever that may have meant !

The Christian ethic comes through with:

"The greatest importance must ... be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction."

Mayhew's paternalistic philosophy is tempered by the following observation:

"We want a good African or Malay or Fijian, not a bad (copy of a) European." 44

But guidance and help should be offered.

The traditional British establishment attitude regarding technical education appears:

"We (the A.C.E.C.) emphasise the value of a general education, not only as a basis of specialised training but also because it gives what no specialised training can give - means for the enjoyment of life as distinct from means for the earning of a livelihood. Those who urge that a child should learn only what is useful are usually those who want a perpetual supply of cheap labour. They hope that the child who learns only to dig and hoe will never want to do anything else. It is not the business of the schools to feed the labour market. It is their business to help pupils, not only to live, but to live well. Pupils will stay in the villages if village conditions are improved." 45

Mayhew makes a brief reference to Malawi, when considering the problem of the traditional chief and the growing educated classes:

"It (the solution) is more likely to be found in village welfare training centres where native chiefs take courses side by side with village teachers and technical department officers. This has been effective in Nyasaland (Jeanes Training Centre) and the practice is spreading." 46

The connection between education and social and economic development was mentioned and Mayhew indicated that the A.C.E.C. maintained liaison with the Secretary of State's other advisory committees on agricultural and public health matters.

Policy Towards British Tropical Africa

Mayhew has a comment on priorities:

"Rapid advance is impossible in countries with a relatively small revenue, though present poverty need not prevent the establishment of sure foundations. In the less developed countries the social services, including education, often receive a smaller proportion of expenditure because peace, order, and security must first be established; bridges and roads must be built, and the foundation of material progress laid." 47

In H.M. Government's 1930 Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa it was stressed that an important educational objective was to help Africans improve the quality of life in their own areas. People should not be compelled to leave the land in order to seek employment with "alien" employers.

What to produce should be left to the local people.

This led to a comment about taxes:

"It is, indeed, a positive duty of the governments to make sure that the native has an effective choice in the way in which he meets his taxes, and every care should be taken to provide that taxation, whether central or local, does not, in its result, actually oblige the native to labour for wages as the only practicable means of obtaining the money wherewith to pay his tax." 48

Mayhew continued:

"No attempt has yet been made to cover educationally in any dependency the whole area or population. In some areas the portion covered is extremely small. In all, the policy is to lay firm foundations, to make quality the first consideration, and to establish gradually a system of effective centres from which little by little trained men and women can proceed on extensive work." 49

The role of the Christian missions is explained and the point made that in both Nyasaland and The Gambia mission schools were functioning long before government education departments were established. There was also a time when government drew upon ordained missionary educationists to be principals of government institutions.

"The white man plans for Africa, and he is bound to do so. But it is useless and dangerous for him to plan too far ahead. Africa must eventually work out her own salvation. Our business is essentially to offer our best and to train Africa to make a wise choice." 50

Recognition was given to the growing localisation of primary and some secondary schools and the various African voluntary agencies beginning to fund their own institutions.

Reference was also made to the policy of establishing schools for chiefs and their sons so that indigenous institutions might be modernised. The work of the Jeanes Centres in Kenya, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia was explained; how these model village "communities", rather than "schools", aided by the Carnegie Corporation of the U.S.A., were improving the local environment. The course for Nyasaland Native Authorities at the Domasi Centre received special mention.

He considered the "Education of the Directing Classes", and referred to the opinion of a 1931 Parliamentary Joint Select Committee that held that Africans must be educated to take an increasing share in the development and functioning of their social services. While this entailed a certain elitist approach those affected should not become strangers to their own culture; on the other hand, this did not mean a curriculum geared exclusively to local studies.⁵¹ Considering that this was written prior to and not during the Second World War the author deserves some credit.

The fact was admitted that West Africa was more advanced than East- and, by extension, Central- Africa in this respect of African leadership. Although The Gambia could boast no senior African appointments, Sierra Leone, a territory connected with The Gambia over the years, had an assistant director of education, an inspector of schools, three subordinate inspectors and many headmasters of local origin. There were also two assistant Colonial Secretaries in the administration.

The A.C.E.C., 1933, proposed that three West African and one East African post-secondary institutions should be developed to university status, through the system usual at that time, of apprenticeship through university college, under London University supervision, to full independent university status.

Mayhew makes a strange comment, namely:

"There is no reason why west coast students should be so dependent on American bounty and American institutions." 52

The reason was surely plain, financial. Afro-American colleges and universities, much to their credit, had for long

been very generous towards Africans who reached their doors.

Special mention was made of that notable pioneer university institution, Fourah Bay in Sierra Leone; jointly managed by the Church Missionary Society and the Methodist Missionary Society, as well as Achimota School, the "child" of Governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Mr Alec Fraser (whose son was to work in Nyasaland) and Dr Aggrey. Both institutions had attracted Gambians of many generations.

In East Africa, Makerere College, established in Uganda 1922, was very important but its influence in Central Africa was not so significant but through no fault of its administrators. Even when secondary education finally started in Malawi, in the 1940s, no local pupil could reach the Makerere entrance examination standard.

Concerning university curriculum Mayhew made the point that African degrees and diplomas must have international comparability and recognition. Fears of educating too many unemployable graduates should not impede development as universities were not exclusively employment opportunities oriented.

He does not quote Aggrey who said, in effect, that by educating a boy one educated an individual but by educating a girl one educated a family, nevertheless, that was clearly his philosophy also. Some undated statistics, not very reliable data therefore, were given to reinforce Mayhew's theme that more should be done:

Enrolment of Boys and Girls in Schools in Tropical Africa

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
The Gambia	1,422	757
Nyasaland	111,059	82,080

On policy he commented:

"The conduct of women's education is left mainly to missions, The governments feel not only that missions can give the religious foundations which women's education pre-eminently requires, but also that the European women employed in mission work have special opportunities of getting to know African women as they really are and of adapting education to their requirements." 53

General

Mayhew concludes his survey of the African educational

scene with a few brief reminders. On the West African coast the British Government had had some responsibility for education for one hundred years whereas in East Africa nowhere was the period longer than thirty five years. Nyasaland received a mention when he discussed the economics of primary education, saying that the missions were the main providers. The point was made that mission education was cheaper than the same provided by government. But he only gave the Gold Coast (Ghana) as an example:

Cost of education per pupil per annum (Primary)

mission: £4.35

government: £7.20

Overseas aid as a factor in educational development was not (then) a factor for consideration:

"The pace of advance is necessarily set by the revenue, and this ... is per head of population very small in comparison with that of more highly developed countries. The educational expenditure per head of population and the percentage of revenue devoted to education are also comparatively small. As a country advances economically, and as its revenue grows, the pace of educational advance quickens." 54

Notes and References: Chapter One

1 This chapter draws upon material and data provided for two Colonial Office Conferences in 1927 and 1930 respectively:

Colonial Office Conference 1927; Summary of Proceedings; Cmd. 2883; London; H.M.S.O.; 1927. Mentioned hereafter as C.O.C. 1927 (a)

Appendices to the Summary of Proceedings; Cmd. 2884; London; H.M.S.O.; 1927. Mentioned hereafter as C.O.C. 1927 (b)

Colonial Office Conference 1930; Summary of Proceedings; Cmd. 3628; London; H.M.S.O.; 1930. Mentioned hereafter as C.O.C. 1930 (a)

Appendices to the Summary of Proceedings; Cmd 3629; London; H.M.S.O.; 1930. Mentioned hereafter as C.O.C. 1930 (b)

These two conferences were formidable affairs indeed, the former, the first ever in the "colonial" rather than "imperial" sense, was held at the Colonial Office from the 10th May to the 31st May, 1927, and the second from the 23rd June to the 15th July, 1930.

By "imperial" it is understood that the self-governing dominions were involved as well as dependent colonies. Thus "colonial" implies only the latter;

The lists of participants can only be described as distinguished and as gatherings of senior decision-makers and decision-implementers, they cannot be faulted. From the full attendance lists provided in the documents, below is given a small selection specific to this study:

The 1927 Conference included:

The Right Hon. L.S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies (Chairman)

The Right Hon. W. Ormsby Gore, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies

Brig.-General Sir Samuel Wilson, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies

Mr R.S.D. Rankine, C.M.G., Chief Secretary, Nyasaland

The Right Hon. Sir Frederick D. Lugard, G.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical African Dependencies. (Note: this committee is the same as that described in other documents as the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa)

Mr A.R. Ainsworth, Assistant Secretary, Board of Education

Mr J.H. Oldham, A.C.N.E.B.T.A.D.

Mr H. Vischer, Secretary of A.C.N.E.B.T.A.D.

Major R.D. Furse, D.S.O., Private Secretary (Appointments)

to the Secretary of State for the Colonies
 No one was identified as coming from, or representing,
 The Gambia

The 1930 Conference included:

The Right Hon. Lord Passfield, Secretary of State for the Colonies (Chairman)
 Dr T. Drummond Shiels, M.C., M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies
 Brig.-General Sir S.H. Wilson, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.B.E., Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies
 Lieut.-Colonel W.B. Davidson-Houston, C.M.G., Chief Secretary, Nyasaland
 Mr H.R. Palmer, C.M.G., C.B.E., Governor-Designate of the (sic) Gambia
 Mr H. Vischer, C.B.E., Joint Secretary, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies
 Mr A.J. Mayhew, C.I.E., Joint Secretary, A.C.E.C.
 Major R.D. Furse, D.S.O., Private Secretary (Appointments) Colonial Office

Not only were there the plenary sessions but a considerable number of meetings of technical committees. The Prime Minister, Mr Baldwin, received members at No 10, Downing Street on 31st May, 1927, and gave a brief speech of welcome. On both occasions Their Majesties the King and Queen received the Conference Representatives and their wives at Buckingham Palace, on 14th May, 1927 and 14th July, 1930.

- 2 Cross, Colin; The Fall of the British Empire; London; Hodder and Stoughton; 1968; p 22
- 3 Blackburne, Sir Kenneth; Lasting Legacy; London; Johnson; 1976; p 42
- 4 This statement is very significant in a long term political sense as well as in its own context of educational development. British colonial policy was not static, whatever latter day critics may say. Certainly some form of transfer of power was envisaged in many territories, what is not known is the extent or time scale.
- 5 Jeffries, Sir Charles; The Colonial Office; London; George Allen and Unwin; 1956; p 45
- 6 In reference 9 below the name G.F. Seel, Principal, will be found in the staff list. Although many of his colleagues may not have had "personal knowledge of the places with which they dealt", Seel did. The Public Record Office archives reveal his activities and the following details, from his obituary in "The Times", 4th November, 1976, are worthy of note.

Educated at King's School, Macclesfield and Corpus Christi

College, Oxford, he served with the Cheshire Regiment in the First World War. In 1919 he passed the reconstruction examination for the Home Civil Service and after three years in the Air Ministry he transferred to the Colonial Office. He followed what was called "the normal course" in his career and, 1938, was sent overseas as Secretary of the Rhodesia-Nyasaland Royal Commission. He was head of a department at the C.O. from 1941 to 1946, then promoted to Superintending Assistant Secretary and, soon after, Assistant Under-Secretary of State. In 1950 he became Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies and British Chairman of the Caribbean Commission. His final appointment before retiring in 1959 was Senior Crown Agent for Overseas Governments and Administrations. In 1950 he was made a K.C.M.G.

Much is made of the government versus missionary factor in decision-making so it is not irrelevant to mention another side of Seel. He was a lifelong Churchman and member of the governing body of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and chairman of its overseas committee. He was a Government nominee on the Board of Governors of Overseas Service and chairman, 1962 to 1971, of the British Leprosy Relief Association.

Naturally obituaries tend to highlight strong points and of his routine work it was said:

"He was reliable and his shrewd common sense enabled him to make up his own mind; he could be impatient in the presence of woolly thinking or excessive verbiage covering up lack of decision. He preferred action to words."

Minutes and memos on the P.R.O./C.O. files, over his initials or signature, give no reason to doubt that assessment.

- 7 Colonial finances were based upon the Victorian tax-and-budget policy.

"The basic aim on the tax side was to keep taxes as low as possible in order to minimize the disturbance to business." (Hicks p 142)

"On the budgetary side Victorian policy insisted that the Chancellor must always plan for a balanced budget, save in the most severe emergency. In order to ensure this he must in fact aim at an overbalance. A budget surplus was regarded as essential for two purposes in particular. In the first place (presuming that it had been obtained by an economy in expenditure or a 'natural' increase in the revenue) it would enable tax rates to be reduced ... In the second place a budget surplus was important because it would enable"

"some reduction in the national debt to be made."
(Hicks pp 143-144)

"Under Gladstone the budget explicitly assumed the character of a comprehensive annual statement of central government expenditure and revenue for the year just ending, set against its estimates, and accompanied by estimates for the year just starting, first on the basis of existing tax rates, then with adjustments necessary to secure the desired balance." (Hicks p 150)

Thus, the theory of the ever-balanced budget prevented any large scale expansion of aid based upon U.K. Treasury grants as well as inhibiting colonial government treasuries. It was the economist Lord Keynes who, in 1931 analysed the depression and, four years later, wrote his "The General Theory of Employment Interest and Money" and set in train a different approach towards public finance. Gladstonian orthodoxy began to crumble.

Reference: Hicks, Ursula K.; British Public Finances
1880-1952; London; Oxford University Press;
2nd impression; 1958

8 It is not inappropriate to note here some of the economic concepts of British colonialism:

"British colonial policy had three aims. The first was to raise the living standards of the people for whom the British government thought of itself as a trustee. Secondly, policy embodied the idea that Britain not only held her colonies 'in trust' for their inhabitants but also held them, as the League of Nations put it, as a 'sacred trust to civilization' - access to raw materials by the industrial nations being the most important aspect of this. Thirdly, since much of the cost of administration and defence of the colonial empire fell on the British taxpayer (as did the cost of funds provided for economic development after 1929), it was felt that the colonies had a duty to extend the supply of raw materials to Britain and to provide a market for British manufactured goods." (Meredith p 485)

The 1929 Colonial Development Act was introduced

"... because the Conservative government needed anti-unemployment measures to present to the electorate and because it realised that the 1926 (Guaranteed Loan) Act had failed and a greater degree of assistance was necessary if Britain was to benefit from the development of the colonial empire." (Meredith pp 486-487)

The Colonial Development Advisory Committee was established

to consider requests for aid. It kept to the principle that the main function of grants was to reduce British unemployment levels but was not exclusively bound by it. Especially if, development indirectly helped increase a colony's wealth and purchasing power. In the P.R.O. archival material it was stressed that education did not qualify for C.D.F. aid initially, hence it is revealing to discover the actual distribution, among projects, of C.D.F. assistance over the period 1929-1940.

<u>Category under the C.D. Act</u>	<u>% of total assistance given</u>
Agricultural development	6
Internal transport and communication	30
Harbours	5
Forestry	1
Fisheries	2
Surveys	3
Land reclamation and drainage	5
Water supply and water power	10
Electricity	2
Mineral resources	9
Scientific research	7
Public health	16
Miscellaneous	4
	100
	(Meredith p 493)

Over the period 1929-1939 the two territories under consideration received the following amounts as grants under C.D.A.C.

The Gambia	£25,265	for six projects
Nyasaland	£756,101	for twenty nine projects
		(Meredith pp 490-1)

The C.D.A.C. could not initiate schemes and the Colonial Office did little by way of proposals, leaving the governments, absorbed with the Indirect Rule philosophy of "Developing the African along his own lines", tended towards benevolent passivity, steering away from industrialisation and the attendant "evils" of urbanisation. One can note how decision-making could have been profoundly affected by this philosophy that, basically, regarded the Empire as complementary, as Amery (1929) is quoted as putting it:

"... the Colonies are essentially agricultural and producers of primary commodities. It is not very probable, or indeed, very desirable in the interests of the populations themselves, that industrial development should be unduly accelerated in their case." (Meredith p 495)

Reference: Meredith, David; The British Government and

Colonial Economic Policy, 1919-39;
 article; The Economic History Review; vol.
 XXVIII; no. 3; Welwyn Garden City; The Broad-
 water Press Ltd. for the Economic History
 Society; August 1975

- 9 The personnel involved naturally changed with the years but taking 1939 as an example, those concerned can be identified and are listed below:

Parkinson, Sir Cosmo; K.C.B., K.C.M.G., O.B.E.,
 Permanent Under Secretary of State
 Shuckburgh, Sir John E., K.C.M.G., C.B., Deputy
 Under Secretary of State
 MacDonald, Rt. Hon. Malcolm, M.P., Secretary of State
 Dufferin and Ava, The Marquess of; Parliamentary
 Under Secretary of State
 Calder, J.A., C.M.G., M.A. Assistant Secretary
 Downie, H.F., O.B.E., M.A. Assistant Secretary
 Boyd, E.B., C.M.G., C.V.O., M.A. Assistant Secretary
 Seel, G.F., B.A. Principal
 Sidebotham, J.B., M.A. Principal
 Lee, F.G., B.A. Principal
 Grossmith, C.A. Assistant Principal
 Swanzy, H.V.L. Assistant Principal

(Note: Except for the two politicians, MacDonald and Dufferin, the officials are in order of seniority)

Below the rank of Assistant Under Secretary of State jobs were interchangeable with those in the Dominions Office.
 Furse, R.D. Major, C.M.G., D.S.O., B.A. Assistant Secretary
 Newbolt, A.F. Capt., B.A. Principal

The Advisory Committee for Education in the Colonies

Chairman: Parliamentary Under Secretary of State
 Deputy Chairman: Dawe, A.J., C.M.G., O.B.E.
 Burney, E., M.C., H.M.I.
 Cameron, Sir Donald, G.C.M.G., K.B.E.
 Church, A.G., Major, D.S.O., M.C.
 Clarke, Professor F.
 Dougall, The Reverend J.W.C.
 Firth, Dr Raymond
 Huxley, Professor Julian
 Keith, J.L.
 Mackinnon, Professor Doris
 Mayhew, A.I., C.M.G., C.I.E. Joint Secretary
 Oakden, Miss E.C., H.M.I.
 Perham, Miss M.
 Scott, H.S., C.M.G.
 Sibly, Sir Franklin, Ll.D., D.Sc.
 Spens, Sir Will, C.B.E., Ll.D.
 Stannard, H.
 Vischer, H., C.M.G., C.B.E. Joint Secretary
 Winstedt, Sir Richard, K.B.E., C.M.G.
 Winter, R.K., C.M.G.

The Official Secretary of the A.C.E.C. was G.A. Lusby from the Colonial Secretary

10 C.O.C. 1927 (a) p 67

11 C.O.C. 1927 (b) pp 209-218

12 C.O.C. 1927 (b) p 211

13 C.O.C. 1930 (b) p 125

14 Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa
Some points from the 1925 memorandum concerning decision-making.

The Voluntary Agencies were welcomed by government which reserved the right of final control and inspection. Advisory Boards should be established with not only senior officials and non-officials but also indigenous members.

The Education Service had a vital role in the economic development of the territories and so it should attract the best European and African teachers.

Grants-in-aid should be paid to voluntary agency schools reaching and maintaining certain standards.

Vernacular studies should be encouraged and as far as possible teaching and textbooks should be Africa oriented. Native teachers, with a good proportion of women, should be employed as much as possible. Teacher training very important.

Not only Government but Voluntary Agencies also should employ inspectors.

The education of girls and women should be encouraged but with diplomacy. Local customs must be respected.

Subject to the local conditions of each colony the following basic school system was suggested:

- (a) elementary education for boys and girls
- (b) secondary or intermediate schools of more than one type/curriculum
- (c) technical and vocational schools
- (d) higher education, with the possibility of development to university level
- (e) adult education

15 In 1927 the D.C.S. was P.H. Ezekiel

16 C.O.C. 1927 (a) p 69

17 Colonial Office; Appointments in His Majesty's Colonial Service; C.S.R.I.; London; H.M.S.O.; 1950; p 5

- 18 Jeffries, p 3
- 19 Ibid., p 104
- 20 C.O.C. 1930 (a) p 90
- 21 Cross, p 152
- 22 Ibid., p 153
- 23 C.O.C. 1927 (b) p 11
- 24 Ibid., pp 13-14
- 25 Taylor, A.J.P.; English History 1914-1945; Oxford; The Clarendon Press; 1965; p 120
- 26 C.O.C. 1927 (b) p 14
- 27 Ibid., p 16
- 28 Ibid., p 17
- 29 Ibid., p 21
- 30 C.O.C. 1927 (a) p 13
- 31 Ibid., p 14
 Also: Hennessy, Maurice; reviewing: Whelpton, Eric; The Making of an Englishman; Bachman and Turner:
 "From a West African viewpoint the book has special interest. The author represented the typical Englishman of his time whose knowledge of the British Colonial Empire verged on the pathetic. In 1948 one lecturer asked 500 experienced newsmen how many British colonies (there) were. Not a single member of his audience had any idea." London; West Africa; No. 3158; 23rd January 1978; p 151
- 32 C.O.C. 1927 (a) pp 16-17
- 33 Cmd. 7433
- 34 C.O.C. 1930 (a) p 106
- 35 C.O.C. 1927 (a) pp 41-42
- 36 Colonial Office; Appointments in His Majesty's Colonial Service; C.S.R.I.; London; H.M.S.O.; 1950; p 31
- 37 Mayhew, Arthur; Education in the Colonial Empire; London; Longmans, Green and Co., 1938
- 38 Ibid., p 3

- 39 Ibid., p 9-10
- 40 Ibid., p 21
- 41 Ibid., p 24
- 42 Ibid., pp 33-34
- 43 Ibid., p 34
- 44 Ibid., pp 45-46
- 45 Ibid., p 49
- 46 Ibid., p 51
- 47 Ibid., p 71
- 48 Ibid., p 92
- 49 Ibid., p 100
- 50 Ibid., p 105
- 51 Ibid., p 156
- 52 Ibid., p 159
- 53 Ibid., p 187
- 54 Ibid., p 200

C H A P T E R T W O

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: LOCAL POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INFLUENCES: AFRICAN

Political Developments

It is no exaggeration to state that the political advancement of The Gambia and Malawi have been poles apart. During the period under consideration, 1925 to 1945, no Gambian is known to have lost his or her life in what was often called "the struggle for independence". Malawi, on the other hand, has a very different story to tell; Martyrs' Day, the 3rd March, reminds the population of the fact.

Violence and bloodshed have been fairly common since before the declaration of the Nyasaland Protectorate in 1891. Perhaps the most serious opposition to foreign control developed when Malawi was forced into the Central African Federation; 52 Africans were killed during the emergency that culminated in the breakup of the Federation and the independence of Malawi in July 1964. Of course, it cannot be argued that there was no opposition to British control in The Gambia, for there certainly was. For example, the cycostyled "newspapers" or newsletters that circulated from the capital, Banjul, and out through the Provinces, were often blisteringly vitriolic in their attacks upon individual expatriates in government service as well as Gambians working too closely with them. A short simple reason for this difference between the two people cannot be given but, no doubt, the fact that there had been no alienation of land in The Gambia not too much interference with local law and custom, may have helped contribute to the more evolutionary progress of Gambian politics. There is also the fact that Britain had never been completely satisfied to have retained that odd little enclave on the West Coast. It cost more to maintain than its economic wealth ever justified, and Britain was certainly pleased to grant independence in February, 1965.

One might summarise the British attitude towards The Gambia by saying that there was a "naval station mentality."

Bathurst was a naval and military base and settlement or development plans were never seriously considered.

Malawi, though seeming poor in many respects, had shown that it was capable of economic development and had enterprising foreigners who had invested all they possessed and put down roots in it.

Africans in Malawi had, since before the Chilembwe Rising of 1915 and with increasing vigour in the 1920s, developed independent native associations for self-help, particularly among that widely scattered section of the community, the emigrant labourers who travelled in organised groups as far as the gold-mines of South Africa. The local African churches also provided help and channels of advancement in addition to those governmental and mission facilities.

Malawians did not want to become "black Europeans". Considering the arrogant rudeness they often met from planters this was not surprising. In The Gambia, on the other hand, an old world, rather friendly atmosphere hung over Banjul. Government House was not regarded by the majority with hatred and "keeping up with the Joneses" (incidentally, that was the name of a very well known conservative Sierra Leonean family who had a "branch" settled in Banjul) was very obvious. To speak the King's English was a cherished objective attained by many.

A Problem of Definition

In Africa today, and in African writing, the term "expatriate" tends to be synonymous with "European", sometimes "American", or "white man". Logically, it should be used, for example, for a Sierra Leonean working in The Gambia or Liberia. However, it is not so used and in this study the current usage will be followed. A more difficult semantic problem arises with the word "African".

At a political level, for example, a distinction is often made between activities that emanate from Africa itself and those activities coming from people of African origin living in other continents. For convenience this group is usually identified as Afro-something, thus, Afro-Americans, Afro-West-Indians or Afro-Latin Americans.

Another difficulty has been raised, or created, by

Bastide when he attempts to distinguish between African civilisations in the New World and Negro civilisations in the New World.¹ Briefly, he makes the point that if the original slaves kept their tribal identity (the most obvious example being the so-called Maroon states, that comprised groups of runaway slaves living in inaccessible areas, e.g., the cockpit country of inland Jamaica) then their Africanness remained relatively pure and changed only with the natural passing of time. Whereas when intermarriage took place among slaves of different tribal origin, a Negro culture developed, a mixed culture influenced to a great extent by the environment.

While it is not hair-splitting to make these distinctions concerning the African peoples wherever they may be found, there is something that binds them all together, not necessarily the "negritude" of President Leopold Senghor but something like it. In this study the word "African" means a person, or in the adjectival form, a concept of thing, belonging to the continent of Africa itself or wherever the Africans, as people, were or are living. The examples below are provided for clarification.

Influences may have reached The Gambia or Malawi through a devious but nevertheless African pathway. A slave is sent from the old Grain Coast to Georgia in the U.S.A. The plantation owner, with his slaves, sides with the British in the War of Independence, the American Revolution, and the slaves, as a reward, are given their freedom. However, the new freemen cannot settle in the new United States of America and so are settled, by the British, in Nova Scotia. After a generation the Nova Scotian descendant is "repatriated" to Sierra Leone where, because of his British name, literacy and fluency in English, he obtains employment with a trading company, mission or colonial government department. More time passes and a Sierra Leonean descendant, now a civil servant, is transferred to The Gambia where he settles. But, when his voice is joined with that of a "native" born Gambian, say a Mandinka, demanding better schools or franchise, it is an African voice. Keeping to this example for a moment, the Nova Scotian may have bypassed the slavery/soldier stage by having reached Nova Scotia by way

of a Jamaican Maroon village. Or, again, the Gambian may be descended from a West Indian ex-serviceman who decided to settle in The Gambia, when given the choice, following the Soninki-Marabout Wars in the nineteenth century; West Indian troops had been used then to pacify the country.

In the case of Malawi, an Afro-American Baptist missionary may have introduced an idea or an aspiration that passed through Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute, the cotton plantations of Carolina, the slave ships and Angola ... generations before.

From the examples given above the writer wishes to underline the idea that concepts can clearly be identified as African whether they come from the continent of Africa or any part of the world where Africans are found. In so far as the point of view of a sixty year-old Gambian of Creole origin differs from that of a twenty-six year old Gambian of Wollof origin one might say that this represents a normal human difference between the generations. Those Victorian attired West Africans, petitioners for limited political franchise, called by later generations "Uncle Toms", and the dark-spectacled "Afro-hair styled" Black Power leaders, are all Africans concerned with one objective - the improvement of the lot of the people they represent but at a different point in time.

Further to illustrate the above argument a brief examination will now be made of certain individuals and institutions that, over the years, made demands upon the colonial authorities for better opportunities in education for Africans. Sometimes the impression is obtained that the demands fluctuated and almost died away. In reality they never did. Although our detailed study begins in 1925 it is necessary to go back to the nineteenth century, in West Africa, to note the activities of a very important African educationist, Edward Wilmot Blyden. Before doing so the fact must be emphasised that especially before and during the period under consideration, The Gambia and Sierra Leone were closely connected in terms of administration and the movement of ideas.

Edward Wilmot Blyden ²

Born in 1832 in St. Thomas, West Indian Virgin Islands,

he emigrated to Liberia in 1851. Blyden has been called the originator of the concept of "the African personality" but he advocated the use of things European in order to remove African's inferiority complex and restore their pride in their race. At that time racial equality was to be proved by using the existing models of success.

Blyden held educational posts in Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone but, particularly in Liberia, he experienced difficulties in retaining a job for long, often because of his intense dislike of mulattoes, then a powerful group.

Down to 1885 he urged Britain to expand throughout West Africa, not because he supported colonialism but because he preferred a large British West Africa, from which to proceed towards independence, than a large French West Africa. For a brief while he was Liberian Ambassador to the Court of St. James.

Concerning educational administration, as early as 1872, he urged the sympathetic governor of Sierra Leone, Sir John Pope Hennesy, to establish an Education Department. Blyden was somewhat puzzled and irritated by the quarrels among the Christian missionaries. It was this that led him to request for a government Education Department so that the missions would have to take a subordinate place in the provision and administration of education.

How far did Blyden's views influence The Gambia? Until 1930, when the Gambian Education Department was established, Sierra Leone provided the main influence, often the legal control, over the educational developments of the smaller country. Until very recently many Gambian teachers and education officers were educated in and around Freetown. There were also the family connections between the two countries. Blyden's basic theme was that the Africans themselves knew best what they wanted and were able, within a framework that may, perhaps, be European, to develop a system of African education. For generations Gambians, or rather the Banjul Gambians of Aku origin, had been making the same point.

Malawian Intellectuals

Malawi did not produce a contemporary of Edward Blyden,

for no other reason than that educational development, as understood in its structured Western sense, started somewhat later. However, acknowledgement must be made of the pioneer work of William Koyi, one of the four Lovedale trainees who accompanied Robert Laws to Mombera's part of Ngoniland, who contributed immensely to the foundation of Livingstonia.³

There was a most unusual Australian Baptist, one Joseph Booth who, it is declared, used the phrase "Africa for the Africans" before Marcus Garvey, at work in Malawi in the 1890s, preaching an egalitarian form of workers' Christianity. He was not an African but very much involved with Africans and antagonistic towards the unsympathetic middle class European missionaries.

He played an important role in founding three missions that were based upon simple industrial activity, in the form of building construction, shoe making and repairing, carpentry and joinery and basic smithing. These were the Zambezi Industrial Mission, the Nyasa Industrial Baptist Mission and the Baptist Industrial Mission of Scotland.

During the period 1897 to 1908 Booth wandered between Africa, Britain and America. He introduced a number of Malawians to the highly independent religious sects, that were also very political, then thriving in the United States among whites and Afro-Americans. For one such Malawian, John Chilembwe, mentioned in more detail below, it was a dramatic experience that was to alter his life and the pattern of development of his country. Booth realised that the political, social and economic changes in Africa could only come about through the Africans themselves.

John Chilembwe⁴

He had originally studied at the Blantyre Mission and, 1892, became the trusted house servant of Joseph Booth. Booth took Chilembwe to the U.S.A. and helped him gain admission to a small Baptist Negro Seminary in Lynchburg, Virginia. Although the two men remained friendly, after Chilembwe's return to Malawi about 1900, some of the Afro-American's understandable mistrust of white people had been picked up by Chilembwe in America.

Shepperson suggests that Chilembwe may have met Keir Hardie, the Labour M.P., on his way home to Malawi, because of a reference to a visit to the House of Commons when seeking a letter of introduction to Commissioner Sharpe in Zomba.

With financial support from the Negro National Baptist Convention in America Chilembwe bought a plot of land at Mbombwe near Chiradzulu; there he established the Providence Industrial Mission. As time passed the somewhat simple mission became a well-organised station, the administrative districts of Chiradzulu and Mulanje provided most of the adherents but some came from as far as Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique. A significant step was the establishment of a chain of schools. A fine brick church, of which photographic records remain, and plantations of cotton, tea and coffee completed the unit.

The P.I.M. existed very much on settler sufferance for it was a plantation society like their own. But in that fertile area land was scarce and the influx of Africans to the P.I.M., their own mission, was too much for the infrastructure. Added to this, neighbouring white settlers were very uncooperative and criticised Chilembwe's every move.

It is rather ironic that the final explosion of feelings should take place on the estates of Livingstone Bruce, a son-in-law of David Livingstone.

There were many culminating factors leading to the outbreak: the hated hut tax; the "tangata" system of labour rather than money rent; labour in lieu of taxes; petty and often humiliating racial discrimination. Furthermore, the families of Nyasa soldiers of the King's African Rifles killed in action in German East Africa received no pensions nor allowances.

On the 23rd of January 1915 the Rising started but within three days it was over. Three Europeans and a larger number of Africans were killed. The myth of the happy natives died with Chilembwe, shot fleeing after his organisation collapsed, but the authorities in Zomba were a long time in learning their lesson.

Other Missions in Malawi

Two early Afro-American missionaries to work in Malawi

were Thomas Branch, introduced by Booth to his Seventh Day Adventist Mission at Cholo, and L.N. Cheek who joined Chilembwe at the P.I.M.

The self-help movement in African education had close connections with the missions and the native offshoots of the missions. Basic literacy in local languages and English was greatly stimulated by publications of the American Watchtower Bible and Tract Society. Joseph Booth was possibly the first Watchtower agent in Africa. In 1906 he visited Pastor C.T. Russell in the U.S.A. and, from 1907 to 1909, worked from South Africa in the Society's interests.

The Overtoun Institution at Livingstonia also pioneered local language study and development. Its first periodical, "Makani" (News) circulated for two years, 1906-1908, but twenty years later its "Vyaro na Vyaro" (Country after country) was more successful. Political comment, trade union news and items about absent friends and workers in South Africa were published in it. ⁵

It was from Livingstonia, as the Overtoun Institution, is often called, that Charles Domingo came.

He was the first native assistant teacher or instructor there but, although an elder of the church, he left because his ambitions were thwarted; the authorities would not ordain him a minister of the church. He tried to establish an African Overtoun Institution where African leaders could be trained for new responsibilities. In this endeavour he was unsuccessful but he started a movement. ⁶

The independent African churches with their schools were the main avenues of agitation down to the Rising of 1915. Chilembwe's P.I.M. was better organised than most and, although banned for about ten years, it is flourishing today.

The Rising of 1915 was followed by an enquiry into its causes and one planter, A. Livingstone Bruce, proposed banning all schools run by Africans. Realising that such a move could be the thin end of the wedge against all mission education, Dr Laws used his influence, "at home" because only the Universities' Mission to Central Africa of all the missions was represented at the enquiry, to have the Bruce motion withdrawn.

The Providence Industrial Mission and Dr Malekebu ⁷

After the Rising of 1915 the church and mission at Chiradzulu were razed to the ground and the authorities may have considered the matter closed. In one way it was but in another, phoenix-like the P.I.M. arose from its own ashes due principally to another pioneer, the Reverend Dr Daniel Sharpe Malekebu.

Malekebu, born about 1890, had attended the P.I.M. primary school and had been baptized by John Chilembwe. He made his own way to the U.S.A. where he contacted Miss Emma B. DeLaney, a Negro missionary for whom he had worked and she arranged for his education to be sponsored. He graduated M.D. from Meharry Medical College, Nashville, in 1917. Seven years later he responded to a request to return home.

The Chief Secretary at Zomba, Rankine, wrote to Oldham at Edinburgh House enquiring as to the status of the "Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention" which wanted to re-open the "Baptist" (for so P.I.M. was) mission work in the country, March 1926. Oldham replied in an encouraging way and explained the natural interest that Negroes in America had for Africa.

Struggling against adversity Malekebu and his wife, helped by Church members, rebuilt the P.I.M. at Mbombwe and, in time, Malekebu's opinion was sought by the colonial government in educational matters. To their credit the Chiradzulu District Commissioner and Dr Hetherwick, of the Blantyre Mission, asked the Reverend Richard Paterson, at a B.M. outpost, to keep a friendly eye on the Malekebus; this he did.

"... altogether too cheaty"

So often throughout this study an element of unreality creeps in because the people really influenced by the decision-making in and for education, the indigenous inhabitants of The Gambia and Malawi, seem mute.

Clearly they were not, but their comments and protests were not so easily publicised as those of officials and missionaries supposedly acting on the African's behalf. That in itself was a failing for the clients of the educational system were as capable as anyone else of identifying their needs and proclaiming them. In many cases their voices were stifled,

not openly but subtly by simply ignoring them. The result was that the protesters simply opted out. The unpopularity of school and the unwillingness of parents to send their children to school was often because they did not like what the school offered or what it signified. Occasionally a voice ended the conspiracy of silence and such a one was Charles Domingo, mentioned on page 56 above, and is famous for his analysis of the situation in Malawi of his day, part is quoted below:

"There is too much failure among all Europeans in Nyasaland. The Three Combined Bodies: Missionaries - Government - and Companies or Gainers of money do form the same rule to look on a Native with mockery eyes ..."⁸

The style and spelling may be somewhat unusual for today, but the meaning is plain enough.

The African Churches⁹

Whereas in The Gambia Africans could turn to Islam in protest against real or imaginary white Christian intransigence, in Malawi Islam did not, and does not, hold the same attraction except for the Yao. The reaction against white missionaries took the form of alternative local Christian churches. These played a different role to that of Islam in The Gambia and produced some characters that were not found, in any equivalent guise, among the Gambian Moslems.

In The Gambia there were the Koranic schools, an illuminating description of which is provided by L.O. Sanneh,¹⁰ that preceded "Western" education and, later, proved another influence modifying government and missionary attitudes.

Western-style school does not necessarily mean a white Christian missionary school but, often in the West African context, a school organisation and administration based upon the Western pattern though owned by Moslems. In West Africa Moslem missionaries had been at work, strictly speaking, for centuries but in the "Western" sense since the early 1920s. H.J. Fisher has examined the modernisation of Islamic schooling in The Gambia¹¹ with particular reference to the Ahmadiyya missionaries.

The Ahmadiyya Indian missionaries arrived in West Africa in 1921 but were not always accepted, by orthodox Moslems, who

were suspicious of the Ahmadiyya "modern" approach to education.

Concerning The Gambia Fisher states:

"Here, on a smaller scale, later than Sierra Leone but before Liberia, we may trace the common pattern, of early, rather unsuccessful attempts at Muslim/Western education, followed by an Ahmadiyya contribution ... leading in reaction to new orthodox endeavour, countered in turn by an Ahmadiyya advance to secondary schooling. ... Muslim/Western education began with the Muhammeden School in Bathurst, its logbook going back to 1916, in most respects an ordinary government school though with a Muslim board of governors. It was not even a very good primary school, having been used rather as a sanctuary for aged or incompetent teachers."

A Malawian Pioneer ¹²

Below is an account of another, somewhat unconventional, influence upon decision-making.

President Banda's influence upon Malawian education has been and still is very profound. In his youth he travelled far, initially to South Africa, in search of his fortune. But he was not always alone on that journey. For part of that time he was accompanied by his uncle, the Reverend Hancock Msokera Phiri, the subject of this section.

Phiri was born near Kasungu in 1884, grandson of Chief Mwase Kasungu. 1898 saw him enter a local school of the Livingstonia Mission. Eventually he reached the Overtoun Institution where he stayed seven years. It was Laws who drew Phiri's attention to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, then working from an H.Q. in South Africa. Phiri also became acquainted, this time through his own reading, with Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute.

After an incredible odyssey covering Zambia, Rhodesia and South Africa, often financially aided by his slightly more affluent nephew, Kamuzu Banda, Phiri returned to Malawi an ordained A.M.E. minister. He greatly believed that education was the "handmaiden" of the Christian missions and so opened his first school in August 1925, before the Government Education Department was established.

In 1927 Phiri was unable to travel to Zomba for the famous Native Education Conference, most probably because the fare

was hard to find, but he wrote to Mr Gaunt, the Director of Education, apologizing for his absence.

Macdonald summed up Phiri's achievements as follows:

"(he) ... provided an object example as the spiritual leader of a African-administered church with a membership in Nyasaland in the thousands, and as the organizer of a viable school system with an enrollment of several hundred children. This was no mean accomplishment."

"Watchtowerites"

The official American Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, generally called the "Jehovah's Witnesses", also had an independent African splinter group called "Watchtower", its members being known as "Watchtowerites".¹³ Watchtowerites were at one time, in 1923, thought to be part of the "Chilembwe fraternity", as they addressed some prayers to him. Basically they were anti-European and obstructive towards colonial government government. As with the cargo cults of the Pacific they believed that the white people would depart and that material goods and luxuries would be brought to them from over the sea. An Afro-American Saviour figured in their beliefs and there would also be a reversal of colour in the world and the white people, now changed to black, would suffer the attendant indignities.

Lewis Bandawe and James Frederick Sangala

Lewis Bandawe, the first Malawian to be decorated M.B.E., had two careers over a period of fifty years: from 1902 to 1930 he was a teacher and missionary for the Blantyre Mission and from 1930 onwards he worked in government service and retired as Deputy Registrar of the High Court.¹⁴

Bandawe and other educated Malawians, outside the "traditional chiefly establishment" were members of "Native Associations" and government councils. These associations existed in many districts and were started after the First World War. No doubt the Rising of 1915 had impressed upon the colonial government the need to keep in closer touch with African grievances. Chiefs were not members of these Native Associations unless classified as "educated". This meant that over the years two types of African leaders emerged, the traditional indigenous chiefs and the educated "commoners". The former tended to be conservative and received a fair amount of

government support; senior chiefs being known as "Native Authorities".¹⁵ The latter were often regarded by Zomba as troublemakers and not really representative of the people's views. Time was to prove them wrong. Because the missions had provided the only avenue of education for generations, many influential members of the District Native Associations were pastors, e.g., the Rev. Thomas Maseya, Blantyre; the Revs. Yesaya Mlonyeni Chibambo and Charles Chidongo Chinula, Mombera.

The three tier system of government councils was intended to provide an avenue for African grievances to reach the authorities. These grievances tended to be concerned with tax injustices or the lack of educational facilities. At the grass roots there were the District Councils and then, higher up, the three Provincial Councils, for the North, Centre and South, and, finally, the African Protectorate Council that comprised chiefs and members of the Provincial Councils. The chairmen of these councils were respectively the District Commissioners, the Provincial Commissioners and, for the A.P.C., the Chief Secretary who was the most senior civil servant. If any grievance survived its passage through the three councils it could become a resolution and be sent from the A.P.C. to the Legislative Council for "action".

James Frederick Sangala, born 18th December, 1900, first a teacher then a commercial clerk, joined government service in 1930.¹⁶ He tried to advance girls' education through the formation in 1938 of a Parents' and Guardians' Association but received little parental support for equal opportunities for girls, as well as boys, beyond Standard III.

When, 1943, Henry Ascroft, of the Anglo-African Association, representing people of mixed race, petitioned Zomba for separate educational facilities for Coloured, i.e. mixed race, children Sangala and other Malawians protested. They held meetings to discuss this and other matters and, as a result, the Nyasaland African Congress was formed. A Lesotho teacher at Blantyre Secondary School, the Reverend Motsete, advised open membership so, initially, some Europeans provided advice and funds for the N.A.C.

No investigation of factors influencing decision-making in Malawi would be complete without some reference to plans to amalgamate or federate the territories of Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias. It is possible to find evidence, dating back to 1915, of activity designed to bring about such a merger. Settlers saw such a step either as one towards ultimate self-government and dominion status, or leading to large-scale economic gains. It is said that the small Nyasaland Protectorate was regarded as "... an imperial slum", a place which had no hope of surviving independently." ¹⁷

African inhabitants of the two northern territories rejected incorporation into Southern Rhodesia because of the racial segregation practised there. Briefly, although in Southern Rhodesia an African could be trained to help a white man, official policy precluded him being trained to supercede the white man.

The Bledisloe Report ¹⁸

Just prior to the outbreak of the Second World War the Bledisloe Report was published saying that immediate amalgamation of the three territories was undesirable and could not be recommended.¹⁹ The organisation of education in all three, however, received close consideration by the Commission.

The Report mentioned that in June 1935 and May 1938 there had been conferences of the Directors of Education of the three territories attempting to formulate a common syllabus for the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland. But, because of the Southern Rhodesian policy, mildly copied in Northern Rhodesia, of forbidding training of Africans to replace Europeans, it was not possible to agree beyond the elementary school level. On the other hand, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia were already discussing a common full six years secondary education course.

The Commission was unimpressed by the quality of education they observed, particularly that offered to the majority of Malawian children in the village schools. Educational provision was mainly by the Christian missions with direct government participation confined to the Jeanes Training Centre at Domasi near Zomba; and that received American aid.

Official Attitudes towards African Education

Until 1959 the Nyasaland Education Department did not function as a separate organisation in a clearly identifiable building but was part of the Colonial Secretariat. The Administrative Service would, in this situation, be seen clearly as the senior service.

Only in 1936 was it possible to find a Nyasa mentioned by name in the Education Department's Report, namely, Stevenson L. Kumakanga, Head African Teacher at the J.T.C. Under the "scaffold theory" this would be explainable as Africans were not intended to be part of the administrative structure. On the other hand this should not be taken as the sole indication of the Nyasalander's role in decision-making for not only were very forthright individuals involved with and through the missions but, from the 1933 Education Department Report, we see that a Nyasalander was appointed to the Governor's Advisory Committee on Education. This was Levi ("Lev") Z. Mumba, recipient of the King's Jubilee Medal, 1935, and a founder member of the Nyasaland African Congress Party, forerunner of today's ruling Malawi Congress Party. He, for sure, would not have been a silent member of the A.C.E.

Although not receiving great publicity Nyasalanders were constantly insisting on more and better educational facilities. What the officials thought of this can be judged from the following quotation. I.F.G. Stott, Superintendent of Education, Northern Province, is reported as follows:

"In all parts of the Province there is a good deal of loose talk among the people about the need for 'higher education' of various kinds, but there can be no real higher education of any kind until chiefs, people, teachers and pupils accept primary education at its proper valuation." 20

This comment by Stott is largely meaningless. He was not the first, nor the last, educationist to use the argument that improved higher facilities would follow only if there were a much more satisfactory performance at a lower level.

During the Second World War the whole educational system was placed on a care and maintenance basis but was given a prod when, 1943, C.W. Cox, ²¹ Educational Adviser to the

Secretary of State, drew attention to the fact that other territories were making more progress, relatively speaking, than Nyasaland, a country that had, between the Wars, supplied teachers and trained workers to other territories. In reality some activity had already commenced for in 1942, a new eight-year primary school syllabus was introduced by the Education Department for enforcement in 1945. Teacher education was also reformed with the proposal in 1948 for a two year course at Domasi and leading to the T3 Teachers' Certificate.

To give some credit to the colonial government secondary education was established in Blantyre and Zomba during the war, although only after years of equivocation. The former school of the Church of Scotland Mission, and the latter, of the Roman Catholic Mission, had a total enrolment of 44 pupils in 1944 although they had a combined capacity of 120 places.

Cox's consultations resulted in an outline plan for the post-war era. ²²

The Gambia and West Africa

There are two great differences between The Gambia and Malawi; one, well educated Africans were relatively easy to identify in the early part of this study and, two, West Africa was a unit that "Central Africa" never was. Hence, until very recently, say the 1960s, the Gambian experience is so much a part of the overall West African experience that a clear national approach is difficult. To a certain extent Gambians gained by being carried along by the various bodies that tended to speak for the whole of anglophone West Africa; one such body was the West African Students' Union founded in London on the 7th August 1925. ²³

After the First World War a steady number of West African students began to arrive in the United Kingdom for higher studies. An interesting point here is that at that time they tended to be nearer in age to the British students, i.e., in their teens, than later generations of West African students. No clear cut reason for this is known but facts would suggest that some West African merchant families were reasonably wealthy at the beginning of this century and, seeing a good career ahead for their children were willing and able to take

full advantage of the limited though good educational facilities available to them. The economic depression that ruined most independent West African merchants plus the change in Colonial Office policy; i.e., the unaccountable halt in the recruitment of qualified African officials brought this social movement to a halt.

Racial discrimination and the poor socio-economic environment that confronted the West Africans - white railway porters ! - were shocks to some and thought provoking to others. The originator of the W.A.S.U. idea was a Nigerian law student, Ladipo Solanke, who had been at a missionary school in Abeokuta and Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone.

Two Gambian law students, W. Davidson Carroll and Kushida Roberts, were also involved in the foundation of the Union.

Although one notes some influence of Blyden in the objectives of W.A.S.U., for example, using Western education rather than rejecting it, Marcus Garvey, who provided the Union with temporary accommodation in London, 1928, was more the influence. Political rather than educational action became paramount.

Of greater educational significance to The Gambia was its branch of the National Congress of British West Africa.²⁴ Here the influence and power of the Creole English-speaking English-named group was apparent. This group, that could be identified from Bathurst to Lagos and beyond, were known in The Gambia as Aku, a classification name strictly referring to a group in Sierra Leone of Yoruba origin only.

Of this group E.F. Small is worthy of note. Born on the 29th January 1890 he was once called "worse than an agitator" but, 1953, was decorated O.B.E. Although born in Banjul he was educated in Freetown and had a mixed career of government-, commercial- and missionary-service.

Small visited Moscow during the period 1928-1934, for the Peasants' International, and met George Padmore in 1933. However, although he bombarded the colonial government with letters and memoranda and attacked them through his newspaper "The Gambia Outlook and Senegambian Reporter" he was not a socialist. Later in his life he was called a "black Edwardian" and that

neatly described him.

Concerning educational demands, the 1926 session of the Gambian branch of the N.C.B.W.A. produced the following plan:

- (a) National Schools should be established, modelled on Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute;
- (b) Compulsory education for all towns in British West Africa;
- (c) For the Protectorate there should be industrial and agricultural training combined with sound elementary education;
- (d) A secondary boarding school should be opened in Banjul;
- (e) The Gambia should have its own Education Department with a Director and Inspector of Schools;
- (f) A policy objective:

"... the system of education is best for the African, as for any other nationality, which aims at the highest efficiency while preserving the national traits of the African not repugnant to good conscience."

Marcus Garvey²⁵

Garvey was born on 17th August 1887 in Jamaica and had a varied education that included, it is claimed, a brief spell as a law student at Birkbeck College London, 1912 to 1913. The destruction of the college records in 1940 prevent verification. One thing is certain, Garvey valued education greatly, it was almost a fixation with him; a photograph exists showing him, in his heyday, resplendent in a self-awarded academic gown.

His educational thought was influenced by two factors, one, his meeting in London with the Afro-Egyptian scholar Duse Mohammed Alli and, two, his reading of Booker T. Washington's book "Up from Slavery."

His colourful career that involved many economic activities all aimed at improving the lot of Afro-people in the Americas and beyond does not concern us here. But one factor is important, he stressed the need for Africans to become masters of their own destinies, he gave hope and encouragement.

Educationally he tried to interest a Roman Catholic church in Harlem in the establishment of an industrial school run on Tuskegee lines. There was little enthusiasm. Again, without success, he attempted a distance education experiment,

chiefly correspondence courses, whereby Bachelors', Masters' and Doctors' degrees in African Philosophy could be earned.

He died, paralysed, in London in June 1940. As a post-script there is an interesting fact revealed by Professor Rotberg. The brothers Muwamba had correspondence with Garvey, date unknown, when they were founding the Blackman's Church of God Which is in Tongaland (northern Malawi and Zambia).

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C H A P T E R T H R E E

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN

(a) THE GAMBIA AND (b) MALAWI: OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS

This thesis defines government educational administration as meaning administration by officers who could claim, by virtue of their education or training, to be professional educationists who, from classroom experience, had moved on to educational administration. This point is made because, in fact, educational administration by some grade of government officer had existed for a long time in both countries, prior to 1937 in the case of The Gambia and 1926 in the case of Malawi. In those two years the most senior government education post, in each country, was given to a professional. Prior to those dates police magistrates usually had the additional task of administering what existed of an education system and, generally, did a satisfactory job.

This thesis is concerned mainly with the period 1925 to 1945, however, in order to get the administrative patchwork into some sort of pattern it is necessary to expand a little on the two contrasting dates of 1926 for Malawi and 1937 for The Gambia.

The factor common to both countries was missionary activity. The Gambia may well claim the "firsts" because the first regular mission school was opened in Banjul on the 5th January, 1824, by Mrs Hannah Kilham of the Society of Friends while in Malawi the first was started by Dr Robert Laws of the Livingstonia Mission at Cape Maclear some time in 1875. The first Education Ordinance of The Gambia was passed in 1882 while that for Malawi was passed in 1927. The Anglicans and Methodists in Banjul shared the first recorded grant-in-aid, £100 a year in 1859; in 1908 the Nyasaland Protectorate Government approved an annual grant-in-aid of £1000 to be shared by all the missions.

Professionalism became more apparent following the publication of the 1925 "Education Policy in British Tropical Africa" by the A.C.N.E.T.A.¹ When Ormsby Gore visited The Gambia in 1926 he suggested that an officer from Achimota College (Ghana) be seconded for a short time in order to give

school managers and teachers up-to-date advice on African education. Nothing came of this but the Board of Education, "re-established" in 1925, appeared to become more active. Five years later the Gambian Education Department was established under a Superintendent of Education. This officer, however, was not a professional but an Administrative Officer holding a "duty post". Another seven years elapsed before a qualified Education Officer was appointed, actually seconded from Nigeria, and a reorganisation of Education took place.

Needless to say schools and the structure to support them had continued to develop, albeit slowly, in The Gambia from the time of the earliest missionary contacts. Then Sierra Leone and The Gambia were often considered as one unit and much administration came from Freetown. The first recorded mention of an official statement suggesting a change in this attitude came after the visit to The Gambia by H.F. Honter, Director of Education in Sierra Leone, in January 1921. He suggested, among other things, the establishment of a separate education department for The Gambia. But as stated above sixteen years passed before that event.

Malawi appointed its first Director of Education, R.F. Gaunt, in 1926 following the decision to establish an Education Department upon the advice of the Colonial Office. Gaunt only had one tour of duty, he died on U.K. leave in 1928, but his early efforts, though disturbing relationships between the government and missions resulted in improved administrative practices.

Gaunt recorded his reactions to the situation as he saw it in a detailed and comprehensive Memorandum of December 1926.² He realised that the basis of good educational administration lay in careful supervision of schools right down to village level, particularly at village level. But opinions differed on how this should be done. Gaunt said that he had discussed this problem with the Bishop of Nyasaland, an Anglican Bishop who had been a former Diocesan Inspector of Schools in England.³ The Bishop said that he would rather see Government funds spent on Inspectors' salaries than distributed as grants-in-aid. On the other hand, Dr Hetherwick of the Church of Scotland Mission considered that a large staff of European Inspectors would be

superfluous while the Reverend Bowman, of the same mission, believed that with grants-in-aid the mission Supervisors would be able to train African for supervisory duties. Gaunt had tried to support his argument by some comparison with Southern Nigeria:

	<u>Nyasaland</u> (1925)	<u>S.Nigeria</u> (1924)
Population	1,250,000	8,000,000
Schools	2,663	2,856
Govt. Inspectors	none	20

Concerning future policy, while giving priority to the need for an Education Ordinance and a responsible Board of Education with the usual committee structure, Gaunt rightly expands in fair detail on his proposed structure of the future Education Department. It is worth studying his proposals not only because it may provide a clue to decision-making but also it gives an example of early planning. The individuality of his views are significant and should be noted.

For the financial year 1926 to 1927 the proposed departmental staff would comprise:

One Director of Education	
One Inspector of Schools	
One Superintendent of Technical Training	
One Superintendent of Agricultural Training	
One African Clerk	:for a total cost of
	£3,000

The General Departmental Charges would be:

Travelling expenses, passages, equipment, books, expenses of the A.C.N.E.T.A. in the U.K., sundries "etc." costing	£1,700
--	--------

The other financial implications were:

Grants-in-aid of Native Education	£4,000
Grants-in-aid of European Education	£600

The Grants-in-aid for European Education would be divided among the three small private schools, Blantyre, Limbe and Zomba, that provided primary education for the children of planters and settlers.

By the end of 1928 the department staff, at Zomba, comprised:

R. Caldwell	Assistant Director of Education
Rev. E.D. Bowman	Principal, Jeanes Training Centre
N.D. Clegg	Assistant Master, J.T.C.
R.D. McKinnon	Clerk
Unnamed African	Teacher, Zomba Police School
Unnamed Africans	Two clerks ⁴

Steps were taken to appoint a new Director of Education and, 1929, A. Travers Lacey was selected but he was not in post until the following year as he was coming on transfer from Kenya. ⁵

Headquarters staffing did not really improve because Assistant Director Caldwell was sent on study leave to attend a course at the Colonial Department of the London Day Training College. As often happened, he was transferred to another territory on completion of his studies. A Mr Stott, from the Church of Scotland Mission, had recently been appointed probationer Superintendent of Native Education but he too was sent on study leave to the L.D.T.C. at the same time as Caldwell.

Eventually an administrative structure evolved and could be summarised as follows: ⁶

The Governor gave instructions to, and received advice from, the Director of Education who, in turn, received advice from the local Advisory Committee on Education. This Committee comprised sixteen members and had the Director as chairman. The membership of this Advisory Committee gives an interesting glimpse into the power structure and decision-making body of those days:

Eight mission representatives

Four senior government officers from the Agriculture, Medical, Public Works and Native Administration Departments.

One representative from the Planters' Association

One representative from the Chamber of Commerce

Two representatives from the Native Associations (Africans)

As far as administration at the lowest level, the district, was concerned, little was done by the recently established District School Committees because there were certain problems over the definition of "school". In common with other parts

of Africa, buildings erected by the missions were often of a multi-purpose kind. The simple building sometimes served as a church or chapel as well as a school and general meeting house. Grants-in-aid could only be paid for the school proper. Then again, even the school might be used for a variety of purposes, not easily separated for grant regulations, e.g., adult literacy classes, catechismal classes, Sunday school or reading classes, i.e., missionary classes that aimed at teaching reading only (no writing) so that the Bible could be understood. Thus, the D.S.Cs. were unsure of the buildings under their control and how the grants-in-aid rules were to be applied.

The field administration in Malawi was controlled by two Superintendents of Native Education, one for each province (there were two provinces only then), and, in time, the District School Committees helped to enforce official policy. Each committee, with the District Commissioner as chairman, contained a chief as the people's representative, a representative for the local trade interests, if there were any, and a representative from each mission with a school in the district. All applications to open new schools had to be submitted to the D.S.C.

In the other territory, The Gambia, administration was based upon the Education Ordinance of 1903, passed in the time of Governor Sir George Denton, a very enlightened administrator.

There were six main points in this Ordinance:

- (i) The Board of Education was to be increased by two extra nominated members. Originally established in 1882 the Board had comprised the Officer administering the Government (not always a full Governor), the Legislative Council and not more than four nominees of the Administrator. The Board was authorised to use funds voted by the Legislative Council for education, for grants-in-aid for salaries, buildings and equipment in the Protectorate as well as the Colony.
- (ii) The Board could make special grants to the Wesleyan Mission's Industrial School and frame admission regulations for trainees and determine their training allowances.

- (iii) Grants-in-aid could be paid towards the salaries of school supervisors, European or African, whose qualifications were acceptable. Proper accounts had to be kept and refunds could be demanded if funds misused or obtained under false pretences. Secondary school scholarships, tenable anywhere, could be awarded.
- (iv) An Inspector was to be employed and paid from public funds. Originally, in 1882, one man had done the job for the whole of B.W.A. but later Nigeria and the Gold Coast employed their own inspectorate. Only The Gambia and Sierra Leone shared one man.
- (v) Teachers' certificates were really "licences to teach" and if they were not returned, when demanded on grounds of misconduct by the teacher, fines could be imposed.
- (vi) The Government retained the right to establish its own school or schools or enter into partnership with other school owners, if necessary. The question of government schools or colleges was one that caused concern in most British territories at some time or the other. Those who wished to establish government institutions, usually officials, argued that a few "centres of excellence", well built, well equipped and well staffed would serve as models for the voluntary agencies and private proprietors to emulate. Most voluntary agencies, on the other hand, believed it better and fairer to distribute whatever government funds were available as grants-in-aid, rather than divert the bulk of scarce resources to privileged institutions, so that the whole system would slowly improve. ⁷

This Gambian Ordinance was reinforced by Education Rules, amended when necessary, and provided the Board of Education with its guidelines. One might say that the Board performed many of the functions later carried out by the Education Department. The routine administration was undertaken by the Inspector of Schools who was also the Police Magistrate, and his clerk was also Clerk to the Board.

Communication and Decision-making

Provision of adequate information, obtained through a reasonably speedy and efficient communication system, is an important factor in decision-making. Hence, it must constantly be borne in mind that during the period under consideration there were often considerable difficulties of communication. The most serious difficulty was that caused by the time-lag.

Before air mail surface mail took weeks, sometimes months, to travel from the outposts of the Empire to the Colonial Office in London or back. True the telegram and cable were sometimes used but these were very expensive, and that the C.O. had a resident-clerk duty system to ensure that someone manned the Office every day of the year, to deal with emergencies. The Gambia was more fortunate than Malawi, in so far as the Elder Dempster liners reached Liverpool from Banjul within ten days of sailing. By way of example from Malawi, in the early 1930s mail from Government House Zomba started its journey by night messenger/runner leaving Zomba in the late afternoon and arriving, on foot, at Blantyre, the railhead for Beira and the sea, in the morning of the following day. The runner was first armed with a spear and, about 1935, was given a shotgun for protection. From Beira mail could be six weeks on the sea. One or two weeks might be saved if the mail could be sent, overland, to Cape Town via Rhodesia.

Conversely, it might be argued that the men on the spot, the colonial officials and missionaries, could reach swifter decisions if, as was often the case, they could not "pass the buck" but had to act upon their own local initiative. Much local decision-making was therefore demanded by the very limitations of communications.

The Annual Education Reports

As a generalisation, it can be said that for as long as there was a British Empire there existed critics, of all types, working, often, from the metropolitan centre. We are mainly concerned here with those who may have influenced decision-making and, in particular, with how they obtained their data and what was presented to them as data. Criticisms may have emanated from the missionary societies' home head-quarters;

from societies such as the Aborigines Rights Protection Society or the Anti-Slavery Society, from political parties or political organisations such as the Fabian Society. Then there could be letters in the press from individuals, with many and varied sources of information, and the ultimate embarrassment of Government, questions in the House of Commons.

The data upon which much of the criticism was based came from official reports, the most accessible being the Colonial Office series of annual reports on each territory. These were easily obtainable from His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office, after a delay.

These C.O. reports were prepared from data supplied by the annual reports of the technical service departments and the administrative reports that, unlike the former, were more concerned with political matters. The latter were not so easily obtainable as the former. The technical reports followed a fixed prescribed pattern. At field officer level, where these reports started on their long journey to London, nil returns were not accepted by their senior officers. Something had to be said. The format, that changed little over the years, of the two types of report is given below. The year chosen, 1938, is typical and the slight variations between the two territories can be noted.

Annual Educational Reports Pattern (Format)

Nyasaland Protectorate 1938

Preface:	A brief historical account of the development of education in the Protectorate.
Chapter One:	Survey of the year.
Chapter Two:	Education legislation - administration and control.
Chapter Three:	Finance
Chapter Four:	European education.
Chapter Five:	Primary education: African co-educational schools.
Chapter Six:	Secondary education: African boys.
Chapter Seven:	The education of African girls and women.
Chapter Eight:	The training of African teachers (male)

Chapter Nine:	Vocational training; African
Chapter Ten:	Asiatic (sic) and Coloured education
Chapter Eleven:	Physical and moral welfare
Chapter Twelve:	Co-operation
Chapter Thirteen:	Miscellaneous
Appendices:	Reports and memoranda Statistical tables.

The Gambia 1938

Part I	Preface A The Development of Education in Bathurst. B The Development of Education in the Protectorate
Part II	
Chapter I	Outstanding Events of the Year.
Chapter II	Educational Legislation: Administration and Control.
Chapter III	Finance
Chapter IV	Primary Education - Boys
Chapter V	Secondary Education - Boys
Chapter VI	Post Secondary Education
ChapterVII	Training of Teachers
Chapter VIII	Female Education
Chapter IX	Miscellaneous
General:	Tables I to XII Appendix (sic) I to IV

Perhaps the most critical readers, connected with but not necessarily belonging to, the Colonial Office, were members of the African Reports Sub-Committee of the A.C.E.C. It has been observed, in the minutes of the Committee, that on occasion, an overseas officer, on U.K. leave, would be invited to attend an A.C.E.C. meeting to explain some points or comments from his department's recent annual report.

Below is an outline account of educational administrative development, involving decision-making, as revealed in the official reports:

A. The Gambia 1925-1945

1925-1930

When the period opens the grant-in-aid paid to the Roman

Catholic, Anglican and Methodist Missions was just under £1,000 p.a. in total. There was an additional small sum, £450 paid as a grant towards the salaries of an unspecified number of mission superintendents. A Special Committee of Inquiry, 1926, expressed the hope that it would soon be possible to appoint a full-time European Officer for African teacher training.⁸ The administration of the Education Department was undertaken by Capt. J.M. De Freitas, O.B.E., Police Magistrate and Inspector of Schools. When he was transferred to Palestine an Administrative Officer, W.T. Hamlyn, took over.

1927 revealed that the colonial authorities were at least beginning to give serious thought to education :

"Those in charge of children must send them to school regularly and keep them there for a sufficiently lengthy period."⁹

A somewhat unrealistic threat was uttered when it was said that the radical remedy for absenteeism was "compulsory education" and "Government may be compelled to take action."

The grants-in-aid were paid on the old payments-by-results system, namely, according to the number of passes obtained by candidates in the government administered terminal examinations. By 1928 the total amount paid to the missions under this system was almost £1,448.¹⁰

Hamlyn had been long enough in post in 1929 to provide an illuminating description of the system and situation then:

"Education in the Gambia has developed during the last twenty years into a formal 'literary' system turning out boys and girls, able to read and write, but with no higher ambition than to obtain clerical employment, either under Government or one of the Mercantile firms"¹¹

This is an enlightening comment as it contrasts with a different attitude on the part of the authorities in Malawi then. For Hamlyn's remarks imply that in The Gambia the government would, if not actually welcome, at least not discourage, Africans who set their sights upon higher level jobs. Hamlyn continued:

"The present educational policy is, however, to break away from this line of thought, and by training the teachers, and re-modelling the curriculum, to develop in the schools a bias towards a practical education, both in Bathurst and in the Protectorate."

"This policy may be outlined briefly as follows:

- (a) To train the teachers to make them masters of their work, and to know what they need to teach. The status and salaries of the trained teachers will then be improved, and continuity will be obtained in the schools.
- (b) To give a practical bias to the training of the teachers, which will be reflected in the curriculum, the schools and in the characters of the pupils of the schools.
- (c) To keep the curriculum of the secondary schools on lines which will turn out educated and well informed boys and girls in sufficient numbers to fill clerical vacancies in the Gambia, and who can take their place in the life of the Colony and will be fitted for positions of trust.
- (d) To improve the physique and health, physical and mental, of the boys and girls of the Colony.
- (e) To open small vernacular schools in the Protectorate as opportunity occurs, giving instruction up to about Standard III, together with Agriculture and Hygiene.

A boy or girl at any school who shows special aptitude for literary or other work will be afforded an opportunity for proceeding further with his or her studies in that particular."

As a statement of intent it may now not seem very outstanding but it does indicate an attitude of the official mind as well as describing, indirectly, the inadequacies of the system then.

1930-1935

In 1930 there was a separate Department of Education under a Superintendent of Education.¹² Although he was not a professional but an administrative officer at least the Police Magistrate no longer held the post of Inspector of Schools.

An attempt was made to institute compulsory education in Banjul area but when the draft ordinance was submitted to the Secretary of State he declined to allow it to become law. The correspondence on the file in the Public Record Office indicates a lack of sufficient planning in Banjul plus doubts about the existence of sufficient teachers to handle the increased enrolment resulting from such a project.¹³

Alas, the good intentions could not be practically supported. The international financial depression hit The Gambia in 1931 and the need to economise meant reduced funds for most departments, including Education.¹⁴

In the following year section 8 of the Education Ordinance was repealed so that it was no longer obligatory for all assisted schools to absorb pauper children assigned to them by government. The Education Rules, 1917, were amended by providing for the award of attendance grants to the primary schools on the basis of the amount collected by them in school fees. The larger the fee revenue the larger the grant. ¹⁵

Of some importance in policy decision-making is the following statement:

"The chief aim of educational policy in the Gambia (i.e., Bathurst and the Colony) may still be said to be to improve the standard and quality of the education given in the schools by the continuance of teacher training. With regard to Protectorate work it is felt that more can be done for the people by training the sons and relatives of chiefs than by starting many small Government schools in various parts of the Protectorate." ¹⁶

This was elitism, in one way but, with limited funds, some form of discrimination was inevitable.

The new method of paying grants was explained:

"The attendance grants to be awarded in 1934 in respect of 1933 are based on the amounts collected in school fees, under the Education Rules (No.2), 1933, and consist of the amount of fees collected, together with an amount not exceeding 80 per cent of such amount."

Not surprisingly, it was added, in the report:

"The introduction of this rule has assisted considerably in the collection of fees."

Then:

"Co-operation with the Missions is the great feature of educational work in the Gambia, the Missions doing the greater part of the actual educational work, assisted by grants from Government."

Secondary education was slowly expanding, unlike Malawi where it had not yet started. There were even two girls secondary schools in Banjul, the Methodist and St. Joseph's, the R.C.M. Convent School; both with a total enrolment of 84 and an average attendance of 68. In school management steps were taken to form a committee, in the Protectorate, for the (government) Armitage School, comprising:

the Commissioner for McCarthy Island Province,

the Assistant Commissioner,
 the Senior Agricultural Superintendent,
 several Seyfus (chiefs)
 two "Almamis" (Koranic teachers)

Alas, this seems another example of good intentions because the committee did not meet that year, 1934.

1935-1940

1935 saw other administrative changes.¹⁷

A new Education Ordinance came into force in November bringing The Gambia more into line with other territories in terms of grants-in-aid assessment, supervision of schools and the establishment of an advisory body for education.

One provision of the new Ordinance meant that it was no longer necessary to examine all children annually but only those in Standard VII.¹⁸ This was a practice that developed later here and in other territories into the Primary School Leaving Certificate.

The year 1937 saw another long term improvement with the appointment, at the end of the year, of the first professional educationist to take charge of the Education Department. Ralph C. Allen, an Education Officer, was seconded from Nigeria and thereby ending the system of administrative officers holding the duty post of Superintendent of Education. What the system of secondment meant here was that as The Gambia could not afford to pay the proper salary of an Education Officer they paid what they could afford and Nigeria topped it up. Whether Nigeria received recompense from the Imperial Government is not clear. Allen had a rather "new broom" approach that may have upset the Gambian authorities.

"One of his first duties will be to tighten up the existing organisation and bring all schools as much as possible into line with the Regulations of the Education Ordinance of 1935 which is not yet fully in force."¹⁹

There can be little doubt that a reappraisal of the education system and its functioning was long overdue.

The first real professional education report was produced in 1938 at the end of Allen's first full year in post.²⁰ The next year saw moves towards a stronger centralised control of education as part of Allen's overall scheme of improving the

quality of education offered by the grant-aided schools.

"New legislation introduced during the year was the Education (Amendment) Ordinance No.27 of 1939 which establishes the procedure for the opening of schools and Religious classes in the Colony and Protectorate and makes rules for their closure in the event of non-compliance with certain conditions." 21

Allen may not have been very popular when he made the Director of Education responsible for supervising the Government Mohammedan School, at the same time cancelling the grant paid to the Committee of Management, for supervision, but expecting the committee to remain in existence to provide assistance when required. The reason for the change, inefficiency, are mentioned on page 59 above.

1940-1945

During the Second World War most social services were run on a "care and maintenance" basis only.²² While on U.K. leave Allen was invited to attend a sub-committee meeting of the A.C.E.C. to consider his paper "Education in the Gambia-Present organisation and possible future development." In retrospect his proposals can be termed revolutionary in so far as his administrative suggestions were aimed to change the missionary foundation of the whole educational system.

A significant development in 1941 arose from a decision taken by the Salary Committee, and supported by the Secretary of State, that with effect from the 1st January 1942, there would be a new salary scale for teachers in mission and government service that would bring them more into line with comparable posts in general government service. This meant that a primary school teacher with the basic training, following a completed primary school course, earned roughly the same as a Clerical Assistant.²³

A Lady Education Officer,²⁴ Dr McMath, was invited from Sierra Leone to give advice on Infant and Female Education, Domestic Science (Home Economics) and female teacher training.²⁵ She reinforced Allen's views of fundamental administrative and managerial changes that deeply angered the missions and required in due course, a special visit of Cox, the C.O. Educational Adviser, to try to calm the whole situation.

However, the McMath proposals pleased Governor Hilary Blood and some of the progressive Gambians, and were incorporated with the Director's proposals into Sessional Paper No. 4/1943. Dr McMath's personal influence, in a very tightly-knit body of civil servants should not be overlooked.

Basically, the reforms involved the taking over of the Banjul primary schools by the government and for them to be reorganised as Infants', Boys' and Girls' Schools. Existing mission buildings would be used and government would pay the missions a rent. All the equipment would be nationalised "at a fair price". Teachers in primary schools would become government servants.

The Secretary of State approved the take-over proposals of Allen and McMath and promised about £45,000 from the C.D. and W. Funds to implement what were called the Short Term proposals.²⁶ Briefly, these proposals did not alter the long term school take-over plan but permitted a greater denominational ethos than originally intended.

No new educational legislation was passed in 1944 but the Board of Education was enlarged by the addition of more Gambian members.

1945 saw a significant change in events; Cox arrived from London to commence negotiations with the missions and government over the implementation of the contentious Allen/McMath Report.²⁷ All the existing Primary Schools were brought under Government control and classified as Roman Catholic, Anglican-Methodist or Moslem. A Primary Schools Management Committee had overall advisory control with executive functions delegated to denominational sub-committees.²⁸

The neglected Protectorate was to have its own Education Officer who would also act as Principal for the Armitage School at Georgetown. But the Colonial Office had not yet found a suitable person for the post.

B. Malawi 1927-1945

1927-1930

It was not until 1927 that official government control was made effective by the appointment of the first Director of Education. Unfortunately a report for that year cannot

be traced but details of the 1927 overall situation may be found in the Report of the Native Education Conference held from the 17th May to 20th May that year, in Zomba.²⁹ Gaunt, the first Director, had himself to deal with basic missionary criticism against the establishment of an Education Department, as it was felt that if government were going to spend more money on education then it should mean increased grants-in-aid not another bureaucratic department; the country had managed quite well without one till then !

But there could be no going back, this new interest in education stemmed from the work of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and the acceptance by the Colonial Office of overseas educational responsibilities. The Secretary of State had established his Advisory Committee and instructions had been despatched to some governors to take action.

Gaunt may have been too enthusiastic for his main activity, the 1927 Ordinance, aroused great missionary antagonism.³⁰ The most controversial sections were those that empowered government to forbid the opening of a new school until it was satisfied that it was necessary and the proposed classification of teachers: namely:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Certificated teachers: | those possessing certificates declared satisfactory by the Education Department. |
| Licensed teachers: | uncertificated teachers who would be given, say, five years grace during which to obtain a certificate. |
| Honorary certificated teachers: | old teachers of "good character" too ancient to study. |

The Reverend E.D. Bowman read a paper "How far are Missions justified in cooperating with Government in the cause of Native Education ? " He was soon to leave the service of the Church of Scotland Mission and join government service as the first Principal of the Jeanes Training Centre.³¹ He made the point that it was now Colonial Office policy to accelerate educational provision for Africans, whether the missions cooperated or not.

There should be no conflict as both parties had the Africans welfare at heart. Missions were reminded that Britain had treaty obligations towards all missionary societies, giving equal opportunities to all and favouring none,³² at the same time Bowman referred to the division of labour proposed at the International Missionary Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, in September 1926, where village, central, intermediate, secondary and normal schools were considered mission responsibility while higher colleges and advanced institutions belonged to government.

The great Dr Robert Laws, in the discussion of Bowman's paper, provided a few hard facts. Livingstonia Mission spent annually £45,000 on education but received a grant-in-aid of £4,000. In Tanganyika (Tanzania) the government gave "pound for pound" plus £300 p.a. for each European teacher. In Malawi no specific building grants were paid and the European teacher grant was only £50 each p.a. Another famous missionary, the Reverend Dr W.H. Murray of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission supported Laws and went on to enquire how far the missions "would be pushed" ?

The importance attached to this conference can be gathered from the fact that the Governor, though not present for every paper, some were on pedagogical rather than policy matters, attended often and, although not committing government to large expenditures of funds, indicated the new positive approach to African education that had emanated from London. Laws, at the end of the conference, said that the missions would play their part but all hoped that more money would become available.

The Governor's Board of Education, later reconstituted as his Advisory Committee, met four times in 1928 and the main topic of discussion was Gaunt's Ordinance, the missions felt that government wanted to exert greater influence without a correspondingly greater financial contribution.³³ A revised Bill, to replace the first Ordinance, was submitted to London but, 1929, had not been returned with comments and/or approval.³⁴

The international financial depression caused reduced grants to the missions and the provision for two new appointments of Superintendents of Education were deleted from the estimates.

A. Travers Lacey from Kenya joined the Department as Director in 1930.

Each District School Committee met twice in advance of meetings of the Governor's A.C.E. The pre-occupation was mission rivalry in opening new schools. Lacey admitted that he was powerless to intervene, ultimately the missions themselves must establish some "modus vivendi". The worst areas for the opening of what were termed "low grade redundant" schools were Ncheu, Dowa and Port Herald.

1930-1935

Although the Education Department staff was gradually increasing the effect of the financial depression was that the Assistant Director's post remained unfilled. 35 36

Implementing the 1930 Ordinance, that finally replaced that of Gaunt, and the Rules put a severe strain upon the administration as three of the senior officers were absent for five months.

Throughout the colonial service the long absences on leave meant often unpredictable changes in the implementation of somebody else's policy. This is a factor of crucial importance that is sometimes overlooked but it needs consideration. An officer may have started a project that would be interrupted when he proceeded either on leave or transfer. There was no certainty that the project would be continued; many a scheme thus died. Even worse was the fact that many junior or middle level officers never knew, until they were en route to their colony after leave, where they were to be stationed: this made preparation for new tasks and challenges almost impossible.

In January 1931 certain Rules came into effect after much negotiation between government and missions. The important points were as follows:

- (i) Government had the right to inspect all schools and to close unsatisfactory ones. This was defined as being conducted in a manner not in the interests of the community.
- (ii) Government could prohibit the opening of schools not desired by an "adequate number of parents" and likely to harm existing assisted schools.

- (iii) The efficiency restrictions were removed from all non-grant receiving schools except that no African school could offer English unless it had teachers with adequate qualifications.

As a consequence of the freedom granted under the 1930 Ordinance many "bush" or "hedge" schools were opened. The opinion was advanced that the village school, for such most of them were, was the foundation of African education; furthermore, it might accelerate African involvement in the running of schools. ³⁷

The financial crisis, with the decline in government educational expenditure, whilst not leading to much redundancy had caused a reduction in teachers' salaries, with all the misery that that entails. Amendments to the Ordinance reduced the number of returns required from managers but permitted the employment of unqualified teachers and pupil teachers if they worked under the supervision of certificated teachers.

An organigram of the school system is given in Appendix III.

The first African to be appointed to the Governor's Advisory Committee, Levi Z. Mumba, took his place in 1933. ³⁶⁽ⁱ⁾ That year also had the vexed question of Chinyanja being used as the medium of instruction raised yet again.

In 1934 the A.C.E. recommended the following steps:

- (a) that Native Authorities (chiefs) should be adequately represented on the District School Committees,
- (b) that there should be training bursaries for artisans,
- (c) that compulsory education should be introduced in selected areas. ³⁷⁽ⁱ⁾

Missionaries had decided that an important part of the Chewa traditional education, the Vinyao Dance, should either be banned or strictly controlled by government. ³⁸ Full government support for this request was not forthcoming; it was reported that some Native Authorities in the Lilongwe District went through the motions of requesting village headmen to control the activities of the Vinyao.

Although nothing concrete was proposed, secondary education for Africans received consideration at the A.C.E. but

as the Governor put it, "... it is a long and difficult path to travel" before anything would be achieved.

1935-1940

It was reported that as part of their training towards more effective local government the following chiefs attended a course at the Jeanes Training Centre: Chikulamaembe, Gomani, Kalumbu, Beleu, Chikowi and Malemia. ³⁹

A decision was needed on the Chinyanja language problem ⁴⁰ for while Government wanted to encourage the spread of the language the Livingstonia Mission and the U.M.C.A. wanted to proceed slowly in this matter.

By 1937 African demands for secondary education were being supported officially. The Medical and Agricultural Departments needed better qualified local workers than the system could then produce. However, in the Governor's address to his A.C.E. he expressed a fear that there might not be enough jobs for all secondary school leavers and doubted if there were sufficient primary school leavers of the right standard for secondary school entry.

Government was requested, 1937, to amend the Education Ordinance so that two additional members could be added to the A.C.E., namely, an additional African member and a lady missionary. This was done and Levi Mumba was joined by Charles Matinga. The lady missionary was not named.

1938 was the last full year of Travers Lacey directorship, with the change in personnel there began a change in policy and practice. ⁴¹

When the Colonial Office requested the Education Department to alter its style of annual report to conform to the layout that all territories should adopt, see pages 78 to 79 above, local conditions prevented full compliance. For one thing mission records were of a pattern ill suited to the new statistical requirements. The missionary societies, more international in Malawi than in The Gambia, did not always keep separate accounts for their different schools nor for any specialist department, say, normal schools or technical workshops. Thus compilation of statistical tables giving breakdown of grants-in-aid was somewhat difficult, as the reports disclose.

In East and Central Africa at that time educationists were discussing Lord de la Warr's Commission Report on "Higher Education in East Africa". The Directors of Native Education in the two Rhodesias visited Nyasaland in May 1938 to consult with their colleague on the Report. Nothing significant transpired but when it was recommended that primary education should be devolved onto the Native Authorities, presumably to release central government for post-primary activities, the Nyasaland Government was unenthusiastic. It was explained that far too many N.As. were conservative and against "modern" education.

The Protectorate had been subject to a special financial investigation by Sir Robert Bell whose report was published in October 1938. In that report were three specific educational recommendations:

- (i) that secondary education for Africans was urgently needed,
- (ii) that primary school grants-in-aid should be increased,
- (iii) that an additional Superintendent was required in the Education Department.

The Education Ordinance was again amended to enable the Governor to increase the numbers of A.C.E. members easily, particularly with regard to African and lady members.

In June the government was informed by the Secretary of State that long range planning was needed and:

"... that a definite programme of educational development, covering a period of years and readily adjustable to variations from time to time in the funds available, should be drawn up."

Education should not, however, be considered in isolation, reference the A.C.E.C.'s 1935 "Memorandum on the Education of African Communities", the suggested strategy regarded medicine, agriculture, cattle husbandry and education as mutually interdependent; planning should proceed accordingly. Nyasaland had been moving, albeit slowly, along these lines since July 1935 when the inter-department Native Welfare Committee had been established.

In 1938 the N.W.C. advocated an educational survey to start in April 1939 and £1,000 was to be allocated to cover the costs. The Governor's A.C.E. was to appoint two sub-committees and

draw up the terms of reference for the operation.

Lacey decided that it would be wrong for government^{to} insist that the collection of school fees was an indispensable condition for the receipt of grants-in-aid. He felt that the administrative machinery for this did not exist and that the missions would lose financially if they attempted this. This is a good example of personal differences for Lacey's views contrast markedly with those of his colleague in The Gambia. There, as time passed, the system developed that the more fees a mission collected, which it retained, the higher was its grant from government.

To answer a questioner at an A.C.E. meeting the Director produced a job description for a Superintendent of Education in the Protectorate, summarised as follows: He had to supervise schools in his Province; to act as a liaison between the Missions and Government; to conduct teachers' examinations and to study local languages. ⁴²

When Travers Lacey was promoted and transferred to Kenya Bowman acted briefly until the new director arrived, from Kenya, R.H.W. Wisdom, in June 1939. ⁴³

Few can resist wielding a new broom. Beginning at the foundations Wisdom criticised missionary education for being so long drawn out that, at the end of primary school, talented African children could only enter mission or the teaching service. They were unfitted for other types of higher education.

A new Education Ordinance came into effect that particularly amended the old one regarding the opening of schools. Briefly, the Governor would now consider an objection to a new school if an existing one would be adversely affected by the new one. This new procedure was more democratic in so far as more debate and negotiation at village level was possible although the initial reaction was to overburden the district school committees with objections. The interesting factor is the shift in the decision-making towards the local people, even if there was an element of hiving off responsibility.

It has often been maintained that the Second World War forced change upon a reluctant imperial government and that

having seen "the world", African ex-servicemen were no longer prepared to accept, for themselves and their families, in the post-war years, the poor conditions and social services of their homelands. Such was possibly the case but it might also be argued that the war only speeded up a process already under way.

The proposals from the last meeting of the A.C.E. before war broke out, 22nd and 23rd August 1939, show that the process of change was indeed under way:

- (a) the district school committees should become more representative of the professional interests involved,
- (b) the D.S.Cs. should have fuller financial powers regarding grants, teachers' salaries and school fees,
- (c) mission village schools should develop into "District Schools" and alone be eligible for grants at that level,
- (d) missions should be encouraged to up-grade their schools, more Standard IV to VI boarding schools needed as well as better teacher training, for girls more home economics and post-Standard III vocational courses wanted,
- (e) courses at the new District Schools should last for five years only,
- (f) the Education Department should conduct examinations,
 - (i) to select pupils from District Schools destined for vocational departments of bigger mission schools,
 - (ii) to select pupils for teacher training,
- (g) grants-in-aid should comprise not only central government funds but also those raised from native authority treasuries,
- (h) the reconstituted D.S.Cs. should conduct surveys.

The missionary representatives cautiously accepted these proposals but indicated that so long as the missions provided the bulk of the educational finance then their strong representation on the D.S.Cs. should remain unchanged.

1940-1945

The Education Surveys of 1940 indicated the existing manpower inadequacies and equipment scarcities.

"One important recommendation is the establishment of four school areas for the whole Protectorate so that"

"the primary schools would be administered through four school area committees instead of nineteen district school committees as at present." 44

Had this suggestion been implemented it could have eased the development towards centralisation when, after independence, such became the policy. However, the colonial pattern of three provincial education officers, three in all, went some way towards creating a hierarchy.

The Director of Education went to Salisbury to meet his colleagues from the two Rhodesias. Attempts to standardise the three systems of African education were again apparent despite the important local differences. Two recommendations, of decision-making significance, stand out:

- (i) that the control of schools should devolve onto the local education authorities (non-existent in Nyasaland)
- (ii) that attempts should be made to reduce the Nyasaland elementary school course from eleven to eight years, viz., two sub-standards and six standards.

The effects of the Second World War were making themselves felt upon missionary finances. Their revenues were declining and resulted in less being spent on schools. Government was petitioned for higher grants-in-aid and a request to pay an extra £3,000 for 1940 was sent to London and approved. The significance of this should be noted. As long as missions provided most of the educational finances their influence in decision-making was strong but their power began to wane as their funds dwindled. But, initially Wisdom's development plans envisaged closer cooperation with the mission administrations but the needs of the African population had to have priority over missionary politics. 45

At that time not only were male and female student teachers segregated in their training but they were also awarded different types of certificates, Wisdom proposed that this should eventually be ended, but it took some time to accomplish.

By 1941 normal educational activities were being disrupted. 46 The best school residential accommodation was requisitioned for military needs. To its normal duties the Education Department gradually assumed those of running the Inform-

ation Service. One Education Officer took on the additional duties of Acting District Commissioner and also recruited Nyasalanders into the armed forces, mainly non-combatants for the King's African Rifles. This "doubling up" of duties was not unusual in other departments where, through long service, officers had built up many contacts with local people.

A recent article in "West Africa" ⁴⁷ makes the point that the Colonial Office had been thinking of the problems of political independence before "... Creech Jones and Cohen got going in 1947." ⁴⁸ Nothing reinforces this view more than the consideration given, early in the Second World War, to the necessary reforms, in our case educational, after the war. ⁴⁹ The Director of Education made certain proposals that were supported by the Government and passed to London for approval. The reforms were basic, namely:

- (a) the rapid advancement of selected schools,
- (b) lower school fees,
- (c) better pay for teachers and supervisors,
- (d) improved residential facilities,
- (e) the development of practical subjects.

The A.C.E.C. supported them but noted that financial aid, e.g., C.D.W. Funds, would be needed.

The trend towards centralisation was discernible in the request for a common syllabus and short book list for the common government Standard VI examination. The Director commented:

"... a matter which might have been regarded as an imposition a short time ago."

He added:

"The Department has the preparation of a syllabus in hand and it will be sent to the schools in tentative form for the teachers to make their own."

The teachers never did and there is no data to suggest that they wanted to.

At the two-day session of the Governor's A.C.E. in December 1942 it was decided to defer consideration of future development plans until the promised visit of C.W. Cox. ⁵⁰

The visit of the Educational Adviser in July 1943 did much to restore personal contact with the Secretary of State's A.C.E.C. ⁵¹ Cox met a cross section of all communities and

attended a meeting of the Governor's Advisory Committee as well as presiding over a meeting of the Directors of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland at Lusaka. From the records one feels a more dynamic movement under way but, all the time, strengthening and reinforcing control from the centre.

Changes were made under the Educational (Amendment) Ordinance 1943 to clarify the definitions of "school" and "catechetical centre or prayer house."

At the A.C.E. meeting in July 1943 the following important resolution was passed that foreshadowed much of the reorganisation of education in modern Malawi:

"That the Advisory Committee expresses its general agreement with the aims set forth by the Director of Education, namely:-

1. That the schools of Nyasaland be made as efficient as possible.
2. That the school course be speeded up so that pupils reach Standard 6 at the earliest age possible.
3. That increased provision be made for Central and Station schools (i.e. the larger types of mission schools) and for secondary education and the professional training of teachers, medicals, clerks and all other highly trained Africans required in Nyasaland. It trusts that this could be achieved without prejudice to village education.

To achieve these ends it approves the drawing up of a five year plan to commence at the end of the war (or some date not long after that). By this the fullest use of Missionary staff and personnel and of Government and Mission resources, financial and otherwise, could be secured."

Two planning sub-committees were established, (a) African, (b) non-African, and basic guidelines laid down. A time limit was set. Government wanted the complete report ready early in 1944.

Notes and References: Chapter Three

- 1 See p 46 above
- 2 Gaunt, R.F.; Memorandum on Education in Nyasaland; Zomba; Education Department; December 1926; mimeographed
- 3 Ibid., p 6 See further U.M.C.A. comments, p151 below.
- 4 Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1928; Zomba; Government Printer; undated
- 5 See pp201-3 of Chapter Eight for the role of the Colonial Office in Nyasaland appointments procedure.
- 6 Steytler, J.G.; Educational Adaptations, with reference to African village schools; London; The Sheldon Press; 1939; pp 10 and 11
- 7 As events turned out neither The Gambia nor Malawi were greatly troubled by this particular government versus voluntary agency situation until after political independence when African teachers made it quite plain that they preferred to be civil servants rather than mission teachers. Lack of fringe benefits and reasonable pensions, in mission service, was one factor.
- 8 Colony of The Gambia; Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the year 1926; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1927
- 9 Colony of the Gambia; Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the year 1927; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1928
- 10 Colony of The Gambia; Report on the Elementary Schools for the year 1928; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1929
- 11 Colony of the Gambia; Education Report for the year 1929; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1930
- 12 Colony of The Gambia; Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1930; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1931 See further details in pp 183-184 below.
- 13 See pp 182-183 of Chapter Seven.
- 14 Colony of The Gambia; Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1931; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1932
- 15 Colony of The Gambia; Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1932; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1933

- 16 Colony of The Gambia; Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1933; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1934
- 17 Colony of The Gambia; Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1935; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1936
- 18 Colony of The Gambia; Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1936; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1937
- 19 Colony of The Gambia; Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1937; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1938
- 20 Colony of The Gambia; Annual Report of the Director of Education for the year 1938; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1939
- 21 Colony of The Gambia; Annual Report of the Director of Education for the year 1939; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1940
- 22 Colony of The Gambia; The Annual Report of the Director of Education for the year 1940; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1941
- 23 Colony of The Gambia; The Annual Report of the Director of Education for the year 1941; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1942
- 24 It is considered that a study of the semantics of educational administration is rewarding for the light it throws upon ethnological attitudes and values, invaluable in a phenomenological approach. Dr McMath's rank was Lady Education Officer not Woman Education Officer. Expatriates, in the field, sometimes come close to causing a grave misunderstanding over careless use of these words.
- 25 See the Colonial Office file material in the Public Record Office section of this thesis; chapter seven pp 190-191
- Gambia (heading not printed); The Annual Report of the Director of Education for the year 1943; Sessional Paper 5/44; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1944
- 26 Gambia (heading not printed); The Annual Report of the Director of Education for the year 1944; Sessional Paper No. 11/1945; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1945
- 27 Gambia; The Annual Report of the Director of Education for the year 1945; Sessional Paper 7/1946; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1946 See also pp 195-196 below.
- 28 Conclusions reached subsequent to Sessional paper No.9/44

- on the short term proposals for the development of Education in Bathurst; Sessional paper No.4/1945 (Cox Agreement); Bathurst; Government Printer; 1945
- 29 Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Native Education Conference; convened by H.E. the Governor, Sir Charles C. Bowring; Zomba; Government Printer; 1927
- 30 For more details on this controversy see pp 199-201 of Chapter eight.
- 31 For Furse's reactions to this appointment see pp 201-202 of Chapter eight.
- 32 This may have been received with some scepticism because such freedom of activity did not apply in some other non-British colonies. For example, Protestant missionaries in Zaire and Mozambique while not exactly harassed had to comply with many and varied regulations.
- 33 Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1928; Zomba; Government Printer; undated
- 34 Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1929; Zomba; Government Printer; 1930
- 35 Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1930; Zomba; Government Printer; 1931 and:
Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1931; Zomba; Government Printer; 1932
- 36 R.Caldwell, upon completing his course at the London Day Training College, was transferred to Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) as Director of Native Education.
- 37 Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1932; Zomba; Government Printer; 1933
- 36(i) Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1933; Zomba; Government Printer; 1934
- 37(i) Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1934; Zomba; Government Printer; 1935
- 38 Chewa boys are initiated into the mysteries of the Vinyao Dance or Society. It is possible that some of the missionaries objected to the type of sex education included in the proceedings.
- 39 Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1935; Zomba; Government Printer; 1936
- 40 For more details see pp 209-213 of Chapter eight.
- 41 Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department

- for the year 1938; Zomba; Government Printer; 1939
- 42 The Superintendent of the North Province, at the time of the Chinyanja "lingua franca" trouble, is supposed to have crossed the Director by indicating that Chinyanja was not an acceptable lingua franca in the North.
- 43 Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1939; Zomba; Government Printer; 1940
- 44 Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1940; Zomba; Government Printer; 1941
- 45 When Wisdom's adverse comments on Travers Lacey's regime were discussed at a meeting of the A.C.E.C. Sir Donald Cameron's reaction was to say that he had every confidence in Travers Lacey and was hesitant about accepting everything the new Director of Education reported. But an official said that Wisdom was correct in his statements.
- 46 Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1941; Zomba; Government Printer; undated
- 47 "Handing over"; article; West Africa; No.3153; London; West African Publishing Company Limited; 12 December 1977; pp 2518-2519
- 48 Creech Jones was Secretary of State for the Colonies in the then Labour Government and Cohen was a progressive Governor who did much to accelerate the movement towards political independence of the colonies.
- 49 When moving the Education Bill (1945) at the 60th session of the Legislative Council, 19th April 1945, Wisdom said:
- "... these educational plans have not been hastily concocted with post-war development in view. The proposals were never necessarily post-war and we have had in mind all the time what we can reasonably expect to do under present conditions."
- Reference: Nyasaland Protectorate; Pamphlet on the Education Legislation 1945; Zomba; Government Printer; 1945
- 50 Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1942; Zomba; Government Printer; undated
- 51 Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1943; Zomba; Government Printer; 1944

P A R T T W O T H E O R YC H A P T E R F O U RE D U C A T I O N A L A D M I N I S T R A T I O NA: T H E O R E T I C A L A S P E C T S O F A D M I N I S T R A T I O N

In Part One consideration was given to the framework within which the decision-making took place and now attention will be turned to theoretical concepts.

Public administration has tended to acquire a certain mystique in recent times, not entirely a bad thing, and that branch concerned with educational administration is no exception. In its fundamentals educational administration can be reduced to two straightforward objectives:

- (i) to ensure that the system of education supported by public funds functions as economically and effectively as possible,
- (ii) to ensure that the planning and implementation of educational innovation can proceed without undue difficulty.

But between these two objectives conflict may arise for administrative and philosophical reasons. Hans N. Weiler (1977), the Director of the International Institute for Educational Planning, has provided a searching analysis of part of this phenomenon. ¹

Some Basic Problems ²

Lyons (1977) postulates that:

"... the essential aim of public administration of education is to realise the goal of adequate education, as it may be defined, for the youth and adults of the country."³

It is fair to say that such an aim would not have been postulated by the colonial administrators occupying decision-making positions in The Gambia or Malawi during the period under study. Fifty years ago, and less, the necessity for educational provision, as implied in the quotation, was not accepted firstly for financial reasons and secondly for socio-political ones. The missionary societies provided what education they could and government assisted with grants-in-aid and, through ordinances, laid down minimum standards and general patterns of conduct. In fact that was the limit of government activity then.

Today it is not unusual to find that two, often opposing, groups are involved in the decision-making process. Firstly the politicians who lay down the policies and the administrators who are expected to implement the decisions. The latter may influence the former if there is a willingness to hear a practitioner's views on the probable consequences of political initiative. In the colonial situation policy makers and implementers were usually the same people. Usually is not always. Depending upon the power of a Legislative Council and unofficial members, the colonial administrators did experience some check upon their dual role. In this regard the "unofficials" played a part in educational decision-making; more so in Malawi than in The Gambia. ⁴

The Growth of Ministries of Education ⁵

The effectiveness of administrative support for whichever educational policy making body was serviced, that is the Governor and colonial secretariat and department on the one hand, or the new politicians on the other, depended upon the efficient functioning of the system. This functioning can be analysed as follows:

- (i) the collection of educational and financial statistics and their evaluation,
- (ii) the collection of data relating to curricula, examinations, teacher training and related "professional" matters,
- (iii) the elaboration of policy proposals through discussion and consultation within the Department or Ministry itself, at different levels of the staff hierarchy,
- (iv) discussions and cooperation between different Departments and Ministries. ⁶

Surveys of annual reports of both The Gambia and Malawi reveal that staff shortages often prevented adequate supervision of schools and statistical tables were often only inspired guesses. Concerning inter-departmental cooperation, the Director of Education for Nyasaland, on one known occasion, expressed doubts to the Colonial Office whether certain of his officers were able to establish a working social relationship with senior administrators, that is, political officers. ⁷

These constraints may well have impaired the decision-making role of the colonial administration. On the other hand, at the level of head of department, that is, Directors of various servicing departments, there is little evidence that cooperation did not exist. But the Directors were not usually members of the Governors' Executive Councils, where the real power lay. An informal "old-boy" network did, in many cases, provide an alternative form of cooperation.

Development Planning

To a great extent the first generation of educational development plans, in the two countries under study, proved a disappointment not for reasons of faulty objectives but because the base upon which the plans were laid did not, in reality, exist. The base was the colonial education system, functioning according to the theoretical model described in every Colonial Office annual report, the one available to the general public through H.M.S.O., as opposed to the more realistic description in the Education Departments' annual reports. The reality lay in the minds of the administered and the administrators, and that is hard to find.

Lyons provides three "pre-conditions", to use his words, for the authorities' implementation of a plan:

- (i) the disaggregation of the programme,
- (ii) the advanced financial and human resource planning,
- (iii) the detailed arrangements for control of execution.

By these are meant:

- (i) that a plan to provide Universal Primary Education has also associated sub-plans concerned with,
 - (a) increased/improved teacher training,
 - (b) expansion of school buildings,
 - (c) increased supply of text books, stationery, equipment and materials (hard-ware and software);
- (ii) that budgetary proposals have been made to increase taxes in order to obtain increased revenue as well as approaches being made to international aid-giving agencies, say, the World Bank or Ford Foundation or the British Ministry of Overseas Development, for

loans, gifts or grants; at the same time ensuring that sufficiently well qualified entrants were available, or would be available when needed, to enter the newly established or expanded teacher training colleges.

There is little to suggest that in The Gambia and Malawi, during the period under consideration, such an approach was followed, or even understood, by the administrators.

Today it is generally accepted that much depends upon the senior level administrators' ensuring a clear division of labour or function between:

- (a) the macro-planning division for the Grand Plan, and
- (b) the micro-planning divisions for teacher provision, buildings and so on.

Finally:

- (c) the co-ordination of the educational financiers, the planners and implementers.

Avoidance of duplication at subnational level is essential, that is, a Region and Districts within that Region should not each concern themselves with the same problem, say the supply of exercise books, and ignore other matters for lack of time.

Within poor countries wealth is very unequally distributed as between towns, cities, municipalities on the one hand and rural areas, villages, on the other. Programming should bear this in mind. In the case of The Gambia, the Provinces, one-time "Protectorate" and Banjul, onetime "Colony", should not be treated alike. Theoretically, Banjul dwellers could provide more of their own resources so that the rural areas could have a greater share. In a real situation, however, it is not so simple and, during the period of this study, the reverse was the case, the "Colony" had the largest share of amenities.

Educational Planning⁸

It is not inappropriate here to consider what is meant by educational planning. If,

"... education and training are among the means by which young people are prepared for adult life..."

then

"One important function of the educational system in a modern society is ... to ensure that roughly the 'right' "

"amount of the various kinds of educational qualifications required by a healthy economy are forthcoming."

An educational system that produces the wrong "mix" fails in one of its tasks. A planner may, through advising on adult retraining, assist in rectifying earlier mistakes and solving problems introduced through technological change. Cultural and social benefits also accrue to society and so,

"... educational planning is necessary to ensure that the educational system discharges in an efficient manner its ... responsibilities to the rest of society."

"Educational planning encompasses the provision of information necessary for framing and implementing appropriate policies in the short, medium and long terms, with regard to the numbers of pupils and students in each branch of education, and the adjustment of the outflow of persons from each branch of education in accordance with economic and social needs."

Such matters as individual desires, supply and training of teachers, adequate buildings and equipment, sufficient capital and recurrent revenue are of fundamental importance.

Effective planning depends upon the collection of reliable data,

- (a) statistics of pupils, teachers, buildings and expenditures and,
- (b) demographic, economic and social material.

In general planning cannot be better than the quality and reliability of the data upon which its future projections are based. 9 The time scale is also important. Today,

"... the dynamics of educational systems make aspects of educational planning an undertaking in which it is often necessary to try to look several decades ahead..."

In the past the colonial planner was fortunate if he could "see" one year ahead.

Planning and the Educational Administrator

This section takes its theme from a small classic by Dr C.E. Beeby,¹⁰ one-time Director of Education for New Zealand, with responsibilities also in Western Samoa and New Zealand's Pacific Island dependencies.

He provides an interesting definition of educational administrators; not only are the senior civil servants, the directors of education, the permanent secretaries included but so also

are the politicians concerned with education, that is, Ministers and Junior Ministers. As Beeby puts it:

"In the eyes of the public indeed the minister and his most senior official should be one and indivisible."

Shortly after independence many African Ministers and their permanent secretaries had intimate knowledge of education as they had started their careers as teachers. However, with the passage of time this has ceased to be the general rule so that today politicians and administrators may have little knowledge of the education system apart from having been at its receiving end. On the other hand;

"The essence of a good administrator at the top level is that he rarely acts alone. He is surrounded by officials and advisers, and, whether or not he follows their advice, he would be stupid to act before hearing it." 11

Soberly Beeby puts it;

"Administrators are rarely supermen, but they do represent an experience wider than any man could achieve alone."

The Planner

Unlike some other scholars Beeby is unable to pin this role down to one particular type of official. The planner could be a super-collector of data and statistics, a high level technician working for a superior; or a decision-maker himself with direct access to the minister; or an expatriate civil servant; or an international agency expert. The working definition below indicates that "administrator" rather than "planner" is a more precise title.

"Educational planning is the exercising of foresight in determining the policy, priorities and costs of an educational system, having due regard for economic and political realities, for the systems potential for growth, and for the needs of the country and of the pupils served by the system." 12

As an examination of the educational development of The Gambia and Malawi, in chapter three above, will reveal, there was an element of planning easily identifiable in government activities. This point is worth making because adverse criticism of the system often implies that the administration had a purely conservative role only. It is true that some of the early plans, particularly those of the 1940s, may appear crude

in analysis and techniques, according to current standards. Today we are more conscious that the educational plan should be part of a wider national growth plan.

Generally, early educational commissions of enquiry would lead to the drawing up of a grandiose scheme uncosted or with only the vaguest reference to finance. This approach was in keeping with the philosophy then in vogue of deciding upon policy first and then turning attention to the costing. Such is by no means discarded today as a recent article by Dr Nicholas A. Nwagwu, on the theme of educational expansion, indicates. His only serious reference to the costing of schemes, for equalising educational opportunities in African countries, is to state that,

"International agencies must throw their financial weight into the struggle ..."¹³

Modern planning, however, usually has as its essence the costing of schemes before coming to a decision on precise recommendations. This costing is on a national basis, that is, constant regard is paid to the country's economic plans and potential and on its manpower needs. In short, economists and their techniques have been brought into the business of planning and administrators usually cooperate with them.

Implementation

With the division of method into planning; adoption by politicians; and execution by administrators, a new dimension of co-operation is introduced and personalities, rather than systems, become important.

Long term educational plans are, as Beeby emphasises, notoriously difficult to express in terms definite enough for their implementation to be simply the execution of fixed instructions. Lack of data regarding "drop-outs" or "repeaters"; insufficient knowledge of the relationship between speeding up the flow of pupils through the system, that is, automatic promotion, and the quality of teacher training; realisation by politicians that electoral promises, say, U.P.E. by 1983, cannot be kept ... all these constraints put a great strain upon administrators rather than the administrative system. Although this some-

times leads to ingenuity.

In the final analysis, as educational planning is a continuous process requiring regular evaluation and change, the educational administrator should be involved from the beginning to the end of any programme of reform.

Political Realities

Theoretically, in an independent country, the planner engages in a technical exercise leading to the presentation to the government of a logical and statistically satisfying plan but the final decision on its implementation rests with politicians. In the colonial situation a somewhat similar technical process was at work but the politician/administrator took the decision, and this was the Governor-in-Council.

While the systems approach takes overall social and political reality into consideration, the peculiarities or even idiosyncracies of individuals play less part. Yet when the choice before a planning committee is one of the following items:

- (i) the development of technical education, or
- (ii) improving the quality of existing schools, or
- (iii) rapid expansion of low-quality primary schools;

the planner/administrator who keeps aloof from outside influences, such as the politics of the market place, will find himself and his department at a disadvantage. One must know the rules of the game. The expatriate specialist may be insulated from the clash of opinions and that, in the final analysis, may limit his effectiveness. A less experienced local administrator may well understand the issues and personalities really involved behind the official decision-making.

Channels of Communication

The expression "there has been a breakdown in communication" is often used to explain an administrative crisis in developed and less-developed countries. Often, such an explanation is meaningless because no system of communication exists, hence it cannot break down. The traditional hierarchical structure in the colonial and post-colonial systems is illustrated at the top of page 109.

In such a system rigidly governed by protocol a memorandum from officer rank D1, say school head, requesting the hire of

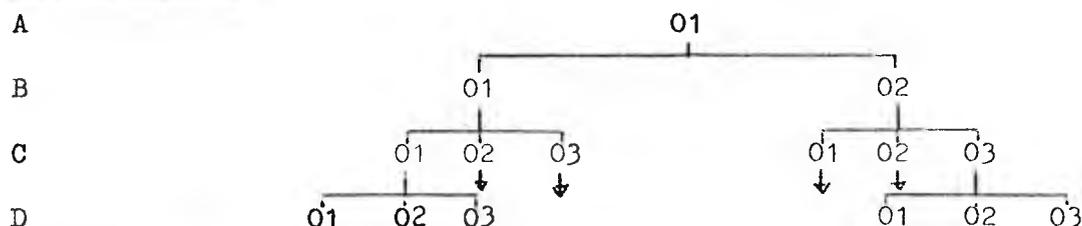
Department or Ministry of XLevel of rank

Diagram showing the traditional hierarchical pattern of control and communication. (Note: ↓ means that the hierarchy continues for each officer)

transport, in department/ministry X (say, Education) might have to pass through channels C1, B1, A1 thence to another A ranking officer in department/ministry Y (say, Transport) thence downwards, ultimately to reach D3 the Transport Allocation Officer. The shortcuts, by way of the telephone "old boy net" would speed up matters, much depended upon personal factors.

Thus it is essential to know to what extent,

"... the process of communication in the administration of education permits adequate planning and plan implementation."

Organisational theory cannot adequately explain the difference in elements of routine and rigidity that may impede progress and necessary change in the public bureaucracy, comparing one department/ministry with another. Military coups-d'état and other revolutionary phenomena might be regarded as reactions from the public against the relatively long periods of routine and calm of a long established bureaucracy. To a certain extent the indigenous struggle for political independence in the former British Empire can be seen in that light. The provision of social services and raising the standard of living was taking too long under the "bwana bureaucracy". Added to which are the natural factors of changing ideas and methodology. As Lyons puts it:

"This view of changes in administration puts emphasis on the essentially static nature of bureaucracy over long periods of time and of the difficulty which traditional administration faces of adapting itself to dynamic factors associated with planning and with the increase in the number of creative professional people in the educational system." 14

Two other aspects need brief attention. Firstly, definition of tasks and exact job specifications are vital, if modern management techniques, such as management by objectives, are to succeed. The more precise a job description, with clarity of the channels of effective communication, the more the measures of control and evaluation of progress will work. Secondly, although financial control and budgetary measures are considered later here, they are, in reality, of fundamental significance. Without money for implementation a plan, no matter how good, will remain only in the files. Given the funds then efficient auditing of public accounts, centralised or decentralised, may go a long way to ensure that the country obtains value for its expenditure.

A Systems Approach

Miklos (1974) looks critically,¹⁵ at the effectiveness of educational policies and programmes in the light of administrative capabilities. The changing structure of the system itself; the changing expectations of society from the system, and the changing roles; for example, inspectors becoming advisers, and improvement in the quality of the teaching force, may all confront administrators with challenges with which they are incapable of dealing.

Decentralisation

This is not new. In colonial times, particularly under the policy of Indirect Rule, attempts were made, usually unsuccessfully, to decentralise some educational administration by trying to establish local education authorities. A shift, in other words, of responsibility for some types of decision from upper to lower levels. This might not have been pure decentralisation in so far as it was trying to place greater emphasis on regional or local units, say, districts, for the implementation of policies that were still decided centrally. Only much later was the effort actually made to place the responsibility for the determination of policy on the new local government units; after, that is, when decisions were planned to be made locally.

In both cases it was rarely considered, if at all, that headteachers and district education officers required

retraining for their new roles. ¹⁶ The new structures tended to prove disruptive in so far as the lower level cadres wasted time learning on the job and senior administrators found increasing demands placed upon their time to rectify errors made lower down. It was only too easy to fall to the temptation to do the job oneself in the first place, that is, failing to delegate, thus reinforcing the inefficiency of the lower grade officers.

The Coordination of Systems

At the time of the Phelps-Stokes Commission visit to Malawi, one might say that there were as many educational systems as there were missionary societies operating schools. Thus, when Gaunt assumed duty as the first Director of Education in Malawi in 1927 and, to a lesser extent for Allen, ten years later, in a similar position in The Gambia, the first task was coordinating a variety of systems into one. It is not certain if either man identified the basic problem as such, but records of the difficulties both experienced with the missionaries indicate that unified compliance of government policy was the priority, not coordination. But how can one unify without first ensuring that all participants use the same terms, mean the same thing by the same terms, and have common objectives ?

When, during the 1940s, education was accepted as an economically productive social service, or partially so, there was posed another problem of coordination, namely, coordination with other social services. At the local authority level this created difficulties. To the maintenance of bush roads and organising basic public health and sanitary schemes was suddenly added the need to provide primary schools. Although funds were increased they were not increased proportionately so coordination meant making unpopular choices, at a level where the decision-makers could be easily identified.

Innovation: The Quality of the Teaching Force

Theoretically, changes in the policy of training teachers, for example, the politicians/administrators' objective of raising the level of teachers' qualifications, should be accompanied by the retraining of administrators and inspectors/supervisors, in

order to minimise the internal frictions that could well develop. Practically, however, political impetus towards universal primary education, for example, may make this less pressing for the simple reason that large numbers of unqualified or underqualified teachers are needed and they are unlikely to be unduly concerned with teacher participation in decision-making. At least for some years.

There has always been, somewhere, a demand for educational change, but over the last thirty years this has become almost universal. From the industrialised countries to the less developed countries curriculum innovatory movements have flowed ceaselessly, either direct, in the case of metropolitan countries and their colonies, or indirect, through international agencies such as U.N.E.S.C.O. Then, within the less developed countries themselves, indigenisation of staff and curriculum have added to the pressure upon administrators. Advances in educational technology, methods, hardware and software, have ensured that at many levels in the administrative structure the personnel have had the additional responsibility for the identifying of needed changes and of determining policies and procedures through which the changes might be affected. Change has not always been understood or wanted at the level at which the field administrators work, there they are faced with the need to implement innovations and make them work. Political and social pressures, the latter particularly great in the case of indigenous administrators who have superseded the expatriates, have sometimes been brought to bear upon administrators and inspectors/supervisors to introduce more changes than have been proposed at national level.

In the final analysis, emphasis upon change and innovation has two major effects upon the roles of administrators and inspectors/supervisors. Firstly, there develops the necessity to acquire knowledge about the proposed innovations and for the personnel to change their attitudes from maintainers of the status quo to innovators of educational patterns. Secondly, they have to become diplomats moving between opposing educational factions. Sometimes, the proponents and opponents of various innovations have used political pressure on the administrators; long distance

pressure in colonial times when lobbying of individuals or organisations, in the U.K., was the method of attack. To a certain extent such activities sprang from the uncertainty arising from unclear public expectations and ill-defined educational objectives.

Educational Reform Policy: Reform and Social Change

It is generally accepted today that educational reform can rarely be conceived or implemented in a vacuum but it was not so apparent earlier. Changes in school building design or the timetable might be introduced in isolation from the social framework but the more fundamental changes, such as lengthening the period of school attendance or establishing a higher level of schooling, are embedded in the complex set of inter-relationships that make up the political, social and economic environment within which the educational system works. In The Gambia the educational system for Banjul and the old Colony was different from that of the Protectorate for reasons that were logical to the colonial administrators. This logic was unacceptable to the latter-day free Gambians.

The long delayed introduction of secondary education in Malawi was bound up not only with the missionary-government conflict but also with the different "native policies" of the two Rhodesias.

The low status of teachers, their poor pay and very subordinate role in the less developed countries must be seen against the background of recruitment, training, conditions of employment and remuneration of other types of workers in government and private employ. Weiler states categorically that educational reform can only be meaningful or effective when political, social and economic changes are also considered. If not then plans for educational reform,

"... are doomed to eventual failure no matter how technically competent their execution." 17

Great misunderstanding has existed for decades over the effect or not of vocational, practical or agricultural training upon rural living conditions. At its simplest one meets it in the complaint that colonial education was nothing more than a system to produce cheap clerical manpower. But, no

educational reform programme for rural areas however well conceived and implemented can, of itself, provide sufficient leverage to remedy effectively the problems of poverty, health, nutrition and low commodity prices.

The Limits of Educational Reform

Generally speaking, the wielders of power, in colonial or post-colonial societies have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. In the days of the Central African Federation one might, erroneously, have discerned a neat conflict between European powerholders and African powerseekers. Break the Federation and the situation would change; it did, but not the social structure. In Malawi the so-called "Cabinet crisis" of the early 1960s and the various ripples of discontent that occasionally are still observed, are symptoms of deeper ills that cannot be cured by more schools. In The Gambia the rural Mandinka powerseekers have discovered that the Aku and urban Wollof, not they, have taken over from the Europeans.

Thus, programmes of educational reform, the ever-popular answer to society's troubles, themselves have a rather limited effect as long as the environment, within which the educational system functions, remains the same. In this situation only two strategies are possible:

- (i) to make optimal use of this limited scope of effectiveness (This ranges from the cynics' "If you cannot beat them" to Blyden's and Garvey's imitative philosophy),
- (ii) to completely change the environment along with the educational system (The philosophy of Paulo Freire)¹⁸

The Administrative Skills Required

In terms of job specification both the first Director of Education in Malawi, Gaunt, and a later Director, Travers Lacey, had very clear ideas of the type of person to administer education.¹⁹ A comparison of these with the job specification provided by Weiler²⁰ indicates very clearly the change in attitudes and expected techniques over the years. It is true, however, that a fairly structured pre-service and in-service training, or staff development programme, is envisaged by the last named. The competence profile for reform oriented

planners and administrators reads thus:

- "(i) Diagnostic skills: the ability to undertake or commission and interpret systematic studies into the political, economic and social conditions of educational reform, including a sense of the important methodological issues involved.
- (ii) Communication skills: the ability to communicate effectively across the boundaries of a given administrative unit, on the basis of understanding more broadly the context of one's own and related administrative functions.
- (iii) Interactive skills: the ability to initiate and sustain the complex and often protracted process of generating reform ideas, argumentation about pros and cons, initial experimentation, understanding and coping with resistance to reform, dealing with resource constraints, involving other services, teachers and communities in the reform process, etc., without taking recourse to simple administrative fiat prematurely."

To some extent the educational system is a reflection of the state of society which surrounds it and so the administrative systems reflect the traditions, power structure and values of the countries concerned. If these traditions and values are inimical to change then the administration will tend to be conservative.

The Administration of Educational Planning: Centralisation and Constraints

David R. Evans (1977) poses a fundamental question when, in a paper, he examines "Responsive Educational Planning: Myth or Reality?"²¹ In the first place he highlights the dissatisfaction felt in the less developed countries; for over the past twenty years educational planning has advanced in techniques but there has been a persistent failure to see any real progress in either economic development or educational advances for the majority of the world's peoples trapped in rural poverty.

Traditional planning in colonial times and in early post-colonial days envisaged certain variables, but the structure of society was considered stable. Within the experience of the early administrators this was understandable because the tempo of social change was slower and less discernible. The Secretary of State's A.C.E.C. had, in the 1930s, made the point that educational development had to be seen as part of wider social and economic change. In Central Africa those who opposed

African secondary education may have vaguely realised this connection because there was talk of the dangers from producing large numbers of unemployable young people. Even today our attention is drawn to the universal problems of unemployed school-leavers, dysfunctional academic education, spiralling costs, rural drift, all as being symptoms of the mal-functioning of the educational systems. To use such details as props for anti-education campaigns is to fall into the old trap of using education as the lever for everything and then to be surprised when things do not develop as expected.

For the administrators themselves, failure to diagnose, to identify qualitative as well as quantitative problems, and the confusion between a systems approach and a phenomenological approach have resulted in planners designing non-systems responses to what are basically economic systems problems and not pure educational problems at all.

A.S. Barnett is quoted, by Evans, to sum up the planners systems approach that ignores the human factor:

"Both planning and implementation tend to be processes in which people are directed as though they were resources rather than consulted as conscious agents who have will, desires and needs." 22

The failure to understand the limited role of education in the development of society caused colonial administrators to follow the same path. Nationalising the voluntary agency schools, establishing local examination boards, regularising management bodies, establishing unified teaching services with national salary scales, and converting departments into larger ministries; these were the developments. Not that it could really have been otherwise. The point is that the changes were not so revolutionary as to do more than enlarge the existing system. 23

The Measurement of Educational Returns in Less Developed Countries 24

Early administrative writings or observations tended either to ignore or take for granted the returns to educational outlay. Very serious errors attracted attention but one does not get the impression that the administrators always calculated the alternatives to which the limited resources could be directed.

Clearly, in a very unsophisticated situation choices might be limited or, for a time, non-existent.

Monson (1977), in his mathematical paper based upon examples from the Ivory Coast, argues;

"... rates of return to education in LDCs (less developed countries) estimated using the standard methodology may greatly exaggerate its true economic value."

Does it pay to go to school? What sort of schools should be provided? Historically, children who had been to school and were reasonably literate and numerate were assured of a place, sometimes a good place, in the new monetary economy introduced through colonialism. This was true in The Gambia and Malawi, and such questions concerning the advisability of remaining at school, despite failure in promotion or terminal examinations, did not arise. Loss of income foregone was a non-concept, almost meaningless, except to say that had a pupil passed his/her Standard "x" examination at the first attempt he/she would have one or two years salary to hand. For there was usually no alternative employment, in the salary sense, for a failed Standard "x" pupil. Hence there was no marginal loss, only a total one.

Systems Theory

Eric Hoyle (1975)²⁵ provides a neat description or summary of a modern organisational pattern, when he quotes W.G. Bennis (1970):

"First of all, the key word will be temporary: organizations will become adaptive, rapidly changing temporary systems. Second, they will be organized around problems-to-be-solved. Third, these problems will be solved by relative groups of strangers who represent a diverse set of professional skills. Fourth, given the requirements of coordinating the various projects, articulating points or 'linking pin' personnel will be necessary who can speak the diverse languages of research and who can relay and mediate between various project groups. Fifth, the groups will be conducted on organic rather than on mechanical lines; they will emerge and adapt to the problems, and leadership and influence will fall to those who seem most able to solve the problems rather than to programmed role expectations. People will be differentiated, not according to rank or roles, but according to skills and training."

"Adaptive, temporary systems of diverse specialists solving problems, co-ordinated organically via articu-"

"lating points, will gradually replace the theory and practice of bureaucracy. Though no catchy phrase comes to mind, it might be called an organic-adaptive structure." 26

A particularly clear explanation of systems theory is provided by James M. Lipham (1975):²⁷

"General systems theory represents the most recent foundational approach to emerge in this century. The general systems view - holistic, interdisciplinary, methodical, and analytic - is concerned with organizational boundaries, environments, structures, inputs, processes, outputs, and feedback ... Systems theory is particularly basic to C/PBAE 28 wherein particular attention is paid to the identification of objectives and the development and utilization of materials and procedures that affect both the processes and outputs of training programmes in administration." 29

A model is provided³⁰ that attempts to show how a university's structured subsystem can process the inputs, in a cost-effective, value for money, manner so that the outputs, professionally well prepared administrators can take to the field. In addition the table reproduced below only underlines not necessarily the complexity of the whole problem but its sophistication and methodical framework. The table is from the C/PBAE training programme and illustrates competent administrative behaviour in conventional role terms.³¹

Administrative Functions.	Admin. Process	Admin. Theories
Instructional Programme	Planning	Systems Theory
Staff Personnel	Organising	Social Systems Theory
Pupil Personnel	Stimulating	Values Theory
Finance and Business Management	Communicating	Role Theory
Educational Facilities	Coordinating	Organization Theory
School-Community Relations	Evaluating	Decision Theory
		Leadership Theory

Administrative Realities

There are many reasons, other than inefficiency or inexperience, why an educational system fails to give satisfaction. Factors, beyond the control of the administrator, may delay

plans and impede the normal routine. Financial constraints may delay the issue of new text-books and local pride and prejudice needs constant attention. The administrator may have to anticipate what instructions the Minister would have given ... but did not. In a newly independent country a civil servant needs to understand the balance of power.

In an ideal situation, the administrator would be able to offer the Minister advice upon size of classes, length of school life, implications of lengthening teacher training courses and of increasing teachers' salaries, curriculum reform and development, school building costs, school transportation costs, parent reactions, teachers' union reactions and the Minister, with his knowledge of Cabinet decisions, electoral promises, party policy and general wishes of the public, should then be able to instruct as need be. Dependency upon the administrator's expertise may determine the Minister's bargaining power, vis a vis his colleagues in the Cabinet, and how large a share of the national revenue education will receive. In this respect the situation is more satisfactory today than in colonial times for often the Minister of Education is in the Cabinet whereas Directors of Education were not in the Executive Council. Not that the roles of Minister and Director are the same but the head of a colonial servicing department did have a quasi-political role in decision-making. Paradoxically this was not recognised, as Mr Justice Aitken, Judge of the Supreme Court in The Gambia, is reported as saying in 1926, to Governor Armitage:

"I do not agree that any Director of Education should have a seat on the Executive Council. Such work and responsibility is quite outside his proper sphere." 32

Diagnosis, Strategy and Tactics: Administration of Planning

Beeby sums up the administrator's planning role under the three headings above. 33

By diagnosis is meant the ability to analyse carefully, in educational terms, all and any plan or proposal to raise the quality of the products of the educational system and to be able to judge on their feasibility.

The strategy of the administrator lies in the general casting of priorities for the various new schemes: mass literacy campaign or Universal Primary Education; changing the language of instruction or building more traditional secondary schools, to give a few examples.

Tactics, the ways and means of making a scheme work. The daily cooperation with colleagues in other departments or ministries. The welding together of a team of diverse colleagues so that failure of a project is minimized. Operating an effective communications system so that feedback is used rapidly to alter or modify a plan before crisis point is reached. Finally, it is to ensure that when the rules of the planning game changes, for whatever reason, the administrator and his department are fully aware and adapt accordingly to the advantage of education.

Educational Innovation

Klitgaard tells us the obvious that, in the U.S.A. and, by extension the whole developed world, the public have become disillusioned with the lack of automatic linkage between money spent and results received. More does not mean better in educational output terms. ³⁴

A General Theory of Educational Change

This should contain four parts:

- "(1)Objectives: How policy makers arrive at their objectives; what these objectives are; how different levels of government with their differing objectives interact.
- (2)Implementation. How institutions, bureaucracies, and individual actors transmit policy choices into practice.
- (3)Production possibilities. The techniques available to obtain desired ends and their efficiency.
- (4)Evaluation. How the system "feeds back"; how the public evaluates educational outcomes and holds policymakers responsible for them." ³⁵

Klitgaard proceeds to construct two models that he terms "the naive" model of educational innovation and the "organisational" model. Considering the colonial background of this study it is illuminating to examine these models from the American environment.

The Naive Model of Educational Innovation: Objectives:

It is claimed that schools exist because parents are

prepared to pay to have children educated and that the citizens ultimately decide upon the educational aims to be pursued.

This is done (a) by electing the school administration, and, (b) by deciding upon the level of expenditure to be incurred. In The Gambia and Malawi this was not so during the period of study. Central government can influence local decisions in two ways:

- "(1) Constraints, such as legal requirements, which ensure that certain minimum (or maximum) standards are met.
- (2) Incentives, whether positive through grants-in-aid or negative through taxes, which alter the propensities of local officials to produce certain types of spillover effects (side effects)."

The Organisational Model of Educational Innovation

This theory accepts schools today because they existed yesterday and that applies also to the way they function. Objectives are either of little importance or non-existent. Conflict emerges from bureaucratic faults, the organisational in-fighting and inefficiency.

Central government can only control local activities by restricting or blocking funds.

Klitgaard does not adequately differentiate between goals and objectives, he treats them as interchangeable. But the point is made that if goals are undefinable then it is inappropriate to state them and then to try to implement them.

Implementation

In organisational theory the distinction between policy-makers, the administrators, and the implementers, the teaching cadre, is regarded as an error, in so far as the implementers themselves can make policy.

There may be an implicit objective of trying to minimize the bureaucratic costs. This leads to many superficial changes but few, if any, structural changes.

Production Possibilities

It is here that organisational theory shows itself clearly. Policies are sound but if they fail it is because of poor implementation; that is, insufficient funds, insufficient trials and and pilot schemes, staff turnover, inadequate planning, inadequate

pre-service or in-service teacher training, unscientific evaluation. It is not the educational system that is wrong but those who work it ! This can be partly accepted, in so far as a theoretical description of the educational systems in The Gambia and Malawi, in the past and present, do not correspond exactly to reality largely because of one or more of the "failings" mentioned above.

Evaluation

In the Naive Model it is held that evaluation must be based upon clearly defined cultural as well as behavioural objectives whereas in this Model schools are considered monopolies and parents must accept what they offer. But in some countries parents may have a choice between private fee based sector and the public or state system. In less developed countries this has not often been so because independent countries have usually closed down or nationalised the private sector; fees have, in most cases, still been levied, state education is not necessarily free. In The Gambia private nursery schooling, in the capital, still caters for the needs of the middle class, or elite group, and in Malawi a handful of Malawians send their children to the once all-European primary schools in Blantyre and Lilongwe that still exist as fee-supported institutions.

T. Barr Greenfield's New Approach ³⁶

Much of the foregoing descriptions and comments reflect the confusion regarding educational administration which, in the classroom or district education office, may not seem close to reality. Hence the value, it is held, of Barr Greenfield's approach. His paper examines two views of social reality and strongly supports one.

He classifies the two bases for interpreting social reality as "natural systems" and "phenomenology". With much oversimplification the differences might be described as the former taking society as well ordered and structured, with the individual playing no independent part; whereas the latter is idealistic, gives the individual the deciding role to play, accepts the fundamental human concept that the organisation is but the sum of many conflicting individuals.

In this study this might be envisaged as saying, in the first case, that what matters is the hierarchy, the structured organigram, the "Department" or "Ministry", the very building. In the second case, what really matters is the personality and ability of, say, the Director of Education or Permanent Secretary, or Clerical Officer Grade Two; the Department/Ministry is only as good as the people who work there.

Greenfield says;

"The phenomenological ³⁷ view of reality contrasts sharply with that of systems theory. This view has its origin in the distinction Kant drew between the noumenal world (the world as it is) and the phenomenal world (the world as we see it). For Kant, a world of reality does indeed exist, but man can never perceive it directly; reality is always glossed over with human interpretations which themselves become the realities to which man responds. And man is always learning, always interpreting, always creating the "reality" which he sees about him. In popular form, the Kantian philosophy has been expressed as follows: 'Man does not make his world, but he does create it.' " ³⁸

It is not intended to extend this reasoning further but, in a final quotation from Barr Greenfield, sufficient is said to provide a clue to what motivated colonial educational administration during the period under consideration.

"If, as the phenomenologist holds, our ideas for understanding the world determine our action within it, then our ideas about the world -- what really exists in it, how we should behave in it -- are of utmost importance. And if our ideas about the world are shaped by our experience, then the interpretation of experience is also of paramount importance. It is this process, the placing of meaning upon experience, which shapes what we call our organizations and it is this process which should be the focus of the organization theorist's work. And unless we wish to yield to universal forces for determining our experience, we must look to theories of organizations based upon diverse meanings and interpretations of our experience." ³⁹

Barr Greenfield provides a useful table for comparison:

ALTERNATIVE BASES FOR INTERPRETING SOCIAL REALITY

Two Views

Dimensions of comparison	Natural systems	Phenomenology
Philosophical basis	Realism: the world exists and is knowable as it really is.	Idealism: the world exists but different people construe it

	Organizations are real entities with a life of their own.	in very different ways. Organizations are invented social reality.
The role of social science	Discovering the universal laws of society and human conduct within it.	Discovering how different people interpret the world in which they live.
Basic units of social reality	The collectivity: society or organizations.	Individuals acting singly or together.
Method of understanding	Identifying conditions or relationships which permit the collectivity to exist. Conceiving what these conditions and relationships are.	Interpretations of the subjective meaning which individuals place upon their action. Discovering the subjective rules for such action.
Theory	A rational edifice built by scientists to explain human behaviour.	Sets of meanings which people use to make sense of their world and behaviour within it.
Research	Experimental or quasi-experimental validation of theory.	The search for meaningful relationships and the discovery of their consequences for action.
Methodology	Abstraction of reality especially through mathematical models and quantitative analysis.	The representation of of reality for purposes of comparison. Analysis of language and meaning.
Society	Ordered. Governed	Conflicted. Governed

	by an uniform set of values and made possible only by those values.	by the values of people with access to power.
Organizations	Goal Oriented. Independent of people. Instruments of order in society serving both society and the individual.	Dependent upon people and their goals. Instruments of power which some people control and can use to attain ends which seem good to them.
Organizational pathologies	Organizations get out of kilter with social values and individual needs.	Given diverse human ends there is always conflict among them.
Prescription for curing organizational ills	Change the structure of the organization to meet social values and individual needs.	Find out what values are embodied in organizational action and whose they are. Change the people or change their values if you can.

(From Barr Greenfield Paper No. 7)

The hypothesis of this study is "phenomenological" in so far as Barr Greenfield's definition of "phenomenology" would seem to apply, namely, that the study;

"... sees organizations not as structures subject to universal laws but as cultural artefacts dependent upon the scientific meaning and intention of people within them."

The following words of Barr Greenfield are significant:

"Our concepts of organizations must therefore rest upon the views of people in particular times and places, and any effort to understand them in terms of a single set of ideas, values and laws must be doomed to failure." 40

But how to explain the concept "District Commissioner" ?

Dr T.R. Bone's contribution to the symposium on Barr Greenfield's ideas ⁴¹ cautions against a complete rejection of the

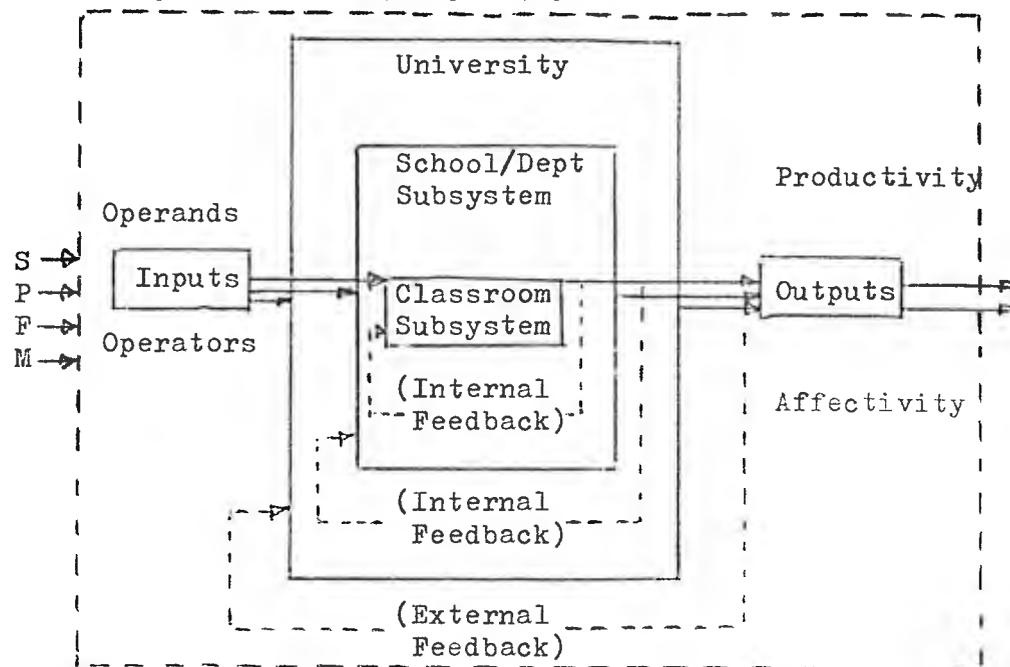
systems approach. He argues that structures are important and an analysis of them is not wasted effort. However, this study does not support such a compromise and the description in the second half of page 125 must stand.

Notes and References: Chapter Four

- 1 Weiler, Hans N.; The Planning and Administration of Educational Reform, Appendix C; Administrative support for educational reform; Lyons, F. (ed); Paris; UNESCO/I.I.E.P.; 1977 ; pp 73-87
- 2 Lyons, Raymond F.; Some problems in educational administration; article; Prospects; quarterly review of education; Vol.VII; No.1; Paris; UNESCO; 1977; pp 58-64
- 3 Ibid., p 58
- 4 See pp 29-30 of Chapter One for a description of Legislative Councils. Settler-politicians were usually very powerful.
- 5 See Appendix IV for early independence models of ministerial structures for The Gambia and Malawi.
- 6 In the British Empire Ministries were rare until political independence.
- 7 Such factors may have influenced Furse in his selection procedure. See pp 24-26 of Chapter One.
- 8 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; Methods and Statistical Needs for Educational Planning; Paris; O.E.C.D.; 1967 ; pp 9-13
- 9 This point should be remembered in judging early colonial attempts at planning. See bottom of p 90 above for a relevant comment.
- 10 Beeby, C.E.; Planning and the educational administrator; Fundamentals of educational planning 4; Paris; UNESCO/I.I.E.P.; 1967
- 11 Ibid., p 11
- 12 Ibid., p 13
- 13 Nwagwu, Nicholas A.; Equalisation of Educational Opportunities in African Countries; article; The Journal of Educational Administration; vol. XIV; no.2; October 1976; pp 270-278
- 14 Lyons, p 63
- 15 Miklos, Erwin; Educational Administration in an era of Transition; article; Educafrica; Vol.1; No.2; Dakar; UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Africa; December 1974; pp 5-9
- 16 The courses for chiefs, at the Malawi Jeanes Training Centre in colonial times, was a recognition that the

- roles of the chiefs, the Native Authorities, were changing and that they needed some training.
- 17 Weiler, p 75
- 18 Freire, Paulo; Pedagogy of the Oppressed; London; Penguin; 1972 edition
- 19 See pp 217-218 of Chapter Eight
- 20 Weiler, p 86
- 21 Evans, David R.; Responsive Educational Planning: Myth or Reality ?; I.I.E.P. Occasional Papers No. 47; UNESCO/I.I.E.P.; Paris; January 1977
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- 23 For observations of the cultural colonialism aspect of this theme see;
- Item 18 above.
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- 24 Monson, Terry D.; A Note on Measuring Educational Returns in LDCs (Less Developed Countries); Discussion Paper No. 63; Center for Research on Economic Development; Ann Arbor; Michigan; The University of Michigan; February 1977; pp 10 plus 2 footnotes.
- 25 Hoyle, Eric; Leadership and Decision-Making in Education; paper; Hughes, Meredydd (ed); Administering Education: International Challenge; London; The Athlone Press of the University of London; 1975; pp 30-44
- 26 Ibid., p 32
- 27 Lipham, James M.; Competency/Performance-Based Administrator Education (C/PBAE); Recent Developments in the United States; paper; Hughes, Meredydd (ed); Administering Education: International Challenge; London; The Athlone Press of the University of London; 1975; pp 264-286
- 28 C/PBAE = Competency/Performance-Based Administrator Education
- 29 Lipham p 269

30 After Lipham and Hoch; Lipham, p 270



S - Students
 P - Professors
 F - Facilities
 M - Material

General Systems Model of C/PBAE

31 Lipham, p 273

32 Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa (later Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies; Minutes; reference X.F. 4095 No. 33; quoted from despatch from Governor C.H. Armitage to the Secretary of State; No. 122 of 15th June 1926.

33 Beeby, pp 30-34

34 Klitgaard, Robert E.; Models of Educational Innovation and Implications for Research; Santa Monica; California; The Rand Corporation; March 1973

35 Ibid., p 5

36 Barr Greenfield, T.; Theory in the Study of Organizations and Administrative Structures; Paper No.7; Friday 12th July 10.30-12.30; International Intervisitation Programme 1974; a type-written/printed/photo-copied document, subsequently printed in an expanded version in Hughes, Meredydd (ed); Administering Education: International Challenge; London; The Athlone Press of the University of London; 1975; pp 71-99

_____ ; Theory about Organization: A new perspective and its implications for schools;

paper; Houghton, V. et al (eds); Management in Education Reader 1; London; Ward Lock Educational; 1975; pp 59-84

37 The term is explained as follows:

"This alternative view, which stems from nineteenth century German Idealism bears the awkward name phenomenology, though it might with equal justification be called the method of understanding. ..."
Barr Greenfield, Paper No.7 p 42

38 Barr Greenfield, Paper No.7 p 4

39 Ibid., p 16

40 Barr Greenfield; (Houghton version), p 63

41 See Harrison, Michael, et al.; symposium papers in Educational Administration; Vol.5; No.1; Bristol; Hiscox and Lambert Ltd., for the British Educational Administration Society; Autumn 1976; pp 1-13. Here scholars considered Barr Greenfield's views, either for, against or "in the middle".

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

B: THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF DECISION-MAKING

In the previous chapter certain aspects of general educational administration were examined ; the purpose of this chapter is to attempt a brief study of some modern decision-making theories. ¹ Mathematical models and methods, much used in the sources, will not be examined here largely because they are not strictly relevant to the decision-making activities detailed later in the overall study of The Gambia and Malawi. While some of the decisions involved planning, from which, today, mathematical techniques and conventions are inseparable, the foundation upon which any reasonable planning should be based, sound data, was not there.

The theories of Gore and Armitage help to reinforce the conceptual framework of this thesis because of the emphasis they place upon the role of the individual in decision-making.

General Theory

Decision-making involves choice. This does not necessarily mean a positive choice, such as, should a certain village have a primary school or a maternity centre but also a negative choice, whether to take any action or none at all. At a very simple level choices involve two variables; firstly, the evaluation of the attractiveness of doing something and, secondly, the evaluation of the chances or probability of the choice leading to any action at all. Edwards (1967) provides five key questions on this point, namely:

- "1. How do men make judgements of the utility or attractiveness of various things that might happen to them, and how can these utilities be measured ?
2. How do men judge the probabilities of events that control what happens to them, and how can these judgements of probability be measured ?
3. How are judged probabilities changed by the arrival of new information ?
4. How are probabilities and utilities combined to control decisions ?
5. How should psychologists account for, or think about, the fact that the same man, put in the same situation twice, will often not make the same decision ?" 2

It is no coincidence that economics and economic theory are closely interwoven with decision-making because, in the classical sense, almost all decisions that man is called upon to make have an economic foundation or economic objective. Hence, the literature of decision-making covers such topics as the theory of riskless choices, the theory of risky choices, and, of some significance, the theory of games and its practical application, gambling. This last involves much mathematical reasoning.

Unfortunately, much of the basic theory starts with the assumption of the rational man and the possession of perfect or complete knowledge. To consider the simple example above, a primary school or a maternity centre. The rational man would consider objectively child mortality figures, human resource development, financial input and output, distances to be traversed from existing facilities to the village in question, local public opinion, the United Nations Charter of Human Rights, and the knowledge of the outcome of whatever course of action he takes. But this knowledge is not known and human beings are not perfectly consistent.

Then there is the concept of utility that might have some relevance but not with our example above, at the village level that is. In its general economic sense it holds that a hungry man might choose between five cheese rolls or five apples, neither extreme being satisfactory; four cheese rolls and one apple might be the combination or three rolls and two apples. The choices can be plotted on a graph but the combination might change from day to day. This theory may only apply if our consideration is a district faced with a choice of five primary schools or five maternity centres; the ideal selection being three schools and two centres. But how was the choice made ?

"The notion of 'utility' is fundamental in most current theories of human decision. The problem of determining the utility function of a given decision maker, however, presents grave difficulties. It is not sufficient to determine the decision maker's rank-order preference of choices, ... The problem is further complicated by the fact that even the preference choices of the chooser are often inconsistent with each other." (G.M. Becker, M.H. DeGroot and J. Marschak (1963)) 3

There might well be a justification for dismissing much of the theoretical considerations of utility in decision-making as irrelevant to The Gambia and Malawi because of the theories' sophistication. ⁴ But, to a certain extent, there might be some relevance if one considers the income aspirations of children of the Banjul elite compared with those of the children of "Protectorate farmers" up-river in The Gambia.

Davidson, Suppes and Siegel (1957) put the matter neatly at the end of a mathematical paper:

"The theory of decision attempts to predict accurately how subjects will respond to situations offering them well-defined alternatives. On the basis of the theory it is natural to construe decisions as determined ... by the degree of belief in various outcomes, and the relative appeal of the outcomes." ⁵

But how far can we be sure that these conditions applied in the colonial situation under review ?

The behaviourists' approach to decision-making is useful for the emphasis upon individual psychology and learning factors.

"When faced with the same alternative courses of action several times, people do not always make the same choice. Such changes can in principle always be explained as the result of learning, fatigue, adaptation, or other similar changes in the organism. But often the variation in behaviour is not systematic or progressive, as any of these explanations would lead us to expect. Instead, to an outside observer it appears random. Students of behaviour disagree about whether this seeming randomness reflects actual random processes at work inside the organism, or whether it is the inevitable result of trying to use very simple methods of prediction to predict behaviour that has very complicated causes. This disagreement is profound, and extends beyond decision theory and beyond psychology ..." ⁶

That field of psychological study concerned with risky decision-making is unlikely to concern our problem because it deals, mainly, with

"... the choices that people make among alternatives whose consequences are risky ..."

and that leads to considerations of a lottery or some form of gambling. Either selecting numbered tickets for a raffle, for example, or deciding exactly when, in time, to buy "forward" a cargo of cocoa. In educational administration the decision to insist upon the teaching of basic school subjects in a particular local language cannot be adequately explained

in these terms although, it might be argued, there was the risk of a riot breaking out following the government announcement. If, perhaps, risky decision-making reinforces learning theory, in the sense that;

"Human beings appear to be both 'adaptive' and 'cognitive'; they sometimes adjust their behaviour gradually to experience, and they sometimes 'understand' and analyse choice situations." (Luce (1962)) 7

there could well be some relevance to this study. Learning by doing, learning not to make mistakes by suffering the consequences of one's errors is very relevant to administration and could justify or explain the creation of supernumerary posts during the period leading to majority rule. This was the system of "doubling-up" or creating posts outside the approved staff establishment in order to give local officers some advanced experience, for the time when they would supersede expatriate officials. Conversely, being denied the opportunity of learning from one's mistakes, would restrict decision-making to one group, in this case a colonial service group, only.

Gore's Heuristic Model (1964)

Less mathematically expressed William Gore's study, based in practical terms on decisions made in and around an American fire-station, has much to offer study of the public administrative framework.

"A recurring theme in the management scientists' writings on decision-making is the possibility of reducing uncertainty by increasing control over our environment." 8

But:

"The very essence of the heuristic process is that the factors validating a decision are internal to the personality of the individual instead of external to it. Whereas the rational system of action deals with the linkages between a collective and its objectives and between a collective and its environment, the heuristic process is oriented toward the relationship between that private core of values embedded in the centre of the personality and its public counterpart, ideology. The dynamics of personality are not those of logic but rather those of the emotions." 9

Conceptual Orientation

Gore provides some phenomenological definitions and descriptions of organisations:

"Organisations are collectives of individuals, and as such they embody some of the characteristics of the elements from which they are constituted." 10

Further, in general terms, decision-making is defined:

"Heuristic decisions are essentially mental and vicarious; they involve people in thinking about things instead of doing them. The meaning of events in the past and the potentialities of events in the future are especially important. Almost without exception a rational decision is preceded by a heuristic decision traversing the same terrain, but vicariously and through the emotions." 11

"... decision-making is not a smooth-flowing process dispensing choices when and where they are required. Rather it is a twisted, unshapely, halting flow of interactions between people, interactions that shift constantly from a rational to a heuristic mode and back again. ... A significant characteristic of decision-making is its intermittence and discontinuousness, in contrast with the regularity of productive activities." 12

A General Model of the Decision-Making Process

"The roots of the decision-making process are deep in the subsoil of an organization. Hidden from common sense observation, they lie far below the forms and rituals of formal organization and the crust of rationality. Therefore the full character of decision-making is not easily perceived."

Gore makes the point that goals indicate the values of the group concerned and how its objectives are to be achieved. Thus Education Ordinances and Regulations, embody formally stated and legitimatised goals. The private ends of powerful individuals may become organisational goals. The social structure is the machinery for working towards the goals and it must be realised that the capacities or limitations of the machinery restrict goal achievement.

The frustration of the thwarted administrator or practitioner leads to tension and conflict thus requiring that the basic task of administration becomes the control of stress so that life does not become unbearable. That is the counsel of perfection; life sometimes does not work so, it becomes unbearable and conflict ensues. Occasionally skilful administrators deliberately use tension as a motivating technique.¹³

Perception

In Gore's General Model the organisation seems to be

viewed as the sum total of all the individuals comprising it. This is a position somewhere between the Systems and the Phenomenological interpretations. But in so far as the individual has an identifiable role it does assist in our analysis of the situation in The Gambia and Malawi where tension was more often than not a daily fact for the administrator.

Gore defines perception as the sense of awareness of a situation requiring collective rather than individual concern. In decision-making perception envisages future difficulties, possible successes and "ambiguous implications". Common sense holds that people see what is going on around them but this is not so ; "organizations are not attuned to all of reality". People, living and working in their private world, may think that because they understand enough they understand all. Organisations and their environment are inextricably united, the failure to appreciate that greatly hindered the effectiveness of many well-meaning administrators.

Problem Solving

It is perhaps a truism to say that the successful identification of the problem goes far in aiding the decision-making but:

Reality is hard to discover: "Unfortunately the problem is almost always elusive, for as it is being defined it tends to turn fluid and take on different content. Surface problems take on the appearance of symptoms, as more elemental problems become visible." 14

The idea that an organisation, say a colonial education department, could be defined by what it accomplished is well illustrated by the observation that many members came to regard the organisation in which they held membership as projections of themselves, their better selves.

Conflicts arising from clash of personalities within organisations often reflected the pluralistic tendencies deep in most societies, a common such tendency being the desire to obtain more and give less, of whatever is being considered. Comprise must be sought and, when surveying a past conflict, one tends to look for the point at which events began to "fall into place." 15

The point is made that in times of stress "misery seeks company".

Stress brings people together and those who do not hold the same values are jettisoned. The growth of the African political parties illustrates this well.

"When four or five people frustrated about the same thing find each other, they are likely to plan something to provide substitute satisfaction almost before they are aware of it." 16

Furze's penchant for Oxbridge types ¹⁷ reflects this view of people talking the same language and sharing the same ideals, invaluable in times of stress.

Decision-making and Educational Planning

"Advice is sought on finding a better method of solving a well-established problem. After a short time, the adviser decides this is not really the right problem. Some time later, he announces that he has found a much more difficult problem, whose solution might be found in a few more years." 18

To a certain extent this analysis of the situation was true during the period covered by this study but, more often than not, methods of investigation and planning were rudimentary. One can consider techniques available in modern educational decision-making. The fact that they may not have been available to the decision-makers being considered does not in any way detract from the value of examining them. On the contrary, it may only make us wonder even more at what was accomplished with such primitive tools of analysis.

It might be said then, that although a basic tool existed the expertise to advance its use was not yet generally available.

Appendix VII illustrates a flow chart which, with population figures and the use of mathematical techniques would enable possible movements and structures to be tabulated and, today, a model prepared for computer calculation. Kendall is quoted as providing a motive for this method or technique:

"The fundamental ideal (sic) of building models is to mimic the behaviour of a 'real-life' system. In doing so, we can get increased understanding of the 'real' situation and hence some guidance as to how to control it. What is not attempted is the construction of a microcosm of the system under study which mimics its behaviour in all respects. The systems which are studied are far too complex to allow anything of the kind."

"Models have to be built for specific purposes, not for all possible purposes." 19

Planning and Decision-making

Armitage (1969) has provided a description of educational planning that he, rightly in his case, describes as not very sophisticated:

Basically the model builder provides the projections of possible figures from which the policy maker can choose in order to solve a problem or prevent a problem from developing.

To emphasise the method:

"... Our present concern is not in the ways these projections are made: the important point is that these projections are simply descriptive extrapolations. The projections are treated as the (*italics*) result of expert calculation and have implications, for example, for the numbers of teachers that will be required in future years at primary and secondary schools or for the numbers of students who will be going into higher education." 20

But just where that leads, spectators of the mid-1970s British Colleges of Education scene know only too well. On this Williams (1977) provides an unusual comparative study; Britain and Ghana. ²¹ The real point for us is that awareness of even such unsophisticated planning/decision-making techniques is hard to find in the account that follows in later pages of this thesis. There is, however, a warning:

"However perfect data may become, they can only tell us what happened under similar circumstances and changing conditions in the past. There must always be doubt about the future."

Finally;

"... In practice, administrative policy will limit the number of places that are provided in each educational sector. The number of available places will depend upon how we have chosen to develop the system in the past, and upon the allocation of resources available for its future development. Even if we rigidly applied the rule that places should be everywhere available for anyone qualified to hold them, we would still be interested in estimating the numbers coming forward because we would not wish to waste resources by grossly over-supplying places. If, for any reason, these estimates prove wrong and too few places are provided, then there will be various consequences. In the compulsory sector of education, the excess of students cannot be legally turned away and the system must continue to cope with this"

"excess with too few teachers, buildings, etc. This is not a bottleneck, however, since the flow can never be supply-determined. In higher education, there is no legal obligation to accept an excess of demand and consequently students are turned away with the result that their abilities will not be fully developed. This is a bottleneck even if the supply is usually greater than demand. Any system with at least one such bottleneck is a bottleneck system." 22

So much for this planning definition of "bottleneck" with its connotation of "into" something and a simple system is illustrated in Appendix VIII. The point to be emphasised is that "bottlenecks" can be planned and controlled with practical suggestions or counselling for unsuccessful applicants ... at least in theory. Possession of adequate data is essential for calculating proposals to deal with "overflowing bottlenecks".

The diagrams given in Appendices VII and VIII are more than marginally relevant as they indicate an approach to decision-making concept formation. However, as mentioned on page 138 there is always some doubt concerning the future development of a system and;

"... it would be unwise to place on any projection a burden of confidence which it cannot carry." 23

Notes and References: Chapter Five

- 1 The sources for this material are as follows:

Armitage, Peter; Smith, Cyril and Alper, Paul; Decision models for educational planning; L.S.E. Studies on Education; London; Allen Lane The Penguin Press; 1969

Edwards, Ward and Tversky, Amos (eds); Decision Making; Harmondsworth, England; Penguin; 1967

Gore, William J.; Administrative Decision-Making: A Heuristic Model; New York; John Wiley & Sons Inc.; 1964
- 2 Edwards, p 7
- 3 Ibid., p 353
- 4 For example, Mosteller and Noguee (1951) are quoted as having conducted an experiment involving the choices, aspirations and activities of American undergraduate students compared with a lower socio-economic group, National Guardsmen. Edwards, pp 124-169
- 5 Edwards, p 205
- 6 Ibid., p 315
- 7 Ibid., p 350
- 8 Gore, p 5
- 9 Ibid., p 12
- 10 Ibid., p 18
- 11 Ibid., p 19
- 12 Ibid., p 28
- 13 Ibid., pp 37-46
- 14 Ibid., p 64
- 15 Ibid., pp 64-81
- 16 Ibid., p 82
- 17 See pp 25-26 of Chapter One
- 18 Armitage preface
- 19 Ibid., p 16

- 20 Armitage, p 68
- 21 Williams, Peter; Too Many Teachers ? A comparative study of the planning of teacher supply in Britain and Ghana; article; Comparative Education; vol.13; no.3; Oxford; Carfax Publishing Co., October 1977; pp 169-179
- 22 Armitage, p 30
- 23 Ibid., p 89

PART THREE THE PROCESSESOF DECISION-MAKINGCHAPTER SIXNON-GOVERNMENTAL PERSONALITIES AND THEIR INFLUENCES ON
DECISION-MAKING IN MALAWI AND THE GAMBIA

In Part Two some educational administrative and decision-making theories, that relate to this study, were considered in outline and attention is now directed to the action of decision-making in the two countries concerned.

It was Roland Oliver who suggested that the hey-day of the expatriate Christian missions in East and Central Africa was during the period 1875 to 1925.¹ What Oliver means is that in earlier times the missionary societies were often all powerful and individual mission stations were often mini-states, administering civil justice and, in the case of Blantyre in the 1880s, meting out harsh physical punishments to the local inhabitants. By 1925 colonial governments were growing in size and strength and developing towards state systems; it was this development that most caused trouble, especially with the "Old Guard" of missionaries who, in their youth, may have carried a Bible in one hand and a rifle in the other.

In this chapter we are chiefly concerned with the Scottish Protestant missionaries. The reason is twofold; firstly, their activities are particularly well documented and, secondly, they tended to act as champions for the other and smaller Protestant missions, later arrivals on the scene. As for the Roman Catholics, their archives have not been made available and, in any case, their approach to many of the problems studied below was quite different. Generally, they did not have many quarrels with the colonial government,² except for the case reported from the Public Record Office archives. The seeming impartiality of the colonial government, that so upset the "Old Guard", tended to favour the Roman Catholic Missions who were able to expand as a result of inter-Protestant friction. Also, the Roman Catholic Missions used personal contact with officials

rather than become involved in long correspondence.³

The Background ⁴

The Universities' Mission to Central Africa started its work in the Shire Valley during the period 1861-64. Misfortune dogged the mission's work and Bishop Tozer, 18th January 1864, removed the mission to the island of Zanzibar in order to carry out a reorganisation and reappraisal of objectives. Edward Steere succeeded as Bishop in 1872 and, 1881, was encouraging William Percival Johnson to proceed from Masasi (in Tanzania) to Lake Malawi; this was the long and dangerous overland route from the coast through the interior. The objective of establishing a base at Lake Malawi was achieved in 1885 when Likoma Island became the Headquarters.

By the 1930s the U.M.C.A. educational system comprised sixteen head stations with a European certificated teacher in charge of each. This teacher oversaw outstations each under a Nyasa teacher or senior monitor. The work spread out from four centres : Likoma, Mponda's, Nkhota-kota and the "Chauncey Maples", a lake steamer, a one-time floating teachers' college.

The Livingstonia Mission started at Cape Maclear, at the southern end of the lake, in 1875 but moved northwards, up the lakeshore to Bandawe before finally settling at Khondowe. Africans had long played some part in the educational work of Livingstonia, from those who, in the early days, had been trained at Lovedale in South Africa⁵ to Dr Aggrey whose visit, with the Phelps-Stokes Commission, proved such an inspiration.

The real centre of educational work was the Overtoun Institution at Khondowe, on the edge of the Nyika Plateau overlooking the north western end of Lake Malawi, where teachers and craftsmen were trained.

The Livingstonia Mission was divided into five districts each of which contained a graded system of village, central and station schools, with a small cadre of African inspectors/supervisors for the district schools.

In the south, around Blantyre, was the centre of the other Scottish Mission that had a similar structure to that of Livingstonia.

The first Roman Catholic school of the White Fathers' opened in April 1890, near Mponda's but, partly owing to the turmoil arising from the Anglo-Portuguese territorial dispute, it closed in the following year. But, 1897, the Apostolic Vicariate of Nyasa was established, the missionaries returned.

The White Sisters began their work among the women and girls in the 1920s and in 1931 started a fine station, noted for its beautiful brick church, at Bembeke. A seminary was opened at Mua in 1912.

The Dutch Reformed Church Mission started at Mvera in 1889 and always maintained a fairly close link with Livingstonia. Later Nkhoma became the headquarters. The smaller South Africa General Mission did not develop an elaborate educational system.

The Nyasa Industrial Baptist Mission opened its first school in 1898 at Likubula, near Blantyre.⁶

The other Roman Catholic Mission, the Montfort Marist Fathers, were invited by the White Fathers, 1901, to join them when they found work growing beyond their capacity to handle.

The Providence Industrial Mission was unique, in so far as it was under the control of an African, Dr D.S. Malekebu, who had been educated in the U.S.A.⁷ The old P.I.M. under John Chilembwe had started schools but the 1915 Rising had led to the closure of both mission and schools. Not till ten years later did its sponsors, the (Afro-American) Foreign Mission Board in America, with the help of the Reverend J.H. Oldham, of the International Missionary Conference, succeed in having the P.I.M. re-established with Dr and Mrs Malekebu as missionaries-in-charge.

The Zambesi Industrial Mission started its first school in 1892 and gradually developed its technical bias.⁸

The Phelps-Stokes Second African (East African) Education Commission⁹

It is necessary to note here the work of this mixed unofficial/official roving commission because it made certain recommendations to the British Colonial Office that were acted upon and, significantly, assisted modern educational development in British Tropical Africa and the administrative repercussions

therefrom.

The Commission travelled through the whole of East Africa from the 15th January to the 8th August 1924, and only spent a short while in Nyasaland but their comments on the educational situation in the Protectorate were very much to the point.

In the Commission's report the missionaries were congratulated on the job that they had done so far, ¹⁰ with little or no government aid, but it was observed that the Nyasas, once "educated", could find hardly any work at home and so had to emigrate to Tanganyika, the Congo (Zaire), the Rhodesias and Mozambique. Hitherto, the colonial government had spent on police, prisons and lunatic asylums eight times the amount spent on education.

It is the recommendations that mainly concern us. They said that one of the two causes of the failure for the Protectorate and its people to develop was,

"... the failure of Government to organise and correlate the splendid educational work of the missions with the various phases of colonial life."

The other cause was an inadequate transportation system.

The Commission thought that the quality of missionary endeavour was better than in any other colony but that guidance and coordination were needed. Specifically there should be:

- (a) a Department of Education with a Director having equal rank with other chief officers;
- (b) an Advisory Board for Native Education comprising representatives from government, settlers and missionary societies, and African representatives "as soon as possible";
- (c) additional funds; native revenue (from hut taxes ?) amounted to almost £1m; missions were spending about £16,000 p.a. in total ;
- (d) proper supervision and inspection needed to coordinate and develop the systems; African visiting teachers should be employed;
- (e) a four tier school system, as used by the Church of Scotland in the Southern Province (the Blantyre Mission) should be adopted for the whole Protectorate, namely;

tier four: central school at mission H.Q.,
 tier three: district school under European
 missionaries,
 tier two: central village schools,
 tier one: village or bush schools

It should be noted that this structure was not one proposed exclusively for Nyasaland but follows the pattern that was standard for much of East, Central and West Africa.

Although a higher level institution might be inappropriate yet, the needs of "post"- Livingstonia and Blantyre pupils must be considered.

Especially concerning educational administration the Commission made the point that except for Scottish missions and the American Board of Foreign Missions, missionary societies did not realise the value of efficient administration. Enthusiasm was not enough.

Such was the general situation when, following the Colonial Office directive, the Nyasaland Protectorate Government established an Education Department, 1926/27, under the first Director of Education, Gaunt.¹¹ What happened then can be briefly stated. Gaunt rushed through an Education Ordinance, 1927, the implications of which were not immediately apparent to the missions. There followed an explosion. What annoyed most missionaries were three things:

- (i) the attempt to define exactly a school and then to try to control the opening of schools;
- (ii) the threat to imprison offenders against the Ordinance;
- (iii) the attempt by Government to control all education though the bulk of the finances were provided by the missions.

The Struggle against the Nyasaland 1927 Education Ordinance

Two names figure much in the account that follows, the Reverend J.H. Oldham and Miss B.D. Gibson, both of the International Missionary Conference (later Council), Edinburgh House, London.¹² "Edinburgh House" symbolised the ever

watchful Christian eye on the secular colonial authorities' activities which, while not necessarily unfriendly might not always be helpful to the missionary societies. Not that all complaints reached London for, if possible, many field missionaries preferred to settle their quarrels on the spot. Only if local action proved ineffective would Edinburgh House be asked for help. Such a tactic sometimes upset Oldham who was not always "in the picture".

It is enlightening to let the records speak for themselves. The characters come alive and the various attempts to use influence and back-door politics become the norm. Indeed, this was the stuff from which decisions were made. It will be noticed that missionary opinion was by no means unanimous in its criticism of, or hostility towards, colonial government.

The Reverend W.B. Stevenson, Convenor of the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee, Edinburgh, wrote to Oldham on the 9th July 1927, enclosing documents regarding the "serious situation arisen between the six Federated Missions and Government regarding number missionary representatives on education Board", to use the words of a cable received by Stevenson. He continued;

"... You will see from Dr Hetherwick's (head of Blantyre Mission) cablegram that what he describes as a grave situation has arisen. The main cause of it is the proportion in which the Governor has assigned the representatives on the Education Board."

Generally, representation was linked with missionary expenditure on education. It was felt that the Roman Catholics were exaggerating their expenditure and thereby receiving more seats on the Board than were their due.

Stevenson asks Oldham to read all the documents;

"... and advise me as to the best line to take in dealing with the situation. I know that the London Educational Committee 13 is in thorough sympathy with our aims, but I have no confidence at all in (Governor) Bowring. He is certain to thwart us whenever he can. Bowman (the Church of Scotland missionary who joined Government Service) seems fairly well satisfied with the Ordinance, but Dr Laws is far from satisfied with it."

On the contrary, from evidence below, Dr Laws was satisfied.

Stevenson wrote also to Miss B.D. Gibson at Edinburgh

House, for she analysed the Nyasaland Education Ordinance for him, and as he said himself:

"... it does not seem to be exceptionally stringent. Of course one has to bear in mind that many things are put into a Government Ordinance that are not intended to be acted upon."

Miss Gibson wrote to the Reverend W.P. Young, Law's successor at Livingstonia, on the 20th July 1927 and made the point that if the Governor complained to the Secretary of State he,

"... would only reply that he was not prepared to interfere. The Colonial Office or the Advisory Committee would be prepared to see the missions get a decent look in, but generally they were very shy about interfering between one mission and another."

Young, in an undated letter, quoted the Reverend Frank Ashcroft, of the United Free Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Office,

"... who said quite rightly it was a great mistake to go behind the local Government unless the matter were very urgent & vital. He had got MacLachlan of the C, of Sc. to agree with him & there the matter has officially ended."

But it had not.

Ashcroft wrote to Kenneth MacLennan at Edinburgh House on the 28th July 1927, and mentioned that Dr Hetherwick had cabled saying that the composition of the Board of Education was unsatisfactory:

"... I understand that an Education Ordinance for Nyasaland is also being drawn up, and certain proposals respecting grants, etc. are being made. Our missionaries, in conference with the authorities, have reserved the right of their Home Churches to make representations to the Colonial Office on these matters."

"... after consultation with Dr. Stevenson and Mr M'Lachlan, Dr. Forgan and I have agreed to ask you whether you could approach the right official in the Colonial Office and arrange with him to let you know when the Draft Ordinance comes home in order that we may have opportunity in a friendly way to make our representation on the whole situation."

Feelings were beginning to rise.

Hetherwick's letter to McLachlan, dated 6th July, repeated the whole story of the funds spent in Nyasaland on education each year and, in his opinion, the unfair Roman Catholic representation. Even the reallocation of representatives as follows:

Federated Missions: 3
 Roman Catholics: 2
 U.M.C.A.: 1

on the Governor's Advisory Committee failed to satisfy him. On tactics to be adopted he said:

"... I hope you have acted on my cable and got ready for a strong representation to the Colonial Office. Get all the Influential M.P.'s that you can get hold of, such as Steele Maitland, who was once on the Colonial Office Ministry (sic). Every possible iron must be put in the fire to counteract this Romanist influence of the Governor."

Ashcroft wrote to Miss Gibson, 11th August 1927:

"I am glad to say the matter has been happily settled locally and there is no need for our exerting pressure at this end. A cable has been received from Dr. Hetherwick from Blantyre, in the Church of Scotland Offices, as follows:- 'Difficulty with Government satisfactorily settled. Governor acceded federated Missions. Please inform Ashcroft, Oldham and others.' It is very satisfactory to have a local settlement of a matter of this kind and I am glad the necessity for interference on our part has been removed."

But the matter did not rest. Stevenson wrote to Miss Gibson on the 15th August 1927. While others might be prepared to treat the matter lightly he was not. On the question of representation numbers "... the Governor has climbed down" but ...

"Of course the much more important question of the control which the Governor claims to exercise over our work remains, & will have to be gone into very carefully later on."

On the I.M.C. file under study is a copy of a letter, unsigned, that may have originated with Oldham and was destined for Stevenson, it is dated 15th September 1927 and is marked "Private", it provides an example of what today would be called a "leak of information". What one cannot be sure of, is whether or not the "leak" was officially contrived:

"You will wish to know what took place at the meeting of the Advisory Committee ... I have marked the letter private since it would not be right that information regarding the proceedings of the Advisory Committee should be conveyed to Nyasaland or that any hint of them should reach the ears of Government there otherwise than through a despatch from the Colonial Office ..."

He had reasons to believe that the Colonial Office supported the view that it was unreasonable to expect missions

to raise their standards unless higher grants were paid but,

"... it is desirable that nothing should be said in Nyasaland which would convey the impression that the Colonial Office has yielded to missionary pressure."

The point was made that although Government always had the last word, the Governor's Committee was only "advisory", missionary representatives usually received a fair hearing. He continued:

"... It seems to me that the rock bottom fact in the whole business is that the influence which missions will have in education in Africa will depend in the long run on what they deserve..."

Correspondence on the 1927 Education Ordinance continued apace and Ashcroft wrote to Oldham, 13th December 1927, on behalf of the United Free Church of Scotland, a long letter which concluded;

"... The one thing you must understand is that we do not intend in any way to yield the point, that we shall control what education we wish to give when Government provides no subsidy."

Oldham informed all concerned that he was going to Nyasaland and that personal conversations with the Government might be better than letters ... but the letters and memorials poured in all complaining on the same theme that the Government wanted to take over education while paying only one-tenth of the cost.

The "Grand Old Man" himself, Dr Robert Laws, summed up the position in a letter to Oldham, 26th December 1927. Laws' attitude towards the problems of the colonial government was more sympathetic than that of many of the home-based churchmen.

"... The Nyasaland Government have been practically ordered by the Colonial Office in their memorandum they sent out to become responsible for the education & health of the natives. A Director of Education was appointed & sent out to frame, & work out an educational scheme, but without giving him the needed funds to carry it out - an impossible situation - as the taxes of Nyasaland cannot for many a year provide for this."

Despite Protestant annoyance that Government was condoning Roman Catholic avoidance of quotas and standard requirements, by using "prayer houses" as very primitive schools, Laws emphasised:

"... If we did not meet the Director of Education in"

"trying to work his scheme, we ran the risk of challenging the D/E to take up Education for the Government alone, and so have an entirely secular education for Nyasaland, which would be a thing we do not want & to be deplored."

In a letter of the 4th January 1928, Laws gave Oldham his opinion of the Governor - quite different from Hetherwick's:

"... H.E. the Governor, Sir Charles Bowring, has been the most sympathetic Governor towards Educational work & Missions we have had yet in Nyasaland."

The full import of that sentence was reinforced in a letter to the Reverend Dr Fraser from Oldham, dated Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, 2nd April 1928:

"... The problem was more difficult and intricate than I anticipated; and was complicated by the fact that the missionaries in Nyasaland, and particularly the Scottish missionaries, were, for reasons of considerable weight, in accord with the policy of the Government."

Oldham indicated the nub of the fundamental problem in a letter to Fraser, 22nd May 1928:

"Between ourselves, the real inwardness of the situation lies much more in personalities than in principles and these aspects can be dealt with much better in conversation than by letter. I have little doubt that we shall be able to get things right."

Although seriously ill Gaunt, while on U.K. leave, journeyed to Scotland to discuss matters with clerical leaders.

The Reverend W.W. M'Lachlan, Secretary, Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee, to Oldham, 13th October 1928:

"... We had our meeting with Gaunt yesterday - an extremely satisfactory one."

The Reverend Donald Fraser, Home Administration Secretary, United Free Church Offices, to Oldham, 17th October, 1928:

"... I saw Gaunt, & have studied the new Education Ordinance. And I just wish to say that we are more deeply your debtor than we can say. For the new ordinance pleases us greatly. We have no criticism to make. The one or two suggestions we made to Gaunt are small. But we are able to say that we are greatly pleased with the new form of the ordinance."

M'Lachlan to Oldham, 31st October 1928:

"... I heard yesterday of the death of Mr Gaunt - apparently the result of an operation for appendicitis. It is terribly sad and will be a serious loss to the Missionary Educational Cause in Nyasaland. We may not get another Director so sympathetic."

In a much slimmer file than that for the Scottish missionaries the U.M.C.A. Bishop of Nyasaland's reactions to the 1927 Ordinance are recorded. His main concern was a practical one, namely, that more paper work would be involved and that field missionaries were busy people with little or no clerical assistance. ¹⁴

In London, the U.M.C.A. office in Dartmouth Street, Westminster, under the Reverend Canon F. Spanton, reinforced the Bishop's views. Quoting Bishop Fisher in a letter to Oldham, 21st September 1928, Spanton wrote:

"... If you ... can do anything in the matter - it is of very real importance to get Sir C. Bowring's term as Governor extended for a year or two more. He has now got the real educational position clear and we can get on. If he leaves in May '29 and a new man who doesn't know the ropes comes here - the whole thing will be in a mess, and we shall have to begin all over again. Get Oldham to press this if you can: it will be a horrid muddle otherwise."

When he was in Nyasaland Oldham received a letter from Dr C.T. Loram, a South African Official of the Native Affairs Commission, who had earlier been a member of the Phelps-Stokes East African Commission. Loram said, 6th January 1928:

"... If ever there was a case where Govt. shd. support missions and confine itself to grants and supervision it is that of Nyasaland today. Do rub that in to that genial but unenlightened (educationally) ruler my friend Sir Charles Bowring ... Furthermore do compel Gaunt to cut down his salary scales. He must not give Bowman at Zomba Jeanes School £800 a year. He will queer our pitch all over Africa." ¹⁵

In a copy letter, claimed to have been written by Dr A.V. Murray, ¹⁶ there was enclosed a draft of an article for Oldham to consider and it is germane to quote from it: ¹⁷

"The question also arises as to the right method of appointing a Director of Education. There cannot be an assurance of full cooperation if the appointment is looked upon as a purely Government affair. Nearly all the education in Africa is in the hands of Missions, and missions will keep on doing it whether Government supports them or not. It is therefore of importance that a Director of Education should be thoroughly conversant with the missionary situation at home as well as abroad, and should be a persona grata (Murray's underlining) with the missionary societies concerned."

The British desire to be impartial, Murray wrote, might lead to injustice and he made some uncomplimentary remarks about foreign Roman Catholics. Continuing:

"... But what is the Government's business ? It is surely to see that people appointed to educational posts are in sympathy with the religious aims of missions and are religiously minded men themselves. If Government requires missionaries to be properly qualified on the educational side, it is quite reasonable that missions should require government officials to be properly qualified on the missionary side."

"... An unsympathetic or uniformed Director can stultify the whole work of a mission and do real damage to the natives. But as the missions are already there the final word lies with them. No government will ever secularize missionary education unless the missions themselves have secularized it first."

Dated Tigerkloof, 12th July 1927.

The Growth of Government Involvement 18

At Edinburgh House in London Oldham continued to receive complaints and to engage, in his own way, in a power struggle on behalf on the I.M.C., for greater missionary participation in decision-making.

On furlough in Aberdeen Hetherwick wrote to Oldham, 4th November 1930:

"... The latest news that I have from Blantyre is that the Government are more and more planning to run their own educational departments 19 and are thus utilising the funds they are to spend on Native Education in the creation of these departments and on the salaries of an educational staff."

Oldham, as time passed, had certainly begun to occupy an interesting and unique key position for not only was he the recipient of mission "news and views" but government officials communicated with him. Thus, we find Robert Caldwell ²⁰ of the Education Department, Zomba, writing on the 4th September 1931:

"... You will be well aware how hard up we are financially here and all Lacey's schemes for technical and secondary education (Hetherwick's "departments" mentioned above) have gone by the board. Our estimates for 1932 have been severely pruned."

"... There are, unfortunately, still the old complaints of encroachment against certain missions levelled by the others. At present there is a good deal of friction in the Ncheu and Port Herald areas as the Marist Fathers"

"are opening numerous sub-grade schools ²¹ in villages already claimed by various of the smaller Protestant Missions. The Marists have the money and will, I am sure, be able to get such schools up to a standard enabling them to be put on the assisted list before the others can get theirs recognised."

Young, the new Principal of the Overtoun Institution at Livingstonia differed in many significant ways from the earlier generation of missionaries. He seemed prepared to accept, albeit grudgingly sometimes, the new order that was looming over the horizon. Co-operation with Government and subordination to Government were things to live with. His views, as they appeared in communications with Edinburgh House, are of interest. After furlough in the U.K. he wrote to Oldham, 3rd January 1931:

"... I was considerably startled by the change of atmosphere in the few months I had been away. This change is due, chiefly, to the fact that the Government has now got money to spend and at the same time a new Director who is naturally anxious to make a good show of his department."

Young, in a letter to Miss Gibson, 26th February 1931, expressed some annoyance over the fact that the Director of Education now claimed the right to dispose of educational funds according to his own plans without consulting the "Board of Education", however, in a later letter, 22nd June 1931, he wrote: deploring the missionary attitude of claiming aid as a right, although the philosophy,

"... is not nearly so baldly expressed as I once heard an older missionary state it at a conference, namely, that our attitude to Government over Education ought to be "get all you can and give as little as you can."

He continued:

"... I think Government Educators have a real contribution to make. Missionaries may be narrow-minded and may be limited in their outlook by their denominational loyalties, and Government educationalists of the type now coming to the dependencies have often a background of wider culture and a less limited horizon, and, with personality, may have much to give to the African which he would miss in purely Missionary education. I may be severely criticised for this statement, but I believe it to be true."

A "wind of change" is discernible in a letter written by the Reverend Dr W.Y. Turner of the Loudon Station of

Livingstonia, who did not always agree with Young, to Miss Gibson, 11th March 1931.

"... I would that we could get away from the suggestion of opposition and strife between the Govt. and the Missions -- the idea that it is a question of Govt. officials wishing one thing and the Missions another -- and take up the position that "We" are the Govt.; that is, that the statement that 'the Controlling Power is responsible as trustee for the moral advancement of the native population' means not that the Govt. officials in Nyasaland are responsible, but, in the democratic sense, that the whole body Public (sic) opinion (in Britain and in Nyasaland) is responsible; and that getting together in this sense we must unite in seeking the highest educational advantages obtainable with the total of funds and personnel at our command for the peoples for whom we are thus responsible -- the educational programme thus to express the common mind of the community, the Govt. officials recognising that they are the servants of the public to carry out that common purpose."

The Advisory Committee On Education In The Colonies 22

An earlier I.M.C. file showed Oldham at work in the centre of his web. In reality this was really what was expected of him for the I.M.C. was now the permanent Council of a "continuing committee" from a much earlier Protestant international conference. In his circular of the 28th April 1925 Oldham distributed to all I.M.C. members the famous statement on educational policy prepared by the A.C.N.E.T.A. and issued as a Parliamentary Paper. Oldham drew attention to the significant features of that policy and, with hindsight, we might say that had the recipients paid greater attention to these features much conflict would have been avoided. But that is the counsel of perfection. Among other things he indicated that:

"... (a)(6) The memorandum explicitly lays down that it is the policy of Government to encourage voluntary effort in education.

... (b) The memorandum recognised ... the importance of religion in the education of the African people.

(c) The British Government has now laid down a definite educational policy. The future of Christian schools in British colonies will, in the future, be very largely determined by the degree to which they conform to this policy and cooperate in carrying it out... It will, however, be increasingly necessary that those responsible for the management and supervision of missionary schools in British colonies should be thoroughly familiar with the educational aims and policy of Government and should set themselves to bring their work as far as possible into"

"harmony with these aims..."

It would seem that someone then asked if this was really a British Government policy statement or just a document or memorandum from the A.C.E.C., so Oldham sent those concerned an extract from "Hansard", House of Commons, 4th May 1925:

"Mr Snell asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the policy for the education of natives in British tropical (sic) African Dependencies, as represented by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa in the Memorandum to Parliament (Command Paper 2374), has the approval of His Majesty's Government; and whether he is prepared to take steps to ensure effect being given to the policy therein outlined."

"Mr Amery: Yes, Sir. I have already communicated the Memorandum to the Governments of the tropical African Colonies, Protectorates and mandated territories, with the request that it may be adopted by the education authorities there for their guidance in dealing with the problems of native education."

In this quotation it is very significant to observe that Amery used the words "may" and "guidance".

Oldham, in his role of "king maker" had correspondence with Mayhew.²³ In a letter of the 21st December 1927 Oldham wrote:

"... I saw Ormsby-Gore yesterday. I believe from what he told me that it is the intention of the Colonial Office to ask you to become one of the secretaries of the Advisory Committee. The Colonial Office, however, cannot make you a firm offer until they receive replies from the different governments consenting to the enlargement of the Committee and agreeing to contribute to the new budget."

"... Please treat what I have said as confidential. I know you will not regard it as in any sense committing Ormsby-Gore, but so far as I could judge it was definitely in his mind to go forward in the matter if the governments approve of the general scheme."

As we know, Mayhew was appointed.

On the 18th February 1929, we find Mayhew writing to Oldham seeking information in connection with the Jeanes Scheme; an interesting example of an official depending upon a layman:

"I have been asked to find out whether you have any information regarding a grant which is apparently contemplated by the trustees of the Carnegie Corporation for the development of the Jeanes Training Centre in Nyasaland."

Earlier, when the Phelps-Stokes Commission was touring East/Central/Southern Africa, Oldham for reasons of a quasi-

political nature, wanted to know exactly what the Commission was going to recommend as soon as any decision was reached, preferably before anyone else. For this purpose an agreement must have been reached with Vischer, whose inclusion in the party, as an A.C.E.C. representative, had been a Phelps-Stokes Fund condition. Vischer regularly sent Oldham progress reports from almost every stage of the journey.

Africans were wanting to be actively concerned in decision-making. Oldham wrote to Dr Drummond Shiels, M.P., at the Colonial Office, 1st May 1931 on this.²⁴ He mentioned that Seruwana Kulubya of Uganda had visited him and discussed, usefully, native education so;

"... It has occurred to me that it would be very interesting if the native delegates from East Africa (then visiting London) could be invited to attend the next meeting of the Advisory Committee. It would be extremely interesting to the Committee to have some idea of the way natives are looking at things, and I think it would also give these leaders of native opinion in East Africa an idea of the interest which is being taken in this country in African education."

The financial crisis worried Oldham who feared that the A.C.E.C. might be wound up in the enforced economies. He wrote to Ormsby Gore,²⁵ 31st August 1931, venting his fears. Ormsby Gore replied from his private address, Wootton House, Bedford, 1st September 1931:

"...In all the alarms of recent public events I have heard nothing about the Advisory Committee on Education at the C.O. The existence of these committees was an innovation in my time at the office, & many of the Permanent (sic) staff never became reconciled to their continuance & I can well believe that there is an internal drive to get rid of all the advisory committees, the advisers (who are not members of the Home Civil Service trade union !), secretaries etc."

Over the years Oldham, whose role in the decision-making process continued to strengthen, developed a wide network of correspondents, both missionary and official, and might almost be considered the unofficial counterpart of the Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State. More than once we are led to believe that Oldham was almost betraying a trust, whenever, in a "private" or "confidential" communication he reveals some

morsel of information gathered at the meetings of the A.C.E.C. in the Colonial Office.

The Nyasaland Government Expansion Schemes ²⁶

Turner, an experienced field missionary, wrote a long letter to Oldham that revealed the general unsatisfactory situation as he saw it, 21st July 1931:

"... I had a long talk with the Governor. ... I explained that the disagreement was felt on the part of some of us who were responsible for the working of the education out here, and especially focussed on the point that Lacey's action in bringing forward definite proposals to the Advisory Board of Education without previous discussion with those actually responsible for the educational work of the Protectorate was not quite cricket."

Turner mentioned that Keigwin, former Director of Native Industrial Development and founder of Dambo-Shaba vocational school in Southern Rhodesia, had impressed Dr William Murray, of the D.R.C.M. Nkhoma, and others on his visit to Nyasaland. If Lacey was replaced Keigwin would be most acceptable.

One can never state often enough that it is wrong to classify all missionaries or colonial officials for that matter, under fixed attitudinal headings. The file contains a good example of one missionary who, in the modern idiom, "didn't want to know." Miss Gibson wrote to a Miss Irvine, on furlough in Dumfries, 14th November, 1930:

"... Dr Hetherwick has written to Mr. Oldham in some concern about the situation of Missionary Education in Nyasaland. He says that the Government is tending more and more to run its own educational institutions instead of depending upon the missions. He says that scheme for medical training of Natives drawn up by the Missions has been turned down by the Government, and he fears that the Government will itself set up a medical school."

To which Miss Irvine replied, 17th November 1930:

"I'm sorry I cannot give you any help as I know nothing about the present educational situation in Nyasaland. My station is in Northern Rhodesia (Chitambo) where we work very harmoniously with the Educ. Dept."

At times one gains the impression that Oldham had his finger on the educational pulse of the Colonial Office. On other occasions he himself reveals much uncertainty and insecurity. In a letter to Dr Donald Fraser of the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee and Women's Foreign Mission, Edinburgh, he wrote, 21st November 1930:

"... I believe we are going to lose our position throughout Africa unless we take measures to make it possible for us to hold our own."

Fraser replied quickly to Oldham, 26th November 1930:

"... I can understand how you felt handicapped for lack of definite information about the Government's movements in education in Africa. Unfortunately we have no information either."

On a different occasion Oldham made the point that the only effective way to counter a government proposal was to submit alternative proposals and demonstrate that they would be more effective and economic. If such tactics were not adopted then, "... we shall lose every time."

Not all missionaries, at home or abroad, accepted the Oldham line. One such missionary was the Reverend T. Cullen Young²⁷ then connected with the Religious Tract Society in London. He wrote to Oldham, 26th September 1931, that he supported the view that missionary activity in education should be confined to elementary schooling and not trying to become "... a partner with the Government."

"... I know the particularly insidious type of temptation that is presented by the possibility of obtaining a Government grant, as well as by the "low level" sort of gratification that comes through sitting in Advisory Boards and being "in touch with Government." We must so arrange the deed of partnership as to minimise the force of these real temptations upon Missionary men and women."

Not surprisingly there is no trace of a reply or acknowledgement to this letter and Cullen Young's file section is very thin !

Missionary Policy 28

Young of the Overtoun Institution indulged in the luxury of an explosion of exasperation, in a letter to Miss Gibson, 23rd December 1929, that is interesting in itself and revealing in the response it provoked. In the reply we glimpse the policy of Oldham and, perhaps, the I.M.C. Young began:

"... We are getting dreadfully tired of people telling us how to do our job in theory !"

He used two examples, Victor Murray and Jim Dougall, who had written books with what he termed "... only 'Cook's Tour' experience of the problems". Now he learnt that Miss Gibson

and Oldham were to write a book.

First Miss Gibson replied, 3rd February 1930:

"... It is all very well for you in Nyasaland. You are strong and the Government has very little money and you can have things all your own way, but there are other parts of Africa where the Government has more money and more men and energetic men at the head and they are not going to wait for the missions who have other work to do and cannot put their whole energies into their schools."

Oldham began by saying, 4th February 1930, that Young's letter was the type that they liked to receive but hastened to add that no one was trying to teach Young his job. He turned to the fundamentals of decision-making by explaining his motives:

"... I am in a position as the representative of missions on the Advisory Committee, to get sympathetic consideration for any reasonable demands that the missions may put forward, but the missions have not got any demands to make, and the consequence is that they are in fact being dragged at the heels of Government."

Missionary boards must learn to identify objectives and to plan years ahead.

"... If they do this, and only if they do this, there will be a chance that a portion of the increasing educational expenditure will come their way instead of going mainly into Government projects."

The Overtoun Institution at Livingstonia 29

The basis for much missionary criticism of Government educational endeavour in general was that, given the fact that funds were scarce, missionary societies could provide educational facilities more economically than could Government. Nyasaland provided a classical example of this situation.

The foundation of the Overtoun Institution, as part of the greater Livingstonia, was Laws' idea and the initial £9,000 for its foundation was donated by Lord Overtoun and James Stevenson. Laws had planned a Mission of two to three hundred square miles but ultimately only received 50,000 acres in five separate blocks. 30

The philosophy behind Livingstonia was Christian capitalism and in the attempt to create the right infrastructure of roads, pipe-borne water, a water-driven turbine for electricity and then the steam engine and saw-mill a lop-sided development occurred.

Basic living accommodation for mission staff and pupils was more primitive than, perhaps, necessary. The efforts of the industrial and agricultural departments met with only partial success not because Laws' vision was wrong but, as with today, the commodity and job markets for the products did not exist. Although the settler economy in Nyasaland and other parts of Southern Africa gained by the expertise of Livingstonia graduates and craftsmen the intermediate technology, from which local development could have started, never became established.

The other aspect of the Overtoun Institution that was, perhaps, more successful was that of the Central and Normal School. The first headmaster was James Henderson, 1895, a graduate of Moray House Training College. The main function of the institution was to produce teachers for the district stations and, at the beginning of this century, the curriculum was formidable indeed though being more geared to a Scottish university general arts degree course than the needs of Nyasalanders. But that is to carp, for although McCracken says that the Institution "functioned as a haven for 'marginal' men" it was possible for Nyasas to demonstrate their intellectual ability, albeit in the formation of an educated elite. Albert Namalambe, Donald Siwale, Y.Z. Mwasi and Levi Mumba are famous names today and non-Nyasas travelled far to the plateau in search of education, for example, two ex-servicemen from Salisbury, James Inyati and Yakobi Sibanda who arrived in 1900.

Many of the early students became founders of influential families in modern Malawi, for example the Muwamba family. There was also Charles Domingo from Mozambique, whose name has been linked with John Chilembwe. Another, Clements Kadalie, made a name for himself in South African trade unionism.

The point of this brief survey of the least successful side of the Livingstonia Mission is this; Livingstonia represented, perhaps, the best of mission facilities in general technical and agricultural training but one gets the impression, in the correspondence quoted in this chapter, that the missionaries felt a sense of injustice when the Government chose not to exploit the existing facilities but to "waste" money on ventures of their own.

It is possible, however, that the colonial authorities were well aware of the mission inadequacies and took these into account in their decision-making.

The Missionary Complaints

When Government proposed to open a Jeanes Training Centre ³¹ some missionaries complained that their system produced a supervising teacher on a more effective and cheaper basis.

The fine details of the complaint does not concern us but the following quotation well illustrates the parochial inter-denominational suspicion:

" It seems to us indeed that this taking them (the students) out of their home area strikes at one of the ideals which are (sic) closest to the heart of the Jeanes idea. The Jeanes teacher, so far as I have studied the question, is one who is trained to help within the sphere in which he lives and among the conditions under which he will work. We feel, therefore, strongly that if it is possible, it would be better to train Jeanes Supervisors in this area."

"This area" being Livingstonia.

Gubernatorial Connections ³²

That target of Hetherwick's anger, Governor Sir Charles Bowring, actually wrote to Oldham, 4th February 1924, before going to Nyasaland saying that he wished to make Oldham's acquaintance and to discuss missionary matters. On the 23rd December 1925, J.F. Green, the Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, wrote to Oldham, who was about to embark on a voyage to Africa, that Bowring hoped that Oldham would visit the Protectorate and see Mkhoma (D.R.C.M.), Likoma (U.M.C.A.) and Livingstonia (Church of Scotland); the government would provide transport by lake steamer and motor car. Oldham replied, 31st December 1925, that his time-table was tight and that he thought he could only spend a day or two in Blantyre but if he could shorten his stay in South Africa he would try to see more.

However, Oldham did not reach Nyasaland. Bowring wrote to him, 27th February 1926, as follows:

"... It is a very great disappointment that you are compelled to abandon your proposed visit to Nyasaland. ... Just at present we are having some trouble on the subject of the intrusion of one of the Roman Missions into what has hitherto been the sole sphere of influence of the C.S.M." ³³

"I am discussing the matter with Dr. Hetherwick and Mr. Reid next week but I fear we shall not be able to come to a mutually satisfactory arrangement. We experienced the same trouble in Kenya from time to time, but the Romans will not respect spheres of influence."

Letter from Oldham to Bowring, 21st December 1927:

"As you are doubtless aware, the missions in Nyasaland have found a good deal of difficulty in regard to the recent Education Ordinance and Regulations. The home authorities of the missions are a good deal agitated and have approached me in regard to the question. I think that the difficulties may be due to a considerable extent to a misunderstanding of the intentions of Government and I have suggested to the societies that, as I expect to be shortly in Nigeria (sic), the best plan would be to leave the matter for me to talk over with you and the Directors (sic) when I reach Zomba. The stay of the Commission in Nyasaland is so brief that the few days we shall have there will no doubt be very crowded, but perhaps you may be able to spare an hour for a talk on educational questions. I have dissuaded the missionary societies from making any approach to the Colonial Office in regard to their difficulties until I have had an opportunity of conferring with you on the subject." 34

In his letter of the 30th November 1928, Oldham sent Bowring his sympathy on the death of Gaunt and continued:

"... The draft new Ordinance has given great satisfaction to the missions ..."

But it was not yet a practical scheme to encompass all schools in a registration project, bigger territories, such as Tanganyika, Uganda and the Gold Coast had not yet achieved that objective. Likewise;

"... I believe that any attempt in Nyasaland to license all teachers must remain purely formal until the resources at the disposal of the Education Department are greatly increased. In practice the certificate of licence will have to be issued on the recommendation of the mission without any real outside test. Any external test, moreover, can be only of the nature of a written examination which affords little guarantee of the capacity of the teacher to carry out the type of education which it is desired to develop. It would seem to me better to keep up the standard of certificates recognised by the Education Department and not to lower them to meet the present capacity of teachers in sub-standard schools."

Whatever steps were to be taken licences must be distinguished from certificates;

"... and to make it clear that the licence did not imply any educational qualification."

Bowring replied promising to look into Oldham's points but he did not see the new Ordinance as his request for extension of tour of duty was rejected. Bowring left Nyasaland at the end of May.

When the new Governor, Mr, later Sir T.S.W., Thomas had settled in Oldham wrote him a long letter, 23rd December 1930. What is extraordinary about this letter is the amount of detail contained therein. Oldham would have known "the rules of the game" so he clearly felt the information necessary; an interesting example of a non-governmental induction exercise:

" The educational proposals of the Nyasaland Government ³⁵ came before the Advisory Committee at the Colonial Office last month. I had previously heard from the Church of Scotland that they felt some anxiety as to what was happening, and I raised certain questions in regard to the proposals.

... The point of view from which I approach the question is that provision for the educational needs of a territory is the responsibility of Government. I have never felt that the question is rightly stated when it is put in the form. How much missions are to get in grants from Government. Government has no obligation to subsidize missions as such. The question is always one of the best expenditure of public funds for the advancement of education.

The policy of the Advisory Committee laid down in its Memorandum on Educational Policy and developed more fully in the recent Memorandum on Grants-in Aid is that Government in discharging its educational responsibilities should invite the assistance of voluntary agencies. This policy is, of course, the same as that which has prevailed in India since the Educational Despatch of 1854.

... This policy does not mean, of course, that education should be left entirely to voluntary agencies. It goes without saying that Government must provide institutions of its own where these are needed in the best educational interests of the territory. The only question is what extent of public funds will best further the cause of sound education. I do not myself think that Government should make any grants to missionary education except in so far as it is satisfied that it is receiving a full educational return for the money expended."

Oldham explained his point by asking if existing mission facilities could not be better used or, at least, form part of a wider Educational Plan. Departments of Education were relatively new in East and Central Africa and:

"... the working out of the relations with the missions which were the pioneers in education will necessarily require a great deal of thought and time."

"Anything that I have written is prompted by a sincere desire to cooperate in every possible way with Government in providing as efficient an educational system as possible."

Thomas wrote to Oldham, reference 847/30/7 of the 17th February 1931³⁶:

"... I am very glad that you wrote, as neither Lacey nor I were aware that any anxiety had been caused." (At the proposal to establish a technical and training institution under the Education Department)

He quoted a reason given by the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services of Tanganyika, who had given advice, for preferring government institutions.

"(c) That it is far better that the staff accustom themselves to the usages and discipline of Government service than be thrown suddenly into a new atmosphere, after years of training, in perhaps somewhat different methods, elsewhere, 37

(d) That uniformity would thus be obtained and confusion avoided."

"The colonial Development Advisory Committee and Secretary of State accepted this opinion."

Thomas ended his letter pleasantly;

"...I need not say that I shall be very grateful at any time for any advice or assistance that you may care to send me."

Communication with the Director of Education³⁸

The first item in this file is actually a letter to Oldham from Hetherwick, Aberdeen, 1st November 1928:

"I was shocked to hear the other day of Gaunt's sudden death. It really did not surprise me for a man who has chronic asthma and is prone to dysentery (sic) has not a strong hold on life when the strain comes. 39
... At the meeting we had with him and the representatives of the two Committees in the Middle (sic) of last month he was able to explain the provosions (sic) of the new Bill to the satisfaction of those who opposed the first Bill."

Time passed and Oldham wrote to Lacey, 8th January 1932:

"... I am sorry to learn that the rivalry of the various missions in Nyasaland is causing difficulties. I think that the more responsible missions are doing their best to get together and co-operate. I am quite sure that wise influence exerted by Government in these matters can be of great assistance. It must be rather disheartening to be responsible for the education of a territory in this time of severely straitened resources."

Lacey to Oldham, 8th February 1932:

"... I am afraid that the only hope of a policy of co-operation lies in Government ! The Protestant and Catholic Missions cannot get over their age-long suspicion. I cannot help feeling that though you may know as much - if not more - of the intentions of the two Scotch (sic) Missions as I do, you do not quite realise the policy of the U.M.C.A.; the two big Catholic Missions and the 7th Day Adventist Missions."

"These Missions will have little or nothing to do with the 'Federated' Missions."

The Chinyanja Dispute 40

Young wrote to Oldham, 26th May 1933 as follows:

"... At the Advisory Board the new Governor (who has never been yet in our area) announced in his opening speech that 'Government had decided that after the end of 1934 no Grants would be given to schools unless Chinyanja was taught from Class 3 onwards.' This is an ultimatum to us (the only mission really affected) & we will refuse to accept & we believe it educationally unsound & we feel that Government ought not to attempt coercion.

This particular issue became very bitter and can be followed in Chapter Eight.

Non-Governmental Influences in The Gambia and West Africa

The I.M.C. files provide reinforcement of the Gambian's complaint of the neglect of their country. When the Phelps-Stokes Commission made their first African journey, 1920, that embraced West Africa, they did not visit or mention The Gambia. The first landfall on the coast was made at Freetown, Sierra Leone. 41

In West Africa the territory that set the pace was the Gold Coast, modern Ghana. The Gambia, so dependent upon so many factors, took its cue from happenings farther down the coast. In forming opinions the indigenous press of the three richer territories was significant and although, from time to time, small news sheets or "papers" circulated round Banjul,⁴² the older and better established news papers from "down the coast" formed the regular reading. Hence, it is of interest to find, lodged in the I.M.C. file under consideration, two Ghanaian press cuttings, editorials in fact, published at the time of the foundation of the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee. All too often the voice of Africans cannot be heard from the past but here, in English that can rarely be criticised,

are views worthy of much study.

"The Gold Coast Leader Cape Coast 16th February 1924 "

"Our contemporary, West Africa, in its leading article in the issue of January 12th last deals with the Committee which has been formed in England in respect of the African education, and as usual, has some very sane views upon the matter. One of the points made in this editorial is the obvious remark that in a Committee of this sort, it is 'essential to consult competent African opinion in Africa itself.' It considers the omission a serious one among others, and suggests it should be dealt with at once."

"... This leads us to 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 next editorial had similar views in its first paragraph then:

"The Gold Coast Times" Cape Coast Feb. 16. 1924

The Education of the African.

... We do not wish the African to be educated only to the stage at which, although his African outlook remains unchanged, yet he becomes the helpless, docile creature whose thoughts and actions are informed by his white master, and who is an easy prey to the arbitrariness and violence of the unscrupulous alien adventurer ..."

Vocational training, of a humble nature, was not enough.

"... The education that Africans need is the kind that will fit them to take their rightful place in the counsels of the nations in the fulness of time ..."

Students of decolonisation are familiar with the local complaint that, under colonial rule, they and their country were neglected and, often, ignored. In the case of The Gambia the complaints were justified. Compared with the riches of I.M.C. material on Malawi the poverty of that concerned with The Gambia is striking. One has no reason to doubt what one was told by Gambians that this neglect was deeply felt by many of the "old school" who were very loyal to the British Crown. The Gambia file is slim indeed. ⁴³

There are two handwritten letters, extremely hard to read, from the Governor, Sir Edward Denham, dated 14th July 1929 and 19th December 1929, with brief replies from Oldham, who, it would seem, was on very friendly with the Denhams. Only general matters were discussed but the Governor did ask Oldham

if the latter could send him a manual on Teacher Training. At that time, and for long afterwards, teacher education in The Gambia comprised a very ad hoc pupil teacher system.

Then, on 23rd October 1935, Vischer wrote to Miss Gibson with a strange tale of two young impecunious Negro missionaries who suddenly arrived in Banjul and, because they had no visible means of support, were deported to the U.S.A., much to their chagrin. Vischer wanted to identify them. Eventually, it transpired that they came from the Emmanuel Bible Schools and Missions who worked in Birkenhead, Liverpool, Birmingham, Doncaster, St Helens, Mauritius, Morocco and South Africa.

The file ends with a small printed booklet, stamped 6th May, 1941, entitled "The Diocese of Gambia and The Rio Pongas: Five Years told in Pictures." It should be noted that the Anglican missionary activity in The Gambia came not from Britain but from the West Indies.

We find a brief reference to The Gambia in connection with the 1934 West African Higher Education Conference: 44

"Areas of the Methodist Missionary Society in Africs

1. THE GAMBIA

Our missionary work is urban, being in the town of Bathurst, with small outposts at trading stations up the river. Nearly all the work is done in English. The Circuit is self-supporting. From time to time attempts have been made to develop work among the Muhammadan and pagan tribes up the river, but have been frustrated. A very small mission." 45

Notes and References: Chapter Six

- 1 Oliver, Roland; The Missionary Factor in East Africa; London; Longmans, Green and Co; 1952
- 2 Down to the First World War the Roman Catholic Mission educational policy had a simple objective of producing good Christians equipped with only so much literacy as needed to understand the catechism. As Linden explains:

"The Church they produced in Nyasaland was a remarkable replica of the one they (the missionaries) left behind in Limburg, Quebec, or Brittany; it was profoundly conservative and made up largely of peasants. Throughout the colonial period it was a small but powerful brake on the development of political consciousness amongst its membership, for its apolitical stance was always a tacit acceptance of the status quo (*italics*)"

See Linden, Ian with Linden, Jane; Catholics, Peasants and Chewa Resistance in Nyasaland 1889-1939; London; Heinemann; 1974; p 208 At the time of the Chilembwe Rising this stance attracted the approval of the colonial government and the settlers. This approval was at the expense of the Protestant missions, a number of whose members had followed Chilembwe; this general factor no doubt added fuel to Hetherwick's dislike of the R.C.M. and , by extension, to the colonial government thought to be under the influence of the R.C.M.
- 3 Early White Fathers and Montfort Marist Fathers were not very proficient in their use of the English language and, consequently, the teaching of English remained an exception in the Catholic schools until the 1920s.
- 4 This is based upon the accounts provided by Heads of Missions themselves, namely:

Victor, The Rev. Canon; Some notes on the educational work of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.

Young, The Rev. W.P.; Brief historical survey of the Livingstonia Mission.

Paradis, The Rev. Father; Notes on the White Fathers' Mission and its educational work in Nyasaland since its inception.

Murray, The Rev.Dr. W.H.; A brief sketch of education in the Dutch Reformed Church Mission.

Brown, The Rev. A.R.; Short historical survey of the educational work of the South Africa General Mission in Nyasaland.

Osborn, The Rev. H.E.; Brief historical survey of educational work in the Nyasa Mission.

Swelsen, The Rev. Father J.; Historical survey of the Montfort Marist Fathers' Mission.

Malekebu, Dr. D.S.; The history of the Providence Industrial Mission.

Ferguson, The Rev. J.S.; Short historical notes on the Zambesi Industrial Mission.

All collected in:

Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the year 1931; Zomba; Government Printer; 1932; pp 18-24

Elston, Philip; A note on the Universities' Mission to Central Africa 1859-1914; paper; Pachai, B.; The Early History of Malawi; London; Longman; 1972; pp 344-364

- 5 See p 54 of Chapter Two for other details.
- 6 See p 54 of Chapter Two for the role of Booth in its foundation.
- 7 See p 57 of Chapter Two for a brief account of Malekebu and the P.I.M.
- 8 See also p 54 of Chapter Two
- 9 Jones, Thomas Jesse; Education in East Africa; A study of East, Central and South Africa by the second African Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in cooperation with the International Education Board; London; Edinburgh House Press for the Phelps-Stokes Fund; 101 Park Avenue, New York; 1925.

The first Commission had visited West Africa in 1920, see brief reference on p 166 above.
- 10 The R.C.M. complained that Dr Hetherwick of Blantyre contrived to keep the Commission away from them and that their only contact was when the Commission's train was steaming out of Blantyre Station and a Catholic missionary succeeded in thrusting a letter through a compartment window, into a member's hand.
- 11 See pp 85-87 of Chapter Three for the official account.
- 12 Most of the material that follows has been gathered from the archives of the I.M.C., now the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1. This specific I.M.C. material comprises letters, copies of letters, copy-letters, notes and memoranda loosely filed in "jackets" or covers. Because of the nature of the contents of some of the letters unless the originator can be established beyond doubt, the writer uses the phrase "claimed to have been sent from X". The material under reference is found in Box 1209: Central Africa Nyasaland: Education: file "Education - E. Africa. Nyasaland Education Ordinance Memoranda 1920/31."

Chapter Eight contains official reactions to, and comments

- on Oldham's activities; another point of view, p 203 below.
- 13 Presumably the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies.
 - 14 See other U.M.C.A. comment on p 72 of Chapter Three.
 - 15 For some details on Bowman's appointment see pp 201-202 of Chapter Eight.
 - 16 This was Dr A. Victor Murray of "The School in the Bush" fame. See: Murray, A. Victor; The School in the Bush; London; Frank Cass and Company Limited; 1967 impression. First edition: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929.
 - 17 Draft article called "The Educational Situation in Nyasaland" and Murray hoped that it would appear in the "International Review."
 - 18 I.M.C. archive: Box 1209: Central Africa Nyasaland: Education: file "Education - E.Africa Nyasaland: Negotiations 1930-1 Situation 1930-1931."
 - 19 The term "department" is used in the sense of post-primary vocational or technical institution or school.
 - 20 For details on Caldwell see p 74 of Chapter Three.
 - 21 This expression "sub grade" does not necessarily have qualitative connotations. The term "sub standard" can also be found in the records. These terms covered the introductory classes or grades leading to Standard I. In The Gambia the name "Infants" was given to these classes and in Central Africa, for example Zambia, the Sub Standards A and B persisted into the post-independence era.
 - 22 Material from I.M.C. Box 219: "Africa General Education: Approach to C.O.; C.B.M.S. Memo (Meeting 6.6.23) Constitution 1923 Re-constitution 1923. Secretaries 1923/49. Govt. Dinner to T.Jesse Jones 1925; Laubach Visit to Africa 1937."
"Education - Africa Advisory Committee Distribution of 1925 Statement of Education Policy."
 - 23 Material from I.M.C. Box 219: "Africa General Education: ..."
File "Advisory Committee Arthur Mayhew 1927-1935"
 - 24 File: "Colonial Office Ormsby Gore 1928/36: Influence: Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies (newly constituted 1928) "
 - 25 For Ormsby Gore's long standing connection with the A.C.E.C. see p 17 of Chapter One.
 - 26 Source: as for 18 above. Most I.M.C. files are sub-divided within themselves, into flimsy files/folders each with the

name of the correspondent on the cover.

- 27 T. Cullen Young occupies an interesting place in the history of Malawi. As a young missionary he was supervising the entrance examination for the Livingstonia Normal School. The candidates were ex-Standard III pupils gathered in a large hall. A small candidate at the back stood up the better to see the questions written on a chalk board at the front. His action was misunderstood and, without seeking any explanation, Cullen Young expelled the would-be student teacher from the examination. That young Malawian, who had to make new plans for his future, that ultimately took him to South Africa, the U.S.A. and Scotland/U.K., was Hastings Kamuzu Banda. It was only years later, when Dr Banda was in the U.K. and asked to assist Cullen Young in a Chichewa language/sociological project, that he recognised Cullen Young and told him the story.
- 28 Source: I.M.C. Box 1210: "Central Africa: Nyasaland: Education: General Correspondence" File "Education - E. Africa Nyasaland: General Correspondence W.P. Young etc., Jeanes School 1926-42."
- 29 For an exhaustive modern study of Livingstonia see: McCracken, John; Politics and Christianity in Malawi 1875-1940; Cambridge; Cambridge University Press; 1977.
- For a brief account see earlier references in this thesis, p 56 and p 146 above.
- 30 McCracken, p 136
- 31 See further details in p 207 of Chapter Eight.
- 32 From folders marked, "H.E. Governor Sir Charles Bowring 1924/29" and "H.E. Governor Sir T.S.W. Thomas 1930/1"
- 33 There are two sets of missionary initials that might lead to some confusion, namely, the C.M.S., the Church Missionary Society, the Anglican body, and the C.S.M., the Church of Scotland Mission.
- 34 See pp 199-201 of Chapter Eight for the Colonial Office material.
- 35 This refers to the Protectorate Government plans to provide itself medical, technical and advanced teacher training/education in an institution and hostel centred upon Zomba.
- 36 One notes that this letter was received at Edinburgh House one month later, 16th March 1931. As mentioned on page 77 of Chapter Three above this time lag in communication was a difficulty that must be taken into consideration. Decision-making was often affected by this.

- 37 This section (c) thinly disguises the conventional wisdom of some officials and settlers, namely, that "mission trained boys were 'bolshy'." This had its counterpart in missionary circles who considered the Government only wanted to train mindless automata clad in neatly ironed khaki uniform and wearing red fezes.
- 38 From the folder marked "Director of Education A.H. (sic) Lacey 1931/2"
- 39 If this were true how did Gaunt pass the medical examination upon appointment to the colonial service ?
- 40 From the file entitled: "Nyasaland CA ChiNyanja language dispute C. of S. 1932-7" and folder marked "Chinyanja Language Dispute: Nyasaland Chinyanja controversy C. of S. Livingstonia & Govt."

This matter is dealt with in more detail in pp 209-213 of Chapter Eight; however, the following quotation from Tew provides interesting background data:

"The languages of all the peoples who have been grouped together as Maravi for historical and cultural reasons are also classed together linguistically by Doke (Doke, Clement, M.; Bantu Modern Grammatical Phonetical and Lexicographical Studies since 1860; Lund Humphries, for Int. Afr. Inst.; 1945) as members of the western group of the East-Central Zone. This group comprises:(a) Nyanja (*italics*), of which the dialects are Cewa (*italics*), spoken on the south-west shore of the lake and extending into Northern Rhodesia; Mang'anja (*italics*), the south-eastern form; and Peta (*italics*) the south-western form. Nyanja is the unified standardized literary form for government and educational purposes in south Nyasaland, and one of the officially recognised languages in Northern Rhodesia."

Tew, Mary; Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region; East Central Africa Part 1; London; Oxford University Press for the International African Institute; 1950; p 36

- 41 Files: "African Education Commission Important Memoranda 1920/3" and "African Education Commission - Conference July 1921".
- 42 See p 49 and p 65 of Chapter Two for brief comments on Gambian newspapers. See also p 191 below.
- 43 I.M.C. Box 263: "West Africa Education and General Material 1913/20 Phelps-Stokes 1920 T.R. (sic) Jones Journal 1921 (writer: This carbon copy personal journal of Jesse Jones is a fascinating diary of the Phelps Stokes leader on the 1920 journey, packed with detail that, alas, does not concern us here) Conference 1934 Death of Dr Aggrey 1927 Liberia 1922-48 Gambia 1929-35"

File "West Africa Gambia Governor 1929 New Mission
1935"

44 File "Education West Africa Higher Education
Conference 1934"

45 There is no further reference to The Gambia in available
I.M.C. files. However, possibly some material rests in
the still "restricted" I.M.C. files for, unlike the Public
Record Office archives, some file boxes span years still
protected by the thirty year rule and so remain closed
until the final file in the whole box can be cleared.

CHAPTER SEVENGOVERNMENTAL DECISION-MAKING IN THE GAMBIA

In this and the following chapter an examination is made of the part played by various officials at home and overseas, in educational decision-making and their relationships with various missionaries while doing so, firstly in The Gambia and secondly in Malawi from approximately 1925 onwards.

The source of the material comprises the official files lodged in the Public Record Office in London and Kew. The material is generally used, at present, in the form of small studies. Attention is paid to the identities of officials, if possible, because a united "Colonial Office mind" or "mentality" cannot really be accepted; the files often reveal a battle of minutes before a decision was reached.

Upon perusal of the files it is sometimes surprising what minutes actually concerned the Colonial Office. Whenever funds were required, not only British but also locally raised money, then permission had to be obtained, through official channels, from the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury in London. The Governors may well have been the Sovereign's representative but unknown, but not unimportant, home civil servants had power of veto and ultimate control. The handwritten or typewritten minutes sometimes show that a governor may have been held in slight regard in London.

The two chapters proceed in a rough chronological sequence and, in most cases, deal with specific issues. As the two countries concerned did not take their present names until after their political independence, references below may refer to The Gambia without the capital letter in the article "The" and Malawi as Nyasaland or Nyasaland Protectorate. The citizens of the two countries were usually referred to as "Africans" or "natives". There is no evidence to suggest that the use of the word "native" had any racial or derogatory sense.

No matter was too small for consideration but, one might argue, this may have detracted from the dealing with bigger issues and affairs. An official imperial line or standpoint,

comprising the Europeans at home and abroad, vis-a-vis the Africans cannot really be detected. Phrases were often used that today would certainly be considered offensive if not racist but no offence was meant then. Some officials can be identified for their deep concern that the best possible should be done for the colonial peoples and they were not afraid to put their opinions in writing.

Careless thinking or inadequately prepared schemes from the men in the field usually received scant treatment from the Colonial Office. This was as it should be but, sometimes in the comfortable Downing Street offices there was not always the sympathy there should have been for the officers, in the colonies, doing a hard job with very limited means.

Two themes, however, stand out. Firstly, the concept of public finance was quite different then, compared with today.¹ No matter how necessary a scheme or project might have been unless the funds were really available to support it, or could easily be identified, then action did not take place and the somewhat static atmosphere, that hung over educational development, remained. Borrowing on a large regular scale or built-in deficit financing, with the corresponding continuing inflation, were not accepted as readily then as they are today. In short, important as post-primary educational provision may have been to the educationists, little was done, despite African demands, because the money could not be found. Perhaps, one might sum this up by saying that until 1936, when John Maynard Keynes published his "The General Theory of Employment Interest and Money", there was little knowledge of how to reform the monetary system in such a way as to break out of the older traditional pattern.

Secondly, there was the concern that appointments to the Colonial Service should be handled centrally, in London, and that the, on the surface, impartiality of an open recruiting procedure should be scrupulously followed, although, as mentioned on pages 24 to 26 above, Furse's criteria for selection, may not have been so open.

The State of Education in The Gambia in 1926²

Major Hans Vischer, the Swiss born but British naturalised

friend of Lord Lugard, member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and, at the time, Secretary of the A.C.E.C. (then still A.C.N.E.T.A.), did not mince his words in a long minute of 28th July 1926, addressed to another C.O. official, S. Campbell:

"In my opinion, unless some arrangement is made for proper supervision of Native Education in the Gambia, the present state of affairs will end in trouble. All the money spent now, under existing conditions, seems to me to be sheer waste."

At that time there was no educationist in charge of education in The Gambia only a police magistrate who also acted as an inspector of schools.

Vischer then referred to the idea that an education officer, i.e., an educationist in colonial government service, from another West African territory, and in this case a member of staff from Achimota College on the Gold Coast (Ghana) could fill this role, should visit The Gambia and advise the Governor, Captain, later Sir C.H., Armitage on what should be done to improve things.

Extreme situations seemed to call for extreme measures because Vischer continued;

"... The best thing to do would be to shut down the present schools and spend the money on training a number of good Native teachers under the Director of Education in Sierra Leone or at Achimota. I hope no more money will be spent on scholarships for boys from the Gambia to go to Fourah Bay (the college linked with the University of Durham and, much later, the foundation college of the University of Sierra Leone). Even the Principal of the College acknowledges that the training is not quite on the right lines; and I cannot imagine anything worse for a future teacher in the Gambia than to mix with Fourah Bay students and other Creoles." 3

It was partly this attitude that was responsible for the delay in providing secondary education, or post-primary education, when the Africans requested it, while trying, through institutions run on idealised tribal patterns, to produce modern upright educated young Africans not divorced from the soil and not attempting to run away to the "bright lights" of the cities.

In one or two colonial territories schools for the sons of chiefs, or would-be-chiefs, were established in which post-primary education was provided but, with a modern agricultural

bias. It was hoped that the young Africans would return to their homes as enlightened "sons-of-the-soil" and not as mock Europeans. In theoretical terms it was an attempt to avoid alienation.

Earlier in his memo, when Vischer had mentioned having the Director of Education of Sierra Leone look after The Gambia, Ormsby Gore wrote in the margin;

"... but the population & education problems are wholly different ... & anything (sic) would be better than the present Sierra Leone standards & methods."

To which yet another official, A. Fiddian, added, on the 13th August 1926;

"Moreover when once before we tried this experiment ... the thing satisfied nobody & proved unworkable."

Campbell had added a long minute to Vischer's memorandum saying that until Ormsby Gore's detailed report on the educational situation in The Gambia was available the whole matter could not be proceeded with in detail.

Governor Armitage had raised the whole matter in his earlier despatch No. 127 of the 22nd June 1926. It would seem that for seven years, since an earlier Governor, Sir Edward Cameron, had endeavoured "to do something about" educational administration, officials in Banjul had given the question much thought but, in the end, a hard choice was forced on the colonial government.

An example of how unsympathetic the Colonial Officials could be is seen when Governor Armitage complained how The Gambia lost £187,000 through the demonetisation of the Five Franc piece. Briefly, this old French coin circulated throughout West Africa but, gradually, other countries ceased to use the coin. The British Treasury decided that in The Gambia it should still be legal tender with the result that the coin began to "drain" into The Gambia through the favourable exchange rates. Ultimately the decision was reversed but The Gambia bore the loss from this exercise, a loss resulting from the difference between the face value and the intrinsic value of the coin. Against Armitage's complaint someone had pencilled in the margin "nil ad rem like all the foregoing".

The following is an example of the care taken over the minutiae of educational finance. The Governor had written;

"Subject to your approval I will insert (in the Estimates ?) an item (£150), for the purchase of books such as are recommended by the (Gambian Advisory) Committee. These will be distributed free among the Schools of the four denominations, who will be required to pay for any further supplies."

Ormsby Gore pencilled in the margin;

"Who will choose them - they might be 'worse' if the selection is left to someone who does not know what is wanted."

The Inspection of Education in The Gambia

The wisdom of an outside inspection or visitation of the Gambian situation, given the circumstances fifty odd years ago, cannot be questioned and yet it was not easy to arrange. In those days Achimota College in Ghana had a high reputation and it was hoped that the college might be able to assist, yet as correspondence on file XF 5638 indicates the headmaster, the Reverend A.G. Fraser, was not very cooperative at first. At one stage even Governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg was involved ! Fraser proposed that one of his staff, A. Bolton, could break his journey at Bathurst, when returning from leave, and carry out an inspection and provide a report.

However, Vischer did not consider that Bolton had "the necessary experience of the West Coast", and indeed thought that a fortnight's visit was a trifle inadequate in the circumstances. Vischer's choice was a Mr Bieneman, who had worked in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, Vischer's old territory, "from the early days of Native Education", and who would be able to undertake a mission to The Gambia in September. Fiddian disagreed with Vischer and referred to Bieneman's refusal of the offer of the post of Director of Education, Sierra Leone, and said;

"... I should think we might assume that Mr Bieneman does not feel that he has the necessary temperament or experience to deal with Coast natives."

At this Vischer agreed and, no firm decision being reached, the matter was "B.U'd" into 1927. ⁴ In June of that year Vischer minuted to Campbell that Mr Keigwin, the Director of Education, Sierra Leone, should visit The Gambia and that the Gambia government should be asked to make the necessary arrangements, i.e., accommodation, transport, etc., and that the Acting Governor of Sierra Leone should be informed.

The Armitage School, Georgetown, MacCarthy Island ⁵

In The Gambia the first government school for Muslims in the Protectorate, as opposed to the Colony, was opened on the 9th January 1927, at Georgetown, MacCarthy. As an honour to the departing Governor, Armitage, the local chiefs proposed that the institution be called "The Armitage School", and so it has remained, in name, down to the present day.

The school was for boys only and most pupils were residential. It was not possible to find a Muslim, with the appropriate qualifications, to be appointed Headmaster so a Gambian Christian was appointed Acting Headmaster on the salary of £90 a year. After some time it was decided by the new governor, Sir Edward Denham, to find a substantive headmaster, it being implied that the Acting Headmaster, P.S. Gomez, was not really suitable. ⁶

It was felt that an expatriate should be sought and that a retired British naval officer would be ideal. This suggestion induced some revealing minutes. J.A. Calder referred, 17th August 1929, to the success of an untrained ex-naval officer as headmaster at the Nairobi European School but considered that this success did not necessarily mean that employing another one at Georgetown was the answer. In an illuminating minute of the 21st August 1929, J.E.W. Flood wrote:

"... What is wanted is not an 'Educationist' but rather a sort of Scoutmaster type, able to teach a little English & arithmetic, look after the games, supervise handicrafts & so on. He is also to keep an eye on the village schools... But to argue that because an ex-Naval officer did well in a European school in Nairobi, an ex-Naval officer can make a success of a native elementary school at Georgetown in the Gambia is going a little far. I have the greatest respect for the adaptability of the Navy but there are limits to it. He must learn Mandingo anyhow."

The line of thought is interesting but the early comment about not wanting an "Educationist" is revealing.

However, the opinion in favour of an ex-Naval officer seemed to prevail. A.F. Newbolt minuted on the 13th March 1930:

"After two withdrawals of apparently suitable Naval Officers whom we were about to submit for this appointment, we hope to have secured a Headmaster at last in Commander"

"J.A. Shuter ... whose appt. has been approved today by the S. of S."

The new headmaster was required to take a short course of teaching English in elementary schools before leaving to take up his appointment. In The Gambia it had been discovered that Gomez was not really "... suited to the post..." it had "... not been possible hitherto to find a better man, who would go to Georgetown." However, it should be noted that whereas the Gambian was being paid £90 a year the expatriate headmaster was to be paid on the scale £480, 480 - 510 x 30 - £720 a year.

There is an example of Colonial Office attitudes towards governors' fringe benefits. Sir Edward Denham sent a confidential despatch to the Secretary of State, 5th June 1929, referring to his forthcoming visit to other British West African colonies. Amongst the reasons given was one of recruiting European staff from the middle ranks of the services in Nigeria and the Gold Coast.⁷ In terms of education, the Governor wanted to study Native Administration, village education and the work being done in Freetown institutions where some Gambian students were studying. For good measure visits to Achimota School and "some" Gold Coast industrial schools were also planned.

Compared with the ease with which travelling expenses are paid today to officials it is enlightening to read the none-too-friendly minute written by Flood to Sir Graeme Thomson. In the first place Flood uses the expression "apart from 'joy-riding' ", then, later says;

"... As Sir E. Denham is going on semi-business I do not so much object to his charging his passage to Govt. But he cannot draw duty allowance nor can he draw any travelling allowance of any kind. The Governor's travelling allowance is for travelling in his Colony not outside it."

In the 1928 Report on the Five Gambian Provinces details are provided concerning the overlap of control where the administrative and education services were concerned.⁸ The Travelling Commissioner, a (more than usual) peripatetic district officer, for the MacCarthy Island Province, Major R.W. Macklin, refers to Armitage School and had this to say:

"...(d) Control. This is of a dual nature, as while in theory the Inspector of Schools, as Head of the Education Department, is responsible for the management of the "

"school, in actual practice a great deal of this must devolve upon the Travelling Commissioner of this Province, particularly in such matters as discipline, games, rations and the formation of character, over which the Inspector of Schools can exercise little, if any, control by reason of his absence in Bathurst."

The Gambian Compulsory Education Ordinance of 1929

Governor Denham's despatch number 110 of the 20th May 1929 enclosed a draft ordinance to make elementary education compulsory in the Colony and Protectorate.⁹ The first reaction of the Colonial Office was to reduce the scheme to Banjul area in the first place. Denham had said;

"... 3. I have every reason to believe that the Bill will be welcomed by all communities in Bathurst as well as by the Missionary bodies, who have informed me that they will be prepared to provide accommodation required for the increased attendances."

The scheme was intended to cover free elementary education for children aged between five and fourteen but, in the end, permission to start the scheme was refused by the Secretary of State, Lord Passfield (Sidney Webb). It is illuminating to study some of the comments and minutes of the officials who advised Lord Passfield.

Calder, 6th June 1929, doubted if the necessary number of teachers was available but continued;

"... Still, Bathurst is a small isolated town in which we can try experiments, and as the Governor and all the local people want to give compulsory education a trial, I think we should approve. If the local difficulties are insuperable the ordinance will, like many another in Africa, be merely an adornment of the Statute Book."

Flood, in a minute of the same date, not only doubted if the number of teachers was available but was not happy with the legal phrasing of the Bill and, in particular, fastened upon;

"... a new principle that a 'child' is deemed to be under 14 unless 'the contrary is proved'. In a country where there is no proper birth registration and where much of the work would have to be done by natives - I can't imagine a white attendance officer - this could open the door to appalling tyranny & corruption. Also, I fear the difficulty of enforcement even in Bathurst will be very great."

Vischer appeared to agree with Calder and Flood but thought that the Governor was aware of the difficulties. Flood was not impressed and later minuted, 15th June;

"It is quite clear to me that Sir E. Denham has not really considered the matter at all."

Calder, 15th June 1929, attempted to examine the statistics of the scheme;

"The present average attendance is 900, and it is clear from this that they do not expect to get an attendance of from 2000 to 2500 which they should get under compulsion."

Compulsion implies sanctions of some sort and a very rough type of justice was to apply, upon which Calder commented unfavourably, that would, in reality, penalise parents whose children attended school irregularly; whereas parents whose children never attended school were somehow to be left alone.

As mentioned above the Secretary of State did not approve the scheme. Denham was informed in October 1929. The Colonial Office draft despatch no. 144 contains some paragraphs that show Flood's influence, viz.;

"2. The (Advisory) Committee gave their general support to the proposals but ... compulsory education should not be introduced until it is clear that adequate teaching staff is available ...

4. With regard to the suggestion that teachers can be recruited without difficulty from Sierra Leone, I am not convinced that this is in fact the case ... I feel that it would be far more satisfactory to obtain recruits locally."

Paragraph 8 of Lord Passfield's despatch summed up the whole matter;

"I therefore regret that I do not consider it advisable to introduce the Compulsory Education Bill, as it stands, until further consideration has been given to the various points raised in the foregoing paragraphs: particularly with regards to the provision of adequate teaching staff. To introduce a measure of compulsory attendance when there is no adequate provision of supplying education to the children when they are in school would, in all probability, have the effect of retarding the development of education for years."

Forty-nine years later compulsory education had still not reached The Gambia.

The Matter of the Gambian Superintendent

One of Denham's last despatches, no. 161 of 6th November 1929, mentioned the new post of Superintendent of Education,¹⁰ with the salary scale, £480 (for three years) - 510 x 30 - £720, and that W.T. Hamlyn, an administrative officer, was to be

seconded to the post on a salary of £510. This appointment had upset the missionaries (locally not at H.Q. level) and the new Governor, H.R. Parker. He did not want Hamlyn appointed and raised the matter in his despatch no. 270 of the 25th November 1930. After a reference to what such a post entailed or meant in Nigeria, he said that the missionaries objected to being "superintended" or "directed" by a young officer of slight experience, but had no objection to being "inspected".

Governor Palmer felt that he, not Hamlyn, should "superintend" Shuter at Armitage School.

The Colonial Office did not take kindly to this despatch and the Secretary of State coolly implied that Palmer's observations were irrelevant.

Vischer provided a long typed minute on this topic. On the question of age of officer and experience, he implied that Mr Eburne's (Methodist) and other missionaries' long experience did not seem to have helped The Gambia very much.

Staffing Arrangements and Education Legislation ¹¹

A confidential despatch from Palmer of the 5th January 1931, gives an early example of the integration of colonial services. In his paragraph 4 was the proposal to merge the Education and Administrative cadre into one;

"... so that I may be able to utilize the services of all or any Officers in the sanctioned duty posts as is most economical and convenient."

In despatch no. 156 of 23rd May 1938, Acting Governor H.R. Oke forwarded copies of new education regulations no. 11 of 1938. These contained additions to the old regulations. The first being to limit the amount of grant to be paid for expatriate missionary teachers, without discouraging their employment as their presence was vital to the functioning of the school system. The new grant was not to exceed £100 p.a. for posts approved by the Superintendent of Education.

There was also the intention to tidy up the difficult procedure of opening new schools; section 2 of the 1935 Ordinance referred. In future a school was to be defined as an institution of not less than six pupils receiving regular instruction.

Institutions for religious instruction and, from 1st July 1938, Koranic schools, were excluded from the regulations; from that date all new schools needed Board of Education approval.

Vischer minuted Mayhew, 12th September 1938, that the Colonial Office wished the smaller colonies to model themselves upon the larger successful ones. He foresaw a problem regarding new school applications;

"... if we make the Board of Education responsible we will have difficulties in view of the fact that the board is composed of representatives of the different missions and denominations. I have had an opportunity of discussing the matter with the Supt. of Education, Mr Allen, 12 who agrees with me."

The Secretary of State, Malcolm Macdonald, approved the new legislation, despatch no. 196 of 22nd October 1938, but incorporated Vischer's points and suggested that eventually the Ordinance be amended to follow the Nigerian model. It should be noted that Vischer had served in Northern Nigeria.

Grants-in-aid to Secondary Schools ¹³

This short example indicates the poverty of the educational operations in The Gambia and a surprising ignorance of, and a lack of understanding for, the mission "hand-to-mouth" existence, by the Colonial Office.

A confidential despatch from Governor W.J. Southorn to the Secretary of State, Ormsby Gore, 13th April 1937, said bluntly that unless funds were provided quickly the Methodist Boys High School would have to close.

The problem was to provide a replacement for the missionary headmaster, whose wife taught without pay. Both were soon proceeding on furlough. An English expatriate could, however, be obtained if funds were available. The Gambia Government was prepared to award a once-for-all grant of £160 if the C.O. would approve a Special (financial) Warrant.

Agreement came in the confidential despatch of the 30th April 1937 but with it the question if all three teachers needed to be absent simultaneously? Southorn reminded the C.O., confidential despatch of 2nd June 1937, that missionary wives had to travel with their husbands and two of these wives were giving their services free.

Rankine, Sidebotham and Mayhew reluctantly authorised the Special Warrant for £160. Rankine, however, suggested that a higher regular grant should be paid in order to put the Methodist Boys' High School on a securer foundation. But Sidebotham, the senior man, favoured the special grant only when really needed.

Annual Reports ¹⁴ (An Educational Overview)

This case is interesting for it reveals the opinions of the first professional educationist appointed to administer education in The Gambia. Inevitably, there is an air of "new broom" about Ralph C. Allen's remarks.

Allen claimed that earlier annual reports had created a false impression. The situation was very bad but the fundamental cause was lack of money through the poverty of the territory. ¹⁵

The Education Ordinance was modelled upon that of Nigeria but the circumstances of operation were not the same. He was not yet in a position to make development proposals. On the other hand the Governor, now Sir Thomas Southorn, had regretfully informed him that no funds for educational development (new projects) could be provided for some time.

Allen blamed the lack of central organisation in the past for the current deficiencies. He revealed that only 2½% of Government revenue was spent on education in the Colony and none in the Protectorate; although up river, Armitage School was located on MacCarthy Island, part of the Colony. He suggested that perhaps The Gambia was too small for independent educational provision; the old idea of a Sierra Leone link up again.

The Colonial Office promptly agreed that the situation was very unsatisfactory. Malcolm MacDonald, despatch no. 234 of 13th December 1938, informed the Governor that the 1937 Education Report had been laid before his A.C.E.C. and that while it was acknowledged that the overall financial position of The Gambia had deteriorated and the outlook bleak, nevertheless, it was felt that more could be done. For a start, an increase in the percentage of revenue allocated to education would help.

A vague reference was made of attaching the small Gambian educational unit to a larger one but no details were explored.

It should be noted that whenever it was suggested that The Gambia should be joined to, say, Sierra Leone, in order to solve a financial crisis the Gambians were infuriated. A modern version of this is the suggestion that The Gambia should amalgamate with Senegal.

Governor Southorn's despatch no. 183 of 11th July 1939, to Macdonald, enclosed the latest education report. Someone made a brief note on the file: ¹⁶

"No startling developments, but there is no money to pay for them" 25/8/39

At a meeting of the A.C.E.C. the following views were expressed:

- (a) although The Gambia had financial difficulties every effort should be made to increase educational expenditure;
- (b) the African Headmaster of Armitage School, who was doing a satisfactory job, should be offered a British Council scholarship;
- (c) the use of the Methodist Girls' High School as a barracks should cease as soon as possible.

The Governor concurred with the Committee's views.

The message is clear and polite but there can be little doubt that the A.C.E.C. was very concerned, and rightly so, and was trying to initiate action. This was the sort of semi-official activity that, some years earlier, had upset the Colonial Office "old guard".

Early Plans ¹⁷

Under a general heading of "Education. Present Organisation and Possible Future Development of," Allen began his long battle for reform.

Southorn referred to Allen's scheme in despatch no. 280 of the 27th November 1939 and sent the Secretary of State twenty-six copies of the scheme for distribution to A.C.E.C. members. Despatch no. 301 of 19th December 1939, continued the subject by way of reference to informal discussions, of

The Gambia's position, at the recent Governors' Conference. It had been agreed there that Gambian higher education students should be sent to institutions outside the territory.

"... Apart from higher education, however, it was felt that the Gambia must remain an independent educational unit and that, for geographical among other reasons, it would be impracticable to attach the Gambia to any larger educational unit in West Africa."

Shortage of funds precluded the establishment of a satisfactory public system of education but;

"... When funds are available for development on approved lines the Colony will probably be glad to avail itself of the advice of an experienced officer from one of the other West African Colonies."

Initially Allen created the impression that a complete structural alteration was needed and, accordingly, the C.O. staff comments are enlightening. J.D. Sidebotham wrote on the 19th January 1940 that he felt that agricultural education was not sufficiently stressed especially as;

"... At the moment, as I understand it, all the eggs in the Gambia are practically in one basket ..."

a reference to the groundnut monoculture. He proposed to refer the matter to Sir F.A. Stockdale.

Stockdale provided something of a policy minute, 23rd January, 1940:

"I am afraid that I am not orthodox in my views on education for African peoples, especially in dependencies such as the Gambia, as I feel that the education should be objective and designed to help the people to become better citizens in the spheres in which they are likely to lead their lives. It may be argued that it is mere presumption to attempt to assess how people are likely to spend their lives and be happy in them, but one can if one knows the conditions and make a fairly shrewd guess."

Stockdale emphasised that there were two distinct communities in The Gambia, the Colony and its population of approximately 15,000 and the Protectorate with its population of about 185,000. Not only should something be done about the disparate distribution of education resources, with the Protectorate obtaining a fairer share, but the whole country needed reform involving the establishment of a more practical form of education, in keeping with the environment and country's needs.

"... We, I fear, do not get down sufficiently to the bottom where education in our African dependencies is concerned."

Cox, in a long minute of the 23rd March 1940, dwelt upon the obscure parts of Allen's proposals. But first he was concerned with correct procedure, which had not been followed. Allen's report should have been studied initially by the full A.C.E.C. who would then refer it to their African Reports Sub-Committee for careful scrutiny and then the report would return to the full A.C.E.C. with any Sub-Committee comments, for consideration of necessary action. However;

"... While the principal aims of the Director ... seem to me sound and he has clearly taken much care in working them out, several points are obscure and the Sub-Committee will probably have a number of suggestions to make."

Allen's proposals for teacher education reform envisaged elementary training in Bathurst and secondary training outside the territory. There was no teacher training college in The Gambia then, only an ad hoc in-service arrangement based on the Methodist Boys' High School. Cox felt that the Sub-Committee would want to examine this further.

"...(iv) The Roman Catholic representative is not likely to agree that the grants at present given to the Catholic secondary classes should in effect be transferred to the Methodist secondary schools.
(v) The mission representatives are unlikely to acquiesce in the rôle allocated to Missions in the educational opening-up of the Protectorate, in which considerable difficulties are placed in the way of their opening schools at all, the hope of grants is practically ruled out even when those difficulties have been surmounted & teachers trained as required."

Cox continued by saying that establishing missionary spheres of influence was impossible in that day. Proposals to develop Armitage School, accepting the rural Muslim environment of the catchment area, were attractive. He felt certain that the Director was not advocating a bookish scheme for Protectorate children.

Legislative Changes - Proposed 18

Another matter that was somewhat inconclusively handled at the C.O. arose from Southorn's despatch no. 236 of the 26th September 1939 to Macdonald. It concerned "The Education"

"(Amendment) Ordinance, 1939" which was mainly intended to amend the 1935 Ordinance by simplifying the procedure for opening new schools.

F.D. Webber minuted, 17th October 1939, that the side-stepping of the Board of Education was one solution of a communication problem, that is, avoiding interested parties. The Director of Education should send applications to the Governor.

There was clearly a wish to release religious classes (and Koranic schools ?) from constraints imposed through the Ordinance:

"The 1939 definitions of 'class for religious instruction' sets no minimum to the number of people which can exist as such a class.

The 1939 definition of 'school' retains the minimum of 6 persons established in no.16 of 1938."

The A.C.E.C. was not particularly concerned with this so Vischer simply wrote, 24th October, "This is all right."

In despatch no. 167 of the 31st December 1941, Southorn sent the Secretary of State, Lord Moyne, copies of regulation 59 of 1941 entitled "The Education Regulations, 1941". These were concerned with salaries, a matter that erupted later.

The Allen Proposed Reforms: "Present Organisation & Possible Future Developments" ¹⁹

On the 14th August 1941 Allen published a document of policy that he claimed was ;

"... based on a report compiled by the Director of Education (that had caused such an initial stir) and the recommendations made on the report by the Advisory Committee on Education ..." ²⁰

Slim though the document was it heralded future changes as well as indicating to the missions "the shape of things to come." In retrospect although one can observe the build up of mission resentment, leading to an attack upon Government, the old days were over.

He proposed reducing the primary school course to six years, concentrating secondary education into one institution and providing technical scholarships to Gold Coast institutions. Concerning secondary school finance, the management would receive a grant from Government that would cover the difference between fees received and approved expenditure.

The neglected Protectorate then received attention. In the first place, Armitage was to be renovated and given a new image. Local authority or "Native Authority" schools were needed in the Protectorate, they should be small and located where required and staffed by ex-Armitage students. Missionary societies would not, as a rule, be encouraged to expand their educational work in the largely Muslim Protectorate and grants would only be given for such work in exceptional circumstances.

The Visit of Dr McMath, Lady Education Officer
Sierra Leone ²¹

Governor Sir Hilary Blood, in confidential despatch of the 26th February 1943, to Secretary of State, Col. Oliver Stanley, enclosed some newspaper cuttings that allow us to "hear the voices" of Gambians and what they thought of the decisions being made and considered on their behalf. ²²

"The Gambia Echo" of the 15th February 1943, made the point that the McMath Report should not go the way of all former reports and simply gather dust in the archives. The Governor intended that changes would take place and it rested with the Gambians to provide support and take definite action.

"The Gambia Weekly News" of the 15th February 1943, applauded the scheme but criticised the local people for not being more interested. Dr A.M. McMath had broadcast the fundamentals of her plan over the local radio on Friday, 5th February. Presumably those without radios would have gathered in McCarthy Square to hear the broadcast relayed.

Governor Blood had revealed the situation as he saw it, in a confidential despatch ten days earlier:

"... 2. I visited all the schools in Bathurst shortly after my arrival in the Colony, and I could not but be struck by the drabness, dreariness and entire unsuitability of most of the buildings. In certain schools the tone seemed to be bad, the teachers careless and the children apathetic ...

3. The Director of Education drew my attention to the Statement of Policy regarding Education in the Gambia forwarded in Sir Thomas Southorn's despatch No. 142 of the 7th of November, 1941, and approved by your Advisory Committee on Education."

But closer acquaintance made Blood think that a fundamental

change was necessary in order to have any real effect on the Colony and almost untouched Protectorate.

"4. The Statement appears to me to have two grave defects: it was based on a report framed by the Director of Education when the full implications of the new Colonial Development and Welfare Act had not been realised, hence it suffers from the ingrained idea, so widely prevalent in the Gambia and fostered by years of fear of Treasury control, that everything must be done on the cheap; and it was drafted rather with a view of obtaining the maximum agreement on the part of the Mission authorities than to influencing public opinion in the direction of a forward policy which would achieve the maximum efficiency."

Blood continued by saying that a timid document resulted that did not meet the requirements of bold vigorous action. He expressed his high regard for missionary activity but felt that the educational leadership was not their *métier*, they had been forced into it by the "weak complaisance of Government."

Dr McMath's confidential report, dated 3rd February 1943, was enclosed and the important points were that the standards of buildings, equipment, management, teaching, pupil discipline and teacher morale were very low. She blamed interdenominational rivalry, bad relationships between managers and staff, lack of loyalty in general. She was not very sympathetic towards the missions.

"The feeling seems to be that unless Government supports the schools financially to one hundred per cent and allows the schools to be run by the missions, they will not be satisfied. The fact that none of the managers is qualified to do so makes even the present situation ludicrous. It is my opinion that the managers have let the Government down."

Post War Development: Teachers' Salaries 23

Money is not everything but ... The reported shocking educational situation in the Gambia in the 1940s has been noted above, it is now part of the anti-colonial conventional wisdom of Banjul. A part justification might be found, namely, that the teachers were very badly paid. Before Blood had arrived his predecessor, Southorn, tried to do something about this; briefly mentioned on page 190 above.

Southorn had maintained, December 1941, that the staffing

position had deteriorated, largely helped by the better employment opportunities offered by the Service Departments:

"... there are signs that many of the underpaid members of the teaching profession will leave their present employment in search of the better salaries which they can obtain elsewhere. Two members of the staff of the Methodist School have already tendered their resignations, one after seventeen years service."

Prompt action, to improve salaries and conditions-of-service was necessary; he had already appointed a Committee to draft new salary scales.

"5... no development will be possible in the Gambia until the standard of the educational services has been improved. In the circumstances I have taken steps to provide legal sanction for the payment of grants to the Missions of up to 100% of the total cost of their African teachers' salaries by means of an addition to Regulation 4 of the Education Regulations, 1935. ... For this reason and in view of the resignations which have already occurred in the Mission Schools I shall be obliged if I may be informed as soon as possible whether the necessary financial assistance will be forthcoming to enable this Government to pay up to one hundred per cent of the salaries of the Mission teachers on the proposed new scales."

On the 31st January 1942 the Governor sent a cable to the Colonial Office where it was received the following day:

"... African staff of the Roman Catholic Mission School (St. Augustine's), Bathurst, recently ceased work on the grounds of inadequate wages. This strike was not supported by the Teachers Union partly because they were not consulted before the strike was declared, and partly because they know that introduction of revised salary scales is under consideration. Teachers of the Roman Catholic School have now submitted their resignations and new staff has been engaged. Although this incident has ended without serious detriment to education in the Colony, I trust earliest possible consideration will be given to the proposal in my despatch under consideration." (that is, no. 168 of 31/12/41)

The matter was now considered at great length by civil servants at the Colonial Office and it is illuminating to observe not only their arguments, to support the decision-making, but also the time taken. Two factors never mentioned might partly explain why so much thought was given to little Gambia at the time; firstly, Senegal was controlled by the Vichy Government in France and, secondly, British fighter aircraft, used in the North African desert war, were sent out

in crates to The Gambia, assembled and flown northwards from Yundum. Poverty stricken The Gambia may have been but she figured strategically in Britain's war plans; too much disaffection in and around Banjul could have been serious.

Mayhew, in a minute to Cox, 6th February 1942, proposed that if a Gambian school was entitled to a grant then it should receive a full grant, the practice in most other dependencies. Secondary schools needed somewhat different treatment because consideration had to be taken of fee income.

Subject to Cox's comments Mayhew proposed sending a telegram authorising payment of the new salary scales, "... in view of the prevailing unrest."

Cox sent Mayhew's minute to Scott, Sub-Committee chairman, and then informed O.G.R. Williams of his action, 12th February. Cox wanted a stipulation inserted in the telegram to ensure that the Missions were not relieved of all responsibility for African teachers' salaries in primary and secondary schools:

"... If the present proposals are accepted as they stand, it would probably be a good deal more difficult to persuade the Missions to make concessions with regard to the character of Secondary education given or again later to contribute towards salaries in Elementary schools. There is also the point that under the Governor's plan it becomes difficult to differentiate between the system proposed for Bathurst and that in force in Freetown which both Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Allen regarded as unsatisfactory."

Cox agreed with Mayhew that although a case might be made for some (extra ?) assistance from the Colonial Development and Welfare Vote;

"... I am glad it is felt that this (increase ?) should be met from Gambia funds. A strong reason for this is the exceptionally low percentage expenditure of the Gambia on education in proportion to total expenditure - the last figure I saw was I think 1.7% which is not only far below the desirable minimum but considerably lower, I believe, than any other territory in Africa."

Williams minuted, 13th February 1942:

"... If it considered proper in principle that recurrent expenditure on increasing teachers' salaries should be financed by a grant under the C.D. & W. Act, I personally have no objection at all. What I was concerned with, when Mr. Mayhew spoke to me about this, was that the"

"consideration of the Gambia application for a grant, which was just going before Lord Dufferin's Committee, should not be delayed by tacking on, at the last moment this rather complicated and difficult proposal for increasing teachers' salaries."

Williams concluded by saying that he had no personal objection to financing teachers' salaries by a grant, he was trying to anticipate difficulties from elsewhere.

J.J.P., an unidentified official, minuted, 14th February, that while it was not wrong to use C.D. and W. funds for this purpose, it was essential to have full consultations early in order to prevent obstruction later. However, he also made the point that U.K. Treasury concurrence would be required.

The matter dragged on and on until the 117th meeting of the A.C.E.C., 15th October 1942. An extract from the Adviser's (Written) Notices reads:

"... GAMBIA. Government Statement of Policy

A note by the West African Reports Sub-Committee on educational policy in the Gambia (8/42) was circulated ... Arising out of that note, members may be interested to learn that the Secretary of State (Viscount Cranbourne) with the concurrence of His Majesty's Treasury, has made a scheme for meeting in full the cost of ... teachers' salaries proposed by the Governor and already brought into effect."

A free grant under the C.D. and W. Act 1941, of not more than £4,860 was used for this.

The Reorganisation ²⁴

The A.C.E.C. established a Sub-Committee especially to consider the "Proposals for the Control of Schools in Bathurst" and the educational proposals in Chapter VI of "Development and Welfare in the Gambia" of June 1943.

The Committee supported the Governor's desire for reform but considered his approach, of wanting to take-over grant-aided schools, wrong.

The A.C.E.C. draft minutes of the 124th meeting, 2nd December 1943, continued the saga. Scott made the point that it seemed that only Anglican and Methodist schools were to be taken-over. Governor Blood was not exactly mistrusted but ... Mayhew proposed an amendment that seemed to satisfy most:

"... the Governor should take the necessary steps to ensure recognition of the need for religious "

"instruction in accordance with the wishes of the religious denominations regarding the best way of providing such instruction."

There is a copy in the C.O. file, that could not be traced in the I.M.C. archives, of a cable received by the Reverend H.M. Grace on the 1st February 1944, at Edinburgh House from Bathurst:

"Please inform Edinburgh House, as far as necessary for good education Methodists and Anglicans prepared to amalgamate primary schools, complete mutual agreement, but insist this joint unity receives same treatment and facilities as Romans."

The Cox Agreement was reached after fourteen meetings held between the 19th February and the 8th March 1945.²⁵ The local Mission representatives attempted to return to "square one" but Cox made it clear that there could be no question of re-opening negotiations, the Home H.Qs. of the Missions had agreed to the government take-over of the schools. Reluctantly the representatives agreed and so came into being the "local agreement" schools; Government paid rent to the former owners of the school buildings and the schools themselves were administered through management committees, on each of which were representatives of the religious authorities concerned. The teachers became Government servants, something they had wanted for years. But the affair still rankled, as Mr T.H. Baldwin discovered on his visit in 1950.

Notes and References: Chapter Seven

1 See notes 7 and 8 on pp 42 to 44 above for an expansion of this point.

2 C.O. 87/225 file XF 5638

3 CREOLES: Sometimes this term is used for people of mixed race but not so in this study. This important group from Sierra Leone played a significant role in the development of West Africa in general and The Gambia in particular.

"Although born in Sierra Leone, Creoles descended from immigrants to this land: liberated slaves who were racially and, often, culturally akin to the indigenous inhabitants, but who had also been exposed to Western culture through European education and Christianity. The Creoles, even more than their forefathers, were taught to prize Europeanization (Note: "Europeanization" is defined here ... as the conscious or unconscious assimilation of cultural traits and values which, in the broadest sense, can be identified as "European". In the case of the ancestors of the Creoles, these would include elements derived from North America and the British West Indies, New World modifications of European culture.) and the status that it conferred in the colonial order."

Spitzer, Leo; The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism, 1870-1945; Madison; The University of Wisconsin Press; 1974; p 3.

The Creoles shared in English, the official language of the colonial power, but they also had a language that developed into contemporary Krio.

4 A civil service procedure whereby a file or page on a file can be marked B.U., "bring up", with a date upon which the clerks should re-present the file for further consideration or action.

5 C.O. 87/226 file X 4213/1927

6 C.O. 87/228/11 file 12113

7 C.O. 87/229/3 file 12136

8 C.O. 87/229/7 file 12144

9 C.O. 87/228/19 file 12129

10 See brief reference earlier on p 81 of Chapter Three.

11 C.O. 87/232 file 12280 (staffing)

- C.O. 87/247 file 33070 (legislation)
- 12 R.C. Allen, the first professional Education Officer in The Gambia; see also p 83 of Chapter Three.
- 13 C.O. 87/245 file 33115
- 14 C.O. 87/246/9 file 33038
- 15 See Appendix IX for outline details of the relevant government finance.
- 16 C.O. 87/248 file 33038
- 17 C.O. 86/248/7 file 33038/1
- 18 C.O. 87/249
- 19 C.O. 87/253 file 33038/1
- 20 Allen, R.C.; Government Statement of Policy Regarding Education in the Gambia; Bathurst; Government Printer; 1941
- 21 For earlier reference see p 84 of Chapter Three.
- 22 There are today in The Gambia no newspapers as generally understood by that term. An official bulletin is published once or twice a week and is more of a government broadsheet. However, prior to Independence a number of short-lived newspapers or newssheets did circulate, a few for many years, and they provide a unique record of the thoughts, opinions and aspirations of what might be called the old "Bathurst intelligentsia"; the pioneer political leaders.
- The Gambia is not alone in its experience of indigenous newspapers, see pp 166 - 167 of Chapter Six for some references to early Ghanaian press comments on African education.
- 23 C.O. 87/254 file 33194/1
- 24 C.O. 87/256 file 33038/1 See also p 85 of Chapter Three
- 25 Cox Agreement: See note 24 above and also note 28 on pp 98-99 of Chapter Three.

C H A P T E R E I G H T

GOVERNMENTAL DECISION-MAKING IN MALAWI

This chapter continues investigation of the role of individual officials in educational decision-making.

Relationships with the Small Missionary Societies in Malawi

A matter that came to the notice of the Colonial Office in 1926 concerned the power of the Governor to direct a recognised mission to cease operations. ¹

It was doubtful if the International Conference of Missionary Societies would have agreed with the passing of any ordinance dealing with Nyasaland missions only. As it transpired it seems that the real topic concerned two missionary societies only, viz., the Watch Tower Society and the Providence Industrial Mission. The former was often regarded suspiciously for the somewhat anti-European activities engendered by its group activities and the latter because of its onetime connection with John Chilembwe.

Governor R. Rankine, in a confidential despatch of the 15th September 1926, said that he told the European Watch Tower Society leader that government could not concede to the request for help in banning a local off-shoot of the Society. Better supervision by the Society itself would have prevented the growth of the indigenous organisation.

Rankine then mentioned his reluctant granting of approval to Dr Malekebu, mentioned on page 57 above, to reopen the Providence Industrial Mission, originally closed for its connection with the 1915 Rising.

No action, however, was taken but the matter of small missionary societies, and by this is understood bodies very largely under local control, was never really solved in colonial days. Later, when revision of the Education Ordinance arose, the question appeared in a new form.

The Nyasaland Education Ordinance of 1927 ²

This particularly unpleasant issue developed unexpectedly

due to the personalities of the officials and, as the previous chapter shows, missionaries involved. Following the Phelps-Stokes suggestion a Nyasaland Education Department had been established and an Ordinance, to regulate affairs, promulgated. However, the missionary societies were antagonised.

Governor Bowring had sent the draft Ordinance and Education rules to the C.O. on the 25th January 1927, despatch no. 41. Stevenson, see page 147 above, sent a memorial to the Secretary of State revealing the disquiet felt by the missions at the Government's educational proposals.

Stevenson recapitulated the achievements of the Scottish missions over the previous fifty years but added that they;

"... welcome the earnest attempt that the Government of Nyasaland is now making to develop education on sound and broad lines."

However, with the grant for the missions fixed at £4,000 for the next financial year it would be impossible to meet the new standards demanded. The Secretary of State was requested;

"... to obtain the sanction of the Treasury for the increase of the funds allotted to education, so that money may be available to carry out the reforms which the Government and the Missions alike desire."

Vischer minuted to Sidebotham, 29th March 1928:

"... As long as we are not able to help the missions with increased grants to carry out the provisions under the new ordinance, it will be impossible to enforce them."

On the other hand, in a minute to Green, Vischer had earlier noted, 8th December 1927:

"... It might be pointed out in replying to (Stevenson's) memorial that the Ordinance and codes were drawn up after the missions had been fully consulted ..."

Bound up with the 1927 Ordinance matter was that of specialist staff to enforce the proposed higher standards. The Nyasaland Protectorate government wished to appoint an Assistant Director of Education together with two Inspectors. This suggestion was referred to the A.C.E.C. and although they approved the appointment of an A.D.E. they could not recommend the other two posts. Vischer minuted the reasons to Green:

"... chiefly because they feel that such Inspectors should under the circumstances be first class men with African experience and high educational qualifications, who would require a salary on a higher scale than the Estimates will be able to provide for some time. While all available funds should be used in the first instance for making more adequate grants-in-aid to the missions... The Committee recommended that the Missions themselves be asked to appoint Educational supervisors and that special grants-in-aid should be made available for them for this purpose."

Recruitment Procedures

Another file ³ throws light upon the A.C.E.C. (or A.C.N.E. T.A. as it was still) decision not to approve the two posts mentioned above, at their meeting of the 14th September 1927. The U.K. Treasury had downgraded the salary scale from the proposed £720 - £920 to £475 - £840 p.a., hence the doubts about obtaining men of the right calibre. The interesting point here is that although it was the Nyasaland government that would pay the salaries, raised from its own tax system, it was the U.K. Treasury that decided the amount to be paid.

On a point of principle two officials concerned with staff recruitment, Newbolt and Furse, made a mild complaint to Vischer that the normal procedure was not being followed, that is, they were not being consulted. Furthermore, Furse wanted to know the reason for the decision to reduce the A.D.E.'s salary scale from the usual East African scale of £475 - £920 to £475 - £840; the answer, provided by Downie, was that the Director was only earning £1,000 p.a. To which Furse replied that if in future a similar deviation from the recognised scale should be considered then;

"... those responsible for recruitment should be consulted before a decision is taken."

However, on yet another occasion Furse had grounds for complaining that a somewhat irregular recruitment procedure had been followed when Bowman of the Church of Scotland Mission Blantyre was appointed locally to be Principal of the Jeanes School at Domasi,⁴ as he put it:

"I am sure it is a wise precaution to ensure in all possible cases that local candidates are not appointed ... "

until the usual formalities had been followed in London. ⁵

It would appear that the opportunity to rectify any misunderstanding in the matter of Nyasaland recruitment soon came. Gaunt, the Director of Education, died and his replacement was not the man Governor Bowring wanted, namely, Assistant Director R. Caldwell. In 1929 a short list was prepared for the Directorship as follows: ⁶

R. Caldwell	A.D.E. Nyasaland
A.T. Lacey	Superintendent of Education, Tanganyika
E.L. Mort	Superintendent of Education, Nigeria
M.W. Oakes	Superintendent of Education, Nigeria

Oakes was the first choice but it would seem that he attached certain conditions to his accepting the post that did not meet with the C.O. Promotions Committee approval so, 10th October 1929, they recommended Major A. Travers Lacey, who accepted the post.

New Posts in Malawi

In a minute on the "Estimates: 1928" file, dated 12th March 1928, Sidebotham raised the question of funds for educational development in Nyasaland. ⁷

The Nyasaland Government intended using some savings, the source is not clear, for development but it appeared that a choice had to be made. Should the savings be used to expand European or African schools ?

Sidebotham wrote;

"... it would appear more important to give increased assistance to the educational activities of the Missions more especially in view of the fact that the education codes and regulations are being introduced which will involve the Missions in considerable increased expenditure ... there would ... be a good case in view of the improvement in the financial position for seeking Treasury approval to additional expenditure on education which is urgently required being met from surplus balances to the extent of £2,000 ..."

In despatch no. 59 of 15th February 1928, ⁸ Bowring returns to the Colonial Office suggestion that instead of appointing two superintendents, for technical training and agricultural training, additional grants should be made to the missions. He strongly opposed this:

"... such action is tantamount to replacing the old block grants of £1,000 or £2,000 per annum by grants of "

"£4,000 per annum and upwards, nominally with guarantees, but actually as block grants without control."

An extract from a semi-official letter from Bowring to Bottomley, 15th February 1928, reads :

"... I sincerely trust that you will be able to reconsider your decision as to the Government Technical and Agricultural Superintendents, I attach the utmost importance to the principle of effective Government supervision over every branch of education and as I have from the start taken the greatest personal interest in the initiation of our new education policy, it would seem most disheartening if this most important part of Governments (sic) functions had to be abandoned."

The Secretary of State, L.S. Amery, replied, 18th July 1928, that after seeking the advice of the A.C.E.C. he could not sanction the two new superintendents' posts. Grants to the missions, considered inadequate, should be increased. So, for the moment, the Governor did not have his way.

Missionary Society Involvement

An insight into mission politics can be gained from a study of parts of enclosure no.1 of despatch 346 entitled "Memorandum on Native Education in Nyasaland" by the influential Oldham of Edinburgh House. ⁹

- "1) It is recognised by missions that the general direction and control of educational policy is the function of Government ...
- 2) There is no question that the Government is justified in suppressing forms of education which are detrimental to the community and to the pupils.
- 3) Since Natives are not yet in a position to discriminate clearly between good and bad education it is justifiable for Government to protect schools which conform to the educational requirements of Government from the competition of inferior types of education."

Behind paragraphs 2) and 3) there may have been traces of the establishment's anti-sect feeling. Although thirteen years had elapsed since the Chilembwe Rising, many in Malawi still remembered it and that the origins of the disturbance stemmed from the non-religious activities of the Providence Industrial Mission. The small sect schools were regarded suspiciously as nurseries of subversion. Fortunately, at the Colonial Office, there were officials capable of being more objective.

"4) ... The niceties of a sound curriculum are understood only in educational circles. In the public mind reading and writing are the first step in the ladder of progress. Where Government is not in a position to supply the kind of education that it desires the prohibition of other persons from doing the best they can is apt to provoke criticism."

Oldham moved on to consider the "recognised" school status and the possibility of allowing, for a while, sub-standard schools ¹⁰ schools to continue.

"9) The question arises whether it should be the policy of Government to keep the standard of 'recognition' high, and consequently the number of recognised schools relatively small, or to admit as many schools as possible to the recognised list with an inevitable lowering of the standard."

The Oldham document also enclosed a copy of an undated letter to him from the Bishop of Nyasaland in which the following views were expressed:

" I (i.e. the Bishop) feel that the (1927) Ordinance is unfortunate in every way. Its tone is so hostile. I am aware that it has been said officially that it will not be enforced, but many workers feel that it remains an axe suspended over the heads of those who are doing the work. ... We looked for help and advice and were anxious to co-operate; instead of being welcomed, we are handed an elaborate code of rules which seem to consider us potential criminals and threatens us with fine and imprisonment if we do not conform to them." 11

It is often asked "what is in a name?" In despatch no. 241 of the 16th May 1928, Bowring informed the Secretary of State ¹² that the new government teacher training/supervisor training institution to be established at Domasi should be known as the "Jeanes Training Centre" rather than "Jeanes Training School";

"... since the term 'school' might prove misleading to the native community of this Protectorate."

"... 3. Terms such as 'College' and 'Institution' have purposely been avoided as apt to give the pupils exaggerated ideas of what they are to be taught, thus leading to disappointment."

The next venture by the Nyasaland Government into the direct provision of education was the planned erection and equipping of three government elementary schools. Despatch no.362, 8th August 1928, provides a fascinating example of the real value of the £ in 1928. Approval was requested from the

Secretary of State for raising a Special Warrant for £100, the total cost of the three schools. The money would actually come from savings elsewhere, namely, under Head 15, Education, Sub-Head 11, Teachers, Government Schools.

The request was considered by the Advisory Committee in London at their 47th meeting, 5th November 1928. Sir James Currie made the point that non-denominational education would be quite unacceptable to Muslim parents, who wanted schools with facilities for Koranic teaching. Finally, in Amery's despatch no. 22 of the 24th January, 1929, approval was given and the suggestion made that the Education Department in Zanzibar should be approached by the Nyasaland authorities, for borrowing a Koranic teacher.

It is not only interesting to note with what detail the Colonial Office concerned itself but also that a "government school" was not necessarily a non-religious institution. The Gambia also provided an example of a Government (Muslim) School in Banjul.

Nyasaland Education Ordinance Revision 13

Vischer wanted to know whether the Governor could be told that he could proceed with his revision; F.N. Green minuted accordingly, 12th April 1929:

"I must say that I greatly dislike this. On these matters the Governor is absolutely in the pocket of the planters, and the proposal (concerning the legal size of a school) probably means that the latter, who, generally, dislike all forms of native education, want to interfere in family instruction. I consider that we should stick to the definition unless really strong grounds can be shown. As Mr Oldham's letter shows (see below), he, like the missionaries, cares nothing so long as his own particular patch is not interfered with."

Oldham's letter to Vischer, 9th April 1929, reads:

"... I do not see any particular objection to the Governor's proposal to omit the words 'not less than ten' ... The main point is that the definition of a school in the Ordinance should not be of such a nature as to include purely religious classes and if the Nigerian definition is adopted the omission of the words 'not less than ten' do not seem very much to matter."

Green was probably being a trifle hard on Oldham, but this does illustrate an official's role in decision-making processes;

and Green certainly considered the Malawians' interests.

The matter of definition referred to a limit of ten pupils and the argument had continued for a long time. Yet another illustration of the care sometimes taken by the Colonial Office when a point of principle was at stake.

Earlier, 23rd March 1929, the Governor had cabled:

"... I fear that inclusion of words 'not less than ten' in definition of school will arouse considerable local opposition and I request authority to delete them."

To which someone, unidentified, at an A.C.E.C. meeting had responded:

"... I cannot see why the words 'not less than ten' should arouse considerable local opposition. A school with less than ten pupils surely is not worth the trouble of legislation, inspection and financial assistance."

Vischer was sick so the file went to Mayhew, who was for accepting the Governor's views. However, Green sent a minute to Bottomley as follows:

"... I do not think that the limit of 10 ... should be deleted unless the Governor can give us serious reasons other than 'local opposition' i.e. opposition by the planters and possibly some missionaries. One of the causes of the Chilembwe rising was the refusal of certain planters to allow schools of any sort on their estates. It should be possible for a native to give instruction to his children with those, say, of his next door neighbour without an apparatus of licences, returns and penalties."

H.F. Downie put a minute on the file, 15th August 1929:

"... Bowring called yesterday, and repeated his objections to the proposed definition of 'School'. He said that the Presbyterian Missions had only been persuaded with great difficulty to accept the Education Ordinance, and that they attached great importance to the registration and inspection of all educational institutions, however small. They were particularly anxious that the Roman Catholic 'Prayer Houses' should not be excluded from the scope of the Bill..."

The matter dragged on, Downie pleaded for an early decision but Green would not budge on the "not less than ten" issue and Vischer, 18th November 1929, agreed with him.

There the issue rested but one multi-cultural point remains to be mentioned. The Acting-Governor, W. Davidson-Houston, had said in an earlier despatch, no.452 of the 11th

September 1929, that whereas the old 1927 Ordinance;

"... was intended to be comprehensive enough to control the education of children of all races in the Protectorate"

subsequent amendments and modifications have;

"...been towards considerably restricting its elasticity by directing it mainly to the issue of education of African children by and through mission agencies."

As time passed the administration of education tended to be broken down into (a) African, (b) European, (c) Asian, and (d) Euro-African and Afro-Asian, although the greatest concern was always for African education.

The Jeanes Training Centre at Domasi 14

The Carnegie Corporation of New York promised to provide £1,000 a year for five years towards the recurrent costs of starting and running the J.T.C. provided the Nyasaland Government promised to spend the same amount.

The centre soon had twenty two students in residence, all possessing the Government Grade III Teacher's Certificate. Ultimately the students' wives and children would also be residing there in a model village but shortage of funds delayed implementation of this part of the scheme.

Governor Thomas wanted the Colonial Office to approve the need for, and then appoint, an Assistant Mistress. At that time the job description was as follows: A Froebel teacher or holder of an Infants Teacher's Certificate with special qualifications in Child Hygiene and Welfare. The salary was £354 x 18 - £500 p.a. plus an initial outfit allowance of £30. Free quarters, a first class passage with a probationary period of two years before becoming "permanent and pensionable" completed the arrangements.

The first incumbent, Miss M.B. Begg died in post in August 1932 and a replacement for her was required. Although the original job description had emphasised Froebel training, Miss Begg had been a qualified nurse and the records speak of her fulfilling her role admirably.

The Governor's telegram to the C.O., no. 108 of the 3rd December 1932, and the ensuing developments must be seen against the background of the economic depression prevailing.

The telegram read:

"... Owing to representations made by Missions and importance of work Government now desire to recommend that provided interview satisfactory post (of Assistant Mistress) to be offered on probation to Miss Margaret Smith, Public Health Department, Glasgow, who is highly qualified and has local experience." 15

There were some official objections to this proposal in London. In the first place it was emphasised that re-trenched ladies¹⁶ should be considered before "outsiders" were recruited into the service. Secondly, it was felt that the low salary then offered, namely, £240 x 18 - £300, and the absence of an outfit allowance were handicaps in selecting the right person. The Colonial Office was thinking of Miss Begg's salary, given on page 207, and overlooking what might be termed "the missionary factor". Thirdly, the two guardians of correct recruitment procedure, Furse and Newbolt, were unhappy that (yet again ?) the normal formalities were being ignored. They wanted the vacancy referred to the Board of Education but Miss Smith could be advised of the advertisement. She could then apply to the Department of Special Enquiries and Reports. It is interesting to note that the Board of Education had this function in the recruitment of colonial education service personnel.

The Governor sent another telegram, no.4 of the 5th January 1933, stating;

"... Applicant must be a trained nurse and midwife not exceeding 35 years of age very sympathetic with Christian Missions endeavours capable of learning Bantu language. Experience as teacher in Africa or elsewhere desirable but not essential ... Mrs Bell your despatch 25th November No. 364 not a trained nurse and midwife and is therefore not suitable."

On this subject Vischer submitted a minute dated the 15th December 1932. In it he said that the success of the J.T.C. so far had been partly because of the infant welfare and midwifery work done by the late Miss Begg. Available redundant officers did not have the required qualifications. Hence, he proposed that an exception should be made in the usual recruitment procedure.

Another official, W.H. Harman, seems to have gone to the

heart of the matter in his minute:

"This (telegram with details of qualifications) makes it clear that it is not so much an educational candidate as a nurse that is required, & in the circes.(sic) the field is open to Miss Smith, as none of our educational candidates is a trained nurse & midwife & we have no retrenched nurses."

The file leaves the matter there.

Nyasaland: The Introduction of Chinyanja, a Local Language, into the Primary Schools ¹⁷

This is a case of colonial government versus a missionary society and a good illustration of the question still fresh today, "in which language should primary school children be educated?" The colonial authorities wanted one language, Chinyanja (the modern form is now called in Malawi, Chichewa), to be increasingly used throughout the Protectorate with the ultimate intention that it would become the lingua franca. But Chinyanja was the language of one group or tribe, although understood over wide areas of Central Africa.

At a meeting of his Advisory Committee on Education, 17th May 1933, the Governor stated that it had been decided to encourage Chinyanja as the lingua franca and official language of the Protectorate. The missions were asked to introduce Chinyanja into any area where they worked where it was not already the mother tongue; in schools it was to be introduced at the beginning of class three of the village or kraal schools. After 1934 Government would insist on the teaching of Chinyanja as one of the conditions to be fulfilled before a grant-in-aid was paid to the school.

This caused trouble. Without doubt the Nyasalanders protested but evidence of this is hard to find. As was the case in those days the missionary societies took up the cause, on behalf of their church members and themselves. In this instance it was mainly the Livingstonia Mission, working in the north, that led the campaign using, in particular, the approach through people of influence. The U.M.C.A. also joined the protest.

Oldham wrote to the Secretary of State, 19th October 1933, enclosing a communication received from M'Lachlan, General Secretary of the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee.

He was forwarding a Livingstonia protest or "statement" against the Nyasaland Education Department's plan to enforce the teaching of Chinyanja in schools. Behind the Livingstonia protest was Young.

The Livingstonia complaint cannot be lightly dismissed. They claimed that when the Education Department was established in 1927 an assurance was given that the threat to withhold grants, in order to obtain compliance to government wishes, would not be used. Quoting their fifty years experience the mission felt it wrong to introduce Chinyanja into class three because, among other things, children were joining school at an earlier age than previous generations and had not, at that stage or age, mastered their own mother tongue, for example, Chitumbuka or Chitonga.

On the wider subject of a Protectorate lingua franca, Livingstonia considered that neither Chinyanja nor Chitumbuka was really satisfactory. They considered that the practical choice lay between Kiswahili, used and understood throughout most of East Africa, many parts of Central Africa and, in pockets, in the Congo (Zaire), or simple English. Truth to tell, the mission had been working for many years on the assumption that it would ultimately be English.

A universal missionary criticism of government officials was that the majority were never long enough in one place fully to understand the problems and to evolve workable solutions. In this case Livingstonia claimed that only one official, the Superintendent of Education for the Northern Province, had a true knowledge of the North and its languages; other officers paid only infrequent visits.

As proof that it had experience to support its case, Livingstonia stated that in the first twenty five years of its work the mission had itself insisted upon Chinyanja as the medium of instruction in its schools and, down to 1900, all its school textbooks in use were written in Chinyanja. This had proved unsuccessful and after a trial with other local languages, presumably Chitonga and Chitumba, the mission decided upon English as the medium of instruction and claimed that

rapid educational progress followed.

A political factor, always certain of causing unease in Downing Street, was included in the mission's case. Long ago when the Livingstonia Mission had started working in northern Nyasaland, the dominant group was the Ngoni, an alien warrior "tribe" from Southern Africa who suppressed, one way or another, the indigenous people of whom the Tumbuka were the most vociferous. In general, Ngoni migrations had been male undertakings, so wives were acquired in the conquered lands. Inter-marriage with Tumbuka women resulted, very quickly, in the "mother tongue", Chitumbuka, replacing Chingoni. It is told elsewhere¹⁸ of the political turmoil in which the early Livingstonia missionary pioneers found themselves and the dangers they often encountered. The sensitive or "touchy" descendants of Swazi-Zulu warriors had settled down, not without some misgivings. Government recognition of their new identity, under the Native Authority legislation, had been accepted. Thus, not without some grounds did the Livingstonia Mission fear that another language change, that is, Chitumbuka to Chinyanja, could reawaken political discontent.¹⁹

No immediate Colonial Office communication was sent to the Governor; Vischer minuted, 20th November 1933, that he would discuss the matter with Travers Lacey, the Director of Education, then on leave in Cambridge before taking further action.

Travers Lacey had supplied a memorandum on the subject, summarised as follows. All missions were given the opportunity of submitting comments on the subject for government consideration. The Dutch Reformed Church and the Free Church of Scotland missionaries did not support Livingstonia.²⁰ Early introduction of Chinyanja into class three of village schools, roughly Standard One, was essential if the majority were to acquire the language as large numbers of children left school before reaching Standard Three. Levi Mumba's silence doubtless due to his being a Tumbuka and hence a supporter of Livingstonia. It was not the intention to make Chinyanja the medium of instruction everywhere but simply a subject occupying five periods a week on the timetable, say, two and a half hours.

Lacey's note ends;

"If Government with the majority of Mission opinion is not entitled to mould and devise Education policy, who is ?"

That file closed without any decision being made. The problem did not go away and almost three years later it required attention again.

This time ²¹ Livingstonia claimed that there had been a misunderstanding over the agreement called the "Young-Turner Compromise." Briefly, the Governor, Sir Hubert Young had met, when on a northern tour, Dr W.J. Turner, Secretary of the Livingstonia Mission. No record officially was kept. Young went on transfer to Northern Rhodesia and it was left to the next Governor, Sir Harold Kittermaster to deal with the problem.

Turner claimed that Young said that he had no intention to interfere with Livingstonia grants-in-aid and that Chinyanja need not be introduced into Vernacular (village) Schools; in return Turner would propose to his Mission Council that the language be started in class one of the Central (Anglo-vernacular) Schools. But there was no record. Kittermaster and Lacey were accused of repudiating the "compromise". The latter said that the situation remained as it was in 1933.

Vischer minuted to Calder, 9th May 1935:

"The Nyasaland language controversy has come to life again ..."

T.G. Green, in a long minute, 13th May 1935, said that he had a brief acquaintance with northern Nyasaland and that Livingstonia was correct when it was said that Chinyanja was generally unknown in its area. To meet the need for a "civilized written language" the mission had encouraged development of a Chitumbuka literature. Green was emphatic that the missionaries concerned could not be considered unco-operative.²² It was a pity to risk spoiling a happy relationship with Livingstonia for such a questionable policy. The policy was Lacey's and not supported by officers in the field. In the final analysis Livingstonia would refuse grants-in-aid rather than surrender. Green concluded;

"... I imagine that such a state of affairs would, to say the least, be very awkward for all concerned."

There could be little doubt what, in terms of overall decision-making this hint of missionary politics and "questions in the House", that last sentence meant. Vischer's minute, 16th May 1935, summed up the Colonial Office reaction to pressure:

"... I would like a letter to be sent to the Governor and I will write to the D.(irector) of E.(ducation) without going into the question from a linguistic and political point of view, we cannot possibly ignore the views and wishes of the Mission."

Kittermaster in a semi-official letter, 17th August 1935, to Bottomley naturally supported his Director of Education and hinted that ex-Livingstonia pupils might suffer in terms of ineligibility for government employment through ignorance of the official language, Chinyanja.

The matter dragged on. M.A. Greenhill, 10th September 1935, noting that little progress had been made in finding a solution, proposed that the status-quo should be preserved, then a meeting of all interested parties should take place in Nyasaland in an attempt to reach a mutually acceptable settlement. If the attempt failed then the matter should be referred to the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee. T.G. Lee, A. Cooke and Vischer agreed; a draft was prepared incorporating Greenhill's proposals and Bottomley sent the official letter, in October 1935, to Kittermaster.

A conference was held in Zomba, 22nd June 1936, at which the whole matter was thoroughly discussed. Levi Mumba moved that the Government should make it clear that no local language was to be suppressed in any move towards establishing a lingua franca. All agreed. Finally, all welcomed the decision of the Livingstonia Mission and the U.M.C.A. to commence teaching Chinyanja as a subject in Standard Two and Class Four respectively.

By 1972 Chichewa, "modern" Chinyanja, had been declared the official indigenous language for Malawi.

Native Education Policy ²³

Despite the apparent ad hoc approach attempts were made in Nyasaland to formulate a workable education policy. Ideas of future amalgamation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland were

often in the background.

April 1935 saw a Governors' Conference of the three territories and, from that, a meeting of Directors of Education, "Native Education" in the case of Southern Rhodesia, was arranged. Governor Kittermaster sent a secret despatch to Secretary of State MacDonald, 31st July, outlining the results of the directors' meeting.

Plans for a common primary curriculum for the three territories could not go far because of the fundamentally different "native policy" of Southern Rhodesia compared with the other two. Briefly, in Southern Rhodesia Africans were regarded as helpers of Europeans and, accordingly, their education had to fit them for that role; they could not be trained to "take over." Northern Rhodesia had a mixed policy, in so far as there were areas with white settlers who wanted no competition for their jobs from Africans. Nyasaland, however, accepted that "one day" Africans would run their own country and affairs.

Concerning the aims of education Kittermaster made this astonishing statement:

"My Director of Education admitted that he did not know clearly what was the policy of this Government as it had never been clearly formulated."

The Governor then offered his own statement of policy:

"That this Government accepts the view that the prosperity of this Protectorate depends on the harmonious association of the European and the African ... That it must therefore be the policy of this Government to help this advancement by such gradual stages as may appear to it to be most advantageous to the African so that there shall be no obstacle to the ... eventual ideal of an African proving himself fit to undertake any form of work in the Protectorate."

Greenhill made the point:

"It is perhaps unnecessary to pay any particular attention to the 'confession' attributed to the Director of Education."

Calder, surprised, minuted Vischer, 19th September 1935:

"... Neither the Governor nor the Director ... knows the policy as regards native education. I was under the impression that the C.O. Advisory Committee had issued numerous pamphlets on native education policy." 24

Vischer made no comment.

Travers Lacey, however, had taken the trouble to detail aspects of policy that emerged from the Directors' Salisbury meeting:

"... We do not advocate the entry of students from the three Territories to British universities other than those of Oxford and Cambridge except for courses of an advanced or highly specialised nature, all of which can best be entered upon after a general degree in arts or science has been taken in South Africa."

To his credit, an unknown C.O. official has pencilled against this "Why".

A very scrappy primary curriculum was produced by the Directors for village or kraal schools in all three territories. No agreement was reached on when English should be introduced into the primary course nor as to which, if any, local language could be used as a lingua franca in all three territories. When the need arose to provide secondary education it was proposed that one school should be built in one of the countries to take all the students. On higher education:

"... When it (the demand) does arise we ... recommend that it should be met by facilities provided in Africa rather than by sending students oversea."

Colonial Development Fund: Jeanes Training Centre ²⁵

"... This appears to be another Nyasaland muddle."

K.A. Greenhill, 12th

February 1936.

The J.T.C. though a government institution was significantly supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The help came in the form of an initial three year grant.

Dr F. Keppel, of the Corporation, wrote informing K.L. Hall, Chief Secretary at Zomba, 25th October 1935, that the Board of Trustees had agreed to an extension of the grant for another three years from 1935/36; £ 10,000 to be paid annually, provided the Nyasaland Government made a "substantial grant" itself. The good news was tempered with a problem; whereas the old grant ended on the 31st December 1934 the new one did not start until the 1st November 1935; so, some form of bridging finance was required.

At the end of 1935 Kittermaster made a valid point that with or without Carnegie aid, a decision had to be made about

the future of the J.T.C. It is not certain if the Centre was quite what the Phelps-Stokes Commission had in mind when, in the 1920s, the Jeanes system of rural-teacher/supervisor training was recommended for parts of British Africa. However, the Governor told the Colonial Office that in the long run the Nyasaland Government would have to bear the full burden and there was a question about value for money. He considered the Domasi centre worthwhile and hazarded that £4,000 p.a. would be needed to cover all costs.

The correspondence on this matter continued into 1936, with a half promise that the Colonial Development Fund would provide £1,750 for capital expenditure, to help Nyasaland meet the Carnegie condition.

Only on the 6th May 1936 did S. Caine, Secretary to the Colonial Development Advisory Committee, write confirming the £1,750 grant.

When C.O. official J.A. Calder, 16th May 1936, asked if the U.K. Treasury would be prepared to;

"... consider favourably, in the light of the budgetary position as it may appear from year to year, the necessary financial provision from Government funds ..."

so that the J.T.C. could continue, the reply was guarded, giving no promises but hinting that sympathetic consideration might be forthcoming, when the time came.

Eventually Vischer wrote diplomatically to Keppel acknowledging gratefully the help provided by the Carnegie Corporation but tactfully indicating Nyasaland's "shoe-string" financial position with regard to the "missing months'" aid.

It transpired that a change in the accounting procedure at Carnegie had accounted for the gap in aid granting. The matter in money terms, £3,750, was soon rectified. Ormsby Gore sent the good news to the Governor, 11th July 1936 and Vischer sent a letter of gratitude to Keppel.

Education Department Staff

In a confidential despatch of 13th January 1937 to the Secretary of State, Ormsby Gore, Governor Kittermaster said that W.H. Crutchley, Superintendent of Native Education, had applied for permission to retire at the end of his forthcoming leave;

"... if an acceptable transfer is not offered to him before that date." 26

These words contain a hint of incompatibility because his Director, Travers Lacey, had certain fixed ideas about colonial service officers, as will be seen below.

Assuming that Crutchley would depart, and he did, Lacey drew up a job specification which was sent to London:

"The chief duty of a Superintendent of Education is inspection of schools, mainly schools for Africans. Subsidiary duties may involve teaching for short periods at the Government Jeanes Training Centre, conduct of examinations, translation work and preparation of simple textbooks. The candidate selected should be an Honours graduate of a British University, preferably of Oxford or Cambridge. (the writer's underlining) He must have the ability to learn languages as most of his work will be carried out through the medium of the vernacular. A degree or diploma in education is desirable though not essential. Inspection entails a lot of travelling and is strenuous work. The selected candidate should not be over the age of 35. Previous experience of African education would be of considerable service."

Intended mainly for consumption in Britain it gives a reasonable impression of the work involved. However, returning to the phrase underlined there is an enlightening minute of the file from J.C. Lloyd to F.G. Lee, 16th June 1937:

"Mr Lacey ... called on Sir G. Tomlinson on the 14th June, and afterwards had a talk with me about his staff. I have noted on the files of Mr Clegg and Mr Bowman what he said about them. 27 His principal general point was to stress the importance which, in his opinion, attaches to our selecting for appointments in his small Department men who are socially and in other ways likely to get on well with senior Administrative Officers. He had in mind in particular Mr Mason, 28 recently transferred to Nyasaland from Fiji who, he says, is a very worthy officer but not in temperament or personality a man who could easily conform to Mr. Lacey's plan of maintaining the best relationship between his Department and the Administration."

The ability to mix socially, often in the "club", with officers of varying ranks from different departments was more than just a pleasant or eccentric mode of behaviour. When funds were short or materials scarce things could often be "arranged" over a drink after tennis, and the job made that much easier. Administrative-, Agricultural-, Medical- and Education Officers were very alike, one team sharing the same

values and ethos, obtained or reinforced when they were cadets or probationers.

The conventional wisdom for some appointments officers held that, other things being equal, a public school education followed by residence at Oxford or Cambridge Universities equipped an officer best for that type of life where one was either left to depend greatly upon one's own resources in isolated stations or one worked as a member of a closely knit team.

Lloyd's minute continued:

"... I told Lacey that if he would see to it that any papers of particulars for educational vacancies in Nyasaland specified precisely the requirements etc. that he had in mind - and he was at liberty to elaborate these where need be by, e.g. semi-official letters to Major Vischer - we should always do our best to select a man who satisfied those requirements. At the same time - and he appreciated this - we had to cater for the legitimate aspirations of a scattered and varied Service, and in the particular case of Mr. Mason had been glad to take this opportunity to provide an outlet for an officer - in point of fact the only member of the Education Service who exactly filled the bill described to us - who had strong claims to advancement from the poorly paid office which he had previously held in Fiji."

Lacey took the point and, as a refreshing example of the fact that the Colonial Office, the system, did not always share the prejudices of some field officers, Lee noted, 16th June;

"Yes, I rather think that Mr. Lacey overstates his case, especially in regard to Mr. Mason. The latter struck me as a ... (hard to read; writer) very sound fellow. I should think that he would have no difficulty in getting on with Administrative Officers."

Educational Legislation

Keeping the peace and the preservation of law and order always figured as the main objective of the Administrative Service. In 1937 a situation not uncommon in the dependent territories came to a head in Nyasaland and, in one way, well illustrates the concept of administrative and technical or professional officers working closely together, not to forget the missionaries.

The matter began with a confidential letter sent to all Provincial and District Commissioners, from the Acting Chief

Secretary at Zomba, 16th January 1937. The significant quotations are as follows: ²⁹

"I have been instructed to inform you that the Governor views with some concern the increasing ill-feeling between European and Native adherents of rival Missions which has become very marked in certain districts, particularly in the Southern Province.

2. The proceedings of the District School Committees ³⁰ have revealed that Native Authorities and Headmen have become involved, often against their will, in this rivalry; Missionary representatives have brought accusations against each other, not only of contravening the Education Ordinance but also of resorting to various undesirable methods of bringing pressure to bear on adherents of a rival Mission. In many instances the District Commissioner, as Chairman of the District School Committee, has been placed in a very invidious position: he has been accused of partisanship and of agreeing with accusations which, it has been contested, have no grounds; and in some Districts fears have been expressed that the activities of rival Missions must lead to disturbance of village life and to breaches of the peace."

This reveals a further complexity of a D.C's job. The religious rivalries had an important effect on policy.

C.O. official H. Pedler explained, 9th June 1937, how the system worked. Converts from one mission would be sent to live temporarily in the area of another mission. The newcomers would open a school for their children, the numbers, in the first instance, being insufficient to require registration under the Ordinance. ³¹ The new fee-free mini-school would then attract children from the older established mission school.

A case involving the Montfort Marist Fathers' Mission and their attempt to open five new schools in the Chikwawa District, using the method mentioned above, brought the matter to a head. Monseigneur Auneau, ³² Bishop of the Shire, was drawn into this affair and he threatened to take the matter "much further". It would not have been difficult to make hindering a school mean hindering spreading the Gospel.

Kittermaster was present at the 76th meeting of the Secretary of State's A.C.E.C., 27th May 1937, and answered questions put by Lord De La Warr, Sir Donald Cameron, Mayhew and Dr Esdaile. The Governor explained that he wanted to introduce legislation whereby a Native Authority would be able to start proceedings ultimately halting the establishment of a mission

school. The complaint would go to the D.S.C. thence via the Director of Education to the Governor. If the latter wished to pursue the matter he would instruct the Provincial Commissioner to investigate the grounds for objection and, if reasonable, he would then forbid the establishment of the school.

When the Advisory Committee realised that the problem was political and not educational they wanted to have nothing more to do with it. The Secretary of State did not desire new legislation then and in the Colonial Office, one gathers, it was felt that Kittermaster was overreacting. There was a desire to lower the pressure. More information was requested from Nyasaland and, meanwhile, Greenhill "B.U'ed" ³³ the case until March 1938.

However, Governor Kittermaster was late returning from leave and then he was ill and so the matter rested for a while. The confidential despatch of 16th March 1938, to Ormsby Gore, re-opened the controversy. ³⁴ Commencing Kittermaster repeated the point that;

"... control over the opening of new schools ... is now not a matter of education only but of civil administration. You and your Advisory Committee concur with me in this opinion. ... as legislation exists at present, the only aspect of civil administration which can over-rule educational considerations is that of the grant of land on which to erect a school; I have been placed in the paradoxical situation of being compelled to assent to an application for a school on the one hand while I have refused, on the other, the application for land on which the school was to have been erected."

London had requested examples to illustrate the need for new legislation;

"... and in particular for instances in which a Native Authority has objected to the establishment of a second school in a village in its (sic) area and of cases in which attempts have been made to undermine the position of such an Authority."

Kittermaster continued by explaining that many missionaries, particularly the non-British, did not understand colonial policy in its objective of developing local self-government. It was felt that the chiefs were not mature enough to be given powers of authorising or not the opening of schools.

Furthermore, old fashioned religious antagonisms might be reawakened:

"... As you are aware, education and denominational evangelisation are almost synonymous terms in the Protectorate at present."

There are more than hints of the mutual hostility of colonial administrators and missionaries as the former's power was growing and the latter's declining.

Kittermaster thought most missions would not object to his legislative proposals which would not affect their educational activities. His main complaint was directed against the R.C.M. in general and the Montfort Fathers in particular.

The Colonial Office staff now began their comments. H.V.L. Swanzy, 5th April 1938, wrote:

"The missions, Catholic for the most part with strong views on sovereignty and determined power of infiltration have attempted in the last four years on numerous occasions to establish a school in areas under Native Authorities, regardless of protest from those Authorities."

C.A. Grossmith in a minute of the 19th August 1938 said there was no wish to upset the delicate balance between government and missionary societies but there were hints of irregular methods used to secure Native Authorities' support for opening schools. Giving more power to the Governor might be a solution;

"... But the problem is now purely an administrative one..."

Mayhew sent the file to Vischer who wrote, 21st September:

"I don't see any objections, and we can feel sure that the D. of E. would not recommend to the Governor any legislation likely to offend the Missions."

Sir Cosmo Parkinson himself wrote a minute to Lord Dufferin, 3rd October 1938:

"... The last thing we want is to create trouble for the Protectorate Government or ourselves with the missionaries... What the Governor wishes is that he should be able to take into account administrative as well as purely educational considerations when the time comes to decide whether or not a new school is to be established in one of the districts."

Grossmith, 8th December 1938, asked Mayhew's opinion on the Ordinance amendments. Mayhew replied the following day

to the effect that the Governor was seeking power to act without consulting his Advisory Committee if a District School Committee objected to the opening of a new school. He pointed out that all missions were represented on these School or Education Committees and then summed up:

"... The Advisory Committee's approval of the proposed amendment is conditional on the further consultation by the Government of all the heads of Missions ... It can be left to the Governor's discretion whether to consult the Missions or not."

The Education (Amendment) Ordinance, 1939, became law thereby increasing the power of the Governor to control the opening of new schools.

Secondary Education of Africans

This was a very long drawn out affair and covered the period 17th April 1937 to 12th October 1940 when the Blantyre Secondary School was opened. ³⁵

The demand for secondary education, on the part of Nyasalanders, went back at least to the Chilembwe Rising of 1915 but it was not until the three years mentioned above that action was finally taken. Much high-powered discussion took place and so much time was spent not only seeking for funds but also in pacifying denominational feelings.

Amidst the jungle of paper, at least four C.O. files were filled with this topic alone, the real decisions were sometimes obscured, although the processes were not. The identified protagonists were Acting Governor K.L. Hall, Sir Harold Kittermaster, the Reverends J.W.C. Dougall (replacing Oldham), J.E.L. Newbigin, W.G. Turner and Paterson, Lord Dufferin, Ormsby Gore, Mayhew, Cox and C.O. officials S. Seel and E.A. Boyd. C. Matinga joined Levi Mumba to give the African standpoint.

Ultimately, the realisation that the existing elementary school system could not provide the skilled African manpower needs of the Protectorate accelerated the decision to open the school.

The financial implications were such that Government emerged as the main provider of resources, although the B.S.S. was a Protestant foundation. On this point, balance was

restored when the Roman Catholic Mission opened its Secondary School in Zomba later.

But the real decision had not yet been made for these two institutions were classified as Junior Secondary Schools, that is, courses did not extend to the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate level.

The last word is left with Cox, 22nd December 1940:

"... I hope that an early decision will be taken on the question which of the junior secondary schools in the three territories (i.e. the Rhodesias and Nyasaland) is to be selected for development to full secondary status."

Notes and References: Chapter Eight

- 1 C.O. 525/116 file XF 7265
See also p 60 of Chapter Two for comments on the "Watchtowerites" and p 57 for those concerning the P.I.M.
- 2 C.O. 525/119 file 18222
See also pp 146-153 and 157 of Chapter Six for the I.M.C. material
- 3 C.O. 525/120 file 18295
- 4 See p 86 of Chapter Three
- 5 C.O. 525/121 file 20057
- 6 C.O. 525/130 file 33222
See also p 74 of Chapter Three
- 7 C.O. 525/123 file 33022
- 8 C.O. 525/124 file 33057
- 9 See pp 146-147 of Chapter Six for an explanation of the position of the Reverend Oldham.
- 10 Here "sub-standard" had a qualitative implication; see note 21 on page 171.
- 11 See p 72 of Chapter Three and p 152 of Chapter of Chapter Six for more U.M.C.A. views.
- 12 C.O. 525/125 file 33119
- 13 C.O. 525/129 file 33194
- 14 C.O. 525/136 file 33377
- 15 C.O. 525/144 file 34190
- 16 The word "redundant" would be used now.
- 17 C.O. 525/150 file 5441
See also p 166 of Chapter Six for missionary material and note 40 on p 173.
- 18 Elmslie, W.A.; Among the Wild Ngoni; Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier; 1899

- 19 Forty years later (1972) the writer was to find that non-Chichewa speaking northern students at the National Teachers' Training College, Lilongwe, were reluctant to use Chichewa in primary schools, when they were out on teaching practice.
- 20 Hardly surprising as they worked in Chinyanja speaking areas.
- 21 C.O. 525/158 file 44057
- 22 The phrase implying this was;"... Anyone who knows the Reverend W.P. Young or Dr Turner will realise that there is nothing of Archdeacon Owen about them - in other words, they are only too anxious to cooperate with and support Government in every possible way."
- 23 C.O. 525/159 file 44093
- 24 A reference to the A.C.E.C. memoranda, on various educational topics, issued over the years.
- 25 C.O. 525/159 file 44119 and
C.O. 525/163 file 44119
- 26 C.O. 525/165 file 44021
W.H. Crutchley, B.Sc., had been transferred to Nyasaland from St. Lucia and had arrived on 8/9th May 1932.
- 27 E.D. Bowman, M.B.E., M.A., B.D.; Principal of the Jeanes Training Centre, Domasi, near Zomba.
See p 86 of Chapter Three for early reference.
N.D. Clegg, Assistant Master at the J.T.C. He had transferred from the Agricultural Department in 1928.
- 28 T. Mason, B.Sc., Dip.Ed.; Assistant Master at the J.T.C.
- 29 C.O. 525/167 file 44070/2
- 30 District School Committees (later District Education Committees). These had, theoretically, existed since 1928 when the Governor appointed a D.S.C. in every district of the Protectorate. Originally intended as a means of developing education in the districts and of providing relevant information to the Governor's Advisory Committee on Education, the D.S.Cs. became, over the years, weapons for the in-fighting among the missions. Within two years of foundation the trouble had started, initially over the definition of a "school". See Nyasaland Protectorate; Report of the Education Department for the Year 1929; Zomba; Government Printer; 1930; p 5

- 31 See p 205 above for a brief account of the implications of the "numbers game" (Education Ordinance Revision section).
- 32 For a penetrating study of the Roman Catholic Missions and individual missionaries, including the exceptional Bishop Auneau see: Linden, Ian with Linden, Jane; Catholics, Peasants, and Chewa Resistance in Nyasaland 1889-1939; London; Heinemann; 1974
- 33 On this useful administrative technique for allowing second thoughts and saving face, see note 4 on p 197 of Chapter Seven.
- 34 C.O. 525/174 file 44070/2
- 35 C.C. 525/167 file 44070/3 and
C.O. 525/174 file 44070/3 and
C.O. 525/179 file 44070/3 and
C.O. 525/185 file 44070/3

General note on despatches: A despatch was an "official communication on State affairs" and concentrated, unlike a letter, upon one topic at a time. It was numbered, not only for reference purposes but also to assist rapid detection of a missing or delayed item.

C O N C L U S I O N S

Some Post-1945 Observations

The Phillips Commission ¹ passed two comments of some significance to local decision-making:

"... The mantle of paternalism has descended from the early missionaries on to the shoulders of a benevolent Government, with the consequences that there is little evidence of general communal initiative or positive desire on the part of the people to provide or maintain their own social services." ²

"... We have heard that in some areas public opinion is beginning to exert pressure on the Churches to surrender the proprietorship of their schools to the local government authority ... we have heard that some of the local Churches (that is, indigenous churches) are considering transferring the proprietorship of all their primary schools to local government authorities." ³

Before concluding, there is an event, the Cambridge Conference of September 1952, worthy of note although the relevant archives are at present still unavailable under the thirty years' rule.

This conference on African Education, that met in England from the 8th to the 20th September, 1952, was claimed by its sponsors to have been the first occasion, for a quarter of a century, when the whole groundwork of education in British (African) Colonial Territories passed under review. This was a reference to the 1925 Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa produced by a committee under the chairmanship of W.G.A. Ormsby Gore. ⁴

The gathering of African and European educationists, civil servants, academics and missionaries studied two important reports, viz., (a) the Jeffery's Report (West Africa Study Group) and (b) the Binns' Report (East and Central Africa Study Group). From their studies and deliberations came the document ⁵ that marked the end of an epoch and while not as specific as later Commonwealth Education Conference documents, Colonial Service cadets and probationers certainly found it a useful review.

As has been detailed in the chapters of this study the boundary between administrative service officers and education service officers, when it came to decision-making, was often ill defined and, especially in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the administrative cadre tended to be paramount. The Cambridge Conference of 1952 was of consequence in this respect also, in as much as the educationists were recognised as important in their own right. Sir Philip Morris, Conference Chairman, explained in the preface:

"... In other respects it (the Conference) was a break with the past. On previous occasions these conferences (on African affairs in general) collected together in Cambridge officials (mainly administrative service) working in African territories, and these officials were those who were on leave in this country at the time."

Morris also mentioned that one topic only, education, was the concern of the 1952 Conference.

The official machinery or framework of decision-making in The Gambia and Malawi had altered over the years and T.H. Baldwin Assistant Educational Adviser at the C.O., who attended the 1952 Conference had, the previous year, visited The Gambia and advised upon some long term administrative changes.

He suggested that the Education Department should be upgraded and the title of Director, for the senior officer, should be restored. At that time a Senior Education Officer was in charge. Not only was this change important from the point of view of internal status vis-a-vis other departmental heads, but it would help the country in its representation at international gatherings. Also, an old theme, The Gambia should cease to be regarded as an appendage to Sierra Leone.⁶

Unlike The Gambia, the Nyasaland Education Department was, by this time, a significant government instrument. The aims can be summarised as follows: The assumption by Government of its proper part in the educational system by the provision of sufficient trained staff, European and African, to afford guidance and control, and by direct participation in teaching by the establishment of schools of its own at the Secondary and Teacher Training levels. Educational surveys would be undertaken; salaries and conditions of service

for teachers would be improved.

Although by the early 1950s education officers occupied senior positions in the decision-making process, in the field the administrative officers tended to be "primus inter pares", for at district and province level, the chairmen of the development boards were, respectively, the District Commissioner and the Provincial Commissioner. Resulting from the post-1945 British development policy, dependent territories were recruiting growing numbers of technical officers who, when gathered together in local planning committees often, quite literally, "blinded the chairmen with science."

The Tanganyika Government was used as an example of attempted avoidance of conflict and tension.⁷ A circular of 1954 said that in order to avoid nonconformity at local level it was considered essential;

"... that departmental officers should act not only in close consultation with, but also under the general directions of the provincial and district commissioners."

Further, although the head of administration was respectively the P.C. and D.C. and thus in overall charge;

"... both administrative and technical officers should keep always in mind the fact that they are members of a single organisation and that they have a common responsibility to see that the public interest is well served."

P.Cs. were urged to hold regular meetings of provincial teams. Departments should, if possible, be located in the same building, or nearby, in order to cut down correspondence and to encourage "word of mouth" communication.

On the other hand Provincial Commissioners were told not to interfere directly with the routine management of the departments. This in itself may have been an over-reaction because some Directors of Education had less than orthodox approaches to the tasks of colonial education. The writer served under a D. of E. whose initial evaluation of an officer was how well he played cricket.

Conclusion

This study opened with a review of the functionings of the British Colonial Office. Of late there has been the general

comment on the British system, attributed to Sir Richard March, that we;

"... have a nineteenth-century system of government that is unable to fulfil a twentieth century managerial role." 8

Such criticism might be more appropriate in the sphere of nationalised industries for a comment attributed to Sir Arnold Weinstock runs:

"In government there are no criteria, no profit and loss accounts. Decision-making cannot be quantified."

Perhaps of more pertinency to this work is Edward Heath's:

"They (civil servants) have the wrong sort of good education - suitable for running an empire 80 years ago without nepotism or corruption; inadequate for running a great industrial nation today."

When Mayhew joined Vischer in the secretariat of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies a new, albeit somewhat irregular or eccentric, force was brought to decision-making. There is no reason to doubt that Mayhew felt some insecurity vis-a-vis the established civil servants, as the archives reveal. His most significant contribution was to remind all concerned that ultimately Africans will have to manage their own affairs and that the planning function of expatriates was limited in time.

The role of Africans, and people of African descent, in educational decision-making is by no means new and certain aspects of this have been scrutinized. There was the attempt to show that it may be more accurate to think of a world wide Africanness rather than individual national peculiarities common with European/Caucasian people. At that time, in terms of intellectuals, one needs to consider the continental basis upon which they existed, it was greater than generally considered. Both The Gambia and Malawi possessed indigenous intellectuals and potential policy makers not only during the period of this study but also from early on in this century.

Long before the Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah spoke of seeking first the political kingdom, many Africans realised the importance of achieving social objectives, in our case educational, through political control.

An anti-mission feeling, particularly regarding education had existed for a long time. Africans wanted a clearly state controlled education system, not even a local government controlled one was really desired.

The denominational controversies perplexed most Africans and the ensuing confusion was really a disservice on the part of the early European missionaries. Inevitably the colonial governments were drawn into some of the conflicts, especially if there arose a threat to law and order.

From the situation in Malawi we have seen how friction between the missionary societies and the government led to modifications in the administrative proposals of government. In Malawi in those early days it was really a case of the government being unable to enforce its regulations because the bulk of the educational finances were coming from missionary sources. In The Gambia there was similar though not identical friction. The organised and highly political Scottish factor was absent. Although Christian missionary activity had been organised in The Gambia since 1824, not forgetting the earlier but spasmodic Portuguese ventures, the missions were not such factors to be reckoned with as in Malawi.

Both countries were extremely poor and, at a time when colonies were supposed to be self-accounting and almost completely self-financing, the task of providing an educational service for the people, without mission help, was virtually impossible. Yet the foundations of a centralised system were laid, minute though the grants-in-aid were.

The linear account of the growth of the educational administrative structures of both territories reveals, over long periods of time, the influences and exertions of individual officers as decision-makers not only within the systems that they helped construct, in an ad-hoc way, but often despite the confines of those systems. Managerial skills were being developed and the individuality of the officer governed the pace. The following modern quotation summarises what they were groping towards:

"... Management is concerned with decisions on the alternative use of resources, and the implementation"

"of these decisions when made and with the assessment of operational effectiveness. Thus, education managers are involved both in the development of policies and in the strategies and tactics of carrying them into effect." 9

But the survey of administrative theory only helps to reinforce the fact that early educational practitioners were often struggling against forces they barely comprehended. The pioneer educational administrators were generalists, without specialist training and learning "on the job". We must judge these men against the background of their times with frequently unexpected "situations".

Today, training of administrators and inspectors/supervisors may help them to cope with these emerging situations and, hence, the attention rightly given to public administration study programmes in higher education. The training of the general administrator becomes longer, but there is the question is it really possible to train a person to function equally well in a ministry of education and also in a ministry of agricultural and fisheries? There must be an understanding of education and its role in society. The ability to analyse the present system of operation with the view of innovating where necessary is vital. Knowledge of the nature of organisations and the process of change may help administrators direct and implement change effectively. At the same time political reality and possibility must be understood and accepted if the administrator is to cope with all the various and varied pressures which attend change and innovation.

As this study reveals, the colonial administrators were by no means wholly conservative and, over the years, individuals can be identified for introducing innovations often of a fundamental and significant nature. But then as now the failure to recognise or, perhaps, to appreciate the dual nature of innovations sometimes nullified their efforts.

Administrative reforms are rarely limited to one sector but are applied to the whole of public administration; for example, the changeover from colonial servicing departments to independent servicing ministries involved all government

services. Thus, to a certain extent the isolation of educational matters is artificial. To give but one brief example. When the D.Cs. in early independent Malawi were, for a period, downgraded in status, this effected the workings of the local education authorities because the latter were deprived of "weight" of a key figure, their chairman the D.C.

But the structure, the system, the hierarchy, the cadre, comprises individuals and, in the final analysis, upon them all depends. Realising today what is involved in educational administration should make one less adversely critical of the actions of earlier generations examined in this thesis.

Barr Greenfield's "New Perspectives" go a long way in providing a conceptual framework for comprehending the decision-making process of the colonial administrators. His asserting the significance of the individual and the individual's conception of reality, rather than systems, receives support on contemplating the contents of the P.R.O./C.O. and I.M.C. files. Often an initial reaction is to query if two officials or missionaries are discussing the same phenomenon or conflict. Barr Greenfield's underlining the role of social science, namely, "discovering how different people interpret the world in which they live", provides some enlightenment.

Put another way, for most of the time conflict existed in the colonial educational world. Not, of course, that this implies its absence elsewhere. Rarely were the four significant groups involved, namely, the indigenous citizens, the missionaries, the colonial political administrators and the colonial educational administrators, engaged completely in a cooperative enterprise. One explanation could be that all had a different view of the situation, their concept of the reality was diverse, and they acted or reacted accordingly.

Decision-making theory is firmly based upon the individual and that very human activity, gambling. At whatever level, decision-making involves an element of gambling and making choices.

In the foregoing pages examples of decision-making in The Gambia and Malawi were investigated and the events must

speaking for themselves but one does become uneasy that many decisions were made without due regard to the limited theoretical framework of the times. On the other hand, the theoretical framework was primitive, hard to construct and apply. For example, it is fairly certain that most administrators, if they had read economics, would have been nurtured on Alfred Marshall's "Principles of Economics" ¹⁰ and Frank Knight's "Risk, Uncertainty and Profit" ¹¹; in neither text does decision-making, so named, appear in the indices. Choice, the selecting between alternatives, however, does receive consideration, although not as might be applied in modern public administration.

This leads to the observation that, as far as Britain was concerned, the academic study of public administration did not really develop until after 1945. Accordingly, this resulted in a somewhat haphazard individual ad hoc approach to decision-making although, as seen earlier, drawing upon a wide circle of opinion.

Upon consideration of the non-governmental personalities and influences on decision-making some tentative conclusions emerge.

Firstly, the inadvisability of seeking a common missionary policy is reasonably clear. Apart from the obvious Roman Catholic and the opposite Protestant groupings, within the latter there were many and varied attitudes of mind based, initially, upon doctrinal factors. Personal animosities among the missionaries were no less common than among other social groups. There was furthermore the factor of nationality. Despite an enforced comradeship of the First World War European missionaries in the 1920s tended to reflect the chauvinism of that era. Added to which was the continental European's somewhat natural antipathy towards secular central government.

Oldham, perhaps the most significant non-government figure, realised the weakness of the situation and endeavoured to unite all missions, with which he was connected, into an effective body with a common set of objectives.

Secondly, some examples have been highlighted in which individual missionaries or groups could sometimes change or modify government policy. Blustering was no more successful when used by such missionaries as Hetherwick as when used by any other person or group trying to attack the colonial "establishment". On the other hand, use of the "old boy network" with certain political overtones, stood some measure of success.

Thirdly, what of the Africans, for whose benefit government and missionary societies claimed to be working? The little data available suggests a situation that could not be called satisfactory. White folk were often somewhat insensitive to African's feelings, doubtless with good intentions but the irritation was real nonetheless. A few outspoken decision-influences have been identified in the pages above. In the final analysis the phrase "good government is no substitute for self-government" might well summarise the majority view.

In so far as the colonial governments had fairly clear aims and objectives, the non-governmental influences tended to be of a modifying rather than changing nature. From 1925 onwards the power of government grew and all concerned had to adjust but practical advice, tactfully given, could sometimes be effective and significant; and was often welcomed by hard pressed officials.

To a certain extent the investigation of governmental processes of decision-making in The Gambia and Malawi can be aided by H.A. Simon's (1947) notion:

"The need for an administrative theory resides in the fact that there are practical limits to human rationality, and that these limits are not static, but depend upon the organisational environment in which the individual's decision takes place."

The Colonial Office could be identified as an "organisational environment" not only in the physical sense but also in the abstract.

As it was convenient to London the Colonial Office was either the firm centre of an Empire or it was not. In reality the resources did not exist for effectively centrally

controlling a far flung empire nor for providing what was really needed, namely, a really efficient good career-structured Colonial Service. However the system worked, London ruled. It worked because the worst thing that could befall a colonial government was for the U.K. Treasury to take-over the running of its affairs. This happened if, for too long, a colony's budget was in deficit. Such a predicament reflected badly upon the administrative expertise of senior officials. Hence the reference to London in cases of unforeseen financial demands.

Thus, no matter was too small for the Colonial Office to examine. The examples from The Gambia reinforce this and despite the somewhat naive ideas of men, high placed like Sir Frank Stockdale¹² serious attempts were made to make education more relevant to the needs of the Gambians but there were too many breakdowns in communications, particularly between the colonial authorities in Banjul and the local leaders. But, it must be repeated the classical financial accountability was upheld; no matter how much sympathy or understanding an official might have, no money meant no services. Before the implementation of Keynesian economics after 1945, public finance was conceived very differently from the inflation-based systems of today.

Kelly (1974) wrote:

"The most important thing to know about organizations is that they do not exist - except in people's minds."

This opinion emphasises the social rather than the physical properties of organizations or, in our context the officials, missionaries, laymen in social relationships. In Chapters Six, Seven and Eight one can be impressed by the general painstaking care of the Home Civil Service officers in the Colonial Office. We can identify the decision-makers, they were part of a system it is true but they, not an abstract structure, did the work. Furthermore, an individual's conceptual framework helped provide part of the system that, in the long run, changed with new ideas and models. A dynamic individual knew how to use the system.

This would mainly explain the time spent in recruiting the right type of individual to fit in with the mini-establishment's concept of the acceptable person. Acceptable in the sense of reinforcing the system's image and function.

Perhaps, in the final analysis, the significance of the individuality of administrators is manifest as policy can be seen not to come at a stroke but to evolve gradually over a period of time as the administrators interact with each other. The officials made their decisions typically in the light of existing values and attitudes. Only hindsight gives their decisions the semblance of pre-conceived theories and structures.

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- 2 Phillips, p 63
- 3 Ibid., p 118
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- 8 These recent criticisms are from: Wolff, Michael; The Government machine; part 3: the Civil Service; article; The Times; London; Thursday 27th May 1976.

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" 1824 "	1936	" "	; 1937
" 1885 "	1937	" "	; 1939 (sic)
" 1902 "	1938	" "	; 1939
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" " 227/1/X12002	" " 238/1/2357
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" " " 12/12115	" " 241/14/33070
" " " 19/12129	" " 242/1/33003
" " 229/12136/3	" " 243/5/33083
" " " 7/12144	" " 244/33019
" " " 14/12171	" " 245/33115
" " 230/8/12223	" " 246/9/33038
" " 231/12259	" " 247/33070
" " 232/12280	" " 248/6/33038
" " 233/12317	" " " 7/33038/1

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" " 235/12403	" "/253/33038/1
" " " 12397	" " 254/33194/1
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323 Malawi

C.O. 525/116/XF7265	C.O. 525/157/44030/1
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" " 136/33377	" " 170/44204
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" " 146/34245	" " 185/44070/1
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" " 152/25324	" " 187/44253
" " 153/25352	" " " 44283
" " 155/25428	" " 190/44070/1
" " " 25441	

Archival Material (ii)

Protestant Missionary Society files belonging to the International Missionary Conference (later Council), Edinburgh House, Eaton Gate, London, now transferred, for reference, to the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

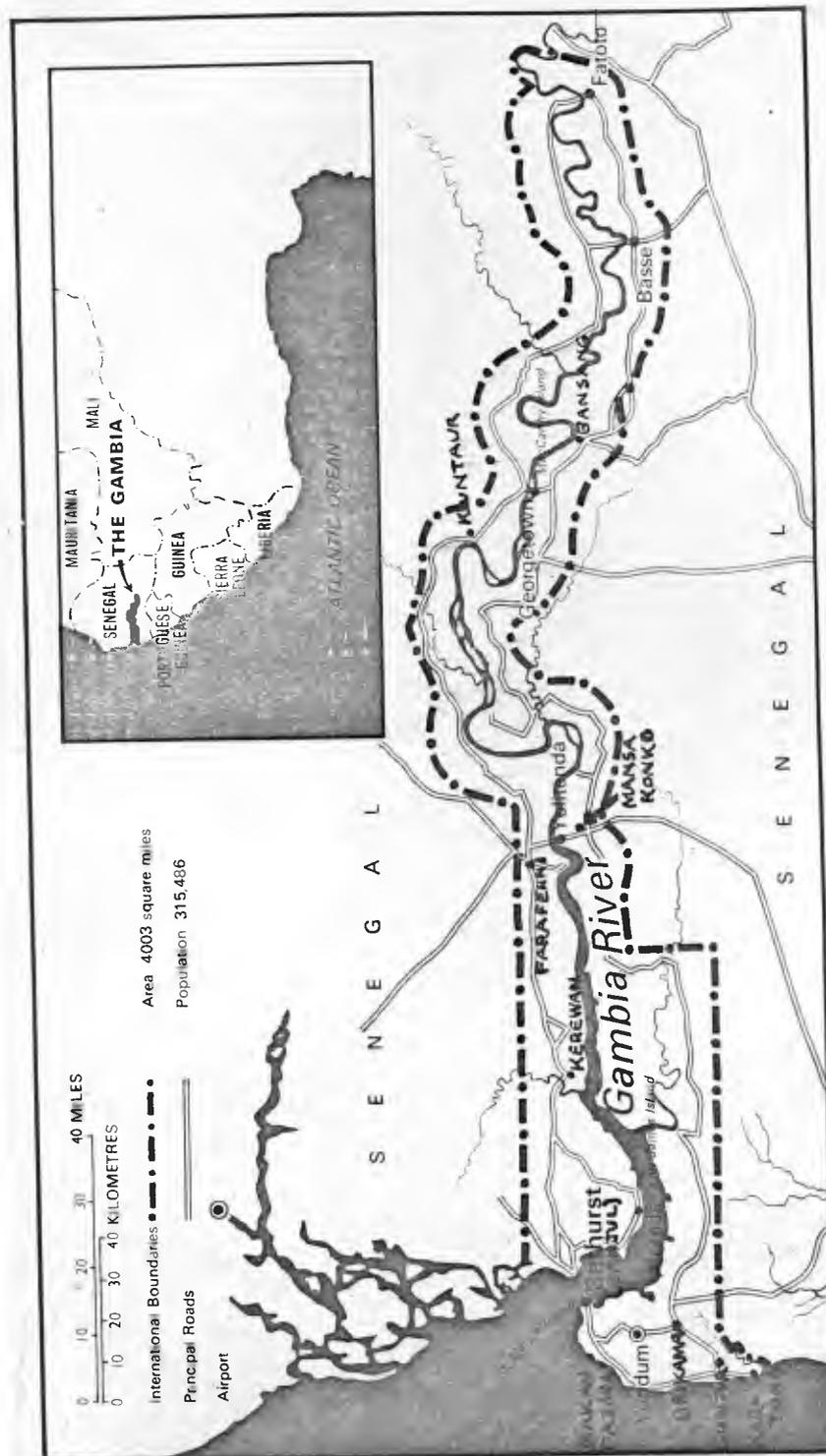
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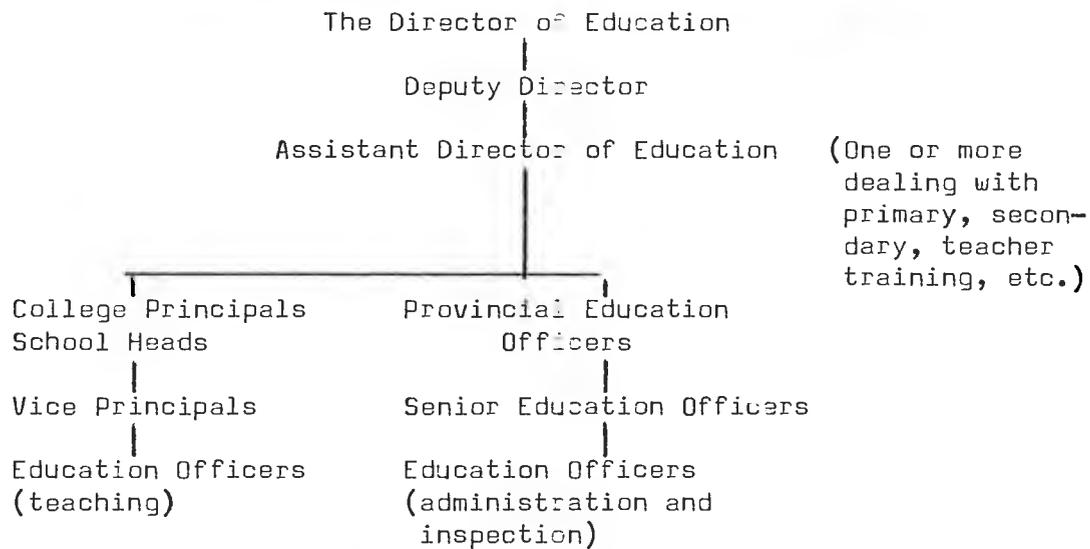
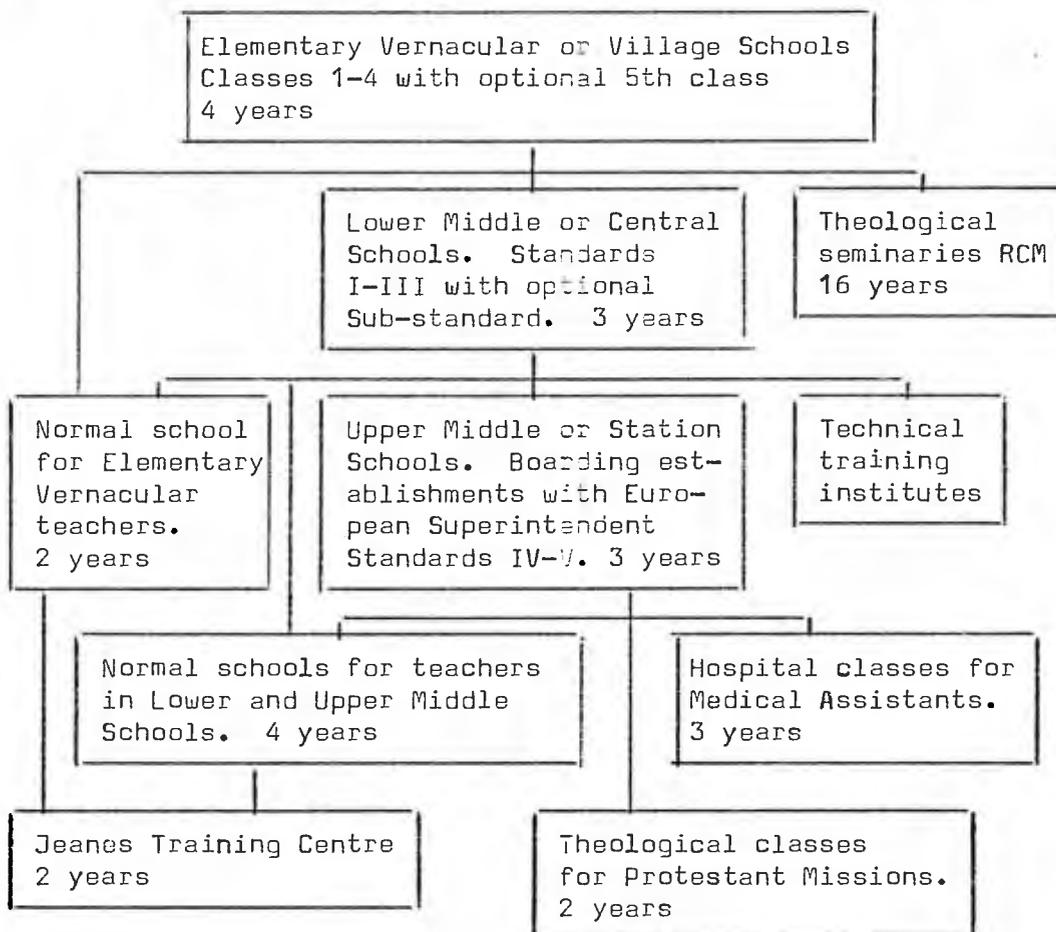
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APPENDIX NO. I

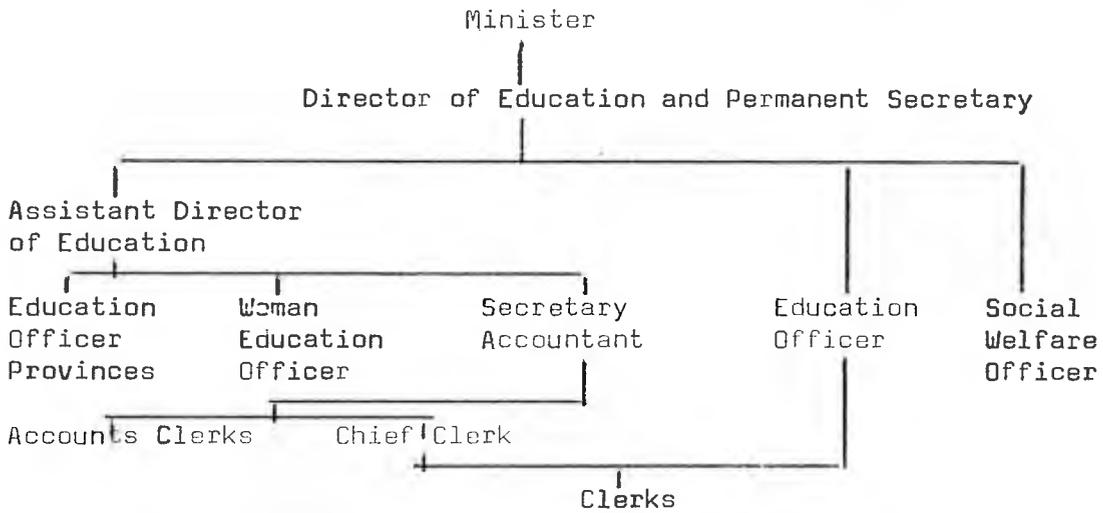
MAP OF THE GAMBIA



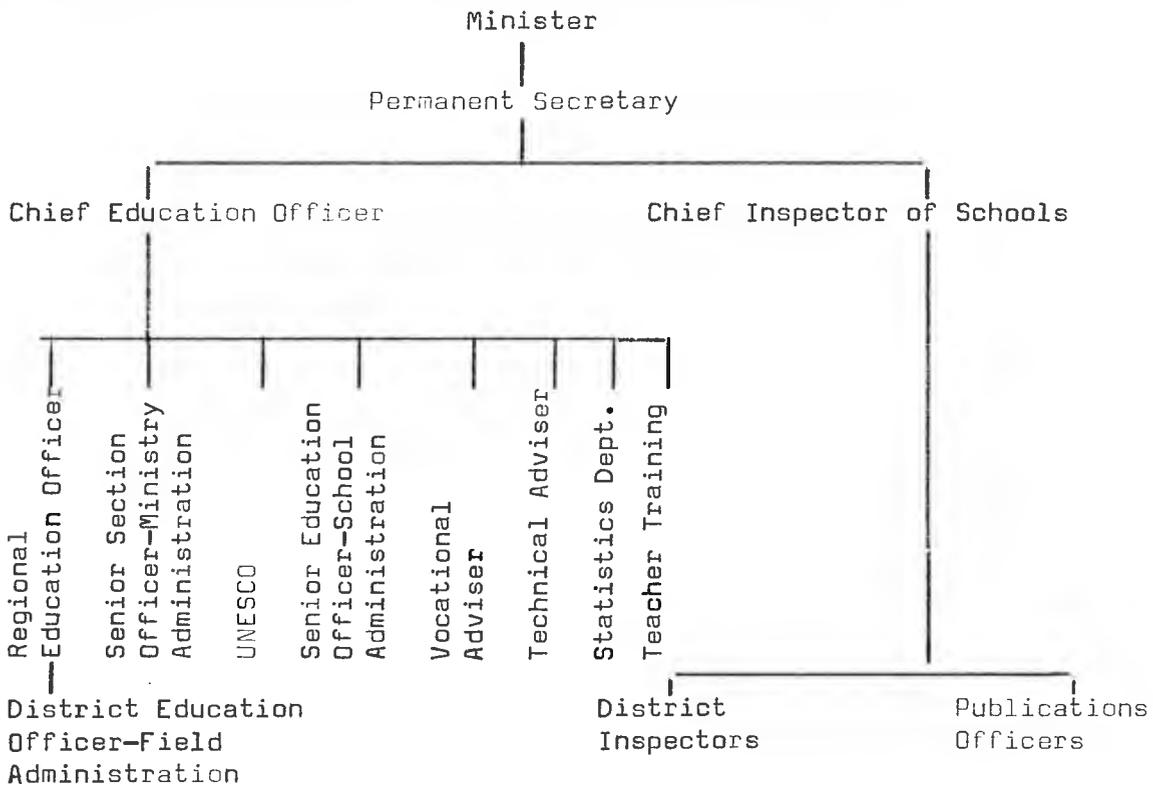
APPENDIX NO. III

A TYPICAL HIERARCHY IN THE COLONIAL EDUCATION SERVICEOrganigram of the Nyasaland Protectorate African School System 1932

ORGANIGRAM OF THE GAMBIAN MINISTRY OF EDUCATION 1965

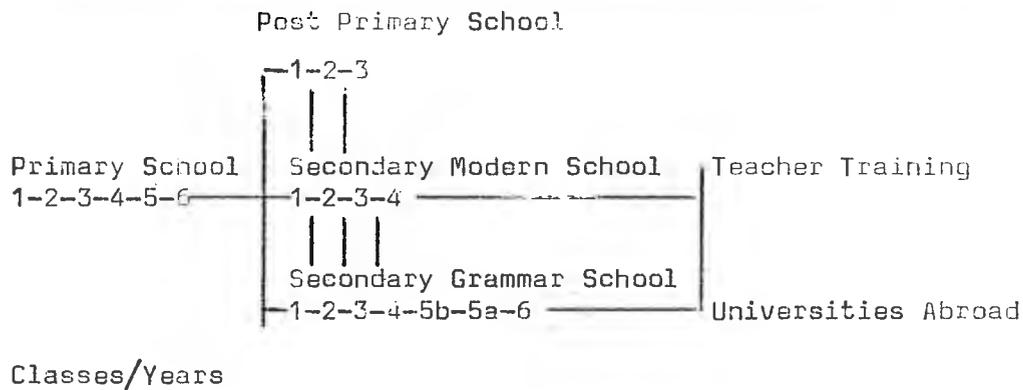


ORGANIGRAM OF THE MALAWIAN MINISTRY OF EDUCATION 1965

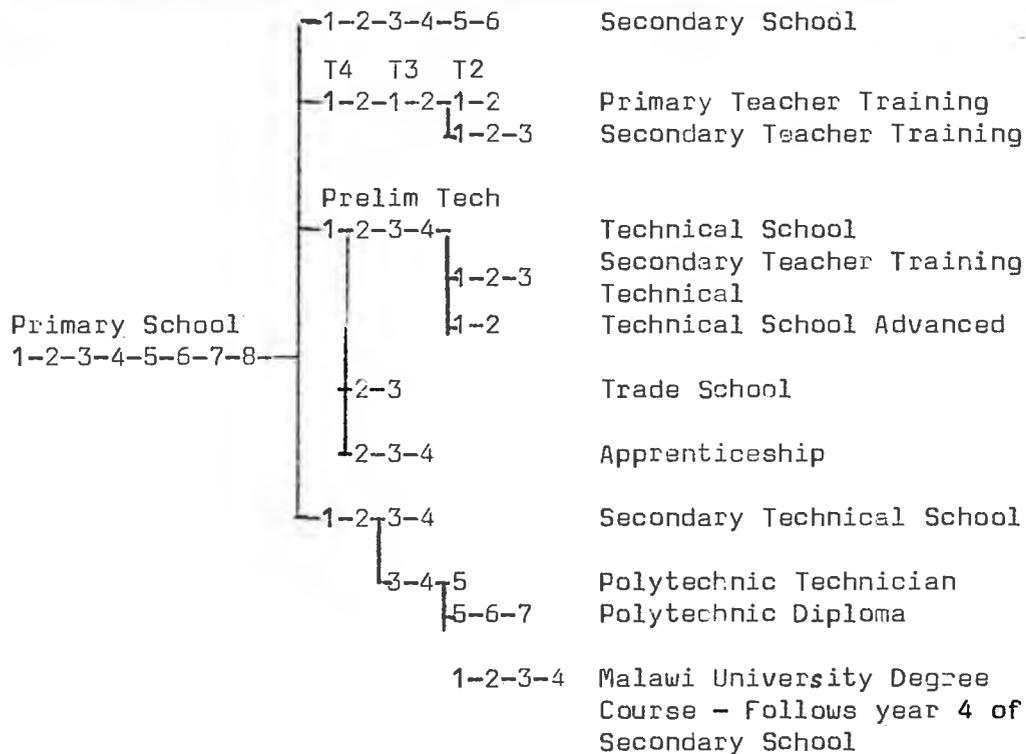


APPENDIX NO.V

ORGANIGRAM OF THE EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE GAMBIA 1965

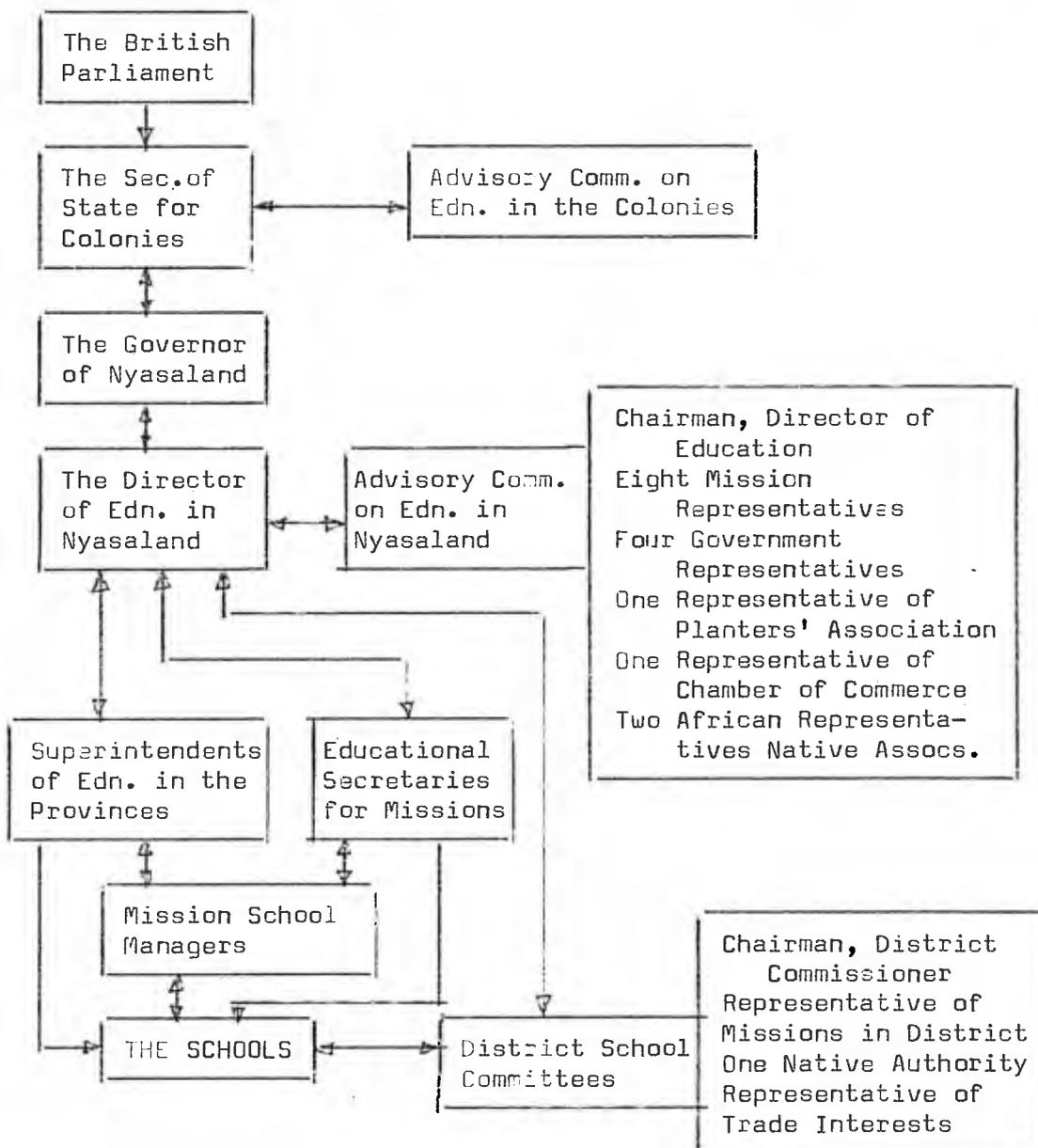


ORGANIGRAM OF THE EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE OF MALAWI 1965



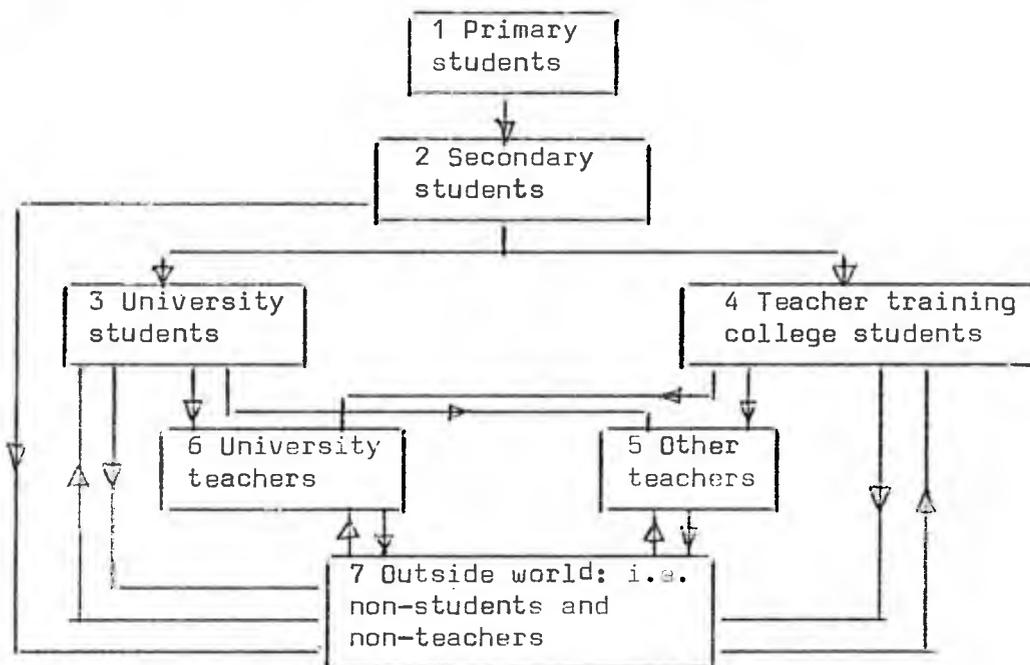
APPENDIX NO.VI

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL OF EDUCATION IN NYASALAND PROTECTORATE (AFTER STEYTLER (1939))

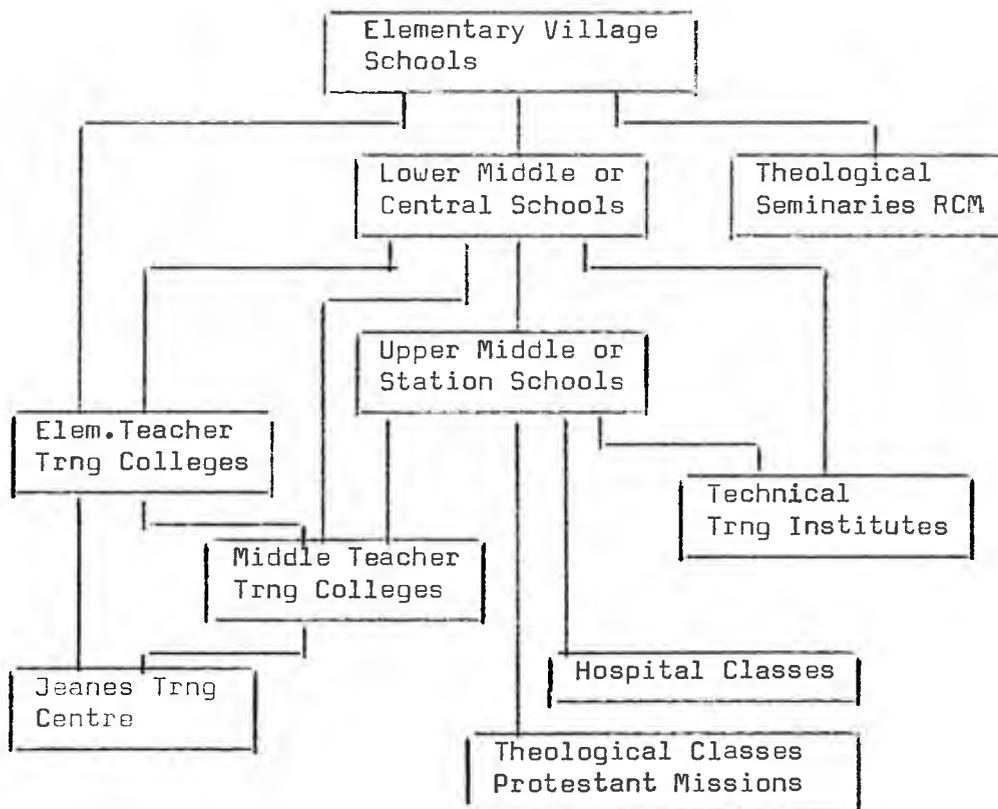


APPENDIX NO. VII

Flow Chart of the British-type Educational System
Indicating a Simple Non-Problematic Situation

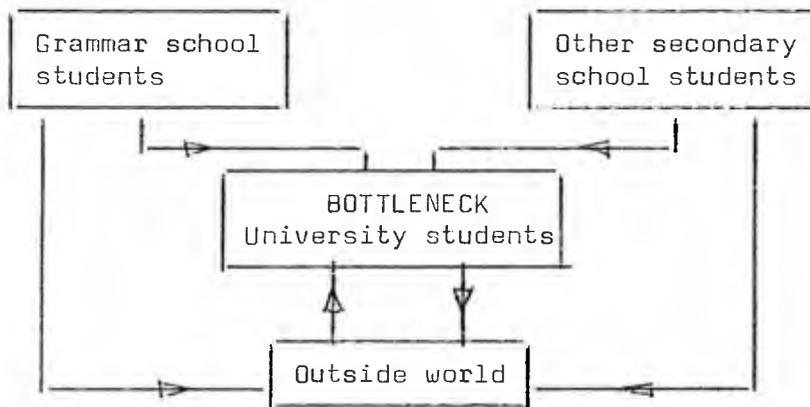


The writer has found no flow chart for the period under consideration although below is a "diagram to illustrate the relationships existing between Primary Schools and other Vocational Training Institutes for Africans" in Malawi in 1933. No directional arrows were provided but they may be surmised:

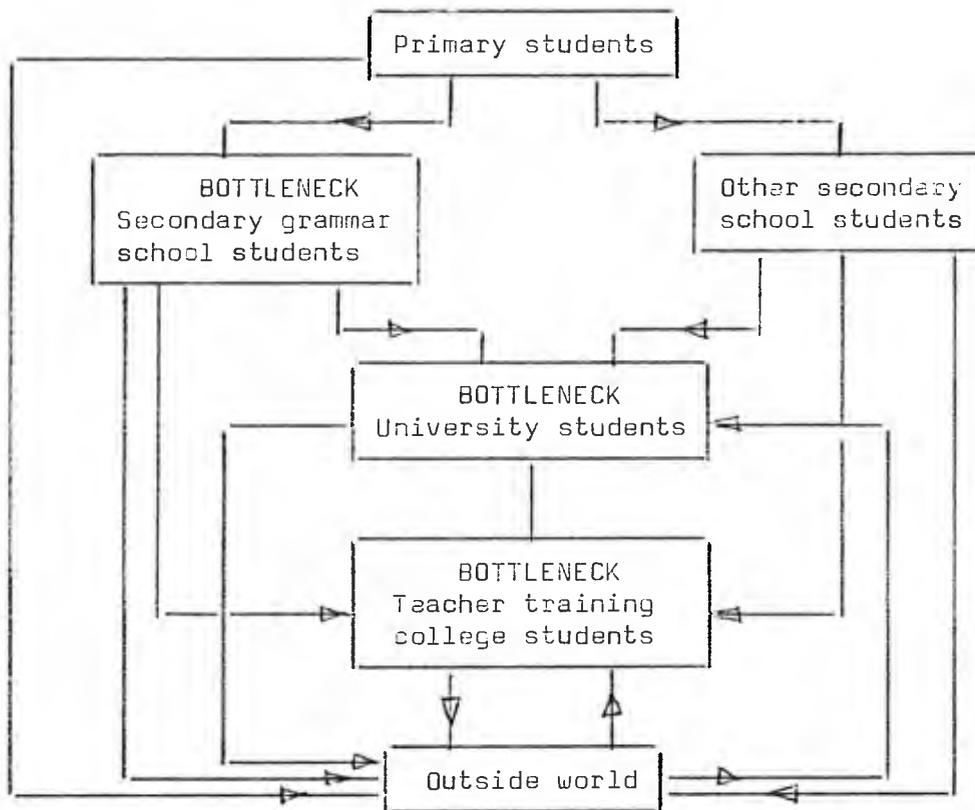


APPENDIX NO.VIII

DIAGRAMS ILLUSTRATING THE CONCEPT OF "BOTTLENECK"



The real situation is usually more complicated, thus:



Both diagrams indicate, through arrow directions, the second chances into universities or teachers' colleges.

APPENDIX NO. IX (1)

GOVERNMENT FINANCE: THE GAMBIA

IN £ STERLING

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL REVENUE</u>	<u>TOTAL EXPENDITURE</u>	<u>EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION</u>
1925	189,086	271,836	na
1926	214,181	213,643	1196 (2)
1927	252,419	277,625	1421 (2)
1928	255,385	250,596	1448 (2)
1929	235,265	289,506	9875
1930	216,739	253,228	9667
1931	184,825	227,487	10592
1932	206,132	196,015	8504
1933	231,787	180,061	7239
1934	221,564	174,663	8831
1935	245,485	194,669	9413
1936	257,180	209,000	6630
1937	285,204	243,323	5364
1938	166,749	263,199	6205
1939	151,744	205,889	4106 (3)
1940	203,753	198,633	3470 (3)
1941	247,197	208,453	3907 (3)
1942	407,753	295,311	3765 (3)
1943	475,910	425,940	4775 (3)
1944	523,908	526,023	7002 (3)
1945	587,004	430,729	22863

(1) With reference to the data provided in Appendices Nos. IX and X it should be noted that during the Second World War the detailed Colonial Office or Education Department reports either disappeared from publication or shrank to one or two sheets devoid of statistics.

(2) Only grants-in-aid statistics available.

(3) Excluding official salaries and administrative costs.

Source: Colonial Office and Education Department Annual Reports

na = not available

APPENDIX NO.X

GOVERNMENT FINANCE: MALAWI

IN £ STERLING

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL REVENUE</u>	<u>TOTAL EXPENDITURE</u>	<u>EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION</u>
1927	346,341	266,519 (1)	6128
1928	378,123	407,377	11509
1929	372,508	410,688	12184
1930	442,663	428,900	13200
1931	482,500	501,975	17792
1932	530,931	505,800	16080
1933	541,181	528,361	15927
1934	560,552	571,674	15982
1935	648,844	622,874	16833
1936	798,426	754,217	17389
1937	1,029,933	1,002,548	18786
1938	842,626	810,261	21430
1939	817,485	805,637	21442
1940	na	na	na
1941	na	na	31500
1942	na	na	34747
1943	na	na	32631
1944	1,029,283	1,032,195	36096
1945	1,916,205	1,771,184	42350

(1) In this year (a) The Education Department was established, and (b) the financial year was changed from April to March to January to December. The figures given here are for April to December.

Source: Colonial Office and Education Department Annual Reports

APPENDIX NO. XI

EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS: THE GAMBIA (1)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SCHOOLS</u>	<u>TOTAL ENROLMENT</u>	<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>
1925	5	1300	na	na
1926	6	1570	na	na
1927	6	1795	na	na
1928	6	1604	na	na
1929	6	2164	1581	583
1930	6	2295	1699	596
1931	6	1853	1233	620
1932	6	1765	1191	574
1933	6	1719	1174	545
1934	6	1609	1071	538
1935	6	1952	1350	602
1936	6	1856	1256	600
1937	6	1796	1212	584
1938	6	1698	1154	544
1939	6	na	na	na
1940	6	1725	1228	497
1941	6	1674	1136	538
1942	6	1795	1132	663
1943	6	1606	1091	515
1944	6	1776	1230	546
1945	6	na	na	na

(1) These figures refer to the five Affiliated Schools and the one Mohammedan School in Banjul, for most of this period the only regular schools in The Gambia.

Source: Colonial Office and Education Department Annual Reports

EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS: MALAWI (1)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SCHOOLS</u>	<u>TOTAL ENROLMENT</u>	<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>
1927	2788	na	na	na
1928	2562	138,299	80,590	57,708
1929	2552	89,915	53,772	36,143
1930	2666	72,165	44,696	27,469
1931	2934	137,639	na	na
1932	2920	135,035	na	na
1933	3153	145,100	89,239	55,861
1934	3360	170,661	101,356	69,305
1935	3524	180,425	104,329	76,096
1936	3973	193,139	111,059	82,080
1937	4112	196,825	114,052	82,773
1938	4171	206,257	119,628	86,629
1939	5058	206,451	119,156	87,295
1940	na	206,451	na	na
1941	na	197,490	na	na
1942	na	167,228	na	na
1943	na	183,307	110,216	73,091
1944	na	216,322	133,393	82,929
1945	4244	210,209	127,288	82,921

(1) These figures refer to the assisted and unassisted elementary schools.

Source: Nyasaland Colonial and Education Department Annual Reports