FAILURES OF THE WELFARE PROMISE: RACE AND EDUCATION

IN BRITISH AFRICA

by

Jakob G. Olson, B.A.

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Committee Members:

    Caroline Ritter, Chair

    Bryan Glass

    Kenneth Margerison

    Rebecca Montgomery

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Description
AET	African Education Trust
AIM	African Inland Mission
ANC	African National Council
AAPSO	Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization
CMS	Church Missionary Society
FLS	Front Line States
IITA	Institute of Tropical Agriculture
KISA	Kikuyu Independent School Association
NDP	National Democratic Party
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PAMECSA	Pan African Movement of East, Central, and South Africa
PF	Patriotic Front
RF	Rhodesian Front
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UANC	United African National Council
USSR	United Soviet Socialist Republics
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZUPO	Zimbabwe United People's Organization

I. INTRODUCTION

Colonial state education was just one aspect of the overall process of development within the British empire. The interest in state education gradually increased from the beginning of the interwar period until decolonization, along with the ever-evolving meaning of colonial development. At first colonial development was conceptualized as a way of improving the economic potential of the empire, in which the British would receive all the benefits from the resources and labor of colonized people. This style of development was first introduced into India and Africa during the late nineteenth century continuing into the early twentieth century. It required some level of investment from the British government in the form of loans to colonial administrations to improve the economic output of a given colony. However, this changed near the start of the interwar period after Lord Lugard introduced the idea of indirect rule for non-settler colonies to reduce colonial expenditures.[1] Due to the financial limitations of colonial governments using indirect rule, education was not a priority in most colonies throughout the interwar period; instead, colonial officials tended to focus more on improving the economy to better finance any development plans such as railroads and harbors to increase trade.

The role of the colonial administration during the interwar years was not focused on development in terms of social welfare but instead was understood to improve revenue through taxes on Africans to support the costs of the government.[2] Unfortunately for the British government, this system was extremely stressed during the depression of the

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[1] Stephen Constantine, *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy, 1914-1940* (London: Frank Cass,1984): 11-16; Helen Tilley, *Africa as a Living Laboratory: Empire, Development, and the Problem of Scientific Knowledge, 1870-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011): 21-24.

[2] Michael Havinden and David Meredith, *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its Tropical Colonies, 1850-1960* (London: Routledge, 2002): CHS 2–5.

1930s since it removed most of the colonial governments' ability to develop anything at all, while they were forced to downsize the number of projects in response to limited funds. As a result of the negative effects of the depression, the imperial understanding of colonial development shifted leading up to World War Two. The major shift in imperial development was the government's top priority being colonial revenue instead of trying to slow the spread of disconnect due to poor living conditions. Throughout the interwar period, it became increasingly clear that the social and economic issues generated so much unrest that the only solution was government interference with the implementation of welfare programs.[3] Without proper government interference, British officials worried about losing control of their colonial possessions. One of the most important welfare programs was the expansion of state education following the Colonial Welfare and Development Act of 1940.

Colonial state education had been around in one form or another from the start of the colonial period, although it did not receive much support from the metropole or colonial governments until the interwar period. Throughout the early period of colonial rule, the European style of education for Africans was extremely decentralized, had minimal external pressures for reform, and was driven by the metropole. However, from the start of the interwar period until decolonization, individuals concerned with education both in the metropole and the colonies completely changed the system and altered the imperial understanding of development. During this period of education reform and expansion, several important questions arise on the overall nature of education

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[3] Constantine, *British Colonial Development*, ch. 9; Nicholas Wescott, *Imperialism and Development: The East African groundnut scheme and its legacy* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Curry, 2020): 7-8.

development within the British empire. How did education reformers react to outside pressures, did these reforms start with information from the metropole to the colonies or vice versa, did the system become more or less localized with regards to the new policy, was the development of the welfare empire planned, or did it naturally develop, and finally, to what extent did race factor into the quality and access to education throughout the empire?

The historiography of colonial welfare and development has already addressed several of the questions listed above. For the first two questions, several studies have examined the role of experts in determining colonial policy.[4] These experts came from different parts of the Western world and worked both in and outside of the metropole. Due to the wide range of places these experts came from, it is clear that the British government welcomed outside support from other industrialized nations. Not only do these studies show the willingness of the British government to accept outside help, but they also indicate that the information these reforms were based on came from a combination of information from both the metropole and the colonies. Another group of scholarship concerning colonial policy addresses the next two questions.[5] These studies examined the development of colonial education policy and determined that most

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[4] For examples see Joseph Hodge, *The Triumph of the Expert: Agrarian doctrines of development and the legacies of British colonialism,* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007); Helen Tilley, *Africa as a Living Laboratory: Empire, Development, and the Problem of Scientific Knowledge, 1870-1940,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

[5] See Henry D'Souza, "External Influences on the Development of Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa from 1923 to 1939," *African Studies Review* 18, no. 2 (1975): 35-43; Clatworthy, James. *Formulation of British Colonial Policy, 1923-1948*, (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press, 1969).

colonial education became more localized, and that the development of the welfare

empire was not planned until 1940.

　　　While previous studies on colonial education address most of these questions in

their own way, there has been very little focus on how colonial officials' views on race

impacted the development of the welfare system. One reason for this oversight is that

most studies on the welfare state and colonial education tend to cover either one colony

in-depth or attempt to conclude an overview of the entire empire. Instead of using either

of those methods, this study focuses on both the development of education policy from

the metropole and the implementation of policy in several colonies. The three case

studies that will be examined are the Gold Coast (Ghana), Kenya, and Southern

Rhodesia. Each of these case studies reveals different ways that race negatively impacted

the development of the colonial welfare system, which led to the system's ultimate

failure. The purpose of this study is to show how paternalistic control over Africa

subjects, colonial officials' views of racial difference, and international aid negatively

impacted the development of colonial welfare for Africans in both non-settler and settler

colonies.

　　　Before continuing onto the study, several key concepts need to be defined,

including "civilizing mission," liberal imperialism, development, and welfare. The

"civilizing mission" was the justification for early colonial powers and missionaries to

claim control over Africa during the late nineteenth century. Colonial powers such as

Britain and France claimed to use their trusteeship over African colonies to provide the

quickest route to modernize Africa by spreading Western values such as Christianity and

capitalism. As for the missionaries, they genuinely believed in the "civilizing mission" as

a way to help the conversion of Africans to Christianity. Education played an important role in the "civilizing mission" since it was the foundation for transferring Western culture to Africa. Schools provided colonial governments a place to train Africans to best fit their economic needs while ignoring the needs and wants of local communities.

Second is liberal imperialism, being the political justification for the "civilizing mission." It was the idea that the British empire would be a benevolent force to aid those in need, but it did not stay that way. The original goal, based on liberal ideas, was to eventually let colonies become independent nations that would have beneficial trade relationships with the United Kingdom. However, throughout the nineteenth century, these ideas shifted to a racial and gender-dominated discourse that showed British superiority and justified the continued presence of British officials by differentiating themselves from colonized people. These differences were the basis of allowing the universalist language of liberals to be overlooked in order to continue their occupation. The major contradiction of British rule over colonized people was that for all the "civilizing" work done, these people would never be equal to Europeans and allow an ever-evolving justification of British rule.[6]

Next is development, which is being used to refer to government investments that improve the functionality of the economy or the implementation and expansion of a given system. Development includes infrastructure, industrial and agricultural subsidies, and education. When thinking about British colonial education, the meaning of development is that education was offered originally as part of an economic agenda to strengthen British control. Education is part of economic development since the British needed to

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[6] Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

have trained lower-level employees for European business ventures to cut labor and government administrative costs.

Finally, welfare is defined as a statutory procedure or social effort designed to promote people's basic physical and material well-being in need. Welfare when thinking about British colonial education is that it highlights the acceptance of responsibility of the colonial government for the physical and material well-being of African subjects. Welfare essentially became the early twentieth-century version of the "civilizing mission" before the British took full responsibility in 1940. Through the colonial welfare system, colonial governments agreed to provide Western-style education and other social services such as medical care and labor control to acknowledge British authority within the colonies. Education is a social service since it increases the social mobility of individuals in society for the betterment of themselves and their community. Colonial governments used the early education system to train clerks and assistants to help officials more effectively run the empire. These concepts are crucial to understanding the failures of the colonial welfare system since they are the foundation of European education within Africa.

Development of the Welfare State in Britain

The first half of the twentieth century saw the rise of the welfare state in Britain and later, to a lesser extent, in the empire. Several factors influenced Parliament to develop and expand government control over key aspects of society, such as education and healthcare. These factors include the development of new social and natural sciences, economic turmoil, and foreign competition. Examining the changes to the British

education system highlights how the welfare state was established in England and why there was little effort in educational development throughout the empire during this time.

At the start of the century, the British education system was inefficient and woefully unorganized. The primary cause for the organization issues was that all of the education authorities worked independently of each other. In 1895, the Bryce Commission examined the state of secondary education. However, due to the lack of a centralized authority, they were unable to determine which schools are considered either elementary, secondary, or technical. Many elementary schools were offering a varying degree of education that allowed some of them to claim status as both elementary and secondary. Schools that were able to claim both were generally located in large cities and offered classes in subjects such as advanced mathematics and natural sciences. After discussing the organization issues, the Bryce Commission recommended reorganization of the education system with local authorities being responsible for secondary and technical education, with a central authority to supervise secondary education for the country being the first priority. Creating a central authority in education would be the first major development in education and a step towards the rise of the welfare state.[7]

In response to the Bryce Commission, the British government created the Board of Education Act of 1899. This board started operations in April of the following year with only a supervisory role over education, with no real power to improve the overall system. It was constructed by the merging of the Education Department, the Science and Art Department, as well as some members of the Charity Commission. Combined, these Departments represented the first central education authority in England and Wales,

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[7] James Curtis, *Education in Britain Since 1900*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970): 9-15.

albeit with little control. One of the few powers the board received was the ability to inspect any schools offering secondary education if they chose to be inspected. Even within this power, it highlights that the central authority could only proceed with the approval of local authorities. Another important aspect of the Act was the creation of the Consultative Committee, which was designed to advise the Board of Education whenever it was called upon. With the establishment of the Board of Education and the Consultative Committee, the government had only begun to improve the education system until they were ready to pass the Education Act of 1902.[8]

The Education Act of 1902 continued to improve the education system based on the Bryce Commission's report. However, unlike the Board of Education Act, this Act focused more on the organization and development of secondary education in local authorities. Prior to the education act, local authorities were generally run by independent School Boards, overseeing two or three schools and voluntary school managers. There were over 2,500 School Boards and over 14,000 bodies of voluntary school managers, all in direct contact with the Education Department, resulting in an inefficient system when communicating between the schools and department. This changed with the Education Act of 1902, where School Boards were abolished and replaced with County Councils. These County Councils were staffed by former members of the School Boards and voluntary school managers. As a result of this change, the Board of Education had to deal with only 318 local education authorities rather than thousands of smaller entities. The second key improvement this Act made was that local education authorities were encouraged to supply education other than just elementary. This was the first instance

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[8] Curtis, *Education in Britain Since 1900,* 25-26.

since the Bryce Commission that any effort had been put into reforming secondary education. Allowing local authorities to offer varying levels of education continued the systemic problem of vertical organization in education, which a strong central authority could only fix.[9]

The vertical integration issue that plagued the British system was the lack of standardization in secondary education. One influential figure that significantly improved secondary education was Robert Morant. Morant was instrumental in drafting the Education Act of 1902 and earned his place as Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education in 1903. Throughout his tenure as Permanent Secretary, Morant was able to write several papers on how to improve the education system. Some of these papers include; *Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers*, *Code for Public Elementary Schools,* and *The Regulations for Secondary Schools*. While these papers laid the foundation for systemic improvement, it was not until the Education Act of 1907 that anything changed. Slowly, schools would improve their standardization under the board of education's supervision; however, this would eventually lead to previously unforeseen issues. One of the most important changes from this Act was the establishment of the Free Place system, which forced schools not to restrict entry to students based on religion and that secondary education was accessible to all classes in the community. This condition shows the foundation of universal education in England since secondary education is no longer based on class. Meaning, lower-income families would be able to gain new levels of education previously inaccessible to them due to cost. As for the final

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[9] Curtis, *Education in Britain Since 1900,* 36-39.

improvement from the Act of 1907, it set up the School Medical Services as part of the need to maintain and improve the physical condition of the nation.[10]

Part of this improvement of the national physical condition was the Education Provision of Meals Act of 1906, which enabled local authorities to provide food but did not require it. Both the introduction of school meals and medical services were an expansion of the welfare state in Britain since it was government control of healthcare and nutrition within schools. The development of the welfare system during the early part of the twentieth century was spurred on by the development of a new national understanding of the social, in which the connection between economics and politics was becoming clear. This new understanding of the social can be contributed to the professionalization of social sciences such as psychology, sociology, and natural sciences, like nutrition. Technocrats from each of these fields influenced the development of the welfare state in their own ways. Dietitians made their impact by studying the best diet to maximize physical and mental production, which sociologists then used to develop policies such as the Education Provision of Meals Act of 1906. The influence of technocrats is a core aspect in the development of the welfare state for both education and healthcare.[11] With the introduction of healthcare in schools, the welfare state continued to expand slowly during the next couple of decades.

The 1910s saw a marginal improvement to the development of the welfare state through the expansion of education, school-provided meals, and healthcare. Due to the onset of World War I, a large number of school-age children lacked home supervision

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[10] Curtis, *Education in Britain Since 1900,* 50-52;62.

[11] James Vernon, "The Ethics of Hunger and the Assembly of Society: The Techno-Politics of the School Meal in Modern Britain." in *The American Historical Review* vol. 110, No. 3 (June 2005): 700-702.

due to the parents helping with the war effort by working in factories or war service. In response to this issue, the government first tried to encourage schools and voluntary associations to offer evening extracurricular activities for children to provide healthy recreation and amusement. However, this was not the only improvement made due to the lack of parental supervision. The Education Provision of Meals Act of 1914 extended the previous Act to cover holidays as well and removed the restriction on the cost of the provisions. A few years later, the government would pass the Education Act of 1918, which had two major impacts on children. The first was that all children were required to attend school from the ages of five to fourteen, at which they could leave school at the end of the term when they reached the appropriate age. As for the second major change, the Act stated that no children under the age of twelve should be employed, and those between twelve and fourteen had restrictions on the days and hours they could work. Overall, these two acts show the increasing interest in the government providing security for the children of the nation and the ever-continuous expansion of the welfare state.[12]

The influence of the technocrats grew throughout the 1920s and 1930s as the Consultative Committee was increasingly called upon to provide advice on educational development. During World War I, the committee was suspended but revived in July 1920 with Sir Henry Hadow as chairmen. Throughout these two decades, several reports would shift what the British believed to be the nature of education. The first step in this process was the Consultative Committee report on the *Education of the Adolescent* in 1926, also known as the Hadow Report. This report's goal was to remove the word "elementary" from the discourse on education and extend what "secondary" meant. At

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[12] Curtis, *Education in Britain Since 1900,* 75-78.

the time of the report, secondary schools were generally just grammar schools, while anything else was considered a central school, with no clear designation and technical schools. The Hadow report recommended replacing "elementary" with "primary" and restricting it to education that ends when the student is eleven or twelve. After primary education, students would start secondary school, which included the current secondary schools, central schools, and senior departments at larger elementary schools. Secondary schools were reorganized into two different groups: grammar schools and 'modern schools,' while technical schools were still left out of the new scheme. Modern schools had two major differences compared to grammar schools; the first was that they offered a simplified education compared to grammar schools and generally ended when students turned fourteen or fifteen instead of eighteen. With these changes, education in England was finally starting to form the idea of universal education. At first, it was just for primary schools and some modern schools, but it would eventually expand to universal education for everyone.[13]

There were several more Hadow reports in the 1930s which focused on technical schools and infant schools. These reports explored the best methods for incorporating these schools into the existing structure and the standards for each. In 1934, the head of the committee changed from Hadow to Sir Will Spens; under his control, the committee would produce one final report that would lay the foundation for the Education Act of 1944. The Spens Committee's *Report on Secondary Education with special reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools* written in 1938 highlighted the changes in educational opinion since the Hadow reports. Unlike the 1926 Hadow Report, the Spens

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[13] Curtis, *Education in Britain Since 1900,* 90-92.

report advocated for a tripartite organization for secondary education instead of the grammar school and modern school scheme. It would maintain the two schools already in use and add technical high schools to secondary education. These new schools would offer vocational training for students starting at eleven until they turned sixteen, allowing students to enter the workforce with some training. The report also criticized the curriculum and examination system used by grammar schools. Overall, the importance of this report was the idea of mandatory attendance for students until the age of sixteen for all secondary schools and the inclusion of technical high schools as secondary education. However, due to the outbreak of World War II, most of these recommendations were not implemented until later. These reports greatly altered how the British understood education and promoted the idea for universal education for students between five and sixteen and continued to reorganize and improve the education system.[14]

Near the end of World War II, the British government was able to act on the recommendations of the Hadow, and Spens reports when it passed the Education Act of 1944. There are several important aspects of this Act; the first is that it acted on several recommendations from the Consultative Committee, such as raising the mandatory age before leaving school to sixteen. However, the most important aspect was the replacement of the Board of Education with the Ministry of Education. Unlike the Board of Education, this new Ministry was a strong central authority in the implantation of education. Instead of only having a supervisory role, the Ministry had direct control over the national policy in education, allowing it to force local authorities to improve their schools' quality or curriculum. Another major change was the abolishment of the

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[14] Curtis, *Education in Britain Since 1900,* 107-110.

Consultative Committee, which was replaced by two Central Advisory Councils for Education, one for England and the other for Wales. And the final change was that the idea of secondary education for everyone was finally established. The Act removed all fees related to secondary schools, making it universal. Not only did all secondary education become universal in 1944, but so did school provisions and medical checks. The Education Act of 1944 marked the final step in the process from state-assisted education to state-controlled education.[15]

Over the course of the first few decades in the twentieth century, education had slowly transformed from an unorganized mess of School Boards and volunteer managers running unstandardized schools supported by the government to a clearly divided education system based on age and type of education. These changes highlight not only the development of English education but also the expansion of the welfare state. The education system slowly moved from state assistance to state control with strong central authority while also adding the inclusion of free meals to students and medical checks. With the expansion of these social services, Britain changed from a capitalist economy to a mixed economy with a strong social-service network within the newly formed welfare state. Although education was not the primary driving factor for the development of the welfare state, it shows a unique insight into how technocrats were able to influence the system and expand welfare by focusing on issues such as hunger and poverty. However, while these societal advancements were taking place in England, the education system in the colonies was still underdeveloped and unable to keep pace with the British system due to contradictory views on education and race.

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[15] Curtis, *Education in Britain Since 1900,* 120-122; 135.

The process of education reform during this time period was not localized to just England; a similar process developed in other industrial nations such as the United States. Generally, these reforms were intended to modernize the state bureaucracy by making it more efficient, which can be seen in the centralization of education. These reformers and reforms tended to take a corporation as a model and sought to implement top-down control by experts to impose order.[16] The centralization of education and other forms of bureaucracy made it easier to standardize education across a large area, making the citizens of a given county have a baseline understanding of the society they lived in.

Moving on to the organization, this study's organization is designed so that each chapter overlaps with the next chronologically in order to highlight the changing nature of colonial education and welfare throughout the imperial period. The first chapter discusses educational policy development from the metropole and African critics of the overall system. This chapter is used to frame the discussion of educational systems in each colony compared to the educational policy laid out by officials in London. Although colonial officials generally acknowledged the policies dictated by London, there was more often than not a divergence between imperial education policy and the actual implementation and development of imperial plans. This divergence between metropole and colonial officials resulted in an extremely uninformed education system throughout Africa based on a number of different factors. The three major factors were the presence of settlers, colonial officials' views on race, and international aid. Each case study in the following chapters highlights and examines a different factor to better understand the

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[16] David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974) 126-147.

failures of colonial welfare. This chapter also discusses major African critiques of the colonial education system during decolonization. Due to the lack of written African sources on colonial education, these works will broadly represent African views.

Chapter two examines the education system in the Gold Coast as a control non-settler colony to compare with settler colonies such as Kenya and Southern Rhodesia. This chapter examines early European education endeavors in West Africa and state education in the Gold Coast during the interwar period. It is important to compare the development of both non-settler and settler colonies together since the presence of European settlers dramatically impacts the quality and access of education for Africans. In non-settler colonies such as the Gold Coast, colonial officials faced different internal pressures on the education system than settler colonies, such as needing trained professionals. Due to the lack of Europeans, colonies in West Africa generally had higher quality of education which was based on European literary education over industrial or agricultural education. The higher quality of education was not offered out of benevolence but instead rooted in the empires' need to have educated Africans for low-level economic and administrative positions within the colony. While the expansion of state education in the Gold Coast was progressive for the time, the use of indirect rule as a style of administration weakened the overall welfare state in non-settler colonies. The inherent paternalism of indirect rule placed a ceiling on African education based on colonial officials' views of racial difference.

Chapter three switches the focus from non-settler colonies to settler colonies by examining how race relations and missionary cooperation with the colonial government in Kenya negatively impacted African education. The purpose of this chapter is to

examine the racial views of colonial officials and settlers as a way of highlighting how their views negatively impacted the development of African education and the welfare state in Kenya. It is critical to understand the ramifications of colonial officials' racial views to determine how impactful they were on the development of the welfare state within settler colonies. Starting with settler and missionary views on education at the start of the interwar period, it is possible to see the foundation of a racially segregated tripartite school system that benefits Europeans over Indians and Africans. In settler colonies, race played an important role in determining the position of an individual with the society, which in turn determined their access to the welfare state. Throughout the interwar period up to Kenya's independence, there were several instances where the colonial government, in cooperation with missionary societies, failed to provide adequate educational reform for African students. Instead of providing progress reforms, colonial officials just expanded the segregated school system resulting in the creation of several independent school systems. The rise of independent schools throughout the colony during the interwar period illuminated state and missionary education failures due to their restrictive curriculum. Colonial officials' prejudiced view of racial difference weakened the development of colonial welfare for Africans even after World War II, which instigated a violent independence movement. Race was the primary reason for the underdevelopment of colonial welfare for Africans in Kenya, but it was not the only issue to disrupt the welfare state in settler colonies.

The final chapter, which looks at Southern Rhodesia, builds on the failures of colonial welfare in settler colonies by examining the role of international aid and how the international community impacted independence movements during decolonization.

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Southern Rhodesia, like Kenya, was built upon a segregated society that allowed race to dictate access to the colonial welfare system. However, unlike Kenya, officials in Southern Rhodesia relegated most of the African education to missionaries and philanthropic organizations while using colonial resources only on European settlers. Along with philanthropic organizations, other government and industrial groups offered aid through funding and other resources to 'develop' colonies all across Africa. Not only did these governments and organizations impact the development of colonial welfare in settler colonies, but they also played an important role as part of the international community in many African independence movements. Examining the role of the international community better contextualizes the goals and grievances of African independence movements. Highlighting African grievances show that independence movements in Southern Rhodesia were pushing back against European imperialism and the failures of colonial welfare.

Each of the case studies examined throughout this study focuses on a different failure of the colonial welfare state, including paternalist control over African subjects, prejudiced views of racial difference, and the role of international aid. Starting from the beginning of colonial rule until the end of decolonization, African education was never centralized or funded enough to successfully implement a strong colonial welfare system. The only explanation for these issues is the racial difference since, during the same time period, the British government had established a centralized and universal education system within the United Kingdom.

II. BRITISH COLONIAL EDUCATION POLICY

There are several reasons why colonial education in Africa failed to keep pace with its British counterpart. These reasons ranged from the British officials' differing views on education, their attitudes about race, and the reluctance to accept responsibility for African education. During earlier phases of imperial expansion, the British used the ideology of liberal imperialism under the guise of a "civilizing mission" as a justification for the rule over colonial peoples. However, this ideology slowly shifted over the nineteenth century from an idyllic "civilizing mission" into an excuse for continued occupation based on race and economic power. This shift can be seen by examining the education policy in India and how it influenced future education policy in Africa. Then, following the shift from the "civilizing mission" towards exploitation during the interwar period, a second shift occurred during World War II. The second shift moved colonial education away from exploitation and back towards its original goal of African progress. However, unlike the nineteenth-century "civilizing mission," the twentieth-century colonial welfare state actually tried to improve the lives of Africans, albeit too late to prevent the end of British colonial rule.

Education Policy in India

The early education policy in India resembled that of most British colonies in that there was little to no government investment in education. As a result of the Charter Act of 1813, early education was left mainly to missionaries living in European ports throughout the subcontinent and the East India Company. This act allowed missionaries to travel to India to preach Christianity and teach English, while the Governor-General of India was allotted 100,000 rupees from the British East India Company's surplus to spend

on educational printing in several languages. These early colonial representatives were there to either make a profit through trade and economic investment or to spread Christianity. Both groups believed in the liberal mission of "civilizing" Indians to raise India into an independent nation to be a potential trade partner with the United Kingdom. Unfortunately, as time went on, the British thought less of eventually granting independence and instead used liberal imperialism as the primary justification of their rule by differentiating themselves from Indians through race and culture. Due to these differences, they reasoned, no matter how "civilized" Indians became, they would never be equal to Europeans. This way of thinking made it easy for the British to justify remaining in control. The 1813 act laid the foundation of state education in India since it was the first time Parliament assumed the responsibility to provide colonial education for non-European subjects.

The development of Indian education was a slow process throughout most of the nineteenth century. Following the Charter Act of 1813, the next major piece of legislation was the English Education Act of 1835 passed by the Council of India. This act stated that all higher education should be taught only in English and only using Western teaching methods. The main impetus for the act was Macaulay's Minute on Education. This was the last piece of propaganda in a series written for Lord William Bentinck in the fight on education policy. Thomas Macaulay wrote the seminal text to influence the Governor-General to fix the issues he saw with the Charter Act of 1813, mainly speaking out against higher education offered in different languages. Before 1835, several state-supported colleges offered a more traditional education using Eastern teaching methods

and vernacular languages.[17] The English Act of 1835 is significant because it highlights the first shift in the liberal mission. Instead of offering a Western education in vernacular languages, British authorities forced Indians to learn English as the only advancement. By making clear distinctions between Eastern and Western education methods, the British were able to justify their rule until everyone was educated. However, there was little to no funding for education, making it nearly impossible to meet their supposed goal. Over the next fifty years, there would be little progress on education development, except the growing idea of universal primary education.

The idea of universal primary education in India started shortly after the English Education Act of 1835. The earliest proponent was a missionary named William Adam in 1838. While studying the state of vernacular education in Bengal, he reported that universal primary education would be an important way to increase government influence and that every village should have a school. Ultimately, his proposal was rejected because it cost too much, and the government opposed the idea of mass education rather than education for the elites. William Adam was not the only person to try and get universal primary education in India; two more attempts were made in the 1850s by Captain Wingate and T. C. Hope.[18] Although these attempts all failed, it shows the growing interest in establishing universal primary education and reveals the lack of financial investment and central control of the British education system. In the 1880s, the colonial education system continuously lagged behind its British counterpart.

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[17] Elmer H. Cutts, "The Background of Macaulay's Minute," *American Historical Review* 58, no. 4 (1953): 845-846.

[18] Ajit Mondal, "Free and Compulsory Primary Education in India Under the British Raj: A Tale of an Unfulfilled Dream," *SAGE Open* 7, no. 3 (Jul. 2017): 2-3.

Following a series of acts starting with the Elementary Education Act of 1870, which implemented compulsory primary education in England, Indian education advocates addressed the Indian Education commission in 1882. Indians called for similar legislation and facilities throughout India. This call to action was dismissed by the commission due to lack of financial assistance from England, despite the fact that they asked local authorities to manage any schools possible. Even after multiple failures, Indians kept pressing for universal primary education. Their movement gained strength by making it a key part of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Over the next several decades, the movement continued to grow until the passage of the Government of India Act of 1919. This legislation allowed Indians to manage their education system; however, they were still not in control of the colony's treasury, making it difficult to implement any large-scale plans.[19]

The development of the Indian education system highlights the changing nature of liberal imperialism. Starting as a simple system that promoted education throughout the subcontinent, the education system slowly became an increasingly oppressive system of control. By only offering higher education in English and not providing funds for universal education, the British were able to make a system where mainly elites benefitted. It is important to understand the nature of this shift since it played a key role in the development of educational policy in Africa since officials learned several lessons. British authorities felt India served as warning against investing in higher education throughout Africa due to fears of nationalist agitation seen in the Indian National Congress. However, the most important lesson that colonial officials learned was that

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[19] Mondal, "Free and Compulsory Primary Education in India Under the British Raj," 3-6.

differentiating themselves from colonized people through either race or culture was an effective way to justify their rule. As important as the British thought these lessons were, they were not the only influence on educational policy in Africa.

Finding a New Education Policy for Africa

Before World War I, the education system in Africa was primarily controlled by missionaries, and a few universities spread over the continent with no government support. Similar to India, there was no interest from Parliament in investing in the development of education in the colonies other than to train a small group of loyal elites to help them manage the colony. However, unlike India, British colonial authorities in African colonies did not have control over their education policy. This distinction meant that after World War I, India could freely control their education if Indians could pay for it, while Africa was left to the whims of British officials in each colony.

After several decades of colonial rule and missionary-based education in Africa, colonial officers realized that they needed to increase their efforts in offering government controlled and financed education. More education was required with the ever-increasing need for administrators as the colonies grew. This new education policy was influenced by the American South and promoted by the Phelps-Stokes Fund. The Phelps-Stokes Fund was an American philanthropic group that launched the African Education Commission in 1920. This first commission, led by Thomas Jesse Jones, had six members, including education specialists and anthropologists. Jones's commission was tasked with observing educational institutions and practices in some of Africa in order to make recommendations to the Advisory Committee on Native Education. Several years

later, Jones led a second commission to investigate Africa education throughout the rest of the continent.[20]

Before Dr. Jones led the African Education Commission, he worked as an educational advocate for African Americans in the United States. During his time in the United States, he developed a racial hierarchy for education that put Anglo-Saxons at the top while African Americans and immigrants were delegated to lower tiers. Jones believed that his hierarchy was scientifically sound and that people on the lower rungs of society would understand their place without any disagreement. However, he also mentioned that through education the people on the lower rungs could eventually "mature to the next state."[21] While he believed in social mobility, Jones also rejected both the ideas that African Americans were inherently inferior and that they were equal to whites. These prejudiced views on African Americans heavily influenced his report on African education since he was trying to establish the same system from the US South throughout Africa, namely an education system based on assumptions about race and education which he believed to be scientifically sound.

Under Jones' leadership, the commission visited several parts of Africa when conducting their surveys. Their reports analyzed the economic and sociological background of the people and country for each colony. They also recorded the number of schools founded by each missionary group and the government. In the first report, which focused primarily on West Africa, the Gold Coast was viewed favorably at first, stating that "its people… its capable governors, its effective missions, have all contributed to the

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[20]Michael Omolewa, "Educating the 'Native': A Study of the Education Adaptation Strategy in British Colonial Africa, 1910-1936." in *The Journal of African American History* 91, no.3 (2006): 269-270.
[21] Donald Johnson, "W.E.B. DuBois, Thomas Jesse Jones and the Struggle for Social Education, 1900-1930." in *The Journal of Negro History* 85, no. 3 (Summer, 2000) 80.

success of the colony."[22] However, the report also mentioned several areas that needed improving and recommended the best course of action. The first issue that was mentioned in the report was that out of 300,000 school-age children; only 35,000 were currently in school. A second major issue was the lack of trained African teachers. Jones recommended a three-step process to better the education system. First, he instructed the colony to increase the number of teachers in the colony by offering a living wage so that it would attract talented students to further their education. The second was to increase the number of children enrolled in schools. The final step was to increase the professional class in the colony by training doctors and lawyers. Overall, however, the report determined training a professional class to be a low priority, though, and instead suggested focusing on agricultural or rural education.[23]

During Jones' second trip to Africa, he visited Kenya and Southern Rhodesia to conduct a similar survey. Throughout his records, Jones mentioned several issues with colonial education that were also present in the Gold Coast, such as lack of teachers, low attendance rates in Kenya, and the need for increased cooperation between missionaries and the colonial government. While there were similarities between the three colonies' early education systems, Jones also addressed one additional issue: how race could potentially impact African welfare. In his discussion on Kenya regarding Europeans' and Indians' impact on education, Jones stated that: "These non-Native residents have sometimes been thought to be dangerous liabilities and sometimes invaluable assets in the

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[22]African Education Commission, *Education in Africa: a study of West, South, and equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission, under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and foreign mission societies of North America and Europe report prepared by Thomas Jesse Jones*. 1922, 141.
[23]African Education Commission, *Education in Africa: A study of West*. 1922, 142-144.

progress of the Colony and especially in the welfare of the Natives."[24] He believed that

the presence of multiple races could either work in favor or to the detriment of Africans

based on the attitudes of those in power and their willingness to provide social services.

However, based on what the commission saw in both colonies, Jones was optimistic

about colonial education when he stated that "The serious consideration now accorded to

Native welfare and education in Southern Rhodesia promises much for the future."[25]

Jones expected that the settler colonies would invest heavily in African welfare to

provide social services such as education and healthcare. Unfortunately, Jones and the

Education Commission missed one important insight: colonial officials did not want to

take on the responsibility for African education and instead preferred to leave it in the

hands of missionaries.

Overall, the African Education Commission effectively addressed the primary

issues with European education in Africa at the start of the interwar period. The

commission's recommendations for each colony generally focused on increasing the

number of qualified teachers, increasing school enrollment, and the promotion of

industrial education. While the commission outlined different steps for each colony to

improve the education system, one recommendation for all of British Africa was the need

for cooperation between government and missionary societies. It is important to note that

while the Education Commission expected there to be an extension of the welfare state in

settler colonies, the commission also supported the decentralization of education. Having

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[24] African Education Commission, *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 report prepared by Thomas Jesse Jones, Ph.D., chairman of the commission.* 1925, 134.
[25] African Education Commission, *Education in East Africa*. 1925, 250.

the colonial government rely more on missionaries to provide education weakened the impact of the welfare state since half of the social services were under the responsibilities of private organizations. However, this was overlooked by the Advisory Committee, and cooperation became the foundation for the new colonial education policy.

Adaptation

The new education policy was known as the Adaptation, based on the African Education Commission and Frederick Lugard's *The Dual Mandate.*[26] The new system was designed to adapt a European education to suit local needs throughout the empire. Adaptation was implanted with the belief that government and missionary cooperation was the only economically sustainable way to provide African education. There were two goals to Adaptation, with the first being to increase the quality of vernacular elementary schools. As for the second goal, the policy promoted the training of capable students to be teachers while the rest received an industrial education. One reason behind promoting industrial education over a traditional European one was that it would prevent the rise of the professional class in Africa. Not having a professional class forced Africans into remaining dependent on British administration. As a result of not wanting a professional class, the British government did not fund higher education in Africa.[27] Although this policy might seem extreme, offering higher education in India led to several political organizations that caused issues for the British.[28]

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[26] Lugard's *The Dual Mandate* will be discussed more in the next chapter.
[27] Henry D'Souza, "External Influences on the Development of Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa from 1923 to 1939," *African Studies Review* 18, no. 2 (1975): 36-38.
[28] For more information about early Indian political groups, look at Surendranath Banerhee's Indian Association (1875) and the Indian National Congress (1885).

What exactly was the change in education as a result of this new policy? Shortly before the Advisory Committee on Native Education decided to implement the Adaptation policy, the governor of the Gold Coast outlined the education system in the colony and how he wanted to improve it. The governor, Frederick Guggisberg, discussed that most of the schooling was primary education focused on the three R's; reading, writing, and arithmetic, along with natural history and geography. He also echoed the African Education Commission's report stating that one major issue was the "quality and number of teachers."[29] His education plan was markedly different from Adaptation; instead Guggisberg believed that the goal should be to thoroughly educate Africans until they had the same education as Europeans. However, he noted that it was unlikely due to the lack of money in the colony.[30]

Adaptation was implemented in 1925 with the publication of *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*, and would remain in place with some change until 1940. The policy reinforced the notion that Africans were inferior to Europeans, as shown by how British authorities altered certain subjects to better fit what they understood to be the needs of Africans. The new policy stated the need to adapt education "to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations, and traditions of the various peoples, conserving … all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life."[31] Not only did the approach reinforce prejudiced views of racial difference, but it also highlighted the reluctance of British governments to accept responsibility for African education during the interwar period. Instead, colonial governments pursued the easiest option of increasing reliance on

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[29] Frederick Guggisberg, "The Goal of the Gold Coast" *Journal of the Royal African Society* 21 (1922) 84.
[30] Guggisberg, "The Goal of the Gold Coast," 85-88.
[31] Colonial Office, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, "Memorandum by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies," Cmd. 2374 (London: HMSO, 1925).

missionaries throughout Africa, even though this weakened the welfare state through the decentralization of social services.

The way colonial officials "adapted" the education on offer was to focus mostly on vernacular education for elementary students with the aim of gaining the local populations' trust. Most of the vernacular languages were taught at local schools, even though it was more expensive than just using English as the standard language. However, whatever trust the British earned by teaching in the vernaculars was lost when students attended primary school. Most of the primary education was industrial, except for those enrolled in teacher or clerk training. Industrial education included agricultural and artisan skills as well as general knowledge about hygiene. Over time this form of education resulted in a semi-educated African population. The most promising students in Africa were required to travel to the United Kingdom to receive any real form of higher education. This new curriculum was inherently discriminatory towards Africans due to the lack of higher education and watered-down content.[32] Adaptation was implemented slowly over the first decade due to the lack of authority of the Advisory Committee as well as lack of funding for colonial investment. These two systemic issues made it difficult for proponents of African education to make substantial progress during the interwar period.

Rise of the Welfare Empire: Colonial education policy, 1929-1940

Lack of funding was a key factor for the slow implementation of Adaptation, as the Advisory Committee could not force colonial governors to allocate any portion of their budget to education. Without the backing of either the Treasury or Parliament, the

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[32] D'Souza, "External Influences," 37.

development of colonial education remained stagnant. Several years after the publication

of *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*, there seemed to be an opportunity to

improve the overall colonial education system with the passage of the Colonial

Development Act of 1929. This act authorized Parliament to invest £1 million in a given

year through either loans or grants to any colony that submitted a request. But

importantly, the act was not designed primarily for the betterment of the colonies.

Instead, it was constructed around alleviating the unemployment problem in the

metropole by developing colonial economic captivity.[33] The act therefore limited the use

of funds "for the purpose of aiding and developing agriculture and industry in the colony

or territory, and thereby promoting commerce with or industry in the United Kingdom."[34]

The industries were selected by a committee and approved by the Treasury upon request

of a colonial government. Although the Colonial Development Act did not invest in

education, it laid the foundation for further development acts and marked an early

departure from the liberal empire towards a welfare empire. Parliament chose to invest in

Africa's economic development for the benefit of the United Kingdom, even though the

British claimed to be there for the benefit of Africans. The focus on investing in

economic development over investing in social services highlights the primary goals of

British colonialism being profit over "civilizing" during the interwar period.

Even though it marked an early departure, there was still significant room for

improvement in colonial development policy. For the eleven years between the 1929 act

and the 1940 act, the amount of money actually invested in the colonies never reached the

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[33] E. R. Wicker, "Colonial Development and Welfare, 1929-1957: The Evolution of a Policy," *Social and Economic Studies* 7, no. 4 (1958): 175.
[34] United Kingdom, Colonial Development Act, 1929.

amount approved by the Treasury. E. R. Wicker argued that this disparity "can be attributed to the lack of any planning machinery or adequate supervisory staff in individual colonies."[35] Not only did this issue impact the first development act, but it would continue to be an issue throughout the late colonial period. This new investment made nominal progress in developing the economy of African colonies but did little to improve social services.

Following the initial implementation of Adaptation, the Advisory Committee expanded to include European settlers in African colonies and refined colonial policy to be more focused on community development. These changes highlight how ineffective the Advisory Committee was at pursuing policy changes due to lack of power as well as insight into the differences between education for Europeans and Africans. In 1929, the committee's responsibilities expanded to include non-African colonies and European settlers throughout the empire. Shortly after this expansion, the committee received reports on European education. One early report from September 1929 indicated a large disparity in education offered for Europeans and Africans. This report indicated the ratio of African students to Europeans was 500 to 1 and that nevertheless the amount spent on European education was more than double the amount spent on African education.[36] In response to the report, the Advisory Committee started developing the Educational Functions of Local Authorities report. It took several years for the report to be completed, finalized, and sent to the colonies in 1933. The goal of this report was to promote the inclusion of African advice and help in developing education policy. Even though the

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[35] Wicker "Colonial Development and Welfare, 1929-1957: The Evolution of a Policy," 176.
[36] James Clatworthy, *Formulation of British Colonial Policy, 1923-1948* (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press, 1969):128.

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report requested more African involvement in education, the final decision was always left to the colonial governor, which inevitably slowed the transition to African control.[37]

The lack of authority of the Advisory Committee remained an issue throughout the interwar period. Even knowing there was a disparity in education offered to Europeans and Africans, the committee did not have the power to enforce change since all decisions on funds and staff related to education were picked by the governor. This trend continues through the 1930s with the report on Compulsory Education and the *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities*. The final report on Compulsory Education was finished in May of 1933 and took the position of "voluntary compulsion." The committee decided that "voluntary compulsion" might incentivize action from the community to fund education due to economic issues throughout the colonies. Due to compulsory education being voluntary, this report did little to generate real change in government-sponsored education.

Similarly, the *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities* also was difficult to implement. This publication focused primarily on rural communities and was an attempt to refine the adaptation policy. The *Memorandum* suggested the need for female education and more teacher training facilities to improve the whole community. However, due to lack of funds, it also recommended the cooperation of several government departments such as health and transportation, as well as instructed private institutions to shape their budgets towards a common goal of community improvement.[38] Throughout the interwar period, the Advisory Committee made several attempts to

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[37] Clatworthy, *Formulation of British Colonial Policy, 1923-1948,* 130-131.
[38] Clatworthy, *Formulation of British Colonial Policy, 1923-1948,* 135, 140-145.

improve colonial education policy but continually ran into problems with a lack of funds and authority to implement most of their suggestions.

Overall, Adaptation was a negative policy that alienated Africans from trusting the British government. The early disparities between the education offered between Europeans and Africans caused concern even though there was little the Advisory Committee could effectively do. This highlights that most of the issues regarding colonial education resulted from the administration of individual colonies instead of policy from the metropole. Overall, there were several positive aspects to this approach of adaptation. The first was an increase in the grants given to colonial governments for the improvement of mission schools. This, in turn, would increase the total number of students enrolled throughout the empire. Another positive outcome was the standardization of colonial education policy, which made it easier to make a uniform education system. However, there were a few positive outcomes from the early phases of Adaptation, as it had several issues that would still need to be fixed. The main issue was the discriminatory nature of education. Adaptation was formed on the idea that Africans were either unable to learn a Western education or that they did not deserve one. This was based on British colonial officials' understanding of race; in their minds, Africans were inherently inferior and therefore needed British help to survive. Their discriminatory views on race went hand in hand with their understanding of liberal imperialism during the early twentieth century. Even though Adaptation was not perfect, it was the first major step in setting up the welfare empire. After several decades of neglect, the empire was finally receiving some investment from the United Kingdom.

Height of the Welfare Empire: Colonial Education Policy, 1940-1955

The second major step in setting up the welfare empire was the passing of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940.[39] This act was a much-needed revision to the previous legislation since it focused primarily on the development of the colonies instead of British commerce and was the first time the British government took full responsibility for the well-being of its African subjects. Unlike the 1929 act, the 1940 version allowed for investment in social services such as health and education, which reflected a new commitment to establishing and expanding the colonial welfare system. In addition to widening the scope of investment projects, the 1940 act also increased the funds allotted to the colonies from £1 million to £5 million annually and committed to a ten-year development plan of £50 million. The act also remitted £11 million in loans for colonial governments with the hope of stimulated development. Increasing the number of available funds to the colonies fixed one of the major shortfalls of colonial educational development but did little to ensure that the funds were correctly spent. One failing of the 1929 act was individual colonial governments' lack of adequate planning for any approved funds. As a way of fixing this problem, the 1940 policy instructed that funds were conditioned on the development of a multi-year plan. However, this also ran into issues such as personnel and material shortages during World War II, which caused few projects to be completed by 1945.[40]

Even after the war, there were several problems with the Colonial Development and Welfare Act and subsequent reiterations. The 1940 act was amended several times in 1945, 1949, 1950, and again in 1955. For the most part, these acts increased the available

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[39] United Kingdom, Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1940.
[40] Wicker, "Colonial Development and Welfare, 1929-1957: The Evolution of a Policy," 181-182.

amount of funds allotted to the colonies during the postwar era. Starting from £5 million annually in 1940, the yearly allocation continued to rise to £35 million annually by 1955. Another issue these amendments tried to fix was long-term planning. Due to continuous shortages during the war, colonial development plans were way behind schedule. In response to this, colonial governments were to shorten the overall length of their plans from ten-year plans to either three or five-year plans.[41] Despite revising the policy, the issues that plagued colonial development were just continuations of the 1940 act, mainly being lack of materials and planning in the colonies. Between 1929 and 1955, the amount of funds spent never reached the amount of funds approved by the Treasury.[42] This demonstrates that increasing the number of funds available to the colonies did little in terms of actual development since colonial governments were unable to utilize all of their approved funds. Out of the total £170 million approved by the colonial development legislation, approximately £33 million was allocated to education and £19 million allocated to medical and health services.[43] Although these acts had issues with overall implementation, they provided a massive expansion of the welfare empire by actively investing in the development of colonial social services such as education and health. Unfortunately, not all of the allocated funds for education were spent, but it was a step in the right direction.

With the expansion of colonial development, there was a chance to provide quality colonial education throughout the empire. However, the Advisory Committee was still unable to effectively enforce educational policy due to a lack of authority in the

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[41] Wicker, "Colonial Development and Welfare, 1929-1957: The Evolution of a Policy," 184-188.
[42] Great Britain, Central office of information, *The U.K colonial development and welfare Acts, (*England: Cox and Sharland, 1960) 10.
[43] Great Britain, Central office of information, *The U.K colonial development and welfare Acts,* 11.

colonies. In the years following the development acts, the committee published two more

policy updates before being folded into the Ministry of Overseas Development. The first

publication was called *Mass Education* in 1944, which shifted the goal from focusing on

school-age children to focusing on the entire population instead. This was done by

improving adult education in Africa to increase literacy rates throughout the empire.

Unlike previous changes to the education policy, this was more urgent because of

political and social unrest resulting from the war.[44] In hopes of getting ahead of criticism

and improving Britain's reputation, the committee planned on expanding colonial

education to as many as possible with the interests of the local communities in mind.

In its last publication the Advisory Committee built on the idea of needing an

urgent reform in a quickly changing political climate. The publication of *Education for

Citizenship in Africa* in 1948 called for the use of character training as the foundation of

citizenship in and out of school. The goal of this report was to be in line with the United

Nations charter on the self-government of colonial territories. Unfortunately for the

British, they had planned for the self-government of colonies to be fifty years away

instead of being within the next several years. In order to cement Western-style

democracy in former colonies, education would have to focus on helping people

understand the benefit of political freedom by adding it into existing educational

guidelines.[45] Overall these last two recommendations made by the Advisory Committee

followed the same pattern as the recommendations during the interwar period. The

committee tried to implement broad colonial education policies several times but

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[44] Clatworthy, *Formulation of British Colonial Policy, 1923-1948,* 167-168.
[45] Clatworthy, *Formulation of British Colonial Policy, 1923-1948,* 172-174.

continually fell short due to lack of authority within the colonies even after receiving funds from the welfare and development acts.

End of the Empire? Overseas Development

Starting in the early interwar period until the beginning of decolonization, the Advisory Committee on education developed one major colonial policy and slowly refined it over time. The committee had no real authority in implementing these policies, leaving it up to individual governors to enact any changes. However, during the interwar period, only a few colonies had the resources to invest in developing education, meaning that most of the committee's recommendations were ignored. Lack of authority continuously plagued the committee even after the war when they had sufficient funds to develop an education seen by the voluntary nature of mass education. The expansion of the welfare empire during World War II only fixed the financial issues of colonial education but still left a lack of any central authority.

Since the primary authority on educational development rested with colonial governors, Adaptation was the only real policy the Advisory Committee could recommend being enacted. Some colonies like the Gold Coast under the direction of Guggisberg were able to make significant progress during the interwar period since he was committed to educational advances in Africa. This contrasted sharply with policies in settler colonies that allocated educational resources to Europeans at African students' expense. The main reason for this disparity stemmed from colonial officials' views on race, which propelled them to use any available funds to increase the quality of education for white settlers over that for Africans.

Overall, the Advisory Committee made a significant effort in promoting colonial education throughout the period but was never able to effectively implement it until it was too late. By the time Parliament was willing to make investments into social services, the central government's lack of planning and authority made progress extremely slow in a rapidly changing social and political climate. This change was brought about by the end of the war, which forced the British to accelerate their schedules toward self-government. The formal empire could not resist this rapid change which eventually led to decolonization throughout the world. However, political handover would not end Britain's involvement in its former colonies; instead, British entities would continue to develop the Commonwealth through the Ministry of Overseas Development. This ministry followed the same guidelines as the Colonial Office and worked on strengthening the bond between the United Kingdom and the rest of the Commonwealth until well after the end of formal empire. In the end, the welfare empire came too late to stop decolonization, but it showed the increasing strength of the United Kingdom and laid the groundwork for the informal British Empire.

African and Historical Critiques of Colonial Education

Before examining the case studies, it is important to discuss several African and historical critiques of the colonial education system. Due to the lack of African primary sources regarding education from the interwar period, these critiques will serve as a generalization for the colonized viewpoint throughout the following chapters. One of these critiques was from Julius Nyerere, an anti-colonial activist who would later become the first president of Tanzania. Nyerere argued that there were two fundamental issues with colonial education in Africa. The first was that British colonial education was "not

designed to prepare young people for the service of their own country; instead, it was

motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train

individuals for the service of the colonial state."[46] Nyerere understood that colonial

education was not primarily for the benefit of Africans but rather for the more effective

management of colonial rule. Just as importantly, Nyerere emphasized how the colonial

education system placed heavy emphasis on subservient attitudes and "encouraged the

individualistic instincts of mankind, instead of his cooperative instincts."[47] Both of the

issues Nyerere addressed had a common theme of replacing African culture with

European culture.

The desire to promote individualistic instincts for African education can also be

seen in America when examining education for Native and Mexican Americans. For both

of these ethnic groups, white Americans tried to change their inherent cultural

cooperative mutualism in favor of an individualistic mindset. This was done to promote

the consumer-driven capitalist economy which viewed cooperative mutualism as

antithetical to progress. David Adams discusses the idea of "self-reliance" for Native

Americans in his book *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding

School Experience, 1875-1928.* Adams showed how Native American education was

designed to remove cooperative instincts to better prepare them for life in a capitalist

world where individualism was not only encouraged but demanded. This highlights how

white authorities in both the U.S and the United Kingdom viewed the role of education to

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[46] Julius Nyerere, *Education for Self-Reliance* (Dar es Salaam: University of Tanzania, 1967), 2-3.
[47] Nyerere, *Education for Self-Reliance*, 3.

promote their ideal society while removing any other cultural influences that they considered harmful.[48]

Nyerere was not the only intellectual to pick up on these issues; Frantz Fanon also discussed how European education altered the consciousness and culture of Africans. While Fanon was originally from the West Indies, he spent the latter part of his life working with the Algerian independence movement. In one of his early works, Fanon offers a psychoanalytical interpretation of the "black problem," which is the dual consciousness colonized people experienced being perceived as less than human in a world dominated by white Europeans. Fanon argued if there was an inferiority complex among blacks, it was due to the double process of "primarily economic[s]; subsequently, the internalization-or, better, the epidermalization- of this inferiority."[49] Fanon's statements show that due to economic inequality as the result of colonial policy, Africans had internalized an inferiority complex that made them want to be acknowledged as equal to Europeans. Unfortunately, the African attempts to be seen as equal were futile since colonial officials never wanted them to succeed. Instead of acknowledging progress, officials would continue to highlight racial differences making the psychological and cultural change even more prevalent.

A U.S. historian that speaks to Fanon's argument is Carter G. Woodson. In his book *The Mis-education of the Negro*, Carter discusses the contempt that African Americans have for themselves. He argues that the source of this contempt is through the way African Americans were educated. Carter examined the way Africans were taught

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[48] David Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928,* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1995), 149-157.
[49] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, translated by Charles Markmann (London: Grove Press, 1967): 9-16.

history and medicine from an obscured understanding of the material in which white individuals would either omit important information regarding African culture or actively try to make them feel inferior by calling them germ carriers for European diseases. African inferiority was a social construction made by racist whites to justify their power and control. This sense of inferiority can be seen in the U.S., Africa, and other areas where whites maintain power over other races.[50]

In addition to African critiques of education, several historians have also addressed the primary issue with colonial education being cultural imperialism. One of these historians was Martin Carnoy, author of *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. Carnoy argues that Europeans used education as a way to unofficially ban traditional African culture and to replace it with European culture. He stated that "primary schools stress socialization into European language, values and norms (Christianity), and the degradation of all that is native."[51] Carnoy expands his argument by discussing that Africans only wanted European-style education since that is where future power is located, even though it did not help most in reality. It did not help due to the duality of consciousness that Africans developed from colonial schools. The reinforcement of foreign cultural values and the degradation of African culture forced Africans to develop a new mindset under colonial rule. Another European that critiqued colonial education was Eva Engholm, a former English teacher at an African secondary school. Engholm's major critique focused on using English as the primary language of instruction for upper-level students. She argued that using English was a poor way of teaching since most

[50] Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1933): 11-19.
[51] Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Mckay Company Inc., 1974): 69-72.

African students had a different understanding of language. In her book, she gives an example of how it is difficult for someone to comprehend what "prickly" means without having enough exposure to the concept. Since African students were drawing from different lived experiences compared to their teachers, a lot of crucial information got lost in translation between local knowledge and European knowledge.[52]

All the critiques of colonial education tend to focus on the subjugation and replacement of African culture in favor of European culture. With this in mind, I will present specific case studies on the development of colonial education in Ghana, Kenya, and Southern Rhodesia in an effort to determine how large of an impact race had on the colonial governments decisions to provide Western education to Africans. As I've explained, the Advisory Committee had little power to enforce any of the recommendations they made regarding colonial education, but they did heavily influence the general policy. While the committee did not view race as a reason to slow African education, the decentralized nature of colonial education allowed each colony to implement its own educational plan. This decentralization weakened the overall ability of the British government to implement and develop a robust colonial welfare system. Only after 1940 did the British government finally start to address African grievances by the expansion of social services, but by then, it was too late to halt the decolonization process.

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[52] Eva Engholm, *Education Through English: The Use of English in African Schools* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 8-10.

III. THE HEIGHT OF LITERARY EDUCATION IN THE GOLD COAST

British colonial state education was spread across every region in Africa in one form or another during the interwar period. As the previous chapter discussed, state education was nearly non-existent until after WW1. Due to the lack of state education, missionaries were responsible for every level of African education for the earliest parts of colonial rule. This was the case for all British colonies in Africa, but one key difference would determine the future development of Africa education throughout the twentieth century. The dividing issue for the development of African education was race. Most colonial officials viewed Africans negatively, which impacted the officials' willingness to offer high-quality education in every colony. It is easy to determine how influential race was when determining the quality of African education by comparing settler colonies and non-settler colonies. A robust European settler community interfered in the overall development of African welfare services in settler colonies. To better understand the amount of influence settlers had on African education, it is crucial to first discuss education in a non-settler colony such as the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast serves as a great comparison to settler colonies for several reasons, including early contact with European education, progressive colonial governors, and an extensive state education system during the interwar period. While higher quality state education was offered in the Gold Coast, the racial paternalism of indirect rule still slowed the overall progress of African education throughout the colonial period.

The historiography on education in the Gold Coast is extensive and covers a plethora of different topics. However, most of these studies pay little to no attention to

the development of the overall welfare system and rarely compare the education system

of the Gold Coast to education systems in settler colonies. Studies of the educational

programs in the Gold Coast colony fall into several distinct categories such as

chronological histories, policy development, and specific individuals within colonial

education. An example of the history of significant developments in African education

appears in the work of Kwabena Ofori-Attah, which traces the phenomenon back to the

16th century.[53] This work helps trace important moments in the development of education

that can be expanded upon by other historians. A second category of studies focus on the

development of educational policy as it emerged from Parliament and the implementation

of Adaptation.[54] Unlike the chronological scholarship, policy studies analyze important

factors such as American and business influences in the development of African

education. The final category of scholarship offers a more personalized understanding of

individual actors such as missionaries, colonial officials, or Africans who experienced the

colonial education system.[55] Studies like this are usually hyper-localized and cannot draw

a more powerful overall understanding of the colonial education system. This chapter

highlights the success of the colonial government in the Gold Coast by showing the

expansion of the welfare system with the new understanding that it was the government's

responsibility to provide for the African subjects they governed. The purpose of this

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[53] One such study is Kwabena Ofori-Attah, "The British and Curriculum Development in West Africa: A Historical Discourse," *International Review of Education* 52, no. 5 (Sep. 2006): 409-423.

[54] Ofori-Attah, "The British and Curriculum Development"; Shoko Yamada, *'Dignity of Labour' for African Leaders: The Formation of Education Policy in the British Colonial Office and Achimota School on the Gold Coast* (Bamenda, Cameroon: Langaa Research and Publishing Common Initiative Group, 2018).

[55] Among such studies are Werner Ustorf, "Missionary Education in West Africa: A Study of Pedagogical Ambition," *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 32, no. 2 (Sep. 2011): 235-246; S.G. Williamson, "Missions and Education in the Gold Coast," *International Review of Mission* 41, no. 3 (Jul. 1952): 364-373.

chapter is to synthesize and build upon the knowledge of previous studies in order to provide a comparison between a control non-settler colony with settler colonies.[56]

European education in West Africa from 1500-1920

The first part of sub-Saharan Africa to have continued European interaction from the 16th century on was West Africa. Early interactions between Europeans and West Africans were built through the transatlantic slave trade. However, two issues were preventing Europeans from maximizing their profits. First was the centralization of the slave trade, and the second was the language barrier between Europeans and Africans. To expedite the transfer of slaves, European nations like Portugal built several coastal forts throughout West Africa, which were used to buy and load slaves on ships. These forts helped solve the issue of a centralized market for the slave trade, but it did not fix the language barrier. Education was the only solution that could improve Europeans' access to not only the slave trade but also other natural resources in West Africa. While a few individuals noted the importance of offering European education to Africans, little was done until 1800. Before 1800, there was an attempt to teach children reading and writing at Elmina castle from 1509 until 1637. The first school closed after the Dutch seized the fort, ending one attempt before starting another. A few years later, the Dutch West India Company opened their school for the children of Europeans living near the fort. Outside of the fort education system, a few missionary societies attempted to establish schools throughout West Africa with a differing degree of success.[57]

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[56] I refer to the Gold Coast as a "control non-settler colony" to indicate the baseline education system for most non-settler colonies to better compare it with those in settler colonies.

[57] Yamada, *Dignity of Labour*, 149; Ofori-Attah, "The British and Curriculum Development," 411.

While the early fort schools allowed for an early introduction of European education in West Africa, missionaries would soon move into the region and expand the availability to more Africans. During the 1800s, numerous missionary societies tried to establish schools and churches in West Africa to convert Africans to Christianity. A few of the most prominent ones established in the Gold Coast were the Basel Missionary Society, the North German Mission Society, and the Wesleyan Mission Society. The Basel Missionary Society first established a mission in 1828 that German Presbyterians controlled. At first, they were not necessarily interested in education due to the loss of missionaries to disease, losing six within the first five years after their arrival. By 1843, the mission had established a school for boys in Akropong, which they used to eventually train catechists and teachers to further spread their influence. The curriculum at this school mirrored that of most other mission schools throughout Africa by offering early instruction in the vernacular languages and having vocational education and Christian teachings.[58] However, missionary education in West Africa had one key difference compared to other European educational endeavors throughout Africa. In West Africa and particularly within the Gold Coast region, missionaries offered a high level of literary education similar to schools in Europe.[59]

The type of literary education offered by missionaries can be seen in the Breman Mission established by the North German Mission Society in 1847. At first, the Breman Mission had an extremely difficult time acquiring students due to the hostility of Africans towards the missionaries. To resolve this issue, missionaries launched the Kinder-

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[58] Yamada, *Dignity of Labour*, 149-151.
[59] Williamson, "Missions and Education in the Gold Coast," 370.

Freikauf project, which was the process of buying slaves from the local market to be the earliest students for the school. Over time these former slaves internalized their Western education and joined the church's ranks before venturing out to spread their newfound religious and educational views. These former slaves marked the first quantifiable success of the Breman Mission's education system. However, continuing the Kinder-Freikauf project indefinitely proved to be impossible, and the missionaries began to phase it out in 1862. In the same year, Michael Zahn took over the position of mission directorate and refocused the goals of their education system around religious teaching through literary education. Under Zahn's leadership, educational subjects were divided into three groups: elementary subjects, linguistic knowledge, and religious knowledge. The elementary subjects taught at the Breman Mission were the foundations of early literary education; these subjects included the three R's, simple mathematics, geography, history, and to a lesser extent, music.[60] Although these subjects were taught through a religious lens, they still offered the basics for European-style primary education, which was more than other mission schools throughout eastern and southern Africa.

While most missions in the Gold Coast offered a higher level of literary education for primary schools, the Wesleyan Mission Society expanded the scope of their education goals to also provide secondary education. The Wesleyan Mission Society first arrived at the Cape Coast in 1835 but rapidly expanded its educational endeavors. By 1841, the mission society had over 200 students, with two large schools with around 50 students each at the Cape Coast and Accra, and the rest spread out along the coast. These schools also focused on literary education since they needed to compete with other missionaries,

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[60] Ustorf, "Missionary Education in West Africa," 236-238.

and offering anything less meant that prospective African students would choose a different school. However, unlike the German missionaries at Basel and Breman, Wesleyan missionaries only offered instruction in English instead of the vernacular languages. While it may have been challenging at first, the decision to teach in English allowed their students to have more opportunity to advance in colonial society by either working for European economic interests or later working in the colonial government. African students were also better prepared for higher education, which they could do at either the Wesleyan secondary school that was established in 1876, or in Europe.[61] Missionary schools laid the foundation for a state educational system to build upon in the early twentieth century as part of the "civilizing mission." Even though missionaries had established schools as early as 1835, the British colonial government started to take an active role in African education only in 1882.

The first step of the British government's intervention into African education was the establishment of the 1882 Education Ordinance. This ordinance's goal was first and foremost to expand the curriculum offered to African students and reform missionary schools. To expand and reform the education system, the British government set up a partnership with mission schools in the form of grants to fund their educational programs. However, for mission schools to receive these grants, they needed to follow the curriculum outlined by the government, which meant instruction needed to be in English and offer enough literary education to train clerks and other low-level government officials. The second step of the government's involvement in African education was the passage of the 1887 Education Ordinance, which divided West Africa from a single

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[61] Yamada, *Dignity of Labour*, 151-153.

administrative block into several by establishing a Director of Education for each colony.[62] At first, these ordinances only set up the potential to expand state education throughout the Gold Coast; a couple of decades would pass before state education was in full swing. The lackluster attempts to provide state education during the early colonial period weakened the claim that British imperialism was part of a greater "civilizing mission." This overall lack of responsibility for African education on the part of colonial governments was not localized to West Africa; instead, it was a widespread problem across the continent.

Between 1880 and 1920, the expansion of African education was a slow process, but both the access and quality of education continued to improve. Before the education ordinances, there were only 139 primary schools and only one secondary school run by the Wesleyan mission. Four decades later, with the establishment of government-run schools and expansion of grants to mission schools, there were 213 officially recognized primary schools in the Gold Coast.[63] These schools were located in the southern part of the colony, where British influence was most concentrated. Even though the number of schools almost doubled during the forty years, it was nothing compared to the expansion of schools during the interwar era. Along with the increase in the number of schools, the quality of education continued to improve during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While most colonies still only offered basic primary education to Africans, schools in the Gold Coast had a plethora of different subjects that were either required or optional. Some of the required subjects included English, arithmetic, writing, hygiene, and basic

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[62] Ofori-Attah, "The British and Curriculum Development," 417.
[63] Yamada, *Dignity of Labour*, 160-166.

industrial training such as needlework for girls and agriculture for boys. In addition to these subjects, students were allowed to take optional classes in history, geography, physical exercise, bookkeeping, and algebra.[64] Most of the optional class offerings were unique to schools in West Africa and allowed for students to demand greater concessions from the colonial government for more educational opportunities. The main reason that British colonies in West Africa had more extensive educational offerings for Africans was to fill out the lower ranks of the colonial governments with Africans due to the lack of European settlers. As a result of a minimal British presence, Gold Coast colonial officials set up a system of indirect rule to minimize the amount of investment needed to manage colonial affairs.

The Dual Mandate and Indirect Rule

Following the end of WW1, the British government needed to find a way to minimize their administrative costs for colonial rule. As a solution one colonial governor devised a system known as indirect rule that, in theory, would cut the cost of administration and follow the League of Nations mandate of providing colonies a path towards self-governance. In 1922 Frederick Lugard, the governor of Nigeria between 1912 and 1919, published a book named *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* that laid out the intricacies of indirect rule and its impact on the education system. In this book, Lugard discussed the fundamentals of indirect rule, such as the role of the colonial government and how to deal with specific problems regarding Africans in West Africa. Indirect rule became a system of control the British used throughout their empire. This system of control was designed to incorporate local leaders into the colonial government.

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[64] Ofori-Attah, "The British and Curriculum Development," 417.

In colonial administrators' eyes, there were several benefits to this style of colonial rule, the first being that it allowed the British to have a very cost-efficient empire since it required fewer European administrators than before. British officials received much higher wages than Africans; therefore, the cost of administering a colony through indirect rule was much less. As for the African leaders, indirect rule allowed them to gain power and prestige in their communities. Due to the small size of the government, the British colonial officers were to act as supervisors for the native administration and direct the general policy for education and tax collection.[65]

Lugard argued that two principles need to be followed in order for indirect rule to be successful. The first principle was decentralization; for a government to progress faster, the governor needed to delegate as many tasks as possible to capable subordinates. Rapid promotion of capable officers and managers made it possible to strengthen the control of the government in any region since it allowed for a quick and efficient government. Vitally, decentralization also allowed a relatively small group of British officials to govern vast territories. However, there was one potential issue with decentralization. If British colonial authorities did not appoint the proper subordinates, it could lead to internal disagreement within the government, thus weakening British control.[66]

The second principle to Lugard's idea of indirect rule was continuity. Lugard argued two things should be maintained: the officers currently in the colony and the policies in place. One difficulty for establishing continuity was that officers would

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[65] Frederick Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1922) 94-95.
[66] Lugard, *The Dual Mandate*, 96-100.

regularly leave their post for either time off or to be reassigned. Whenever a new officer

entered the colony, he would be required to learn all the relevant information concerning

his post and have to take over interactions with the African population. According to

Lugard, these new interactions would give African populations the chance to "resuscitate

old land disputes," which could alter the established order of control.[67] In order to prevent

disruptions, Lugard instructed that all officers should keep detailed notes for their

replacements. He explained maintaining continuity was vital because it established trust

between the British and the colonized. This continuity allowed Africans to better

understand what the British were trying to accomplish. Finally, Lugard described,

keeping a consistent colonial policy also enabled governors from different colonies to

easily manage broader regions.[68]

Lugard also dedicated two chapters of his book to examining the education

system in Nigeria. The first chapter detailed what he stated was the primary goal of

education: training Africans to develop their "character and habits of discipline" over

book learning and industrial training.[69] Lugard followed this with a chapter that

delineated objectives for the three types of educational agencies in Nigeria. These

objectives were to have literary and accountant training for clerk positions, industrial

instruction for mechanics and artisans, and agricultural training for people living in

villages. [70] Lugard's approach to education in Nigeria and the colonial policies that

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[67] Lugard, *The Dual Mandate*, 103.

[68] Lugard, *The Dual Mandate*, 103-105.

[69] Lugard, *The Dual Mandate*, 431.

[70] Lugard, *The Dual Mandate*, 442.

stemmed from it set up the model for education systems across Britain's non-settler colonies.

The Dual Mandate of British Tropical Africa detailed the ideal version of indirect rule. However, it also discussed the colonial government's relationships to both the home government in London and to African colonial subjects. Lugard reported on every aspect of colonial rule, including education, taxation, labor, trade, and the judicial system. After the book's publication, indirect rule became a model for colonial government in West Africa and most of the empire. The precise policy for a colony's education system, however, hinged on the colony's governor. Throughout the period, colonial governors had control over the budget for education, which allowed them to determine the relative priority of this service.

Lugard's form of indirect rule was based on the principles of the new liberal imperialism. He believed that the British were there to serve as managers of the colonies to make sure economic endeavors were secure. He had little interest in developing the people living in the colonies, as indicated by the belief that there should be no professional class in Nigeria and that all education should be focused on agriculture, industry, and clerk training. By limiting the size of the professional class, the British aimed to slow the rise of nationalism in Africa. This view of education in Africa is a key factor in why colonial education systems lagged far behind the education on offer in the metropole. In Africa during this period, some colonial officials did not see the need to offer compulsory education, let alone find money to fund it. Although Lugard did not discuss race directly, his approach nevertheless reflected that race was the primary lens through which British officials differentiated themselves from Africans. Other colonial

publications delineated this attitude even more clearly, especially those that examined the "native" races of Africa and how they should be educated. Whether indirectly or directly, these publications laid the foundation for British education policy in Africa during the interwar decades.

The use of indirect rule is a vital difference between the style of administration between non-settler colonies and settler colonies. Europeans generally controlled settler colonies, and every part of the colonial government served European interests over those of African subjects. Non-settler colonies, on the other hand, were described by British officials more as a means to an end, whereby Africans would supposedly gain independence when colonial officials deemed them ready. The guiding principle of indirect rule was to 'improve' Africans to the point of self-governance without the oversight of their colonial leaders. The only way an African population could reach the point of being deemed ready for self-governance was if the British officials claiming to act as their guardians genuinely believed in the mandate of self-determination. By minimizing educational opportunities for Africans, Lugard had sought to use education to indefinitely maintain control of colonial possessions. The system of indirect rule spread throughout colonial Africa during the interwar period to save money due to financial struggles caused by WW1. But as it spread, indirect rule policies also exposed flaws within Lugard's thinking. While it made the administration of colonies cheaper, it also generated an increased need for educated Africans to fill the lower ranks of the colonial government if officials had any hope of successfully managing colonies. This prompted some colonial governors to see reason to go against Lugard's admonitions of educating an African professional class. In particular, a couple of relatively progressive governors

in the Gold Coast embraced educational policies that would generate an educated African class and eventually lead to the end of British rule.

Colonial Governors during the interwar period

The two Gold Coast governors that greatly expanded not only education, but the entire welfare state were Sir Hugh Clifford (1912-1919) and Frederick Guggisberg (1919-1926). Between them, Guggisberg had a much larger impact on the development of the welfare state. Even though Guggisberg did more to establish the welfare state, it is important to note that Clifford laid out several plans to expand secondary education but was unable to do it during his governorship due to the financial difficulties of the war. Once Guggisberg took control over the Gold Coast, he was able to implement Clifford's plans due to economic prosperity through the growing cocoa industry and a strong personality to promote his ideals of the colony towards self-determination. Guggisberg was unique among colonial governors of his time since he took a more hands-on approach to expand the education system, unlike his contemporaries.[71] His hands-on approach towards colonial governance was the primary factor that contributed to the expansion of welfare services within the colony. Guggisberg took it upon himself by accepting government responsibility for Africans' well-being to implement the reforms needed to improve African education.

After a few years in the position, Guggisberg gave an address that he titled "The Goal of the Gold Coast" that laid out his plan and efforts to improve both the colony's economic security and expand the welfare state. Before Guggisberg discussed his plan, he explained what he viewed as the purpose of colonial government to be "nothing more nor

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[71] Yamada, *Dignity of Labour*, 171-175.

less than assisting the Native Races of the country in their progress towards attainment of the conditions of modern civilization which are best suited to the country."[72] This was his response to people who viewed the government's chief objectives to be only trade and transportation. Guggisberg rejected the idea that those aspects of the economy were all that mattered; instead, he sought to expand the economy and social services such as education and healthcare. Although most of his address focused on developing social services, Guggisberg did take the time to discuss the required improvements to trade. He outlined the two major expenditures needed were the construction of a deep-water harbor and an expansion of the railway system, explaining that it was worthless to do the latter without the former, since that was the limiting factor on increasing exports.[73] It is important to understand Guggisberg's views on trade since that was the primary source of revenue through which he could fund expanded social services. Due to the nature of indirect rule and intermittent funding from Parliament, governors like Guggisberg needed to determine the best use of limited resources. So, by improving trade in the Gold Coast, his government would, in turn, have extra revenue to spend on the development of the welfare state.

Under Guggisberg's leadership, African education progressed at a swift rate compared to the prior forty years. He understood that more than anything, what Africans in the Gold Coast wanted was extra educational opportunities. As he explained, "In the Gold Coast, at any rate, the one great cry of the people is for education-more and better than what we at present can give them. The chief duty of the Government being,

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[72] Frederick Guggisberg, "The Goal of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 21, no. 82 (Jan. 1922): 81-82.
[73] Guggisberg, "The Goal of the Gold Coast," 88-89.

therefore, education."[74] Throughout the governor's discussion on education he laid out

the current state before elaborating on his plans to improve it. Guggisberg mentioned that

most of the colonial government's educational efforts were limited to the southern part of

the colony while "practically the whole of the Northern Territories is still untouched."[75]

Furthermore, he described, out of a population of two million, there were only 25,000

African students in the Gold Coast, a point that was not worth celebrating. For this,

Guggisberg cited two reasons: first the overall lack of secondary education, and second

the emphasis on literary education. Instead of just focusing on literary education,

Guggisberg wanted to expand both industrial education and character training to better

round out African society in the Gold Coast. To remedy these issues, Guggisberg laid out

his plan to continue expanding primary education and establish secondary, technical, and

teacher training facilities.[76] Throughout his tenure as governor of the Gold Coast,

Guggisberg set in motion the most significant expansion of European-style education in

West Africa while also focusing on different aspects of the welfare state.

Guggisberg relied on his ideals to justify expanding the welfare state during the

early part of the interwar period. In addition to his proposed changes to the overall

education system, he also approved the construction of the Native Hospital to offer better

access to healthcare and expand the professional class within the colony. Guggisberg

planned to use the newly established hospital as a place for the immediate training of

nurses and midwives, with the aim to eventually add an on-site medical school to train

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[74] Guggisberg, "The Goal of the Gold Coast," 82.

[75] Guggisberg, "The Goal of the Gold Coast," 83.

[76] Guggisberg, "The Goal of the Gold Coast," 85-86.

doctors.[77] As he explained it, Africans should be able to reach the same level of education within their own country that they could receive from schools in Europe. Although some of Guggisberg's views on the development of education were in line with Lugard's view of indirect rule, he also rejected key principles. While Guggisberg agreed with the need to include industrial and vocational education for most of the population, he also emphasized the need to have a fully trained professional class if there was any hope of self-determination for the Gold Coast.

During his tenure as governor, Guggisberg directed his education plans around his understanding of the end goal of colonial rule within the Gold Coast. Although British rhetoric still painted colonial rule as an means for helping Africa reach its 'full potential,' as the next section will show, officials' agendas in non-settler colonies generally centered around indefinite control over African populations. Guggisberg was an outlier. When laying out his plans for the colony in 1922, he addressed the question on whether or not he believed that Africans, after reaching the highest possible level of education, could be equal to Europeans. He stated that his opinion was an emphatic yes, claiming his "reason for saying so is the results which are already achieved by many Africans-results which are practically entirely due to their own initiative and efforts."[78] He continued his discussion by addressing the lack of Africans in higher-level positions in the colonial government. Guggisberg explained that due to the lack of pay for Africans working in the government, most educated Africans avoided the career track, while the rest did not have access to the necessary education. He continued, "In the last two years, we have made

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[77] Guggisberg, "The Goal of the Gold Coast," 85-86.
[78] Guggisberg, "The Goal of the Gold Coast," 86.

considerable progress in putting Africans into European posts-not as much as I should have liked, but as far as we have dared go in view of the shortage of suitable men."[79] But although he proposed increasing the number of Africans within the colonial government, Guggisberg did not offer any expression towards an eventual end to colonial rule. Instead, in line with premise of indirect rule, he underpinned his aims with an economic justification, reasoning that cutting down the number of European-held positions would reduce the colony's administrative costs.

Overall, Guggisberg's plan to expand education during the interwar period paid off in the long run. During the seven years in which he was governor, the number of schools within the Gold Coast increased by 21 to a total of 234. The government's expenditures on mission and state schools increased from £54,442 to £179,000 within the same period. Although other periods would see even greater increases in number of schools, Guggisberg established the pattern of higher state spending on education that continued beyond his tenure. By 1940, only 14 years later, there were 467 primary schools and five secondary schools in the Gold Coast. While Guggisberg was not governor during this time, his successors continued his policies in line with indirect rule. This was a substantial increase in the rate of expansion for education; while it took forty years from 1880 to 1920 to establish under 100 schools, there was an increase of over 200 schools in half the time during the interwar period.[80] But for all the work Guggisberg did to expand the education system, there were still looming questions concerning the eventual transfer of power from Europeans to Africans. While the end goal of non-settler

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[79] Guggisberg, "The Goal of the Gold Coast," 87.
[80] Yamada, *Dignity of Labour*, 160-166.

colonies was ideally the eventual withdrawal of colonial rule, most West African colonial

governors did not seem to agree, instead of following the lead of settler colonies and

finding ways to maintain control as long as possible. The expansion of the welfare state

under Guggisberg's tenure as governor reflects the first time that colonial officials took

on the responsibilities of government in providing benefits for the people instead of

viewing education as only the indoctrination of Western values.

Issues with Indirect Rule and its Impact on Education

While efficient and cost-effective for the colonial government, the structure of

indirect rule limited extremely the agency of Africans within non-settler colonies. This

system was based on a racial hierarchy that placed white Europeans in unchallengeable

positions of power with the ability to determine what was 'best' for African subjects.

Depending on the governor in charge of any given colony, colonial policies could vary

widely for either better or worse. One of the best examples of indirect rule was

highlighted through the discussion of Guggisberg since he took an active role in

developing both the economy and social services within the Gold Coast. However, that is

not the case for every governor of the Gold Coast or for most colonies using indirect rule

for that matter. As discussed before, Guggisberg tried to replace as many Europeans as

possible with Africans in the colonial government, but even then, it still took another

thirty years before Ghana was an independent nation. The main reason it took so long

was the lack of higher education. By not offering easy access to higher education, British

colonial rule aimed to minimize Africans' avenues to advocate for independence.

Higher education was always a tricky subject for colonial governments under

indirect rule because offering higher forms of education to Africans would allow them to

better grapple with the unequal division of power between Europeans and themselves. If British officials were genuine in their rhetorical overtures of a civilizing mission, they would have made higher education a top priority for every colony since it would shorten the amount of time Europeans needed remain in power. However, this ideal was just a justification to slow the progress of Africans for the benefit of Europeans. Even in the Gold Coast, where Africans were able to take up positions in the government, a British governor always made the final decisions.[81] In a memorandum on the principles of native administration, the colonial administrator Donald Cameron inadvertently highlighted the true lack of power for Africans in the colonies. Cameron stated, "It is, of course, the duty of an Administrative Officer to advise a Native Authority to make any order which may be lawful under the Native Authority Ordinance, if he considers that it is in the interests of his that the order should be made; and if his advice is neglected he may then, under the Ordinance, order the Native Authority to make the required order."[82] This showed that even if Africans disagreed with a colonial authority, the latter could overrule them and continue on as planned. While this generally referred to the treatment of African chiefs, it established that Europeans had all the power even in non-settler colonies.

Due to the nature of indirect rule, it would have been counterproductive for most colonial governments to offer quality higher education since that would include political education. Many of the colonial governments' claim to power rested on the lack of large-scale political organization throughout Africa. They therefore feared that offering easily accessible higher education would allow Africans to develop their own arguments for

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[81] A. Victor Murray, "Education Under Indirect Rule," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 34, no. 136 (July 1935): 227-235.

[82] Qtd. in Murray, "Education Under Indirect Rule," 232.

independence – a development that nevertheless happened as time went on. For indirect rule to truly exist, there could be no political organization of Africans during colonial rule. That is in part why the adaptation policy stressed focusing on industrial and agricultural education instead of literary education. If colonial governments in non-settler colonies never explained the mechanisms of the rule to Africans, they would never have to worry about losing control.[83] In the end, however, colonial governments were eventually pressured into increasing the quality of higher education, which in turn ended their rule during decolonization. Higher education allowed Africans to better understand the structures of colonial power as well as their place in global politics, which allowed them to advocate for the end of colonial rule throughout Africa.

Conclusion

European education starting in the sixteenth-century Gold Coast laid the early groundwork for missionaries and the colonial government to later expand a European education system. While the first Europeans who reached the Gold Coast were not interested in mass education, instead just focusing on training enough Africans to improve trade, they still set the stage for literary education in West Africa. With the arrival of missionaries, literary education continued to expand at a relatively slow pace but did produce early examples of Africans able to gain the necessary skills to continue their education in Europe. Even though the missionary education system was far from perfect, it did help jump-start state education in the early twentieth century. Through the planning and influence of strong governors such as Guggisberg, state education and an entire welfare system started to take shape within the colony. Guggisberg's acceptance of

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[83] Murray, "Education Under Indirect Rule," 240-248.

the government's responsibility to provide education to Africans therefore marked the start of colonial welfare. Although he was unable to accomplish everything he wished, Guggisberg's ideas on African education slowly became more widespread, leading to an overhaul of colonial education following World War II. While Guggisberg's ideals were significant, the general nature of indirect rule ultimately slowed the progress of African education and purposely limited Africans' opportunities for advancement.

State education in non-settler colonies was slowed by the prejudiced view Europeans had regarding the mental capabilities of Africans. This can be clearly seen in how using indirect rule, Africans were always under the management and supervision of their colonizers. Although some British officials truly believed in helping Africans obtain higher forms of education, even this was also within the realm of what Europeans felt was best for Africans and not actually what they were asking for. This can be seen in the attempts of state education to somewhat shift away from a long tradition of literary education in West Africa to focus more on industrial and agricultural training. British officials' prejudiced views of Africans' capabilities were definitely a barrier to expanding state education in non-settler colonies, but it did not halt it since colonial governments understood the need for trained local administrators if they were to effectively control the colonies. However, while race played an important role in education for non-settler colonies, it was nothing compared to how race affected education in settler colonies in both eastern and southern Africa.

IV. RACE RELATIONS AND EDUCATION IN KENYA

The interwar period saw the rise of state education throughout Africa, which had previously been in the hand of missionaries. Due to the vast size of the empire, British officials decided that colonial education's best solution was to have individual colonial governments develop their systems. As a result of the educational policy's localized nature, it is essential to distinguish between the education offered in settler colonies and that in non-settler colonies. In Britain's settler colonies in eastern and southern Africa, colonial officials, missionaries, and settlers framed the provision of education through their understanding of race and racial difference. These views were critical in developing education policy during the interwar decades since colonial officials determined the allocation of funds, the quality of education offered, and access to education. Kenya provides a perfect case study to determine how views on race negatively impacted African education in settler colonies and slowed the welfare empire's development. Using primarily colonial government reports on education in Kenya, this chapter will investigate how prejudiced views on race heavily influenced a racially segregated school system and how the colonial government slowly accepted responsibility for African education.

Several historical studies examine either race relations or education specifically in Kenya. For example, as different as their studies may be, both Dane Kennedy and Tabitha Kanogo approach race relations in Kenya by describing how socio-economic conditions affect identity and culture.[84] These studies focus on race relations in different

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[84] Dane Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987); Tabitha Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of the Mau Mau, 1905-1963* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987).

ways but do not interrogate the role of colonial education in forming such tense relations. The studies that examine education in Kenya tend to focus on government cooperation with missionaries and how overall colonial policy impacted education. Two key examples of this type of scholarship are Evanson Wamagatta's article "Changes of Government Policy Towards Mission Education in Colonial Kenya and Their Effects on the Mission: The Case of Gospel Missionary Society" and Renison Githige's article "The Mission State Relationship in Colonial Kenya: A Summary."[85] These articles examined what happened to missionary education due to government involvement but only alluded to missionaries' attitudes towards race. The question remains then whether there is a strong connection between the early twentieth-century understanding of race, the structure of colonial education in Kenya, and the development of the welfare empire.

Race and Education in Kenya, 1919

Race relations have always been tenuous in settler colonies since power was maintained by a small minority governing over the majority. Settlers in Kenya understood this simple truth and formed an education system that primarily benefited Europeans. Kenya differed from most settler colonies due to the presence of multiple minority races.[86] The presence of various minorities allows for crucial insights on the development of educational policy based on race. Race was the determining factor for which a group received top priority for the quality of education and allocation of funds. The earliest demographic information for the start of the interwar period is the 1921

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[85] Evanson Wamagatta, "Changes of Government Policy Towards Mission Education in Colonial Kenya and Their Effects on the Mission: The Case of Gospel Missionary Society," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 38, no. 1 (2008): 3-26; Renison Muchiri Githige, "The Mission State Relationship in Colonial Kenya: A Summary," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 13, no. 2 (1982): 100-125.
[86] See, for example, Sana Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya: The Politics of Diaspora* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015).

census. This census highlights how small a minority of European settlers were in Kenya. In 1921, there were 9,651 Europeans, 22,822 Indians, and between 2.5 and 3 million Africans.[87] Although Europeans were the minority, they maintained power in the colony and were able to shape the education system to the detriment of other races.

Colonial officials had very little to do with African education before the interwar period. Instead, officials focused educational efforts on the European settlers and Indians' living in major cities while missionaries undertook the education of the native African population. Following the First World War, colonial authorities signaled they would become more involved in education, organizing an Education Commission in 1919 meant to survey the current state of education within British East Africa and was the first step towards state education for Africans in Kenya. Before the Education Commission was established, colonial officials had very little interest in African education, prioritizing the education of the European population. This commission's method for collecting information about the current state of colonial education was to request statements from prominent members of several communities to determine the next steps for government education. The three central communities that the commission consulted with were European settlers, upper-class Indian professionals, and missionaries. The statements from individuals in these groups illuminate the mindset of those in control of developing educational policy. Each of these groups was only concerned with the education of one race. This led to the conclusion that the quality of education was linked to race, which can be seen in the government system's early development. Their input, which distinguished different educational objectives for different racial categories, directly

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[87] Kenya, *Report of the 1921 Census* (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1921).

informed the commission's recommendations and the ensuing policy.[88]

The Education Commission solicited the views of several European settlers, even though the setters could not draw from broad experience in the field. Most of the settlers that provided statements to the Education Commission simply had children attending government schools and were interested in their education. As a result of their priorities, these settlers ignored the need for education of other races and only focused on Europeans in their testimonies. One such testimony featured prominently in the commission's report was that of Arthur Joseph Barry, an education advocate living in Nairobi. In his submission, he advocated several changes to Kenya's European education system's curriculum and maintenance. The first significant change he requested was removing Greek from the curriculum to be replaced by Latin and French, if possible. He chose these languages over Greek since they would be more beneficial for university admission in Britain. As for other curriculum changes, he believed that religious studies should be taught at home, and there should be extracurricular activities, for example, photography, gymnastics, and marksmanship. These activities were needed to develop the students' sense of competition and have a more rounded education. Not only did Barry discuss the type of education he wanted to see, but he also had an opinion on the administrative structure of education. Barry argued that the Director of Education should be abolished and be replaced by a school board.[89] His recommendation to abolish the Director of Education was an attempt to decentralize education in the colony. If education were decentralized, European settlers would have had more influence over educational

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[88] Education Commission, *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate,* 1919.
[89] Arthur Joseph Barry paraphrased in the *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 19-20.

development in the territory. Barry's testimony was somewhat typical of what the

Education Commission received from European settlers and demonstrated that Europeans

did not have one mindset about the organization of education in Kenya.

Alice Beaton was another European settler that lived in Nairobi who was asked to

comment on the education system regarding the curriculum and access for girls. Beaton

was similar to Barry in that both had children attending school in Nairobi and England.

Generally, they agreed on most issues except for abolishing the Director of Education.

The reason both of these settlers wished for Latin to be included because English

universities were requiring it, and they wanted to improve their children's chances of

acceptance. She also agreed on the need to provide education for girls and increase the

fees for boarding school.[90] This increase in costs was emblematic of the settlers living in

the colony; since most were wealthy and well educated, they had a more liberal

mindset.[91] The same cannot be said about the poor whites born in Africa, who relied

heavily on the development of high-quality state education since they could not afford to

build and maintain private schools. Due to economic liberalism, most settlers believed in

less government regulation and support for education. As a result, education was

restricted to those with enough money to afford it and those lucky enough to get

government support, primarily poor whites. Their liberal mindset also accounts for

Barry's desire to abolish the Director of Education and the subsequent decentralization of

the education system. One crucial issue with liberal imperialism in the colonial setting is

the constant paradoxes. These paradoxes arise from the belief that Europeans colonized

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[90] Alice Beaton paraphrased in *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 21-22.
[91] Dane Kennedy, *Islands of White*, 45-46.

Africa to uplift Africans while developing systems that perpetually make them subservient to settlers.[92] Significantly even though these two settlers agreed on much in their submission, they both ignored the development of education for any other race in Kenya. Barry clearly stated he had "not considered Indian and Native education," while Beaton did not bring up the subject.[93] This shows that, although these settlers may have been education advocates, they were still focused only on the development of their race. European settlers lobbied the government to improve the education system's specific parts with no interest in what happened with Africans.

Although less common, the Education Commission did hear from a small number of white settlers who addressed African education. Unlike other settlers, Ian Quiller Orchardson had lived in East Africa for almost nine years and was interested in African education, but he did not expect that native Africans would receive an education comparable to Europeans. Orchardson believed that "natives must be taught with religion" to develop proper morals.[94] Along with this attention to morals, he asserted that Africans should receive technical education since they could naturally learn to farm without European instruction. The final part of his submission covered his views on why Africans should not receive state-supported literary education, like that in white schools. This, Orchardson expressed, was "undesirable and a waste of time and money. Only a small percentage of natives are capable of benefiting by or making any use of such an education."[95] Overall, although he believed that Africans should receive an education, it

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[92] For more on the paradoxical nature of liberal imperialism, see Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
[93] Barry quoted in the *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 20.
[94] Orchardson quoted in the *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 63.
[95] Orchardson quoted in the *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 63.

was limited to a combination of moral and technical education that he thought would best suit Africans for their place in society.

The testimonies of Barry, Beaton, and Orchardson demonstrate the ways European settlers expressed a range of recommendations about education in Kenya while also sharing a single overarching assumption. Generally, they promoted a higher standard of education for Europeans with either no statement on education for Africans or support for an education system that presumed Africans would remain subservient to white settlers. Their views on education were highly influential within the colony since Europeans held a majority on the Legislative Council. Using their influence, settlers could lobby the government to limit Africans' educational opportunities in Kenya due to the lack of centralized authority on education. With enough pressure, the governor would listen to the settlers in Kenya over the Advisory Committee's recommendations. The lack of a centralized education authority in 1919 meant that every race had to lobby the government for themselves and fractured the overall development of education in the colony. Since each race only advocated for itself, school segregation was commonplace because private donors, instead of the state, financed most education.

The lack of government control of the overall education system in 1919 can be seen in the submissions of Indian settlers to the Education Commission. One private donor advocating for Indian education was Abdulrasul Allidina Visram. Visram was a Mombasa merchant, originally from Bagomoyo; he moved to India at age nine and received an education before moving back to East Africa. In his submission, he discussed the inadequate quality of education for Indian students around the city. As a way of fixing the issue, Visram offered to provide a building costing £10,000 to serve as a school and

£5,000 for the maintenance and staffing for three years.[96] After three years, the

government would assume financial responsibility with the obligation to maintain a

"standard of education up to the matriculation commencement."[97] With his investment,

Visram wanted to increase the quality of education to the standard required for university

admissions for Indian students. He stressed the importance of compulsory education for

boys through high school and girls through elementary. In his opinion, all primary

education should be free, while higher education should be paid for through fees,

allowing all Indians to get primary education. As part of this basic education, he wanted

agricultural education to be necessary for poor Indians so they would have a way to

sustain themselves outside the city.[98] Overall, Visram was willing to invest a large

amount of private capital in developing secular education for Indians in Mombasa based

on India's system. Unfortunately, not everyone agreed with him entirely, and other

members of the Indian community responded to his submission.

Most of Visram's critics in the Indian community generally agreed with his

proposal but had minor adjustments in mind. Another Mombasa businessman who

submitted recommendations on education in 1919 was Nathubhai Jivanji Desai of the

Desai Pandit Bros. Desai agreed with Visram's suggestions on the need for a new school

for the most part and that it should follow the system in India. His main disagreement

was the implementation of compulsory education. Instead, he believed that only primary

education for boys should be mandatory and that female education should be optional.

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[96] Visram paraphrased in the *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 16.
[97] Visram quoted in the *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 16.
[98] Visram paraphrased in the *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919,* 16-17.

Desai's response was reasonably mild; on the whole, he agreed and only had minor changes in mind. Shams-ud-Deen, on the other hand, believed in offering children a solid religious education, going so far as to recommend the government consider subsidizing private schools as long as the school provided a quality education.[99] He repeatedly brought up the privatization of Indian education from within the community with government subsidies. His main criticism of Visram's recommendations was the secular nature and the price for education offered. These education advocates' economic background gave them an advantage over Africans when they lobbied for an expanded system.[100]

To start with, all three of these men were from the professional class in Mombasa, ranging from a merchant to a lawyer's clerk, and had received education in India under the British system. Combined, their wealth and education earned them some influence in the colonial administration; even if Indians had less political authority than Europeans, they were able to advocate for Indian education in a way very few Africans could at the time. However, instead of using their colonial education as a shared experience to promote universal education throughout Kenya for all races, they only focused on developing schools for Indian students. In both Visram's and Desai's submissions, neither explicitly stated that the school's education should be only for Indians, but the omission of other races implied it. Shams-ud-Deen clearly believed in segregated facilities when he stated he "[did] not think the Indian community will agree that money raised from taxes from them for the purposes of education should be spent on other

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[99] For more on Shams-ud-Deen's role in Kenyan politics, see Sana Aiyer, *Indians in Kenya.*
[100] Desai paraphrased in the *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 30.

races."[101] By advocating for only Indian education, these men undermined the development of African education. Due to the limited resources and attention that could be spent on education, all investments that only helped one race consequently hurt another. Indians' higher position in society and influence were only part of the strained race relations and underdeveloped education system for Africans in Kenya.

While Europeans and Indians were able to advocate for their educational goals, the Education Commission relied on missionary testimony to stand in for African advocacy. Both minority groups were content with developing their education through private donors within their respective communities. This view on educational development allowed early education advocates to set up a private segregated school system that excluded Africans. As for the government's role in this system, it subsidized private schools and managed a few of their own segregated schools. However, this was starting to change in 1919 when colonial officials realized the need to improve African education. As a result of this realization, officials began to discuss the possibility of cooperation with missionary societies to expand African education further. Although government officials were keen on the idea of cooperation, not all missionaries shared the same view.

Missionaries View on Race in Education and Government Cooperation

Missionaries' views on both race and government cooperation were crucial in the development of the state education system in colonial Kenya. Since Africans were disenfranchised, and colonial officials were not responsible for African education, it was left to missionaries alone to implement and maintain a functioning education system. Due

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[101] Shams-ud-Deen quoted in *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 31.

to the amount of power mission societies had over African education, it is vital to understand their views on race and cooperation. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, many different mission societies flocked to Kenya to spread Christianity and improve the lives of Africans. Three of the largest Christian societies were the Africa Inland Mission, Church of Scotland Mission, and the Church Missionary Society. All three organizations defined a crucial part of their work to be African education. The end goals were different from mission to mission, but missionaries thought it was necessary to provide a primary education to instill fundamental Christian values. Within these organizations, individual missionaries held an extensive range of opinions on African education and government support. Their views would ultimately shape education in rural Kenya and government policy by aiding the Adaptation policies development.[102] Unfortunately, the decentralized nature of education meant that only missionaries influenced African education, which reinforced school segregation within Kenya.

Due to missionary control over African education, the Education Commission collected the opinions of several missionaries. Most of these submissions came from the significant three societies detailing how they understood the current state of education and their views on how it should be improved. The largest of the three organizations was African Inland Mission (A.I.M.), which had the most conservative opinion on African education. A.I.M.'s director for British East Africa, Lee Harper Downing, had lived in the region for 18 years and acted as the organization's leading advocate in its interactions with the colonial government. In his submission in 1919, Downing detailed that his

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[102] Adaptation was the colonial education policy designed to adapt a European education to suit local needs throughout the empire, primarily focused on agriculture and technical education.

organization had 75 missionaries stationed in 17 locales around East Africa. Although

they were the largest mission society operating in Kenya, Downing stressed that "none of

our missionaries have completed the normal course at home."[103] He meant that most

missionary teachers lacked any formal teacher training from Britain. Due to their lack of

training and constant rotation, A.I.M. only offered a primary education focused on

Christianity and reading at a rudimentary level. As for his view on the government, he

supported government support for education as long as missionaries controlled religious

matters. This and all of Downing's recommendations stemmed from his firm opposition

to secular education, which revealed how he understood the broader objectives for

providing education to Africans. Downing repeatedly expressed that Africans needed

Christianity before they could take on higher forms of education.

Downing's recommendations became more significant when positioned alongside

those of another A.I.M. missionary who was far more direct in his opinion of African

education and government involvement. In contrast to Downing, John Bergman thought

there should be no interference from the state in any of the missionaries' educational

work. As he explained, "[Our] principal aim is religion. We give education in connection

with religion. The two cannot be separated."[104] His insistence on only teaching religious

matters can be seen in his views on African education. He believed that African

education should be limited to just reading and writing since "the native by himself

cannot do anything. Either clerking or technical work. They have no initiative."[105]

Clearly, he did not think that Africans had a similar aptitude like that of Europeans for

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[103] Downing quoted in the *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 35.
[104] Bergman quoted in *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 22.
[105] Bergman quoted in *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 23.

education; this statement is reflective of how most missionaries viewed Africans in Kenya. Bergman's views on education and government were clearly stated in his submission; while Downing did not discuss it much, Bergman's views on education were generally representative of A.I.M. missionaries. A.I.M. missionaries were offering the equivalent of a third-grade education with a primary focus on religion. Religion-focused education made A.I.M. refuse government support in favor of religious education. Their refusal was based on the fact that government regulations focused on secular education. Over time, this viewpoint would eventually make Africans choose the type of education they received, causing an outflow of students from A.I.M. schools.[106] This shows that although Africans had few educational options, they still had some agency to decide which missionary society's school to attend. Not only does this highlight the agency of Africans, but it also alludes to African discontent with missionary education. Their discontent would eventually lay the foundation for an independent school system in the 1930s.

The students that left A.I.M. schools generally went to either one of the few government schools or tried to get into a Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) technical school. C.M.S. also believed in religious education, but some missionaries advocated for a higher quality education in Africa. John Hampshire was an Archdeacon of the C.M.S. working in Mombasa after working as a missionary in East Africa for twenty-five years. Hampshire, unlike A.I.M. missionaries, recommended increased government spending on colonial education and expanded the curriculum that centered around reading and writing skills.[107] Although Hampshire advocated for education beyond the primary level, not all

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[106] Wamagatta, "Changes of Government Policies Toward Mission Education in Colonial Kenya," 4-5.
[107] Hampshire paraphrased in *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate,*

C.M.S. missionaries promoted the idea. For example, C.M.S. missionary Harry Leakey, like most missionaries, believed religious education was vital for the development of Africans. He also thought it would be essential to have settlers on the education boards for schools in Kenya, which raised the question for how the state could operate and control education facilities for rural Africans.[108] Several issues arose from adding settlers to determine African education. Primarily missionaries did not believe that Africans could obtain a literary education. Missionaries that relied on settlers' help actively hampered African education's progress by allowing for the further segregation of schools. That was not the only issue with missionaries working with settlers on education. Another was an association based on race; missionaries were linked to settlers since they were both white. This association made it difficult for Africans to trust missionaries in the White Highlands area because they believed that both groups of Europeans were there to exploit them.[109] High racial tensions between Africans and Europeans made it easier for government officials to leave African education in missionaries' hands.

The Church of Scotland Mission held a less radical approach to education compared to A.I.M. missionaries and Hampshire. C.S.M. missionaries were generally more concerned about the languages in which education was offered instead of the overall quality of advanced education. Missionaries promoted Swahili over English for most education, only offering to teach English to students that attend regularly and showed an aptitude for learning. This was due to not wanting to waste time and effort

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1919, 41.

[108] Leakey paraphrased in *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 50.

[109] Githige "The Mission State Relationship," 115-119.

teaching English to students that infrequently attended class. Most of their submissions to the Education Commission focused on the need for more trained teachers and how to convince chiefs to let children attend school.[110] Overall, the C.S.M. held the same views as most missionaries. Their goal was to spread Christianity and teach essential reading and writing in vernacular languages leaving English for more advanced students. The monopoly on African education was remarkable for missionaries in Kenya during the early phases of colonial rule. It allowed them to dictate education quality, ranging from wanting to give Africans only an elementary education to a literary education equivalent to Europeans. Their views on race and government support and the lack of trained teachers significantly slowed African education progression.

There were several critical issues with missionary education before the interwar period. These issues included the lack of trained teachers, funding, and the prejudiced views on race most missionaries held. Together, these issues made it unrealistic that mission societies alone could support African education, which forced colonial officials to take over. The few missionaries that supported literary education were far outnumbered by their colleagues, making it impossible to implement their plans without large amounts of government assistance. However, after the First World War, African demand for educational provisions began to skyrocket against growing expressions of discontent more broadly.[111] This pushed the colonial government and education advocates to develop a better state education system in Kenya that was meant to uplift Africans based on their liberal imperialism mindset.

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[110] Education Commission, *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919*, 84-86, 92-93.
[111] Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* (Government Printer, 1923) 4-6.

Missionary Education and Government Cooperation in the Public Sphere

In the years leading up to and surrounding the formation of the Adaptation policy, the public sphere allowed both critics and defenders of missionary education to debate the goal of African education. The two principal publications that took part in this debate were the London *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*. This debate can be separated into two sections, the first being if there should be any government cooperation with missions in Africa. The origins of this debate can be seen as early as 1919 in East Africa when several members of A.I.M. expressed differing views on cooperation due to the fear of secularized education. The second part of the debate focused on the nature and quality of African education following the implementation of the Adaptation policy. Throughout the early 1920s, there was little discussion of African education in the public sphere until 1924; most mentions of African education previous to this were generally concerned with education in West Africa or covering the proceedings of missionary conferences. However, this started to change with the formation of the Advisory Committee and an increased interest in African education from colonial officials. In 1924, the London *Times* went from barely mentioning colonial education in Africa to covering it several times a month leading up to Adaptation. The publication started by covering basic news such as the Advisory Committee members, the start of Dr. Jones's second education commission, and any information discussed by members of the Committee or the government.[112] It was not until after Dr. Jones finished his report *Education in East Africa* that the debate on government cooperation with missionaries on African education entered the public

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[112] See examples where discussion of African education appeared in the *Times* in 1924 "Native Education in Tropical Africa," 1/5/1924; "East African Education Inquiry," 1/15/1924; Our Correspondent, "Education of the African Natives," 3/7/1924; Nairobi Correspondent, "Educating the African," 3/29/1924.

sphere.

In early 1925, there were two letters written to the editor of the *Times* discussing the need or lack of government cooperation in missionary education for Africans. The first letter was from a former missionary that worked in Uganda named John Roscoe. Throughout the first part of his letter, Roscoe explained the goals of education during his time in East Africa. Roscoe stated that missionary education was supposed to teach Africans to read the scriptures and to train more teachers to continue the cycle. He continued by discussing how education had to change with the establishment of the British Protectorate since Africans were now required to be clerks and artisans to avoid foreign competition, which generally referred to Indian migrants. This foreign competition would continue with the completion of the railroad and expanded trading networks. Due to these changing circumstances, after years of missionary-controlled education, Roscoe asked, "What is it that is required today, and why is there this sudden call for State control?"[113] He believed the answer was that people wanted Africans to receive the same education as Europeans. In response to that idea, he argued he would oppose any education system that deprived missions of the control on African education and Africans of their independence. Roscoe, similar to A.I.M. missionaries, refused the idea of government cooperation with missionaries in fear of secularized education and thought that compulsory government education destroyed what he believed to be the ideal education by forcing an untenable pace. Although Roscoe felt that government cooperation would ruin education, others called for increased support and coordination.

Several days after Roscoe's letter to the editor, Garfield Williams responded by

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[113] John Roscoe, "Education of Africans," *Times* [London], January 16, 1925, 8.

explaining what he saw as the benefits of government cooperation. In order to do this, Williams addressed several of Roscoe's concerns by discussing how the government and missionaries shared responsibility for African education would be prepared for the changing nature of educational needs in East Africa. Not only was their shared responsibility important, but Williams also claimed that the Director of Education for Uganda would be mindful of missionary educational tradition alleviating Roscoe's fears of complete secular education.[114] Williams' letters did little to provide any progress offered by government and missionary cooperation for African education. Instead, he simply offered platitudes as a way of calming down traditionalist missionaries prior to the implementation of the Adaptation policy. This debate was short-lived in the public sphere since shortly afterward, government cooperation would be required to receive funds for educational endeavors throughout Africa. The end of this debate led to the next, which focused on the quality of education being offered through cooperation.

Unlike the first phase of the debate over government and missionary control over education, the second debate examined the nature of education in Kenya. Two key figures in this debate were Joseph Oldman and Norman Leys, who debated the nature of education in several publications, including the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Scots Observer*. Most of their debate in the public sphere took place more than a year after the implementation of Adaptation which had given critics of the system time to form an argument. However, these men had been in correspondence with each other for several years discussing education and other aspects of African society. Prior to their debate going public, Leys had continually criticized Oldman's view on development in Kenya,

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[114] Garfield Williams, "Education of Africans," *Times* [London], January 19, 1925, 8.

only taking the debate public after Oldman joined the Advisory Committee.[115] This switch to the public sphere was Leys' attempt to put pressure on both the government and missionaries in hopes of improving education in East Africa to standards similar to West Africa.

Leys criticized the cooperation between the government and missionaries by attacking both sides of the education system. First, he criticized the government's approach in a letter to the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*. The two main criticisms he raised were that colonial officials dehumanized Africans as in the case of South Africa and that they followed the recommendations of the Jones commission. He believed that settler colonies crafted a culture that actively crushed the progress of Africans due to their beliefs in the inherent inferiority of Africans. As for the Jones commission, his initial criticism was that Jones had discovered the "horrifying fact that African children were being taught just what European children are taught" and decided to teach Africans their place.[116] Leys criticized the educational system from the left, calling for equal education opportunities in Africa for Africans that Europeans had at home. In response to the criticism of the Adaptation policy by Leys, Oldman clarified the Advisory Committee's position in his letter to the editor. Most of Oldman's response focused on Jones' qualifications and reiterated his experience on African education due to his time in America and the need to adapt education as a way to avoid Westernizing Africans. The bases for these claims were that missionaries in Asia were dealing with nationalists wanting a more adaptive education.[117] Oldman did not go into much depth in his

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[115] John Cell, *By Kenya, Possessed*, 1976, 254-276.
[116] Norman Leys, "The Education of the African" *Manchester Guardian*, October 26, 1926, as found in John Cell, *By Kenya Possessed*, 277.
[117] Joseph Oldman, letter to the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, October 29, 1926, as found in John

response, trying to generalize the adaptation policy even though it was designed to work better on the local level. By discussing it as an overall policy, he clearly missed some of the issues located in East Africa. Due to this lack of detail, the debate continued in the *Manchester Guardian* when Leys once again criticized Oldman.

In his second letter, Leys examines his issues with Jones' recommendations to the Advisory Committee and Oldman's role in promoting it. One issue he had with Jones' recommendation was that the idea of "rhythm" in education made no sense and was used to slow progress in Africa. He also called out Oldman for promoting a government education program from the very same government that denied land rights to Africans.[118] Leys criticized both the government and missionary education systems in the public sphere since he believed they were not offering the proper education in Africa. He believed that Africans should receive the exact same education as Europeans. This was just the beginning of the debates over the quality of education offered by the government in Africa. Over time, the government would have to improve its education policy due to public pressure at home and abroad. Although there was some public pressure, not every recommendation was implemented in Kenya. Since the colonial government had the final say on the expenditure of funds, it is important to determine their attitudes on race and development throughout the interwar period to understand why education in Kenya was underdeveloped.

State education in Kenya 1922-1945

Race was the primary reason that education was underdeveloped in Kenya and

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Cell, *By Kenya Possessed*, 278-280.

[118] Norman Leys, letter to the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, October 29, 1926, as found in John Cell, *By Kenya Possessed*, 280-283.

other settler colonies. The Education Commission's inquiry set the tone for the following decades of educational policy in Kenya; the colonial government had to maintain government schools while also supporting missionary and private schools of varied quality. Each of these schools catered to only a single race, which in turn determined the curriculum. The issue of education in Kenya was never the highest level of education offered, but which group of students could pursue it. Throughout the interwar period, colonial officials continuously spent more money on European education than either Indian or African education, even though Europeans were the smallest minority. Colonial officials' and settlers' views on race embedded the education system with systemic racism; this enabled Europeans to maintain their status of power in Kenya, while Africans were forced into a subservient position with limited access to any form of higher education. This systemic racism was the continuation and reinforcement of an already segregated school system.

The 1920s proved to be the most formative period for the colonial education system in Kenya. Those first few years of state education laid the foundation for the ever-constant racism within the system. At the beginning of the interwar period, colonial officials focused on cooperation with missionaries for African schools, but not European and Indian schools. As an Annual Report on Education in 1923 explained, the primary reason that officials wanted to cooperate with mission societies was that "it was more economical" than building new schools and wanted "to replace pagan superstitions by a sound religious belief."[119] Neither of these reasons focused on the limited education offered by missions; instead, the government's top concern was cost. In pursuit of

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[119] Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* (Government Printer, 1923) 15-16.

limiting expenditures, colonial officials insisted on using unqualified mission teachers throughout Kenya, only partially educating children in rural areas. Part of the issue was the salary offered to teachers. Most qualified teachers refused to work at missions due to the low pay compared to government schools.

Money and faith were not the only reasons that colonial officials wanted cooperation. Some officials in the Education Department held a negative view of Africans due to their race. Here, the language used by colonial education officials was strikingly similar to what was seen from settlers like Orchardson. For instance, one colonial official thought "that the solution of the problem of the education of backwards races lies in the co-operation of the Government and the missionary societies.''[120] Nor was this view of Africans being a backward or inferior race an isolated instance during the early years of state-provided education. In a 1924 report on education, another official explained the issue with African education "is the evolution of a system which, while offering the fullest opportunity for a gradual and reasonable development of Africans in accordance with their environment, at the same time fits them for co-operation with the superior races." Later in the report, there was a justification for focusing on primary and industrial education. Officials believed "the mentality of the African [was] underdeveloped and it [was] universally admitted that… manual training [was] especially valuable in developing the motor centers of the brain."[121] Since officials believed that Africans were underdeveloped and backward, they had no issue with offering subpar education through missionaries. The goal of African education in Kenya was to produce

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[120]Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* (Government Printer, 1923) 13.
[121] Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* (Government Printer, 1924) 18.

an underclass that served Europeans and Indians. These views on education allowed for the formation of a fully segregated school system where each of the primary races in Kenya had varied support from the government.

While colonial officials' views on race negatively impacted African education, it also highlights the key failure of the early welfare state in Kenya. The common belief among officials that cooperation was the best solution for African education shows that they did not want the state to be responsible for the provision of African social services. Officials were more than willing to be responsible for European education by having compulsory education regardless of the cost but were slow to accept any responsibility for Africans. Instead of spending the resources necessary to create and maintain quality schools for Africans, colonial officials shifted most of the responsibility to missionaries for the duration of the interwar period. Similar to the prejudiced views on race, the lack of urgency to accept responsibility for African education slowed the development of the welfare state.

One prominent impact segregation had on the education system was that each race expected a different education standard. Most Europeans had the option of sending their children to either a government or private school that offered high-quality primary and secondary education. These schools were usually well funded and had qualified staff from England to teach a European literary education. Unlike African education, the government urged compulsory education for Europeans with the goal of minimizing "the parasite class."[122] This need for European education was not based on universal education ideals but to protect their status in society as a superior race. As a result of being a small

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[122] Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, 1924*, 2.

minority, Europeans believed that to "retain the leadership of Kenya, a high standard of education must be demanded."[123] With this mindset, government officials were always more concerned with developing European education over African education. While Europeans were expected to pursue secondary education, officials were happy if Africans just attended mission schools regularly. This low metric allowed the government to claim it saw evidence of progress in colonial education just by increased enrollment. Colonial officials had no expectations of Africans being prepared to enter British universities anytime soon. As for Indian education, it was a mix between both the European and African systems. Due to most Indian schools being either government or private, they received more financial support than African schools, which allowed them to offer a higher standard of education that followed the Indian code. The staff at these schools were usually trained and from India with a European headmaster. The curriculum in these schools varied, but several schools met European standards while others focused more on agriculture and industry.[124] The early segregation of the education system allowed the government to devote more resources and focus on European and Indian education while continuing to underfund and all but ignore African education. This was because the state was content to allow missionaries to serve as essentially as their intermediaries for Africans.

The Adaptation policy proposed by the 1922 Phelps-Stokes Commission did little to change Kenya's education system. Since cooperation was already the policy in Kenya, all Adaptation did was allow colonial officials to increase the number of assisted schools

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[123] Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, 1924*, 2.
[124] Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, 1924*, 14-16.

and try to expand the number of government schools.[125] The view on colonial education had changed from assisting missionaries to having missionaries lighten the government's load. Although this change in perception seemed promising, the segregation of schools had already been established as a standard, and the small changes that the government did introduce – such as the formation of an advisory committee in 1924, were hamstrung from the start by limited remit. Furthermore, the colonial government was able to dismiss public criticism concerning racial tension handily, as it did in the annual education report of 1925 when it implied that the concerns about racial disparities were unfounded and damaging to their efforts.[126] Even though the government dismissed the criticism, there were still clearly racial issues within the education system. The systematic racism was built into the segregation of schools and the varying standard of education offered around the colony. The transition from missionary control to state oversight of education ignored the primary issue within the system. Instead of desegregating schools, the government doubled down on a broken system by maintaining racist limits on access to quality education in their segregated schools.

Once the segregation of schools had solidified, the Education Department of Kenya did little to improve the system. From 1925 to 1935, the only three aspects of education that changed were the amount of net expenditure on education, the increased enrollment of students throughout the colony, and a change to the overall education structure. The organizational changes resulted from the 1931 Education Ordinance and the District Education Boards Ordinance of 1934. These changes set up separate advisory

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[125] African Education Commission, *Education in Africa*. 1922.
[126] Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* (Government Printer, 1925) 2.

councils for each race and school boards to help administer education in highly populated areas.[127] Although these changes improved the administration of education in cities, they did nothing to fix the systemic issues. Unfortunately, even though the other changes are noteworthy, neither addressed the fundamental problems within the education system.

During the decade, there were continuous shifts in the total expenditure on education and increased student enrollment for all races. During the late 1920s, the annual expenditure on school increased, but then the government began to make cuts during the first few years of the 1930s.[128] Moreover, student enrollment increased throughout the period, forcing schools to stretch their limited resources even further. By 1935, the total number of enrolled students was 1,168 Europeans, 6,627 Indians, and approximately 97,000 Africans.[129] Expenditure and enrollment were the two significant statistics that colonial education officials in Kenya showed concern. Instead of focusing on increasing the quality of education for Africans, they only cared about increased enrollment. The average amount of money spent on a European student in both government and aided schools was approximately £47 in 1928 and £37 in 1935. This high amount of expenditure being spent on Europeans highlights the priorities of colonial officials. While Europeans were getting over £35 per student per year throughout the interwar period, Africans averaged less than £1 per student per year. The lack of investment for African education echoed the belief that Africans should not receive higher standards of education. Colonial officials continually spent significantly more

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[127]Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* (Government Printer, 1935) 8.
[128] Total Amount Spent on Education in 1928: £ 162,385; 1930: £ 190,482; 1935: £ 172,134.
[129] Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, 1935,* 12-13.

resources in non-African schools to maintain control, leaving African education to fall behind. However, not all Africans accepted this system; instead of staying within the missionary school system, Africans made an independent education system of their own.

Of these independent school associations, only one was mentioned by colonial officials in their annual reports. The Kikuyu Independent School Association was started and run by Africans in 1930 due to disagreements between Africans and missionaries over the controversy of female circumcision. This association tried to develop an education system that reflected the British system. Although this association was formed in 1930, colonial officials did not consider it worth mentioning until 1936, when it reached 6,000 students. However, officials viewed the K.I.S.A negatively for several reasons, such as low education standards, not following the government syllabus, and trying to take missionary teachers away from mission schools. When colonial education authorities first described the Kikuyu association, it was in the context of explaining how they tried several times to aid the independent schools but were continuously turned down due to the Kikuyu not wanting any European interference.[130] The Kikuyu did not want European interference because they wanted to maintain complete control even though they offered a low quality of education. The Kikuyus' decision to develop their own school system once again highlights their agency in picking an education system. Tired of constantly being under-represented, African education advocates aided the rise of increased Kikuyu nationalism.[131] The very existence of an independent school system

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[130] Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* (Government Printer, 1936) 53-54.
[131] For more on Kikuyu nationalism, see Tabitha Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of the Mau Mau*; Cora Ann Presley, "The Mau Mau Rebellion, Kikuyu Women, and Social Change," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 22, no. 3 (1988): 502-527.

illuminates the failures of the colonial government. By allowing missionaries to control African education for so long while not offering high education standards, Africans grew to resent the existing education system. Even though their education system did not provide any higher standard of education, it was at least theirs, which was better than before. As for the Africans that stayed within the European education system, the fundamental issues would continue to strain the education system during the remainder of the interwar period and throughout the Second World War.

Shortly after the start of the war, the British government passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940, allowing metropolitan funds be used for educational purposes.[132] This increase in available funds should have dramatically changed the nature of education in Kenya. However, instead of improving African education by offering post-secondary education, colonial officials accelerated the interwar period's trends. During the interwar period, the colonial government spent less money overall on European education than African education.[133] Though they spent less overall, the amount per student favored European students. This problem only worsened during the war, when the total expenditure on European education continually increased. However, African education failed to maintain a similar increase ratio as European education; this increase in disparities between the two education systems reflected failures of colonial education for Africans. Throughout the war, colonial officials poured an ever-increasing amount of resources into European education while barely changing the amount offered to Africans. Each year African students would receive less money per

[132] Constantine, *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy*.
[133] Expenditure on European education in 1935 was: £42,041; 1943: £87,845; 1944: £119,631. Expenditure on African education in 1935 was: £74,097; 1943: £75,118; 1944: £93,968.

student, even after the Colonial Development and Welfare Act.[134]

State Education 1946-1963

Once the war ended, the colonial government attempted to make good on the 1940 Colonial Development and Welfare Act goals. Following the implementation of the British welfare state, members of the European Advisory Council tried to markedly improve education for all races in East Africa by proposing the construction of a technical college in Nairobi that would be open to all races. The proposal was notable first because it challenged the status quo of segregated schools in Kenya. This was the first step towards integrating schools, which became a priority for colonial officials during the 1950s. The second major takeaway from this proposal was that it highlighted a change in the nature of colonial officials' understating of African education and their responsibility to provide quality services. With the passage of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940, the British government finally accepted responsibility for African education on behalf of all colonial governments. Even though some colonies like the Gold Coast had already started to develop a colonial welfare state, the 1940 act brought the rest of the empire into line. Prior to 1946, African technical education was in its infancy in Kenya, with only a few trade schools. The proposal of a technical college for all races illustrates that colonial officials had shifted their position on the quality of education that Africans should be able to equal that of Europeans.[135] With this new understanding, colonial officials finally increased the priority of African education by developing government-controlled secondary and higher education and considering social

[134]Kenya, *Annual Reports of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, 1940-1945.*
[135] Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* (Government Printer, 1946) 2-3.

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welfare. Therefore, following the war two new sections appeared in the annual reports: school meals and medical services. These services were offered to students of all races, although medical services were only located in urban areas. As for school meals, they were generally provided for students in need or those at boarding schools. This expansion of the welfare empire reflects changes already provided to students in England finally being implemented into the rest of the empire.[136]

Throughout the 1950s until Kenya's independence, colonial officials reorganized the structure and financial scheme for African education by expanding following the recommendations of the *Beecher Report* with consideration of the 1948 ten-year plan. The 1948 ten-year plan for the development of African education recommended a scheme that put most of the financial responsibility for primary education on the Local Native Councils and aimed to provide six years of primary education to half of the colony's youth. However, due to the acceptance of the *Report of the Salaries Commission*, which increased teacher salaries without expanding education opportunities, most of the ten-year plan was rejected due to inadequate funding.[137] In order to fix the financial situation, the government appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Leonard James Beecher to examine the "scope, content, and methods of the African educational system."[138]

The *Beecher Report* made several recommendations that increased the power of centralized state education and reorganized the school structure. One of these

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[136]Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* (Government Printer, 1949), 52; Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* (Government Printer, 1950) 12.
[137] Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* 1949, 5.
[138] Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* 1950, 3.

recommendations was an increase in the Education Department's staff to ensure greater supervision and control. This centralized power made it easier for the colonial government to determine which schools were credible as well as to crush sedition. Another key recommendation was to organize schools into three types: primary, intermediate, and secondary. Changing to this new organization and having District Education Boards financing both primary and intermediate schools allowed for the expansion of state-controlled secondary education.[139] Following the recommendations of the *Beecher Report* and the 1948 ten-year plan, state education continued to improve from 1950 to 1963 by offering more secondary education, trying to integrate the school systems, and providing meals and medical services through the expanding welfare empire. Although these changes were signs of progress for state education in Kenya, they were introduced too late to ease the grievances of all those living in Kenya.

Kikuyu Education, Mau Mau Rebellion, and Kenya Independence

One group of Africans with long-standing grievances against the colonial government were the Kikuyu. Well before the controversy of female circumcision, there had been socio-economic issues that were unresolved between settlers and Kikuyu laborers.[140] These issues, combined with the controversy, prompted the formation of an independent school system for the Kikuyu in 1930. After fighting to maintain control of their education system throughout the 1930s, the Kikuyu were able to expand and improve their education system incrementally during the war without much government interference or oversight. After the war, due to the new nature of colonial officials'

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[139]Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* 1950, 5, 40.

[140] For more information on the socio-economic issues of the Kikuyu, see Tabitha Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of the Mau Mau*.

understanding of African education, colonial officials even congratulated the resourcefulness of the independent school associations. However, that praise was short-lived and replaced with concern by the popularity of independent schools.[141] Over time these concerns continued to grow until the 'Emergency' put an end to most independent schools.

The 'Emergency' in colonial documents refers to the beginning of the Mau Mau rebellion in 1952, which was the first attempt for the Kikuyu to gain independence. Since the colonial government classified the 'Emergency' as a rebellion instead of an independence movement, colonial officials were able to use the centralized power of the state to suppress Kikuyu schools by closing them. Shortly after the outbreak of violence, the state enacted Ordinance No. 58, which enabled officials to close any school they deemed detrimental to the welfare of students or schools that were substandard and could not be improved with a reasonable amount of capital. Through this ordinance, most of the Kikuyu schools were closed for offering subversive material and promoting propaganda. Once the independent schools were closed, the Department of Education's only function was to record the number of teacher and student casualties until violence in the area died down.[142]

While colonial officials were reorganizing and attempting to integrate the education system, they also used the same control over the education system to shut down any dissidence. Not only was closing the schools in direct conflict with the

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[141] Theodore Natsoulas, "The Kenya Government and the Kikuyu Independent Schools: From Attempted Control to Suppression, 1929-1952," 300-301.
[142] Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* (Government Printer, 1952) 15-16; Kenya, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,* (Government Printer, 1953) 26-27.

education priorities, but it also contradicted the overall goal of imperialism. Silencing anti-European views hindered any chances of colonies becoming self-determinate and eventually independent. Ultimately the suppression of Kikuyu schools did not end the rebellion but was only used to promote nationalist ideas further among Kenyans until Kenya finally gained independence in 1963. Although most Kikuyu claimed that there was no subversive material in the independent school systems at the time, that was not the case based on songs that students learned in class.

The songs students sang in the class held a strong sense of nationalism and were also a way to express their grievances about the colonial government. One song called "Father, I Now Demand Education" was about Jomo Kenyatta's efforts to provide more education opportunities for Africans. The lyrics praise Kenyatta as well as plead for the chance to receive a better education. In another song called "Go to Githunguri to see the school of Kenyan people," students praised the achievements of developing their own education system without any European help.[143] Both of these songs highlight the desire for education within the Kikuyu community; through their sense of pride, it is easy to see why they did not want to hand over any control to colonial officials. Unfortunately, the difference in priorities between the Kikuyu and the colonial government lead to complete suppression of independent schools, but not the suppression of Kenyan independence.

Conclusion

Race played an essential role in the development of the educational system in Kenya. The foundations of state education were based on Europeans' prejudiced views of Africans' intellectual potential and Africans' economic future. These views shaped the

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[143] James Wilson Jr.,"Political Songs, Collective Memories, and Kikuyu Indi Schools," *History in Africa* 33 (2006), 364, 368.

colonial state's entire process of investigating and planning educational policy, starting first with individuals that colonial officials looked to as advocates for African education. At the start of the interwar period, missionaries controlled all of African education in Kenya. With their power, missionaries opted to only teach Africans necessary skills due to lack of resources, specifically trained teachers, and the assumption that Africans could not benefit from a European education system. The assumption that Africans were not equal to Europeans was echoed not only by white settlers but also picked up by colonial officials who made this thinking the foundation of education reform. Between 1925 and 1945, colonial officials had the chance to update the system from racially segregated schools to a more inclusive system but instead continued to turn to the very people who had initially set up the tripartite education system. During these decades, colonial officials continued to express the need for school segregation based upon an understanding of racial differences. Colonial policies from this period reinforced segregation all the more, such as the formation of three separate advisory councils that worked independently of each other. Moreover, European schools remained the top priority in Kenya in terms of officials' attention and funding decisions, while Indian and African schools were more of an afterthought.

Following the Second World War, there was a change in priority for education in Kenya. Although European education was still the top priority for colonial officials, African education was substantially improved by the introduction of a stronger social welfare system and improved access to higher levels of education. Along with these changes, there was an attempt to integrate all schools in Kenya for every race to have an equal opportunity. Along with the new plans for school integration, colonial officials'

new understanding of welfare and their responsibility to provide education to African

subjects marked the formation of the welfare state in Kenya. Even though there was

significant progress for African education during this period, eventually, decades-long

grievances that had been left unresolved lead to the start of the Mau Mau rebellion. With

the outbreak of the rebellion, colonial officials closed most independent schools to

maintain control over a colony they had no intention of allowing to become independent.

During the late colonial period, African education in Kenya started to resemble education

in England for the first time, but by then, it was too late to ease the underlying issues of

British imperialism from the prior decades.

The impact of this history becomes all the more significant when positioning it

alongside the growing anti-colonial nationalism in Kenya during the very same period.

As critics of British colonial rule had begun to protest with increasing intensity,

desegregating education would have allowed Africans to receive higher standards of

education and increased social mobility. However, African individuals and organizations

who looked to the colonial government for evidence of movement in that direction saw

no such signs. By depriving African associations, the opportunity or space to formally

advocate for African education, colonial officials unintentionally reinforced nationalist

movements' growing urge to look outside European institutions entirely. In the context of

a British settler colony such as Kenya, the welfare promise became a crushing weight that

the next generation of British colonial rulers would struggle against. While the postwar

government in the metropole proposed an entirely new premise of the relationship

between the state and the individuals it governed over, whether the same mentality would

reach non-white populations in the empire would become a fundamental challenge to the

entire premise of the British welfare state.

Colonial education in both the Gold Coast and Kenya was impacted by prejudiced views on race and a reluctance for the government to accept responsibility. While governors in non-settler colonies, like Guggisberg in the Gold Coast, accepted government responsibility for African education and reformed the education system to promote African progress, this was not the case for officials in settler colonies. In settler colonies, officials always had to give priority to European settlers over African subjects. Although most colonial officials had no problem with this dynamic, it eroded the potential for a robust welfare system for everyone in the colony. However, even when comparing settler colonies, several factors determine the establishment of a welfare system. The major difference between the expansion of the welfare state in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia was how much more reluctant officials in Southern Rhodesia were about providing African education.

V. EDUCATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Race was not the only factor that influenced African education within settler colonies. While race was a significant factor for education in Kenya due to multiple racial groups, international aid also heavily impacted African education throughout the colonial period. One area greatly influenced by international aid was southern Africa, particularly Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The use of international aid through non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and philanthropic foundations in the development of African education reinforced segregationist ideals on education and undermined the implementation of an expanded welfare empire. International organizations weakened the implementation of the welfare state since it allowed colonial officials to neglect the responsibility for African education. Throughout the twentieth century, the failures of the British colonial welfare system eventually ushered in mass independence movements across Africa during the postwar era.

There is a wide range of scholarship focused on the education system in Southern Rhodesia. This collection of scholarship can be broadly grouped into three categories. The first is scholarship examining the development of either European or African education during the interwar period.[144] The second category is scholarship focused on colonial education and its impacts on education in postcolonial Zimbabwe.[145] The final

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[144] Among such studies are R. J. Challiss, *The European Educational System in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1930* (Salisbury: University of Zimbabwe, 1980); Carol Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers Ltd., 2002).

[145] Examples include Brian Raftopoulos and Alois Mlambo, eds., *Becoming Zimbabwe. A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009); Change Zvobgo, "African Education in Zimbabwe: The Colonial Inheritance of the New State, 1899-1979," *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 11, no. 3/4 (1981): 13-16.

category of scholarship focuses on the role of NGOs and philanthropic foundations supporting African education to promote Western foreign policies.[146] Each of these studies offers a unique insight into a different part of the education system in Southern Rhodesia. However, they fail to analyze the combined negative effect of European racial views and international aid on the development of the colonial welfare state. This chapter aims to examine how each of these factors impeded the development of colonial welfare and how the failures of the colonial welfare system led to African independence throughout the continent.

Education in Southern Rhodesia 1920-1945

Before 1920, African education in Southern Rhodesia was similar to education systems in the Gold Coast and Kenya. All three of these colonies relied considerably on missionaries to provide African education throughout the colonial period. However, following World War One, state African education started to grow slowly, taking control away from missionary societies. During the development of state education, each colony considered the demographics and social and economic needs of Europeans. These considerations significantly altered the implementation of quality African education. For example, since the Gold Coast did not have a significant European population, it required more qualified Africans to effectively administer colonial rule, which led to a greater need for African education. Due to settler colonies' sizeable European populations, settlers viewed Africans as sources of labor that required little education. With these

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[146] See Michael Brophy, "The Role of NGOs in Supporting Education in Africa," *Journal of International and Comparative Education* 9, no. 1 (2020): 45-56; Edward Berman, "The Foundations' Interest in Africa," *History of Education Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (Nov. 1978).

considerations in mind, colonial governments in settler colonies established education systems that favored Europeans.

Even though all settler colony education systems favored Europeans, there were still distinct differences between Southern Rhodesia and Kenya during the interwar period. As discussed in the previous chapter, European settlers' political and economic considerations concerning African education focused on maintaining control in the colony over providing an "uplifting experience" for Africans. Settlers in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia held similar beliefs about offering the best education for European children.[147] Although the two colonies had similar political and economic factors, their distinct demographic and social composition influenced the implementation of African education.

There were two key demographic distinctions between Southern Rhodesia and Kenya. First was the relative size of the European population in each colony; in 1921, there were 9,651 Europeans in Kenya and 33,620 Europeans in Southern Rhodesia. In comparison, there were between 2.5 and 3 million Africans in Kenya and approximately 738,000 Africans in Southern Rhodesia.[148] Second, there was a significant Indian population in Kenya that complemented the European settlers' control. With a larger European population in Southern Rhodesia, there were enough settlers to administer colonial control without effectively serving Africans. As a result, colonial officials missed the need and urgency of building African education systems during the interwar years. While the European population was smaller in Kenya, the Indian population

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[147] Challiss, *European Educational System in Southern Rhodesia*, 47-49.
[148] Kenya, *Report of the 1921 Census* (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1921); Barry Schutz, "European Population Patterns, Cultural Persistence, and Political Change in Southern Rhodesia," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 7, no. 1 (1973): 7.

established a non-African middle class in place of poor Africans. Although Europeans had to share control in Kenya with Indians, whom they considered "civilized," both groups still exploited Africans in the same way. Without the Indian population, there was a chance that settlers in Kenya might have offered higher quality education to Africans before 1945. The number of "civilized" citizens in a colony directly impacted the quality of African education. Non-settler colonies required educated Africans to help administer the colony, which put pressure on the colonial government to improve the education system. Furthermore, over the course of the first half of the twentieth century, the demographic composition of settler colonies increasingly reinforced the social identity of the European settlers living within them.

The social composition of each colony affected the degree of segregation between Europeans and Africans. In Kenya, a large portion of the European population was British born, instead of southern African born as was the case in Southern Rhodesia.[149] The proximity to South Africa, as well as the immigration of white South Africans to Southern Rhodesia allowed for the development of a distinct European culture there compared to Kenya. Settler culture in Southern Rhodesia favored strict segregation through legislation such as the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 and the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934. Each of these acts legally enforced segregation. The Land Apportionment Act divided the land into four groups: European land, Native Reserves, Native Purchase Areas, and Forest Areas. Although this type of legislation was common in settler colonies, there was mass overcrowding for Africans in Southern Rhodesia. When combined with the Industrial Conciliation Act, which excluded Africans from

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[149] Dane Kennedy, *Islands of White*, 43-44; Barry Schutz, "European Population Patterns," 7-8.

being considered workers and accessing workers' rights such as collective action, the legislation highlights Europeans' prejudiced views of Africans during the interwar period.[150] With these views in mind, it is hardly surprising that state education for Africans in Southern Rhodesia was underdeveloped.

Colonial officials in Southern Rhodesia took a different approach to African education than officials in Kenya. In Kenya the colonial authorities tried to transform private and mission schools into government schools, thereby having the state take on a small amount of responsibility. In contrast, officials in Southern Rhodesia instead avoided the issue by trying to incentivize more mission schools. The first attempt at state education in Southern Rhodesia was in the early 1920s, when the state established an industrial school in Domboshawa in 1920 and a second school at Tjolotjo in 1921.[151] These schools followed the same curriculum as other African industrial schools in Kenya and those administered by missionaries.[152] Although they followed the same curriculum, these schools were tiny at first in comparison with government schools elsewhere. For example, Domboshawa only had 52 students enrolled in 1922.[153] Although it had a slow start, the enrollment at Domboshawa reached 262 by 1931.[154] Over the next decade, colonial officials would continue to invest more in the grant and aid program for missionaries instead of establishing government schools.

Throughout the interwar period, state education remained nearly stagnant, with the colonial government only establishing a handful of schools before 1945. After

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[150] Raftopoulos and Mlambo, *Becoming Zimbabwe*, 67, 97.
[151] Zvobgo, "African Education in Zimbabwe," 13.
[152] Domboshawa altered its curriculum to include more literary education in order to balance out the overall education offered.
[153] *Report of the Chief Native Commissioner, 1921*, 14.
[154] *Report of the Director of Native Education for the year 1931*, 1.

establishing the first two schools in the early 1920s, the colonial state added four other

primary schools by 1945, for a grand total of six government schools. The four primary

schools were located at Salisbury Native Location, Highfield Village Settlement, Luveve

Village Settlement, and Victoria Falls Native Village. The government obtained two of

the four during the war, signaling an increased interest in African education. These

primary schools enrolled a significantly larger number of students than the industrial

schools. The school at Salisbury alone had over 1,200 students in 1945 and required new

buildings to keep up with demand. In comparison, Domboshawa had a gross enrollment

of just under 300 students for the year.[155] The addition of these primary schools was the

first real sign of state education in Southern Rhodesia. For the first time, colonial officials

tried to take a more direct role in African education, similar to other colonies.

Colonial officials' lack of interest in Southern Rhodesia concerning African

education during the interwar period can easily be seen in the organization of their yearly

reports. From the establishment of the Education Department in 1899, African education

was excluded from the same report as European education. While the Education

Department focused on European education, African education was initially reported as

an attachment to the yearly report of the Chief Native Commissioner. It was not until

1956 that African education finally became a real priority in Southern Rhodesia.[156] Not

only did the administrative segregation – seen through the separate education reports –

reveal a lack of interest in African education, it also drew attention to the strict

segregation within the colony. In comparison, the yearly education reports from Kenya

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[155] *Report of the Director of Native Education for the year 1945*, 222-223.
[156] See Southern Rhodesia annual education reports between 1920 and 1956, United Kingdom National
Archives.

contained individual sections for each race.[157] Beginning with this administrative

decision, the pattern underscores the way that social composition and racial views of a

colonial administration could have significant negative impacts on African education.

Along with colonial officials' prejudiced views impacting African education, their

reluctance to take on any responsibility can be seen in their approach to cooperation with

missionaries.

Although there was little government interest in African education, Africans in

Southern Rhodesia attempted to negotiate with missionaries and government officials to

improve their educational opportunities. On the whole, Africans were disappointed by the

quality of education offered by some missionaries and attempted to remedy the problem

through the colonial government. Two examples of this during the interwar period were

educational issues in the Gutu district and the Umchingwe Project.

Since there was virtually no government education in Southern Rhodesia,

missionary groups could monopolize education in any given district. In the Gutu district,

the Dutch Reformed Church was the only government-approved missionary society

offering African education. Unfortunately for Africans who lived in the region, DRC

schools were notoriously bad and were not improving.[158] This was in part due to the

philosophy of education that DRC missionaries tended to follow. As one example, H. H.

Orlandini was a DRC missionary who repeatedly strained the relationship between

Africans and missionaries by overreaching his position. Orlandini attempted to force

compulsory education, involved himself in settlement of local disputes, and fined mission

inhabitants for what he judged as their immorality. Not only did he try to take over the

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[157]See Kenya annual education reports between 1920 and 1962, United Kingdom National Archives.
[158] Summers, *Colonial Lessons*, 8.

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role of colonial officials, he argued that "both the missionaries and the natives have entered into a mutual agreement which I consider binding on both, the missionary to run the school and … the fathers to send their children to school."[159] He viewed it as his duty to make sure children were attending school; this is more likely due to the requirements for government aid than it was for the progress of African education. With such abysmal education opportunities in Gutu, Africans took matters into their own hands.

After dealing with poor educational opportunities offered by the DRC, African communities in the region looked for alternative education options. Their first attempt was to petition the colonial government to set up an industrial school similar to Domboshawa at Victoria Circle in 1929. However, their attempt failed, and they were forced to pursue another option. Their second option was to establish their independent schools under a Zionist preacher whom Europeans would not oversee or supervise. As a result, the early 1930s saw the establishment of several independent schools in the Gutu district as an alternative to DRC schools. In the end, however, colonial officials shut down most of these schools citing that they were unrecognized by the government.[160] Although Africans failed to end the DRC's control of education in Gutu completely, it was not their only campaign to improve education in Southern Rhodesia.

Another attempt to improve African education during the interwar period was the Umchingwe Project. The Umchingwe Project was designed to be a school set up by Chief Mdala in the Insiza district. As a result of the global depression, mission schools in Insiza were forced to close because of financial difficulties. To replace the lost schools, Chief Mdala requested the Native Commissioner establish a government industrial school.

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[159] Qtd in Summers, *Colonial Lessons*, 6, 9-10.
[160] Summers, *Colonial Lessons*, 11-14.

Along with his request, Chief Mdala submitted the names of men willing to pay an annualized fee for local education. Although Mdala's request was approved and the school opened in 1931, it did not last for more than two years before it closed. After the school opened its doors, its priorities changed from what Africans had expected; in turn, they did not attend the school, leading to its closure.[161] The spread and influence of independent schools in both Southern Rhodesia and Kenya illuminate the failures of the colonial welfare state concerning education in settler colonies. Both of these colonies were able to provide top-quality education to Europeans at great cost while at the same time paying the bare minimum to fund African education through missionaries. After World War Two, colonial officials in Southern Rhodesia finally realized the importance of high-quality African education – for a time at least.

State Education in Southern Rhodesia 1945-1965

Colonial officials in Southern Rhodesia had the same realization as officials in Kenya regarding improved African education after 1945. Following decades of primarily aiding mission schools, the colonial government made a real investment in state education. With this newfound interest in African education came a reorganization of government schools. Before 1946, only a handful of government schools offered either industrial or primary education, meaning there was little need to classify each school. In 1946, however, the colonial government categorized its schools into three groups according to the type of curriculum. The first group, otherwise known as group A, were boarding schools providing secondary education only. This reflected the government's newest initiative, as the first government secondary school opened at the start of that

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[161] Summer, *Colonial Lessons,* 61-66.

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same year. The second group of schools were boarding schools that provided industrial or technical education, such as Domboshawa. Group C consisted of schools providing primary education.[162] State education in Southern Rhodesia operated through this system until 1955, when the classification scheme was revised after introduction of a teacher training school. Teacher training schools became group A, while the rest just shifted to the following letter. The reorganization of the education system reveals colonial officials had more expansive designs for education and planned to expand state-sponsored African education instead of relying on missionaries.

With the introduction of a government secondary school, the future of African education started to look hopeful in Southern Rhodesia. Goromonzi was the first government secondary school in the colony. It opened with 50 male students but no females due to limitations in building materials. The curriculum at the school was similar to other African secondary schools throughout the colony, with the addition of sports and manual activities rounding out students' education.[163] Although a long time to come, the Goromonzi school represented an excellent start to government secondary education. Unfortunately, the colonial government did not capitalize on the expansion of secondary education, instead waiting until the late 1950s to set up two more secondary schools. In comparison, missionaries had established five secondary schools by 1950, starting with their first one in 1939.[164] The lack of secondary education in Southern Rhodesia compared to other British colonies in Africa highlights the flagging interest in African development and lack of political will on colonial officials' part. Colonies like the Gold

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[162] *Report of the Director of Native Education*, 1946, 1.
[163] *Report of the Director of Native Education*, 1946, 2.
[164] Zvobgo, "African Education in Zimbabwe," 13.

Coast and Kenya were able to develop secondary schools for Africans well before 1945. Moreover, the pattern of the government's lack of interest was equally apparent in the colony's teacher training schools.

Similar to secondary education facilities, government teacher training schools were woefully underdeveloped before 1945 – and even after. There were no government-administered teacher training facilities until 1955, when the school at Umtali opened. Then in 1960, a second training facility called Luveve Technical Teacher Training College opened; these schools were designed to reduce the lack of African teachers for primary schools in urban areas.[165] The colonial government's interest in teacher training grew as it established more urban primary schools during the postwar period. Out of every level of education offered by the colonial government, primary education was the only one that saw any significant progress in school growth between 1945 and 1965. From its four schools in 1945, government primary education had grown to forty-two schools by 1957 with 20,570 urban students.[166] Over the course of forty-five years, the colonial government was able to set up approximately sixty schools.

Several factors influenced the slow development of welfare state education in Southern Rhodesia. The first two were the social and political standing of Europeans in the colony and their views of Africans. This was encapsulated by Europeans' oft-repeated statement that Africans either did not need or want an education, an attitude that slowed all progress to a near stop with the exception of missionary work. Along with these prejudiced views, there was an absence of any genuine enthusiasm for establishing

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[165] *Report of the Director of Native Education*, 1956, 4; *Report of the Director of Native Education*, 1960, 8.

[166] Zvobgo, "African Education in Zimbabwe," 13.

government schools. Colonial officials were content to leave African education under the purview of missionaries with the assistance of grants. However, due to the recognizably poor standards of missionary education, it is surprising that the state continued to choose increasing aid to mission schools over slowly obtaining and developing already established schools. The pattern then points to another crucial factor: the unwillingness of colonial officials to accept full responsibility for African education. While officials made minor improvements to the state education system, they still relied heavily on missionaries and international organizations to provide the bulk of African education, thus outsourcing both the cost and responsibility of the endeavor. International organizations were another outlet that colonial authorities in Southern Rhodesia turned to to avoid the expansion of the welfare state to African subjects.

International Aid and Philanthropic Foundations Role in African Education

Following World War Two, the relationship between European metropoles and their African empires shifted dramatically. The once wholly exploitative relationship was redefined when European empires relied on African men and services during the war. Within the framework of this new relationship, European states finally started to invest in the development of their colonial possessions. A clear example of this for the British Empire was the introduction of the Colonial Welfare and Development Act of 1940. Meanwhile, beginning in the same period, the United States and other interested nations invested in Africa under the guise of international aid. Before discussing the impacts of international aid on African education, it is essential to situate the goals of international aid into the context of Cold War politics.[167]

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[167] Richard Reid, "Horror, Hubris, and Humanity: The International Engagement with Africa, 1914-2014," *International Affairs* 90, no. 1 (2014): 148-151.

The Cold War was a combination of an arms race and satellite wars between the United States and the USSR starting in 1945. This conflict between the two superpowers and their allies would consume international politics for several decades. The driving force of the war was an ideological divide between capitalist free markets and communism. In order to slow the spread of communism, the United States and international parties (mainly Western Europe) invested in African development. During the same years, African nationalism spread across the continent with an anti-imperialist agenda in response to the United Nations mandate to create a new world order based on self-determination and self-government. While Western powers were trying to develop Africa to stop communism, the USSR and China aided African nationalist movements in places such as Ghana and Kenya.[168] Therefore, following World War Two, the increase in international aid to Africa and British overseas aid following decolonization severed a dual purpose. The goals of international aid were to stop the spread of communism and to strengthen the economic relationship between Africa and the West under the guise of political cooperation. Instead of investing in Africa for the sake of Africans, the West offered international aid as a strategic tool within a larger international relations framework.

Before the reorientation of international aid to combat communism, American philanthropic foundations already influenced the provision of African education in several forms. One notable early instance, for example, was the Phelps-Stokes Fund report on African Education that Dr. Jesse Jones wrote in the early 1920s. The recommendations made by Dr. Jones played a vital role in the early development of

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[168] Kenneth Kalu, "The Cold War and Africa's Political Culture," *Vestnik RUDN International Relations* 20, no. 1 (2020): 13-16.

colonial education policy and were the foundation of Adaptation.[169] But American

influence took many directions, as seen in another interwar example of the philanthropic

influence on education, the Carnegie Foundation's *Poor White Study*. The *Poor White

Study* was a scientific study commissioned to find a way to improve the lives of

Afrikaners to strengthen racial segregation in South Africa. With the presence of poor

whites living in similar conditions to Africans, European settlers believed this would

weaken their claims of racial superiority.[170] The use of this study to justify better

education for Europeans over that for Africans highlights the power that American

foundations had in the development of educational policy during the interwar years. After

the war, both foundations and their national governments increased their investments in

African development.

Philanthropic foundations such as the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations

understood the dual nature of their international development endeavors. This can be seen

in a 1949 memorandum submitted to the Rockefeller Foundation under the title

"Memorandum Regarding the Study of Efforts to Help Backward Peoples to Help

Themselves." The memorandum acknowledged the political climate of the Cold War and

stressed that African countries were "not going to be permitted to evolve their societies as

they might choose from within by themselves. Whether for the purposes of power, of

revolution, of trade, of human service, or even understanding, they are not going to be

left alone."[171] The author of this document recognized international assistance would alter

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169 Obed Mfum-Mensah, "International Philanthropic Support for African Education: The Complex Interplay of Ideologies and Western Foreign Policy Agenda," paper presented at Bulgarian Comparative Education Society, June 2019, 71-74.
170 Morag Bell, "American Philanthropy, the Carnegie Corporation and Poverty in South Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 26, no. 3 (200): 481-494.
171 Joseph H. Willits, Study of Efforts to Help Backward Peoples Help Themselves, June 22, 1949, 1, Rockefeller Archive Center, RG 3.2, series 900, box 60, folder 332.

the political and social culture across the continent. They saw the threat of communist aid

for the purpose of revolution as early as 1949. Despite knowing that international aid

would dramatically change the culture in Africa, Western nations and organizations were

confident their knowledge and interest would best serve Africans. However, even

believing in their knowledge, the author mentions they "have very little knowledge of

[Africans]… their social systems, their human relations situation, their resources in

personal, their philosophies and values in life." Moreover, as a result, their interference

was "likely to lead to extravagance, to injury to the people and cultures we are trying to

serve, to erosion of …goodwill for us, and to help Russia in her campaign to win the

minds and loyalties of these people."[172] It is clear that foundations knew their aid would

destabilize certain aspects of African culture and local African institutions but provided

the aid nevertheless to promote capitalist ideas and stem communist threats. The increase

of international assistance throughout the British Empire allowed the colonial authorities

to reduce state expenditures on welfare services such as medicine and education.

NGOs and foundations worked all over Africa during the Cold War, generally

directing their attention to newly independent nations, but also focusing resources toward

southern Africa. Since South Africa and Southern Rhodesia did not have majority rule

until 1994 and 1980 respectively and were thus still controlled by European settlers,

international aid took a slightly different approach. Instead of offering entire grants to

develop African education, NGOs offered individual scholarships and sponsored studies

to alter policy. Two NGOs focusing on African development were the International

Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) and the African Educational Trust (AET). Each

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[172] Willits, Study of Efforts to Help Backward Peoples Help Themselves.

of these organizations altered African education in different ways. The IITA was primarily focused on the research and implementation of new agricultural methods that maximize crop yield. Through its research program, the IITA worked with both national and colonial governments in Africa to improve agricultural education and strengthen racially focused education policy.[173] The development of new agricultural techniques was introduced into African schools to maximize output. Prior to colonial intervention, Africans generally farmed only enough to sustain their communities without growing any surplus. The need for African farmers to grow surplus crops was for the global markets, once again solidifying the relationship between African and Western economies.

The AET did not alter education policy to the same extent as the IITA; instead, it offered individual scholarships and grants to African students for higher education. AET was founded in 1958 and was able to manage a wide range of educational programs in collaboration with colonial and national governments. At first, around 23% of their educational scholarships went to southern Africa but that portion eventually grew to 73% by the late 1980s. That 73% represented around 1,600 students from southern Africa, and out of that 1,600 students, 30% percent went to students living in Southern Rhodesia, or Zimbabwe after 1980.[174] The AET's approach of granting African students higher education scholarships only helped a select few, instead of investing in the construction of primary secondary schools, which would have potentially helped thousands.

The role of international aid from both philanthropic foundations and other NGOs negatively impacted the development of the colonial welfare system. Due to the

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[173] William K. Gamble, "Evolution of the Program of the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture 1967-1980," (Ibadan: IITA, 1980): 15-30, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sterling Wortman papers, series 1, box 2, folder 12.
[174] Brophy, "The Role of NGOs," 45-47.

investment of foreign nations and organizations, colonial officials were able to shift some of the financial burdens away from themselves while still maintaining overall responsibility for African education. The vital issue with maintaining some fiscal responsibility without also fully controlling the education system is that the colonial government was open to criticism on education failures. This can be seen to some extent with African reactions to education policy and mission schools. Colonial officials were criticized for the Adaptation policy more than the Phelps-Stokes Foundation, even though the former merely implemented the policy instead of proposing it. The reliance on international aid and knowledge combined with negative racial views allowed colonial officials in Southern Rhodesia to abdicate their responsibility for African education, which crippled any chance of a robust welfare system for Africans in the colony while Europeans were in control. At the height of anti-colonial protest in other parts of Africa, settlers in Southern Rhodesia felt secure in their position of power.

State Education Under UDI

While decolonization was sweeping across Africa during the early 1960s, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland collapsed, making way for Southern Rhodesia to declare independence unilaterally in 1965. Several factors led to Southern Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence (UDI). The first was the formation of the Rhodesian Front (RF) and its political gains in the 1962 general election. The RF was a conservative political faction that fully believed in its authority to maintain all control in the colony. As a result of the accession of the RF to power, there was a hardening of racial views making majority rule unlikely. The second factor was the dissolution of the federation; this removed any political limitations for Southern Rhodesia with regards to

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the other colonies. Decolonization was the third factor; seeing the collapse of the British

Empire propelled white settlers to cling to power any way they could. Prior to UDI, the

other two colonies that were part of the federation became the independent nations of

Zambia and Malawi in 1964. Settlers in Southern Rhodesia most feared majority rule,

even though London officials had stated clearly it was one of the main conditions for

becoming an independent nation. With this in mind and facing a sharp growth of African

nationalism in Southern Rhodesia, the leader of the Rhodesian Front, Ian Smith, declared

independence from Britain in 1965.[175]

The response to UDI from the British government was quick but ultimately

ineffective at returning Rhodesia to the fold. The Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson's

first reaction was to condemn Smith's actions and place economic sanctions on the rogue

state. While this was a decisive first step, Wilson did not have the support of all Labour

MPs, and individuals such as Sydney Silverman looked for opportunities to question the

move. In a House of Commons meeting, Silverman asked Wilson, "What would the right

Hon. Gentlemen's advice be to the 4 million Africans who presumably remain loyal and

are now in a state of emergency, … in what can only be described as the circumstances of

a police state."[176] Unfortunately, instead of acting more aggressively towards Smith's

regime, the British Parliament agreed to Edward Heath's suggestion that the United

Kingdom's second statement to the rogue state should say "that these acts may be illegal

but because of the need to maintain law and order and public services people are justified

in carrying on their normal duties."[177] This debate set the tone for the remainder of UDI;

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[175] Kate Law, "Pattern, Puzzle, and Peculiarity: Rhodesia's UDI and Decolonization in Southern Africa," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 45, no. 5 (2017): 721-728.
[176] *Hansard Parliamentary* Debates HC 12 Nov. 1965, v. 720, col. 523-637. https://hansard.parliament.uk/.
[177] *Hansard Parliamentary* Debates HC 12 Nov. 1965, v. 720, col. 523-637. https://hansard.parliament.uk/.

the British government was content to let officials in Salisbury maintain control for the sake of order, with the only consequence being sanctions. For the next decade, Labour governments would continue to promote the idea of majority rule in Rhodesia but never truly challenged settler control.[178]

Although the British government never pushed for majority rule, the economic sanctions did impact the education system in Rhodesia. State education for Africans in Rhodesia was still underdeveloped by the time UDI was declared in 1965. The implementation of sanctions and the loss of a large proportion of their trade partners made it difficult for government officials to increase the funding for African education. The difficulty of investing more money into African education led officials to actively cut expenditure on teacher training. They spent $306,674 on African teacher training in 1963-64 before cutting it down to $235,852 the next year and $213,082 by 1966.[179] The amount of money invested in teacher training was constantly shifting in the latter half of the 1960s. After the 1966 drop-in expenditure, it rose for a couple of years before once again getting cut. It would not be until 1972 that the expenditure on teacher training reached the same level of investment before UDI. From 1972 onwards, there was a gradual increase in investment for state education, while at the same time, there was a massive increase in missionary education.[180] The continued lack of state education highlights the government's reluctance in expanding the welfare state to include Africans.

Even though government officials were reducing the expenditure on African education, they still developed a new educational plan in 1966. The Educational Plan of

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[178] Law, "Pattern, Puzzle, and Peculiarity," 723-724.
[179] *Report of the Director of Native Education*, 1974, 55.
[180] *Report of the Director of Native Education*, 1977, 47.

1966 was all-encompassing and laid out apparent objectives. For primary education, the

goal was to offer primary education for all those who could reach a school. Officials

hoped this would eventually remove the bottleneck that had developed between specific

standards of education. Although they planned to have primary education for all, there

was still little discussion on compulsory education for Africans even though it had long

been established for Europeans. As for secondary education, the plan called for the

establishment of only government secondary schools starting in 1970. The plan also

mentioned that due to financial constraints, only 12.5% of students finishing primary

school would be able to attend a secondary school.[181] This was the last education plan put

in place before Africans gained their independence in Zimbabwe.

State education in Southern Rhodesia was unsuccessful from its initiation in 1920

until African independence in 1980. With only two industrial schools for nearly a decade,

state education was nowhere near as widespread as missionary education. This trend

continued throughout the study as colonial officials removed themselves from most

African education, leaving it to missionaries and international organizations. By 1977

there were only 100 government primary schools compared to 3,226 mission primary

schools. The growth of mission schools was only possible through assistance from the

state, so it is interesting to see such a large disparity between government and mission

schools when officials generally believed that government schools were more effective.

Secondary education followed a similar path, with the only difference being that no new

mission schools could be established after 1970. However, no new government secondary

schools were established after 1970 either.[182] The Education Plan of 1966 crippled the

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[181] *Report of the Director of Native Education*, 1966, 3.
[182] *Report of the Director of Native Education*, 1977, 46.

expansion of secondary education after 1970 since missionaries could not open schools and the government did not want to open any. Fifty years of inadequate state education and the lack of an African welfare system led to mass discontent within the colony, eventually culminating in several African independence movements.

The Road to Independence

Independence for Africans in Southern Rhodesia was not an inevitable outcome. It was a continuous struggle between different African independence movements and European settlers in both the territory and the international stage. Each of these movements had a different vision of Southern Rhodesia's future, which would ultimately impact the education system depending on who was in control. With Europeans in charge, there was little chance that Africans would ever receive any benefits from the welfare state. In order to control the government resources to improve the lives of Africans, Africans waged war for fifteen years to gain independence. Prior to UDI, the colonial government under Garfield Todd and later Sir Edgar Whitehead had tried to make limited advancements to African progress to obtain dominion status. However, these attempts were cut short with the rise of the Rhodesian Front. The RF was determined to crush any sense of African nationalism by banning the National Democratic Party (NDP) in 1961 as well as its successor, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), in 1962. Following the banning of these parties, ZAPU and its splinter group, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), under the leadership of Ndabaningi Sithole, attempted to build up power and influence while in exile.[183] Eventually, Sithole left ZANU to join the African National Council and be replaced by

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[183] Raftopoulos and Mlambo, *Becoming Zimbabwe*, 116-120.

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Robert Mugabe. Due to the complex nature of the independence struggle in Southern Rhodesia, this study will primarily focus on the struggle between ZANU and ZAPU against the Rhodesian settler population on the international stage. It will also examine the view of colonial officials concerning the war and the effect it had on the education system.

There were numerous internal struggles within the African independence movements weakening the movement as a whole. Each of the African political organizations held different beliefs for the future of Southern Rhodesia. One of these struggles had caused the ZAPU to split into a second group named ZANU in 1963. While groups like ZAPU and ZANU were opposed to European rule, others such as the African National Council (ANC), Zimbabwe United People's Organization (ZUPO), and the United African National Council (UANC) supported cooperation with European settlers for a slower translation of power. The cause of this split is still part of an ongoing debate, but the reasons tend to include ideological differences, ethnic struggles within ZAPU, and resentment of Joshua Nkomo's indecisive approach to the nationalist struggle.[184] The internal struggles between ZAPU and ZANU continued until 1980, making it difficult to form a united Zimbabwe independence movement. Although the two groups occasionally worked together, they had very different views on how to obtain independence.

Instead of working together, ZANU and ZAPU tried to collect allies from nearby front-line states as well as global powers such as the USSR and China. The need for these independence movements to seek international allies was based on two main reasons. First, since the colonial state banned nationalist movements in 1963, they needed allies

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[184] Raftopoulos and Mlambo, *Becoming Zimbabwe*, 150-152.

nearby to set up camps and organize armed resistance. Following the ban, both movements moved their headquarters to Zambia in 1964 to avoid interference from the Southern Rhodesian government. The second reason these movements sought out allies was to gain international recognition, which was a crucial part of the independence movement since it allowed the UN to determine if there was contested sovereignty within a nation. The purpose of independence movements' contested sovereignty was that it allowed them to contest the formal and legal sovereignty of the Rhodesian government.[185] Contesting the Rhodesian government's sovereignty served the dual purpose of gaining strength to assert legitimacy for independence movements as well as undermining the credibility of white Rhodesian settlers on the world stage.

One of the primary issues between ZANU and ZAPU was a competition over different international allies. In 1963 most of the international allies for Zimbabwe independence sided with ZAPU since it was the older of the two groups, and its leader Nkomo was an active member of the Pan African Movement of East, Central, and South Africa (PAMECSA). PAMECSA played a role in bestowing legitimacy upon African nationalist movements when it supported Kenneth Kaunda's rise to power in Zambia. The organization planned to continue supporting African independence movements with ZAPU as the next recipient of their help. ZAPU dominated international aid and recognition during the 1960s; they received support from PAMECSA and the collection of socialist nations known as the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) and African National Congress (ANC). ZANU was unable to enter any of these organizations due to ZAPU's refusal to work with them or even recognize them as

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[185] William Reed, "International Politics and National Liberation: ZANU and the Politics of Contested Sovereignty in Zimbabwe," *African Studies Review* 36, no. 2 (1993): 31-35.

another independent movement. In light of this political environment, ZANU was forced to look elsewhere for allies. First, it looked at individual African nations such as Ghana, Zambia, and Tanzania. The main reason these nations decided to help ZANU was their view on the use of violence.[186]

While Nkomo believed in a policy of non-violence, after discussing it with other African leaders ZANU called for a "new politics of confrontation."[187] Using violence to conduct raids across Rhodesia, ZANU was able to start building up more international recognition from African organizations throughout the 1960s. Over time their recognition would eventually gain the attention of China in 1969. In 1969, both the World Peace Council and AAPSO formally allied themselves with ZAPU leaving ZANU with few options. In a fortunate turn for them, Sino-Soviet relations collapsed the same year, making China exert its influence on developing communist movements. The Chinese offered financial and military support to ZANU up until independence. Not only did they offer supplies, but the relationship with China also shifted the rhetoric of ZANU. Starting from the position of guaranteed private property at its founding, they moved to total redistribution of wealth by 1972.[188] This shift in dynamic is partly the influence of China; the rest of it can be explained by the hyper-capitalist with a welfare state for Whites in Rhodesia following UDI. The failures of the colonial government to implement a robust welfare system for Africans while giving Europeans everything they needed radicalized Africans to move towards an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist mindset. Communism, in theory, resolved all the issues wrought by colonial rule and would allow for the

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[186] Reed, "International Politics and National Liberation," 36-39.
[187] "Policy Statement," qtd in Reed, "International Politics and National Liberation," 38.
[188] Reed, "International Politics and National Liberation," 40-42.

advancement of the entire society as opposed to just the elites. While China's aid and influence were necessary for the rise of ZANU, their front-line allies also played an important role in negotiations.

The front-line states (FLS) surrounding Rhodesia were instrumental in setting up negotiations between the Patriotic Front (PF) and the West during the late 1970s. These front-line states included Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, and Botswana. After years of internal struggles between ZANU and ZAPU, the FLS leaders decided that their disunity was an obstacle to securing a national settlement. In order to remedy this issue, FLS leaders convinced Nkomo and Mugabe to form a united Patriotic Front. The Patriotic Front was united only in name; Nkomo and Mugabe still agreed on very little, while the military arms of both groups continued to act independently of each other.[189] In light of the continued issues between Nkomo and Mugabe, FLS leaders took it upon themselves to negotiate with Western powers to reach a settlement. Each of the front-line states generally supported a different leader; Zambia and Botswana supported Nkomo, while Mozambique and Tanzania supported Mugabe. Out of all the front-line states, Zambia and Mozambique were the most significant in helping the independence movements.

Zambia and Mozambique used their diplomats to pressure Western powers into forcing Ian Smith into settlement negotiations. One of these diplomats was Mark Chona from Zambia, who acted as President Kaunda's special assistant for political affairs. China used the fear of Soviet and Cuban military intervention in Rhodesia as a catalyst for making the West force Ian Smith to negotiate. This was right after Angola had gained its independence with the help of Cuban and Soviet soldiers, making the threat of

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[189] Raftopoulos and Mlambo, *Becoming Zimbabwe*, 146-148.

communism in Rhodesia a sharper concern. Another important diplomat was Joachim Chissano, who was Mozambique's Minister of Foreign Affairs. Chissano, like China, used his position to convince Western powers to include guerilla fighters in settlement negotiations. He believed that "very early majority rule was the only possible basis for a settlement… [and] that the involvement of the real leaders of the fighters was essential."[190] He argued for the inclusion of guerrilla fighters' leadership because he supported Mugabe over Nkomo. Mugabe was in control over most of the ZANU's military arm and had several bases stationed in Mozambique. Zambia and Western powers were content to work with Nkomo since he was far less radical in their opinions.[191] Overall the FLS worked with and against each other to better position their preferred Zimbabwean independence leader in future negotiations. The goal was that with support for the United States and the United Kingdom, Ian Smith would be forced to negotiate a settlement that resulted in African majority rule. Through the work of FLS diplomats, international pressure, and guerrilla warfare, Smith agreed in 1978 to negotiate a settlement.

The internal political settlement of 1978 was the Rhodesian government's first honest attempt to end the war and establish a transfer of power to Africans. After years of warfare, sanctions, and international pressure, Smith realized it was better to implement limited governmental reforms over the complete collapse of the system. Instead of negotiating directly with the leaders of the independence movements (ZANU and ZAPU), he formed the internal settlement with Ndabaningi Sithole, Bishop Abel

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[190] Qtd in Timothy Scarnecchia, "Front Line Diplomats: African Diplomatic Representations of the Zimbabwean Patriotic Front, 1976-1978," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43, no. 1 (2017): 115.
[191] Scarnecchia, "Front Line Diplomats," 110-116.

Muzorewa, and Chief Jeremiah China. A 100-seat parliament would be chosen within this settlement through a democratic one man, one vote system. However, to protect the interest of the minority white settlers, 28 of the 100 seats were guaranteed to be held by whites for ten years. Of those, twenty seats would be elected by whites only, while a multiracial electorate would elect the remaining eight from a list of pre-selected candidates. Not only did the settlement protect white political power, but it also guaranteed independence for the judiciary, the civil service, as well as security forces such as the army and police.[192] Although these intuitions were granted independence of white political control, they were still composed of mostly whites making it impossible for Africans to replace them under the settlement conditions. The social tension of white-controlled intuitions under the supervision of African political leaders would not have stopped the inherent racism within the system. This is due to the fact that Africans would not be able to replace antagonistic white members under the conditions of the settlement. The internal settlement was the first attempt to transition to majority rule, but it received mixed reactions from both the West and African stakeholders.

Both Nkomo and Mugabe, along with their FLS allies, were opposed to the internal settlement. In addition to not being included in the settlement negotiations, the leaders of the Patriotic Front opposed the settlement for several reasons. The first is that Nkomo and Mugabe believed that any agreement that Smith agreed to had an underlying catch, such as white settlers being guaranteed political and economic security. Second, they feared that if the economic sanctions were lifted, the state would eventually return to white minority rule. For the last two reasons, they were understandably distrustful of the

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[192] Tendai Mutunhu, "The Internal Political Settlement in Zimbabwe: A Sell-Out or an Advancement to African Majority Rule," *Black Scholar* 10, no. 1 (1978): 5.

white settlers' privileges and were suspicious of a military coup since whites were still in control of the state's security forces. Due to these reasons and their exclusion from the negotiations, Nkomo and Mugabe rejected the settlement and continued guerilla warfare throughout Rhodesia. Other African organizations and countries also rejected the internal settlement. Member nations of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) rejected the settlement due to the exclusion of Nkomo and Mugabe since any negotiations without the leaders of the independence was by principle unacceptable. The importance of the OAU declaration is that it bound all member nations against the acceptance of the internal settlement.[193] While African leaders generally rejected the internal settlement, Western nations either considered it or actively promoted its implementation.

The United States and the United Kingdom took slightly different approaches towards the internal settlement. These nations felt that ending the war and securing a stable peace settlement was more important than immediate African majority rule under the terms of independence leaders. One British official that approved of the settlement was the foreign minister Dr. David Owen. Owen asserted that the internal settlement was a significant step forward and should not be dismissed immediately. He was not alone in this sentiment, as members of the Conservative Party under the control of Margaret Thatcher urged the government to endorse and accept the internal settlement to secure a lasting peace.[194] However, these British officials failed to recognize that there was little chance of any actual peace negotiations by excluding Nkomo and Mugabe. This failure shows that they did not truly understand the demands of the independence movements

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[193] Mutunhu, "The Internal Political Settlement," 6-8.
[194] Mutunhu, "The Internal Political Settlement," 8-9.

since they believed that any deal that offered a limited transfer of power would be sufficient to Africans.

While the British government generally agreed with the settlement, the American government was a bit more hesitant. This hesitation stemmed from the vocal disapproval of the Congressional Black Caucus concerned about being complicit in a black-on-black war. Those in the US who supported the internal settlement were primarily lobbyists in the manufacturing and mining sectors since it would allow them greater access to Rhodesia's natural resources. The capitalist interests in Rhodesia were geared towards maintaining their current power and access in the country. Western businesses feared what would happen if a leftist independence movement assumed control over the nation since their privileged economic status would be revoked. In the end, the settlement was agreed to by the West and those involved in Rhodesia.[195] The election following the settlement resulted in Muzorewa assuming control of the government. Unfortunately, since the Patriotic Front was not included in the settlement, the war continued and exacerbated the economic issues leading to a new series of negotiations.

Leading up to the first elections under the internal settlement, Muzorewa and Mugabe expressed their views on the struggle for independence and the merits of the settlement in an article in *Time*. Muzorewa detailed his opinion on the white settlers in Rhodesia, the sovereignty of the new government, and what would happen to the rebels. On settlers in Rhodesia, Muzorewa expressed it was important not to act rashly by expelling the white population since he believed that "A lot of African countries have become banana republics because they tend to be emotional, to Africanize just for the

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[195] Mutunhu, "The Internal Political Settlement," 8-9.

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sake of it."[196] Although he did not explicitly state it, he implied that removing white settlers would negatively impact the well-being of Zimbabwe. As for his views on the sovereignty of the new government, Muzorewa argued that a government should not have to prove itself to gain international recognition and that simply existing should be enough. This showed that he was under pressure by the international community to do more since most of the neighboring nations did not agree with the internal settlement. His views on the guerrilla war showed he believed that their goal was accomplished. He expressed that since Africans had obtained majority rule, there was no need to continue fighting and that anyone who put down their arms would be granted amnesty. However, those that did not agree to accept the settlement would be labeled terrorists and enemies of the state.[197] Altogether his views exposed his compliance with Smith and the settler regime; he was content to accept the minimal transfer of power.

While Muzorewa was content to agree with the settlement, Mugabe expressed his objections to the settlement as well as his views on international aid in southern Africa. First, Mugabe expressed the reason he urged people not to vote; he believed that it was just a political ploy by Smith to retain control and that voting would just legitimize a new regime. On his view of Western influence on the settlement, he believed that the new regime would appeal to the international community to gain any legitimacy so they could rebrand participants in the independence movements as terrorists. In addition to Western powers helping to prop up the government, Mugabe said that "Western powers, if they had their own choice, would like to create a neocolonial state … to create a buffer out of

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[196] Qtd in "Foes in a black vs. black struggle," *Time* 113, (April 30, 1979).
[197] "Foes in a black vs. black struggle," *Time* 113, (April 30, 1979).

Zimbabwe and Zambia [to protect South Africa]."[198] Due to his communist ideology, Mugabe rejected imperialism as a whole and wanted to distance Zimbabwe from Western influences. This was part of the reason he wanted to continue the war after the internal settlement and explained part of the division between himself and Nkomo. Mugabe explained that he did not want to see black on black warfare, but he would not stand by and let Africans take the place of privilege whites used to occupy. Instead, he believed that a socialist society without Western business was the best path forward. This view put him at odds with Nkomo since Mugabe believed "ZAPU was less revolutionary than ZANU. They may have promised that Western vested interests will continue to be respected, which we cannot do."[199] Mugabe's view on imperialism and the failures of colonial rule were aligned with most independence movements across Africa.

While Mugabe believed that the colonial government failed in its mandate to improve the lives of Africans, British officials tended to disagree. Mugabe's belief in the failure of the colonial welfare state due to the lack of social services provided to Africans underscored that colonial officials never honestly accepted the responsibility of a welfare state for African subjects in Southern Rhodesia. Examining the effects of the independence movement on the development of state education highlighted how those colonial officials never expected an independent Zimbabwe. Throughout the colonial educational reports, there was minimal mention of African independence movements until the mid-1970s. The few times they were mentioned before the 1970s were in concerns about political boycotts and the effects they had on school attendance.[200]

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[198] Qtd in "Foes in a black vs. black struggle," *Time* 113, (April 30, 1979).
[199] Qtd in "Foes in a black vs. black struggle," *Time* 113, (April 30, 1979).
[200] *Report of the Director of Native Education*, 1964, 2-5.

Interestingly, even when colonial reports mentioned political boycotts, officials did not name the organization that sponsored those events. It revealed that they had little concern about the African critique expressed through school boycotts, instead just dismissing it out of hand. As the independence movements became more violent during the 1970s, colonial officials only mentioned the number of teacher deaths and property destruction caused by terrorists.[201] Colonial officials stopped viewing them as political actors demanding reform, which officials never granted, and started viewing them as terrorists without a cause, completely ignoring the complementary independence movements involved in international negotiations. The blatant rejection of African requests for improved education forced Africans to search for other ways to improve their lives; if the colonial government did not provide for them, they would try and do it themselves.

It took less than a year before the new government reopened negotiations with the Patriotic Front to end the war finally. The new negotiations took place during the Lancaster House Conference in 1979 and included representation from the independence movements and the Muzorewa government, which included Smith. These negotiations resulted in several significant changes and, ultimately, independence for Zimbabwe. A few of the major takeaways from the settlement were that the liberation forces would join the regular army, guerillas agreed to a ceasefire until new elections could be held, and the white minority was allowed to keep 20 out of 100 seats in Parliament for seven years.[202] These takeaways were vital to the success of the independence movements since they remedied most of their issues with the internal settlement. Nkomo and Mugabe's

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[201] *Report of the Director of Native Education*, 1974, 20-21; *Report of the Director of Native Education*, 1975, 19-20.
[202] Raftopoulos and Mlambo, *Becoming Zimbabwe*, 158-161.

inclusion in the settlement conference signaled the legitimacy of their claims for independence and representation, which had previously been ignored. Meanwhile, the integration of liberation forces into the regular army reduced the likelihood of white settlers re-imposing control through a coup. Finally, through a new series of elections that were not limited to Smith's hand-picked options, Nkomo and Mugabe were able to exert their political visions for the future of Zimbabwe. The second election resulted in Robert Mugabe becoming the first president of a fully independent Zimbabwe.

The struggle for African independence in Southern Rhodesia highlights the animosity Africans felt towards colonial governments. After decades of exploitation and absence of social services including education, Africans declared it was better for their futures if they controlled the government instead of Europeans. With control of the government under Mugabe, Africans in Zimbabwe finally had the chance to change the education system to benefit themselves without any European interference.

Conclusion

The presence of white settlers in Southern Rhodesia negatively impacted the development of the colonial welfare state, especially concerning education. While race was an important factor in the slow development of state education similar to Kenya, Southern Rhodesia's proximity to South Africa and the economic interest of Western nations also played a vital role in almost non-existent welfare services. Colonial officials in Southern Rhodesia were willing to privatize and subsidize African education to save money and avoid responsibility. However, this decision also lowered the average quality of education and allowed it to be geared for Western economic interests over African progress. Continuous failures from the colonial government to improve education and a

nearly non-existent welfare state helped radicalize Africans against European colonialism leading to independence movements.

The influence of international aid negatively impacted the quality of African education through decentralization and influenced the power and direction of independence movements. Set with the Cold War context, the US and USSR invested large amounts of capital into either propping up capitalist regimes or funding communist independence groups. The influx of international aid helped shape movements like ZANU to become increasingly radical in their views and approaches to Western interests. Guided by communist rhetoric, Mugabe ultimately rejected European imperialism and capitalist economic systems since he believed it was a failed system of governance. Throughout the colonial period, British colonial officials in settler colonies were more concerned with maintaining power over the development of everyone in the colony. What resulted were racially segregated societies that catered a complete welfare state to white populations while leaving nothing but scraps for Africans.

VI. CONCLUSION

The development of the colonial welfare system by both the metropole and colonial governments was ultimately a failure for the British empire. Throughout the early twentieth century, the British government revolutionized the nation's education system as part of the expanding welfare system in England. Within this new education system, the administration was centralized to standardize the curriculum better, and compulsory schooling was introduced for children up to sixteen. The changes in the English education system show that the British government understood and accepted the responsibility to provide quality education for all members of society. However, while British officials recognized the importance of education at home, they either failed to understand the need for more colonial education or lacked the political will to make the necessary reforms. Instead of transferring the British education system to Africa, the British government relied upon the Advisory Committee to draft colonial education policy even on a limited scale.

Most of the recommendations from the Advisory Committee did little to expand the colonial welfare state since the Committee had no power to enforce the policies. Many of the metropole's failures for the colonial welfare system come from the lack of centralization for social services. This initial lack of centralization resulted from little government effort to establish European education since many missionary societies offered most African education. Each missionary society approached African education differently, resulting in a decentralized and unstandardized education system before 1920. The Adaptation policy approved by the Advisory Committee exacerbated the issue of decentralization by giving missionaries even more control over African education

through cooperation. By decentralizing the colonial education system, the British government left it to private organizations such as missionaries and international organizations to fill in the massive gaps left by state education. It was not until 1940 that the British government finally accepted the responsibility of African education and started to make significant progress in expanding the colonial welfare system. Unfortunately for the British, their investment into African welfare came too late to stop the spread of anti-colonial and anti-capitalist sentiment developed over the colonial period due to economic exploitation and lack of social services. Africans used their grievances concerning lack of educational opportunities and other social services as the foundation for independence movements across the continent throughout the second half of the twentieth century. While the metropole failed to offer the appropriate consideration for African education, each colony could implement its welfare state due to the decentralized nature of the education system.

Even though each colony had the potential to provide a robust welfare state, most of them avoided the responsibility due to the priorities of the governors and the social climate of the colonies. For non-settler colonies, the biggest issue for the advance of the welfare state was the priority of colonial governors. Due to the nature of indirect rule, colonial governors decided what investments the administration made. Guggisberg, for example, prioritized education and other social services, expanding the welfare system at his discretion, showing that colonial welfare was possible if the administration had the political will. The Gold Coast under the governance of Guggisberg was an exception; most governors tended to focus more on economic development over the development of social services. Even with the expansion of the welfare state in the Gold Coast, the

paternalistic nature of colonialism still impeded the welfare state by limiting the power of Africans to be subservient to Europeans.

As for settler colonies, the most significant obstacle for establishing the welfare state was the social climate of each colony. In Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, race was the determining factor for the quality of education a child could receive. These colonies were controlled by a European minority over a much larger African majority which caused racial tensions to develop. In response to these racial tensions, colonial governments made every effort to offer fulfilling lives to Europeans through extensive welfare to appease the settlers while giving Africans the bare minimum. Even though European education in these colonies rivaled their British counterparts, most African education was designed to promote an agricultural or industrial lifestyle. The racial divide can be seen in the segregation of government schools and the offered curriculum. Colonial officials in settler colonies, similar to the non-settler colonies, always prioritized European needs over African education due to their understanding of racial differences.

The failures of the colonial welfare system were the result of the extreme decentralization of social services to the colony level and colonial officials' prejudiced views on racial differences. The metropole failed to provide the Advisory Committee with enough power or money to enact any of its educational policies, leaving the welfare state in the hands of colonial governors. These governors, in turn, impeded the establishment of the welfare state by prioritizing either European economic interests or the needs of settlers. As a result of these failures, Africans organized independence movements against all colonial powers, which led to the decolonization of Africa. It is possible that if the British government had successfully established a welfare state, each

colony might have reached dominion status, and the formal empire would still exist

today.

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