CONTAINS PULLOUTS
CHAPTER VI

THE JEANES EXPERIMENT

Origins and Orientation

One of the primary recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission had been the establishment of efficient and constructive supervision of village schools. To this end it had suggested the provision of visiting teachers similar to those employed by the Jeanes Fund in the Southern States of America. This suggestion found favour with the Nyasaland Government, although detailed consideration was postponed pending the establishment of a Department of Education. With this accomplished, the question of the formation of some sort of Jeanes School came under active discussion.

As Dr. C. T. Loram pointed out in an address

---


2 Loram was a distinguished South African educator, generally regarded as the foremost authority on Native education in the Union of South Africa at that time, and a member of that country's Native Affairs Commission. He served on both Phelps-Stokes African Commissions and was for some time the representative of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in South Africa.
delivered in New York in the autumn of 1926 upon the occasion of a dinner given in his honour by the Phelps-Stokes Fund. "The point of attack on the evils of African life are the thousands of village schools scattered all over Africa. ... These schools will never do their duty until they are properly supervised by ... [those] who understand that education is more than reading and writing and arithmetic." In his preliminary remarks Loram had outlined the many reasons why Africa could accurately be termed, "the black man's grave."³ Foremost among them were "poor housing, inadequate agriculture ... and insanitary home surroundings."⁴ It was to remedy these conditions as much as to improve the quality of village schools that Loram commended to his audience their wholehearted support for the establishment of Jeanes Schools throughout Africa. These should follow, in his view, the example already set in Kenya. There, James Dougall, former Secretary to the Phelps-Stokes Commission to East Africa, had taken charge of the first Jeanes School on the continent at Kabete.

Throughout the early months of 1927, correspondence was exchanged between Loram, Governor Bowring, and

³ As opposed to the more traditional "white man's grave."

⁴ Zomba: SI/308/27. Copy of an address delivered by Loram at 101 Park Avenue, New York City on October 25th, 1926.
Nyasaland's newly appointed Director of Education, R. F. Gaunt. The principle of some form of Jeane's School was soon accepted. Predictably, however, the initial considerations were those of finance and of whether control should be exercised by Government, by the Missions collectively, or by the Missions separately.

Gaunt felt strongly that the school should be a Government institution while open to teachers from all missionary societies on equal terms. Bowring agreed. Writing to Loram in late January, he stated that "We are unanimously of the opinion that if such an establishment is created it should be entirely of Government control and not attached to a particular Mission." Loram, however, dissented from this point of view. Replying a fortnight later, he commented that "unless you have made up your mind . . . I should be glad to be allowed to argue the point." He went on to state that "I cannot help thinking that Nyasaland might accomplish more by adding three Jeane's departments to the existing training institutions," adding that "after nearly 100 years experience in the Union we are shy of Government schools for natives," and that "for a long time to come, native education in

---

Nyasaland will perforce be a Mission rather than a Government matter."

The point was well taken, but Loram seems to have failed to make sufficient distinction between "Government" in South Africa and "Government" in Nyasaland. The differences of course were considerable. In the end, Gaunt's arguments carried the day, not least by his making the point that "Jeanes' departments would not be so efficient as one school," particularly in that through the lack of sufficient accommodation and/or suitable European instructors at the three Mission stations concerned, "Jeanes departments would . . . appear to entail heavier expenditure than one Government school."

Loram conceded the point with equanimity and immediately set about helping to solve the first problem, that of financial support for the School. In a letter to Governor Bowring he stressed his support with reference to a forthcoming visit to South Africa of two representatives of the Carnegie Corporation. "Please be assured that

---


7 Zomba: SI/308/27. Undated fragment of memorandum on Native Education prepared by Gaunt. From its context and its location in the file, it appears to have been written in late February, 1927.
I shall not fail to press the claims of Nyasaland upon them."\(^8\)

This was encouraging, but Carnegie Corporation or no Carnegie Corporation, Bowring was determined to press ahead. Towards the close of his opening address to the 1927 Native Education Conference he went so far as to announce it as his hope that "during the current financial period it may be possible to find funds for the erection of the buildings necessary for the establishment of a Government Jeanes School, so that such an institution may be opened earlier than would otherwise be possible."\(^9\)

Moreover, at a later stage of the Conference's proceedings the question of the desirability of a Jeanes School was given a thorough airing in the course of which the Governor assured the delegates that they need not concern themselves with the question of finance.

On the whole Mission response was encouraging, although the Livingstonia and DRC representatives expressed concern lest the creation of a Jeanes School might supersede their own flourishing teacher-training courses. These


fears were allayed by a resolution put forward by Rev. Bowman of the Blantyre Mission and subsequently carried unanimously:

That while agreeing to the establishment of a "Jeanes" school by Government as early as possible, that other similar institutions maintained by Missions and conforming to the regulations, should be encouraged and subsidised accordingly.10

As a result, early in July, 1927, the Governor sent off a dispatch to the Secretary of State, informing him of his proposal to "make provision in the draft estimates for 1928 for the establishment of a Government Jeanes School," and stating that "I am very anxious that the school should be opened at the earliest possible opportunity." With regard to the question of finance, Bowring estimated the total capital cost of establishing the school as just over £1,000, and the annual recurrent expenditure at about £1,800. Imaginatively, he suggested that the funds could be provided by reallocation from a £5,000 vote for tsetse fly control, the implementation of which had broken down. The dispatch concluded on an unwonted note of urgency with a request for "approval if accorded . . . [to] be transmitted . . . by telegram."11 Seven weeks later the

10 Ibid., pp. 44 and 52.
telegram duly arrived affirming that "building may begin." 12

The windfall provided by the abortive tsetse fly control program was welcome indeed, but more substantial support was soon forthcoming from the Carnegie Corporation. Following conversation and correspondence between Loram, Gaunt, Oldham, Bowman, and various officials of the Corporation, it was agreed that Oldham should write to the Nyasaland Government making a formal offer. Government was, of course, apprised of this course of action in advance and had already obtained the Colonial Office consent necessary to its acceptance of the grant. All this took some time, 13 but in the early spring of 1929 the welcome news arrived that a grant of $5,000 had been offered and accepted, just over £1,000 annually for a period of five years. The grant was subject only to the submission and approval of a satisfactory plan of operation. This latter was soon forthcoming. 14

---


13 Zomba: SI/308/27. See extensive correspondence exchanged between Loram, Bowring, Bowman, Gaunt, Kepple, Amery and others.

By this stage the initial buildings had already been erected. Indeed, it was a condition of the Carnegie grant that its use be confined to recurrent expenditure. The Nyasaland Government was to bear the full burden of capital costs.

Before examining the functioning of the School in practice, a word might be in order regarding the philosophy behind it. Started in the Southern States of America as a means of improving the educational standards in elementary schools for Negroes in rural districts, the system derived its name from the white gentlewoman who foresaw the potential value of such a scheme and whose philanthropy provided the money for its furtherance.

Miss Anna C. Jeannes had left a fund to be used in training travelling teachers for Native schools who would demonstrate new methods and instruct the teachers. This was Matthew Arnold's theory of the real function of the school inspector, and had also been the practice of several missions. The "Jeannes' Fund," however, both interested Governments in the work and also enabled such teachers to be produced in larger numbers.15

A description of the basic goals aimed at is given in an article written by James Dougall, the founder of the Kabete School in Kenya:

Each teacher [or supervisor] after training travels round his district not to estimate efficiency and to report, but to bring each school into closer touch with village life by showing what improvement it can effect in such life and to convince each village of the communal advantages of the school. For this purpose he [the supervisor] often stays a week or more at the school. He is supposed to give no advice which he is not prepared there and then to put into practice.16

By the close of the 1920's Jeanes Schools had been established in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia in addition to those in Kenya and in Nyasaland.

Rev. E. D. Bowman of the Church of Scotland's Blantyre Mission was selected as the first Principal for Nyasaland's Jeanes School. He had received warm support for this position from Loram who had been impressed with his qualities when visiting the Protectorate in 1924 as a member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. "You will not, I am sure," wrote Loram to Governor Bowring in October of 1927, "think it impertinent of me to suggest that you win over the Missions to the Government17 Jeanes School idea by offering the headmastership of the new school to Mr. Bowman."18 This advice apparently proved to be

18 Ibid. Loram mentioned that Bowman had been warmly recommended by Dr. Laws of the Livingstonia Mission.
unnecessary as Bowring had already "strongly recommended Mr. Bowman for the post of Principal." 19

A trained educationist, Bowman had served the Blantyre Mission in Nyasaland for almost twenty years. In the early part of 1927 he had gained the approbation of the visiting educationist, A. Victor Murray 20 who had subsequently written Oldham that "I was greatly impressed with Bowman. He struck me as one of the best people I have ever met." 21

One of the basic decisions to be taken in the course of 1927 was the selection of a site. Gaunt had originally suggested Dodza 22 for its geographically central location together with the fact that it was situated upon a main trunk road. In making the final choice, however, other considerations prevailed. The site eventually chosen near Domasi, some ten to twelve miles from Zomba on the Liwonde road, was regarded as ideal from several points of view.

---
19 Zomba: SI/308/27. Extract from an undated minute from Bowring to the Chief Secretary.
20 Murray was at that time travelling in Africa pursuing research for his forthcoming work *The School in the Bush* (London, 1929).
21 EH: Nyasaland File. Murray to Oldham following his visit to Nyasaland in early 1927.
22 Situated some 50 miles south of Lilongwe on the Great North Road. See Maps.
To begin with, there was much to recommend it from the point of view of the goals at which Government was aiming. In the opinion of the Assistant Director of Agriculture, E. W. Davy, it would be impossible to secure a better site within a reasonable distance from Zomba, and one possessing better agricultural land. True, the soil at that time was not "excessively fertile having been so many years under native gardens," but it was of a type capable of rapid improvement. In the course of this process, it would be possible to demonstrate visibly to the first class of students as well as to the neighbouring population, the efficacy of such modern agricultural methods as contour terracing, drainage, crop rotation, and new means of cultivation. There was, in addition, an abundant and perennial supply of water, thus making possible the introduction of irrigation schemes.

The fact that there was a large and concentrated African population settled in the vicinity was another asset. Their presence would provide considerable scope for the inauguration of projects in village improvement, maternity instruction, and child welfare. Indeed, a prime consideration as was noted by Davy was the acquisition by

23 Zomba: SI/308/27. Note from Davy to the Director of Agriculture dated October 7th, 1927.
Government of more land, as it was likely that the very establishment of the School would shortly result in a "denser native populace," in the area.  

Gaunt himself viewed the choice with approval. He appreciated the fact that the agricultural instruction given at Domasi would be more useful in terms of its general application in village schools than the specialized type of agriculture which would be necessitated by Dedza's elevation. Gaunt also realized that as his office work would presumably increase with the passage of time, it would be convenient to have the School located within easy reach of Zomba. Then too, it would be accessible for visitors to the country who might not have time to spare for a lengthy return journey up country. 

A general clearing of the site and the erection of buildings was commenced early in 1928. It was now time to consider the type of student to be selected to occupy them. Governor Bowring felt that the image of the establishment should be such as to attract the highest calibre of applicants. To this end, he suggested in a dispatch to the Secretary of State that the title "Jeanes Training Centre"

---

24 Ibid.
25 A round trip was only some 300 miles, but travel could be most difficult for much of the year during the rainy seasons as the road was unmotted.
should be substituted for "Jeanes School" since the term "school" might "prove misleading to the native community of this Protectorate." The students, after all, were to be selected from among adult men who had already qualified as teachers and "might possibly object to returning to a 'school.'" Conversely, such terms as "college" or "institution" were purposely avoided so as not to give prospective students "exaggerated ideas of what they are to be taught, thus leading to disappointment." This was regarded by Government as a very important point. The courses offered were to be of a "Professional" nature and were not aimed at "carrying a student's education further in the Academic Standards." This, it was felt, must be sought elsewhere among those Mission institutions offering some form of "higher education." 26

What sort of students then were wanted? The answer was clearly stated in a circular sent round by Government. This circular served a twofold purpose. It clarified the circumstances surrounding the origin of and the determination of aims for the Centre for the general public as well as for those parties more immediately interested. It also spelled

out precisely the qualifications necessary for consideration and acceptance as a student.

The aims of the Centre were fivefold:

(1) To improve class-room instruction in the 3Rs.
(2) To adapt the conventional school subjects to African life and environment.
(3) To enlarge the scope of village school education by the addition of new subjects affecting the social life of the village community.
(4) To make the school a community center and to direct education to the benefit of the whole local community.
(5) To give training in home-craft and child welfare to wives of students in training. 27

Those Missions possessing out-school systems were invited to submit the names of candidates for admission.

But before doing so, they were asked to bear in mind that

The object of this Training Centre is the improvement of Village Schools and Village Life by the method of training teachers in service. . . .

The type of candidate most suited to training along these lines is the man who has already settled down to teaching in the villages as a vocation. Married men who have given evidence of learning ability and aptitude along practical lines are most likely to profit from the course. Character, disposition and leadership traits are fundamental considerations in these men who, it is hoped, will be able to lead and guide the village teachers and the village community. 28

More specifically, candidates for the Centre were expected to be in possession of at least a 3rd Grade Vernacular Teacher's Certificate and should have some knowledge of English in order to be capable eventually of

27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
advising teachers of English classes in Central Village Schools. Chinyanja, however, was to be the medium of instruction at Domasi.

Although the course would normally be of two years' duration, it was proposed that the first course should run only from May of 1929 until November of 1930, thus ensuring the graduation of a number of supervisors in time to return to their home districts for the 1931 school year. While in training students would receive an allowance of £1 per month out of which they would have to meet the living expenses for themselves and for their families. It was made clear that once living accommodation had been constructed, all married students would bring their wives and children with them to the Centre as training in housekeeping and mother-craft for the wives was to play a fundamental part in the overall curriculum. As for the children, when old enough they would attend the Centre's practice school together with a number of children from the neighbouring villages.

Finally, it was emphasized that students wishing to enter the course must be willing to sign a contract guaranteeing that they would complete the course of

29 Garden plots would be allocated to the students enabling them to grow the bulk of their food requirements.
training and that they would subsequently serve their sponsoring Mission for a minimum of two years. Those successful in completing the course would upon graduation be awarded Certificates as Jeanes Supervisors. Those Certificates would be regarded as provisional for one year. At the end of this time they would be confirmed as permanent, provided that the Supervisor's field performance had been judged satisfactory.30

Early Progress in the Course for Supervisors

The first group of students arrived in May, 1929. They were 23 in number. Twenty-one were accompanied by their wives, and there were a total of 56 children. Government's intention to involve all Missions in the Jeanes scheme was illustrated by the fact that this first group included representatives of ten different bodies. Over half the students, however, were drawn from the two Scottish Missions and the DRC. Four of the students held Government 2nd Grade Teachers' Certificates and the remainder, 3rd Grade Certificates.

Initially, the staff was very small. In addition to Bowman as Principal, N. D. Clegg was seconded from the Department of Agriculture as an Assistant Master. Three

Nyasa were also employed; a teacher possessing a 1st Grade Certificate, a carpentry instructor, and a junior clerk.

In 1930 an Assistant Mistress, Miss M. B. Begg, was appointed to oversee the wives' training. In the interim before she was able to take up her appointment in late October help was given by a nurse from the C. of S. Mission.

From the start, the work was highly practical. Housing, furniture and school equipment had to be constructed before the Centre could begin to function properly. Gardens needed to be cleared, planted and cultivated in order that the Centre might become self-sufficient with regard to food. Much of the students' time was spent in mastering the techniques of agricultural improvement, hygiene and sanitation that were deemed applicable to village conditions.

Ample provision was made for classroom instruction however. Five hours weekly were provided for Agriculture and Nature Study, and in the course of 1930, instruction was given in

Elementary botany, elementary plant physiology, cultural practice and purpose of same, types of plant propagation, plant distribution, environmental and other factors involved, seed selection and crop improvement, terracing and drainage, school gardens, purpose, arrangements, and measurements suitable for village schools of various sizes; animals and birds in relation to agriculture, elementary economics in relation to agriculture and native village life, elementary studies in natural phenomena, notes of
lessons on these suitable for village schools, and methods of supervision of these subjects in village schools. 31

As for handicrafts, there was instruction in simple carpentry, brickmaking and bricklaying, drawing and illustrating and building. Wooden printing blocks, wall blackboards and other simple village school equipment were fashioned from materials easily obtainable in and around the villages themselves.

With the arrival of Miss Bogg and the commencement of the first full two-year course, the education of the students' wives became an integral part of the overall plan. Indeed, shortly thereafter, applications from single men were no longer entertained. Again much of the instruction was of a practical nature: sewing, new methods of cooking readily available foods, child welfare and "mothercraft." For those wives who had not previously achieved functional literacy in the vernacular there was classroom instruction in the 3Rs: reading, writing, and such simple arithmetic as was required for the purposes of running a modest home.

Enthusiasm ran high on all sides throughout these early years. This was true of missionaries, District Officers, even of some European planters, and, of course, 31 Rep. Ed. Dept. 1930. See Appendix I, Jeanes Training Centre, p. 12.
not least on the part of the Supervisors themselves. Throughout the early 1930's a succession of Governors praised the work being carried out in unstinted terms. In addition to Governor Bowring, whose active support had been instrumental in the establishment of the Centre, three other Governors paid visits of inspection to Domasi during the first five years of its operation.

Sir Shenton Thomas wrote that "The progress made ... is excellent, and the work has been carried out efficiently and economically." Regarding this latter point it appears to have been just as well, as Thomas confessed that while he wished that more funds could be made available, this was not currently feasible.

Sir Hubert Young announced in a full-dress speech delivered at Domasi that "It is the policy of the Government to regard this Centre as the nucleus of a system of higher education of the Africans." 32

32 Italics mine. The comments of Governors Thomas and Young were both cited in a paper delivered by Bowman entitled "The Training of Native Authorities in Community Work, A Nyasaland Experiment," subsequently published in Village Education in Africa; Report of the Inter-Territorial "Jeancs" Conference; Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, May 27th-June 6th, 1935. The Report was prepared by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and published by the Lovedale Press, Lovedale, Union of South Africa in 1936, pp. 159-160. A photostat copy of this paper was seen through the courtesy of Professor George Shepperson.
Finally, Sir Harold Kittermaster in the course of a visit to the Centre soon after his appointment as Governor in 1934 pronounced that "It [the Jeanes system] seems to me to be possibly the most valuable educational experiment ever undertaken in Africa."^{33}

This was all very well, but despite these indications of support at the highest level concern was felt on financial grounds for the future of the Centre. The five-year period covered by the initial Carnegie grant was drawing to a close with as yet no sign of any alleviation of the Depression's impact upon the Protectorate's revenues.

Emphasizing the gravity of the Education Department's plight was the fact that although a capital grant of over £3,000 had been made available in 1932 under the Colonial Development Act for the construction of a Government Training Centre for artisans and a hostel in which to house them, the scheme had proved impossible to inaugurate, simply because the Government of Nyasaland was not in a position to meet the necessary recurrent expenditures.

^{33} Ibid. This quotation is cited by Bowman from an entry by Governor Kittermaster in the Jeanes Centre's Visitors Book. But also see the opening address delivered by Kittermaster to the annual session of the Nyasaland Advisory Committee on Education in 1935 for the same sentiments expressed in almost identical wording. Min. Adv. Comm. 1935, p. 5.
In these circumstances, it was decided to make an appeal for the continuance of the Carnegie grant if only for a few years. Hopefully, by then the economic position of the country would have improved sufficiently to enable Government to assume the full burden of support. Lacey and Bowman were willing to accept the most stringent belt-tightening both as regards the Department generally and the Jeanes Centre in particular, in the interests of maintaining the momentum that in their opinion had been achieved.

In the event, the Carnegie Corporation's grant was extended and continued to alleviate the Department's financial difficulties for some years to come. Financing the Centre's expansion as the 1930's advanced continued to be a problem.

Meanwhile, the Supervisors once trained, began to fill the vacuum at the village level noted by many educated Africans, notably by the West Nyasa Native Association in January, 1930.\(^{34}\) That the Jeanes Supervisors did serve as "a model to the villagers that they have brought them better conditions,"\(^{35}\) became apparent with the submission

\(^{34}\) For a fuller treatment, see infra, Chapter VIII, section on "Further Developments Among the Native Associations; 1926-1930."

\(^{35}\) Ibid.
of the first reports, prepared by Supervisors themselves and by Europeans, missionaries and Government officials alike, under and with whom they worked. The Centre's Annual Reports throughout those years are studded with examples. Three of these, each taken from a different year, may serve to illustrate the views of the Supervisors themselves as well as of European educational officials.

The first is taken from a report submitted in 1932 by the Superintendent of Education for the Northern Province.

This Janes Supervisor is in charge of ten schools in the Northern Province. He is very energetic and methodical in his work, and does not spare himself in carrying out his programme. His influence appears not only in the schools but in the villages, where he has succeeded in popularising village sanitation to a remarkable extent. The latrines which he had constructed at the schools are the best I have seen anywhere in my area, and they are being adopted by the villagers themselves. He has also been successful in persuading villagers to dig pits for rubbish and to keep their villages cleaner. Where there may have been a certain amount of opposition from headmen, he has, by his tact, succeeded in lessening it. He has specially helped the teachers in their outside work. The school gardens in his area are very good indeed and he has done much good work in encouraging the planting of trees near schools. His family provides a good example for native village life, and the Mission has good reason to be satisfied with the work of this Supervisor. 36

The second example is extracted from the report of a Supervisor for 1933. While acknowledging the obstacles

he faced, this report, as did the previous selection, demonstrates that through perseverance these could be overcome. 37

I have been teaching village improvement [housing, water supplies, hygiene and agriculture] and, although I am experiencing many difficulties, I have no doubt of ultimate success. In the villages the population wish to improve their schools and dwelling-houses, but in some cases there are delays because of laziness and procrastination, and in others because many of the population work in nearby towns, and only return home late in the evenings. On my arrival here many villagers refused education, but these are now building schools to my plans. I have been too busy to take a holiday and have continued to work without pay for the sake of the people. A number of people are now pulling down their old houses and rebuilding new ones on "Joanes" lines, and I estimate that in a few years the results will be clearly visible. The great drawback to better housing is shortage of timber, so we have started planting for future use. Natives are coming from long distances to see the improvements effected with the object of following suit in their own villages. My wife is doing what she can with the women by instructing them in the boiling and care of drinking water and the care of village water supplies; teaching them sewing, handwork and basket making, and persuading them to go to school. 38

37 The quality of the English in this report is worthy of comment, assuming that there has been no Departmental editing. The likelihood, however, is that this together with similar reports subsequently referred to were for the most part submitted in the vernacular and translated at Department headquarters prior to publication.

Finally, this excerpt from a letter written by a supervisor serving in the field to students currently in training at the Centre.

Now that it is nearing the time for you to leave our sponsor "Jeanes" on your return home, allow me to give you some advice before you leave. Get firmly into your heads our school song about our three hearth stones [i.e., Health, Work and Character]. You may think you are at peace when in your family circle there, but when you return to your village family, that is your mission, you will find many difficulties and if you forget our "three hearth stones" motto, you will fail. Another thing, listen attentively to the little things you are taught for these things become big things here in the villages. Be warned too to listen carefully to questions and answers at the community meetings, for there are villagers who know how to read learned books and who know how to ask awkward questions; practice often at debates there so that you may become adept at debate.39

The Inauguration of the Native Authority Course

In 1934 an important step forward in the development of the work of the Centre was taken with the inauguration of an experimental four-month course of training for Chiefs and Native Authorities. This appears to have come about as the result of a joint enthusiasm for the idea shared by Government and by the Chiefs themselves.

At the time of the King's Birthday celebrations

in the previous year, the Governor had authorized a visit to the Centre by a party of Chiefs and Principal Headmen who had been gathered together in Zomba for the celebrations. There at Domasi it was thought, they might see for themselves the work being done.

All were most favourably impressed, and at the conclusion of their visit the spokesman of the 30-strong group, Inkosi Yamakosi Phillip Gomani of the Ncheu Ngoni, requested the Government through the persons of the five District Commissioners who had accompanied them on their tour for some similar form of training, to be made available to a selection from their number. Government proved sympathetic to this request, the more so when the Governor himself was approached in the course of a subsequent tour of the Northern Province by Chief Chikuramayembe of Rumpi District.

40 In this instance, King George V, but referring to the official birthday.
41 Chief Phillip Gomani, the inheritor of a prestigious title among the Ngoni of central Nyasaland, was subsequently to play a significant role in the expression of his people's militant opposition to the imposition of Federation in 1953. For a graphic account of this last, see Michael Scott, A Time to Speak (London, 1958), pp. 281-284. Also, see Robert I. Rotberg, The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa, The Making of Malawi and Zambia 1973-1964 (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 251 and 259.
42 At this time one of the younger and more progressive Chiefs exercising influence by virtue of his office over a substantial area in the Northern Province. Chief Chikuramayembe, still vigourously administering his responsibilities at the age of 62, kindly granted an interview to the author at Bolero, near Rumpi, in April, 1966, at which this and other matters pertaining to his lifelong interest in education were discussed.
who in turn expressed his strong desire for the provision of some form of higher education for himself and for his fellow Chiefs. 43

Moving with commendable alacrity, a course in "rural reconstruction" 44 was drawn up and approved in turn by the Advisory Committee on Education, the Provincial Commissioners, and the Secretariat in Zomba. As a result, some seven Chiefs were selected to attend the first trial course. In April of 1934 they arrived at Domasi together with their families and retainers.

Bowman, in a paper he delivered a year later to the Inter-Territorial "Jeanes" Conference held in Salisbury, noted that

The time was opportune. The Government had just passed the new ordinance to establish and to prescribe the powers and duties of Native Authorities. Here was an opportunity not to be missed to initiate, as an experiment, a course of instruction which might help the chiefs to organize and carry out schemes for village improvement. 45

---


44 This phrase, interestingly enough, seems to foreshadow much of the thrust of the Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, prepared by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies and published as Col. 103 by H.M.S.O. in London in 1935. See Appendix J for a summary of the Memorandum.

The objects of the training to be given were three-fold.

(A) to instill in the Chiefs a sense of responsibility for the welfare of their people and encourage a more direct interest in their social and economic welfare.

(B) To lead the Chiefs to a realization of the fact that they can raise the standard of living in the villages and make a great improvement in social amenities.

(C) To encourage them to cooperate with the Jeanes Teachers and support the latter in their work both in school and village.\textsuperscript{46}

The names of the seven Chiefs selected to attend the initial course are noteworthy as virtually all of them went on to play important roles in the educational, and latterly, in the political development of Nyasaland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief Chikulamaembe</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Tumbuka</td>
<td>Mombara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Gomani</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Ngoni</td>
<td>Nchau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Kalumbu</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Cowa</td>
<td>Lilongwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Bolecu</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Nyanja</td>
<td>Chikwawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Chikowii</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Yao</td>
<td>Zomba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Malemia</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Yao</td>
<td>Zomba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Mabuka</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mlanje</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chiefs selected combined comparative youth with considerable experience, in addition to providing a reasonable cross section of the country both tribally and geographically. In the level of their prior formal education they were not (uniformly) so fortunate. Indeed this factor,\textsuperscript{46,47}

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
taken together with the brevity of the initial course, gave rise to the expression of some doubt on the part of the Department of Education as to its efficacy. In the event, however, it proved to be a great success.

The course lasted from the beginning of April until the end of July. Instruction was provided in a wide variety of subjects. Among those offered were History & Geography, Agriculture, Nature Study, Hygiene & Sanitation, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Civics and Simple Economics. These last three were of especial interest in terms of their relevance to the work the Chiefs would subsequently be performing as Native Authorities. In arithmetic, the level of attainment previously reached was particularly low and so disparate that three Jeanes students enrolled in the Supervisors' Course were detailed in weekly rotation to give the Chiefs individual coaching every afternoon.

As a supplement to the classes in Bookkeeping the Chiefs were all required to keep monthly household accounts recording how they spent their allowances under such headings as food, household requisites, clothing, stationery & stamps, etc. As for the classes in Economics and Civics Bowman's Annual Report for 1934 describes their content as follows.
Economics: Simple explanations and illustrations were given of the different forms of wealth (social and economic), of how wealth is produced and of the requirements necessary for its production and of the origin and need for barter and a medium of exchange. Other matters dealt with were markets local and foreign and the effects of supply and demand on price fluctuations; transport and distribution of products and their relation to profits, how the wealth of the whole community is increased directly or indirectly by the products of local industries, and the need for developing the country's potential wealth, and the encouragement and fostering of local industries and education.

Civics: Similarities and differences between their own ancient and modern governments were discussed so that the rights and duties of citizenship in relation to the rights and duties of chiefship, whatever the form of government, might be fully realized and appreciated. Instruction was also given in the evolution of government, the necessity for taxation, and what is done with the revenue. The Government of the Protectorate and the work of the various Government Departments were also explained.43

Each morning from 8 until 12 o'clock there was classroom instruction. In the afternoons there was practical work under close supervision on home and village improvement projects. There was additionally the private study with individual coaching referred to above. However, it should be stressed that this was not necessitated through any lack of keenness or application on the part of the Chiefs; quite the contrary. It was rather a result of the fact that their previous educational attainments ranged

from Class 2 of the Vernacular village school to Standard 6 of an Anglo-Vernacular school. Moreover, while Chief Balou had attended a Mission school as recently as 1929, one of the older Chiefs had last attended school at the turn of the century.

While their husbands were thus engaged the wives, several of whom had themselves previously received some training in Mission schools, attended separate classes or received joint instruction together with the wives of the student Supervisors. These classes were for the most part held at the Clinic and at the Welfare Centre and concerned health measures, sanitation & hygiene and mothercraft. Meanwhile, their children attended the village practice school which served as a demonstration model for the Centre as a whole.

According to Bowman, "It was a happy combination and worked without a hitch from beginning to end." 49 This quality of cooperation was of course one of the primary objectives of the entire exercise. It was hoped by Government that a sympathetic attitude on the part of the Chiefs towards the Jeanes Supervisors and what they would be trying to achieve in the field at a later date, would be engendered by their interaction during the course of

49 Bowman, Village Education in Africa, op. cit., p. 166.
their mutual study. This cooperation was reinforced by the appointment of individual Chiefs to serve in monthly rotation as headmen for the whole Jeans community. The Chiefs were thus able to assume responsibility for the organization and smooth functioning of the model village in which they all lived. In this, they were advised by a council of elders chosen from among the senior Jeans students. Acting in concert, rules were drawn up, disputes heard, and internal discipline maintained. Thus, Supervisor and Chief gained the experience of working together with mutual respect, in practice, as well as in theory.

The course proceeded with an intensive schedule of instruction. Representatives of various Government Departments contributed a number of special lectures and field trips for the Chiefs. The Director of the Geological Survey spoke on the provision of village water supplies and escorted the Chiefs on trips to view the variety of wells to be found in the Zomba District. The Conservator of Forests lectured on conservation and on re-afforestation; the Chief Veterinary Officer on the care of cattle, on the improvement of stock generally, and on the control of rabies in dogs; an officer of the Department of Agriculture lectured on means of improving village gardens and on the introduction of new crops.
Several special events were also included in order to provide variety and to encourage enthusiasm generally. An R.A.F. troop-carrier aircraft took the Chiefs for a three-hour flight; they had the opportunity of hearing by wireless a speech delivered by their "paramount chief," King George V; and at the Centre itself, their course closed with a school exhibition and a Baby Show.

Early in August the Chiefs returned to their homes. Their main regret upon leaving was the brevity of the course. They expressed unanimously the request that periodical conferences might be held among their number as a means of comparing notes regarding common problems and achievements. Their last act prior to their departure from Domasi was the presentation of gifts in both cash and kind to the student Supervisors in acknowledgment of their cooperation and their academic coaching.

That the course had an immediate effect soon became apparent from the reports of the participating Chiefs' respective District Commissioners. The reports abounded with such phrases as "the salient feature is the improvement in the hygiene"; "proper regard to latrine accommodation"; "I have detected a [new] keenness"; etc. One report gave a graphic description of the sweeping changes as evidenced in the village of Chief Malemia near Zomba.
Before this work [village improvement] was started the village had the appearance of large and very untidy bird nests amongst the dense foliage of a gigantic tree, but the houses are now clearly visible and, as old houses require rebuilding, new ones are being arranged in an orderly manner. It is hoped that within a few years this village will become a model for others to copy.  

The scheme in general then met with approval, not to say enthusiasm, within Nyasaland. This feeling was also demonstrably shared by those representatives of British East, Central and Southern Africa gathered in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia in late May of 1935 for an Inter-Territorial "Jeanes" Conference. Their views may be best summed up by the remark that "The Nyasaland experiment offers a very encouraging example [of] what can be done to enlighten chiefs who are often afraid of their own councils because of their [the Chiefs] . . . ignorance."  

One further result of this initial course for Chiefs came at the behest of a Nyasaland District Commissioner. Writing in reply to a request made by the Secretariat for comments or criticism on the first course, he suggested that a full and detailed report on the course be drawn up and circulated to all D.C.'s. This was done.  

---

51 Bowman, Village Education in Africa, op. cit., p. 175, quoting a comment by Mr. Rhaimallt Jones, a delegate to the conference from the Union of South Africa.
and had the additional merit of making available to all Native Authorities throughout the country an awareness of the range of problems discussed and the solutions, however tentative, that had been arrived at. It also enabled D.C.'s to "make recommendations, if necessary, for future courses, such recommendations being based on comparison between the official report and the interpretation of those Authorities who had attended the course."52

As a result of all this, a second course was held between May and August of 1935 for six Chiefs and their families. It proved equally successful. As a consequence, the N.A. Course found acceptance as an integral part of the work of the Jeanes Centre. The scope of this work was thus fruitfully broadened while in this same year of 1935 decisions were taken to add still another course, this one for Community Workers.

The Inauguration of the Community Workers' Course

Largely as a result of the Inter-Territorial Conference and the interest aroused by the success of the N.A. scheme, the Jeanes Centre at Domasi was enabled to implement a third training scheme, one planned to be complementary

52 Ibid., pp. 172-173.
to that organized for the Native Authorities. 53

It was generally recognized that a course for men
(and women) to be trained specifically as Community Workers
was imperative if the Chiefs were to receive the assistance
necessary for a successful implementation of the various
aspects of rural reconstruction. While the Jeanes Supervi-
\[...

53 A further factor was very likely the recent
publication of Col. 103, Memorandum on the Education of
provide time within the two-year period for the planting, cultivating, harvesting and distribution of two complete crops.

The first group of prospective Community Workers was drawn from the areas of some 19 different Native Authorities. They were more or less evenly divided between the Northern and Southern Provinces although two vacancies allotted to the Northern Province were not immediately filled. Among their number were seven Ngoni and eight Yao. The remainder were Cowa, Mkonde, Nyanja and Lomwe. In common with those Native Authorities who had preceded them to Domasi their formal schooling ranged from virtually nil to that of Standard 6. While individual character and the possession of status and influence within their home environment were regarded as prime considerations, it was soon stipulated that there should be a recognized minimum educational standard. This was defined as functional literacy in their own vernacular and preferably in Chinyanja, the language of instruction as well.

The course placed great emphasis upon the practical application of the knowledge imparted and aimed at enabling its graduates to demonstrate upon their own small holdings the efficacy of improved methods. Instruction
was given in

... the growing of food and economic cash crops, mainly cotton and tobacco, animal husbandry, forestry, village sanitation, building and furnishing of better homes, laying out of model houses, villages, markets, etc. - land planning, social service and the rights and duties of citizenship, economics and economic cooperation and the organization of community welfare projects.  

A detailed Timetable for each of the two years was drawn up providing for a 35-hour week covering the above subjects. Pride of place was given to

Practical Agronomy and Better Home and Village Projects 9 hours
Practical Arithmetic 7½ hours
Practical Work-Shop Instruction 5 hours
Agriculture and Nature Study: (Theory and Demonstration) 5 hours

As with the other Jeans courses arrangements were made for Visiting Lectures to be delivered by representatives of the relevant Government Departments. Of particular interest, with an eye to the future, were the series of lectures on Elementary Economics and on Civics, even though each of these subjects was allotted only one 40-minute period a week.

The first year's lectures in Economics were designed to provide basic knowledge of the economic

process. On this foundation during the second year could be built an awareness of the purpose and function of Cooperative Societies. To begin with, the various forms taken by wealth were described as were the history and function of both barter and other more sophisticated forms of exchange. The necessity was made clear for the conjunction of raw materials, labour and capital prior to the development of industrial production. Other subjects discussed were the nature of Markets and that of supply and demand with regard to their effect upon price fluctuations. The costs of production, of transport and of distribution were outlined, illustrating their relation to wholesale and retail prices and to profits. Finally the question of individual wealth was examined, together with that of the work required to produce it in relation to the wealth, progress and developing social services of the community as a whole.

It seems likely that these lectures must have combined to create a new awareness among the students regarding the functioning of what had hitherto been an alien and incomprehensible system. Pitched at first to a modest level, in time, this new knowledge presumably gave impetus to what has recently been termed the "revolution of
rising expectations."

Similarly, the lectures on Civics stimulated thought with regard to possible social and even political advance. Heading the first year syllabus was the title "Pride of Race," starting with a lecture on the life of Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey, a potent name and one to be conjured with in the minds of many Nyasas. There followed a series of lectures in which customs and laws both old and new were compared. The rights and obligations of citizenship, the questions of courts and of taxation; all were given an airing. In the second year the framework and the organization of local district administration in the Protectorate were described and discussed. The functions of the Legislative and Executive Councils were outlined, as were the duties of the various Government Departments.

What could be more natural at the conclusion of such a course of lectures than a growing thoughtfulness among its hearers regarding African participation in Government at all levels? To be sure, the men undergoing instruction were for the most part humble and untutored, but they had been selected for their strength of character and for their ability to persuade and lead their fellows.
In common with the Supervisors' Course, the prospective Community Worker was seen as the head of a family unit. The education of his wife and children was therefore regarded as an integral part of the course. The wives received much the same lessons as those described with regard to the wives of Supervisors; their children were enrolled in the same practice school.

Some modification in the internal organization and administration of the Jeanes Centre was necessitated by the arrival of the prospective Community Workers. They were formed into a separate village with their own elected headman and councillors and a new post of "Group" headman was created. His councillors in turn were to be elected from the combined membership of both villages and would "decide common questions affecting the two villages."55

As 1938 drew to a close, the Jeanes Centre at Domasi prepared to celebrate the conclusion of its initial decade; ten years that had seen a steady broadening of its responsibilities. Government saw this as an appropriate point for taking stock, of the Centre's current functions, and of its future role.

55 Ibid., pp. 39-40.
A Summation

The end of August, 1939, marked the simultaneous conclusion of the Fifth Course for Supervisors, the Fourth for Native Authorities, and the First for Community Workers. It seemed evident that in the ten years that had elapsed since its establishment, the various Jeanes schemes of training had filled a number of real and deeply felt needs. They had been of considerable benefit; to those who had received training, and to the communities within which they had subsequently worked. And yet, there was room for improvement. That more visible evidence of the impact of the Centre upon the Protectorate as a whole was not readily apparent appears to have been the inevitable result of attempting to do too much with too little. That this was clearly perceived at the time is manifest in numerous governmental reports and in the internal correspondence exchanged between those responsible for the Centre's operation. The most obvious means of rectifying the situation, the provision of more money, was held to be impossible. The prevailing view, perhaps understandably, was that half a loaf was better than none.

Still, the fact remains that on the eve of the Second World War, a decade after this "nucleus of a system
of higher education" had been brought into being, candidates for the Centre's courses were being accepted at the same measured pace. This averaged roughly thirty per year. Moreover, total Government expenditure on the Jeanes Centre was something under £5,000 annually. The Annual Report for 1940 notes, whether with irony or complacency it is difficult to say, that "There are now close on a hundred trained Jeanes Supervisors at work in the schools of all the Missions in the country and, considering the small salaries offered in many cases, the wastage of trained men has been remarkably small." 56 At the end of 1938, there were 95 Supervisors serving in the field throughout Nyasaland, evenly distributed among the districts with the exception of the southernmost part of the country and of the lakeshore in the vicinity of Nkhota Kota. Nearly half of them worked with one of the constituent missions of the C.C.A.P., over a quarter were distributed between the two Roman Catholic Missions, and about 10% were with the Seventh-day Adventists. The 24 trained Native Authorities and the 22 Community Workers were similarly distributed. 57

Writing at the end of 1938, N. D. Clegg, Acting

Principal of the Centre in the absence of Bowman on leave, attempted to draw some general conclusions from the "mass of detail" provided by the reports submitted to him by District Commissioners, Education Officers, Mission authorities and the Supervisors themselves. He concluded that "broadly speaking, the success of [the Jeanes] work has been largely influenced by the degree of contact which has existed between the native inhabitants and European civilization since the country has been opened up." To illustrate this thesis, Clegg divided the country into three zones.

(A) Blantyre and Central Shire, Cholo and the southwestern part of Mlanje and Chiradzulu Districts may be included in what might be termed the "least conservative, and therefore most progressive zone."

(B) Lower Shire, Chikwawa, north-eastern portions of Mlanje and Chiradzulu, and the Zomba Districts may be included in another "more conservative, and therefore less progressive zone."

(C) Except for a bright spot here and there (notably in the northern Ncheu and Dedza Districts, the southern Lilongwe District and the areas of the Livingstonia Mission), all those districts north of Zomba might be considered as the "least progressive zone."  

It is worth noting that these lines of demarcation seem to apply with almost equal force to the degree to which

58 Ibid., p. 48.  
59 Ibid.
these areas possessed or were lacking in internal lines of transport and of communication. In addition, area (C) and to a lesser extent area (B) comprised those portions of the country most affected by the problem of de-population; the majority of the able-bodied males voting with their feet in favour of employment outside the Protectorate.

Turning to the impact of the Centre's graduates on an individual basis Clegg concluded that, as he had anticipated, the age and degree of maturity of the individual Supervisor or Community Worker appeared to have a "considerable bearing on the results achieved, and it would seem that those who have attained the age of at least 30 while undergoing training are the least likely to lose heart in face of continued opposition, and have more influence with villagers and teachers."\textsuperscript{60}

Together with this need for maturity on the part of the Supervisor or Community Worker there was the problem of the inadequacy of their continued contact with the Centro, in the form of refresher courses, and more important, in terms of field visitation by Domasi's European staff. Those visits were viewed not so much as "inspections" as morale-boosters. Their value lay in the

\textsuperscript{60}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 50.
additional status that a European presence, however brief, conferred upon the Jeanes men in the eyes of the people among whom they were working. Clegg had a good deal to say about individual field responsibilities during the two-year probationary period. During the first year he felt that the focus should be on the construction and consolidation of the Supervisor's own homestead, his model school, and the improvement of his immediate village. He noted that "spasmodic efforts to improve individual houses in a number of surrounding villages have shown few permanent results."

In the second year, the Supervisor should assume responsibility for a "selected" number of schools in his area. This number would vary according to the schools' proximity to one another but should probably range between eight and twelve. It was essential that effort not be wasted in travel, very time consuming in areas lacking proper roads, and where with the exception of the occasional bicycle, travelling was done on foot.

Clegg also felt that the Community Worker during his first year should confine his activities to building up his own homestead and overseeing the planting and cultivation of crops; for consumption and for sale. In the second year, while continuing to be based upon his own
homestead and while using it as a means of practical demonstration for the benefit of curious visitors, the Community Worker under the guidance of his Native Authority might visit selected adjacent villages, there to inaugurate and supervise village improvement schemes.

In all cases, Clegg concluded, in order to sink roots that would have some hope of establishing themselves permanently, the watchword must be "festina lente," or, make haste slowly.61

Before proceeding to a summary of Jeanes activity and development during the Second World War, some consideration should be given to the relevance of Jeanes goals generally in relation to the socio-economic environment into which they were introduced during the 1930's.

Richard Gray, in his significant study of race

61 Ibid. Much of the foregoing reflects Clegg's views as expressed in a section of his report entitled "Personal Observations and Conclusions Drawn from Past Experience, and from the Points Raised in the Various Reports Received," pp. 49-51. It is perhaps useful both to hear the views, in some detail, of a voice previously silent (in these pages) and to see how closely these views coincided with those of his senior, Bowman. It should be remarked that no evidence has been seen that would contradict this public picture of harmony between the Centre's two leading figures. Clegg had in fact served as Assistant Master of the Centre since its inception, taking up his appointment upon transfer from the Agriculture Department in June, 1920. He therefore preceded Bowman, who only arrived to take up his appointment as Principal in November of that year.
relations in Central Africa in the period between the end of World War I and the birth of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, sums up the position very well. Writing of the Jeanes system as it was applied in the three Central African territories, he observes that

This concern with the wider responsibilities of education was undoubtedly an improvement on the former limited aims of the missions; but the emphasis on the rural village community diverted attention from far more urgent realities. The competitive demands of the twentieth century... the frustration of playing so restricted a role in the modern world were on the whole overlooked. The European awakening to the strength and possibilities of tribal life came a generation too late. The task of preserving traditional values was of immense importance; but the African's cultural inheritance would survive as a living force only if it took part in a genuine, equal synthesis with the twentieth century. The immediate problem was to help Africans in the transition to a modern way of life and to an active share in the life of the European minority. It was this help that Africans demanded from education, and which economic developments made it imperative for them to obtain.

The coming of the Second World War had, on balance, a beneficial effect upon the work at Domasi; in common, as will be seen, with its effect upon educational development in Nyasaland generally. This was largely the result of the fact that substantial funds were now available to the

---


63 *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135. See infra, Chapter VIII, of this work for an amplification of these African demands.
Protectorate through the Colonial Development Fund. But in addition, there was the stimulus provided by the need for a wide range of skilled and educated Nyasas in Government's pursuance of the War effort. As had been the case during the First World War, there was satisfaction for many Africans in their assumption of new and greater responsibilities as European Civil Servants were siphoned off to active theatres of war. For example, from the outbreak of hostilities the Staff of the Jeanes Centre, African as well as European, became responsible for the editing and translating of *Mkhani za Nyasaland*, the Government's weekly vernacular newspaper.

In November, 1940, the first refresher course began for some 24 Jeanes Supervisors and their families. Lasting for five months, it enabled men who had spent several years in the field to compare notes, discuss mutual problems, and gain knowledge of new techniques for future use.

Substantial crops of cotton and tobacco raised for sale by Community Workers in training provided a useful additional source of income for their growers. The Centre's Staff, thanks to a grant in 1941 from the Native Welfare Committee, were enabled for the first time "to do tours of inspection in the villages to keep in touch with former
students, Chiefs, Supervisors, and Community Workers and their wives."  

The demands of Chiefs, repeated over a period of years, for an extension of their course, upon which they were said to look "as the high point in their careers," were finally granted with the inauguration of a six months' refresher course for those Chiefs who had demonstrated in their home areas the greatest aptitude at implementing the principles they had been taught.

For the present, the work continued to progress and indeed to expand, but the days of the Jeanes Centre as it had developed throughout the 1930's were numbered. In the overhaul of Governmental participation in education that was to follow the War's conclusion, much was to be altered. With this in mind, it is regrettable that this outline of the Jeanes "Experiment" should conclude upon a critical note, but the facts and their interpretation seem inescapable.

If, by the provision of adequate financial resources coupled with determined and enlightened Governmental support, it had proved possible to inaugurate and rapidly

---

65 Ibid.
expand the whole Jeanes complex in the decade following the First World War its impact upon the Protectorate's social and economic development might well have been considerable. Gray's strictures notwithstanding, there was room for the Jeanes concept in Nyasaland in the inter-War period. It should have been introduced on a larger scale, however, and not as the sole means of Government participation in education but as one of two parallel avenues of advancement. The other avenue should have comprised the introduction of formal Secondary schooling aimed at the creation of an elite that in the course of time would lead to the replacement of Europeans by Africans throughout the whole range of occupations necessitated by a modernized society and economy.

Such was not, however, the orientation of Colonial policy. Nor, given the basic assumptions and postulates of Colonial self-sufficiency, was the finance available necessary to its successful implementation. As Gray notes, the European community as a result slumbered through a crucial generation and those educational facilities that were in fact provided proved in the event to be too little, too late.  

Gray, op. cit., Part I, Chapter IV. It should be noted in closing, that in addition to Government Reports and official and mission correspondence, useful insights and background for this chapter were provided by a series of articles and notes appearing throughout this period in Oversea Education. Detailed citations of these may be found in the bibliography.
CHAPTER VII

A DECADE OF CONSOLIDATION: 1930-1939

Setting the Scene

With the adoption of the Education Ordinance of 1930, the way lay open for a period of slow but steady educational advance. The main lines of Government policy were now laid down; they had been accepted by the Mission community, and in the person of A. Travers Lacey, Government possessed a man who in his capacity as Director would preside over the growth and development of education for virtually the whole of the coming decade.

For the time being Government's aim was clear. It was on the one hand to encourage the consolidation and improvement of primary education, predominantly in the vernacular, while on the other to promote the recently commenced "Jeanes Experiment." This policy possessed the twin virtues of essential simplicity and of economy. No complex and therefore expensive forms of education were to be seriously entertained at this time.

The Missions would continue to subsidize primary

---

1 See the previous chapter.
education both in terms of money and of manpower. Financially, the Carnegie Corporation would do the same as far as the Joanes Training Centre was concerned. It was a satisfactory situation for those responsible for the administration of the small and poverty-stricken colony, its agriculturally-based economy increasingly in the grip of the gathering world Depression.

Nyasaland's most important resource then as now lay in her human resources, but such was the nature of her chronic financial anemia that without a generous injection of capital expenditure the best of her educated and semi-educated manpower would continue to drift away. This represented a wastage even more serious than that taking place within the educational system itself. Not until the multiple impact of the criticisms and suggestions embodied in the reports of the Bledisloe, Bell and De La Warr Commissions was felt in the latter part of the decade was Government moved to a reevaluation of its educational philosophy.

For the present, a general consolidation of primary education together with a practical, vocational leavening was thought to be sufficient. To this end it was recognized by both Government and the Missions that
the new Codes and Syllabi of Instruction were designed to simply set a standard. Considerable latitude would be needed to adapt them to existing conditions. Moreover, it was recognized that any rise in standards would have to be accomplished primarily through the medium of African teaching staff. It was agreed that at the present stage of development, these teachers and inspectors would require considerable guidance in the organization and performance of their work.

Much effort was devoted during the opening years of the decade to attempts either to forestall the establishment or to effect the closure of large numbers of low-grade village schools. The standard of instruction in these schools was so low as to border upon the totally inoffectual. Then too, in many instances the latter were redundant anyway by virtue of their proximity to longer-established and better-run schools.

In the insistence upon their right to encourage the proliferation of such schools, the Roman Catholics seem to have been the worst offenders. In consequence, much ill-feeling continued to be engendered between them and the Federated Protestant Missions. Throughout, Government played a somewhat equivocal role, failing to
appreciate the point that a legitimate and genuine educational concern on the part of the Scottish missions in particular, was exacerbated by the unfortunate history of mutual distaste and suspicion between the rival denominations having its origins in theological differences.

Throughout this decade education in Nyasaland was administered under the 1930 Ordinance. This itself underwent only minor revisions. Education was administered by a Director of Education together with two Provincial Superintendents. The Director was aided by an Advisory Committee on Education possessing a membership of between 12 and 15. Representatives of the several Missions held a slight majority. There were also District School Committees, generally chaired by the local District Commissioner and including a predominantly non-official European membership although towards the close of the decade Africans came to play an increasingly substantial role. Departmental staffing was inadequate throughout the decade and inspection and supervision suffered accordingly. Government financial support was equally inadequate and did not in fact increase appreciably throughout the decade, rising only from £18,000-plus per
annum in 1931 to £21,000-plus in 1938.2

The Rules promulgated under the 1930 Ordinance came into effect in January, 1931.3 In 1932 they were amended in order to reduce unnecessary detail in the forms required for submission to the Department by school managers and to permit the employment in Assisted schools of both uncertificated and pupil teachers provided that they were under the direct supervision of teachers holding Certificates.4

There were no further amendments made to the rules as far as African education was concerned until 1936. In that year, Government decided to make the grant payable to Village Schools "fixed," instead of on a "sliding scale" as previously, with the amount of the grant being dependent upon the assessed efficiency of the school in question.5 The sliding scale had been adopted in 1930 and had been applied only to those schools staffed entirely by Africans. Its twofold purpose had been to familiarize African

---

2This passage together with much of this Section derive from the Education Department's Annual Reports for this decade. Several of the points made synthesise statistical and other material gleaned from these Reports as a whole.


teachers with the fact that there was now a standard to live up to, and to serve as an incentive for them so to do. By 1936, however, Government felt that the standards expected were now sufficiently well-known as to obviate the necessity for the sliding scale with all the attendant difficulty of constantly reevaluating innumerable schools. Award of the fixed grant would be contingent upon the attainment of a certain agreed level of efficiency. If this level was not achieved, the school concerned would simply forfeit the entire grant.

One other amendment to the Ordinance passed during these years came into effect in 1938 and empowered the Governor to determine the total number of the membership of the Advisory Committee on Education. This amendment was brought about largely by the desire in some quarters both to increase African membership and to secure representation for women. As a result of this amendment, the question of the Committee's composition became a much more flexible one.

---

Administration

The staffing of the Department throughout this period was modest to the point of self-effacement. In 1931 the headquarters staff consisted of the Director, a European clerk and two 2nd grade African clerks and the inspectorate comprised two Provincial Superintendents. By 1938 the only change in this establishment was the replacement of the two African 2nd grade clerks at headquarters by one 1st grade, one 2nd grade and one 3rd grade. 7

This paucity of numbers made itself felt most grievously in the field of Inspection. Inspection, or "the field supervision of schools," was regarded as the first duty of the two Superintendents. 8 In practice, however, the normal incidence of home leave, together with the need for the secondment of a Superintendent to Zomba or Domasi when either the Director or the Principal of the Jeanes Centre was on leave, combined to produce an unfortunate situation. From 1931 until 1938, tours of Inspection/Supervision were carried out in the Southern


Province in only six of these years and in the Northern Province, in only three. From 1934 to 1936, there was no inspection of schools at all in the Northern Province.  

This unhappy state of affairs was all too apparent to the officers of the Department as well as to outsiders. Strenuous efforts, quite successful as far as they went, were made to make fuller use of the missions' European school managers as inspectors and, increasingly, of Jeanes Supervisors and other mission-trained Africans as well. It was recognized that what an African inspector lacked in technique and method was more than made up for by his insights into the difficulties of his fellow teachers. Nevertheless, inspections by the latter were not regarded as adequate substitutes for regular visits by a trained University graduate, himself in constant touch with the Department's headquarters in Zomba.

During this period Lacey and Bowman both gave vent to their frustrations in the pages of the Department's Annual Reports. Writing in 1936, Lacey gave a particularly graphic account of the difficulties under which he and his colleagues were forced by circumstance to operate:

---

9 This information gathered from an examination of the eight relevant Annual Reports.
In Nyasaland it seems to have become a tradition that bricks can be made without straw and that every man must do three men's work: it applies to Government no less than to the Missions. The Director of Education is *ex officio* Chairman of the Native Civil Service Board, Chairman of the Government Language Examination Board, and a member of the Native Welfare Committee. Within the past two years he was also for a short time Director of Publicity and for some six months Chairman of a Committee of Enquiry into Emigrant Labour. The inspectorate may at any moment have to be transferred to the Jeans School to fill staff vacancies there and whenever available the Jeans staff is employed during vacation for inspection and other work.  

Following an aside to the effect that "doubtless many Heads of Department could compile lists of extra-departmental duties beside which the above would appear insignificant," Lacey concluded on this note:

These facts are mentioned only because in present conditions it is impossible for the staff of the department to visit even the more important Mission stations and schools with the regularity which might be expected, and because other urgent education work remains undone. It is possible that some Missions are not aware of this state of affairs, and they, and others, are asked to forgive what might appear as obvious sins of omission.

In 1937, Bowman, writing in his capacity as Acting Director of Education in the absence of Lacey on leave, took up the cudgels again by reiterating Lacey's introductory phrase:

---

In this supremely important branch of our work [inspection] another attempt to make bricks without straw must be recorded. The Superintendent of Education in the Southern Province went on leave early in the year and, at the close of the year, his successor had not yet arrived so no Government school inspection has been possible in this Province since February.12

In reference to the Superintendent for the Northern Province and to the situation generally, Bowman continued as follows.

He [the other Superintendent] went on leave at the end of the year after completing a maximum tour and this leaves the whole Northern Province without any Government inspector during the school sessions of 1938. The time is long overdue for the establishment of an African Inspectorate under the control of the two European inspectors, in order to ensure more efficient and regular visitation and control of the network of 4000 Village and Central Schools in the Protectorate.13 I must record once more my appreciation of the vast amount of Village School supervision and inspection done and my thanks for the carefully prepared reports submitted by Missionaries on whom falls the whole burden of inspection of assisted schools in the absence of an adequate Government inspectorate. . . . Salaries paid to inspectors and supervisors without adequate ways and means of visiting the widely-scattered areas under their charge cannot be reckoned as sound finance.14

Lacey, following his return from leave, repeatedly emphasized these inadequacies. He suggested that a third

---

13 Seven hundred and sixty of these schools were at that time "Assisted" by Government.
Superintendent be appointed to supplement the work of the others and to take charge of the Department during the Director's absence. Efficient and effective inspection could be achieved only by reducing the number of schools or by substantially increasing the inspectors' grants.

Not content with these proposals, Lacey set about drawing up a "Memorandum on the Duties of Superintendents of Education in Nyasaland." The Memorandum was conceived, at least in part, in response to a question put by G. V. Thornycroft, a non-official member of the Advisory Committee on Education, at its meeting the previous year. The Memorandum when completed described these "Duties" as being fourfold. They consisted of

(a) Supervision of Schools, (b) Liaison between Missions

---

15 See Rep. Ed. Dept., 1938, Appendix IV.

16 Min. Adv. Comm., 1937, pp. 9-10. Thornycroft's question was, "What are the duties of the Government Superintendents of Education?" In the course of the ensuing discussion, Thornycroft went on to state that "he considered that the present Government staff could not be expected to examine efficiently" even those schools on the Assisted list. He wondered "whether better results could not be secured at a smaller cost, by employing more inspectors at a lower salary. . . . Might not some assistance in the inspection of schools be provided by subsidising Missions to set apart certain members of their staffs for this work?" Following further discussion, Thornycroft moved a resolution that Missions be asked to consider this suggestion with a view to the question's being raised at the next meeting of the Committee.
and Government, (c) The Conduct of Examinations, and
(d) The Study of Vernacular Languages and other Research.
The last three are more or less self-explanatory, but in
order to appreciate Government's conception of the role
of the Superintendent as Supervisor, the following
extract from the Memorandum is included.

4. (a) Supervision of Schools. At the beginning
of each year the Superintendent draws up, in
consultation with managers of schools, a programme
of school visits. He cannot possibly see all
assisted schools in his area each year. He visits
European and Asiatic schools twice a year; all
African normal and station schools and many central
schools once a year and tries so to arrange his
tours that all assisted schools are visited at least
once in three years. The Superintendent generally
spends from seven to eight months visiting schools.
The purpose of these visits is not to "inspect"
schools as that phrase was used, until comparatively
recently, in educational circles. The Superintendent
does not visit a school to criticise; he visits it
to find out how effectively it is fulfilling its
purpose and to give advice and offer suggestions as
to how it can become more efficient. A report on
every school visited is submitted to the manager
concerned and to the Director of Education. To
facilitate the rendering of these reports, printed
forms are used for African village and central
schools. For all other schools no particular form
is prescribed, though largely for statistical and
administrative purposes, certain information on such
matters as enrollment, attendance, staffing, etc.,
is always included.17

Italics mine. The question of school supervision was soon
to figure prominently once again, in the reports of the
two provincial surveys of education conducted in 1940. For
these, see HEC: "Education Survey Report on Southern
Province, Nyasaland," October 26th, 1940. This was based
upon a number of individual District Education Survey
Reports drawn up by District School Committees during the
course of 1940. Also, "Education Survey: 1940, Summary
Report for the Northern Province," October 2nd, 1940.
District School Committees had been appointed shortly after the adoption of the First Education Ordinance. Normally, these committees included the District Commissioner who by common consent generally acted as Chairman, representatives of the missions conducting schools in the District, and some two or three co-opted members. In the Southern Province, notably in the Shire Highlands, the latter might be representatives of the European business and planting communities. Increasingly, however, as the decade advanced, they came to include Native Authorities, Jeanes Supervisors, and other relatively well-educated Africans.

The District Committees generally met twice a year to discuss local problems. Regrettably, for much of the 1930's the bulk of their energies were expended upon the consideration of applications for new village schools. This was admittedly one of their delegated functions, but it had not been anticipated that these applications would occupy such a disproportionate amount of their time.

The writer has examined a selection of District School Committee minutes including examples from almost all Districts within the country. In time, these minutes cover the period from the early 1930's to the mid-1940's. It is considered that these Minutes are too numerous to warrant individual citation.
Increasing attention was given to discussions of means by which both the scope and the quality of the education offered in Mission schools might be improved. In an attempt to improve the standard of education, some District Committees experimented with consolidation; combining several schools into one serving a number of villages. The Department welcomed these initiatives with enthusiasm while at the same time feeling constrained to point out that the desired goals could not be achieved unless all of the members of a given District Committee were prepared "when necessary, to sacrifice self-interest or denominational propaganda in order to secure the best possible type of school for the largest number of village children. ... It is the consistent policy of Government" concluded the Department in its Annual Report for 1937,

... to discourage the multiplication of inefficient schools check by jowl with already established schools staffed by qualified and efficient teachers. Unfortunately there are still some who consider quantity better than quality in the matter of schools and, as a result, some District Committees have had to spend the whole time available at their meetings in considering as many as 20 or 30 applications for new unassisted schools for which only completely untrained teachers were available.19

Gradually, however, more attention was given to a variety of practical questions: village hygiene and

sanitation, the control of rabies, the production of crops for marketing, and afforestation. While it was acknowledged that these subjects would not normally fall within the jurisdiction of educational committees, in so far as the intention of Government following the promulgation of the Memorandum on the Education of African Communities was for education to be bound up with the uplifting and enlightenment of village life as a whole, these round-table discussions were regarded as being all to the good.  

**Finance**

It has been noted previously that Government's recurrent expenditure upon African education throughout this period varied only from £17,000 to £20,000 annually. Roughly speaking, Headquarters administration and the salaries and expenses of the two provincial Superintendents added up to some £3,500; annual expenditure on the Jeanes Centre increased from £2,000 to £4,000; and Grants-in-Aid of African education varied from £7,622 in 1930 to £11,493.  

Inevitably this static financial situation...
provided a serious stumbling block confronting any plans for imaginative expansion.

Throughout this pre-War decade Government funds for education were supplemented by an annual grant to the Jeanes Centre from the Carnegie Corporation. Initially, £1,000, this rose to £2,000 in 1936.22 Towards the close of the decade, grants of several thousand pounds were also forthcoming from the Colonial Development Fund for capital expenditure on the expansion of the Jeanes Centre.23

The question of finance loomed large in the general reappraisal of the Protectorate's long-term educational prospects stimulated by the Report of the Bell Commission in 1938.24 The Nyasaland Government had recently received a separate Report from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, submitted to him by the Colonial Office's Advisory Committee on Education. In this Report were outlined the measures felt to be appropriate "in order to ensure thorough investigation of the

---

financial aspect of education policy" in Nyasaland. The need for long-range planning was emphasized as was the coordination of planning for the social services as a whole over a period of years. In all, seventeen aspects of African education were indicated as worthy of close attention.

An attempt had been made in 1936 to evaluate expenditure on education both internally and externally; internally, with regard to the relative proportions contributed by Government, the missions, and the African peoples themselves; externally, the total expenditure of the Government of Nyasaland in relation to that of her neighbours, Great Britain's other East and Central African colonies. As to the latter, it was discovered that Nyasaland's expenditure on education over the previous three years had been comparable to that of the governments of Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. In all cases the percentage of the territory's expenditure on African education in relation to its total governmental expenditure was between 3.5% and 4.5%. Moreover, the percentage of government revenue produced by direct taxation of the African population and thereafter spent on African education had averaged

13% over the previous five years in Nyasaland while in the other territories it had varied from 11% to 14%.26

Far more revealing from the point of view of who paid for African education rather than how much was paid, was the Nyasaland Government's calculations as to the internal division of expenditure together with that Government's prognosis for the future. Over the course of the previous six years, (1930-1935) it was estimated that 5% of the total expenditure upon education had been met by fees, 30% by Government grants, and 65% by "Mission revenues received from outside the Protectorate."27 On the basis of Mission statements of expenditure, even this distribution appears to be overly weighted in favour of Government. At any rate, Government admitted that what this meant in practice was that the African was paying some 35% of the cost of his education and the Missions the remaining 65%. The question posed was, "Can this state of affairs continue? Can Government and the Missions count on (a) continued support from Mission funds or, (b) an increase in the financial contribution of the native to maintain the existing system, let alone to meet developments?"28

27 Ibid.  
28 Ibid.
Here may be seen the flimsiness and the inherent contradictions of a Government wholly dependent upon the revenues produced by an underdeveloped and precarious economy. The solution proposed was not very encouraging although probably realistic in the light of existing conditions. Accepting the fact that with one or two exceptions the Missions were faced with diminishing home revenues, Government in the person of Lacey proceeded to propound what appeared to be the only practicable course of action. "It follows," wrote the Director,

that to maintain and expand the education system the African must contribute more. The natives of Nyasaland are, on the whole, fully alive to the advantages of education. Their willingness to pay more will depend (a) on whether they can continue to get education for nothing or very little; (b) on their ability to pay. It appears that in some districts the natives literally have not got the money to pay existing taxation, let alone school fees. In general, it may be stated as a fact that any considerable development in native education will depend entirely on improvement of the economic condition of the native. Agriculture is the sole economic support of the vast majority of the natives. It is only through agricultural development that economic improvement is possible. At the same time such improvement is also dependent upon the health and the physique of the native. A population which is riddled with disease can have neither the energy nor the ambition to progress. Obviously the Education Department and the Missions cannot do
more than play a part in a general plan for the economic and physical improvement of the Africans. 29

This is essentially what was subsequently envisaged by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies in the Report, previously referred to, that it submitted to the Secretary of State two years later in 1938. 30 Chapter IX will examine among other things, to what degree these plans were in fact implemented in the years immediately following, given the disruption inevitably created by the onset of the Second World War.

**Teacher Training**

From the Education Department's inception Government policy had emphasized the development of a broadly based programme of primary education. This included determination to improve the Protectorate's teacher training facilities. While regret was expressed that "there does not appear to be any tendency towards union of forces amongst the smaller societies towards the establishment of one central institution for teacher training," 31 by 1930

---

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17. This seems to represent an elaboration of the points made in the 1935 Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, that educational expansion would have to wait upon economic development. See Appendix J.

30 See above, p. 376.

Government had recognized as "Normal Institutions" a number of mission-run training schools possessing qualified European instructors on their staffs.

The annual Government Certificate Examinations provided the chief incentive for a general upgrading of teaching standards. Only those teachers successful in passing one or other of these examinations qualified their employer for receipt of a Government grant-in-aid on their behalf. The results of these examinations were disappointing to begin with. This was perhaps inevitable in the light of the conditions previously prevailing. Certainly these early results did not accurately reflect the teacher training work already in hand. This was borne out in 1932. With the closing of the probationary period during which candidates had been permitted to sit the examinations without having first completed the prescribed training course at a recognized institution, there was a marked improvement in the results achieved.

A look at the position in 1930 is instructive both as a gauge of what the Missions had achieved and as a measure of what remained to be done. The following table ranks the Missions with regard to their ratio of qualified teachers to schools operated. A 1st Grade teacher is
weighted at three points, a 2nd Grade at two, a 3rd Grade at one, and an Honorary Certificated teacher at one-half.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>1st G.</th>
<th>2nd G.</th>
<th>3rd G.</th>
<th>Hon.32</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Points</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liv.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>1:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMCA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>1:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AME</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. of S.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>1.4:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2.6:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2.9:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>5.4:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. of C.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6.2:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAGM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.1:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MF</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WF</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21.7:1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perhaps the most striking fact to emerge from this table is the dearth of qualified teachers employed by the two Roman Catholic missions in 1930. This fact should be borne in mind when examining the tables indicating the achievements of the various Missions in the course of the period from 1931 to 1938. A further point to be noted is that in 1930 the system of 1st, 2nd and 3rd Grade teachers was in effect. It was shortly to be replaced, however, by the more functional Vernacular and English Grades. In the

32 Honorary certificates were awarded during the early years of the Department's existence to elderly teachers possessing many years of practical experience but lacking the knowledge required for success in the Certificato Examinations.

33 This table has been produced on the basis of statistics included in the Rep. Ed. Dept., 1930, p. 17.
Protoctorate-wide examinations held in 1930, the results were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Passes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31% 34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the whole of the 1931-1938 period, the totals ranked by the pass percentages of the individual Missions were as follows:

**Vernacular Grade Teachers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Passes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WF</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MF</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIM</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. of C.</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIM</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMCA</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. of S.</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liv.</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**English Grade Teachers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Passes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WF</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MF</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. of C.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIM</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liv.</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. of S.</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMCA</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- 35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*34 Ibid.*

*35 These two tables have been compiled from an examination of statistics drawn from the Rep. Ed. Dept. for the years 1931 to 1938, inclusive.*
It may readily be seen that the results depicted in these tables represent a virtual reversal of the situation as it obtained in 1930. Too much should perhaps not be read into this, but it seems undeniable that the re-thinking of Catholic educational policy as a result of the visit in 1928 of Mgr. Hinsley in his capacity as Visitor Apostolic, had had a marked practical effect.

Percentages aside, in terms of total numbers the two Catholic Missions qualified some 398 Vernacular Grade teachers in contrast to the 374 produced by the three component missions of the C.C.A.P. Only in the English Grade examination did the Catholics together with the DRC still lag behind the leading missions, quantitatively speaking. It should be appreciated, however, that for the overwhelming majority of the European members of these three Missions, English was a second language.

In addition to the 1,178 Vernacular Grade and 231 English Grade teachers listed above, by the end of 1938 the Jeanes Centre had graduated and dispersed throughout the country 97 Supervisors. These men were distributed among the various Missions as follows.
In 1932 new and stricter regulations governing the certification of teachers were fully enforced for the first time. Steps were taken to combat "wastage" by preventing trained teachers from using their teaching qualifications as a stepping-stone to more lucrative employment as clerks in the Protectorate's Native Civil Service or at the mines of the Copperbelt and on the Rand. To begin with, the actual awarding of the Certificates was to be preceded by a two-year probationary period following a candidate's passing of the examination. In addition, steps were taken to enhance the "image" of teaching as a profession and to make it more rewarding from a material point of view. Salaries were raised and standardized, the pension schemes started by several missions to benefit their retired teachers were encouraged by Government as were the formation of teachers' societies for mutual assistance. The impact of the Depression throughout the early 1930's resulted in a lessened demand for the services of educated Africans in the private sector of the economy. As a consequence, far fewer teachers than heretofore were

tempted to desert the profession. There was too a new emphasis on the benefits of practice teaching under close European supervision. In fact an increasing proportion of the Certificate Examinations were devoted to oral questioning of candidates and to the testing of their practical skills. 37

Throughout the decade there were persistent efforts not only to improve the level of teaching within the Normal Institutes, but to raise the level of academic attainment required for entry into them. This level was gradually raised from the completion of Village School to completion of Standard 3. At the same time the Normal Institutes' Vernacular Course was extended from two years to three, while the English Course was raised to four.

Complementary to the full Normal Courses, most missions conducted annual refresher courses varying in length from one to three months in which uncertificated teachers were encouraged to maintain as high a standard as possible. The services of Joanna Supervisors were

37For this and for much useful background information, the writer is indebted to numerous teachers both active and retired with whom interviews were conducted in all parts of the country during 1966. In addition, J. G. Stoytler's Educational Adaptations with Reference to African Village Schools with Special Reference to Central Nyasaland (London, 1939) has been especially valuable. In particular, see Chapter IX, "The Training of the Village Teacher," pp. 222-240.
particularly valuable in the running of these courses.

By 1938 Lacey felt able to state that "since 1930 there has been a steady and very considerable improvement in teacher training." 38 As evidence of the quality of the Certificates awarded by the Nyasaland Government, the Director cited their recognition by the Governments of the Rhodesias and of Tanganyika. Indeed, as he pointed out, holders of Nyasaland Certificates were much sought after as teachers in those territories. 39

A reluctance on the part of several of the smaller and less affluent missions to combine their forces in the interest of teacher training has already been remarked. Happily, however, in 1938 the NIM and the SAG agreed to send their students in future to the Normal Institute conducted by the ZIM. While noting this development with satisfaction, the Department commented that there were still two or three missions conducting Normal Institutes that were inadequately staffed. 40

---

39 Ibid. This fact corroborated by information obtained in the interviews previously cited, Many teachers now active or retired in Malawi taught at one time in schools outside that country.
40 Ibid., p. 27.
Despite the expansion of Teacher Training facilities and the general improvement in quality, the increase in the total number of certificated teachers employed by the end of the period under examination was not as great as might have been expected. Whereas in 1931 there had been some 696 teachers holding Vernacular certificates and 125 English, by 1938 the respective figures had increased only to 860 and 219. As that year drew to a close the need for a searching reappraisal was readily apparent.

The Education of Women and Girls

By 1930 there was a growing realization of the comparative neglect heretofore of "female education" throughout the Protectorate. It was recalled that in 1925 the Phelps-Stokes Commission had regarded the subject as warranting a separate chapter in its Report while in more recent years a spate of books and articles had appeared stressing the benefits to be derived from its encouragement and the evils attendant upon its absence. Much play was made with the old cliché "Educate

---

42 T. Jesse Jones, Education in East Africa (London, 1925), Chapter XVI.
a boy and you educate an individual; educate a girl, and you educate a family."

At the inaugural meeting of the Advisory Committee on Education in June, 1930, Lacey stressed the urgent need for greater attention to the question of education for women and girls. It was agreed by the Committee that proposals for expansion in this field should be put forward following the completion of an enquiry by the Director as to the current situation.43

While there was something very like numerical parity between those boys and girls enrolled in the lower classes of village schools throughout much of the country, as one ascended the academic ladder, the rate of wastage among girls was seen to rise dramatically vis-à-vis that of boys. Primarily this state of affairs stemmed from the general lack of awareness on the part of the people of the alternatives for any girl to early marriage and a subsequent career as a mother and homemaker. As a missionary put it at about this time:

The people round here are fairly well imbued with the commercial spirit, and, as the openings for educated girlhood seem to the villagers insignificant, he is not greatly keen on the education of his daughter.44

That education might make his daughter a better wife and mother had not yet occurred to the villager. Nor, prior to this time, had the missions gone out of their way to stress this possibility. Several missions, however, notably Livingstonia, the DRC and the UMCA, had been experimenting for some years with special boarding schools at their Central Stations. These were run by female missionaries for a select number of girls. These girls were trained in sewing, cooking and handicrafts while sharing instruction in more academic subjects with those boys attending the Station Schools.45

There were obstacles, however, not the least of which lay in the conservatism of African women. Additionally, many vital aspects of instruction dealing with mothercraft and with maternity were rejected by the missionaries as being "unsuitable and undesirable for teaching school girls, and entirely against native customs."46 This training was thereby confined to those girls who had already become or were about to become mothers, and had

45 Descriptions of these schools and of their activities may be found in several of the Rep. Ed. Dept.8 for this period. References may also be found in J. H. Oldham & B. D. Gibson, The Remaking of Man in Africa (London, 1931), pp. 97-107 and in J. G. Stoytlor, op. cit., pp. 232-234.

therefore already been lost to the schools through marriage.

Rethinking was obviously called for and in 1932 the Advisory Committee appointed four female missionaries to "formulate a comprehensive policy for the education of African girls and women in the Protectorate." By the end of the year their Report, that of the Mponda Committee, was ready. While failing to receive unanimous approval, the Report's findings were for the most part adopted in principle if not immediately implemented. For example, the principle that "separate schools for girls were desirable" at all stages was accepted while at the same time there was general recognition of the fact that this was not financially feasible in the majority of cases at this time. Perhaps the most useful resolution contained in the Mponda Committee's Report lay in its advocacy of two new Teacher Training Courses designed specifically for women; one for Vernacular Teachers and one for Domestic.

---

47 *Min. Adv. Comm., 1932*, pp. 11-13. The members were Miss Modd of the UICHA as Chairman, Dr. Welch of the C. of S. as Secretary, Miss Faats of the DRC and Sister Suzanne of the MIF. Miss Begg of the Joanes Centre, the initial choice as Secretary, had died in early August, three weeks before the Committee was scheduled to meet.

48 The Committee was so named as it had met at the UICHA’s Mponda Station for its deliberations.

These courses were swiftly drawn up and introduced and the first examinations were held in 1934. 50

Meanwhile, there were in 1933 already some 16 Boarding Schools for girls in Nyasaland of which seven with an enrollment of 148 were conducted by the DRC. These schools placed great emphasis upon practical subjects although all of their pupils were expected to achieve literacy in the vernacular together with a rudimentary knowledge of arithmetic if they had not already done so at their primary schools. Girls were accepted into the DRC's Boarding Schools in groups of 20 to 25 and were enrolled for a three-year course. While resident on the Mission Station each group of girls would live together with a European female missionary. She would instruct them not only in the means of improving their own traditional cooking and housekeeping but in how to run a European-style home: how to cook European-dishes, how to sew, etc. The emphasis was placed, however, upon making the best use of those raw materials readily available. The girls were not to become dependent upon either material appurtenances or a standard of living to which they could not aspire following their

50 Some eight women, four from the WY and four from the C. of S., sat one or the other of these first examinations. Seven passed.
marriage and their return to a village environment. 51

The Boarding Schools were reinforced in these aims by the training given at the Janes Centre at Domasi to the wives of men undergoing instruction as Supervisors or as Community Workers. This training emphasized the importance of the family as a unit and encouraged the women to live up to the standards to which their husbands now aspired. 52

An important influence upon the development of female education in Nyasaland at this time was the example set by Miss Mabel Shaw of the London Missionary Society. 53

The LMS had established a school at Mbereshe at the southern end of Lake Mweru in Northern Rhodesia. This school's most striking feature was the acceptance of girls (or rather their selection from large numbers of applicants) at the age of 5 to 7. Their education subsequently extended over a period that lasted in most cases for from

51 In addition to the references cited in footnote 45 above, the writer is indebted to Mr. S. Y. Ntara and the late J. L. Pretorius for insights gained from conversations in April and December, respectively, of 1966.

52 See Chapter VI, "The Janes Experiment," for further detail.

ten to twelve years. Another feature of the school was the division of the girls into "families" with an older girl serving as "mother." Mbereshi also retained a form of initiation ceremony for its girls upon their reaching the age of puberty. The example set by Miss Shaw and by Mbereshi was followed in Nyasaland by the DRC in particular.

As the years went by mothercraft, pre-natal and maternity instruction became increasingly widespread. As early as 1933 at least one mission had established Child Welfare clinics on two of its stations and several missions made a practice of adopting orphaned babies and twins rejected by their parents. The girls at the Boarding Schools assisted in these children's upbringing and thereby obtained experience that would stand them in good stead in the rearing of their own families.

Instruction in Hygiene and Sanitation was viewed as an essential complement to other aspects of mothercraft in the attempt to cut down the very high rate of infant mortality, as high as 45% over the first year of life in many areas of Nyasaland at this time. An appalling statistic vouchedsafed in the Education Department's Report for

54 Livingstonia, the DRC and the UMCA.
1936 stated that "60% of children die before they reach the age of 15," and that "75% of the survivors suffer from preventable disease." The Jeanes Centre took the lead in the dissemination of basic instruction in proper Hygiene and Sanitation, and in late 1934 many of these lessons were incorporated in a book on mothercraft published in the vernacular by Miss Begg, the Assistant Mistress at Domasi.

An indication of the new priorities was evidenced by the agreement in 1934 to give precedence in the disbursement of Government Grants-in-Aid of education to girls' Boarding Schools together with Normal Institutes or Teacher Training Colleges.

Starting in 1934 examinations were held annually for the two Teachers' Certificates designed specifically for women: Vernacular and Domestic. Initially the results were encouraging in terms of the proportion of passes achieved by the candidates put forward by their respective missions but depressing in terms of total numbers. Over the course of the five years following the

---

56 This book was written in collaboration with Dr. Catherine Peat of the C. of S.
inception of the examinations 49 out of the 67 candidates sitting the Vernacular examination (73%) passed while of 59 sitting the Domestic examination, 48 or 81% passed. A total of less than 100, however useful, appears rather meagre when distributed throughout the country. Nor could the examinations be regarded as demanding a particularly high level of academic or indeed practical achievement. Nevertheless, it was a beginning.

Of the seven missions putting up candidates in one or another of these examinations at some time during this five-year period, the Church of Scotland’s Blantyre Mission was the most successful. It achieved a 100% record with 14 passes out of 14 in the Vernacular examination and 19 out of 19 in the Domestic. The UICA and the Marist Fathers followed with 12 out of 18 and 12 out of 19 respectively in the Vernacular examination, while the candidates of the White Fathers and the Livingstonia Mission achieved 14 out of 17 and 11 out of 18 passes in the Domestic examination. A Livingstonia missionary still commented in 1936 that "the supply of girl teachers is impossibly few" while a Montfort Marist missionary saw the incitement by African

58 These figures drawn from an examination of the Rep. Ed. Dept.s for the years 1934 to 1939.
59 Ibid.
society to early marriage as the chief barrier to progress. He conceded that if a girl who had been trained as a teacher in turn married a teacher, there might be some hope of her continuing in her career. Failing such a marriage, however, the husband might very well object to his wife teaching. 60

As the schools provided solely for girls gradually multiplied, another drawback became evident. This lay in the large numbers of adult women who were to be found studying side by side with young girls. The difficulty lay in the fact that the older women tended as a rule to be much slower in learning than the girls of normal school age and therefore acted as a brake upon the latter's progress. Some attempts were made to remedy this situation at certain missions by holding special classes for older women that were confined to aspects of domestic economy and of child care. 61

On the eve of the Second World War then, female education in Nyasaland was still a depressed area although at least it had been recognized as such and steps had been taken to improve its condition. As evidence of this, out

61 For this aspect I am again indebted to the aforementioned conversations with Mssrs. Mtara and Pretorius.
of 776 students enrolled in mission-administered Normal Institutes in 1939, 167 were women; 28 of the 103 Nyasas enrolled in Medical Classes were female; and some 485 girls were listed as receiving instruction in "other Vocational Schools." The vast majority of these last were enrolled at one of the institutions run by the two Catholic Missions.62

Summing up, wantage at both Village and Central School level as a result of marriage or of parental disinterest was the major obstacle holding back the development of female education. This could seemingly only be remedied by profound changes in the social system, the raising of marriageable age, and the growth of an awareness on the part of both the husband and the family at large of the benefits to be derived from the acquisition of an educated wife.

Compulsory Education

An interesting experiment was inaugurated midway through this decade; one which possessed significant implications for the future. This was a scheme for Compulsory Education implemented initially in one district

---

of the Northern Province. 63

The question of compulsory education had occupied the attention of the Department for some time, largely in connection with the general question of charging fees in African schools. This interest had in turn spread to some of the more progressive missions, notably the Scottish, where the principle of fee-payment by pupils had been accepted for over a generation. In 1933 the Department noted that the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies had suggested that:

... some form of compulsory education might be tried in areas where there were assisted schools and that Native Authorities might give some financial support to such schools either by levies or by insisting that children of school age should attend regularly and pay fees where the parents had agreed to such schools being established. 64

It was left to African initiative, however, to provide the impetus for the initial experiment in the person of Chief Chikuramayembo of Nkamanga. Chief Chikuramayembo, at 30 one of the youngest of the first group of Native authorities to be selected to attend the

63 This was Rumpi District, situated within the Livingstone Mission field. The Mission's headquarters at Kondowe is located some 40 miles northeast of the Rumpi Boma.

Joanes Course, had been one of those most stimulated by the experience. As the District Commissioner for Mzimba had remarked, "There is no doubt that it enlivened his interest in the welfare of his people, and that he has benefitted considerably from what he has learnt."

A meeting was held in late 1934 and was attended by representatives of the Livingstonia Mission, senior schoolmasters, N.A.s Chikuramayombe and Mwafulirwa and their sub-chiefs. There the questions of administrative control and religious dispensations were settled satisfactorily and in August, 1935 the experiment was launched within a selected group of five villages located in Chikuramayombe's sphere of authority. The Livingstonia Mission retained control over the five schools and their teaching staffs, while Government guaranteed a grant of up to £50 annually towards the salaries of those additional teachers whose services might be required.

"Compulsion," something of a misnomer in view of the widespread enthusiasm of the people, was enforced through a set of 16 Rules promulgated under the existing

---

66 Ibid., p. 20. But see also Chapter VI, "The Joanes Experiment," for a more detailed treatment of the Native Authority Course. I am also indebted to Chief Chikuramayombe personally, for information gained from a conversation with him at Bolero Native Court, Rumpi District, in April, 1966.
Native Authority Ordinance. These Rules were applicable to any village where 75% of the parents applied to their N.A. for Compulsory Education. Once accepted, all village children over nine years of age and under 15 must attend until they have completed "as far as they are able," the four classes of the village school curriculum. Parents were to be held responsible for ensuring their children's attendance. Fees, payable by the parents on the first day of each school year, were scaled from 6d to 2/ per annum for the four years. Parents were also obliged to provide their children with the necessary books, slates and pencils. Parents might, however, make application for the remission of fees on the grounds of poverty. If their application was accepted, their children's fees would be paid out of the funds of the Native Treasury. Children might be exempted from attendance at the discretion of the N.A. All parents failing to comply with the Rules would be liable to a fine of not more than 5/., or 14 days imprisonment.67

Before the Rules came into effect, it was estimated that attendance already represented over 60% of the eligible children. The following table indicates the

changes in attendance that resulted from the introduction of Compulsion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Av. Att. 1st Term</th>
<th>Av. Att. 2nd Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1935 before Comp.</td>
<td>1935 after Comp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bololo</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cizoli</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cikwawa</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canda</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luviri</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>260 (410)</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the introduction of Compulsion, the five schools' total number of teachers was increased from 13 to 27. In addition, an Agricultural Demonstrator, a School Supervisor and three women teachers were employed. In some respects therefore, this represented an unrealistically ideal situation. The teacher/pupil ratio, a quite acceptable 1:32 to begin with, had now fallen to 1:22, considerably in advance of that generally to be found at village school level.

That this was recognized by Government was evident in the response of the Department of Education to requests for the introduction of similar schemes elsewhere in the Protectorate. It was observed that in very few areas were conditions as favourable as in Umamanga. Most notably,

68Ibid., p. 20. Note in particular the striking increase in the enrollment of girls, exactly 150%.
there were practically no other areas of the country where
one mission had enjoyed over a long period a virtual monop-
oloy of the area as a mission and educational field. In
addition, there were as usual a number of financial prob-
lems. One was that posed by the need to substantially
increase the total outlay on salaries in meeting the need
for additional teachers. Another was that involved in
requiring a blanket payment of school fees by residents of
what might be an economically deprived area in which there
were few means of obtaining a cash income. The introduc-
tion of cooperative schemes for agricultural development
was suggested as a possible remedy, but in much of the
country the difficulty remained of finding means for trans-
porting the resultant crops to potential markets. Still,
interest remained high among a number of African communi-
ties, particularly in the Northern Province. Chief Mtwalo
of Ekwendeni District was especially keen to inaugurate
Compulsory Education within his area of jurisdiction.69

Government welcomed these local initiatives, but
at the meeting of the Advisory Committee in June, 1937
it became apparent that the idea of Compulsory Education
did not command the wholehearted support of the Missions.

Archdeacon Winspear of the UMCA took the lead by arguing that compulsory schemes were likely to absorb a large part of the Government grants-in-aid for Primary education, thereby depriving the vast majority of non-compulsory, assisted primary schools. Then too, he enquired, "What would happen if another Mission wished to establish schools in an area where compulsory education was already established?" The Archdeacon added that Compulsory Education with its implied fee-paying was an increase in the burden of taxation upon the community and that "its extension might result in much friction, not only between different Missions, but between Africans and Missions."

The precise nature of this friction was left unclear, but the representatives of both the Catholic Missions and the SDA were quick to side with the UMCA delegate.

Arguing the African case, Levi Numba made the point that if the people were willing and their N.A. requested the scheme, what more was required to satisfy the rules which had already been accepted and promulgated? He noted that "if such requests were refused by Government, it would have a bad effect and discourage efforts made by

---

the native community themselves to improve village educa-
tion.\footnote{Ibid.}

It is perhaps of some significance that at this session of the Advisory Committee, Lacey was in England on study leave at Cambridge University. An Acting Director, Bowman was therefore in the Chair. But it appears, however, that it was the Senior Provincial Commissioner who dominated the discussion of those questions upon which he possessed strong views. An illustration of this can be seen in the tabling and passage of the following resolution, moved by Winspear, but seconded by the S.P.C.: 

\footnote{Ibid. Italicics mine.}

That this Committee is not prepared to recommend the inception of further schemes of compulsory education of Africans at this stage on the grounds of financial difficulties and the larger issues involved.\footnote{Ibid.}

Though passed unanimously, only the African members abstaining, it soon became apparent that this viewpoint was not shared by those Government officials most directly con-
cerned. This was demonstrated both by Bowman's tone in the relevant portion of that year's Annual Report, and more con-
clusively by the Minutes of the meeting of the Advisory Committee in the following year, 1938, at which Lacey was once more in the Chair.
Bowman, writing in the 1937 Annual Report, noted that the "African members of the Committee were in favour of the further development of the scheme." He continued by citing the resolution passed by the Advisory Committee only to comment that "such a decision will not for long satisfy those progressive Native Authorities who are able to appreciate and anxious to satisfy, the demand for better education in their areas." Bowman then went on to make the following case:

Many [N.A.s] are dissatisfied with the growing number of inefficient schools being established in their areas and recognize the crying need for better teachers and real progress. This opinion has been freely voiced by a majority of the Jeanes-trained Native Authorities. They wish to have some share in the decision as to the number and location of schools and the type of education given to their people. If we expect them to discharge efficiently their responsibilities as leaders and advisers of their people, it is essential that their views when reasonable, should carry some weight in our educational policy. A survey of the educational needs of their areas might be made by progressive chiefs. Education officers, Missions, and District Officers might cooperate with them and plan a definite adequate system of schools for the whole area. If this were done, chiefs would then be justified in introducing further compulsory education schemes. In the end the result would be economy in money and staff, combined with steadily improving education for boys and girls alike of the type most suited to the needs of the community. Is

not such a policy of cooperation between those who claim the right and proclaim the desire to give and receive the best possible education, now possible of achievement?74

It appears that it was, for within two years such a survey was carried out. It was to have a considerable effect upon the development of educational policy in the country.

Meanwhile, at the annual meeting of the Advisory Committee in June, 1938, Lacey referred to the previous year's resolution stating that it had not proved fully acceptable to Government. He added that enquiries had been put in hand "which might lead to an extension of the experiment being made in the North."75 The Director summarized Government's policy on Compulsory Education as one of "encouraging these experiments where conditions are favourable," i.e., when there is compliance with the original Rules and when suitably efficient teachers in sufficient numbers are available together with adequate financial support "from whatever sources."76 In conclusion, Lacey affirmed that Government had every sympathy with "the view expressed by the African members at the previous session that nothing should be done to discourage efforts made by African communities to improve village

The way was thus left open for future advance. It appears, therefore, that within the space of a few years the experiment in Compulsory Education had been doubly successful. It had demonstrated its practicability in the smooth functioning of the schools on a day-to-day basis; but perhaps more important, it had given a useful lead to those individuals, both black and white, who wished to see greater African participation in their people’s educational advance. Conversely, this exercise served as a setback for those educators and administrators of conservative bent who wished to see the African kept within the straitjacket of evangelistic expediency.

Secondary Education—The Speculative Stage

Nyasaland, together with her neighbour, Northern Rhodesia, was backward in introducing secondary education in comparison with those British territories lying to the north. Uganda had possessed secondary schools since well before the first World War, while Kenya and Tanganyika had inaugurated secondary institutions in the early 1920’s

77 Ibid.
and the early 1930's, respectively. 78

In 1925, in its memorandum Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education stated quite clearly that

As resources permit, the door of advancement, through higher education, in Africa must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education. 79

In addition, in sketching the outlines of the proposed school systems, the memorandum emphasized that provision should be made for "Secondary or intermediate education, including more than one type of school and several types of curricula." 80

Five years later, at the first session of Nyasaland's Advisory Committee on Education in June, 1930, Governor Thomas in the course of his opening address stated

78 The most notable of these schools were King's College, Budo, founded by the Anglicans in Uganda in 1904; Namiyango Secondary School, founded by the Roman Catholics in the same country in 1903; Alliance High School, founded by the Protestant missions in Kenya in 1926; and Tabora Government School in Tanganyika which reached full secondary status in the early 1930's. See Sheldon Weeks, Divergence in Educational Development: the case of Kenya and Uganda (New York, 1967).

79 For this, see Appendix E under the heading "Adaptation to Native Life."

80 Ibid. Under the heading "Organisation of School System."
that "it is certainly the duty of the Government to provide secondary education, and it may be that in apportioning such funds as are available this should come first."\(^{31}\)

That November, at the Committee's second session, a resolution receiving unanimous approval was moved by the Rev. W. P. Young of Livingstonia. It recognized that "the immediately urgent needs are in the sphere of secondary African education." However, the resolution went on to qualify this "immediately urgent need" by affirming that this "in no way minimises [the Committee's] sense of the supreme need for the development and increasing support of African elementary education, and, consequently, of teacher training throughout the country."\(^{32}\)

It was this emphasis on the avoidance of any cut-back whatsoever in existing educational activity, together with the static nature of Government's financial contribution throughout the 1930's, that proved to be the main stumbling block. This viewpoint, held with varying degrees of conviction by many educationists, Mission and Government alike, served to postpone the establishment of Nyasaland's first secondary school until October of 1940,

almost a year following the opening of a comparable school in neighbouring Northern Rhodesia. 

An illustration of the retrograde nature of the decades immediately preceding with regard to the provision of secondary education, but in addition, the expression of a more progressive viewpoint, may be found in this statement by a Livingstonia missionary, made in 1931:

More than thirty years ago this Institution [Overtoun] was offering courses in general education which were far beyond anything we offer today. For during these thirty years there has been in a good sense a down-grade movement in that we have been brought more and more to emphasize the fundamental importance of sound training in the Vernacular school and development of an ordered system built on it; but the ordered system has been in force for some years now and we have reached the point at which we can go forward in a corresponding up-grade to meet the demands for advance in education.

In 1932, as the result of a lengthy discussion concerning "the post-primary education of African boys," during the course of the third session of the Advisory

---


Committee on Education, it was decided to circulate to missionaries and District Commissioners throughout the Protectorate a questionnaire examining this proposed post-primary education in relation to the present and future economic possibilities of the country. The eleven questions posed covered a wide range of possible training courses with a heavy emphasis upon the practical and the vocational. Only one of these questions, however, related directly to the introduction of secondary education per se:

9. Do you consider that there is room in your area for a school which would take literary education up to say a standard 8 with no definite professional or trade bias? If so, what would be the effect of such education on the Native and what would he do normally after leaving the school? 86

Early in 1934 the Department of Education distributed a summary of the responses. In answer to question No. 9, the "Almost unanimous reply [was] that meantime there was no room for such a school. Livingstonia Mission said there was a demand for higher education but not purely literary, but that the Overtoun Institution could meet any legitimate demand in this direction." 87

86 MRC: Abstract of Replies to Questionnaire with regard to Native Employment Opportunities.
87 Ibid.
Notwithstanding this conservative verdict, the pace of the debate picked up during the course of the year.
Levi Z. Mumba had become the first African member of the Advisory Committee on Education in 1933 and had lost no time in speaking out in favour of the establishment of Government schools and for "increased facilities for education, both for primary and for higher education."\(^{88}\) As a result, Lacey, as Chairman of the Committee, had stated that it would be very helpful if Mumba could submit to a future meeting "some definite scheme."\(^{89}\) This, Mumba did in time for its discussion by the Committee in late May of 1934.

Six months earlier Bowman, then Acting Director of Education, had written that "Nyasaland must cut her coats according to her cloth," and that "the present time of financial depression and widespread unemployment seems inopportune for planning the establishment of District Trade Schools or a School for higher literary education than is at present available in the Protectorate."\(^{90}\) By the time Mumba presented his memorandum, however, the

climate of opinion had so altered that Lacey could state categorically that "We are faced by the immediate need of secondary education which will take pupils past our present highest standard, Standard VI, on to a Standard X." He added that "This would approximate to matriculation standard." 91

In March, 1935, in a "Memorandum on Co-operation in Higher Education Between the Rhodesias and Nyasaland" submitted to Government by Lacey, he expressed the opinion that "I do not consider that it will be practical to deal with secondary education interterritorially. There is in Nyasaland at present an urgent need for one or two secondary schools for Africans." 92 Significantly, in the light of the debate that was to rage between Missions and Government between 1937 and 1939, Lacey acknowledged that "Missions in each territory should be consulted-and due weight given to their majority opinion-before any preliminary action be taken." In support of this contention Lacey noted that "In all three territories Missions still expend more on

91 Rep. Ed. Dept., 1934, p. 14. This statement could be construed as indicating the existence of a certain difference of opinion between Lacey and Bowman upon the subject.

Native Education than the Government." 93

In the same month Lacey dispatched a letter to the Chief Secretary requesting permission to place an item dealing with higher education for Africans on the agenda for the forthcoming session of the Advisory Committee. In this letter he outlined the case for the immediate introduction of secondary education. Beginning with an expression of the hope that "the educability and intelligence of the African in Nyasaland and his ability to profit by further education have been proved beyond a shadow of a doubt," Lacey proceeded to submit "that there are only two considerations which could be urged as militating against the immediate provision of secondary schools for Africans." 94

The major consideration, that of policy, "can scarcely be urged" Lacey pointed out, "in view of the very definite instructions laid down on several occasions by the Secretary of State." 95 Referring to the second

93 Ibid.
94 Zomba, SI/478/34. Letter from Lacey to Chief Secretary, March 25th, 1935.
95 Ibid. Lacey supported this contention by quoting from "Section 8, page 7" of the Passfield Memorandum as follows. "As in the political sphere, so in the social, it should be the aim to train the natives themselves to take an ever increasing part, not only in the work of the educational, medical, administration and other services alike, by filling in such services any posts for which individuals may increasingly become qualified, but also in the local direction of these services through the native councils already referred to." See Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa, Cmd. 3573, 1930.
consideration, that of finance, Lacey admitted that secondary education would involve a certain amount of long-term capital investment. However, he felt that in due course "the investment should prove very profitable," not to mention the savings involved in employing Africans rather than Europeans both in Government and in the private sector.

Passing on to an examination of the methods by which secondary education might be provided, Lacey held that "Cooperation with Missions is a logical and economic policy." He saw no reason why it should not be followed and cited the Alliance High School\(^{96}\) in Kenya as a successful example of this cooperation and the existence of the Federated Missions in Nyasaland as a means to such an end. The Director added that he had been informed in confidence that "the two Catholic Missions have already decided to cooperate among themselves and to establish a secondary school in a few years' time."\(^{97}\)

Turning finally to specifics, after acknowledging the need to consult first with the various Missions, Lacey

---

96 In his letter to the Chief Secretary, Lacey in fact made reference to the "Union High School," but from the context it is clear that this was a slip of the pen and that it was the Alliance High School to which he was referring.

97 Zomba: SI/478/34. Letter from Lacey to Chief Secretary, March 25th, 1935.
stated his belief that

... if the Government proposed the establishment of two schools, one principally for Protestants and one for Catholics, and was prepared to spend £2000 on capital expenditure and to make a grant not exceeding £1500 for recurrent expenditure, two schools could be established, one in 1936 or 1937 for the Protestants and one in 1940 for the Catholics, which would accommodate some 100 pupils and eventually turn out 20 pupils annually. 99

Government's qualified and muted public reaction to these proposals can be seen in the closing remarks of Governor Kittermaster's opening address to the Advisory Committee in mid-June:

I must [conceded the Governor] make some reference to Secondary Education for Africans. It is on your agenda paper. There is already, and will be in increasing measure, a demand for such education. No sane man would wish to stifle this demand: if he tried to he would not be sane. But in this sphere it is particularly necessary for our policy to be dictated by an idea of the goal at which we are aiming. In other words it must be a long range policy. . . . Africans who aspire to the goal will be cheered by what has been done by men of their colour in other parts of the world but they must realize that it is a long and difficult path to travel and must be prepared to face with determination the effort and sacrifice which it will entail. 99

In the course of the Committee's subsequent deliberations a lengthy discussion of secondary education ensued in which Levi Mumba figured prominently. 100 The end product

98 Ibid.
100 For further detail, see Chapter VIII, section on Mumba.
was a resolution stating that

. . . this Committee is entirely in sympathy with the proposal for secondary education and feel that the only difficulty in the way is that of finance; if, after 1936, there is an increase in the total of the Education Department's vote, it will be prepared to consider most sympathetically the allocation of some of this increase towards secondary education.101

The Missions were resolved that no steps be taken that might in any way jeopardize the meagre grants-in-aid of primary education which, it will be remembered, had remained more or less constant at approximately £11,000 per annum for the past five years.

Lacey was not content, however, to let matters rest there. In the same year he took the opportunity afforded by a request from Government to state his conception of the relationship between educational policy and the Protectorate's overall Native Policy to argue the case for the inauguration of secondary education on broad social grounds.102

The Director, it should be recalled, had in the late 1920's been responsible for the establishment of a school at Tabora in Tanganyika designed specifically for the education

102 "Education in Relation to Native Policy in Nyasaland." Memorandum written by Lacey in 1935. But also, see Coombe, op. cit., in particular, pp. 174-183; "Interterritorial Conferences, April and June 1935."
of the sons of chiefs.\textsuperscript{103} He now recalled that shortly after his transfer to Nyasaland as Director of Education in 1930, in the development programme he submitted to Government "a Government school for sons of chiefs and headmen figured second in a list of six proposed developments in African education."\textsuperscript{104} But, he noted, "A school for chiefs in Nyasaland has not materialized." In explanation he cited the financial crisis together with his own "growing knowledge of Nyasaland conditions." However, Lacey made it clear that he still regarded the education of potential heirs to positions of traditional authority as of prime importance. He merely meant that in the local context "a separate institution for such a purpose [seemed neither] necessary or advisable."\textsuperscript{105}

Lacey argued the case for secondary education as a means of bridging "the gap between the white aristocracy and the black proletariat." He saw the Nyasaland Government's policy of building up a Native Civil Service

\begin{flushright}

\textsuperscript{104}"Education in Relation to Native Policy in Nyasaland," p. 3.

\textsuperscript{105}Ibid., p. 4.
\end{flushright}
as another means of bridging this gap. It was "to continue this liberal social policy" and to encourage that "natural and laudable . . . African ambition . . . to rise higher . . . in the social scale" that Lacey "urged the necessity for secondary education."106

At the annual meeting of the Advisory Committee on Education in June, 1936, Governor Kittermaster acknowledged that he still approached the subject of secondary education "with caution."107 Admitting African demands and Government's obligations, Kittermaster based his caution on what he construed as the paucity of suitable employment for Africans completing secondary school. He felt, moreover, that the number of Africans currently capable of benefitting from secondary education was insufficient justification for the establishment of even one secondary school.108 The subject was nonetheless considered by the members of the Advisory Committee with rather more urgency than the Governor's remarks would seem to have indicated as


108 Ibid.
appropriate. Rev. W. P. Young eventually submitted a resolution, carried unanimously, that attempted to circumvent the fiscal reservations of those members of the Committee determined to permit no weakening of Government's grants-in-aid to primary education. This resolution appealed to Government "to make representations to the Secretary of State for a special and separate grant to allow of the inception of some scheme for higher education, on a very small scale at first."

In his year-end report, Lacey cited this resolution in full in addition to noting that later on in the year Government had asked the Native Welfare Committee "to consider the relative urgency of expenditure on certain social services including secondary education" and that in response "The Committee placed this item high on the list for preferential treatment in 1937." The Director also commented

109 For further detail, see Chapter VIII, section on Mumba.

110 Min. Adv. Comm., 1936, p. 12. On this point I am indebted to Dr. Coombe for the observation that there seemed to be no British law or Constitutional convention governing the availability of moneys for this purpose. Dr. Coombe further noted that such requests were turned down by the Colonial Office on the grounds that at this time the Colonial Development Fund did not include education among the subjects to be funded.

that the appointment of the De La Warr Commission 112 was "Very opportune from the point of view of Nyasaland," while cautioning that it was "improbable" that concrete plans for the introduction of secondary education in the Protectorate would be formulated until there had been time to study the Commission's Report. 113

One of the benefits accruing from Lacey's visit to Entebbe, Uganda, in late January of 1937 in order to give evidence before the De La Warr Commission, was the opportunity it afforded him to compare notes at length with his opposite number in Northern Rhodesia, the recently appointed Julian Tyndale-Biscoe. 114

Lacey and Tyndale-Biscoe found themselves in substantial accord with regard to the direction secondary education policy should follow. In fact in the course of

---

112 This Commission on Higher Education in East Africa was appointed in late 1936 by the Secretary of State, Ormsby-Gore, under the chairmanship of Earl De La Warr, then his Parliamentary Under Secretary. The Commission subsequently issued its report, Higher Education in East Africa. Report of the Commission Appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Col. No. 142 (1937).


114 Tyndale-Biscoe had only just arrived in Northern Rhodesia, in December, 1936. He was to remain as Director of Native Education in that territory for some seven years. See Coombe, op. cit., pp. 212 to 227.
their testimony before the Commission, both men made reference to the proposal, first mooted in 1935, that Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia should combine their efforts in the field of African secondary education. In the first instance, this might take the form of a joint school, probably located in Nyasaland. 115

Such a joint venture, it should be pointed out, excluded from consideration the third Central African territory, Southern Rhodesia. There, the government’s policy of separate social development upon racial grounds was increasingly apparent and the efforts of the three territories throughout the middle and late 1930’s to coordinate their educational policies consistently fell at this hurdle.

The impact of the De La Warr Commission and of its subsequent Report may be regarded as decisive in determining the Nyasaland Government’s support for the inauguration of secondary schooling, however modest, as soon as it appeared feasible. The fact that over three years were to elapse before the first secondary school opened its doors may be attributed both to that chronic obstacle, shortage of money, and to a rather drawn out discussion over the ways and means by which the initial school or schools

115 Coombe, op. cit., pp. 220 and 239.
should be administered and governed.

Lacey, writing in the *Rep. Ed. Dept.* for 1937 affirmed that "the publication of the Makerere report has paved the way for consideration of a definite policy of Secondary education for Africans in Nyasaland."¹¹⁶ In support of this contention, the Director cited the remarks of the Governor before a meeting of the Legislative Council in November. There, the Governor had stated that

The publication of Lord De La Warr's report on higher education in East Africa is an event of enormous importance to future development. It is of particular importance to this Protectorate. Nyasaland is small in area but it holds a key position and personally I have not the least doubt that our native policy is going to affect materially the future native development not only of both the Rhodesias but also perhaps of the Union. Our native population is large and intelligent and there is a higher proportion of literate natives here than in any other part of Eastern Africa. . . . We must . . . carry out the principles laid down in the Makerere Report. . . . I propose that before the next estimates are presented a considered scheme of secondary education for Africans shall have been drawn up.¹¹⁷

This statement by the Governor in effect expressed a consensus that had been hammered out in the course of the preceding months. In mid-February, immediately following


¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* But for this full quotation, see Zomba: SI/478/34, in which is included an extract from the Governor's address to the 53rd session of the Legislative Council, 16th November, 1937.
his return from Uganda, Lacey had reported to a meeting of
the Executive Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee. This
meeting had in addition confirmed a general preference for
the establishment of secondary schools in Nyasaland rather
than the inauguration of a bursary scheme, "similar to that
in force for European children, by which [African] students
could be sent to secondary schools in East Africa." At
the same time, the Sub-Committee's discussion of a set of
proposals for a Secondary school formulated at a meeting
of the Consultative Board of Federated Missions held in
the previous month, raised the issue of Mission vs. Govern-
ment control that was to prove such a thorny question in
the ensuing months.

The subject was ventilated at length during the
course of the meeting of the full Advisory Committee in
the following June. As will be seen in the course of
the following Chapter, Levi Mumba and Charles Matingga, the
Committee's two African members, played a lively role in
the discussion at this meeting as at others, coming down

118 MRC: Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive
Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee on Education,
Held in Zomba on the 16th February, 1937, pp. 2-6.
firmly in support of Government control of all Secondary education. 120

The controversy continued into 1938 and reached its peak in the course of a rather stormy session of the Advisory Committee in June of that year. During the immediately preceding months, at Lacey's initiative, discussions had been entered into between the Governments of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia as to the best means of inaugurating secondary education in their respective territories. In May, a week-long conference of the Directors of Education for Nyasaland, Northern, and Southern Rhodesia was held at Zomba. Again, a major stumbling block was the divergence in policy between Southern Rhodesia and the two northern territories regarding their respective attitudes towards educational opportunity being determined along racial lines. Nevertheless, Tyndale-Biscoe on behalf of Northern Rhodesia was most sympathetic to Lacey's ideas. 121

As noted, the June, 1938 meeting of the Nyasaland Advisory Committee was lively, to say the least. The mission representatives, led by Turner of Livingstonia, had formed the view that the consultations that had

120Chapter VIII, pp. 464-477.
121MRC: Minutes of a Conference of Directors of Education Held at Zomba, Nyasaland 5th - 11th May, 1938, pp. 4-6.
recently taken place between the Governments of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia were in some way designed to under-cut the schemes for secondary education put forward by the Federated Missions and the Roman Catholic missions, respectively. Such does not appear to have in fact been the case, although it does appear that during this crucial period there had been a certain failure of communication between the Nyasaland Government and the Missions generally.

The following exchange from the Minutes of the Advisory Committee seems to shed some light upon the reasons for this.

DR. STEYTLER [DRC] asked what had happened to the proposals submitted by the Board of Federated Missions.

THE CHAIRMAN [Lacey] stated that the Government and the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education had considered these proposals carefully but considered them impracticable owing to difficulties in recruiting and controlling staff, organisation and finance.

DR. TURNER [Liv.] asked whether any communication to this effect had been sent to the Consultative Board, or any acknowledgment made of its work.

THE CHAIRMAN apologised for the omission for which he took full responsibility. The Governor and he had discussed the matter at the Colonial Office while they were on leave. He, the Chairman, had been instructed immediately on his return in February, 1938 to draw up proposals for a Government school for submission to the Finance Commissioner. These proposals are based in part on the scheme put forward by the Federated Board; in part on information received from other territories. No prior opportunity had existed to
consult the Advisory Committee but His Excellency was now doing so. He moved "that the Committee acknowledge its indebtedness to the Consultative Board for the proposals for Secondary education put forward by them."

**THE SENIOR PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER** seconded the motion and it was carried unanimously.\(^{122}\)

The discussion then passed on to a consideration of the financial issues involved. It will be recalled that one of the major reservations held by the Missions generally throughout the 1930's with regard to the inauguration of secondary education was the fear that the funds needed for this would be taken from the already attenuated sum allocated to the support of their activities in the field of primary education. While Government now offered positive assurances that such would not be the case, they remained convinced that at any rate, in the words of Dr. Steytler, "if a [secondary] school were conducted by them a great deal of money would be saved."\(^{123}\)

Lacey, while tacitly accepting this point, replied that in the proposals put forward by the Federated Missions it had been stipulated that "all expense be borne by Government." In the light of this, "the Colonial Office Advisory Committee had considered the school must be a Government school."\(^{124}\) On the face of it, this appeared

\(^{123}\)Ibid.  
\(^{124}\)Ibid.
a logical application of the oft-repeated maxim cited in previous discussions over education policy between Government and the Missions that "he who paid the Piper called the tune." Seemingly, however, the Missions, long used to the shoe being on the other foot, could not see this point. As a result, despite the rather handsome apology offered by the Director of Education for Government's lapses with regard to keeping the Missions abreast of Government thinking, the next six months saw a veritable deluge of outraged correspondence between the representatives of the major Protestant missions in Nyasaland, their Home authorities, and the officials at Edinburgh House. 125

Lacey must have been aware of this, at least in general terms, and this perhaps goes far to explain the urgency with which in July, "the Nyasaland Government . . . requested confirmation of Northern Rhodesia's willingness to join its scheme and asked for details of [that] territory's needs." 126 Putting the question to the Standing

125 EH: A voluminous file entitled "Education - Nyasaland - Secondary Education, Correspondence 1937-1940." Foremost in the fray, as had been the case in the dispute over the 1927 Education Ordinance a decade earlier, were the two Scottish missions and the UMCA.

126 Coombe, op. cit., p. 246.
Committee of Northern Rhodesia's Advisory Board of Education, Tyndale-Biscoe "learnt with surprise" that the missions in Northern Rhodesia wished all junior secondary education in Northern Rhodesia to be offered at "selected government and mission schools" in that territory, this serving in Dr. Coombe's words as "an object lesson in mission influence on departmental policy." As a result, the Northern Rhodesian Government felt unable to fully participate, financially and otherwise, in the Nyasaland Government's plans until 1942, by which time it was presumed a senior secondary school department would be opened. 127

Beset by these conflicting pressures, capped by "the disappointing news that the Imperial Government could not support the capital cost" of a secondary school in Nyasaland, the Nyasaland Government apparently misinterpreted the views of its sister government in Lusaka, replying to what it construed as an abdication of financial responsibility on the part of that government "in terms of haughty, though elaborately civil, indignation." 128

128 Ibid., pp. 248-249. I am much indebted to Dr. Coombe for the insights into this inter-territorial dialogue afforded in particular by Chapter V of his work "The Origins of Secondary Education in Zambia" in the section entitled "The Nyasaland Scheme," pp. 238-251.
A meeting of the Executive Sub-Committee of the Nyasaland Advisory Committee held in early November, 1938, further debated the issue of Government vs. Mission control. Although Mr. Richard Paterson of the Church of Scotland Mission, representing the views of the Federated Missions, attempted to gain a postponement of Government's decision on the matter, the Minutes of the meeting record that "after general discussion it became obvious that with the exception of Mr. PATERSON all the members of the Committee were opposed to any further delay," not least, Charles Matinga, who "feared that any [further] delay in reaching decision might cause dissatisfaction amongst the African community who have . . . been awaiting . . . full educational facilities."\(^{129}\)

In closing, it should be noted that a further complicating factor was the rivalry existing within the Federated Missions between Livingstonia and Blantyre as to which might have the honour of administering the first junior secondary school. On the grounds of its more central location, Blantyre was selected, although Livingstonia may perhaps be adjudged the moral victor in

\(^{129}\) MRCI Advisory Committee on Education in the Protectorate. Minutes of a Meeting of the Executive Sub-Committee Held in Zomba on the 8th and 9th November, 1938, p. 4.
that it provided more than two-thirds of the initial intake of students.

Lacey, writing in the Rep. Ed. Dept. for 1938, sums up the situation with admirable succinctness. Paying tribute to the impact of the Reports of the De La Warr Commission and that of the "Finance Commissioner, Sir Robert Bell," both of which had in his view "assisted considerably in quickening the tempo of the progress made,"

Lacey concluded:

After submission of many schemes and proposals by the Department and by Missions, after discussions and conferences, the proposals which are now under consideration and which have been submitted to the Secretary of State are as follows:—

The Church of Scotland Mission, Blantyre, is to establish immediately a Junior Secondary School (Standards VII and VIII). This school will be supported by all except the Catholic Missions. The Government will provide the capital expenditure required to alter existing and erect new buildings and equip them, and it will guarantee to pay annually a sum adequate for the maintenance of the school.

A second Junior Secondary School for the two Catholic Missions will be established in 1940 or 1941. The Montfort Marist Mission, Zomba, has already erected some of the buildings. The Government will make a capital grant to assist in completing and equipping the school and will further make an annual grant towards its upkeep.

To complete the secondary course, one senior school conducted by Missions in co-operation, or under joint Government and Mission control, or under Government control will be established in 1942 or 1943.
The question of control, which has proved to be rather a vexed one, will be decided finally, it is hoped, when the Advisory Committee meets in the middle of 1939.\textsuperscript{130}

Such in fact proved to be the case, and it was established that the Blantyre Secondary School, as it came to be called, would be administered by a Board of Governors representing both the non-Catholic missions and Government. Livingstonia's disappointment at losing the site of the first secondary school to Blantyre was assuaged by the appointment of G. T. Pike, a member of its staff, to serve as Principal of the new school.\textsuperscript{131}

The outbreak of World War II, together with the delays seemingly inevitable in launching a new enterprise, combined to delay the opening of the School until October of 1940 and to reduce its initial intake of pupils from the projected 30 to 13. This latter figure was explained in the Rep. Ed. Dept. for 1940 by the comment that "it was considered advisable to insist upon genuinely high standards from the start." The Report added that "it is clear that there will not be a regular flow of boys, and later girls, suitable for secondary education in character, attainment and age until there has been considerable

\textsuperscript{131} Rep. Ed. Dept., 1940, p. 3.
improvement in the schools below the secondary stage."\textsuperscript{132}

As a footnote to one aspect of this suitability, following the opening, in early 1942, of the Zomba Catholic Secondary School, administered by a Board of Governors comparable to that of the Blantyre Secondary School, it was noted that "At both schools the maximum age limit at admission has been fixed at twenty-two years with the expressed intention of both Boards to reduce it as soon as circumstances permit."\textsuperscript{133}

Clearly, the history of secondary education in Nyasaland, despite its nominal inception during the War years, lies properly beyond the scope of this work. By 1945 less than 50 boys had completed the Junior Secondary Course. Standards IX and X, leading towards eventual University matriculation, had only just been introduced.

Nevertheless, the fact that Government, together with the Missions, had at long last come to grips with the issue of formal secondary education contributed a significant strand to the overall pattern of educational policy and practice. With the promise of substantially increased financial support both from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and from the Nyasaland Government, the auguries for postwar development and expansion seemed bright.

\textsuperscript{132}Ibid. \textsuperscript{133}Rep. Ed. Dept., 1941, p. 7.
CHAPTER VIII

AFRICAN EFFORTS TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL ADVANCE IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

Early Postwar Developments Among Native Associations

In a recent article, Professor Terence O. Ranger contrasted the efforts of five African peoples to influence the development of education within their societies during the first forty years of this century. He quite rightly noted that in Nyasaland, "educational resentments were expressed very early." 2

One of the manifestations of these resentments was of course the Chilembwe Rising, although in John Chilembwe's litany of grievances, education as such played only a minor role. As has been shown, the significance of the Rising from the point of view of Nyasaland's educational development lay in the resultant clampdown on all forms of educational innovation or experimentation in the country and in

---

1 Terence O. Ranger, "African Attempts to Control Education in East and Central Africa, 1900-1939," in Past & Present, No. 32, December, 1965. The five peoples referred to are the Baganda of Uganda, the Lozi of Barotseland in Zambia, the lakeshore Tonga of Malawi, the Luo of Nyanza Province and the Kikuyu, both of Kenya.

2 Ibid., p. 65.
the sudden growth of the degree of suspicion with which most Europeans viewed the "educated African." From this point forward, the trend of official policy and non-official attitudes combined in an attempt to minimize the status and influence of the educated African in favor of buttressing the authority of less educated local headmen and chiefs, men who were for the most part conservative by nature. The passage of the District Administration (Native) Ordinance of 1912 had served to curtail the latter's traditional powers and this they, of course, resented. Of more importance the passage of the Ordinance provided Government with a group of subordinate officials serving as instruments of Government policy on local Councils of Headmen, and, with their lack of sophistication comprising a more malleable group than their more educated brethren.

Those "new men" were by no means content to accept a situation whereby their voices could not be heard on questions they regarded as being of vital and legitimate interest to them. An early harbinger of one of the forms their restlessness and resentment was to take was the formation in 1912, the same year that saw the passage of the

---

3 At the time in question, this phrase generally denoted literacy in English and/or the completion of what today would comprise the Full Primary Course.
Comparatively little is known about the formative period of this Association, in part due to the suspension of its activities for a period of some six years following the outbreak of the First World War. The same applies in even greater measure to the West Nyasa Native Association, inaugurated at Bandawe only months before the start of the War. What is known, is that the NNNA was formed at a meeting held in the school reading room of the Livingstonia Mission's Karonga Station and that its formation met with the full approval of the Mission's hierarchy as well as that of the Governor and the Superintendent of Native Affairs. As a result, it "was saved from being suppressed as undesirable and untimely." 4

A guiding spirit within the NNNA from its inception was Levi Mumba, one of Overtoun's more distinguished graduates. He was destined at a later time to play a significant role in the Protectorate-wide Nationalist movement, one which culminated in his election in 1944 as the first president of the Nyasaland African Congress. Writing in 1924 of the NNNA's beginnings, Mumba attempted to explain the reasons for its formation. He condemned as

unsatisfactory the means then employed by Government to ascertain "native opinion." This consisted largely of the formal questioning of elderly and in many cases illiterate headmen by local "Residents" or District Officers, generally through an interpreter, and in circumstances where the headmen were deprived of advice from their most trusted councillors. Of this system, Mumba wrote that

This state of affairs is not peculiar to any one district and the educated natives on seeing it thought that it would not be good citizenship merely to deplore a situation without trying to do something to remedy it, however inefficient their effort; they therefore decided to organize political associations because they are convinced that the information obtained by the Resident in the way stated cannot be representative of Native public opinion . . . the fundamental aim is to better local conditions.  

By 1920 the NNNA and the WNNA had been reconstituted. In January of that year, the Momba Native Association was formed. As can be seen from the geographic nature of their nomenclature, these Associations were "regional rather than tribal," and membership was open to all residents of the area although most of the Associations stipulated that members must be "persons of good character and knowledge."  

5 Ibid.  
7 Zomba: SI/210/20 which deals primarily with the Momba Native Association.
Knowledge was the operative criterion, for the MNA stated that it is "an open question for [educated] chiefs and Europeans to attend or join if they choose to do so."\(^8\)

Much has been made by some of the gulf separating the Chiefs and the "New Men," during the inter-War period, but one might suggest that the real division was upon educational grounds. Illiterate and uneducated Chiefs and headmen tended towards conservative attitudes and looked for precedents and examples to the past. In contrast, those Chiefs who had received even a modicum of formal schooling tended to work closely with the Associations' leadership, and in a number of cases rose to prominence themselves within the Associations.

In the same week of early January, 1920, that saw the inaugural meeting of the MNA, Dr. Laws wrote from Livingstonia to the Government's Chief Secretary in Zomba supporting Associations on the grounds that Africans were bound to discuss political and allied matters anyway, but noting that "Very often however, there is lacking in these discussions the guidance of a better educated person . . . who could state the other side and a wider view of things. This . . . the Associations can supply as their discussions

\(^8\)Ibid.
would be talked over throughout the district in small
groups."⁹ At this early stage then, the Associations were
viewed sympathetically in some European circles, a sympathy
which ranged from wholehearted support and encouragement to
the polite acknowledgment of the receipt of copies of their
meetings Minutes.

In September, 1920, the MNA tackled the question
of education. Yesaya Chibambo, an early historian of his
people, the Ngoni,¹⁰ addressed the gathering. He first
summarized the traditional Ngoni policy of assimilation
by instruction, the bringing up as Ngoni of the children
of the various peoples they had conquered. He then went
on to point out that the country¹¹ was entering a new era
and that if people wished to aspire to a full participation
in the new life they must view education as the road "which
alone leads them to civilization."¹²

Chibambo next turned to the subject of African
responsibility. While acknowledging the contribution of
both Missions and Government, he asked "Who should encourage

⁹Zomba: SI/2065/19. Also cited in R. Gray, The
¹⁰Yesaya Mlonyeni Chibambo, My Ngoni of Nyasaland
(London, 1942).
¹¹Note that Chibambo refers not to "Ngoniland" or
"the Ngoni" but rather to "the country," i.e., Nyasaland.
the education? Unless natives themselves take this question to heart and make it their own desire to encourage education, the civilized power can only try to help them without compulsion." The Minutes of the meeting state that "The Chiefs and the Association both agreed that the education is very good, and that each chief should take steps to help forward the education of the country. The chiefs promised to take this question in consideration and try to encourage the growth of the schools, each in his own division." 13

Five weeks previously, the MNNA at a meeting on July 27th, 1920, had passed a resolution placing the onus upon Government. In asking Government to increase the size of its educational grants to Missions as a means of expanding existing facilities, the Association put forward as an argument in support of their claim the recent raising of the hut tax. 14 With regard to this question of increased grants to Missions the Governor, Sir George Smith, stated in mid-August at an Education Conference convened in Blantyre that as "the Native . . . contributed the larger part of the public revenue [he] was entitled to ask for more to be spent on his advancement." 15 Similarly, on

October 6th, the Acting Chief Secretary in acknowledging the receipt of Minutes from the Secretary of the MNA remarked that "It is confidently hoped that Government will in the near future render much increased assistance in the matter of the development of Education, but popular effort to the same end should as your meeting urged continue unabated."  

Throughout the next few years the pressures continued to increase. That the leadership of the Associations possessed a lively awareness of external forces is evidenced by the following passage from a meeting of the MNA held at Loudon in late July, 1922. Appealing once more for increased Government grants, Chibambo noted that "The Government has been benefitted greatly by the Missions. This it well knows"; and that, moreover, "It is plain now that the Missions are unable to open more schools and to put education on a higher level than it is now, because they have less money to carry on this work." This passage indicated recognition of the declining home support for several Missions brought about by the postwar depression and an increasing preoccupation with domestic affairs within Great Britain.

17 Ibid.
In an acknowledgment of the receipt of this meeting's Minutes, despatched on the 19th of December, the Acting Chief Secretary replied that as regards Education,

This matter has always received the earnest attention of the Government and in recent years more money has been made available for the purpose, the grants to the Missions having been doubled in 1921. It is hoped that more may be done when more prosperous times come and the revenues of the Protectorate increase.18

This conciliatory though non-commital tone was not echoed in a Secretariat Minute on the MNA's request which observed rather testily that "The Association itself, instead of talking about it, should see that this work is carried on. This part I have no doubt is inspired."19

This last most likely refers to the inclusion within the MNA Minutes of "A Word to the Chiefs" in which it is stated that

The Association sees that if the work of the Mission, of educating the Native is to have better fruits, the local chiefs should lend a hand in this and strengthen education. They should see that parents send their children to school, pay fees for

---

18 Ibid. It should be noted that this is not strictly speaking accurate as it was in 1918 that Government grants-in-aid were increased from £1,000 to £2,000 per annum. Moreover, this increase is seen in proper perspective when it is noted that in 1921 total Mission expenditure on education in Nyasaland was well over £16,000 excluding the salaries of European missionaries which constituted by far the largest outlay. For this, see Rep. Ed. Dept. 1926/1927, p. 5.

19 Ibid. Italics mine.
them; they should see that school houses are well-built, and that the work at each village school is done according to the direction of the Mission.

It would seem that the Secretariat Minute was superfluous since the Association appears to have been bringing the full force of its opinions to bear upon the implementation of the "work" the Secretariat Minute presumably refers to. It might additionally be borne in mind that at Mombora's throughout the 1920's "the chief [Mombora] and principal counsellors were all members of the Association." 21

The Impact of Aggrey and the Phelps-Stokes Commission

"The man's a saint: damn his colour." 22

The very considerable impact of the Phelps-Stokes Commission's visit to Nyasaland in April and May of 1924 and of its subsequent Report has already been touched upon. For the purposes of this chapter, however, it is necessary to return to the subject of the Commission's visit in order to focus upon that member who loomed largest in the imaginations of the Nyasas themselves. This of course was

James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, M.A.; defined by the introduction

20 Ibid.
21 Gray, op. cit., p. 173.
to the Commission's Report as "a Native of the Gold Coast and . . . formerly a Professor at Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C., U.S.A." 23

The impression made upon the peoples of Nyasaland by the presence upon so distinguished a body of a fellow African in a position of complete equality was profound. It was, moreover, reinforced by what Aggrey himself had to say in the course of the numerous informal talks and formal addresses that marked the Commission's stay in the country. Mr. Hanock N'goma was one of the first teachers to be trained to the level of School Inspector by the Livingstonia Mission. He was 45 years of age at the time of the Commission's visit and was one of those teachers chosen to meet the Commissioners at Mkhata Bay. Rev. J. W. C. Dougall, then the young Scottish Secretary to the Commission, described the party's arrival there on Friday, the 25th of April, noting that as their ship approached the anchorage "we saw both sides [of the lake] but they were as far away as Arran from Ardrossan. These hills were truly great. In the afternoon we went into Mkatata Bay where the water was a smooth blue. There was

quite a crowd to welcome us."

Some of the impressions of Mr. N'goma, remembered 42 years after the event, accurately reflect the feelings of the majority of his fellow Nyasas. They are set down here verbatim, as he expressed them:

Dr. Aggrey when he came here, he came here as a god. The hearts of the people, those who saw him at that time were full of rejoicing, rejoicing. They said that Dr. Aggrey has come to carry away the Europeans from this country. Because the Europeans, of course they came to teach us, but they didn't come just to teach us, but to make us slaves; to work for them. We were working for the Europeans. Because at this same time a European would get about thirty or forty pounds, an African is only two shillings, three shillings. The same one, he is teaching Standard 1; I am teaching Standard 1. He teaches Standard 5; I am teaching Standard 5, but with a great gap of pay, a great gap of pay. So when Dr. Aggrey came, we didn't know that he was an African. Of course, because his body was like mine, so we thought, he is an African; but in his speech, and what he was telling us, he was not an African. And among the Europeans who were with him at that time, I think they were recognizing him, not as an African, but as their fellow-European. Because he himself said, I am an African because of this skin; I have a black skin, but if I had a white skin like themselves, they would call me a European. What impressed us was that Dr. Aggrey came here to see the education; to see the stage of the education, and he found

---

24 J. W. C. Dougall, unpublished Journal covering the period from February 18th to June 20th, 1924, p. 53. Seen through the courtesy of Dr. Trevor Coombe, Department of Education, University of Zambia.
that the education we had here was quite low, quite low. Standard 6 was in the highest class we could have in this country, in Malawi. 25

The Commissioners traveled, severally and together, throughout much of the country during their three-week stay. But the highlights from the point of view of Aggrey's impact appear to have been at Kondowe where the Commission spent a full six days, and at Zomba, where Aggrey addressed a major meeting.

Throughout their stay at Kondowe, Aggrey was demonstrably the centre of attention from the arrival at Florence Bay where "The natives gave us a great welcome. At least for ... Dr. Aggrey," to their departure after dark from the same spot a week later at which time there was a "tremendous uproar from the natives, for Dr. Aggrey specially, and difficulty in getting away." 26 The bulk of the Commissioners' time was spent in attending and observing the whole range of classes and courses of instruction offered and in a series of meetings and conferences with missionaries and Nyasas, separately and together. At one of these latter "Dr. Aggrey spoke of the need of training wise native leadership. It would be good to select

25 Oral interview with Mr. Hanock Nyoma conducted at Chinteche, Malawi on April 6th, 1966.
26 Dougall, op. cit., pp. 54 and 64.
boys and girls for further training, show them the difficulty and the long road ahead." On another occasion, Dougall tells us that "Dr. Aggrey and Dr. Jones had been meeting the natives in conference. They want their sons to have higher education and imagine that America and the Phelps-Stokes Fund offer every benefit without price or effort. They have an idea that the Saviour of their race will be a black man from America." 27

On May 12th, Dr. Aggrey addressed a session of the 3rd Assembly of the Nyasaland (Southern Province) Native Association at Zomba. The nervousness felt by Government vis-à-vis the Associations is demonstrated by the fact that while the Governor in the course of an urbano introductory address evidenced the presence of the Commission as proof of "the interest the mother Government had for the welfare and uplift of her dependent colonies," and stated that "he would retire together with the other European gentlemen and leave the Association with Dr. Aggrey who being a member of their own race can but bring a free atmosphere to the Association's mind," nevertheless felt it necessary to assign a "native detective" to cover and report in detail the meeting's deliberations. 28

27 Ibid., p. 61.  
The meeting, in all conscience, was not very inflammatory. Indeed if one may judge by the covering letter from the Chief Commissioner of Police which accompanied the African detective's report to the Chief Secretary, the contents of the speeches delivered represented something of an anti-climax. The Commissioner conceded that "the proceedings were carried on in an open manner" and that Dr. Aggrey "appears to have spoken very fairly to the natives." He concluded, however, by remarking that "From the information which I have received it would appear that the natives were somewhat disappointed in the Doctor's visit as they had expected to hear many things from him but he only talked to them on matters concerning education."\(^{29}\)

The minutes of the Association tend to corroborate this although Frederick Gresham Njilima,\(^{30}\) the Secretary of the Association, who both introduced Dr. Aggrey and translated for him\(^{31}\) stated in the course of his introductory

\(^{29}\)Ibid.

\(^{30}\)Frederick Gresham Njilima was one of the sons of Duncan Njilima, a follower and lieutenant of John Chilembali, who was executed for his alleged role in the 1915 Rising. Gresham, together with a brother, had been educated in the United States in the decade preceding the First World War having accompanied Rev. Check upon his departure from the P.I.M. Upon his return to Nyasaland in the 1920's Gresham was variously employed as a teacher and as a clerk, by the P.I.M. and the Education Department, respectively.

\(^{31}\)Because of the importance attached to the meeting, many Chiefs and Headmen from the general vicinity of the Shiro Highlands who were not in fact members of the N(SP)NA were invited to attend. Many of them did not speak English.
remarks that "if any of us [have] a grievance he [Gresham] wished us to place the facts before the Doctor who was a very clever man and who would see the Governor." On the other hand, both petitions presented to Dr. Aggrey by the Association concerned education and Chief Malemia in the course of the meeting remarked that "they could only discuss the question of education as he had not received any warning that the Doctor would be prepared to listen to their troubles and consequently he had not consulted with his headmen and people." According to the African detective's report, the highlights of Dr. Aggrey's address were as follows.

He said he was very pleased on coming to this country to find that we had already started our Association and he wished us to educate ourselves and become wise people. We should always try and copy the Europeans, and that if we persevere we shall become rich like the Europeans. . . . He spoke for some time on the necessity of having our children educated properly, and said that America was willing to help by erecting a large school where all children, irrespective of creed might attend.

Dr. Aggrey then went on to encourage the cultivation of cash crops, and "spoke at great length on the evils of drink and polygamy."  

---

33 Ibid.  
34 Ibid. It is perhaps worth noting that one of Aggrey's brothers is reported to have died of alcoholism. This might have contributed to the earnestness with which he spoke upon the subject. For this aspect, see Niven, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
The Association's minutes tell essentially the same story although perhaps in somewhat franker language with regard to Dr. Aggrey's views on the relationship between the races. According to the Minutes, the "substance" of Dr. Aggrey's speech was that "he was glad to be a black man and to look into the faces of the members of his race."

After expressing satisfaction that Great Britain's interest in the welfare of her African colonies appeared to be on the increase; and after remarking that all Nyasas should support the Government, noting that there were good and bad individuals in both races, he went on to deplore the price differential obtaining between similar commodities offered for sale to White and to Black. He promised "to see to it that these facts reached proper channels." In conclusion, the minutes quote Aggrey as declaiming "Dispel the old belief that a black man has been black ever since the world came into existence and will never be anything else. Follow your leaders; H. E. the Governor, the Education Commission, and within two or three years you will see a changed Nyasaland."\(^{35}\)

This peroration seems to reflect an optimism regarding the pace of advance, the validity of which was soon to

\(^{35}\text{Komba: SI/3263/23.}\)
be dispelled by actual developments. Nevertheless, whatever partial disappointments may have been felt at the meeting, they in no way seem to have diminished the respect in which Dr. Aggrey was held by the people. This is borne out by a letter dispatched to the Chief Secretary by Gresham on the day following the meeting.

After thanking the Governor for his address, Gresham went on to note that

The Association is aware of the fact that education in Nyasaland is in a lower stage than that of any other British Possession. It takes this opportunity of assuring him that every member of this body is ready to support and follow him [the Governor] Dr. Aggrey and other members of the Education Commission to better this condition. To this end, the Association begs to ask His Excellency to make representation to the Secretary of State, that the services of Dr. Aggrey be procured for this Protectorate.36

The Chief Secretary replied with unwonted alacrity four days later to the effect that "Dr. Aggrey has accepted an important appointment on the Gold Coast, but that the question of education in Nyasaland will receive careful consideration," and that "the request of your Association will be made known to the Secretary of State."37

36Ibid.
37Ibid. Aggrey had in fact received a cable offering him a post at Achimota College while in Kenya with the Commission in mid-February.
What effect, if any, may be attributed to these African representations and what proportion to the subsequent and almost simultaneous publication of the Phelps-Stokes Commission's Report and the British Government's Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa it is difficult to say. Still, the visit of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, particularly in the person of the charismatic Dr. Aggrey, may be said to have had a seminal influence as a stimulus towards African efforts to gain improved educational opportunities. 38

Further Developments Among the Native Associations: 1926-1930

In August, 1926, the N(SP)NA demonstrated their continuing optimism by

... cordially [begging] to place on record their appreciation of the Government's efforts to raise the natives by appointing a Director of Education and now view the future with hope for an immediate educational scheme. ... It is suggested that the Director of Education should, if possible, have part of his time devoted to visit each Native Association in the Protectorate so as to gather information from them with regard to the education required to [sic] a native, than merely visiting Missions and European community alone. 39

38 See Appendix E for further insights into Aggrey's thinking and his impact upon those Africans with whom he came in contact.

This note of satisfaction, indeed gratitude, at the appointment of a Director of Education together with a new-found hope for an imminent "uplift" of the people is struck again and again in the minutes of the various Associations' meetings at this time. But as the months and years went by with few visible signs of drastic change, doubts began to be expressed. These doubts were in turn backed up by specific charges; some trivial, others more weighty.

A good example of this protest is to be found in the voluminous correspondence exchanged throughout 1929 and 1930 between the officers of the WNNA and Government. The initial complaints of the Association seem to have been embodied in the minutes of a meeting of the WNNA held at Bandawe on the 1st and 2nd of May, 1929. Their substance can perhaps best be indicated by the following extracts from what was a rather lengthy document.

(1) For want of adequate and satisfactory pay . . . to teachers, schools suffer greatly from [not] having enough capable and long experienced teachers of good character.
(2) Want of sympathy and cooperation between missionaries, native leaders and teachers, and chiefs and villagers. It seems the schools are conducted on as opus operatum for finance sake.

40 Zomba: SI/1365/24. And also in a letter from the Secretary of the MNA, the Rev. Charles C. Chinula to the Director of Education. For Chinula, see numerous references in Rotberg, Rise of Nationalism, op. cit.
Such self engrossment or monopolism in matters which are communal is an outrage against the community.

(3) The exclusion from [school] of school children of suspended Church members. The strangest and most novel rule in the world. It exists nowhere else but in Nyasaland only.

(4) Closing of schools for no true and proper reasons.

There then followed a statement of grievances which, though rather rambling, served to indicate some of the concerns of the Associations' leadership and affords insights into their thinking.

Sometimes we see schools closed because a village chief or his villagers failed to present a fowl or eggs to Mr. So and so or failed to feed his carriers for nothing; and sometimes pupils have been turned out of school because they failed to give such present to Mr. or Miss so and so. Thus the native does not look upon school as a benefit but as an oppression to deprive him of his last article of food or fowl or an egg he possesses in the world by the man who is better off in all things. Want of real and sympathetic supervision; leaving the school to inexperienced monitors, even in large and populous centers, so that the schools degenerate. . . . Favouritism, preferring one scholar, school or tribe, in spite of personal merits, before the other. Injustice is [a] cardinal sin against the law of Christ. It is true, ecclesiastics stand in the way of the people's real progress. [A] priest-ridden community does not prosper, as . . . Roman Catholicism used to do in Italy and else[where]. The world is sure to grow in spite of us. 41

---

41 Zomba: SI/2065/19. These minutes were signed by the Chairman of the WNNA, Samuel K. Longwe and by the Secretary, Y.Z. Mwasi.
It appears that with the founding of a Department of Education, the Associations came to view Government as exercising a more rigorous control over the Missions' implementation of official policy than was in fact the case. At any rate, the District Commissioner at Chinteche invited the WMNA's Secretary to the Boma to discuss the minutes cited above. Accordingly, on the 17th of September, 1929, a meeting took place. The ensuing discussion appears to have been inconclusive, for on the 19th, the D.C. wrote to Mwasi requesting written substantiation of the charges enumerated in the minutes as the Provincial Commissioner was not inclined to forward the latter to Zomba until this was done. The D.C.'s letter concluded by noting that "You will understand that I am always ready to try and redress any grievances that your Association may put forward, but before endeavouring to do so, I must have clear proof that such grievances do in fact exist." 43

The WMNA was not slow to respond. Within a month they had drawn up a detailed memorandum and delivered it to the Boma. The preamble reiterated the Association's sense of disillusionment with regard to the Livingstonia Mission.

42 Mwasi as Secretary was accompanied by Mr. Hanock Nyoma, then the Vice President of the Association.
One who affects to assume the office of a benefactor does not grudge nor deny the due benefits to the subjects of his alleged office. Nor much less does he comply with nor acquiesce in the impoverished conditions of the people from which his mission is meant to save them. Nor does he spend hrs. days, months or years to frame elaborate and complicated adverse systems as a means of retarding their deserved developments. Otherwise, as a matter of course the errand of such an one is sure to be seriously suspected as different from what in appearance it pretends to be. It is now more than half a century since the Mission began in 1875; no effort of any kind has been made to erect houses for teachers in the villages they are sent to uplift, in which they could lodge with wives and children as a model to the villagers that they have brought them better conditions realized in the material things.44

The memorandum then went on to describe how many teachers are "viciated [sic] in their character" by being sent to distant villages where they are separated from their families and where "schools are worked on a mendicant system [with the teacher] begging mats, food, lodging and what else from the villagers." The memorandum argued that

To send [teachers] to distant places as celibates, occasionally they fall into disgrace. No man eats books nor sleeps in books; nor is man elevated to the condition of angels yet.... Schools worthy of the name ... should answer the good of the State as well as of the Church. ... Schools ought not to concentrate its energy in teaching the "Three Rs" ... alone. Even if technical teaching is attempted concrete examples are powerful and much better than mere theories ...
ventilated houses of available miniature in dimension is one of the imperative necessities in the Livingstonia Mission. "No teacher can expect better food than is eaten in the village, or a specially fine house," says the missionary in one of the letters already referred to. Thus he lowers his mission's ideal under this head; he degrades ethical worth of his native teachers and consequently stirs no ideals in the hearts of the scholars or villagers to regard them as teachers of good things.45

Emphasis was placed upon the plight of those villagers, most of them Christians, who "possess only one hut for themselves and their families, which he willingly spares for the teachers while he himself with his children become guests [of] some one at painful inconvenience." Specific examples were given of schools closed, allegedly because the local villagers failed to entertain, hospitably, certain named missionaries. In addition, instances were cited of certain children of suspended Church members being refused higher training on that account.

On the 15th of January, 1930, the Provincial Commissioner, S. A. Anderson, replied to the Association with a memorandum expressing in detail and with restraint the views of Government formed following extensive enquiries among the Livingstonia Mission authorities.

The memorandum observed to begin with that Mission

45 Ibid.
teaching "is purely voluntary and that its operations are limited by its financial resources." It added that pupils were not bound to work for the Mission following the completion of their studies. Anderson then pointed out that it was long-established practice for villages to indicate their sincerity in desiring a school by erecting a school building and a "teacher's hut" before applying to the Mission for a teacher. He saw nothing wrong in that system, as it was only in this way that village schools could be established at all in the light of Livingstonia's financial limitations. On the subject of the provision of food by villagers, Anderson and Rev. Mackenzie of the Mission were agreed that there should be

... no obligation on the part of the villagers to provide food for teachers since they [the teachers] are in receipt of adequate wages and moreover ... have sufficient leisure from their teaching duties to cultivate their own gardens. [Anderson further stated that] In my opinion it would be useless to ask for increased pay or food allowance for teachers since I am satisfied, after conversation with Rev. Mackenzie, that the grant of higher pay would necessitate reduction of the native teaching staff of the Mission and that would of course mean the closing down of more schools.46

In answer to the complaint regarding the exclusion from schools of the children of suspended Church members, 46

Ibid.
Anderson stated that Mackenzie had informed him "that this matter has been rectified and that the children referred to are not now excluded from school." Mackenzie had further made it clear that schools were not supposed to be closed without good and sufficient reason and Anderson had received the impression that Mackenzie "did not approve of the action taken by Dr. Burnett as regards the closing of the Kakwewa school and [had] no doubt that as head of the Mission he will have dealt with the matter in such a way that there will be no further cause for complaint."

As to the dismissal of children unfairly from school, "Mr. Mackenzie states that there has been misrepresentations of fact. The case referred to children dismissed by Miss Muir came under his notice. The children were dismissed for some grave irregularity and had nothing to do with their failure to give presents of fowls and eggs." Summing up, Anderson noted that

In conclusion I wish to inform the Association that the question of placing native education in the Protectorate on a sounder basis is engaging the serious consideration of Government. An Education Department was formed recently and grants in aid of education have been increased and will be still further increased as the resources of the Protectorate permit. Reforms

---

Ibid. The "grave irregularity" is not otherwise specified.
take time to accomplish, and I would ask the Association to have patience and not embarrass the consideration of the general question with representations to Government on matters of detail at this stage.48

On the whole, the WNNNA seems to have been satisfied with this response to their representations. An appreciative and understanding tone marked the letter they forwarded to the Provincial Commissioner a week later. "We have to thank the Government from the very core of our hearts," the letter ran, "for

(1) The Opening up of the School Department in the Protectorate.
(2) The real help rendered in relation to the matters under review, viz., that Teachers are no longer to depend on villagers for housing and feeding.49

No mention was made of the other problems the Association had raised, although it would appear from an examination of Anderson's memorandum that some of them had been even more satisfactorily settled. The letter expressed sympathy with Livingstonia's financial difficulties, but at the same time managed to drop a gentle hint that under the circumstances Government might well take up the slack. Moreover, this note of general approbation, notwithstanding, the Association could not resist the opportunity of inserting a further brief list of

48 Ibid. 49 Ibid.
suggestions "as to the working processes of these village schools." They were three in number.

(1) As almost all of these village schools are run by mere youths incapable of adequate Religious knowledge and School Management, location of capable teachers is an imperative necessity in them; at least in central schools.

(2) As there is a lamentable lack of regular supervision; an adequate, sympathetic and regular supervision, from the Government, in all schools, is also much needed.

(3) By this way the Government shall be able to inform itself of the real situation of these schools. Second hand information is good, but the first hand is the better. 50

In concluding this case study, one representative of the dialogue that took place between the Associations and the Nyasaland Government during this period, it is perhaps worth indicating the trend these relationships were about to take with the onset of the 1930's and the imminent introduction of Indirect Rule. In a letter dated August 6th, 1930, replying to a series of points raised by the WNNA in minutes submitted covering meetings held in January and June of that year, Anderson closed on what might well have seemed to the letter's recipients an ominous note.

It is desired to remind ... the Association, [the letter read] of His Excellency the Governor's words. ... He said that he wished always to be

50 Ibid.
kept informed of native opinion but that the opinion he valued most was that expressed by tribal chiefs who in course of time would be given a more responsible share in the governance of the Protectorate, and that it was the duty of the more educated natives, such as members of the Association, to help their less enlightened chiefs with advice on the conduct of native administration. The true voice of the people expressed by the chiefs through their own institutions will in this way be heard by the Governor and his responsible officers, and the need for native associations for the expression of native opinion on public affairs will come to an end.51

Surely the handwriting was now upon the wall. Skirmishes had indeed been won by the Associations in what van Velsen felicitously refers to as the "battle of the minutes,"52 but here was an indication that new avenues would have to be explored if educated African opinion was to continue to be heard, even though not necessarily accepted, by the Protectorate's Government.53

51 Ibid. Italics in the preceding paragraph those of this writer. As indicated, all quotations in the preceding taken from Zomba: 81/2065/19.


53 It should not, of course, be inferred from the foregoing that those Native Associations situated in the Northern Province were the only ones to vocally press their opinions, including those touching upon Education, on Government. For a selection of views included in the minutes of the Blantyre Native Association, the Zomba Province Native Association and the Nyasaland (Southern Province) Native Association, see Zomba: 81/3263/23 and 81/478/34. For an illuminating semi-official reaction by Government, see Appendix L.
Levi Mumba and the Advisory Committee on Education

The appointment in 1933 of Levi Z. Mumba as the first African member of the influential Advisory Committee on Education served to indicate a growing acceptance of the view that Africans were capable of speaking for themselves, as well as a means by which Africans might make known their views to Government and press for improvements. The inauguration of Indirect Rule with its complex of Native Authorities, its District Councils and Committees, had undoubtedly taken some of the wind out of the sails of the Native Associations. It remained to be seen whether the modest but increasing voice of Africans from within rather than without the formal framework of Government would compensate for this decline in the influence of the Associations.

Mumba, it will be recalled, was a founding father of the NNNA in 1912. In 1944 he was elected the first President-general of the Nyasaland African Congress. As may be seen from this selection of questions, Memoranda, and interventions in Committee, he was a particularly able, astute and articulate figure; well able to hold his own in the cut and thrust of debate.
At the first of the Committee's annual meetings that he attended, held in May of 1933, he opened the discussion on "Government Schools for Africans" by observing that with the increased demand for education in recent years the Missions had been unable to keep pace with demand, not so much at the Primary level, rather "the gap began at the central schools." In addition, "there was also a keen desire for more facilities for a higher general education." As a result of these comments, Lacey as Chairman, requested Mumba to submit "some definite scheme" to a future meeting of the Committee. This he was not slow to do, and by the end of October he had drawn up a lengthy and closely reasoned memorandum entitled "Demand For Government Schools."55

In the following month he wrote formally to Lacey supporting the opening of Independent Schools. Mumba recognized the latter's need for trained and qualified teachers and in this connection, the absence of any

54 Nyasaland Protectorate, Minutes of the Advisory Committee on Education, 4th Session, 1933.
55 MRC: Copy of the Memorandum on file. Submitted to Government by Mumba on October 30th, 1933.
56 Such as those established by the Rev. Hanock Msokera Phiri for the AMEC at Kasungu and the Rev. Dr. Daniel Sharpe Malekebu for the PIM at Chiradzulu. See subsequent sections, this Chapter.
Government Teacher Training Colleges. He suggested that in order to remedy this situation the existing Mission Training Institutions "should train more than they require themselves and that they should allow intending African proprietors of schools to draw their teachers from them." He added that "if Missions are unable to assist, the Government should train them itself either at the Jeanes Training Centre or at a Normal Institution of its own."57

As a result of this letter, the question was discussed at length at the Advisory Committee's meeting in 1934. A motion was carried authorizing the Department of Education to circularize all Missions with a view to ascertaining which were willing to accept students sent to them by African "Proprietors of Schools," and asking them to detail their specific conditions of entry.58 This was done; and in 1935 Governor Kittermaster was able to comment in his opening address to the Advisory Committee that its Executive Sub-Committee had "reached the conclusion that the facilities offered by some of the Missions were adequate temporarily to meet the need that might arise in the near future, provided that grants were made

57 MRC: Undated letter from Mumba to the Director of Education.
by Government to defray fees when necessary." Thus, within the limits imposed by the slow working of bureau-
ocratic machinery as a result of the system of yearly meet-
ings, Mumba had won his point.

To return to the original memorandum, "Demand For
Government Schools." This seems worth summarizing in some
detail as it comprises the most complete and articulate
presentation of the African point of view regarding educa-
tion yet found for this period.

Mumba began by stating the basic problem as he saw
it; that of so regulating the educational process as to
enable its end products to find appropriate gainful employm-
ent. To this end, and in order to satisfy himself as to
the accuracy of his conception of African aspirations,
Mumba had sent out a questionnaire to some twenty groups
of Nyasas situated in all parts of the country as well as
in neighbouring Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia. "The
replies [were] unanimous in their desire for improvement
of education and institution of Government schools." More-
over, the replies demonstrated that.

. . . we are agreed that it is the trend of edu-
cation which requires altering and not the quantity
or quality of it. We are agreed that the policy in

---

education should be based on the fact that the majority of us will have to find means of living in agriculture, which has been our industry from time immemorial, to which should be added present day industries to be undertaken by us independently in our villages and in towns. We think that if this is done, something near to the outlook in life which we see among Europeans and Indians today might be achieved which would in turn minimise the danger of unemployment. . . . Hitherto the aim in education has been to turn out men and women with abilities to work as employees of Europeans with the result that the supply has exceeded the demand. [Those who cannot find employment] either go outside Nyasaland to seek work or are absorbed in the village communities with little benefit to themselves or their localities. It is not their fault but the education which has failed to arouse the innate self activities to sustain an economic independent effort. 60

Mumba next proceeded to quote statements in support of his thesis from articles recently published by Lacey and Bowman. 61 He reiterated the pessimistic prognosis that recurs again and again throughout this period to the effect that "one sees . . . not without misgivings, this lessening of education as a spectacle of civilization definitely in retreat after a commendable effort and experiment of more than half a century. . . . Education in its wider sense does not mean [only] an ability to read and write. . . .

60 MRC: Copy of the Memorandum.
61 Both of these articles appeared in Oversea Education. They were: E. D. Bowman, "Jeanes Training and Rural Reconstruction in Nyasaland," Vol. 4, No. 3, April, 1933, pp. 114-121; and A. Travers Lacey, "Method Versus Aim in African Education," Vol. 4, No. 4, July, 1933, pp. 163-165. Both seen in NLS.
The educationist must cease training people with the sole idea of their working for someone else all their lives."  

While acknowledging "how very grateful" Africans were for what the Missions had done in the past and were doing at present, Mumba noted that "What the Missions are doing, however, does not absolve the Government of its responsibility towards its African subjects." Observing that the Missions' primary aim was evangelization and that literacy served largely as a handmaiden to that end, he reassured that "the fact . . . remains that the education which they used to give has been reduced much below the level to which they had raised it." Africans were bewildered when they saw more Government funds allocated to education, fees sharply increased, and yet a continued decline in academic standards. "The blame is at once put at the door of the Government who supervise this education."

Mumba viewed with concern the fact that

... in other colonies much progress has taken place educationally ... already Africans are running their own private business on a large scale ... [and] on account of this prosperity they have high schools both for literary and technical education for which the inhabitants are able to pay higher fees. We ask for similar facilities. ... Raise our social status and

---

62 MRC: Copy of the Memorandum, "Demand for Government Schools."
in so doing you will arouse the dormant resources of supply and demand in the different tribes. . . . The main reason for importing skilled labour from Europe or India is that Africans have not the necessary education and experience to carry out such duties efficiently be it in the government, railways or commerce. It would therefore be an economic proposition to employ Africans for most of the duties now performed by Europeans and Indians as the country would be run cheaply. 63

Noting the variety of occupations Africans might fill provided training for them could be made available, Mumba added that "Even although there were no other subsidiary lines calling for the educational uplift of the Africans, the great charter of Indirect Rule alone would swallow up now a very large number of educated men." 64

The Memorandum concluded with the following plea

Educate for the employer, educate for service with tribal communities, but MOST OF ALL
EDUCATE THE MASSES TO STAND ON THEIR OWN FEET.
Give us this chance and I can assure you that within a period of a comparatively few years the response of the Nyasaland African will be surprisingly great. 65

And what did the Committee make of all this? The possibility of introducing some form of "higher education"

63 Ibid.
64 Ibid. This seems to refer to the substantial increase anticipated in the demand for clerks and other junior personnel in the Native Civil Service.
65 Ibid. Capitals Mumba's.
was certainly discussed, however the Chairman 66

... pointed out that the high standard already laid down for Teachers' and other educational courses was complained of by natives, and it was doubtful whether they would take advantage of the still longer courses of training which would be necessary for higher literary education, especially as there seemed to be no prospect of finding local employment at reasonable rates of pay on completion of such training. 67

As to the latter point, one seems entitled to wonder why not, unless despite the economic depression it was either official or unofficial Government policy to exclude all Africans from any category of employment in which they might displace European or Asian incumbents.

Bowman went on to say that "he was afraid little could be done to improve the present facilities until natives had been trained to produce more and increase their wealth." 68 The Acting Director concluded with the rather curious statement that "there was nothing to prevent natives who are prepared to support themselves from going to schools in other territories." 69 Altogether, not perhaps a very satisfactory response particularly when

66 At this Session, the Acting Director of Education, E. D. Bowman.
68 Ibid. This last does appear to be both a contradictory and a self-defeating argument in the light of the suggestions included in Mumba's Memorandum.
69 Ibid.
considered in the light of the fact that Mumba's Memorandum had been the result of a direct request from the Committee to submit "some definite scheme." 70

A motion was then put by Steytler, Committee representative for the conservative DRC, moving "that the present time is inopportune for the establishment of trade schools or a school for higher education other than those already available in the Protectorate." 71 This motion was carried, nem. con., 72 but African agitation for Secondary education, spearheaded by Mumba, was only just beginning.

The following June, during the course of the next Session of the Advisory Committee, Mumba reiterated his views. In reply, the Rev. W. P. Young of Livingstonia quoted the Consultative Committee of the Federated Board of Missions. After stressing the need for more widespread Primary education and questioning the availability of funds, Young stated that "the Committee feels that this demand for Secondary Education is made by a very small section of the natives of the Protectorate." He nevertheless "realized that what Mr. Mumba had said was quite true," and acknowledged that "it was only a question of

72 Presumably indicating that no one voted against, but implying one or more absentions.
circumstances at present." 73

According to the Advisory Committee's minutes, there "then ensued considerable discussion, the main theme being the question of finance." Eventually, Young proposed a resolution stating that "this Committee is entirely in sympathy with the proposal for secondary education and feel that the only difficulty in the way is that of finance." 74

The resolution went on to express the hope that increased funds might shortly become available. This was certainly an advance over the stand taken the previous year, and in the Committee's next Session, held in June, 1936, a further advance was made. It was resolved that "The Committee recognized that the time has now come to take a further step in the educational development of the African peoples of the Protectorate." 75 Government was requested to make representations to the Colonial Office for a special grant for secondary education. The resolution was carried unanimously.

In 1937 a further step was taken with the submission to and discussion by the Committee of a detailed

---

74 Ibid.
memorandum on the subject of Secondary Education.\textsuperscript{76} This was followed by the unanimous passage of a resolution which stated among other recommendations of the Committee to Government "that the time has come when it is essential\textsuperscript{77} to provide facilities for Secondary education for the Africans of Nyasaland" and "that secondary schools should be established in Nyasaland and the Government of Northern and Southern Rhodesia be invited to cooperate."\textsuperscript{78}

In his opening address to the Committee's Session in 1938, Governor Richards went on record with the statement that "I regard it of the highest importance that some opportunity for secondary education should be provided for Africans in this Protectorate without any further delay and the Government must find the necessary funds from some source."\textsuperscript{79}

A snag now occurred within the Committee however, in the form of a heated controversy over whether Government or the Missions were to exercise control over the running of Secondary education. Dr. Turner of Livingstonia in

\textsuperscript{76}MRC: Copy of Memorandum. Written by Mumba together with his African colleague Charles Jameson Matinga, recently appointed to the Committee. See below, footnote 84.

\textsuperscript{77}Italics mine.

\textsuperscript{78}Min. Adv. Comm., 1937, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{79}Min. Adv. Comm., 1938, p. 3.
particular, enquired as to whether Government could successfully conduct a Secondary School "in view of the importance placed by the Secretary of State on religious instruction." Turner further enquired as to whether arrangements could be made "for separate hostels for students from the various Missions." The Chairman, Lacey, observed somewhat dryly that in the light of the fact that "the Federated Board [of Missions] has legislated that all expense be borne by Government," it was considered that the school must be a Government school. As regards the suggestion of hostel segregation on doctrinal grounds, Lacey "did not consider such action would be wise."\(^{80}\)

The discussion, which was becoming increasingly acrimonious, was carried over to the afternoon session. There, Mumba eventually intervened to state that "he could not understand the opposition of the Missions," adding that "The standard of education given by the Mission in which he was educated,\(^{81}\) was lower now than it had been twenty years ago. The Africans thought the Missions had quite enough to do in primary education; they thought secondary education should be in the hands of the Government." Moreover, "He [Mumba] was not concerned as to how

\(^{80}\text{Ibid.}\) \(^{81}\text{Livingstonia.}\)
the money was found." Turner strongly objected to Mumba's strictures. Following further discussion, a compromise motion was moved recommending provision for capital expenditure on one school in the 1939 Estimates but deferring the decision as to its organization and government. The minutes note that Mumba refrained from voting on this motion on the grounds that the delay in reaching a definite decision was unnecessary in view of the fact that "(a) the matter had been discussed for years, and (b) primary education was already receiving all the money the Government could afford."  

In the event, this meeting of the Advisory Committee marked a turning point and from this time forward the scheme went ahead. Blantyre Secondary School opened its doors in late 1940 under a Board of Governors that included representatives both of Government and of the Federated Missions. A Roman Catholic Secondary School was opened in Zomba two years later. The significance of the role played by Levi Mumba in the six-year-long battle to establish Secondary education lies in his contribution to that continuing African pressure without which it seems unlikely that Secondary schooling would have been inaugurated even...

as belatedly as in fact it was. With the outbreak of the Second World War, the introduction of Secondary Schools might have been postponed for a further six or seven years. Viewing the situation objectively, it seems apparent that apathy and conservatism on the part of both Government and the missions were not the main enemies (although both did exist); lack of money was. But if it had not been for persistent African pressures, it seems unlikely that the Governor could have been persuaded to commit his Government to scraped up funds from whatever source and without delay, thus embracing attitudes of urgency and risk normally found repugnant to the orderly official mind.

There were a number of other issues throughout the middle and late 1930's on which Mumba spoke out strongly. From 1937 onwards he was ably supported by his colleague, Charles Jameson Matinga, who in that year joined him upon the Advisory Committee. But perhaps the above examples serve adequately to indicate the quality, temper and assurance of these African spokesmen.

84 It might be noted that for some time prior to his appointment to the Advisory Committee, Matinga had served as Secretary to the Blantyre Native Association and that that body had submitted a series of memoranda to Government on the subject of Secondary Education. For these latter, see Zomba: SI/3263/23 and SI/478/34.
Independent Mission School Systems

While emphasis has rightly been placed upon the role as pressure groups of the various Native Associations, these latter were by no means the only outlets for both vocal and practical manifestations of African discontent with the existing provision of educational facilities in Nyasaland in the inter-War period. As Gray notes in his The Two Nations, "The challenge to the Europeans' paternal control over the African's education and adaptation to the modern world was vividly illustrated by the continuous growth of separatist and independent religious movements."\(^{35}\)

That this growth was particularly luxuriant in Nyasaland is undeniable.\(^{36}\) However, from the point of view of those two Missions\(^{37}\) where the greatest headway was made educationally speaking, however modest, neither the term separatist nor independent is entirely appropriate. This is because both Missions, although organized and administered solely by native-born Nyasas, derived much of their


\(^{36}\)Zomba: Miss. 12/10 comprising an "Historical Survey of Native Controlled Missions Operating in Nyasaland." See Appendix M for a complete listing. Also, for a detailed examination of several aspects of this phenomenon, see R. L. Wishlade, Sectarianism in Southern Nyasaland (London, 1965).

\(^{37}\)The African Methodist Episcopal Church Mission and the Providence Industrial Mission.
prestige and no little of their financial support from the two most prestigious Negro Church networks in the United States. These were the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the National Baptist Convention. In addition, these two Missions had in common the fact that they were largely the personal creations of two dynamic individuals, both of whom it is worth remarking are still at their posts today. However, while these two Missions were the most successful they were not alone. Reference therefore will be made in the following sections to a number of other independent or quasi-independent African churches operating in Nyasaland at this time.

---

88 The A.M.E.C. was founded in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at the close of the eighteenth century by Richard Allen, an American Negro. The Church was established in South Africa in the Transvaal in the 1890's. In 1940, in the United States alone, it was reported to have a membership of over 700,000 and to possess property valued at over $15,000,000.

89 The N.B.C. was a coalition of numerous Baptist Churches representing a total membership comparable to that of the A.M.E.C. By the late 1920's it operated a widespread network of missions in Africa, notably in Liberia and in the Union of South Africa.

90 November, 1963.
The African Methodist Episcopal Church Mission

God will surely visit us in the course of time, and when he opens the way our sons shall carry the Word to Africa, the home of our ancestors, and therefore the Church which we now organize shall bear that historic name. 91

Nyasaland's AME Mission was founded in the spring of 1924 by the but recently-ordained Rev. Hanock Msokera Phiri upon his return to his native district of Kasungu after an eight-year absence. Rev. Phiri was born in 1894, a grandson of the then reigning Chief Mwase. 92 At the age of thirteen he entered the local village school, at that time administered by the Livingstonia Mission. After only two years study, young Phiri was selected to go to Bandawe as a boarder for further education at the Station School there. However, in 1900 the schools in Phiri's home district were transferred from Livingstonia to the DRC and Phiri, together with a few classmates, proceeded to Mvera.

In 1901, Kasungu reverted to Livingstonia and in 1903 Phiri was admitted to the Overtoun Institute where

91 Zomba: Miss. 12/10. From the section on the AME, p. 1, a "prophetic utterance" attributed to the above mentioned Richard Allen

92 Chief Mwase ruled over a significant number of the Cewa peoples living both in Nyasaland and in adjacent portions of Northern Rhodesia.
he remained for seven years. 93 Starting with Standard 3, he succeeded in completing Standard 7, or Extra-6, the highest available and in which he comments "We used to study evangelical work . . . theology, exegesis, church history . . . and so forth." 94 It was while at Livingstonia that Phiri first heard about the AME from no less than Dr. Laws himself. From newspapers he also learned about Tuskegee and other Negro-run institutions of higher learning in the United States. 95

After six years spent teaching village school classes in the Kasungu and Mchinji districts, Phiri, now aged 32, concluded that as "I have got no means of going anywhere to educate myself, so I must try my way to go to South Africa." 96 For the next seven years he moved restlessly about southern Africa, at one time working in a mine on the Rand; at another, teaching school for the Paris Mission Society in Northern Rhodesia; at yet another working as a fish trader or a bricklayer in Southern

93 CS: Overtoun Institute Roll Book. Rev. Phiri's entry is listed as No. 485. It goes on to state that he "Left finishing Normal Course 1910" and that he was "Now teaching at Kasungu (1910)."

94 Oral interview with Rev. Phiri, conducted at Kasungu on December 20th, 1966.

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.
Rhodesia. Part of this period he spent in company with his nephew, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, but generally he travelled alone.

It was this nephew, however, who wrote in 1923 to Phiri, then working in Southern Rhodesia, enclosing £4 to cover his train fare and requesting him to come to the Rand where Banda, employed as a clerk in the Time Office of the Witwatersrand Deep Mine, wrote that he had "found


Later to become the first Prime Minister and subsequently the first President of an independent Malawi; on July 6th, 1964 and July 6th, 1966, respectively. The story of the young Banda's abrupt departure from Nyasaland in 1915 in search of education elsewhere following his unjustified expulsion from Livingstonia's Kasungu school system has already been told. See in particular, T. Cullen Young and H. K. Banda (ed.), Our African Way of Life (London, 1946), pp. 26-27. It seems nonetheless worth mentioning here as further evidence of that at times rather rigid discipline coupled with severely limited opportunities for "higher" education (accentuated at this time by wartime conditions) that impelled many of the more ambitious and spirited of Livingstonia's pupils to seek their fortunes beyond Nyasaland's borders.

Phiri's first wife, Maggie, is said to have died while with him at Que Que in Southern Rhodesia in October, 1919, perhaps of the influenza epidemic that was at that time sweeping the world. See Zomba: Miss. 12/10, AME section, p. 6.
the Church of which you have been speaking." Phiri complied and journeyed to Boksburg in the Transvaal where he straightaway became a member of and an evangelist for the AME.

At the AME's Annual Conference, held in Bloemfontein in November, Phiri and his nephew met Bishop Vernon of the American parent Church. They presented him with a ceremonial flywhisk, "a good tail with [an] ivory handle." According to Rev. Phiri, Bishop Vernon was much impressed. At any rate he promised Phiri to "educate your nephew and send you back to Nyasaland to operate the AME Church." Early in 1924 Phiri was ordained as a Minister of the Church.

Oral interview with Rev. Phiri, op. cit. But also see letter from Dr. H. K. Banda to Rev. Phiri sent from London on July 2nd, 1946, in which Dr. Banda states, "That is why I sent for you when I was in Johannesburg to come south to join the Church. I knew you were the best man for the job and my faith in you has not been in vain. You have brought the A.M.E. Church to Central Africa and you have spread it like wild fire." Letter seen through courtesy of Rev. Phiri.

Banda had at this stage himself joined the AME. Later, during his stay in the United States he was to become disillusioned with Bishop Vernon's peculation of Church funds and was to revert to his boyhood affiliation with Scottish Presbyterianism becoming in the late 1930's an elder in that "kirk." Nevertheless, Bishop Vernon had kept his word, initially sponsoring Banda's education in the United States at the Wilberforce Institute in Ohio, founded by the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Banda, it should be noted, however, had to scrape together the steamship fare for his journey from South Africa to America.
and "given a certificate of Pastor's Appointment and . . . instructed to carry on the work of the church at his home village." 102 In April, Rev. Phiri reported to the Government Secretariat in Zomba, was passed on to the Chief Immigration Officer, and duly received clearance together with official authorization to inaugurate a mission. This process was presumably facilitated by the fact that the AME had in 1920 received "formal recognition by the Union Government," and was regarded as "undoubtedly the largest, most influential and most stable of the Native Separatist Churches in South Africa." 103

Phiri proceeded to Kasungu where he commenced work in Mwase and Kanina villages. He states that "many were interested," but it was not until August, 1925, that he opened his first school. Initial official recognition of his work appears in a note from the Resident in Kasungu to the Provincial Commissioner for the Northern Province, replying to a letter from the latter which had been dispatched some 17 months earlier. It stated that Phiri wished to build two further schools. While the Resident admitted that "I have no reason to suspect Hanock's

102 Zomba: Miss. 12/10, AME section, p. 6.
103 Ibid., p. 4.
teachings or the character of the man himself, "he argued that "it will be more difficult to keep them [the proposed schools] under observation . . . since they are at some distance from Kasungu." He therefore recommended the refusal of permission.

Phiri nevertheless soon gained Governmental approbation for his educational work. In April, 1927, he wrote to the Director of Education in Zomba regretting his inability to travel south for the Native Education Conference scheduled for the following month. 105

The initial reaction on the part of Government to this communication was a request by the Provincial Commissioner of the Northern Province to the Kasungu Resident to "be so good as to submit an up-to-date report" on the AME's operations. This time the response was prompt and in less than three weeks the Resident replied noting that among other things there were two schools and four

106 Zomba: NN/1/20/3. Letter from Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province to Resident, Kasungu, dated 17th June, 1927, some weeks after the conclusion of the Conference.
teachers and that "school attendance is fairly regular." Similar reports were made on a more or less semi-annual basis for the next few years.

By far the most substantial report, however, was one submitted by Bowman at the end of 1928. Bowman had been carrying out a tour of the Northern Province "on Jeanes School business," and had been specifically asked to visit Kasungu in order to cast a professional eye upon the results of Phiri's labours. This report seems worth quoting at some length as it represents the most thorough picture of the AME for this period other than the recent recollections of Rev. Phiri himself.

I visited the village of Kaning'a in the Kasungu District in which the native Hanock Msokera Phiri of the African Methodist Episcopal Church is working as pastor and teacher. He had sent to the Loudon Centre this year three of his native teachers as candidates for the second and third grade teachers' certificates. Of these, one, Jacob Mvula, passed the second grade and the two others, Zachary Kamanga and Jeremia Nyirenda, failed in their third grade examination. Hanock also applied to the Department for a grant in aid

---

108 For these, see Zomba: NN/1/20/3 as well.
109 Zomba: SI/1059/26. Report from Bowman to Gaunt dated 31st December, 1928. Bowman had at the time been but recently appointed as Principal of the Jeanes Centre, soon to be opened at Domasi.
for eight boarders who, he claimed, had passed Standard 1 and under the rules governing board-
ing grants were entitled to a grant. This claim
was supported by a letter from the Resident,
Mr. Barker, who was of the opinion that Hanock
should be encouraged in his work. In order to
get some more definite information as to the
conditions under which Hanock is working I
visited his village and church on Sunday, 23rd
December and had to submit for your information
the following report.

I found that the schools were not in session
and that Hanock was busy with his gardens. His
ordinary school terms are March to May and July
to October. He has two schools, one at Kaning'a
where his own house is, and where the boarders
stay, and one at Mwase, about three miles distant.
Both these schools are within four miles of the
Kasungu Boma. The school days are Tuesday to
Saturday. The attendance rolls show the follow-
ing numbers: at Mwase, 33 boys, 30 girls; at
Kaning'a, 41 boys, 27 girls. Of these, ten boys
are in the English standard classes and the
examinations show that the teaching is quite up
to the standard of the usual Central Village
School. The school is well-built and clean as
also is the teacher's house in which the boarders
sleep along with Hanock. There is an underground
room in this house which to me seemed both unsafe
and unhealthy and I warned Hanock that in 1929 no
grant would be given for boarders even if they
were up to school standard unless better sleeping
accommodation was provided. He promised to have
a new house built for the boarders as soon as the
rains were over. I found no latrines in use and
told Hanock he must have separate deep-pit latrines
dug for boys and girls as soon as the new school
session opened. I found on the wall of the school
a fairly well-arranged school timetable prepared
by Hanock himself and a list of names of scholars
detailed for school cleaning work week-by-week.
There was a good size garden with native food
crops in the cultivation of which Hanock said he
was helped by his boarders. There was practically
no school equipment, no desks nor blackboards, but
Hanock says he has ordered boards from a local native carpenter. There was an attendance of 50 at the church service the morning I visited Kaning’a. Hanock says that he does not re-baptize natives who have been baptized before in the Livingstonia or Dutch missions, and who desire to join his church, but accepts their baptism certificates from these churches . . . that he does not allow polygamy and forbids mowa [African beer]. He says he has two of his members, relations of his own, at present studying at the Wilberforce Institution near Johannesburg: one as a teacher, the other as a medical student, and he hopes these two men when finished, will return to Nyasaland to help him in his work. He receives a grant of 2.5 a quarter from the South African branch of his [mission] for his church work. He says he has asked for help for his educational work, but has been told that the Church hoped to send up a representative next year to visit him and report on his work and that they can give no further support 'til then. He says he pays his staff as follows: at Kaning’a; Jeremia Nyirenda 7/6 a month, Thomas Sake 5/ a month, at Mwase; Jacob Mvula 20/ a month, Zacharia Kamanga 7/6 a month. His only other source of income he says is school fees and he charges 2/ a year for English standards; 6d a year for senior vernacular books and sub-standard; 4d a year for junior vernacular books. Children in the infant syllable classes are admitted free. My personal impression of Hanock is that he is honest in his desire to do something to help in the education of his own people. He is polite and respectful in manner and not above doing a hard day’s work in the fields. Mr. Barker, the D.C., considers that he is a good influence in the two villages in which he works. I should recommend that Hanock continue to be paid the boarding grant if he provides this year better accommodation and better school equipment and sanitary arrangements. On the other hand the Department will have to inspect regularly such boarding places to ensure that the money is
being spent on actual boarding, and I would suggest that in future, grants be not paid for boarding boys who are within easy walking distance of the central school.\textsuperscript{110}

This analysis was straight away passed on to the Chief Secretary by Caldwell\textsuperscript{111} together with the information that the Department of Education had made a grant-in-aid of £5-2-0 to Phiri for the year 1923. The Chief Secretary commented that the Report was "very interesting," and that "the progress of this school should be watched."\textsuperscript{112}

Financial difficulties, the bane of all educational activity in Nyasaland, not least that of the small African-led missions, hampered substantial expansion of the AME's school system. Phiri continued to receive a modest grant from Government throughout the 1930's, ranging from the initial £5-2-0 to a peak of some £21 in 1938. In addition, between £20 and £50 was dispatched annually from the Mission's South African headquarters, at least a portion of which could be used to defray school expenses. Students' fees also brought in a modest amount. Yet in 1929, for

\textsuperscript{110}Zomba: SI/1059/26, \textit{ibid}.

\textsuperscript{111}R. Caldwell, the Assistant Director of Education, then serving as Acting Director in Gaunt's absence on leave.

\textsuperscript{112}Zomba: SI/1059/26. Handwritten note by the Chief Secretary in the margin of Bowman's Report.
example, these fees together with "Contributions," only brought in some £5-6-4 while overall expenditure amounted to some £98-12-9. 113 One other source of financial support was Phiri's nephew, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, now ensconced in the American heartland from whence sporadic indeterminate sums were forthcoming.114 Still, in 1931 Stott, the newly appointed Superintendent of Education for the Northern Province, reported after inspecting the Mission "that the work of the schools was undeveloped, chiefly owing to lack of funds." 115 Nevertheless, Government continued to be impressed by the general order and discipline stressed by Phiri, noting later in the decade that "Good reports have always been received concerning this mission, and it appears to be following the example set in South Africa, in that no schisms have appeared." 116

An interesting aspect of the work of the AME lies

114Banda, between the years 1925 and 1937 pursued his education at Wilberforce in Ohio, the University of Indiana, the University of Chicago in Illinois, and Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee.
115Zomba: Miss. 12/10, AME section, p. 7.
116Ibid., p. 8.
in the relationships Rev. Phiri established with his neighbours; those missions whose fields of operations bordered on or coincided with his own. These included in particular the DRC, the UMCA, the White Fathers and Livingstonia. The latter, of course, had provided Rev. Phiri with his own educational training. In fact, soon after his return to Nyasaland in 1924 overtures were apparently made for him to re-enter the service of Livingstonia; desperately short of qualified teachers; as it was at that time. However, as soon as the Livingstonia hierarchy were apprised of his intentions, Phiri found a sympathetic response. Dr. Laws himself is said to have commented that "we have got a son now who has got experience to stand by himself." 117 On a subsequent occasion Laws observed that the African was adept at imitating and quite capable of observing a European's methods of work and then copying them. 118 Further evidence of the cordial relationships maintained between Rev. Phiri and Livingstonia may be seen from the fact that several of the AME's brighter pupils went on to Loudon or to the Overtoun Institute after completing their primary education at Kasungu.

118 Ibid.
As for the UMCA, Phiri received assistance both in the form of general encouragement and as a source for the purchase of basic school supplies: slates, chalk, etc., which he "used to buy . . . from Church of England in Kota-kota." Moreover one of the UMCA's African evangelists is said to have "assisted me [Phiri] greatly."119

Perhaps the greatest friction encountered by Rev. Phiri was with the South African supported DRC over the question of teaching English in primary school. This the DRC resolutely refused to do. As a result, the AME made a considerable appeal somewhat beyond what one might think would normally be its radius of attraction. According to Rev. Phiri the DRC accused English-speaking Nyasas of helping "these English people to conquer us in South Africa." Thanks to Phiri's insistence on the importance of English the DRC "were my great enemy. They didn't want me." Nevertheless, Phiri purchased textbooks from the DRC on such neutral subjects as Arithmetic and vernacular reading and writing, supplemented by more advanced texts from Livingstonia.120

Throughout the 1930's and subsequently, Rev. Phiri's chief assistant was Jacob Mvula. Mvula, who seems to have

119 Ibid. 120 Ibid.
been related to Rev. Phiri, was first taught by the latter in the years before the First World War. Ten years later, following Rev. Phiri's return to Kasungu, Mvula elected to join him. He subsequently was accepted into one of the first groups of prospective Supervisors at the Jeanes Centre. Frequently he would be in charge of the mission's work while Rev. Phiri was absent either itinerating among the AME's branches in Zambia, Tanganyika or the Congo, or in South Africa attending periodic conferences and attempting to raise funds.121

While Rev. Phiri possessed ambitious goals for the future educational advance of his pupils, essentially he seems to have been content to work within the conservative framework of hard work and self-help advocated by the American Negro hierarchy of the AME. Today he still cites Booker T. Washington as an ideal, and throughout the 1930's and 1940's he laid stress upon Industrial Training teaching carpentry, bricklaying and the like. His students were responsible for the construction of all of the Mission's buildings. And yet he reminiscences about the discussions he had with his nephew, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, when they were living together in the early 1920's:

When I was with Prime Minister in South Africa, we used to think that... you must be educated to gain Master of Arts so that you [became] a good teacher who understands teaching work. And the second was, you must also study to be as a doctor. When we will have our own schools, we must help our country you see. When there is some diseases, well, it is for you to understand about the diseases. Master of Arts, Doctor of Medicine. And the third thing is, you ought also to study the law as a Solicitor, to protect ourselves when we are in danger.122

That Banda's own thinking at this time was concerned with education generally is borne out by the following excerpt from a letter he sent to his uncle from Chicago in the summer of 1932. Indicating his plans for an early return, he wrote,

I plan to go to Scotland where I will spend a year or two either with the University of Edinburgh or the School of Medicine of the Royal Colleges. Then after finishing in Scotland I shall be ready to return but I do plan to devote my whole time [to] Nyasaland. I do not know how things will be when I return, but I do plan to devote my whole time to education and to help the people even if I have to do so in the Government service. My whole aim is to help my country.123

Again, writing from Nashville, Tennessee, where he was pursuing his studies towards a degree in medicine at Meharry Medical College, Banda in early 1937 expressed his concern over the death of the incumbent Chief Mwase,

paramount chief of the Kasungu area. Banda wrote that he "had hoped to find him alive when I was ready to return home so that through him we might be able to do something for the people at home. "Now," he added, "I am not so enthusiastic because I am not so sure if his successor will be as friendly towards education as he was."124

In the event Banda's fears proved to be groundless, but that the concern was genuine was subsequently made manifest in the late 1940's when as a doctor with a flourishing London practice, the future President underwrote financially the establishment of an experimental co-operative farm in the Kasungu area.125

The AME then, in summary, was richer in its aspirations than in its actual educational accomplishments. Nevertheless, in the inter-War period it served as an example of how a viable school system run by Africans for Africans could be established at little expense even if its acceptance by Government might serve as an index of its irrelevance to a future generation of militant nationalists.


125 Details concerning which are to be found in a series of letters sent by Dr. Banda from London to Rev. Phiri between 1946 and 1950.
The Re-opening of the Providence Industrial Mission

... as three of our leading members were very much moved with the Spirit, they risked their lives, and went straight to the Nyasaland Governor to apply for the rebuilding of the ruins, and his reply was, "I am willing to give you back the place, but only it requires your principals to apply. ..." 

Think of us poor souls ... we are crying to your right hand. ... We can do nothing for ourselves, therefore, we are crying for help, that the work of God might be glorified. 

Certainly the oldest, and in many ways the most significant of the more than twenty African-led missions that flourished in Nyasaland during the inter-War period was the Providence Industrial Mission. Founded by John Chilombe in 1900, it "was closed down by Government" following the suppression of the Rising led by him in January and February of 1915. Its impressive brick church had been razed to the ground and its membership scattered; their leaders either executed or imprisoned. For over

---

126 "Extract from a letter sent from Beira, Portuguese East Africa in July, 1924, by Isaac Macdonald Lawrence to Dr. J. E. East, General Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention.

127 "Extract from a letter sent from Chiradzulu, July 17th, 1924, to Dr. East and signed by three elders of the then defunct PIM; Jackson Chiwayula, Isaac Chambo and Andrew G. Mkulichi.

128 Zomba: Miss. 12/10, PIM section, p. 1.
a decade the site lay dormant until in 1926 Government consented to its re-opening, largely due to the energy of one remarkable man, the Rev. Dr. Daniel Sharpe Malekebu. 129

Dr. Malekebu was born about 1890 in the Chiradzulu district. As a young boy, he had attended the PIM's primary school and in his early teens had been baptized as one of Chilembwe's first converts. At about this time he had chanced to catch the eye of Miss Emma D. DeLancy, the American Negro missionary seconded by the National Baptist Convention for service at the PIM, and had been taken into her home as her houseboy. Malekebu made rapid progress in his studies, meanwhile learning the ways of a different culture and picking up a rudimentary knowledge of English. When the time came for Miss DeLancy to return to the United States he was desolate. He pleaded to be allowed to

129 For general biographical background, I have drawn largely upon Dr. Malekebu's own reminiscences as related to me over a series of meetings in late 1966 and early 1967. In addition, reference has been made to NBC: Back files of The Mission Herald, the "Official Organ of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.," for the period 1920-1968, inclusive. Also, Annual Reports of the Foreign Mission Board for the period 1926-1939, inclusive. The issue of The Mission Herald for January/February, 1963, is a particularly valuable source of information. For a copy of this last, I am indebted to Dr. Malekebu as for a copy of: D. S. Malekebu, My Vision: East, Central and South Africa of To-Day, a pamphlet published, circa 1950 under the auspices of the Foreign Mission Board.
accompany her but regrettably, this was not possible. Nevertheless, after her departure and contrary to his family's wishes he set out to follow her. Still only about 15 years of age, Malekebu walked the 350 miles to the coastal port of Beira in Portuguese Mozambique. There he managed to persuade the captain of a freighter to let him work his way to London as a cabin boy. From thence, he worked his passage on another ship to New York where in 1905 he arrived at Ellis Island.

Contact was made with representatives of the National Baptist Convention which, suitably impressed with the boy's enterprise and determination, agreed to sponsor his education. For the next twelve years, Malekebu studied successively at Selma, Alabama; the National Training School in Durham, North Carolina; Moody Bible Institute in Chicago; and finally at Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee, from which he received an M.D. in 1917. Two years later, after having completed his internship in Philadelphia, Dr. Malekebu was married to a young lady who had been born in 1898 in what was then the Congo Free State and had been brought as a baby and as an orphan to Atlanta, Georgia, by a missionary graduate of that city's Spellman Seminary.
There Flora Ethelwyn, as she had been christened, received her education, distinguishing herself in Music in particular.

By 1920 the young couple were ready and anxious to return to Nyasaland to take up mission work. However, the time was not yet ripe. As Dr. Malekebu recalled the circumstances some six years ago in a letter written to the then Prime Minister of Nyasaland, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda:

In latter part of 1920 my wife and I were sent to Nyasaland for the purpose of reopening the Mission, by our Foreign Mission Board. What happened and the beginning of our Trouble [sic] at Port Herald. On our arrival there, my wife and I, were taken from the boat. . . . We were detained . . . an officer asked for all my papers, certificates and diplomas from institutions I attended. These were taken by special officer to Zamba [sic]. After some days, we were told we could not enter. It was told us by those in the know that I would be another John Chilembwe. My wife and I proceed for South Africa. Staying in Capetown (9) nine months until our Board told us to go Liberia, West Africa. . . . In Liberia we were placed at Ricks Institute, a school for many years had been in need of someone to lead it. . . . I presented my case to the colonial office [sic] through the Aborigines Proctive [sic] Society of London, with the question; why should I be denied to enter the land of my birth to help my people "what did I do?" 130

---

130 NBC: Extract from a letter sent by Dr. Malekebu from Philadelphia to Dr. Banda in Blantyre and dated December 27th, 1962.
Not content with corresponding with the Aborigines Protective Society, Dr. Malekebu states that he wrote directly to Mr. J. H. Oldham, the influential secretary of the International Missionary Council in London. In March, 1924, he renewed his appeal to the Nyasaland Government but with no immediate response. Nevertheless, Government seems to have been reviewing the case, very likely to some extent as a result of suggestions contained in The Ormsby-Gore Memorandum on Educational Policy in Britain's African colonies and the Report of the Second African Phelps-Stokes Commission, both of which were due to be published in early 1925. At any rate, permission for the Malekebus to proceed to Nyasaland was finally granted. After a brief leave spent in the United States, Dr. Malekebu and his wife sailed for Africa once again in the autumn of 1925 and arrived in Nyasaland on February 3rd.

131 From personal conversation with Dr. Malekebu. I have so far been unable to locate copies of this correspondence.

132 Zomba: Miss. 12/10, PIM section, p. 1.

133 There was in addition a body of opinion favouring Negro American missionary activity in Africa that was reflected in certain resolutions that emerged from the International Missionary Conference held at Le Zoute, Belgium in late 1926.
1926. Immigration and customs were this time swiftly and successfully cleared and their train was met at Mikolongwe, some miles south of Blantyre, by "hundreds and hundreds of people . . . with . . . machillas, in other words, hammocks, to carry us to Providence Industrial Mission in Chiradzulo." Mrs. Malekobu noted that "Conditions have changed greatly since we were here in 1920," in that "We have been cordially received and happily welcomed by the Nyasaland government, as well as [by] the people themselves."

There was, however, to be one further brief period of frustration. Government stated that "Permission to re-open the mission was held up pending enquiries." What these consisted of in their entirety it is difficult to state categorically, but one major avenue of enquiry was to Oldham in London. On the 16th of March Rankine, the Nyasaland Government's Chief Secretary, wrote to Oldham stating that he was "requested by His Excellency the Governor to ask if you would be good enough to assist us

---

135 Ibid.
136 Ibid.
137 Zomba: Miss. 12/10, PIM section, p. 2.
with any information you may have at your disposal regarding the 'Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention' as "a Nyasaland native, D. S. Malekebu ... has recently returned to Nyasaland ... charged ... with the re-opening of 'Baptist' mission work here."\(^{138}\)

A correspondence thereupon ensued between Rankino, Oldham, and Dr. J. E. East, the "General Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board in Philadelphia.\(^{139}\) The upshot was that Government was persuaded of the orthodoxy and of the conservative, non-political attitudes of both the National Baptist Convention and of Dr. Malekebu. East had "made a favorable impression" upon Oldham who expressed himself as "prepared to trust [him] completely."\(^{140}\)

In an interesting and thoughtful passage, Oldham confided his views to Rankine on the overall question of Negro American missionary activity in Africa.

The problem of the relation of the Negro community in the United States to the continent of Africa is an important and difficult one. It has engaged my attention for some years and I have discussed it with responsible leaders of the Negro community in the United States, and with some of the leading

---


\(^{139}\) Ibid. This correspondence covered the period from March, 1926 to February, 1927.

\(^{140}\) Ibid. Letter from Oldham to Rankine dated May 2nd, 1926.
white men in America who are interested in the Negro problem. My own view is that the interest of the Negro in America in the continent of his origin is a natural force which cannot be dammed up and if it is forbidden expression in healthy ways it will most certainly find an outlet through underground channels. There is a very strong feeling among the best Negroes in America that they ought not to be debarred from the social service of their own race in Africa. The leaders of the Mission Boards both in Great Britain and America are fully alive to the difficulties of the question. What we should like is that some opportunity be found of enabling the American Negroes to participate in this service of their own race but at the same time every effort should be made to guide any such development along the widest lines. I am of opinion after careful inquiry that Mr. East and the organization with which he is connected represent the better elements among the American Negroes and that any risks involved in providing them with a field of labour are less than the disadvantages that would result in closing the door against them. 141

The way was now clear to commence the work. To begin with, this consisted of clearing the site. During the decade since the Mission's closure it "had grown into bush and wild animals had taken possession of the place." Indeed, Dr. Malekebu reported that "Witch doctors had made it a place for hiding their medicine, horns and charms. It was a weird and fearful place." 142

"The first bush was cut June 25, 1926," and less than a month later the foundation for a brick schoolhouse

141 Ibid.
142 D. S. Malekebu, My Vision, op. cit.
was laid. By November 28th it was completed and opened for use. Classes were commenced early in the new year and the following May, Gaunt himself paid the school a visit of inspection shortly after meeting Dr. Malekebu while both were attending the Native Education Conference held in Zomba.

At the time of Gaunt's visit only the teachers' class was in session. This he examined and noted that "In each standard the teachers [who had for the most part been recruited from the C. of S. and SDA] were able to read fairly fluently from English readers and comprehended the subject matter. The standard of writing and simple arithmetic was satisfactory. . . . The discipline on the station was good and the teachers were interested in their work." All in all, Gaunt appeared to be favourably impressed with what had been accomplished in such a short space of time. Upon leaving he remarked to Dr. Malekebu that "You have a fine place out here."

Gaunt returned to the PIM in October in fulfillment of a promise to carry out a more thorough inspection.

---

145 NBC: from The Mission Herald, October, 1927, p. 31.
In his report describing this visit the Director included a wealth of detailed criticism of the teaching methods he had observed. By and large, these criticisms were of a sympathetic nature. For example, in discussing reading classes he commented that "Often young pupils read fluently and with expression and adults in the same class were below standard. It seems a pity that the progress of promising young pupils should be retarded by the presence of dull adults in the same class." With regard to writing classes Gaunt felt that the level of performance was "fair to very fair, but in all sections of the school there were frequent cases of careless, uneven formation which could be remedied by trained teachers."

In summation, he concluded that the school as a whole, already numbering over 400 pupils of whom 130 were boarders, was "Very fair for average attendance, but teachers untrained and lack method." Of the school's efficiency he noted that "A promising start has been made but the school is not yet up to the standard required by the Code." 146

Still, it seems noteworthy that in this its first year of operation, the PIM qualified for a Grant-in-Aid

of £4.10. The official recognition implicit in this award appears more significant than the nominal sum involved.

Of equal importance, in Government's Third Grade Certificate Examination for teachers, two of the PIM's four candidates were successful. This compared favourably with the achievements of the long-established ZIM and BIM whose respective pass ratios were 3 out of 22 and none out of 6.147 On the important issue of school attendance, the PIM's average of 80% may be contrasted with the countrywide figure of 68%. Moreover, while Dr. Malekobu reported that the "attendance for the year was very good as we emphasized the importance of attending school daily,"148 the neighbouring Montfort Marist Fathers working in the same comparatively densely populated area observed that "In many cases our moral influence is hopeless to persuade [the children] to attend school regularly. Therefore we should like that the school attendance be made compulsory for all children up to a certain age."149

---

148 Ibid., p. 17.
149 Ibid. On p. 19, however, the MMF report a total enrollment of 42,841 pupils for 1926 with an average attendance of 37,000, a curiously round number. For 1927 they report a total enrollment of 38,639 with an average attendance of 34,610. This reported average attendance of between 85% and 90% compares very favourably with the national average of 68% but seems to contradict the complaint voiced by the MMF in their report. This might be taken as casting some doubt upon the complete reliability of their statistics.
In late November, 1928 the PIM received a surprise visit of inspection from Caldwell, the Assistant Director of Education. In large measure his report paralleled that of Gaunt in the previous year concluding, however, with the remark that "There does not seem to be much improvement in general organization since the last inspection." All the same, he noted that "Discipline was good and the pupils were agreeably smart and clean," adding that "As the visit was a surprise one it can be taken that this is the regular custom. . . . With improved methods this school should become a powerful educational influence on the community." 150

That the need for "improved methods" had not escaped Dr. Malekebu is evident from his comments under the heading "Recommendations or Observations" in a letter written by him to Dr. East as early as the 9th of July in the previous year. He suggested that

In view of the fact that the government has taken over and directs all the work of education, we should in every way show and be responsive to whatever requirements are asked of all other missions, so that our mission may keep pace with the others. Our mission is situated in a most thickly populated section of our people, and many of them

are seeking admittance from far and near; so for the benefit of those who are from afar dormitories should be provided them at once.\footnote{151}{NBC: from The Mission Herald, October, 1927, p. 31.}

All this required substantial financial support, however, and it soon became apparent that the National Baptist Convention's Foreign Mission Board, in common with the Boards of other longer-established missions in Nyasaland, was either not interested, or more likely was incapable, of meeting the challenge of its very success. The imminent worldwide economic Depression only served to exacerbate this unhappy state of affairs. Bearing this in mind, the following terse letter sent to Dr. Malekebu from the office of the Government Chief Secretary in late December, 1928 seems unduly harsh:

Sir: With reference to the visit of the Acting Director of Education to the Providence Industrial Mission, Chiradzulu, on 27th November, I am directed to inform you that in the report which has been submitted H.E. the Governor regrets to observe that there is not much improvement in general organization since the previous inspection.\footnote{152}{Zomba: SI/1059/26. Letter sent by the Chief Secretary to Dr. Malekebu dated 21st December, 1928.}

Dr. Malekebu was not slow to respond. His reply, written to the Chief Secretary on the day after Christmas commenced as follows: "I beg to ask that you would kindly
convey to H.E. the Governor that although we have been and are labouring under unfavourable circumstances we are doing our best to bring about an improvement in general organization." 153

It should be added that a sympathetic intervention on the part of the Department of Education to the effect that "reports usually draw attention to shortcomings in actual pedagogic practice . . . calculated to increase the school's general efficiency," 154 produced a directive from the Chief Secretary stating that "I should like a supplementary communication to be sent [to Dr. Malekebu]. . . . I want him to know that Government is taking an interest in his activities apart from Departmental inspection." 155 At the same time, Government's Grant-in-Aid of education to the PIM was raised to £6 for 1928. This did not compare very favourably with the £541 stated by Dr. Malekebu to have been spent that year on education by the PIM. By contrast, the major European-led missions generally received between 15% to 60% of their total expenditure in the form of Grants-in-Aid. 156 The difficulty lay in the

154 Ibid. Minute by Caldwell to the Chief Secretary.
155 Ibid. Minute by the office of the Chief Secretary.
fact that while Dr. Malekebu's work was rapidly expanding, his income, whether in the form of subventions from Government or from the Foreign Mission Board, was simply not keeping pace with it.

Nevertheless, by 1929 the PIM was well-established. In early June the cornerstone for an ambitiously conceived brick church was laid by Mr. Richard Paterson, an educationist from the Church of Scotland Mission at Blantyre.\(^{157}\) Overtures had been made to the PIM with a view to the Mission's joining the Federation of Protestant Missions. Dr. Malekebu had received permission from the Foreign Mission Board to apply for membership and in that same month of June, 1929 he did so. However, the conservative but powerful DRC objected strenuously to the PIM's application on grounds that are unclear, but that possessed suspiciously racial overtones. In the event, the PIM's application was not acted upon, ostensibly, because the Foreign Mission Board objected both to the generally accepted practice of delimiting mission fields, and to the length of the probationary periods established for "candidates waiting for baptism and the Creed."\(^{158}\)


\(^{158}\) Zomba: Miss. 12/10, PIM section, pp. 3-4.
This failure to bring the PIM more directly into the ecumenical mainstream in Nyasaland was regrettable, not least as it tended to enhance the isolation of the Malekebus vis-à-vis their peers on the staffs of the more established missions not to mention the European community generally. There was, of course, some contact. In December of 1929 the Chiradzulu Resident paid the Mission a visit of inspection in the course of which he reported that "I adjudicated at a native Baby Show . . . and am glad to record an attempt at child welfare being made by this native Mission."\textsuperscript{159} This rather blandly official statement is belied by Dr. Malekebu who recalls the warmth and sympathetic enthusiasm with which the Resident entered into the spirit of the occasion.\textsuperscript{160}

Similarly, throughout the 1930's, such men as Richard Paterson of the Blantyre Mission kept in touch with the Malekebu's. Paterson recalls that they were rather isolated at Mbombwe, even though only fifteen miles or so from Blantyre; that "They sometimes felt a little lonely, and perhaps being held at a distance." He notes, however, that

\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{159}] Zomba: NSD/1/1/1. From the Annual Report of the Resident, Chiradzulu, for 1929.
  \item[\textsuperscript{160}] From personal conversation with Dr. Malekebu.
\end{itemize}
... the Chiradzulu District Commissioner asked me to keep in touch with the Malekebus. They used to come to see us from time to time to have a cup of tea. ... Dr. Hetherwick himself asked me would I be friendly with them. Dr. Hetherwick was very vexed about the Rising you know, and the way the Government handled it. The public executions for example. He thought it was rather a shameful episode. And so I made a point of going to see Malekebu whenever I was in the area you know. 161

For the remainder of the decade, until their long- awaited return to the United States on leave in the spring of 1938, at the conclusion of twelve years of continuous service, the Malekebus laboured to consolidate their Christian community. The financial strains continued; qualified teachers proved difficult to retain. As a result, the PIM's annual Grant-in-Aid from the Education Department fell from an average of £50 a year between 1929 and 1931 to an average of less than £10 between 1935 and 1937. In 1938, for the first time since the Department's inception, no Grant was made.

Still, the reopened Mission was a substantial success. Dr. Malekebu by his own demeanor and as an object example of what a Nyasa might achieve as much as for his practical contributions as Minister, Doctor and Educator,

161 From the transcript of an interview with Mr. Paterson, held in Edinburgh on April 27th, 1967. The Rising referred to is of course the Chilembwe Rising.
served to indicate that to which his countryman might aspire in the years to come. 162

162 While having no direct bearing on Dr. Malekobu's efforts in the field of education, it should be noted that despite the a-political stance of the PIM as enjoined by Dr. East, Dr. Malekobu was in his private capacity "the leading spirit of the Chiradzulu Native Association. He [was] also a member of the District Council and as such [brought] up matters discussed by the Association for the consideration of the Council." For this see Zomba: NSD/\V 1/1 Annual Report of the Resident, Chiradzulu, for 1931. Also, for Dr. Malekobu's own acknowledgment, speaking before a seminar at the University of Malawi in December, 1966, in response to the question of who initiated the Chiradzulu District Association? "Who initiated it? Well, I organized it . . . [It] was a forum for the purpose of the people getting together and talking and complaining of whatever disturbed them."

Postscript: It may be of interest to readers to note that Dr. and Mrs. Malekobu, now well into their seventies, are still at their posts at Mbombwe. In June of 1967, The Mission Herald, Vol. 70, No. 1, noted that "Dr. Daniel Sharpo Malekobu, Superintendent of our total work in Central and East Africa, was called to the United States to receive the highest award of his alma mater, Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee. The award given was the Meharry Medical College 'President's Award,' a gold plaque presented to Dr. Malekobu for fifty years of service to humanity." In addition, Dr. Malekobu was given "The Key to the City of Nashville," the "Governor's Award," making him an honorary citizen of the state of Tennessee, and a "Special Letter of Commendation from the White House" signed by President Lyndon Baines Johnson.
The Nyasaland Blackman's Educational Society

In 1934 a singularly ambitious and detailed educational scheme was floated by a Nyasa whose role in the educational history of the Protectorate is remarkable both for its many-sided character and for the length of time it spanned. This was the Rev. Yesaya Zerenje Mwase, a Tonga from the Chinteche area, and one of the earliest and more notable graduates of the Livingstonia Mission's educational system. Mwase's birth date is uncertain. Most likely, however, he was born between 1870 and 1875. In November, 1897, he was admitted to the Overtoun Institute. Two years later he completed the Normal Course, and, in company with Charles Domingo, the Theological Course in 1902.

Following a protracted period of probation as a licentiate, Mwase, together with two colleagues became in

163 Robert I. Rotberg in his introduction to Strike a Blow and Die (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) describes Mwase as the eldest brother of that work's author, George Simeon Mwase, and sets the latter's birth date at "about 1880," p. xxxiv. In 1937, Mwase is described by the Superintendent of Education for the Northern Province as "old (he must be over seventy)." For this, see Zomba: Miss. 12/10, Mpingo Wa Afipa Wa Africa section, p. 6.

164 CS: Overtoun Institute Roll Book. Entry No. 188 under name Isaiah Zerenje Mwasi. The renderings "Mwasi" are generally accepted as being interchangeable.
1914 the first African Ministers to be ordained by the Livingstonia Mission. For most of the succeeding two decades Mwase functioned within the framework of the Mission although playing a leading role in the reorganization and expansion of Native Associations throughout the Northern Province. He was in particular the moving spirit behind the West Nyasa Native Association.\textsuperscript{165}

In 1933, for reasons that are not entirely clear but in which the failure of the Livingstonia Mission to pursue a policy of promotion within her Church of qualified and experienced African clergy probably played a substantial part, Mwase "seceded" from the CCAP. In the same year he applied to the D.C. at Chinteche for permission to open an independent mission to be called "The Blackman's Church of God Which Is in Tongaland." At about the same time, Mwase also applied for permission to start a society to be known as "The Nyasaland Blackman's Educational Society." While Mwase stressed that there was to be no direct connection between the two, it was clear that they

would share a certain similar appeal. 166

The Scheme submitted was to say the least, ambitious. As no brief summary would do it justice, the entire application is included here:

Sanga, Chintechi
West Nyasa.
18th August 1934.

Submission of an Application to Government, for adoption: and sanction of the Scheme entitled:-
"The Nyasaland Blackman's Educational Society"

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the above scheme before Government for consideration adoption and sanction.

2. The definition and scope of the aforesaid scheme is neither denominational nor particular to a single tribe in Nyasaland but is national and coextensive with the Blackman as a race within and outside Nyasaland - so that those whose interests, whatever locality are arrested and are inclined to may comply with and adopt it without misgivings of that sort - on the understanding that the scheme is for the Common Summum Bonum.

3. The aim and purpose of the aforesaid N.B.E. Society is to improve or develop the impoverished condition of the Blackman - religiously, morally, economically, physically and intellectually by starting a purely native controlled High School or College; and as a means thereof to raise a considerable sum of money.

166 Zomba: Miss. 12/10, Mpingo Wa Afipa Wa Africa section, pp. 1-3. But also see Rotberg, Rise of Nationalism, p. 150 for the information that Mwase was not only related to the well-known Nyasaland born trade union leader in South Africa, Clements Kadalie, but that prior to 1933 Mwase had "engaged in a long correspondence with Marcus Garvey of the Universal Negro Improvement Association" which might account for his emphatic and unequivocal use of the term "Blackman."
4. A provisional or verbal consent is already got from Nyasalanders working in both Southern and Northern Rhodesia as well as from most Tonga Chiefs, headmen and people generally, though actual collection has never been attempted.

5. The purpose of the money in prospect is for:
   1. Establishment of a Blackman's High School or College.
   2. Training of Teachers.

6. Method of collecting the money under review:
   1. There shall be formed a fund collecting sub-committee in every area concerned made up of
      (a) Chairman, (b) Treasurer, (c) Secretary under the supervision of the local area Chief.
   2. There shall be formed also a General Fund collecting Committee consisting of (a) Chairman say the Chief Marenga, (b) Treasurer, say Mr. Cameron Mphandi (c) Secretary.
   3. The whole amount of the money thus collected in prospect shall be counted in the CHIEF'S COUNCIL, brought in from various areas aforesaid. Here the respective sub-committee shall render their a/c. to the General Treasurer and General Committee in the presence of the COUNCIL. The writer being general Manager or Director.

7. Banking.
   The fund in question shall never be kept by an individual man but shall be invested in the Standard Bank at Blantyre from time to time, only an account Bank Book shall be kept by the General Treasurer after it has been proved that the investment is correct by the COUNCIL.

8. Minimum Estimate
   The minimum estimate is valued at the rate of 2/- per head per annum. This suggested valuation does not supercede the givings of those who wish to give more, as certain others have already promised to give more.
9. **Earnest Hope**
   The earnest hope is that Government would be favourable enough to the N.B.E. Society to adopt and sanction the scheme by furnishing it with Tickets stumped by the suggested value.

10. **Non-Native Donations**
    The Society would value such voluntary donations by Non-Natives who are interested in the improvement of the Blackman.

11. **Regarding Workers in Rhodesia**
    Those who are working in Rhodesia, viz: Nkana, Luanshya, Ndola, Broken Hill, Lusaka, Livingstone, Wankie, Bulawayo, Gaika, Que Que, S. Stoor mine, Cm and Motor, Salisbury, etc. are already provisionally instructed to invest their money collected prospectively, in the Standard Bank at Blantyre Nyasaland on the behalf of the N.B.E. Society through their respective committees which are also provisionally formed. They are also instructed to be in constant communication with the Home General Fund Committee through the General Director by issuing warrants to enable the G.F.C. to appropriate the fund deposited for the Society.

12. **Special Collection Day**
    The first Sunday in every month shall be looked upon as the Special Collection Day, for the N.B.E.S. in every locality or area which has adopted the scheme.

13. **When the G.F.C. meets**
    The General Fund Committee shall meet once after every two months: or six times in the year. That is on the last day of the second month respectively to transact their Financial Business.

14. **The Idea**
    As the Education in question does not concern a single man or woman. The Idea of this Comprehensive scheme is to make every man and woman both great and small to feel and bear this Essential Responsibility - personally and individually, so as to work out his or her own part Conducive to the Illumination under review, by undertaking the function of a redeemer of his or her own black race from so fearful, lamentable, impoverishing, deadly age-long and total blindness.
due to the Intellectual Ignorance - though in a miniature - that is by putting into Actual Execution of this scheme in the way suggested and prescribed in this paper.

Hoping for your favourable and immediate reply Sir,

I have the honour to be,

to remain Sir,

I am your Humble and Obedient Servant,

(Sgd.) YESAYA ZERENJI MWASE

To the District Commissioner,

H. C. Hoole, Esqr.,
Chintochi; West Nyasa,
NYASALAND.

It seems clear from an examination of this document that the question of financing this ambitious scheme loomed large in Mwase's mind and that he had taken considerable pains to ensure its success in this regard. Unfortunately, others did not share his optimism. Despite his claim of "a provisional or verbal consent ... from most Tonga Chiefs," in Government's view "The Council of Atonga Chiefs viewed this scheme with anything but favour," and at a meeting of the local District School Committee

167 Zomba: Miss. 12/10, Mpingo Wa Afipa Wa Africa section, pp. 3-4. In quoting this document I have scrupulously retained Mwase's own grammar, spelling, organization and underlining.
168 Ibid. See Application, paragraph 4.
169 Ibid., p. 2.
held in late October, it was decided that Mwase's "Schema was too ambitious and that the difficulties of organization and finance were too great." 170

As for Government itself in the person of H. C. Hoole, the local District Commissioner, an essentially detached attitude was adopted. Mwase was informed that provided the objectives and the activities of the proposed society "were not prejudicial to law and good order," 171 Government had no objection to its establishment. On the other hand there were several technical qualifications. First, the Education Ordinance of 1930 had to be complied with in terms of procedure and standards. Second, Mwase would have to obtain the written consent of the relevant Native Authorities together with Government's approval for the alienation of the land on which schools might be built. Thirdly, Government forbade the active participation of Native Authorities in the Scheme; in particular, their assumption of responsibility with regard to the Society's funds. Fourth and last, Government was not prepared to provide the "Tickets" referred to in paragraph 9 of Mwase's prospectus.

Faced with these formal limitations, coupled it

170 Ibid., p. 3. 171 Ibid., p. 5.
appears with a certain amount of apathy and scepticism on the part of his less imaginative fellow Tonga, the whole Scheme as Government rather laconically notes "appears to have died a natural death." 172

This was, however, by no means the end of Mwase's educational enterprise. In the following year he returned to Nyasaland from Southern Rhodesia where he had attended a conference of the AME Church. Apparently he had sounded out the leadership on the possibility of his joining but in the end had decided against it. 173 However, in 1935, Mwase did join forces with two other ex-Livingstonia ministers to form the "Mpingo Wa Afipa Wa Africa." These others were the Rev. Charles C. Chinula of Mzimba District who in 1934 had formed the "Eklesia Lanengwa" or "The Christianity of Freedom" church, and the Rev. Yafet Mkandawire of Karonga District who in 1932 had organized "The African Reformed Presbyterian Church." Together they claimed well over 3,000 adherents. 174


173 Rev. Hanock Msokera Phiri of the AME when questioned on this point, declared that he had no recollection of the episode.

174 *Zomba: Miss. 12/10, Mpingo Wa Afipa Wa Africa section, pp. 1 and 5. Also, see Rotberg, *Rise of Nationalism*, p. 150 and *passim*, for further detail on Chinula and Mkandawire. See CS: Overtoun Institute Roll Book for detail of Chinula's and Mkandawire's sojourns at the Institute, Nos. 238 and 46, respectively.*
The "Mpingo Wa Afipa Wa Africa" as a whole was given permission to open schools and it appears that all three branches, each of which operated in practice more or less independently, did so. Only the Karonga branch, however, seems to have qualified for a Government Grant-in-Aid of education, receiving £6 in 1936 and 1937 and £12 in 1938 under the name "African Presbyterian."\(^{175}\)

Nevertheless, Mwase stubbornly continued to operate from his headquarters on Chingoma Hill, some ten miles north of the Chinteche Boma. An illuminating word-picture is provided in the "Historical Survey,"\(^ {176}\) of Mwase's activities at this time; particularly valuable in the light of the apparent loss or unavailability of the correspondence referred to therein.

It was stated at this time that Yesaya Mwase was an old man of boundless ambition, and in spite of various setbacks since he left the Livingstonia Mission, he was still determined to carry out his elaborate scheme for the education and betterment of the native peoples of Nyasaland. That there was no knowing what he might do if he were able to collect funds, and if the majority of his people were not indifferent to his efforts on their behalf. He had opened several vernacular schools in the vicinity of his station, but had no certificated teachers. Mwase's second in


\(^{176}\) Zomba: Miss. 12/10.
command was Yesaya Mhango who was in charge of the work of the mission in the vicinity of Usisya.177

The "Historical Survey" then noted that

The Superintendent178 concludes by remarking - "Educationally, I cannot see much future in these areas for Mwase's work. He is old (he must be over seventy) and I am of the opinion that he is out of touch with most of the people round about him. His intelligence is still acute, but there is little likelihood of any of his high-flown schemes coming to fruition at this stage of his career."179

It was at this point that reference was made to "a certain amount of correspondence,"180 carried on between the several branches of the Mpingo Wa Afipa Wa Africa and the Education Department. This correspondence appears to have centred upon the question of the Church training pupils as teachers and the hurdle of Government's Certification Examinations. In addition, "Mwase and Charles Chinula were so taken up with the idea of their own importance,"181 that they refused to recognize Yafet Mkandawire as the Church's overall educational manager. This had the effect

177 Ibid. Mpingo Wa Afipa Wa Africa section, p. 6.
178 The Superintendent referred to here and throughout this section was I. F. G. Stott, then Superintendent of Education for the Northern Province and a former member of the Church of Scotland Mission.
179 Zomba: Miss. 12/10, Mpingo Wa Afipa Wa Africa section, pp. 6-7.
180 Ibid., p. 7.
181 Ibid.
of depriving them of Government Grant-in-Aid of education they might otherwise have shared with Mkandawire's more efficient and progressive branch at Karonga.

In mid-1940, Stott recommended the cessation of Government support to the Church generally on the grounds that "Mwase appeared to think that the employment of a certificated teacher automatically qualifies a school for Government assistance, and that he [Mwase] still continues to complain that the Education Department is depriving him of his rights as a leader of the community."\[182\]

In a sense, this marked the end of Mwase's active involvement in educational schemes although his name was to recur for several more years as a representative and an exponent of African interests in a variety of guises. But perhaps it is only just to allow this most vociferous and articulate representative of the old school to have the last word. Here then are a selection of the grievances cited in the letter sent by Mwase to the Director of Education in late December, 1939, which in turn gave rise to Stott's recommendation noted above.

An interesting point is that some form of unity seems to have been resumed among Mwase, Chinula and

\[182\] Ibid.
Mkandawire as the letter was dispatched from the "Formation of Council of the Blackman's Church of Africa Mission, Presbyterian," meeting at Chinteche. It stated that "It was unanimously agreed, at the motion of the Rev. Charles Chinula that the Rev. Yesaya Z. Mwase should be appointed as both Chairman and Secretary of the Council." After dealing with a number of other questions, the meeting turned its attention to matters "Educational." The question was posed whether there was "any vital connection between the Headquarters of Education Department and the Native Mission Schools?" The letter then went on to make the following points.

The Native Mission Schools stand in real need of real and personal visit from the Advisory Committee on Education. Both Mr. Charles Chinula and the Secretary have run their respective schools for well nigh two years without financial aid from Government - though Government sanctioned these schools to run. The speaker acknowledges one visit only by the Superintendent of Education in September, 1937 and that reluctantly. "It is a waste of time to visit unassisted schools as the time at my disposal is for inspection of the Assisted schools only," is the attitude. If such being the situation how can we be expected to report on the work which is thus willingly undervalued in both personal visit and financial aid by the Advisory Committee on Education?  

---

183 Ibid.  
184 Ibid., p. 9.
Mwase continued by quoting Lacey to the effect that "Unassisted schools are just as 'safe' as the assisted schools and hold a recognized position." Aggrievedly, Mwase comments that "this expression does not find a just and adequate realization," at the present time. Finally, after dealing in some detail with the Education Department's failure to issue "honorary" certificates to several of his Church's older teachers, Mwase concludes with a three-point justification for his schools.

(a) The schools under consideration are an effort of the Native community in representation. An attempt to contribute for development of one's own native land — though in a smaller scale.

(b) The fund which is being defrayed to assist educational development in the Protectorate is out of the Native Community resources, and the children who being taught in these schools are the children of the Native Community.

(c) Arising from this fact the council does not see the reason why the native effort of co-operation is ignored in this respect.

Such being the situation the obvious conclusion seems to be that of set purpose the affairs are arranged to suit sole monopoly of non-natives interests or co-operation inclusively.

(Signed) Yesaya Z. Mwasi, Minister, Chairman and Secretary, Ching’oma Rivulet Parankanga Hill Chief Kang’oma’s Area, Chintechi Nyasaland 20th Dec. 1939.

---

185 Ibid., giving the following reference: "(ATL/JCS. Ref. No. 55/3 dated 12/12/36)." ATL presumably standing for A. Travers Lacey.
186 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
Summary

It is not easy to succinctly summarize the overall character of these "African pressures" as a whole. However, a few fundamental points do seem worth stressing. It goes without saying that the men whose careers during the inter-War period have been examined in this chapter were united in their desire for a substantial increase in educational provision throughout the Protectorate. And yet, despite the attempts of such men as the Reverends Phiri, Mwase and Malekebu to strike out on their own educationally speaking, there was no widespread aversion to Government playing the dominant role, provided that the latter "paid the Piper" in addition to calling the tune. On this point, Africans were in substantial agreement with the majority of the European missionaries. But this in turn leads to the interesting point that these same Africans, to a man the products of European missionary-run education systems, looked very definitely to Government for the provision of "higher" or secondary education, and, as Mumba and Matinga vocally demonstrated at meetings of the Advisory Committee and elsewhere, they rejected Mission claims for supervisory powers over these projected schools.

Perhaps the explanation lies in the Africans'
familiarity with European missionary administration of education, while that of Government remained at this time an unknown quantity. It is a fact that a later generation of educated Nyasas in the 1950's had as many faults to find with Government administrative procedures as over their fathers did with those of the established European missions. Still, to quote but one African leader of the inter-War period in addition to those already cited, the Rev. Charles C. Chinula recently recalled the pleasure with which he and his colleagues viewed the establishment of the Department of Education in 1926. Furthermore, when asked if he was still as pleased some ten years after the Department's assumption of formal control, he replied vehemently in the affirmative. 187

As for the sort of schooling these men considered of most worth, Rev. Phiri perhaps provides the most complete answer. Acknowledging the need for higher education for the training of future leaders, "Master of Arts, Doctor of Medicine . . . and . . . Solicitor, to protect ourselves when we are in danger," Phiri continued in this vein.

You see, to my students I say that all cannot be ministers, no. Now maybe some teachers, some ministers, some doctors, some carpenters,

some bricklayers, some mechanics, and different kinds of jobs. That is to say, when we want to do something, we must not be troubled by anything . . . we must be separate.\footnote{188}{Self-
sufficient?}

Phiri went on to cite Booker T. Washington, "I have been reading [his] book . . . I read it from the first up to the end. He was troubled, but he had ways of helping his people, in Tuskegee University. . . . [Therefore] that's what I used to advise my students. Not to stick to [aspire only towards] one job. . . . No, you must work at every job that is to help our country."\footnote{189}

Consequently, in the opinion of these men there was room for primary schools, for vocational courses, for teacher training colleges, for the Jeans Centre; provided only that "higher" education with all it promised for their people's collective future was not neglected in the process as it had been for virtually the whole of the inter-War period.

And finally, to what extent does it appear that African pressures were successful in influencing Government policy with regard to education? Mr. Richard Paterson, present in the country throughout this period and privy\footnote{188}{Personal conversation with the Rev. Hanock Msokora Phiri, at Kasungu, December 20th, 1966. Italics Phiri's.\footnote{189}{Ibid. Italics Phiri's.}}
to the private thoughts of such men as Lacey and Wisdom, Bowman and Buchanan, was quite positive in his assessment.

There's no doubt about it. The African statement of their urgent desire for secondary education was heard and listened to on the Government side. Through the [Advisory] Committee and other avenues. . . . Wherever Levi [Mumba] spoke, to Government people and others, he expressed himself and he was listened to, rightly. As for the Colonial Office, I'm quite sure at this time they were desperately anxious that more should be done, and therefore, Directors of Education realized that the moment they heard this cry coming from their own people they must act upon it, or even before.190

In the light of available evidence, therefore, it seems undeniable that while by no means the only factor, the varied activities of Nyasaland's small but influential educated elite contributed substantially to the climate of opinion which in turn resulted in a substantial expansion of social services directed towards the benefit of the African population of the Protectorate.

190 Personal conversation with Mr. Richard Paterson, Edinburgh, April 26th, 1967.
CHAPTER IX

EXPANSION AT LAST

When a landowner said that he wished to start a school on his estate but had been told that it might make people less industrious Dr. Johnson replied: "No Sir, while learning to read and write is a distinction, the few who have that distinction may be less inclined to work, but when everybody learns to read and write, it is no longer a distinction."¹

With regard to the first Five-year Plan: "It may take less or more than five years to bring [these proposals] to fruition but they are a first installment of a better future for education in the Protectorate."²

A Maritime Reappraisal

The coincidence in time of the publication of the Bell Report³ and that of the Bledisloe Commission,⁴ not to mention the meeting in Zomba in May of the Directors of Education for Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias, produced towards the close of 1938 a spirit of willingness to

²Ibid., p. 10.
reexamine the Protectorate's educational system with a view to determining what improvements might usefully be made.

Prior to his departure for Kenya in the early part of 1939, Lacey prepared a Memorandum on the overall situation. Its conclusions were to a large extent shared by the two provincial Superintendents of Education in their more detailed Survey Reports submitted in October of 1940.  

These Educational Surveys had been mooted for some time and although their scope had been somewhat curtailed as a result of wartime conditions, their findings were still regarded as being of considerable importance. As a direct result of these Surveys, a number of recommendations were made regarding the reorganization of education in Nyasaland. Some of these were destined to be realized piecemeal within the next two to three years while others were to be incorporated within the first Five Year Development Plan for education, approved in 1944. Considerable discussion ensued with regard to the several suggestions put forward. However, before turning to an

---

5 MRC: Memorandum by Mr. Lacey, Director of Education, for Consideration by the Committee Appointed to Enquire into and Report on the Present Systems of Education in the Protectorate. Also, the Education Survey Report on Southern Province, Nyasaland, 1940 and the Education Survey, 1940, Summary Report for the Northern Province, Nyasaland.
examination of the points made therein, it might prove useful to summarize those views shared by the two provincial Superintendents on the general state of education within the Protectorate as it appeared to them in late 1940.6

At first sight it seemed that a very substantial percentage of school age children were receiving an education. Unfortunately, this was a misleading picture. Although some 206,451 children were enrolled in schools,7 more than 145,000 or over 70% of those enrolled, pursued their studies in small unassisted village schools, unattractively housed and ineptly taught by untrained or at least unqualified teachers. Generally speaking, only the first two classes of instruction were offered at these schools and then, only for an average of 100 school days a year with but three hours of instruction per day.

In contrast there were the Assisted Schools although, even there, the educational pyramid possessed an abnormally wide base. These 731 Assisted Schools were

6Both these men possessed substantial knowledge acquired over a period of years, regarding the educational position in their respective Provinces. They were I. F. G. Stott for the Northern Province and L. A. C. Buchanan for the Southern Province.

7Approximately 12% of the Protectorate's total population.
divided into three categories: Village, Central and Station.

In 1940 the Village Schools, comprising only the four sub-Standard classes, administered to just over 50,000 students of whom 58% were male. This represented 84% of the total number of students enrolled at Assisted Schools.

The Central Schools, comprising a sub-Standard class together with Standards 1 to 3, taught some 7,084 boys and 1,162 girls. This represented 13.8% of the total enrolled at Assisted Schools.

At the highest level were the Station Schools. Of these, however, there were no more than ten scattered throughout the entire country. Comprising Standards 4 through 6, in 1940 they possessed a total enrollment of 1,304 boys and 36 girls. Even this, however, fails to give a true indication of the miniscule number of students who succeeded in completing a primary education. In 1941, on the occasion of the first Standard 6 or Primary Leaving Examination, there were but 145 candidates. Of these, only 37 passed.

8 The foregoing statistics are compiled from a number of tables included in the Reports of the two provincial Education Surveys cited above.

While these statistics make bleak reading, they do serve to place in proper perspective the degree to which Nyasaland was "educating" the bulk of its African children. It must be acknowledged, however, that no one was less happy with this state of affairs than the new Director of Education, Mr. R. H. N. Wisdom. He expressed his determination to introduce at the earliest opportunity such remedies as appeared feasible, given the funds and the trained personnel available.

Perhaps the most striking fact to emerge from these statistics was the incidence of what was then termed "Retardation" and "Wastage." Retardation was largely caused by the brevity of the school year. Recipients for the most part of a monotonous, parrot-like instruction to begin with, many students simply forgot during lengthy vacations most of what they had theoretically "learned" in the course of an abbreviated school session. They were thus forced to repeat the year, often with the same depressing result. That this would often lead to a certain disenchantment with the learning process was scarcely surprising. This in turn produced Wastage.

There were, however, other contributory factors

---

10. The latter is similar to what today would be termed the percentage of "dropouts."
leading to Wastage. Among them were the following:

1. The fact that many pupils had no desire to obtain any more from their schooling than the barest literacy in their own vernacular. Once this was accomplished to their own satisfaction, they would leave school.

2. Lack of the wherewithall to pay fees. This became particularly urgent when a pupil reached the "Standards" where the average annual fee ranged from five to twenty shillings as opposed to 1d to 1/- per annum in the sub-standard classes. This factor was also of importance in those areas where parental enthusiasm was lacking and where potential scholars might not be able to find the employment from which they could obtain the required cash.

3. The necessity and/or the lure of full-time paid employment, either on the European estates dotting the Shire Highlands or further afield in South Africa and the Rhodesias. There, mere literacy might open the doors to jobs whereby substantial wealth could be obtained, substantial at least in the eyes of youths who had previously known nothing other than a subsistence way of life.\footnote{For a general background, see the Memorandum by Lacey and the Education Survey Reports by Stott and Buchanan previously cited. Also, the writer is indebted to numerous conversations with Malawians active in the educational field both as students and as teachers in the late 1930's and early 1940's.}
One of the first objectives, therefore, in the eyes of the Superintendents was some regularization of the Primary school system. This would need to be tailored to the purview of Government and of the Missions and so designed as to promote consistency, do away with unnecessary and divisive duplication of effort, and produce a steadily increasing flow of candidates well-qualified for Secondary schooling.

To this end the Superintendents, or Education Officers as they were now called, made the following suggestions. Most important in their view was the replacement of the existing Assisted Village and Central Schools by "District Schools." These would offer a five-year course incorporating two sub-Standard classes together with Standards 1 to 3. Since these schools would in effect be attempting to teach in five years what had previously taken seven or eight, a longer minimum school year seemed advisable. The suggestion was made that these District Schools should remain open for nine months of the year or approximately 190 teaching days. Instruction of a secular nature should occupy at least five hours daily.

In the opinion of the two Education Officers, the educational philosophies pursued by certain missions
were responsible in large measure for the increasing proliferation of unnecessary and poorly-run village schools. These missions seemed to regard village schools merely as the purveyors of the scant literacy seen as a necessary prerequisite to the preparation of potential catechumens.12

Stott and Buchanan agreed that the usual procedure adopted by these missions was to convert a proportion of the adults in a school-less village to their denomination. The next step was to build a prayer-house. In due course, the village usually requested the establishment of a school. Normally this was automatically granted and once established, proved very difficult to remove. The local headman’s prestige became bound up in the school’s maintenance. Indeed, the danger existed that once a school was established, the headman would call in representatives of a rival mission to maintain it if the original denomination should see fit to close the school down.

By 1940, however, these problems had been largely obviated in the case of Assisted Schools as the latter were obliged to apply to their District Council or District School Committee for accreditation. This was automatically

12 The missions referred to in the two Reports seem for the most part to have been those administered by the Roman Catholics although they are nowhere cited by name.
refused if the site for the proposed school was in close proximity to an existing Assisted School. Moreover, by 1940 it was possible for any member of a District School Committee who felt that there were grounds for refusing accreditation to refer the question to Government. The school's application would thereupon be held in abeyance while a detailed examination of the local circumstances was conducted. This process was time-consuming as well as thorough and tended to reduce the number of spurious or ill-founded applications for accreditation. At the same time, however, it did nothing to improve the standard of education offered to the pupils attending the school in question.

This uncontrolled spread of unassisted schools obviously made increasingly unsupportable demands upon the limited funds of the missions concerned which resulted in a general diminution of the financial support available for each school. One of the most common expedients was for the mission concerned to shorten further the session in the unassisted schools. This enabled one teacher to handle two separate schools consecutively in the course of a calendar year.

The question of emigration has already been touched
upon in connection with the wastage of students. More serious perhaps was the effect of emigration upon teachers. Thanks to the very low salaries offered by virtually all the missions, large numbers of teachers (and those, generally speaking, the more capable and more imaginative) left the teaching field and often the country as well after a few years work in search of more remunerative employment. Such was relatively easy to find.

The shortages thus created were then compounded by the difficulty of replacing those teaching "dropouts" without first providing their replacements with adequate training. A most unfortunate time-lag thereby ensued. This vicious circle was seen as susceptible of solution only by the provision of increased financial support to the Missions from Government with a view to making teachers' salaries more competitive. This would not solve the problem, however, if the temptation remained for missions simply to use these additional funds for the further proliferation of village schools. Clearly, a strict accounting for the dispersal of grants was necessary.

A somewhat more encouraging note was struck by the observation of the Education Officers that the best schools (at least below Station level) were those located in areas
where the people themselves took an interest in the education of their children. Here the work of the Jeanes Training Centre in providing courses for Chiefs and other Native Authorities could be seen working to advantage. This was particularly evident in the northernmost districts of the Northern Province and in the case of specific Native Authorities in the Shire Highlands area.

To Stott and Buchanan, the Livingstonia Mission stood out despite its deficiencies as an example of thoroughness and attention to detail in the construction of an overall educational system. It is worth speculating once again, however, as to how much of Livingstonia's success was attributable to the fact that the Mission had a very substantial field largely to itself and did not have to cope with fending off potential rivals to any great extent. This was in marked contrast to the situation prevailing in the densely populated and highly competitive Southern Province.

Nevertheless, it appears that Stott was correct in singling out the Livingstonia Mission as having made from the beginning "an effort ... to build up a system of village schools which give their pupils a thorough grounding before they can proceed further." He went on
to comment that although "no one would claim that this system is perfect . . . it at least ensures that those pupils who complete their vernacular course will be properly equipped to profit by instruction at schools of a higher grade." 13

The success of this policy is borne out by evidence dating right down to the present day. For example, over two-thirds of the students accepted for the initial intake at Blantyre Secondary School in 1940 were from the far north. 14 Twenty-five years later in 1965, despite the many educational changes that had taken place during the intervening quarter-century, virtually the same ratio held true in terms of the composition of the first class pursuing a Degree course at the newly established University of Malawi. 15 Moreover, this ratio has remained constant despite the even greater disparity in terms of that proportion of the total population of the country educated in the Northern Province today. In effect, one-fifth of the population produces between 60% and 70% of those accepted

13 For this direct quote as well as the preceding summary, see the Education Survey Reports by Buchanan and Stott previously cited.
15 From the writer's personal observation while serving as Lecturer in History at the University of Malawi, 1965-1967.
for higher education.

In addition, despite the passage of time and the enormous strides taken in terms of the quantity, the quality, and the level of education offered in the country, many of Nyasaland's most vexing educational problems have remained. To cite but two examples:

In 1941, the Primary Leaving or Government Standard VI Examination was held on a country-wide basis for the first time. Only 37 out of the 145 candidates were successful and the Annual Report of the Education Department for that year notes that, "The weakest subject was arithmetic."16 The Report for 1943 similarly notes that out of 162 candidates, "In Arithmetic 101 candidates failed to pass, a sign of lack of grounding in this subject at the earlier stages."17 And in 1944, "Weakness in arithmetic continues to be the most frequent cause of failure."18 Today, the University of Malawi is coping with this same deficiency among its undergraduates. Many, as a result of the workings of the Cambridge "O" Level examination system, did not have to sit the Mathematics paper.

Knowledge of the subject is nevertheless required by those students reading for a degree in the Sciences and in Economics. 19

The second example refers to the continuing low status of the teaching profession in a country where for many years it was the only road open, other than the ministry and the Native Civil Service, to status in the community for the educated African. Writing in 1940, Buchanan had this to say, speaking of the condition of African teachers in general:

As a body they suffer from four great disadvantages: insufficient training, infrequent supervision, inadequate wages and inadequate housing. . . . The scales of salaries paid to teachers are in the majority of instances so low that only devotion to their work can keep them from going off in search of better paid employment whether inside or outside the country. In the past many young men have taken the courses at Normal schools with the sole idea of bettering themselves. Such individuals do not remain long in the teaching profession. They become clerks on estates, or enter Government service. 20

Insert politics, banking and private business for "clerks on estates" and the same passage could be written today

19 Personal observation as cited above. It is perhaps of interest to note that as of 1965/67, upwards of 60% of the University's student body were pursuing a course of study either in the Sciences or in Economics.

20 Education Survey Report on Southern Province, Nyasaland, pp. 4-5.
as an accurate description of the low status and lower rewards of the teaching profession in independent Malawi.

Effects of the War on Education

The impact of the outbreak of World War II upon plans for educational development and advance in Nyasaland was by no means altogether negative. Inevitably, however, there was a certain initial dislocation. Perhaps the most serious aspect was the necessity for the Education Department's already skeleton staff to assume a multitude of wartime duties.

An article appearing in Oversea Education in late 1941 rather sardonically observed that "Admiration for the plucky statement that 'the Nyasaland Education Department staff has been at full strength throughout the year' is tempered by the fact that there are only four Colonial Education Services officers on the administrative staff, and of these the Director of Education acted also as Information Officer, Press Liaison Officer and Press Censor. One officer was responsible for military recruitment work and another for postal censorship. The fourth post was vacant for at least part of the year." 21

---

While a certain retrenchment and consolidation of effort were required in the interest of maximising resources, this was in line with the central thrust of Government policy with regard to African education, that of concentrating support upon a selected number of elementary schools.

An advantage produced by wartime exigencies, however, lay in the increased responsibilities devolving upon African staff. In addition to giving the latter greatly increased self-confidence, their reaction to their new roles was seen as a means of providing information regarding their strengths and weaknesses that would be of value in the postwar period when presumably the Department's staff would be expanded substantially.  

The war's demands also opened wider horizons for many other educated and semi-educated Nyasas. Mechanics and "Motor Drivers," carpenters and clerks were all in demand by the Armed Forces. Teachers in Central Schools together with some of their older pupils enlisted in the King's African Rifles as signallers. By the end of 1943, some eleven Nyasa teachers completed an instructors' course at the Army Education Corps Headquarters in Kenya. At the same time, some 115 men were passed for enlistment.

---

as Nursing Orderlies, Clerks and Signallers following their examination in Zomba after having been selected from a considerably greater number of applicants to the Education Department.\textsuperscript{23} The service of these men abroad, together with those thousands serving as askari, contributed immeasurably both to their own education taken in the broadest sense, and to that of innumerable of their fellows to whom they would relate their experiences following their return home.

In mid-1943 the Advisory Committee suggested that a circular be sent to the officers in charge of all units containing Nyasa troops in an effort to determine how many wished to continue their schooling upon their return.\textsuperscript{24} In the event, considerable numbers wished to do so and provision was made for their acceptance to schools. In November, 1946, a special school known as Nankumba Government School initiated a course aimed at preparing those ex-servicemen who had previously completed Standard 4 or above to sit the Government Standard VI Examination. Some fifty men enrolled under the instruction of A. E. Dingle, Assistant Master at the Jeanes Centre, and two

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}
teachers who had served in Kenya during the War in the East African Army Education Corps. More than a third of these eventually passed the Examination. 25

Concrete Steps Towards Change

The chain of events that culminated in 1945 with the adoption both of Nyasaland's first educational Five-Year Plan, and of a thoroughly overhauled Education Ordinance, 26 had its origins as far back as 1939. At the annual meeting of the Advisory Committee on Education in late August of that year, the question of a Protectorate-wide educational survey was the subject of a "comprehensive debate." 27 Despite the outbreak of war, this survey was completed in the autumn of 1940. The detailed findings of this survey have already been examined.

In March, 1940, at a stage in the War when it was still felt that funds for Colonial Development would continue to be made available, R. H. W. Wisdom as Director of Education was asked to draw up a "Scheme of Development"

for his Department. Following its submission it was examined at the Colonial Office by both the Native Welfare Committee and the Government Finance Committee. But before its suggestions could be implemented, it was found necessary to shelve the proposal for the time being "owing to the war situation."\(^{28}\)

In 1941, the Secretary of State reactivated the Scheme. A Memorandum on the subject, prepared by Wisdom and incorporating revisions suggested by the findings of the 1940 survey, was submitted through the Secretary to the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. The Memorandum\(^ {29}\) centered on the reform of the primary school system in the country. In addition to the overriding question of the consolidation and development of selected schools, it embraced such "over-due reforms as the adequate payment of African teachers and supervisors, the supply of more and better school equipment, the lowering of rates of fees, improvements in boarding school diets and the development of practical subjects in school courses."\(^ {30}\)

\(^{28}\)The Scheme was forwarded to London under the Governor's despatch No. 98 of March 7th, 1940.

\(^{29}\)The Memorandum was entitled "Development of African Education in Nyasaland" and was forwarded to London under the Governor's despatch No. 160 of October 31st, 1941.

In a general introduction to the Memorandum, Wisdom took the occasion to make the following points. He noted that in 1939 the total expenditure upon Mission schools in Nyasaland was £63,508 of which virtually 75% derived from Mission funds, 8.6% from pupils' fees, and only 18% from Government grants. Thus, the Director pointed out,

Prior to the outbreak of war, the Missions had ... been bearing a very substantial share of the financial burden of African education. But an even greater contribution has been the supply of the entire European teaching personnel and most of the supervising staff.

However, Wisdom felt constrained to add that

This widespread system of Mission schools resting on comparatively slender resources has developed certain defects and some of the more obvious defects have led to a growing demand among the better-educated Africans for Government schools. Native Authorities also are beginning to ask for Native Authority schools ... in the minds of many intelligent Africans there is no doubt a desire for a type of school with a freer atmosphere than that of some of the more rigid sectarian schools. It is suggested, however, that to embark on a wholesale policy of Government schools at the present time would not only be unfair to the missions as excluding them from an opportunity of putting their educational house in order, but it would also entail greatly increased expenditure on new official posts and buildings when both men and materials are wanted elsewhere.

At the same time it is not possible to accept the policies apparently advocated by certain of the missions. To allocate grants on the basis of the number of Church adherents would only mean the duplication of assisted schools and the frittering away of our limited resources. To
recognize "spheres of influence," that is to give a single mission a monopoly in providing the assisted schools within a given area, is also impracticable, not only as infringing liberty of conscience, but also because any such arrangement is unacceptable to those missions which regard the whole world as their parish. 31

A Sub-Committee was appointed by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies to consider Wisdom's Memorandum. In due course its Comments were despatched to the Protectorate and were considered in mid-1942 by the Nyasaland Christian Council prior to being laid before the Advisory Committee on Education in December, on the occasion of its first full meeting in over three years. 32 Those comments were both thoughtful and substantial, comprising some fifteen lengthy paragraphs. Much of what the Sub-Committee had to say was reiterated by Mr. C. W. M. Cox, 33 the Colonial Office Educational Adviser when he visited the country the following July. A selection of excerpts will serve to indicate Whitehall's thinking at this time on the general subject of education for Africans in Nyasaland:


32 Min. Adv. Comm., 1942, p. 16. See these Minutes as well for notes of the meetings of the Executive Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee on Education held on the 29th October, 1940; the 8th April, 1941; and the 30th March, 1942.

33 Later, Sir Christopher Cox. Cox served as Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1940 to 1961. Since 1964 he has been Educational Adviser to the Ministry of Overseas Development.
Consolidation [both of schools and of the Primary Course]. The widespread diffusion of schooling facilities, of however rudimentary a kind, among its villages has been the pride of Nyasaland in the past and it would have been unfortunate if, in outlining a policy of consolidation, it had been forgotten that the peculiarity of Nyasaland is that there should be so much to consolidate. . . . The inordinate length of the present primary course has certainly been an important cause of the wastage which, especially amongst girls, has given rise to such serious concern.

Secondary Education We have drawn attention elsewhere to the special importance attaching to the speedy establishment of secondary education in Nyasaland in the absence of which the effective consolidation of primary education has been so long retarded. We need do no more here than reiterate that in our opinion the establishment of secondary education and the consolidation of primary education must now proceed simultaneously if either is to be successful.

Fees We deprecate the principle by which parents who keep their children long enough at school to benefit by the education given are penalised by being required to pay higher fees for each class that the children rise in the school. More than one of us, indeed believe that the experiment of reversing the present scaling should be tried in selected areas, so that the fees payable would be in inverse ratio to the benefit which the community is likely to derive from the education given. But we recognize that economic and social conditions may render this impracticable.

Native Authority Schools We suggest . . . the development of Native Administration Schools working in close co-operation with the Churches. If the village school is, as it should be, the pride and centre of village life, then the village must feel as a whole that the school is its own. . . . But on broad general grounds it
is desirable that, wherever circumstances permit, a Church should be associated with the village school in non-Muslim areas.

**Teachers’ Salaries**  We are confident that the Governor will assure himself that the proposed new salary rates are related to those for Africans in the Local Civil Service. The constant loss of trained personnel must inevitably have an adverse affect on the Protectorate’s educational system.

**Mass Education**  The unusually high proportion of adults in Nyasaland who have received some smattering of schooling is an indication of the need for providing such cheap "follow-up" literature, viz. periodicals or otherwise, as will enable those who have left school to retain, and turn to good account, the tools which they have there acquired . . . we hope that arrangements will be made to collaborate with Northern Rhodesia in the establishment of an active and popular Translation Bureau.

**Teacher Training**  We doubt . . . whether the proposal to train both English and vernacular grade teachers at four of the seven centres will prove a happy arrangement in practice. There may be a tendency among the vernacular teachers to feel that they belong to an inferior grade - a feeling which could not but operate detrimentally to the smooth working of the Centres. The training of English teachers is of special importance in Nyasaland where instruction in that language begins at an earlier stage than in most African Dependencies.\(^{34}\)

\(^{34}\) Extracts taken from "Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies: Comments of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider the Memorandum by the Director of Education on the Development of African Education in Nyasaland," undated, but presumably despatched and received in mid-1942. The item on Mass Education (this writer’s heading) interestingly foreshadows the memorandum published by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies two years later as Mass Education in African Society (London, H.M.S.O., 1944).
In an address opening the 11th Session of the Advisory Committee on December 1st, 1942, Governor Richards reiterated one of the first points made by the Colonial Office Sub-Committee by affirming that "Nyasaland has a great tradition in African education and, thanks to the work of the Missions, simple schooling has been placed within the reach of a greater proportion of the population than in most parts of Africa." Nevertheless, the Governor did not deny that there were serious deficiencies to be remedied. It was agreed, however, that "full consideration" of development plans would be "postponed till a future meeting" when the presence of Mr. Cox would lend weight and substance to the deliberations.

Mr. Cox arrived in the country in the first week of July, 1943. Nyasaland was the first of a number of British African dependencies he was scheduled to visit. He spent some three weeks touring the Protectorate in "an endeavour to see as much . . . school work as possible." In addition he visited a number of agricultural, medical

---


36 Ibid., p. 16.

and veterinary centres and had discussions not only with Government officers, but with Chiefs, Native Authorities, and "other leading Africans." On the 28th of July, Cox attended the 12th Session of the Advisory Committee on Education in order to participate in the discussion upon the lines future development should take.

This discussion was both lengthy and detailed, but from it emerged a consensus that was to a very substantial degree reflected in the legislation passed two years later. A useful summary was embodied in a motion proposed by Rev. W. C. Galbraith of the Livingstonia Mission and seconded by Mr. J. L. Pretorius of the DRC, two of the country's leading educators. It suggested

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

1. That the schools of Nyasaland be made as efficient as possible.

2. That the school course be speeded up so that pupils reach Standard 6 at the earliest age possible.

3. That increased provision be made for Central and Station and Secondary Education and for professional training of teachers, medicals, clerks and all other highly trained Africans required in Nyasaland. It trusts that this could be achieved without prejudice to village education.

To achieve these ends it approves the drawing up of a five year plan to commence at the end of the war (or some other date not long after that). By this the fullest use of Missionary

38 Ibid.
staff and personnel and of Government and Mission resources, financial and otherwise, could be secured.39

Cox participated actively in the general discussion and indeed so valuable were his contributions deemed that they were summarized in a 29-paragraph Appendix in addition to their inclusion within the main body of the Minutes. Though covering a wide range of subjects, and in large measure concurring with the Comments of the Colonial Office Sub-Committee previously referred to, the points that Cox placed greatest emphasis upon may be summarized under three headings.

Priorities: Cox stated that the country as a whole might be forced to make a choice and that in his opinion additional support should be given to an upward trend rather than to the proliferation of village schools. He gave it as "his opinion that Nyasaland, in spite of the abilities and reputation of its people and its long start and fine past achievements in the field of primary education, was in serious danger of being left behind by other territories, and urged that at the present time attention should be primarily directed towards upward rather than outward growth."

39 Ibid., pp. 7-8. This appears to mark the first specific reference to a Five-Year Plan.
School Courses: He suggested that one of the reasons why so few boys reached Standard 6 lay in their conception of school as a succession of annual rungs. In his opinion the various stages of school should be regarded by the pupils as courses complete unto themselves although embracing several years' study rather than as a series of disconnected annual steps.  

Leadership: Cox stressed that his visit had confirmed his previous impression that the paramount and pressing need in Nyasaland was to catch up in the training of leaders by consolidating primary education, extending secondary and vocational education, and providing bursaries to enable selected Africans to receive university or professional education outside the territory. He reiterated that Nyasaland's weakness lay in her training of leaders of all types. He added that he had often heard  

40 For a more detailed elaboration of this point of view, see "Report of the West Africa Study Group" as included in African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa (London, 1953), in particular pp. 12-15 and paragraphs 39-60. This most valuable study incorporates the Reports of the Jeffery and Binns Missions which had previously visited West Africa and East and Central Africa, respectively, together with a Record of the proceedings of the Conference on African Education held at Cambridge University in September, 1952. The overall study was jointly sponsored by the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office.
of the merits of Nyasalanders while travelling himself elsewhere among her neighbours and that "he was absolutely confident that the human material was there."

In conclusion, Cox affirmed that "Not only additional money but very substantial additional money was of course necessary if Nyasaland was to make much headway. How much money would be available for education in Nyasaland," he felt, "might depend largely on the nature and soundness of the plan put forward. If the plan did not give the impression of being a soundly conceived plan very much less money might be forthcoming." 41

The Advisory Committee was demonstrably impressed by Cox's arguments and suggestions as was the Protectorate's Post-War Development Committee with which he also met. 42 Throughout the remainder of 1943 and into 1944, both of these Committees devoted much time and thought to the course education should take. At the 13th session of the Advisory Committee, held at the end of the first week in February, 1944, reports were tabled by the two Planning Sub-Committees that had been appointed the previous July, one for African Education and the other for Non-African

Education. The proposals of the former were considered paragraph by paragraph before being adopted unanimously.  

These proposals, now commonly referred to as the Five-Year Plan, were passed on to the Post-War Development Committee for consideration. Their findings in turn were published in their Interim Report No. 2 - Education.  

For the most part, their conclusions concurred with those of the Advisory Committee, differing only in minor detail and in degree of emphasis. For instance, they did not agree with the Advisory Committee that the proposed Native Authority Central Schools should receive financial assistance from Government "on the same basis as that . . . proposed for Mission controlled Central Schools." Nor did the majority of the Development Committee feel that an arbitrary ceiling should be placed upon the number of N.A. Schools to be authorized by Government during the first few years of the Five-Year Plan's duration.  

With regard to emphasis, the Development Committee dwelt at length upon the importance of female education. 

The Interim Report's section dealing with Primary Education

---

commenced with the statement that

We preface our remarks upon the education of the African population with our opinion that it will be of little avail if adequate provision is not made for the education of African girls and women, the most conservative, and perhaps the most difficult, elements in the native population. It will be a matter for close investigation to what extent the lag in female education can be made up in the general improvement in educational facilities recommended in this Report; and to what extent special measures for the encouragement of the education and training of women and girls will be necessary. 46

Again, in the penultimate paragraph of the Interim Report it was stated that

The Committee cannot sufficiently emphasize the importance of bringing the education of girls and women up to, or approximating to, that of African men. Indeed, the Committee has gone so far as to say that there can be no real development in education unless the needs of girls and of women are met. The Committee are fully aware of the difficulties attendant upon the education of girls and women. 47

Reference was made to the projected visit to Nyasaland of a team of women educationists from Great Britain following which the Committee noted "that the short reference made to the education of girls and women [in the Five-Year Plan] ... is due to a desire more fully to consider the question when the visit of

46 Ibid., p. 1.
inspection has been concluded.\textsuperscript{48}

A final recommendation made by the Development Committee containing some measure of promise for the foreseeable future was one relating to Higher Education.

We advise that, as and when suitable African candidates for Higher Education are forthcoming, steps should be taken to satisfy their aspirations either by a system of extra-territorial bursaries and scholarships or by regional provision. We understand that action which is being taken by the Director of Education will probably reveal that there are Africans now in employment to whom it will be well worth while giving Higher Education by means of bursaries.\textsuperscript{49}

Clearly, throughout the closing months of the War, Government was to a large extent preoccupied with plans for the future. Problems of a more immediate nature continued to arise, however, to which a response had to be made. Two examples may suffice.

In 1943, the continuing friction between the several missions over the definition of a "school" and the distinction between the latter and a "catechetical

\textsuperscript{48}Ibid. This visit did not in fact take place until 1947. The Rep. Ed. Dept. for that year notes on p. 4 that "The long awaited Colonial Office Commission of Enquiry into the education of women and girls in Nyasaland arrived on the 30th August, 1947. It consisted of Miss F. H. Guillian, Assistant Advisor on Education to the Secretary of State, and Dr. Margaret Read, Head of the Colonial Department of the Institute of Education, London University.

\textsuperscript{49}Interim Report No. 2 - Education, p. 3.
centre or prayer house," gave rise to the implementation of changes in the Education Ordinance and Rules under the "Education [Amendment] Ordinance, 1943" and the "Registration of Schools and Catechetical Centres or Prayer Houses Rules."\textsuperscript{50} It was therein made clear that while no institution in which the instruction was of a wholly religious character was henceforth to be subject to any form of Government control, if that institution offered vernacular instruction in reading and writing it became a Catechetical Centre. In that case, while there was no power either to prevent its opening or to require its closing, it would have to be registered with the local District Commissioner. On the face of it, this would appear to have been a substantial concession to the insistent pressures regularly brought to bear upon Government, notably by the Roman Catholic Missions. Nevertheless, those Catholic representatives on the Advisory Committee present at the 1943 meeting expressed their dissatisfaction with these changes.\textsuperscript{51} The Amendment stood, however, until automatically revoked by the passage of the 1945 Ordinance.

A further issue discussed at the Advisory Committee's 1943 session as "a matter of urgency," was the provision by Government in its 1944 budget of sufficient funds to pay a bonus averaging £3 to all certificated teachers in assisted schools. A motion to this effect moved by Archdeacon Winspear and seconded by the Senior Provincial Commissioner was approved unanimously, only to be subsequently found unacceptable by Government on the grounds that it "might compromise the question of the comprehensive conditions of control which were yet to be worked out by the Advisory Committee." At the Committee's next meeting in early 1944 this provoked a motion passed nom. con. noting "That this Committee deeply regrets the Government's inability to provide an interim bonus for teachers during 1944." Within weeks, Government quietly withdrew its opposition; the bonuses were approved, and the Missions were so informed on the 8th of May, 1944.

By October, 1944, the Governor was in a position to announce the acceptance by the Secretary of State "in

---

53 Ibid., p. 15.  
55 Ibid.  
all essentials of the Five-Year Plan as proposed. The Advisory Committee at its meeting in March, 1945, examined the draft legislation in detail. A number of relatively minor changes concerning wording and nomenclature were recommended. On April 19th the Education Bill, 1945, was moved by the Director of Education during the course of the 60th session of the Legislative Council. It was speedily passed, and received the Governor's assent on April 27th.

Thus, a new and promising era in the development of African education in Nyasaland was ushered in. Not least in significance was the fact that the Secretary of State had accepted the suggested table of expenditure appended to the Interim Report of the Development Committee. This provided for a grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Vote equal to half of the total recurrent expenditure of the Education Department over the whole of the five-year period, in addition to a capital grant for the construction of buildings for educational use. In all, this amounted to over £285,000 to

be spread over the five years of the Plan's projected operation. When it is recognized that this very considerable sum was to be matched from Nyasaland Government funds, it may be seen that in the space of a few years something approaching a revolution had occurred with regard to the depth of Government's determination to overhaul the country's educational system. Perhaps this is best summed up by a paragraph from the Rep. Ed. Dept. for 1947 which may serve as a fitting capstone:

In August Mr. R. H. W. Wisdom, C.B.E., the Director of Education left the Protectorate on leave pending retirement. During the eight years of his stewardship Government expenditure on education, assisted from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, has risen from £21,000 in 1939 to £110,000 in 1947; educational effort has been correlated by the introduction of new and up-to-date syllabuses at every level; two Secondary Schools have been established; a higher grade of teacher has been trained, as yet in small numbers, for the more efficient staffing of the Primary Schools; above all a five-year plan, introduced in 1945 under a new Education Ordinance and Rules, has "brought new life to the schools, a sense of greater security, a clarification of aims and more precision in their relations with Government."

CONCLUSION

Education had come a long way in Nyasaland in the course of seventy years. But it had been a way marked more by voluntary Christian missionary endeavour, enhanced with the passage of the years by an increased receptivity and eagerness to learn on the part of the Protectorate's population, than by a positive participation on the part of the British Colonial Government. Thirty-five years passed between the assumption of Governmental responsibilities and the formal addition to those responsibilities of that of the education of the subject peoples. Another two decades were to pass, bringing us to the close of the period under examination, before the Colonial Government felt itself to be in a position to take another major step forward in terms of a commitment to a more thorough and up-to-date educational programme.

A major contributory factor towards this seeming reluctance on the part of the Nyasaland Government to live up to what might be assumed to be its social responsibilities to its subject peoples, lay in the relative poverty of the Protectorate's economy, taken in conjunction with that fundamental dictum of Colonial Office policy that
territories should be fiscally self-sufficient. The fact that missionary educational enterprise had been both earlier in its inception and more widespread in its development prior to the First World War in comparison with neighbouring British Territories tended to accentuate the gulf existing between Government and the involvement of Christian missions in this field.

Furthermore, this entrenched position on the part of the larger missions, coupled with Government's chronic impotence, combined to produce a situation in which the missions felt, not without some justice, that they retained the right to dictate or at least to exercise the power of veto over the Protectorate's educational policies.

For as long as such schooling as was available in the country was confined to the primary level, together with complementary courses in the vocational field and in that of teacher training for the staffing of primary schools, missions and Government worked together equably. But with the belated decision to introduce secondary education, the missions, inured to more or less having their own way, were loth to accept the degree of Government control proposed. Adding apparent insult to injury, those Africans who had profited most from Mission teaching at the
primary level were virtually unanimous in their desire for Government administration of secondary schooling.

With the outbreak of World War II, it soon became evident that African manpower, trained in a variety of skills, would be needed urgently in unprecedented numbers for participation in the Imperial war effort. This fact was recognized in tangible fashion with the passage in 1940 of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. This Act marked a pivotal break with the long-standing tradition that Britain's overseas possessions should be financially self-sufficient. From this point forward, colonial governments could count on substantial annual subventions for the expansion and revitalization of their social services generally. A further Act, passed in 1945, more than doubled the total allocation available for these purposes. Clearly, as regards education, this development had a pronounced effect in altering the balance of control as between the missions and Government with regard both to educational administration and to the determination of the direction of future educational policy within the protectorate. Among other, more practical effects, this serves to illustrate the significance of 1945 as a date marking not only the conclusion of a World War that had
occupied the energies of much of mankind for the better part of six years, but in the context of this work, in addition, the closing of a much longer chapter of colonial history. Whether this chapter in Nyasaland's history is seen as having its origins in 1875 with the arrival of the first Scottish missionaries, in 1907 with the introduction of the first Government grant-in-aid to education, or in 1926 with the establishment of a Department of Education, it is clear that 1945 marks the end of an era.

But the closing months of the War also saw the inception of a new phase in the efforts of Nyasaland's African population to achieve a greater voice in those councils responsible for directing her future development as an entity and determining the directions this development should follow. Indeed, if there is one point this work has attempted to illustrate, it is the degree to which the evolution of an African "self-awareness" or consciousness of identity was inextricably intertwined with the parallel growth of the educational system throughout the country.

It seems scarcely an accident that the relatively small and impoverished Nyasaland was in the van of Britain's East and Central African territories in bearing witness in
late 1943 to the formation of a truly nationalist party, the Nyasaland African Congress. Those early Scottish missionaries had wrought better than they knew. Despite the evident decline throughout the inter-War period in Nyasaland's standing with regard to educational provision when contrasted with neighbouring territories, foundations had been laid in the quarter-century prior to World War I that could neither be undone, nor ignored. As a cursory examination of the composition of the Nyasaland African Congress will demonstrate, that body was almost wholly dependent for its initial membership and branch organization upon the various Native Associations and their leadership whose origins dated from the decade of the 1920's and before.

The involvement of Congress in the years immediately following its formation in agitation for further educational advance throughout the Protectorate falls outside the scope of this work, but recognition of the fact is important as further evidence of this reciprocal relationship between the evolution of educational provision and the growth of what in this latter period could accurately be described as a "Nationalist" movement.

Christian missions, British colonial government,
and most important, the African peoples of Nyasaland: these were the three elements that combined to shape the history of education in the country throughout this seventy-year period. It is a history that despite the strictures made, the inadequacies and shortcomings indicated, seems noticeably free from villains and with more than its fair share, perhaps, of heroes. The roster is a lengthy one; pioneer missionaries such as Laws, Hetherwick, Elmslie, Scott, Johnson and the redoubtable Booth; a second generation including such men as Fraser, the brothers Young, Paterson and Steytler amongst others. If the names of representatives of those missions that came to form the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian appear to predominate, this, educationally speaking, is as it should be in what is only a short list of those whose contributions were the greatest. It by no means disparages the work of those other missionaries whose periods of service in the country may have of necessity been briefer, or whose missions chose not to place a comparable degree of emphasis upon educational values and academic excellence for their own sake.

Nyasaland appears to have been particularly fortunate in the character and ability of her three Directors of Education during this period: Gaunt, Lacey and Wisdom,
as well as their subordinates such as Bowman, Stott, Buchanan and Caldwell. The fact that the total number of Government education officers serving in the Protectorate during this first twenty years of the Department's existence can be numbered on the fingers of two hands, testifies as much to the debt the country owes them for the scope and the duration of their services as it points up the meagreness of Government's resources throughout this period.

In conclusion, last, but by no means least, independent Malawi must recall with gratitude and with affection those of her sons who played so prominent a role in the shaping of her educational destiny. Here the roll call is perhaps the longest, and only a handful of the most illustrious may be cited. Surely the following, nonetheless, deserve special mention: John Chilembwo, Harry Kambwiri Matecheta, Charles Domingo, Yesaya Zerenji Mwasi, Charles C. Chinula, Hanock Msokera Phiri, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, Daniel Sharpe Malekebu, Charles Jameson Matinga, Levi Z. Mumba, and that adopted son, William Koyi. To all of them the thanks should be, *ncito yabwino*, a job well done.
APPENDIX A

THE "PHIRI" HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN MALAWI

The following "History of Education in Malawi" was prepared at the request of the writer by Mr. George Musokwa Phiri. It is included here for the light it seems to shed upon attitudes to education that today possess a fairly general currency among members of Mr. Phiri's generation.

Mr. Phiri was born in the northern region of Nyasaland in 1910. He received his primary education between 1922 and 1931 at Enkwoni Full Primary School, administered by the Livingstonia Mission. From 1932 to 1935 he pursued a Teacher Training Course at the Overtoun Institute. Following his completion of this course he spent a decade as a primary school headmaster at Madiso and at Bandawe. In 1946 he arrived at the Robert Laws Teacher Training College located on the Loudon Station of the Livingstonia Mission. There he has remained for the past twenty years as an instructor and latterly as Assistant Headmaster. In 1957/58 he spent a year at Moray House, the College of Education affiliated with the University of Edinburgh.

The text of Mr. Phiri's "History" is reproduced here with a minimum of editing in the interests of preserving accurately its essential style and flavour. The typewritten format in which it was submitted is similarly retained.

THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN MALAWI AS REQUESTED BY THE TUTOR OF THE MALAWI UNIVERSITY PREPARED BY GEO. H. PHIRI, ROBERT LAWS COLLEGE TUTOR

13th May, 1966

I. EDUCATION IN MALAWI. The Old Tribal Education in Malawi.

CONTENTS
(a) Religion of the Tribe. Worship largely was the concern of the chiefs and the old men. It was done occasionally.
(b) Art and Crafts. For different purposes both men and women have had a special training by the exports.
(c) Physical Instructions for formation of strong bodies.
(d) Constructions of houses and food stores, etc.
(e) Moral Instructions and character training for both men and women, girls and boys as well.
(f) Health and Medicine and the systems of simple operations.
(g) Government and Organizations of Societies, (Civics).
(h) Sex education by well trusted men and women.
(i) Numbers using fingers and tools.
(j) Language Training.
(k) History by the Historians.
(l) Nature Observations. Seasons, wind directions, etc. and etc.
(m) Farming on land and the keeping of animals.

2. Methods of teaching which they used to apply.
   (a) Learning by doing.
   (b) Imitation.
   (c) Project Methods. Communal Services or Self-help Schemes.
   (d) Story Telling Method.
   (e) Dramatizations.
   (f) Mechanical Method. Teaching to learn by heart.

3. Education by the Early Missionaries.
   Their Aims.
   (a) The main aim was to spread Christianity especially by teaching people to read the Gospel and then to spread amongst others against evil practices as a result, the collapse of Slave Trade.
   (b) Also through Industrial Training, e.g. Building, Carpentry, Health and Health practitioners.

   Their Contents.
   (a) The main emphasis was on Religious Instructions.
   (b) 3Rs, for the spread of the Gospel and for calculation [sic], e.g. of money, useful crafts for the establishment of Mission Stations. Also aiming at raising the standards of living suiting the conditions of that time.
   (c) Health training for better health and training of dispensers.
   (d) English for best pupils to help them in doing their work.
   (e) Music for singing for pleasure and for the use of Church worship.
   (f) Games on a small scale were taught.
Methods of Teaching which they used to apply.

(a) Memorizing, i.e. learning by heart, repetition was widely used especially because teachers were few and untrained. Classes were very large for one untrained teacher. Story telling was useful for Religious Instruction and history. The Pupil Teacher system was very commonly practised by many missionaries.

(b) Reading Methods. Mechanical, alphabetic method in number learning of tables by heart. Methods of teaching at this time in all schools were not based on pupils' natural experience but only on the adults' ideas of what was best for the children; (e.g. frequent punishments for mistakes).

Note. The aims of the Education brought by Missionaries and the old aims of the Malawi Tribal Education. Broadly speaking both aims and methods or even the contents were similar; i.e. to train children to be good citizens, good members of society, but mission education did this through the Church Religion where as the Tribal Education did it through beliefs, customs and organization of the tribe. Also the Tribal Education was narrow. It [was] concerned only with the one tribe society. The Mission Education was and still [is] without limits, i.e. world wide in its application.

Contents. In some respects there were similarities between the Tribal and Mission Educations i.e. In the learning of the useful crafts; agriculture, moral instructions, counting, character training, reading, writing, worship, society organization or civics, etc.

The Difference. Mission Education including the present Education tackle all these subjects in new ways with new tools, new knowledge (including Christianity), in other respects there were big differences that the Christian Religion was the central feature of the new Education; the introduction of the 3Rs (quite new) making books available scientific knowledge, language as English and the writing of the tribal languages.

Similarities in Methods. There were similarities i.e. learning by doing, in practical skills, story telling, learning by heart, by repetition, dramatic method. All differences, e.g. of organization (as schools and teachers) and of methods, especially literacy as a means (tool) of all learning.
The Results of the New Education. It began to build up Christian Congregations especially around the Mission Stations and schools. These Christian groups or societies develop a new way of life with new beliefs and a new kind of behaviour based on those new beliefs which [are] opposed to the slave trade and certain other evil practices and thus helped to bring about a more secure happier kind of life.

Literacy. When literacy was established in Malawi it became a great value as a means for spreading knowledge and communicating with skills.

New Skills learnt. Carpentry, building, printing, etc. helped to raise the standard of living. Disturbance of traditional tribal [sic] is another matter and it needs discussion.
APPENDIX B

"EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE MISSIONS, 1907"

The following table details the work of those missions operating in Nyasaland in 1907.a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Number of Scholars on Roll and in Average Attendance</th>
<th>Number of Europeans Engaged in Education</th>
<th>Amount of Government Grant-in-Aid (£)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number on Roll</td>
<td>Average Number in Attendance</td>
<td>Literary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMCA</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>155</td>
<td></td>
<td>8,599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.of S.</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liv.</td>
<td>402</td>
<td></td>
<td>19,203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIM</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIM</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WF</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIM</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not Obtainable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAGM</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not Obtainable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MF</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>839</td>
<td></td>
<td>39,244</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aNLS: Colonial Office Report for the Nyasaland Protectorate for 1907, No. 574.
bUMCA and the MF decided not to participate in the 1907-1908 grant.
APPENDIX C

PHelpS-STOKES COMMISSION: PERSONNEL AND ITINERARY

Personnel of the Commission

The personnel of the Commission was made up as follows:

THOMAS JESSE JONES, Ph.D., Chairman, Educational Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Chairman of the Commission of 1920-21 to West, South and Equatorial Africa.

JAMES EMAN KWEGYIR AGGREY, M.A., a Native of the Gold Coast and member of the Commission of 1920-21; formerly a Professor at Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C., U.S.A.

JAMES HARDY DILLARD, LL.D., President of the Jeanes and Slater Funds and member of the General Education Board.

HOMER LEROY SHANTZ, Ph.D., Agriculturalist and Botanist of the United States Department of Agriculture. He traveled from Cape to Cairo in 1919-21, and made observations of the soil and animal life, which were published in a notable volume and in maps.


MAJOR HANNS VISCHER, C.B.E., M.A., F.R.G.S., Secretary and member of the British Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, formerly Director of Education in Northern Nigeria, also worked with the Commission throughout. Mrs. Vischer accompanied the Commission for part of the journey.

C. T. LORMAN, B.A., LL.B., the leading authority on Native education and a member of the Native Affairs Commission in South Africa, who was a member of the previous Commission, joined members of the present Commission for their survey of Portuguese East Africa and Rhodesia. The South African Government generously made this possible.

JAMES W. C. DOUGALL, M.A., of Scotland, and for part of the time GEORGE B. DILLARD, B.A., of the United States, acted as Secretaries to the Commission.

It will be noticed that the Commission was international, interdenominational and interracial. It included British and American citizens, and a Native African, and members of

1T. Jesse Jones, Education in East Africa (New York, 1925), pp. xx-xxiii.
various Christian communions. In general, it may be said the Phelps-Stokes Fund met the salary and expenses of Dr. Jones and Dr. Aggrey, the British Government the salary and expenses of Major Vischer, the American Government the salary of Dr. Shantz, while his traveling expenses were met by the International Education Board (Rockefeller). The Church Missionary Society met the expenses of Dr. Garfield Williams, and Dr. Dillard's expenses were provided by the International Education Board. Mr. Dougall undertook his own expenses throughout the tour. The Phelps-Stokes Trustees greatly appreciate the generous cooperation of the various Government and agencies mentioned. This was essential to the success of the Commission.

**The Commission's Itinerary**

After a short preliminary visit to England on the part of the American members—Messrs. Jones, Dillard and Shantz—and Dr. Aggrey, the African member, the Commission left London on January 15th, 1924, sailing from Marseilles on Thursday, January 17th. Their itinerary is given herewith:

**January 29 to February 1**—French Somaliland

**February 1 to 6**—Abyssinia

**February 12 to 18**—Voyage from Djibouti to Mombasa

**February 18 to March 9**—Kenya Colony

**March 10 to 23**—Uganda Protectorate

**March 24 to 28**—Kenya Colony

**March 30 to April 12**—Tanganyika Territory

**April 12 to 15**—Zanzibar

**April 19 to 21**—Portuguese East Africa

**April 22 to May 15**—Nyasaland

The Commission traveled 550 miles by lake steamers and 400 miles by car, visiting schools of various missions. Major Vischer joined the party at Zomba.

**May 21 to 30**—Portuguese East Africa

**May 18 to June 7**—Southern Rhodesia
June 8 to 13—Northern Rhodesia
June 16 to 27—Union of South Africa
June 30 to July 15—Portuguese East Africa
July 15 to July 25—Union of South Africa
APPENDIX D

PHelps-Stokes Commission: Nyasaland.

III. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The inevitable conclusion of the facts presented concerning Nyasaland is, first, that the Colony has great resources which have not been adequately developed, and, second, that the million and a quarter Native people, with capacities above the average, have not been able to take full advantage of the unusually effective type of mission education provided for them, almost entirely independent of government aid. Nyasaland, with greater possibilities than any African Colony of equal size, is therefore the lowest in output and the poorest colony in Africa. It is generally agreed that the most immediate cause of this unfortunate condition is in the absence of adequate internal transportation and the failure to provide satisfactory exit to the sea. This problem demands the vigorous consideration of the best British statesmanship. Until it is solved all activities in Nyasaland will be seriously handicapped and the natural results of efforts, whether governmental, economic or missionary, will be largely nullified.

A second reason for the condition of Nyasaland is in the failure of Government to organize and correlate the splendid educational work of the missions with the various phases of colonial life. Missions have been permitted to struggle alone in their respective fields. Latterly a negligible appropriation has been given to them, but there has been no Department nor Director of Education to confer with the Missions, to encourage them in their work, or to help them relate their influences to each other or to colonial needs. An education related to the health of the people, to their agricultural and industrial possibilities, to their family life and their character development, would undoubtedly help the Colony to improve its status among the colonies of Africa. Through the increased knowledge and skill of the Native people, cooperative arrangements could be developed that would have a good measure of success even under the present handicaps of poor transportation and

---

separation from the sea. No Colony in Africa offers to its Government such quantity and quality of educational work as that maintained in Nyasaland by the mission societies. These emphatic references to Government must not exclude sincere appreciation for the vital services rendered by the British Government in the establishment of justice and peace and in the promotion of many essentials to the welfare of the people. In comparison with non-British Colonies Nyasaland ranks high in provisions for colonial development and the betterment of the people.

It is not the function of this Report to make recommendations as to such economic provisions and transportation. The conditions have been presented, and it is hoped that all possible haste may be made in supplying the vital economic needs of the Colony. In the meantime—and, indeed, immediately—it is possible for Government to enter the field of education, so that present conditions may be corrected and the Native people prepared for the great developments that are bound to come. The general chapters of this Report present the type of education and administration suitable to most African Colonies. The special needs of Nyasaland are suggested in the following recommendations:

1. The first provision for education that should be made by the Government is the appointment of a Director of Education and the organization of a Department of Education, whose first duty shall be the evaluation of the education activities now maintained in the Colony. It is urged that the rank of the Director and the position of the Department shall be equal to that of other important officers and departments of Government.

   It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of the services of such an official. It is as true of education as of government and of business, that what is everybody's business is nobody's business. Though the funds required for an Education Department would probably constitute in the initial stages a rather large proportion of the total grant available for education, experience proves conclusively that it is wise and economic to encourage such an expenditure. To refuse to do so would be to jeopardize the healthy development of work. The value of a Department of Education with a qualified Director is now past question in British Colonies in Africa.

2. Coincident with the appointment of the Director, Government should establish an Advisory Board of Native
Education to consist of representatives of the Government, the settlers and the missionaries. As soon as possible, Native representation should also be provided. The appointment of missionary members should generally be in proportion to the number of their schools which meet the Government requirements for the grant-in-aid. The small mission societies should combine to secure the election of a representative on the Board.

3. The most important provision of all is that of additional financial support from Government.

Appropriation to assist the missions in their wise and heroic endeavors would have immediate results for the good of the Colony. The appointment of a Director of Education and an Advisory Board would guarantee the best use of such appropriations. Among the facts to be considered in determining the financial requirements are, first, that there are almost 250,000 Native children of school age; second, that Native revenue amounts to a quarter of a million pounds; third, that missions are spending over £16,000 annually, without crediting them with the value of their great personal services; fourth, that money spent on education adapted to the needs of the people supplements expenditures for the health and agricultural departments and greatly lessens the need for police and military costs.

4. Provision for sympathetic supervision and friendly visitation of all schools by both Government and mission officers would have the most beneficial effects. This applies especially to the small out-schools, of which there are reported to be more than 2,000 in Nyasaland. Without supervision, these schools may be either futile or centers of unrest. Under the guidance and stimulation of friendly visitation they can become centers for the dissemination of preventive medicine, the encouragement of better agriculture and the development of a cooperative interest in movements essential to the welfare of the Colony. The plan for the training and employment of Native visiting teachers now being adopted in several African Colonies is strongly commended to both Government and missions in Nyasaland.

5. The system of schools recommended is that now used in the Southern Province of Nyasaland by the Church of Scotland. It will be noted that this system provides four grades of schools, namely, a central school for the whole mission at the head station; schools under European
management at district stations as the centers of their own area; central village schools in districts where small schools are too numerous for the immediate supervision of the district stations; and village or bush schools giving a very elementary course. It is not expected that this complete system will be adopted by the smaller missions. Their needs will be simply met by the central station and the village schools. In the case of very small mission organizations it is urged that they shall depend upon the better equipped central schools of the larger missions for their supply of Native teachers.

While Nyasaland does not yet require a central institution of colonial dimensions, it is necessary to have in mind the educational needs of those who have completed the training of the highest schools in the Colony, such as Livingstonia and Blantyre. The success of the South African Native College in training Natives for professional work points to the possibilities of a similar Institution in Nyasaland when the need arises. In the meantime, it will doubtless be necessary for Government and missions to consider the type of provision needed for the few students who will be prepared to profit by education in the advanced schools of neighboring colonies. At the present time, the only school in East Africa which can be considered for such students is that of the Native College at Fort Haro, already mentioned.

6. The objectives and adaptations of education required in Nyasaland are, in general, similar to those described at length in the chapter on that subject. The Colony is fortunate in the variety of mission education. Practically all the objectives and adaptations have been realized in one or more of the schools of the Colony. Through the cooperation developed by the Director of Education and an Advisory Board, each of these schools will be able to make its contribution to the development of the Colony and the Native people. Government departments will give assistance along their respective lines. This applies especially to the departments of health, agriculture and public works. Government will make possible the organization of extension departments for the improvement of health, the stimulation of soil production and the enlargement of market facilities. In accordance with the convictions of British Colonial officers, every encouragement will be given to the effective recognition of religion as an essential of education.
APPENDIX E

EDUCATION POLICY IN BRITISH TROPICAL AFRICA

MEMORANDUM

Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa

As a result on the one hand of the economic development of the British African Dependencies, which has placed larger revenues at the disposal of the Administrations, and on the other hand of the fuller recognition of the principle that the Controlling Power is responsible as trustee for the moral advancement of the native population, the Governments of these territories are taking an increasing interest and participation in native education, which up to recent years has been largely left to the Mission Societies.

In view of the widely held opinion that the results of education in Africa have not been altogether satisfactory, and with the object of creating a well-defined educational policy, common to this group of Dependencies—comprising an area of over 2½ million square miles with a population of approximately 40 million—the Secretary of State decided in 1923 to set up an Advisory Committee on Education in British Tropical Africa.

The Committee feels that it has now reached a point at which it is possible to formulate the broad principles which in its judgment should form the basis of a sound educational policy, and with the approval of His Majesty's Government, set forth those views to the local Governments, together with some indication of the methods by which they should be applied.

The following outline has accordingly been drawn up. Supplementary memoranda on special subjects may be added from time to time.

---

Encouragement and Control of Voluntary Educational Effort

Government welcomes and will encourage all voluntary educational effort which conforms to the general policy. But it reserves to itself the general direction of educational policy and the supervision of all Educational Institutions, by inspection and other means.

Cooperation

Cooperation between Government and other educational agencies should be promoted in every way. With this object Advisory Boards of Education should be set up in each Dependency upon which such agencies and others who have experience in social welfare should be accorded representation. These Boards would be advisory to the Government, and would include senior officials of the Medical, Agricultural, and Public Works Departments, together with missionaries, traders, settlers, and representatives of native opinion, since education is intimately related to all other efforts whether of Government or of citizens, for the welfare of the community. The Board should be supplemented in the provinces by Educational Committees.

Adaptation to Native Life

Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race. Education thus defined will narrow the hiatus between the educated class and the rest of the community whether chiefs or peasantry.
As a part of the general policy for the advancement of the people every department of Government concerned with their welfare or vocational teaching—including especially the departments of Health, Public Works, Railways, Agriculture—must cooperate closely in the educational policy. The first task of education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people, but provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services, as well as of those who as chiefs will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility. As resources permit, the door of advancement, through higher education, in Africa must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education.

Religion and Character Training

The central difficulty in the problem lies in finding ways to improve what is sound in indigenous tradition. Education should strengthen the feeling of responsibility to the tribal community, and, at the same time, should strengthen will power; should make the conscience sensitive both to moral and intellectual truth; and should impart some power of discriminating between good and evil, between reality and superstition. Since contact with civilization—and even education itself—must necessarily tend to weaken tribal authority and the sanctions of existing beliefs, and in view of the all-prevailing belief in the supernatural which affects the whole life of the African it is essential that what is good in the old beliefs and sanctions should be strengthened and what is defective should be replaced. The greatest importance must therefore be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and in training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects. Such teaching must be related to the conditions of life and to the daily experience of the pupils. It should find expression in habits of self-discipline and loyalty to the community. With such safeguards, contact with civilization need not be injurious, or the introduction of new religious ideas have a disruptive influence antagonistic to constituted secular authority. History shows that devotion to some spiritual ideal is the deepest source of inspiration in the discharge of public duty. Such influences should permeate the whole life of
the school. One such influence is the discipline of work. Field games and social recreations and intercourse are influences at least as important as classroom instruction. The formation of habits of industry, of truthfulness, of manliness, of readiness for social service and of disciplined cooperation, is the foundation of character. With wise adaptation to local conditions such agencies as the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movements can be effectively utilised provided that good Scout Masters are available. The most effective means of training character in these ways is the residential school in which the personal example and influence of the teachers and of the older pupils -entrusted with responsibility and disciplinary powers as monitors- can create a social life and tradition in which standards of judgment are formed and right attitudes acquired almost unconsciously through imbibing the spirit and atmosphere of the school.

The Educational Service

The rapid development of our African Dependencies on the material and economic side demands and warrants a corresponding advance in the expenditure on education. Material prosperity without a corresponding growth in the moral capacity to turn it to good use constitutes a danger. The well-being of a country must depend in the last resort on the character of its people, on their increasing intellectual and technical ability, and on their social progress. A policy which aims at the improvement of the condition of the people must therefore be a primary concern of Government and one of the first charges on its revenue. But success in realising the ideals of education must depend largely on the outlook of those who control policy and on their capacity and enthusiasm. It is essential, therefore, that the status and conditions of service of the Education Department should be such as to attract the best available men, both British and African. By such men only can the policy contemplated in this memorandum be carried into effect. It is open to consideration whether a closer union between the administrative and educational branches of the service would not conduce to the success of the policy advocated. Teachers from Great Britain should be enabled to retain their superannuation benefits, and to continue their annual superannuation contributions, during short service appointments to approved posts in Africa.
Grants-in-Aid

The policy of encouragement of voluntary efforts in education has as its corollary the establishment of a system of grants-in-aid to schools which conform to the prescribed regulations and attain the necessary standard. Provided that the required standard of educational efficiency is reached, aided schools should be regarded as filling a place in the scheme of education as important as the schools conducted by Government itself. The utilization of efficient voluntary agencies economises the revenues available for educational purposes.

The conditions under which grants-in-aid are given should not be dependent on examination results.

Study of Vernaculars, Teaching and Text Books

The study of the educational use of the vernaculars is of primary importance. The Committee suggests cooperation among scholars, with aid from Governments and Missionary Societies, in the preparation of vernacular textbooks. The content and method of teaching in all subjects, especially History and Geography, should be adapted to the conditions of Africa. Textbooks prepared for use in English schools should be replaced where necessary by others better adapted, the foundations and illustrations being taken from African life and surroundings. Provision will need to be made for this by setting aside temporarily men possessing the necessary qualifications. In this work cooperation should be possible between the different Dependencies with resulting economy.

Native Teaching Staff

The Native Teaching Staff should be adequate in numbers, in qualifications, and in character, and should include women. The key to a sound system of education lies in the training of teachers, and this matter should receive primary consideration. The principles of education laid down in this memorandum must be given full and effective expression in institutions for the training of teachers of all grades, if those principles are to permeate and vitalize the whole educational system. The training of teachers for village schools should be
carried out under rural conditions, or at least with opportunities of periodical access to such conditions, where those who are being trained are in direct contact with the environment in which their work has to be done. This purpose can often best be served by the institution of normal classes under competent direction in intermediate or middle rural schools. Teachers for village schools should, when possible, be selected from pupils belonging to the tribe and district who are familiar with its language, traditions and customs. The institution of such classes in secondary and intermediate schools should be supplemented by the establishment of separate institutions for the training of teachers and by vacation courses, and teachers' conferences.

Since in the early stages of educational development the training given to teachers must necessarily be very elementary, it is indispensable, if they are to do effective work, that they should from time to time be brought back for further periods of training—say every five years. The greater efficiency which would result from this system might be expected to compensate for any consequent reduction in the number of teachers which financial considerations might render necessary.

**Visiting Teachers**

As a means of improving village schools and of continuing the training of their teachers, the system of specially trained visiting (or itinerant) teachers is strongly to be commended. Such teachers must be qualified to enter sympathetically into the problems of education in rural areas. Visiting the schools in rotation, they will remain some time with each, showing the local teacher out of their wider experience how a particular task should be done, or a better method introduced. By bringing to the village schools new ideas and fresh inspiration and encouragement they will infuse vitality into the system. As far as possible the visiting teacher should be of the same tribe as the pupils in the group of schools he visits, knowing their language and customs. The visiting teachers should be prepared to learn as well as to teach. They should be brought together annually for conference and exchange of experiences.
Inspection and Supervision

A thorough system of supervision is indispensable for the vitality and efficiency of the educational system. The staff of Government Inspectors must be adequate, and their reports should be based on frequent and unhurried visits and not primarily on the results of examinations. It is their duty to make the educational aims understood and to give friendly advice and help in carrying them out.

Each mission should be encouraged to make arrangements for the effective supervision of its own system of schools, but such supervision should not supersede Government inspection.

Technical Training

Technical industrial training (especially mechanical training with power-driven machinery) can best be given in Government workshops, provided that an Instructor for Apprentices is appointed to devote his entire time to them; or in special and instructional workshops on a production basis. The skilled artisan must have a fair knowledge of English and Arithmetic before beginning his apprenticeship in order that he may benefit by instruction and be able to work to dimensional plans. Instruction in village crafts must be clearly differentiated from the training of the skilled mechanic.

Vocational Training

Apprentices and "Learners" in vocations other than industrial should be attached to every Government department, e.g., Medical, Agricultural, Forestry, Veterinary, Survey, Post Office (telegraphy), etc., and should, as a general rule, sign a bond to complete the prescribed course of instruction together, if so required, with a prescribed period of subsequent service. It should be the aim of the educational system to instill into pupils the view that vocational (especially the industrial and manual) careers are no less honourable than the clerical, and of Governments to make them at least as attractive— and thus to counteract the tendency to look down on manual labour.
Education of Girls and Women

It is obvious that better education of native girls and women in Tropical Africa is urgently needed, but it is almost impossible to overstate the delicacy and difficulties of the problem. Much has already been done, some of it wise, some of it—as we see now—unwise. More should be done at once (not least in regard to the teaching of personal and domestic hygiene), but only those who are intimately acquainted with the needs of each Colony and, while experienced in using the power of education, are also aware of the subtlety of its social reactions, can judge what it is wise to attempt in each of the different Dependencies.

We are impressed by the fact that mere generalizations on the subject are not needed and may be misleading. In regard to the education of its girls and women, Tropical Africa presents not one problem, but many. Differences in breed and in tribal tradition should guide the judgement of those who must decide what it is prudent to attempt.

(a) Clever boys, for whom higher education is expedient, must be able to look forward to educated mates. (b) The high rate of infant mortality in Africa, and the unhygienic conditions which are widely prevalent make instruction in hygiene and public health, in the care of the sick and the treatment of simple diseases, in child welfare and in domestic economy, and the care of the home, among the first essentials, and these, wherever possible, should be taught by well-qualified women teachers. (c) Side by side with the extension of elementary education for children, there should go enlargement of educational opportunities for adult women as well as for adult men. Otherwise there may be a breach between the generations, the children losing much that the old traditions might have given them, and the representatives of the latter becoming estranged through their remoteness from the atmosphere of the new education. To leave the women of a community untouched by most of the manifold influences which pour in through education, may have the effect either of breaking the natural ties between the generations or of hardening the old prejudices of the elder women. Education is a curse rather than a blessing if it makes women discontented or incompetent. But the real difficulty lies in imparting any kind of education which has not a disintegrating and unsettling effect upon the people of the country. The hope of grappling with this difficulty lies in the personality and outlook of the teachers.
Female education is not an isolated problem, but is an integral part of the whole question and cannot be separated from other aspects of it.

Organisation of School System

School systems in their structure will rightly vary according to local conditions. It is suggested that when completed a school system would embody the following educational opportunities so far as the conditions prevalent in the Colony or District allow:-

(a) Elementary education both for boys and girls, beginning with the education of young children.
(b) Secondary or intermediate education, including more than one type of school and several types of curricula.
(c) Technical and vocational schools.
(d) Institutions, some of which may hereafter reach University rank and many of which might include in their curriculum some branches of professional or vocational training, e.g., training of teachers, training in medicine, training in agriculture.
(e) Adult Education. This, which is still in an experimental stage, will vary according to local need. But it is recommended that those responsible for the administration of each Colony should keep adult education constantly in view in relation to the education of children and young people. The education of the whole community should advance parri passu, in order to avoid, as far as possible, a breach in good tribal traditions by interesting the older people in the education of their children for the welfare of the community.
DISCUSSION OF READING AND WRITING AS ESSENTIAL PARTS OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

THE DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION, replying to questions, stated that ... As to church classes he was of the opinion that reading might be regarded as an essential part of religious instruction, but did not consider writing to be indispensable. A conference such as this afforded an excellent opportunity of obtaining expert advice on the essential parts of religious instruction. He proposed that the following two resolutions be put before the conference—

(a) That in the opinion of this conference instruction in reading is an essential part of religious instruction.

(b) That in the opinion of this conference instruction in writing is an essential part of religious instruction.

THE REV. E. D. BOWMAN [C. of S.] considered that writing was not an essential part of religious instruction. He thought that in church classes reading should be limited to religious primers and books, and should not embrace ordinary school readers.

THE RT. REV. BISHOP AUNEAU [MMF] said that he would like to see both reading and writing taught in schools. He thought that it was good for natives to be able to write letters to one another. Also letter writing increased revenue through the Post Office.

It was pointed out to Bishop Auneau that the resolution did not refer to schools but only to church classes or prayer houses. He then went on to say that writing was useful but not an indispensable part of religious instruction.

THE RT. REV. BISHOP GUILLEME [WF] agreed that reading was indispensable but that writing, though useful, was not essential.

THE REV. CANON VICTOR [UMCA] was of the opinion that writing was not necessary.

MR. G. A. ELLINGWORTH [SDA] said that reading only was essential for religious propaganda. His mission did not consider writing necessary.

HIS EXCELLENCY stated that it would be his duty to decide what instruction would be permitted in recognised institutions.

THE RT. REV. BISHOP GUillaume repeated that writing was not essential, but very useful.
Resolution (a) was put to the conference and was carried unanimously.

It was unanimously agreed that writing was not an essential part of religious instruction.

HIS EXCELLENCY then invited the Rev. Dr. R. Laws to read his paper on . . .
APPENDIX G

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE VISITOR APOSTOLIC

The DECRETUM of my appointment states the purpose of the Visitation entrusted to me. I am to find the measure of our cooperation with the Government in the organization and conduct of Missionary Schools.

Our Holy Father, in a private audience on December 7, 1927, declared to me that the school was the most important part of the mission. He said also that he considered the present attitude \textit{sic} of the Government in respect to Education afforded an opportunity for the Church. This opportunity must not be lost. Others were ready to seize it. He expressed his conviction that from British Officials we could confidently expect fairplay.

At the S.C. De Propaganda Fide, I was instructed to dwell everywhere on the importance of the school. It is the atrium or portal of the Church. Our Missionaries should be urged to concentrate on the Schools. If anywhere, I was told, it is a question of building a Church or building a school, the school should have the preference, even if the building had also to be used as a Church.

Both in audience with the Holy Father and afterwards at the Propaganda, I represented that the initial expenses of putting our schools into a state of efficiency would be enormous. The immediate answer was an appeal to the Bishops of England for a special effort on behalf of schools in Africa in the Epiphany Collection for African Missions. What further action may be taken, I have no authority to say.

Later I pointed out to the S.C. of Propaganda that the next difficulty in realizing a perfect system in our Missions was the lack of staff or personnel. Many more Fathers, many more Sisters and many more teaching Brothers were needed, if our schools were to become capable of satisfying the Government requirements and competing with the rivalry of the many richly provided denominations. I urged the foundation of a new African Teaching Brotherhood.

The recommendations I would respectfully place before your Lordships and before the Right Reverend Superiors of Missions are as follows:-

\footnote{MRC: Copy.}
1) Begin by making the schools at the Mission Stations up to date and efficient. The Natives will be attracted by good teachers and well-equipped clean, class-rooms.

2) Then proceed to improve the schools at important out-stations, where there is a large population or where there may be danger of the establishment of Government schools or of protestant schools.

3) But the foremost need is to create a body of well instructed and well trained teachers. It would seem that a Training Class for Teachers should be established and made perfect in every Central Mission Station.

4) While the essential Ministerial Work of the Missionary can never be neglected, the school should be regarded as the heart of missionary organization in every vicariate & Prefecture.

5) Boarding Schools for boys and also for girls seem to be most useful: in some cases they appear to me necessary. In this connection see Annual Education Report 1926, top of page 13.

6) Medical care of mothers and children is very essential, if we are not to lose many of our Christians.

7) I humbly suggest that the Missionary Superior should adopt a system of devolution, by entrusting school matters, viz: inspection, correspondence, etc., to the Educational Secretary with whom might be associated a small committee of priest-experts to advise the Bishop or Prefect Apost. on educational questions. It seems necessary to give the Educational Secretary a fairly free hand.

DAR-ES-SALAAM, AUGUST, 10th, 1928.

Signed: + A. Hinsley
Visitor Apostolic.
APPENDIX II

OLDHAM MEMORANDUM AND COMMENTS BY GAUNT

Memorandum on Native Education in Nyasaland.

(1) It is recognized by missions that the general direction and control of educational policy is the function of government. The problem is how this general direction and control can in the circumstances of Nyasaland best be exercised for the improvement of education in the Protectorate.

(2) There is no question that Government is justified in supressing forms of education which are detrimental to the community and to the pupils.

(3) Since natives are not yet in a position to discriminate clearly between good and bad education it is justifiable for Government to protect schools which conform to the educational requirements of Government from the competition of inferior types of education.

(4) It is more doubtful whether in areas where Government is not in a position to establish schools of the desired standard it is right or wise for Government to prohibit religious bodies from giving such simple education as is within their power. The niceties of a sound curriculum are understood only in educational circles. In the public mind reading and writing are the first steps in the ladder of progress. Where Government is not in a position to supply the kind of education that it desires, the prohibition of other persons from doing the best they can is apt to provoke criticism. It is certain that opinion in the Labour Party would be hostile to such a policy and it would therefore not be likely to commend itself to a Labour Government. It seems undesirable to raise an issue of a highly controversial nature if other means can be found of achieving the aims of Government in the improving of education in Nyasaland.

(5) It is suggested that these aims can be achieved by the following means. It might be provided that all schools giving secular instruction of any kind must be registered, but that only those schools which conformed to the standards laid down by Government should be "recognized"

\[1\] EH: "Correspondence with Scottish Churches."
(the term "recognized" is used to leave open for the present the question whether all recognized schools should also be assisted). Provision might then be made in the Ordinance that where a recognized or assisted school is established no other school giving secular instruction of any kind should be allowed within a distance of (say) 2 miles unless the Board of Education is of opinion that the size of the population and the presence of Christians of a different denomination in the area justify the setting up of another recognized school within the area.

(6) The effect of such a provision would be to give a preference to schools which conform to Government standards. It would be in the interests of all missions as quickly as possible to secure recognition for their schools since failure to do so would mean that the school would have to be closed as soon as a standard school was established within the area.

(7) The position of the Government in this matter would be unassailable. It would merely be insisting that if in any educational area a school answering to Government standards had been established, no other school should be allowed unless it also conformed to the same standard.

(8) If any society were prepared to establish a standard school where a substandard school belonging to some other society already existed, Government would inform the proprietor of the existing school that unless it qualified as a recognized school within a stated period permission would be given for the establishment of such a school by another society and the substandard school would have to close.

(9) The question arises whether it should be the policy of Government to keep the standard of "recognition" high and consequently the number of recognized schools relatively small or to admit as many schools as possible to the recognized list with an inevitable lowering of the standard. There seems no escape from a choice between the two alternatives. The number of children in the Protectorate on the school roll seems to be not far short from the total number of children of school-going age. In other words, Nyasaland already has something approaching universal education. To have a high standard of education and at the same time to make it universal, involves great cost. In Nyasaland the cost would be prohibitive. Sooner or later Government will be forced in Nyasaland as in other African colonies to standardize the rates of pay for teachers. At present the
highest paid village school teacher is receiving £40 a year. With a growing competition from Government and commercial enterprises for natives with a knowledge of English, it is possible that the standard wage for teachers may in time approximate to this figure. If, as the Director of Education anticipates, there will be 6,000 village school teachers in Nyasaland, the salary bill alone would be £240,000 a year. If the wage were half the amount suggested, the bill would be £120,000 a year. To this has to be added the cost of equipment of village schools as well as the cost of maintaining institutions for the training of teachers. It would be impossible to maintain a system of universal village education without developing also a system of secondary education for the more advanced pupils. The figures given have been mentioned only for the purpose of bringing out how fundamental finance is in the whole problem. With the slender resources at its disposal, the only policy open to Government would seem to be to direct its efforts towards affecting improvement within a restricted field and gradually to extend the improvement to wider regions as funds increase. This would mean that no attempt would be made to bring more than a limited number of schools within the "recognized" system.

(10) The argument in favour of restricting the number of schools which in the first instance are brought within the scope of the Government scheme is strengthened when the question of grants is considered. A wide distribution of grants will absorb a large part of the available funds and there is a danger that by dissipating its resources, Government may not get an adequate return in the improvement of quality. If there are 3,000 teachers earning the grant of £3 the annual expenditure will be £9,000, and if it should be found in the future that the grant is insufficient to secure sufficiently trained teachers and the amount has to be raised, the expenditure will be proportionately raised.

(11) It is a question whether all recognized schools should be given a grant in which case they will all be assisted schools and there will be no need to distinguish between recognized and assisted schools; or whether there should be a class of recognized schools, which while conforming to Government standards, do not qualify for the grant.

(12) It has been suggested that all schools giving secular instruction of any kind should be required to register. This will enable the Director of Education to
know what is going on. It seems doubtful, however, whether an attempt should be made to license teachers in these schools. To do so must impose an additional burden on the Education Department, the energies of whose small staff are needed for more urgent tasks. A choice has to be made between two alternatives. Either the licensing is a mere form, names being put on the list on the recommendations of the missions; or the Department must have its own tests and concern itself with the improvement of all the substandard schools which, it has been suggested, is a task beyond its present resources. It is doubtful whether Nyasaland can successfully undertake a task which the other East African territories with larger funds at their disposal have recognized to be beyond their strength at present.

(13) To refrain for the present from making any demands on substandard schools beyond requiring that they should register for purposes of information is neither to sacrifice anything vital nor to condemn these schools to neglect. There is no sacrifice of any vital interests because the only effective means of improving these schools is to improve the quality of the teachers and this cannot be achieved either by regulation or by examination but only by better training of teachers. Nor is there any reason why the Government while refraining from insisting on the conformity with any required standard should not set itself immediately to the task of improving the quality of these schools by the only real means of effecting such improvement, namely the training of teachers and of supervisors. Just as quickly as these tasks can be successfully accomplished the schools will be ready to be brought within the system of recognized schools.

(14) The main objective of educational policy at the present time would seem to be to concentrate on the training of teachers. For this purpose it would seem to be desirable that the Director of Education should in conference with the authorities of each mission explore the question what measures are best calculated to bring about an improvement in the quality of the schools of that mission as rapidly as possible. When this has been ascertained and the needs of the different missions compared it would be possible for Government to devote the larger part of its resources to bringing about this improvement by making grants for specific objects. This is likely to give better results than to make a general grant for all European teachers who are able to qualify, which grant owing to the shortage of funds may be as low as c40 or c35. Grants of this small amount
are insufficient to make possible the employment of an additional teacher which is the one thing in many cases that will make any real difference. It would be better to make grants to the missions for a clearly defined purpose such as an addition to the staff of a training institution or the appointment of a European supervisor of village schools or for the training or salary of native supervisors, or for the holding of refresher training courses. In each case the grant would be made only if the conditions laid down by Government were complied with and the Government were satisfied with the qualifications of the person appointed to any new post.

(15) In general, it is suggested that grants should be made for two main purposes: (a) to meet the salaries of teachers in a limited number of recognized village schools, and (b) to assist in the training of teachers and supervisors both for recognized and for substandard schools, the latter being brought into the recognized system as rapidly as they can be staffed with fully qualified teachers.

(16) If the standard of qualification for teachers in recognized schools is kept high some arrangement needs to be made (as at present) in regard to teachers who, while not able to pass the tests, are nevertheless by reason of their character and long experience suitable for employment in recognized schools. It is suggested that this can best be provided for as in the Tanganyika Ordinance (Sec. 10-2) by a provisional list of teachers on which may be enrolled the names of teachers approved by the Director of Education with the advice of the Board who are not qualified to be registered as teachers. It would be of advantage if as in Tanganyika this arrangement could be recognized in the Ordinance and not merely in the Rules, since this will serve to make clearer to outsiders the real intentions and policy of Government.

(17) An effective provision found in some ordinances for maintaining the standard of recognized schools is that no persons shall teach English in any school unless they possess the prescribed qualifications. A provision of this nature may not be adapted to present conditions in Nyasaland but is perhaps worth keeping in mind for the future. It secures an effective control over the teaching of English in connection with which the dangers of inferior and undesirable teaching are most likely to arise.

(18) A matter which before long will demand the attention of the Board of Education is whether it may not be desirable to recognize a vernacular certificate for
which a knowledge of English is not required. This is a quite distinct question from that of lowering the standard of present requirements for teachers. It is possible to develop a system of purely vernacular education in which the standards are within their own field as high as those of training in English. The point to be considered is whether it is possible for the Protectorate to afford a complete system of village education in which all teachers have some knowledge of English. The cost of maintaining such a system would be far greater than that of maintaining a vernacular system and no other East African territory is attempting to give training in English to the whole of its village school teachers. If a vernacular system were adopted it would be important to lay down conditions in regard to training which would secure that the teachers were able to teach hygiene, agriculture and other matters of fundamental importance for the village. If a vernacular system were recognized, there is no reason why as many village schools as possible should not be staffed with the more highly trained type of teacher who has some knowledge of English. It is one thing to aim at giving as many schools as possible the better type of teacher. It is quite another to insist on what may be quite impossible; that all village schools in the Protectorate must have the more highly trained and therefore more expensive type of teacher. If a vernacular system is contemplated, the whole system of recognition of such schools and in particular of the possibility of grants for them would need to be gone into carefully.

(19) It is doubtful whether the distinction between reading and other subjects of secular education can be successfully maintained. If reading is permitted in church classes, it will probably be found increasingly difficult to close the door to writing and arithmetic. It would seem to be more satisfactory as in other territories to permit the teaching of these subjects in mission schools on the clear understanding that wherever a standard school can be established any existing substandard school must either become a standard school or be closed.

(20) Exception has been taken in some quarters to the apparent harshness of the penalty clauses in the Ordinance. It would help to remove misunderstanding if the penalty clauses could take the form of Section 16 of the Tanganyika Ordinance. This is a form of penalty clause most free from objections from the standpoint of the missions, and since Government is making considerable
demands on the missions it would be of advantage if it could meet them in regard to this point.

(21) Everything in this memorandum is based on the assumption that the village school is the fundamental educational problem. The suggestion that the efforts of the educational department should be confined temporarily to a restricted field is in no sense an advocacy of a policy of limiting education to a few favoured individuals. It has to do solely with the question how village education can be most effectively and most rapidly improved with the resources at the disposal of the Government. Sooner or later the Board of Education will have to face the question how, without surrender of the principle that the improvement of village education is the primary objective, higher education can be at the same time provided for those who are capable of taking advantage of it.

(22) There is a question of the representation of missions on the Board of Education which may call for consideration. Many of the questions which come before the Board are of a technical nature. The Head of a mission has little time to go into these questions and may not be an expert in regard to them. On the other hand, questions of policy may arise with which only the Head of a mission is competent to deal. This problem may not concern all missions but it does concern some. The difficulty might be got over in cases where it arises by appointing as a member of the Board the Head of a mission or his Deputy. This would allow the Head of the mission to represent the mission when large questions of policy were under discussion whereas in all the ordinary business of the Board, the mission would be represented by the Deputy. In order to give the Deputy the necessary status it would be desirable that he should be appointed officially and by name as Deputy for the Head of the Mission and not merely attend the Board representing the Head of the Mission.

[Initialled] J.H.O.
Notes on Mr. J. H. Oldham's Memorandum on Native Education in Nyasaland, by R. F. Gaunt.

1. I am glad to read this opinion of Mr. Oldham, expressed after the receipt of the protest addressed to him by the Bishop of Nyasaland, and after discussion between Mr. Oldham and the Bishop. The principle is embodied in the Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa drawn up by the Advisory Committee and endorsed by the Secretary of State, and has been accepted by all the missions operating in Nyasaland, except for the Bishop of the Universities Mission of Central Africa who has repeatedly urged that it is not the function of Government to call the tune unless it is prepared to "pay the Piper."

2. I agree. The difficulty is to obtain unanimity of opinion as to what form of education is detrimental to the community or to the pupils. In Nyasaland, after the most careful consideration, educationists on the Board of Education have agreed that secular education consisting merely of instruction in reading and writing is harmful unless accompanied by training in more essential subjects.

3. I agree.

4. I am unable to admit this contention. It is agreed that religious bodies are competent to decide upon the type of religious instruction to be disseminated by them, but when they include secular subjects in the curriculum, it appears to be reasonable to expect them to educate on sound lines, or to defer contemplating secular instruction until able to provide teachers qualified for such work. I know that in the public mind in Europe, "reading and writing are the first step in the ladder of progress," but in the expert mind of educationists acquainted with conditions in Africa, reading and writing divorced from that training essential to teaching the African how to adapt himself to civilized conditions, in fine, how to live a good and useful life, are the first step in the path of danger. The fact that Government is unable at present to supply the kind of education which would benefit the African does not seem necessarily to imply that it must permit a type of education which would be harmful to the natives under his protection. I do not quite understand the reference to a possible return to power of the Labour Party or how it affects the issue. Neither in this connection, nor in any other debatable matter, does the Education Department wish to adopt an
attitude likely to create controversy if any other line lies open which would have the same result. I do not think, however, that education has anything to fear from Labour. The African education policy of the Labour Party as set out under the authority of Mr. J. H. Thomas includes the following:

a. Primary education must be accessible to all children of school-going age, i.e., the Government must provide a primary school accessible to the children in every town and village.

b. Training colleges must be provided for teachers.

c. There must be technical colleges with courses specially adapted to African territories.

d. A widely extended system of agricultural education.

e. The revenue derived from taxes paid by natives should be spent on native requirements, e.g., education, health and native agriculture.

If these principles were adopted it would not be necessary to consider the alternative of "lowering the standard" of education as suggested in paragraph 9, in order to avoid the necessary increase in expenditure.

5. I cannot give a definite opinion on this point until the matter has been referred to the Board of Education. It attacks our Educational Policy at its roots. If we are to agree to the registration of all church classes as schools (sub-standard) and permit reading and writing only as in Northern Rhodesia, the rapid improvement of the standard of education in the village schools as evidenced during 1927 will cease and we shall revert to a foundation of "bush" schools of the worst type. Such schools could of course be registered as "sub-schools" as is now done in Rhodesia, but the incentive to strengthen the basis of our system would have gone. The substitute "recognized" for "assisted" school appears to be begging the question. The suggestion to forbid schools of an inferior type within a certain distance of an existing school of a satisfactory type is sound and occurs in Section 9, part 2, of the existing Ordinance.

6. I am afraid that the effect of this provision might not prove so satisfactory as Mr. Oldham thinks. Missions have not funds to extend their educational activities far beyond their present spheres, nor would it be advisable to encourage encroachment in other areas. Where a non-progressive society was working in an area at a
distance from more advanced missions, there would be little incentive for it to improve the educational side of its work.

7. The suggestion to mark out certain educational areas is of value, but it will not have as sound nor as speedy an effect in raising the standard of the village school as our present system. It could, however, be reviewed by the Board as a means of stimulating improvement should Government decide that it is unable to insist upon all schools ultimately conforming to the rules. I should prefer to see our present ordinance upheld with a definite statement in the rules that Government intends to take no action for five years, but that at the end of the five-years limit the Board of Education will consider the position of village schools not yet up to standard, and make recommendations re their continuance. Such a rule would exonerate Government from accusations of undue harshness and would at the same time retain the necessary "spur."

The proposal in paragraph 8 might tend to arouse antagonism between missions. I think that everything possible should be done to avoid such a state at a time when missions have clearly expressed a desire to improve their own schools.

9. Mr. Oldham says that we must choose between two alternatives and I cannot help feeling that his choice tends to retard developments. Statistics can be most misleading, and, arguing from figures, it is here assumed that Nyasaland has already something approaching universal education. It is true that the number of natives attending school approximates to the number of children of school age in the 1926 census (179,587), but a large proportion of natives in village schools are at present adults as I pointed out in the Memorandum on Native Education Staff sent to the Advisory Committee. I also think that the salary quoted (£40 a year), refers to a native supervisor and not to a village school teacher. Mr. Bowman has one senior supervisor of schools paid five guineas a month for eight school months, but the average salary of a village school teacher at present is most probably under £2 per month. My estimate that there might eventually be 6,000 village school teachers did not refer to the immediate future. I stated that when every child of school age had been enrolled, the requisite staff of teachers need not exceed 6,000 for the next 10 to 20 years (p. 9 on Memo on Native Education Staff). Such a staff would only be possible if great developments in the resources and wealth of Nyasaland took place and I regard
Mr. Oldham's estimate of £240,000 as a startling figure which is calculated to stifle in infancy any progressive scheme of education. With the present slender resources at its disposal, I agree that Nyasaland cannot contemplate carrying out the scheme in full for some time, but that should not prevent us from doing at present all that is possible to place education upon a sound basis. A certain amount of secondary education is foreshadowed, and is in fact already provided, but it is also of secondary importance. The African must learn to walk before he is permitted to run, and beyond the training of necessary teachers and technical and medical training, every effort must be exerted to improving the village school; the majority of natives never proceed beyond that stage.

10. Grants-in-aid at present provided for in the Rules under the Ordinance have been drawn up in such a way as to ensure improvement in village schools. The total amount paid in grants in each year is fixed, and presumably the missions will not engage new teachers until funds for salaries are forthcoming. It is possible, and I hope inevitable, that missions will in time realize that it is preferable to reduce the number of schools and increase their efficiency.

11. This is a question which requires discussion by the mission representatives on the Board of Education. They would probably agree to a "recognized" school without a grant but it might be difficult for the Education Department, without a large staff of inspectors, to be in a position to decide just which "recognized" school should be added to the "assisted" list as funds become available.

12. I agree that the licensing of teachers employed by European societies is in a sense a matter of form at present; it is also a temporary measure, but I think that when a native teacher sees that his license has to be renewed by the Board at the end of three years he is more likely to attempt to qualify for a certificate than if he were permitted to teach without registration. Presumably the staff of the Education Department is not to comprise eternally only two or three inspectors, and tests for teachers can be instituted. With the help of missionaries as examiners it has already been found possible to test 1,058 teachers.

13. I am unable to accept the statement in the first sentence. A grant is not given in respect of the native teacher unless the Education Department is satisfied
that he is teaching in a school which satisfies the Departmental code. The most effective means of improving the village school is twofold: the training of teachers and adequate supervision by both native and European inspectors, and special attention has already been devoted to these two methods.

14. I have repeatedly stated that the training of teachers has been recognized as one of the fundamentals of our system. It is already provided in the rules that Europeans to be eligible for grants must be full-time workers as supervisors, or as instructors in central station schools which include classes for native teachers and instructors. Although the grants at present are as low as £30 or £40 per year, they have already had the effect of releasing a number of qualified Europeans for purely educational work, and some societies do actually contemplate an additional worker whose salary will be covered by the total small grants earned by existing instructors. The present grants are for clearly defined purposes and cover the supervision of village schools, or the training of teachers and supervisors, or the holding of refresher courses and grants are only made if the conditions laid down are complied with, and if the Board of Education and Government are satisfied with the qualifications of the individual concerned.

15. Our present system of grants makes it possible for missions to increase the salaries of qualified teachers in a number of village schools which follow the full code, and also encourages a number of teachers to approximate to full qualification by taking teacher training courses; it goes, therefore, beyond the recommendation in 15, item A. With regard to 15, item B, this is exactly the result of the existing grants to European teachers with the additional incentive to improvement that the village schools are already registered and are endeavouring to come up to code requirements within a time limit instead of at some indefinitely deferred date.

16. The procedure laid down in the Tanganyika Ordinance (Section 10-2) has been followed for some time in Nyasaland and teachers not yet up to standard have been granted temporary licenses. I agree that this fact might with advantage be inserted in the Ordinance.

17. I think that some such provision might be adapted to Nyasaland if it is decided by Government that it is unable to insist on all schools conforming to the full code although this principle has been accepted by
all local missions except the Universities Mission to Central Africa. Here again I should like to consult the Board before making a definite recommendation on the matter.

18. The problem of the award of vernacular certificates has already claimed the attention of the Board which has decided to recommend them for certain village school teachers in schools following the vernacular code, while at the same time encouraging all teachers to attempt to qualify for the full third grade certificate. If this proposal is approved by government it will reduce the cost of extending the use of the vernacular code. The present conditions for vernacular teaching provide for ability to teach hygiene, agriculture, handicrafts and physical exercises. The whole situation of vernacular education has received from the Board, and is still receiving, the most careful attention. Mr. Oldham appears to be advocating a purely vernacular system of education for the majority. Mr. Young informs me that the "exclusion of English in North Nyasa would raise a storm of unrest among natives in that area." Dr. Loram would label such a suggestion as "repression by the European conqueror" designed "to keep the native in his place." The demand for instruction in English is unmistakable in Nyasaland and it would seem wiser to satisfy it without waiting for unfortunate events to compel it.

19. If the right to teach writing and arithmetic in church classes is insisted upon, the Board has a power under the Ordinance to compel such a church class to become a school conforming to the full code or to be closed. I am unable to recommend any change in the present policy unless urged to do so by the Board of Education.

20. I have no objection to the penalty clauses being framed in any way satisfactory to Government and the Attorney-General.

21. As already stated, the whole policy of the Board of Education and the Education Department has been based on the knowledge that the village school is the groundwork of any sound educational system, and all the rules, codes, and conditions considered by the Board have been framed so as to ensure that the village school will give an improved type of education adapted to local needs. At the same time, higher education is being encouraged in the case of natives capable of profiting by it.
22. With regard to the membership of the Board, I have no objection to both the Head of the Mission and his educational representative serving on the Board if Missions agree and Government thinks it advisable. I think that there should also be at least one woman member; it was an oversight that this was omitted in the Constitution of the Board. Mr. Oldham omits any reference to native representation. I still think that a suitable native or natives should be nominated to the Board. There are already native members on district school committees.
APPENDIX I

DESCRIPTION OF VILLAGE SCHOOLS

The following is an extract from the Preface to J. G. Stoytler's Educational Adaptations with Reference to African Village Schools with Special Reference to Central Nyasaland (London, 1939), pp. xi-xv.

Government and missions are alive to the fact that the village school sometimes called the "Bush School," is the only type of school that can reach the masses effectively. Schools at mission stations are comparatively few, and only the children living at or near mission stations can avail themselves of them. The bulk of the children of the country have to look to the village school for their education. The village school supplies the only source of education for nearly all the children in the country. In view of this fact the importance of the village school as an instrument for the remaking of rural Nyasaland and for the general uplift of the community can hardly be over-emphasized. This importance is thrown into relief still further if one keeps in mind the fact that the majority of native children stay in school for two years only.

It seems very necessary to make clear at this point what a village school really is. To this end the writer would use a picture of a village school in the D.R.C. Mission in Central Nyasaland, thus:

Lazily my donkey, facetiously called Spark, steps along the native trail winding in and out through the long grass, round granite hillocks, and through dry water courses. As I sit on his back I do some day-dreaming. I visualize village schools full of happy black faces, neat school buildings, a curriculum eminently suited to the needs of the community, teaching carried on by a staff of efficient native teachers. I visualize the schools taking firm grip on native life, helping to reformulate values, and developing a new national life suited to the changing conditions. But my donkey pricks up his ears, and I realize that I am about to enter a native village. I see a clearing in the bush and houses scattered about. As I emerge from the bush and enter the village, there is a great commotion. Children and dogs give me a noisy
welcome. The children call out to each other: "The white man, the white man! Come and look at his donkey!" Soon I, and Spark especially, are the focus of interest. Children come running up breathlessly from all sides, saying: "Good morning, Bwana! Good morning, Bwana!" . . . I sit under a tree waiting for the chief and the teacher to come. A child has been sent to announce my arrival. The children now view me from a safe distance. . . . In the simmering heat of the noonday sun little stirs. I hear the thud-thud-thud as a woman pounds maize under the shade of a tree. Goats are lazily chewing their cud under the eaves of the houses, chickens have taken shelter under the platforms of the maize stores, panting for breath.

The chief strolls up. He presents me with a chicken as a token of honour and of welcome to his village. I receive this gratefully and instruct my cook to give the equivalent value in salt so as to restore economic equilibrium. For a long time I chat with the chief about the state of the weather, the probability of a good harvest this year, the stock of food left in the maize stores, about the government regulations pertaining to the dipping of cattle, about taxes, community health, and finally about his school. Every school belongs to the chief of the village. The people and the children are his, the land is his, the school is his, the teacher is his. The aged patriarch explains to me the difficulties of ruling his people. He complains about the changed social order, about the disrespect of the young men and women of to-day, especially of those returning from the mines and urban areas. Sadly he shakes his head at the disintegration of tribal life.

Then the teacher comes. He has had a hurried bath at the river, and is now dressed in his Sunday suit. The chief, with a polite "I am leaving you," moves off to urge the children to come to school. With the teacher I discuss at length matters pertaining to the school. He states his difficulties and trials, and I give what advice I can. He tells me confidentially that the chief is secretly using his influence against the school. He discusses with me the latest initiation rites and the effect they have had on the attendance at school. He complains about the antipathy of the parents in general.

But it is time for school to begin. The teacher blows his wooden bugle; then after some time I see groups
of children sauntering up to the school. A few are carrying books and slates. The older boys and girls have some clothing to cover their nakedness. The younger children are content with a strip of cloth round the loins. Many adults are coming too, especially women, and eventually all march into the school, the chief taking his place on the front seat next to me. The school building is a one-room structure, and the floor has been freshly smeared with clay. At the word of the teacher all rise and say in unison: "We see you, Dvana!" and I reply: "You have seen me!" — the conventional greeting.

Looking at the assembled school I realize afresh the problems facing the teacher. There are fathers and mothers; young men and women in the prime of their lives; youths and maidens varying in age from eleven to nineteen years; there are many small children in all conditions of health and cleanliness; quite a dozen babies are in evidence strapped behind the backs of younger girls, who have to act as nursemaids while their mothers are engaged in household duties. Some babies do not belong there at all. They have been borrowed for the occasion. They keep the back warm, and a native woman likes to have a baby on her back even if it is not hers.

The teacher gives the opening hymn, which is sung with much gusto, and then he teaches the Bible lesson. All sit in rapt attention, including me, as the teacher dramatically unfolds the tale of how Christ cleansed the leper. The leper is an African, and his sores are like those of Nasula, the leper in the neighbouring village. The story is told as if it takes place in Nyasaland, and the whole setting is as African as it can be. When the teacher comes to the application the interest wanes visibly, but some of the more mature people listen intently to the exposition of this new teaching. A prayer follows, and now a beginning is made with secular instruction. I see many leaving the school at this stage, and upon inquiring the reason I am told that they have not paid their school fees.

The names on the school register are now called, and the attendance proves distressingly irregular. I ask the reasons for absence, and I hear the following excuses: Willisoni's mother does not want him to come to school; Stebulo is chasing baboons in the gardens; Fourpence is herding the goats to-day; Leven just did not want to come to-day; Sitedinou (Steady now!) and Gibisoni are hunting
mice; Agnes has accompanied her mother to a funeral at a
neighbouring village; Plustwo has been initiated and is
not coming to school again; Mphukei has malaria, etc. I
take up the register and calculate the average percentage
attendance; I find that it is 45 per cent. I notice that
some children have attended only two or three times during
the past fortnight.

Patiently the teacher plods through the schedule
for the day. He follows a printed scheme of work and
adheres to it rigidly. His method of teaching and the
organization of classes leave room for much improvement,
but he does his best and is giving his best to his people.
The school equipment is the minimum, and much of it he has
made himself from local material.

Looking through the schedule for the week I see
that he teaches reading, writing, arithmetic, historical
geography, nature study and agriculture, hygiene, physical
training, singing, and handicrafts. The school day lasts
from two and a half to three hours, and when the work of
the day is done there are a closing hymn and prayer, after
which the pupils are dismissed.

I now hold a conference with the teacher and sug­
gest improvements that can be effected in methods of teach­
ing, in class organization, in the division of work, in the
promotion of the pupils. I call the chief in again to dis­
cuss school matters with him in the presence of the teacher.
Together we seek for new avenues to interest the children
and the community in this adventure of education.

By this time the afternoon is far spent, and before
supper I stroll through the village to get acquainted with
the people. I inspect the school garden and the sanitary
arrangements that may have been made at the school. I may
have to dispense medicine to patients, to draw an aching
tooth, or to diagnose an abdominal trouble. After supper
I have a community meeting at my tent door. The gramophone
attracts all and sundry, and the evening is spent pleasantly
around the camp fire. Voices are hushed as a lion roars his
victory in the distance, and all suddenly realize that it is
time to go to bed. We join in the singing of a few favourite
hymns, a prayer is offered, and we retire. Soon the village
is hushed as the moon spills its silver light over the
African scene.
Schools such as this one the writer has attempted to describe are the subject of this study. In such a school we find a group of people gathered round a native leader and trying as best they can to assimilate new knowledge that, given a proper chance, may revolutionize their lives. All look to the teacher who interprets the new to them. He is a buffer to lessen the "shock of the impact" of Western civilization on tribal traditions and customs.

The children, on the whole, seem eager to learn, but the elders reserve their opinion. Much of what is taught in hygiene and agriculture they receive with distrust, and sometimes with open ridicule.
APPENDIX J

MEMORANDUM ON THE EDUCATION OF AFRICAN COMMUNITIES

Summary of Memorandum

(1) This memorandum is an expansion in the light of growing experience of ideas contained in the Memorandum on Educational Policy issued by the Secretary of State as a Command Paper in 1925. The subject of Higher Education having been dealt with in a separate memorandum, the present memorandum is limited to a consideration of the education of the general mass of the population, and in particular of those living in rural conditions, the problems of education in urban and industrialized areas being left for future consideration. (Paragraphs 1-3)

(2) The main purpose of the memorandum is to show the educational significance of the inter-relation of all the factors in community life. The school can make its most effective contribution only as part of a more comprehensive programme directed to the improvement of the total life of the community. The hindrances to social advance need to be attacked simultaneously from many sides. The true educational aim is the education, not only of the young, but of the whole community, through the coordination of the activities of all the agencies aiming at social improvement. (Paragraph 4.)

(3) This involves a clear recognition of the intimate connexion between educational policy and economic policy, and demands close collaboration between the different agencies responsible for public health, agriculture, and schools. (Paragraphs 5-7.)

(4) It is only in this wider context that the function of the school can be rightly understood. On the one hand, its life needs to be related as closely as possible to the institutions and traditions of the society of which it is part, and the moral forces already operative in that society need to be enlisted to the fullest possible extent in the task of education. On the other hand, it is the task of

---

the school to further social progress by interpreting the changes which are taking place in African Society, by communicating the new knowledge and skill which are necessary to improve the life of the community, by supplying new motives and incentives to take the place of those which have ceased to be adequate, by re-creating continuously the sense of social obligation, and by fostering an intelligent interest in environment, which will heighten for individual and community the enjoyment of life. (Paragraphs 8-10.)

(5) If the school is to make its full contribution to a comprehensive programme for the improvement of community life, a new type of teacher will be required. The teachers in African villages are the chief agency through which new ideas can reach the people and everything depends on the extent to which in their training they acquire an interest in all that pertains to the life of the community and an understanding of the relation of their work to its needs. If there is to be a real advance, one of the first steps is a fresh consideration of the present provision for the training of teachers. (Paragraphs 11, 16, 17, 310.)

(6) The education of adults has to go hand in hand with the education of the young, and the education of the women with that of the men. Only in this way can a lag in social advance be avoided. Greater attention needs to be given to the possibilities of adult education, and efforts in this field require to be coordinated with the activities of the school. The achievements of Co-operative Societies in other countries warrant the hope that, adapted to African conditions, they may prove a valuable instrument for the advancement of African communities. (Paragraphs 12, 13, 19, 20.)

(7) For a proper understanding of the changes which are taking place in African societies and of their effects on African ideas and institutions, sociological research is necessary. Undertaken by investigators who have received a thorough training in the technique of modern social and psychological science, its results may be expected to furnish valuable guidance in the framing of educational policy. (Paragraph 21.)

(8) The present memorandum deals with the problem of the education of African communities from the standpoint of the school and its contribution to a programme of social advance. But since a programme of rural reconstruction
necessarily includes activities that lie outside the scope of a department of education, the need for correlating these activities with the work of the school raises problems of organization which, while they do not fall within the province of the Advisory Committee on Education, demand consideration by the proper authorities. (Paragraphs 22-27.)

(9) Both in the formulation and the carrying out of a policy for the improvement of rural life it is desirable to enlist to the fullest extent possible the help of voluntary agencies engaged in education and welfare work. (Paragraph 28.)

(10) No policy of social advance can be successful that is not inspired by a desire on the part of African communities to improve the conditions of their own life. To achieve its aim it must take into account African thought and feeling and must encourage African initiative, self-help, and responsibility. (Paragraph 29.)

(11) In addition to the suggestions made in paragraphs (5) and (8) above, the lines along which progress can most hopefully be attempted are: (a) the progressive transformation of existing efforts for the education and welfare of African communities by their closer correlation with other activities and their increasing integration with the whole life of the community; (b) the provision of opportunities for selected individuals (officers of government, missionaries, or Africans) to enlarge their knowledge of the best methods of rural reconstruction; (c) the training of those looking forward to service in Africa by courses on rural reconstruction during their preparation, or in summer schools, which might also be attended by officers and missionaries on leave; and (d) intensive experiments in the improvement of the life of rural communities in one or more selected areas, where the conditions are favourable and where the right personnel is available. (Paragraphs 30, 31.)
INTerview with REV. J. W. C. DOugAll

The following is an excerpt from the transcript of an interview granted to the writer by the Rev. J. W. C. Dougall at his Edinburgh home, April 26th, 1957. R refers to the writer; D to Rev. Dougall.

R: Can you tell me whether the reception given Dr. Aggrey in Malawi was unique or typical of that in other countries the Commission visited?

D: Well, I wouldn't again remember vividly enough to say whether there was any exceptional welcome given him in Malawi. It was rather a triumphal progress wherever we went. And one's feeling at the time and afterwards was that he could have done anything he liked with these people. That if he'd been Marcus Garvey or somebody who wanted to lead them politically the other way he could have done it, probably because he had an absolutely overwhelming effect.

... He could have been received as a Messiah if he had wanted it.

R: How would you describe him in general political terms?

D: Nowadays, nowadays he would be a moderate; very moderate I suppose. He had learned from Dr. Jones and from the tradition of Tuskegee and Booker Washington; he had learned that the way forward for the Negro was through work and character, and that the race was not to be put off by resentment or irritation at the obstacles from which they suffered, but that provided that they deserved it they could advance indefinitely and he would quote his own experiences, his own career as proof of that; that you must just go on proving that you are trustworthy and you will get there.

R: Was he then in favor of going along with a system of enlightened paternalism?

D: Oh very, very much so. If he had come along later he wouldn't have been listened to I don't think, but at that time, it was apparently just the right time for that to be said.
R: (Described the presence of African CID at Dr. Aggrey's Zomba meeting.)

D: (laughter) Perhaps he'd had a warning as to who was present. One never knows. I mean Africans are quite capable; I've benefitted from their cleverness before now myself. Some of those who were present might quite well have slipped word to him that there were such members of the CID in his audience. . . . But he didn't need to be warned I should have thought, because he was preaching the Gospel of peace wherever he went.

R: I've heard of course his "eagle" and "piano" parables many times.

D: Yes, yes. Sometimes we used to say to him, because we were on intimate terms with him, shouldn't you change your stories? And he said, "Ah, never you mind, I know my people!"
Hon. Chief Secretary

Red 36\(^2\) again raises the problem of the part that the educated native is to play in the system of indirect rule. Not only in Nyasaland but elsewhere it has been felt by the educated natives themselves that indirect rule is a reversion to tribalism tending to keep them back.

2. A West African native, an undergraduate at Oxford, replied to the question, that he thought the educated African had two roles to play in African administration; first, as a member of the African Civil Service and second, as taking an increasing responsibility in the municipal administration of the larger urban areas. In Nyasaland we can and must take a much longer view.

3. Another native of the same class protested against the view that anthropology was limited to the study of the so-called primitive peoples. He would like to see young Africans trained as anthropologists, who would study the white people, especially the English (whose manners, customs, and institutions were difficult for Africans to understand) and interpret them to their fellows in order that the two peoples might attain a better understanding of one another. This stimulating thought seems to me to contain a real clue to the solution of the problem of our educated native.

4. However little it may be that they know, the educated Africans are in a better position to understand and explain us to their less fortunate friends. They have a vast field for useful work in self-help. The danger is the development along divergent lines of two different political organisations; that danger we have avoided hitherto by insisting that the Native Associations must

---

1\(\text{Zomba: SI}/3263/23. This comprises a confidential minute written by J. C. Abrahams, then serving as Assistant Chief Secretary in the Secretariat, to the Chief Secretary.}\)

2\(\text{Refers to a Government file containing a selection of Minutes of Native Association meetings, submitted by the Associations' secretaries for Government's consideration.}\)
work with and through the Native Authorities. If the minutes contained in red 36 had been countersigned by one or two of the important Native Authorities who were present, I submit that that would have satisfied our present policy. Unlike the Zomba Representative Committee of the Northern Province, all are local natives of the Blantyre District.

5. One of the most encouraging things I have seen is the Petition addressed recently to H.E. by the Blantyre Native Association against amalgamation with the Rhodesias, encouraging not only an account of its contents, but equally for its signatories. In a matter which they felt was of vital interest to their future, all sections of the native community, Native Authorities, educated and uneducated, got together and told us exactly what they want.

6. I would advise that the reply to red 36 should be to the effect that Government is glad to see the procedure adopted in formulating that Petition and considers that by following that procedure in other matters in future, the interests of all sections of the community will be advanced to the greatest common advantage.

J. C. Abrahams 15.8.35
APPENDIX M

AFRICAN-CONTROLLED MISSIONS

The following list includes some 21 of the most important missions to be established under African administration in Nyasaland prior to the Second World War. It will be noted that twelve, or more than half, were established between 1930 and 1935, a period coinciding with the introduction of Indirect Rule. These missions were by no means uniform, in the size of their membership, in the intellectual quality of their leadership, or in the nature of their financial support. Some of these missions represented little more than the personal following of one man; a few dozen relatives and friends worshipping in a rude wattle and daub hut. Others enjoyed widespread support numbering thousands of adherents, maintained a wide network of churches and schools, and were a significant force in their community.

While it should not be thought that this list is exhaustive, it is broadly representative of the more

1Zomba: Miss: 12/10. "History of Native Controlled Missions Operating in Nyasaland."

2Bantu Prophets in South Africa, the distinguished work of Dr. Bengt G. M. Sundkler first published in 1948 with a second revised edition appearing in 1960, lists over 800 Bantu Separatist Churches in the Union of South Africa together with the information that in May, 1960, the South African Government's official list included more than 2,030.
important manifestations of this form of African self-assertion as they developed in Nyasaland, particularly in the Inter-War period.

The Missions are listed according to the order in which they were established although the precise date of incorporation is in some cases difficult to ascertain.

1. The Providence Industrial Mission (1900).

2. Seventh Day Baptists, or, Seventh Day Baptists' Church of Christ (1900).

3. Watchtower & Jehovah's Witnesses (1908). This includes over the course of time: The International Bible Students Association, the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Watch Tower (Native Controlled), and The Watchman's Society. This last was formed as late as 1937 by Elliott Kamwana following his return to Nyasaland from exile.


5. The Christian Apostolic Church in Zion (1923/1927).


7. The Last Church of God and His Christ (1925).


9. The Messenger of the Covenant Church, or, Chipangano Church (1930).

10. The Church of God in Africa (1931).


14. The Blackman's Church of God Which is in Tongaland (1933).

15. Kagulu Ka Mkosa Church (1933).

16. The Christianity of Freedom Church, or, Eklesia Lanengwa (1934).  


---

3 In 1935, Nos. 13, 14 and 16 combined to form the Mpingo Wa Afipa Wa Africa, or, Church of the Black People of Africa.
STATEMENT OF SOURCES

Primary Sources

Archival

Malawi

A - The Malawi National Archives in Zomba (Zomba) This represents an invaluable repository of materials relevant to the subject of the history of education. Most regrettably, I was unable to complete an exhaustive survey of the available files and supplementary data prior to my departure from the country.

In addition to those files pertaining directly to the subject of education, a considerable number were examined relation to such subjects as Native Associations, Independent Churches, the Chilembwe Rising and the Commission of Inquiry that resulted, Government/Mission relations generally, and a number of files dealing with Police Reports and those Reports prepared annually by District Commissioners.

The Archives possesses a very useful little library of secondary works oriented predominantly to Malawi specifically, but also including works of a more general application to East and Central Africa. This library, small in quantity at the time of examination (about 1,500 titles) was nonetheless high in quality, including many works published circa 1850 to 1925, now out of print and difficult to obtain.

There are also excellent holdings of old mission-published periodicals and ephemera, British and American periodicals both scholarly and non-scholarly pertaining to Malawi and to Africa, and exhaustive back files of both the Nyasaland TIMES and the Rhodesia HERALD. The collection as a whole, though inadequately housed in cramped quarters, is admirably well organized and readily accessible, when open to examination.
A representative selection of files follows:

School Inspection Reports, 1926-29: SI/1059/26
Educational Policy, 1925-38: SI/979/25
SI/1686/26
Criticism of 1927 Education Ordinance: SI/630/28
SI/666/28
SI/2/28
Jeanes Centre, Establishment: SI/300/27
Jeanes Centre, Organization: SI/300A/27
Education generally: SI/1212/31
SI/1054/26
Evidence before De La Warr Commission: SI/979II/25
Higher Education for Africans, 1935-6: SI/478/34
Correspondence relating to the AME: NN/1/20/3
History of the Independent Churches: Miss. 12/10
Files relating to the several Native Associations: SI/2065/19
SI/1401/19
SI/210/20
SI/3263/23
SI/1365/24
SI/1598/29
SI/470/34

B - The Society of Malawi Library, Limbe (MS) This contains a small collection of some value. There are a number of rare secondary works, runs of certain scholarly journals both historical and anthropological, published ephemera and useful holdings of the Nyasaland TIMES. The library generally supplements in a modest way the holdings of the National Archives.

C - University of Malawi Library, Limbe (MU) This was still a very young and undernourished collection at the time of examination, but contained some useful ephemera and offprints of particularly valuable articles from scholarly journals in addition to a bound collection of copies of Aurora, the Livingstonia Mission journal.

D - Catholic Secretariat Files, Limbe (MRC) These comprise a large number of files of widely varying value
from the point of view of an overview of the historical development of education in Nyasaland. Those seen cover the period from the inception of the Department of Education in 1926 to 1945. Those of most value contain copies of Government memoranda and occasional publications on education, presumably circulated when current to all major missions throughout the country. There is also a brief history of the Montfort Marist Fathers Mission which, while lacking in depth, is nonetheless useful.

E - Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (C.C.A.P.) Holdings, Blantyre (MB) These comprise a substantial number of bound copies of Life & Work in British Central Africa covering for the most part the early years of this century up to 1912. There is also a manuscript biography written by Clement Harry Matechota entitled "The Life and Work of the Reverend Harry Kambwiri Matechota," which provides valuable insights into his father's career.

Edinburgh

F - The National Library of Scotland (NLS) Most important for its "Church of Scotland Collection" which comprises materials relating to both the Established Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland. The Collection is rich in correspondence and in Mission reports, both published and unpublished, and in ephemera and newspaper clippings from Scotland, England and Central Africa pertaining to the Church mission fields published between 1875 and the late 1920's. This Collection is particularly valuable for the formative years of the two Scottish missions and for the period extending to the outbreak of the First World War. A brief description of the files in this Collection follows.

Church of Scotland

7534-40 Letterbooks of the convenors of the Foreign Mission Committee from 1872-1882 and from 1885-1908.
7541-54 Letterbooks of the secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee from 1875-1929, numbered from 1-69 and missing numbers 1, 8, 43, 44, 62, 64.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7606-08</td>
<td>Letters to the secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee from East Africa. Cover period 1881-1933.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7621</td>
<td>Foreign Missions Ledger, 1878-1880.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7622-23</td>
<td>Letterbooks of the Treasurer of the Foreign Mission Committee, 1895-1898.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7625</td>
<td>Africa letterbook 1888-1926 of Women's Association for Foreign Missions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7633</td>
<td>Letter to the secretary on Nyasaland school syllabi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7637</td>
<td>Minute book of the sub-committee on Finance, 1902-08.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**United Presbyterian Church** (after 1900, United Free Church of Scotland)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7654-39</td>
<td>Foreign letterbooks of the secretaries and other officials of the Foreign Mission Committee from 1875-1931. Numbers 7654-39 are numbered 1 to 39; numbers 13,15,17,31, 33,37,39 are missing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Free Church of Scotland** (after 1900, United Free Church of Scotland)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7770-81</td>
<td>Letterbooks, marked S, of the secretaries of the Foreign Mission Committee, 1869-1910.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7782-91</td>
<td>Home letterbooks of the secretaries of the Foreign Mission Committee, 1910-1923. Numbers 1-11; number 10 is missing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7792</td>
<td>Three letters from David Livingstone to Foreign Mission Committee convenors, 1861, 1862 and 1872.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7855-63</td>
<td>Letters to the secretaries of the Foreign Mission Committee on general subjects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7864-7914</td>
<td>Letters and papers concerned with the Livingstonia Mission. Included are:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7864-8 Letterbooks of the secretaries of the Livingstonia Committee, 1901-1934.
7869 Letterbook concerning Livingstonia Mission Boxes, 1901-1906.
7870-75 General letters concerning Livingstonia to the secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee, 1874-1927.
7876-89 Letters from missionaries at Livingstonia to the secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee, 1874-1926.
7890-96 Letters to Dr. Laws from other missionaries at Livingstonia, 1887-1893 and 1896.
7897-901 Letters to Dr. Laws from church officials, 1875-1900.
7902-03 Private letters to Dr. Laws.
7904-05 Material, mostly printed, concerning Nyasaland, 1875-1891 and 1886-1903.
7907 Cape Maclear journal and weather reports by Dr. Laws, 23rd July, 1875 - 22nd July, 1876.
7909 Revised version of 7907.
7909 Cape Maclear, journal and accounts in various hands, November 1876 - March 1880.
7910 Bandawo and Kanininga journal, accounts and weather reports in various hands, November 1878 - November 1879.
7911 Bandawo, journal kept by Dr. Laws, Dr. Scott and Dr. Cross, 1883-1887.
7912 Minute book of the sub-committee on the Livingstonia Mission, 1877-1890.
7913-14 Similar to 7912, but goes to 1908 and deals with relations with the African Lakes Corporation; accounts and financial papers.
7917-81 Letterbooks of the convenor and secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee. Covers period from 1876-1930.
7995 Letters from South Africa and Nyasaland, 1925-1926.
### Miscellaneous

8018-19  Letterbooks of the chairman and secretaries of Scottish Churches Mission Board, 1907-1929.

8021  Printed papers, mostly annual reports, of the African Lakes Corporation and of the Imperial British East Africa Company. Printed maps of Africa, especially Nyasaland.

8022  Newspaper cuttings concerning missions and mission fields (not indexed).

Also examined were the Annual Reports published by HMSO for the Colonial Office dealing with the Nyasaland Protectorate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Report Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1907-08</td>
<td>#574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908-09</td>
<td>#632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909-10</td>
<td>#692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-11</td>
<td>#732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-12</td>
<td>#772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912-13</td>
<td>#832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913-14</td>
<td>#933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914-15</td>
<td>#919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-16</td>
<td>#955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-17</td>
<td>#996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917-18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918-19</td>
<td>#1041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919-20</td>
<td>#1075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>#1096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>#1156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>#1162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>#1204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>#1257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>#1296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>#1389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>#1445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>#1489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>#1545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>#1580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>#1658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>#1665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>#1739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>#1776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>#1824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>#1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>#1902</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A further valuable source was the Library's holding of *Oversea Education*, from its inception in 1929, the "house organ" so to speak of Colonial Office educational policy. This journal provided a forum for the examination of new educational techniques and for an evaluation of policy, past and present. It provides an overall view in which the assets and defects, the successes and failures of educational policy and practice in Nyasaland may be judged. A selection of the more important articles and other items to be found in the quarterly publications of this journal are included in the Select Bibliography.

**G - The University of Edinburgh Library (EU):** This is particularly useful for its holdings related to the two Scottish missions. For the Blantyre Mission of the Established Church of Scotland there is a virtually complete run of the mission journal, *Life & Work in British*
Central Africa, spanning the period from the late 1880's to the early years of the First World War. There is also a collection of the letters and other papers of the Rev. D. Clement Scott. For the Livingstonia Mission there are numerous copies of the Mission's journal, Aurora, published between 1897 and 1902, and its successor, the Livingstonia News, published between 1903 and 1912. There are also collections of the papers of the Rev. Alexander G. MacAlpine, a missionary who served for the most part at Bandawo between 1893 and 1915, and the Rev. Dr. Robert Laws. The bulk of the latter's papers, however, are deposited with the NLS, while a certain number are still privately held by the family. Finally, the Library has recently acquired holdings of the Central African TIMES covering the years 1897 to 1909.

H - The Church of Scotland Offices (CS) Much of the material once held here now forms the "Church of Scotland Collection" deposited at the National Library of Scotland. Material for the post-1925 period is notable primarily by its absence, or unavailability. Two most useful holdings concerning Livingstonia, however, are the Overtoun Institute's Diary and Rollbook. The former, kept from the Institute's inception in 1894 until a few months after the outbreak of the First World War, deals in detail with the educational development of the Mission's central station at Kondowe in particular, and the several out-stations at Loudon, Karonga, Bandawo and Ekwendeni either in passing or by inference. The Rollbook affords useful biographical information regarding the more than 1,600 pupils who passed through the Institute in the period between 1894 and the mid-1920's. In addition, certain patterns of Mission attitudes and student behaviour can be drawn from a careful examination of the Rollbook as a whole.

The Church Offices, located at 121 George Street in Edinburgh, also contain a small library which possesses a number of useful secondary works published in the 1880-1940 period, for the most part, long out of print and difficult to obtain.

I - The Shepperson Collection This substantial collection of correspondence, published materials and ephemera is privately held by Professor George Shepperson of the University of Edinburgh and was kindly made available
for my inspection. For the purposes of this work, the Collection proved particularly valuable for its published material dealing with the Livingstonia Mission between 1874 and 1901 and for the correspondence exchanged between missionaries in the field and their Home educational officials in the periods 1913-1915 and 1922-1926. Also of use were copies of both Mission and British Government surveys and reports on education prepared in the mid-1920's.

London

J - The Public Record Office (PRO) Of most value here were the files containing correspondence between the Nyasaland Government and the Colonial Office for the years 1915-1917 and to a lesser extent, for the years 1919-1924. Of particular significance was C.O. 525, No. 66: Nyasaland, 1916, Vol. 1, Despatches 1st January to 7th February. Among other documents, this file contained a lengthy copy (over 400pp.) of the transcript of evidence, some written but predominantly verbal, given before the Commission of Inquiry into the 1915 Rising. Passing reference is made therein to a body of evidence of indeterminate but conjecturally modest length that was given in camera and is not available. The witnesses testifying before the Commission included representatives of all segments of both African and European societies. This file was particularly useful for the light it shed upon the organization and operations of some of the smaller missions operating in Nyasaland at that time, as well as inferentially, from the tone of the questioning, for an understanding of the relations then existing between Government and the various missions. Also examined were the files to be found under C.O. 626 containing the minutes of meetings of both the Legislative and Executive Councils for Nyasaland, dating from their inception in 1907/08. Unfortunately, at the time of examination, these files together with all others pertaining to the development of education in Nyasaland, were closed from 1925 onwards. Happily, these files have subsequently become available for examination, and while unable to have seen them myself, I am greatly indebted to Mr. Robert Maxon, a doctoral candidate in the Department of History at Syracuse
University, for having provided me with a selection of excerpts pertaining to African education taken from the minutes of meetings of both the Legislative and Executive Councils between the years 1925 and 1945.

K - The Commonwealth Relations Office (embracing the Colonial Office) Library (CI:) This contained a more than moderately valuable repository of British Government Command, Sessional and White Papers, policy statements and a wide variety of secondary literature, in many cases long out of print and otherwise difficult of access. Many of the works referred to in the Select Bibliography that follows this Statement of Sources were seen here, notably the "Bell" and "Bledisloe" Reports.

L - Edinburgh House (EH:) The headquarters of the International Missionary Council, this provided an especially rich source, particularly for correspondence exchanged during the Inter-War period. This correspondence, copies of which were available for examination, possessed much value in filling the gaps left by the lack of access to comparable materials either in Edinburgh, at the PRO, or at the National Archives in Zomba, Malawi. Of particular value were files dealing with:

The Chilembwe Rising of 1915.

Correspondence with officials of the National Baptist Convention, 1926/7.

Correspondence relating to the controversy over the 1927 and 1930 Education Ordinances in Nyasaland.

Correspondence exchanged with Rev. W. P. Young of the Livingstonia Mission between 1928-1934 and in 1942.

Correspondence regarding the inauguration of Secondary education in Nyasaland, 1937-1940.


In all of this correspondence, Mr. J. H. Oldham, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, and his assistant, Miss B. D. Gibson figure.
prominently, together with numerous missionaries in the field, officers of the Home Missions, Nyasaland Government officials, Colonial Office officials, members of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, and officials of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Carnegie Foundation.

Philadelphia

M - The Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention (NBC) This was most valuable for its holdings of bound copies of the Board's bi-monthly periodical The Mission Herald, dating from the first decade of this century up to the present. In addition the Annual Reports of the Foreign Mission Board from 1920 to 1945 were examined. Both of these publications contained numerous and lengthy letters from missionaries serving in Africa.
Oral

Malawi

A - The following list includes a representative selection of those Malawians whose views with regard to the historical development of education in the Protectorate, expressed to me either in conversation and/or correspondence, proved to be most valuable. For the most part they are products of one or other of the three constituent branches of the C.C.A.P. (Livingstonia, the C. of S. and the DRC) although one or two were educated by the SDA and other missions. With virtually no exceptions their careers have been devoted to teaching and the inspection of schools, in many cases, however, interspersed with periods of employment in the neighbouring territories of Zambia, Rhodesia and Tanzania either as teachers, as government clerks or in the service of European administered mines and businesses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>HOME DISTRICT</th>
<th>AGE (in 1966)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. M. Chapomba</td>
<td>Ncheu</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Miss Jean Chibambo</td>
<td>Ekwendeni</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Y. R. Chibambo</td>
<td>Ekwendeni</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clement B. Chihawa</td>
<td>Rumpi</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Chipimbininga</td>
<td>Mzuzu</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilibesi Chiwambo</td>
<td>Lilongwe</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*M. K. Chona</td>
<td>Ncheu</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemon H. Condwe</td>
<td>Rumpi</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Paul Mtonya Gwamba</td>
<td>Rumpi</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Thomas Thawata Harawa</td>
<td>Nchenachena</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Kampangile</td>
<td>Dedza</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew C. Karua</td>
<td>Nchenachena</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Y. Khonje</td>
<td>Ekwendeni</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. V. Lungu</td>
<td>Embangweni</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Lovin Mhango</td>
<td>Nchenachena</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. M. Mkandawire</td>
<td>Nchenachena</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*J. B. C. Mkandawire</td>
<td>Mzimba</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*M. M. Mkandawire</td>
<td>Embangweni</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Petros H. Moyo</td>
<td>Embangweni</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*William Hay Mpopo</td>
<td>Mzuzu</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. W. Msiska</td>
<td>Nchenachena</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. Anin Msowoya</td>
<td>Chitimba</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maynard Msukwa</td>
<td>Karonga</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(*) refers to those gentlemen (and/lady) with whom the writer enjoyed particularly fruitful conversation in person.

B - In addition to the above, while in Malawi, I conducted a series of interviews the contents of which proved to possess a wide application to the political and social history of the country over and above their value from a purely educational standpoint. Among my respondents were the following:

* Reverend Charles C. Chinula - interviewed at Sazu Mission, Mzimba District, on May 20th, 1966. Subsequent conversations were held in Blantyre later that same year.

* Mr. Samuel Yosia Ntara - interviewed at the DRC mission headquarters at Mkhoma in April, 1966.

* Chief Chikuranayembe - interviewed at Bolero District Court, Rumpi District, April 13th, 1966.

* Mr. J. L. Protorius - interviewed at Mkhoma, December 21st, 1966.


* Reverend Dr. Daniel Sharpe Malekebu - interviewed on several occasions, both at the headquarters of the PIM at Mbombwe, Chiradzulu District, and in Limbe, between November, 1966 and January, 1967.
Mr. James Frederick "Pingusi" Sangala - interviewed at Limbe on several occasions between May and December, 1966.

Scotland

C - While in Scotland, I interviewed a number of retired missionaries and Church officials possessing a particular knowledge of educational development in Nyasaland during the course of the period under examination. Among them were the following:

Mr. Richard Paterson - interviewed in Edinburgh, April 26th, 1967.


Philadelphia

D - Two gentlemen with detailed knowledge of the National Baptist Convention and long personal friendship with Dr. D. S. Malekebu were interviewed at their Philadelphia homes in April, 1968. They were:

Reverend C. C. Adams, now retired, but for many years the Corresponding Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention.

Dr. Whittier H. Wright, for many years a distinguished General Practitioner in Philadelphia and for over half a century a close personal friend of Dr. Malekebu since the years when they were roommates during their studies at Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee.
A Select Bibliography of Secondary Sources

A. Books


Elmslie, W. A. *Among the Wild Ngoni*. Edinburgh, 1899.


Fraser, Agnes R. *Donald Fraser of Livingstonia*. London, 1934.


**Education in East Africa: A Study of East, Central and South Africa by the Second African Commission under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in cooperation with the International Education Board.** New York, 1925.


**Women's Work at Livingstonia.** Paisley, 1886.


*Schemes of Work for Village Schools.* Livingstonia, 1923.


D.- Miscellaneous Pamphlets, Printed and Published Materials


**Malekebu, Daniel S. My Vision - East, Central and South Africa of To-day.** Philadelphia, n.d. but circa 1950.
Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa (Cmd. 3573, 1930), "Passfield Memorandum."


Religion in Africa - Proceedings of a Seminar held in the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 10th-12th April, 1964. ( Mimeographed.)


C. **Articles**

**The Nyasaland Journal**

Vol. 1, No. 1, January, 1940

Vol. 2, No. 1, January, 1949
"Nyasaland in 1895-96," F. M. Withers, pp. 16-34.

Vol. 6, No. 1, January, 1953
"Memories of the Nyika Plateau," W. P. Young, pp. 45-52.

Vol. 7, No. 1, January, 1954

Vol. 8, No. 1, January, 1955

Vol. 8, No. 2, July, 1955

Vol. 9, No. 1, January, 1956

Vol. 10, No. 1, January, 1957

Vol. 10, No. 2, July, 1957

Vol. 11, No. 1, January, 1958
"Extracts from the Diary and Letters of Peter Moore, 1888," pp. 25-41.

Vol. 11, No. 2, July, 1958

Vol. 12, No. 1, January, 1959

Vol. 13, No. 1, January, 1960
Vol. 13, No. 2, July, 1960

Vol. 14, No. 1, January, 1961


Vol. 17, No. 1, January, 1964
"North Nyasa District and the War (1914-18)," pp. 16-23.

Vol. 17, No. 2, July, 1964

The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal (Human Problems in British Central Africa)

No. 6, 1948
"Can We Measure the African's Intelligence?" J. M. Winterbottom, pp. 53-59.

No. 9, 1950

No. 10, 1950

No. 15, 1954

No. 16, 1954

No. 23, June, 1958
"The 'Northern Rhodesia Journal' as an Historical Source Book," L. H. Gann, pp. 47-53.

No. 26, December, 1959

No. 32, December, 1962

No. 33, June, 1963
"Church and Sect in Central Africa," (A Review Article), George Shepperson, pp. 82-94.

No. 37, June, 1965
"The 'Ethiopian' Episode in Barotseland, 1900-1905," Terence Ranger.

Africa - Education References

Vol. 2, 1929
"Education and the Social Adjustment of the Primitive Peoples of Africa to European Culture," W. Bryant Mumford, pp. 138-161.

Vol. 3, 1930

Vol. 4, 1931

Vol. 5, 1932

Vol. 6, 1933

Vol. 7, 1934
"Indirect Rule and Education in East Africa," G. C. Latham, pp. 423-430.
Vol. 11, 1938
"The Development of the Education of the African in Relation to Western Contact," James W. C. Dougall, pp. 312-324.

Vol. 15, 1945

Vol. 24, 1954

Vol. 30, 1960
"Paramountcy to Partnership; J. H. Oldham and Africa," George Bennett, pp. 356-360.

Vol. 31, 1961

Journal of the Royal African Society (published from 1932 on as African Affairs)

Vol. 9, 1909/10

Vol. 10, 1910/11
"History of the Kamanga Tribe of Lake Nyasa," Andrew Nkonjera, pp. 331-341.

Vol. 11, 1911/12
"History of the Kamanga Tribe of Lake Nyasa," Andrew Nkonjera, pp. 231-234.

Vol. 19, 1919/20
"Reconstruction in Central Africa," Africanus, pp. 92-100.

Vol. 20, 1920/21
"Native Education in Central Africa," Africanus, pp. 95-100.
Vol. 21, 1921/22

Vol. 23, 1923/24
"Missionaries and Education in Pagan Africa," "Optimist" pp. 44-47.

Vol. 24, 1924/25

Vol. 26, 1926/27
"Native Schools in Central Africa," W. B. Mumford, pp. 237-244.

Vol. 28, 1928/29

Vol. 31, 1932
"Education in British Africa: Parts I and II," Rennie Smith, pp. 54-76.

Vol. 32, 1933
"Developments in the Relations Between White and Black in Africa (1911-31)," Dr. J. H. Oldham, pp. 160-170.

Vol. 33, 1934
"How Shall We Educate the African?" Ben N. Azikiwe, pp. 143-151.

Vol. 34, 1935
Vol. 36, 1937

Vol. 38, 1939

Vol. 39, 1940

Vol. 42, 1943

Vol. 43, 1944
"Mass Education in Africa," Margaret Wrong, pp. 105-111.

Vol. 47, 1948

Race

Vol. 1, 1959

Vol. 5, 1963

The International Review of Missions

Vol. XIX, 1930

The Twentieth Century

CLXV, 1959
"'Too Cheaty, Too Thefty . . . .' - The Seeds of Nationalism in Nyasaland," Roland Oliver, pp. 365-368.

South African Outlook

June, 1924
Oversea Education

Vol. 1, No. 1, October, 1929
James W. C. Dougall.

Vol. 4, No. 2, January, 1933
"Indirect Rule in Africa and Its Bearing on
Educational Development," pp. 82-84. (Unsigned.)

Vol. 4, No. 3, April, 1933
"Jeanes Training and Rural Reconstruction in

Vol. 4, No. 4, July, 1933
"Method Versus Aim in African Education,"
A. Travers Lacey, pp. 163-165.

Vol. 5, No. 3, April, 1934

Vol. 6, No. 4, July, 1935
"A Jeanes School from Within," John Thomas,
Supervisor, Seventh-day Adventist Mission,
Nyasaland, pp. 161-166.

Vol. 7, No. 4, July, 1936
"The Development of the Jeanes Training Center
Work in Africa," pp. 183-187. (Based on material
contained in a report of the Tanzibar Government
deleagtes to the Jeanes Conference in Southern
Rhodesia.)

Vol. 8, No. 1, October, 1936
"The Teaching of Reading in the African
Vernacular," E. M. Cadwallader, Zambezi

Vol. 9, No. 1, October, 1937
"An Experiment in Child and Animal Welfare in
Nyasaland," pp. 36-38. (Unsigned.)

Vol. 11, No. 1, October, 1939
"The Central Village School System, Co-education
and School Councils in Northern Rhodesia,"

Vol. 11, No. 2, January, 1940
"The Coal of Women's Education in Africa,"
Dr. Janet Welch, Medical Officer, Church of
Scotland, Blantyre, pp. 65-72.

Vol. 11, No. 4, July, 1940
"Tribal Schools in Northern Rhodesia," G. H.
Rushbridger, pp. 178-181.
Vol. 12, No. 2, January, 1941
"Must Education Lead to Detribalization,"
S. I. Kalo, pp. 60-64.

Vol. 13, No. 1, October, 1941
"Wartime Education in African Territories,"
pp. 231-234. (Unsigned.)

Vol. 15, No. 2, January, 1944

Vol. 16, No. 3, April, 1945

Past & Present

No. 32, December, 1965

African Studies Bulletin

Vol. XI, No. 3, December, 1960

African Social Research (formerly the Rhodes-Livingstone Journal)

A three-part study entitled "The Origins of Secondary Education in Zambia," by Trevor Coombe, appearing in Nos. 3, 4 and 5 for June 1967, December 1967 and June 1968, respectively.

Journal of Negro Education

Vol. III, 1934

The Journal of Modern African Studies

Vol. 2, No. 3, 1964
Journal of African History

Vol. 1, No. 2, 1960

Vol. 2, No. 2, 1961

Vol. 6, No. 1, 1965
"Witnesses and Watchtower in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland," J. R. Hooker, pp. 91-106.

Vol. 9, No. 3, 1968

Phylon

XIV, 1953

XXIII, 1962

World Politics

XV, 1962

Note: It should be pointed out that several of the periodicals prominently cited above contain a wealth of articles dealing with the development of African education in those British territories adjacent to Nyasaland. These were valuable in varying degree, as were the many "Notes," Book Reviews, and other ancillary sources of information with which several of these periodicals are richly endowed.
D. Unpublished Theses


