

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter	
I. THE EVOLUTION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY.	10
A Liberal Policy, 1920 - 1930	
Retrenchment Policy, 1930 - 1937	
Towards a Modest Program, 1939 - 1945	
Conclusion	
II. AFRICAN INFLUENCE ON POLICY.	53
Positive Side	
Negative Side	
Conclusion	
III. AFRICAN INITIATIVES IN EDUCATION	97
Informal Activities	
Formal Activities	
Conclusion	
CONCLUSION.	119
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	121

Abbreviations

TNA. - Tanzania National Archives
CCT. - Christian Council of Tanzania
Cmd. - Command Papers

INTRODUCTION

A tendency common among historians and writers analysing British policies for African countries is to over-emphasize ideas contained in official memoranda, white papers, regulations and ordinances, and to give very little attention to local events which, directly or indirectly, may have influenced official policies and their implementations. The result of this approach has been to ignore the part played by the African in the framing of policy during the colonial period. Contrary to this "tradition," this essay attempts to show that the African was an active agent in policies which affected his well-being and that his intervention was particularly common in the field of education.

Education in its broad sense was not something alien to African societies. On the contrary, traditional education played a vital role in African societies long before the arrival of the Arabs and the Europeans. Traditional education was important to the society in a number of ways: firstly, it aimed at forming character, fitting the individual into society, and adjusting the relationship between members of successive generations.¹ Secondly, traditional education was the vehicle by which one generation conveyed the accumulated

¹O.F. Bam, Change Childhood (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), passim.

vision and knowledge of society to the next.¹ To achieve this goal, traditional education involved individual and communal participation in concrete situations,² a method which made the goals of education clear to both the old and the young.³

The character and purpose of traditional education also differentiated it from Western education. Western education was imported into African societies as an instrument of accommodation to colonial values and indoctrination for subservience. Western education was to be used as an "instrument to change"⁴ the African into what the European wanted him to be. The European saw nothing in African tradition that was worth preserving and transmitting from one generation to another.

Before discussing British education policy and its implementation in Tanzania from 1920 to 1945, it is necessary to define certain terms. Firstly, the name 'Tanzania' as used in this paper refers exclusively to the mainland area formerly known as Tanganyika. Secondly, education policies discussed in this paper are those relating primarily to the education of Africans, and very little reference has been made to policies relating to Asians and Europeans. This has been

¹ Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), p. 1.

² Jane Kanyatta, Facing Mount Kenya (London: Seckers and Warburg, 1961), Chapter V.

³ Kofi A. Busia, Successful Education in Africa (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964), p. 16.

⁴ Lord Hailey, African Survey (Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 1207.

necessary because the education system during the period under review was highly "compartmentalized."¹ The observation of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40 that there were "comparatively few matters for discussion common to African, Indian and European education"² is fully borne out by the general layout of almost all education reports and plans, including the Education Plan for Rural Communities (1935), the Report of the Central Education Committee (1939-40), and the Ten Year Plan (1946), each of which dealt separately with African, Asian and European education.³

Secondly, reference will be made to Native (interchangeably "Local") Administrations or Authorities (N.A.). Native Administrations were introduced in Tanganyika in 1926 by Sir Donald Cameron, then the Governor, who wanted to create an efficient form of indirect rule through indigenous authorities who exercised some influence and control over the majority of Africans. Under Cameron's direction, Native Administrations were the link between the Central Government and the African people. The structure and size of the Native Administrations varied from place to place sometimes encompassing one tribe, such as the Sukuma Native Administration, or sometimes more than one tribe, as was the case with the Mahenge Native Administration.

¹ John Cameron, "The Integration of Education in Tanganyika," Comparative Education Review, XI (February, 1967), p. 40.

² Tanganyika, Report of the Central Education Committee, 1939-40 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1943), p. 1.

³ Ibid. And A Ten Year Plan for the Development of African Education (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1947), passim.

Parcelling the country into Native Administration units was a slow and gradual process. In some areas, Native Administrations did not exist as late as the 1950's. Before a Native Administration could exist, the British Administration named and gazetted those Africans whom it regarded as having authority and control over a certain tribe or area. Usually the authorities were tribal chiefs or village headmen, but sometimes "a group of natives."¹ The British designated authorities then formed a governing Council. In order to bring some "knowledge and experience of special interests" into these Councils, District Commissioners could nominate some educated Africans to the Council.²

The Government created Native Administrations so that they could attend to business at the local level, such as tax collection, levying of poll and hut taxes and running their own Local Treasuries. However, a few Native Administrations extended their services to include the management of sub-grade or bush schools, a development which makes Native Administrations one of the agencies directly connected to educational policy making.

¹ Lord Hailey, African Survey, Revised 1956 (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 472-73.

² Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report to the United Nations on Tanganyika for 1951 (London: H.M.S.O., 1952), Colonial 287, p. 25.

Political and Social History

Tanzania mainland, covering an area of 363,000 sq. miles, was one of the countries comprising what was known as German East Africa up to the end of World War I. At the conclusion of the peace treaty, Tanzania, renamed Tanganyika, became a League of Nations' Mandate under Britain. Unfortunately, the conferees in Paris did not set a time limit on the mandate, nor did they make provision for its termination. Implicitly, the mandate was to cease when Tanzanians proved that they could "stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world."¹ This meant that the life of the mandate depended largely on the Tanzanian's response to changing conditions, particularly his progress in acquiring "western education."

Tanzania has had a multi-racial population for more than a century. Although pre-independence figures are not too reliable, for census surveys of African peoples were not systematically carried out, and frequently neglected isolated villages, they do give us a rough idea of the size of various racial groups. In 1921 the population was estimated at just over 4,000,000 Africans, 15,000 Asians and 2,500 Europeans.² In the 1931 census Africans were estimated at 5,022,640,³

¹ Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report of Joint Committee on "Closer Union in East Africa" (London: H.M.S.O., 1931), Vol. 1 p.8.

² A.R. Thompson and G. Hornsby, "Historical Perspective," ISS-PERES Tanzania Project (unpublished), p.3.

³ Nambo Lee, December 1932, p. 265.

Asians at 25,000, Europeans at 8,000 and Arabs at 7,000,¹ while in 1940 African population was estimated to have reached 6½ million.²

Neither Germany nor Great Britain instituted racial segregation as an official policy in Tanzania, although under the pretext of sanitation, health, and culture, both governments applied segregation or the colour bar to social services, medical facilities and housing.³ The best facilities were provided for the Europeans, while the worst were provided for the Africans. The policies of the colonial governments thus embodied a concept of a hierarchy of races with the European at the top, the Asian and Arab in between, and the African at the bottom.⁴

In education, the British colonial government cited language differences as a major reason for creating separate systems.⁵ But the racial views of settlers and colonial officials also played a part. In the first place, it was not proper that the "African should have the same rights as Europeans."⁶ Secondly, the African mind was generally

¹ Report of Joint Committee on "Closer Union in East Africa," op. cit., p. 2.

² Hugh W. Stephens, The Political Transformation of Tanganyika 1920 - 1967 (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1968), p. 31.

³ Elizabeth Hopkins, "Racial Minorities in East Africa," in The Transformation of East Africa, ed. by Stanley Diamond and Fred G. Burke (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), p. 94.

⁴ Kenneth Kirkwood, Britain and Africa (London: Chatto & Windus, 1965), p. 46.

⁵ Helen Kitchen, The Educated African (London: Heinemann, 1962), p. 147.

⁶ Der es Salama Times, December 24, 1919.

regarded as immature as that of a child,¹ and, as the Tanganyika European Association claimed, "lacked latent ability to acquire knowledge."² That this was in fact not a superficial feeling or belief, but a deep rooted misconception among Europeans living in Tanzania (as well as those living in other African countries), can be seen in the report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1924, which concluded that:

The most unfortunate and unfair of all the misunderstandings is ... that the African people do not give promise of development sufficient to warrant efforts in their behalf.

Generally, there was a tendency to keep the African as ignorant as possible on the assumption that a "little education would make the "natives" demand more than they deserved."⁴

By maintaining a rigid system of separate facilities, the British administrators in Tanzania were able to grant extra privileges to the non-African communities, thereby preserving the social status quo. Through special provisions (and grants-in-aid, virtually all non-African children had facilities for primary and secondary education;⁵ whereas among Africans less than three per cent of those of primary school age

¹ Dar es Salaam Times, May 26, 1920.

² Tanganyika Times, April 27, 1929.

³ L.J. Lewis, ed., Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 14.

⁴ Tanganyika Times, August 21, 1929.

⁵ Cameron, "The Integration of Education in Tanganyika," p. 47.

attended Government schools even as late as 1940.¹ Also, by means of separate systems and different syllabi, it was possible to gear education to serve the "needs and interests of each community."² Thus, the syllabus for Europeans prepared Europeans for administrative and legislative posts,³ the Asian syllabus prepared Asians for bureaucratic and entrepreneurial openings,⁴ and the African syllabus prepared Africans for agricultural life,⁵ except for the very few, who were to be engaged in the lower ranks of the civil service as clerks, messengers, and technical assistants, posts which were considered beneath the dignity and abilities of the two privileged races.

Under the limiting conditions imposed by the British design for Tanzania, progress towards an educational system which would prepare Africans to "stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" depended almost entirely upon African initiative. Whether by seeking to extend education to more people or by modifying the official

¹ Norman Leys, The Color Bar in East Africa (London: The Hogarth Press, 1941), p. 128.

² William Dodd, "Centralization in Education in Mainland Tanzania," Cooperative Education Review, XII (October, 1968), p. 271.

³ Hopkins "Racial Minorities in East Africa," p. 91.

⁴ P.M. Rattansi and M. Abdulla, "An Educational Survey," in Portrait of a Minority, Asians in East Africa, ed. by Dharam P. Ghai (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 116.

⁵ Lewis, Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa, pp. 44-45.

curriculum to complement their own interests, Africans in Tanzania fought to re-shape British educational policy.

I shall approach the problem first by outlining the evolution of educational policy and in the following chapters describe and analyze the part played by Africans in influencing and implementing educational policy in Tanzania.

CHAPTER I

THE EVOLUTION OF EDUCATION POLICY

The outbreak of World War I and the political changes of 1918 had an adverse effect on African education in Tanzania. The education system was so disrupted that the British administrators, upon assuming control of the country, declared that it would take some few years before the pre-war standards could be attained.¹

Prior to the war, schools in Tanzania were run either by the missions or by the German administration in cooperation with the Local Authorities. Missionary-controlled schools by far outnumbered those controlled by the government.² As early as 1914, the total number of schools under voluntary missionary agencies was already over 1,852 compared to 99 schools under the German administration. The total enrolment in all the schools in 1914 has been given as 115,000 children,³ or 161,387 children.⁴

¹Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report for the Year 1921 on Tanganyika (London: H.M.S.O., 1922), Command 1428, p.4.

²William H. Friedland, "Tanganyika's Political System," in The Transformation of East Africa ed. by Stanley Diamond and Fred G. Burke (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), pp. 282-83.

³Cmd. 1428, op. cit., p. 41.

⁴O.F. Raum, "German East Africa," in A History of East Africa, ed. by V. Harlow, E. Chilver, and A. Smith (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 205. (The discrepancy between the figures may be due to the inclusion of "bush-school" pupils in the second figure. The first figure excluded bush school enrolment for the British saw these as catechetical centres not offering secular education).

Most of the mission schools ranging from the catechetical or bush schools under African supervision¹ to the primary and post primary schools under European supervision, were located up country. Graduates from these mission schools, and especially those from Kiungani in Zanzibar, were employed by the missions as teachers and priests, or having had their post primary education in English, were able to go to the British protectorates (Uganda, Kenya and Nyasaland) to seek employment as clerks.²

The German administration, on the other hand, managed few elementary and post-primary vernacular or Swahili schools. By 1905, the only post-primary school was at Tanga, where the coastal people of mixed blood or of Arab origin were trained as clerks and akidas for posting to upcountry stations. Prior to 1905, proposals to start other post-primary schools to train Africans had been rejected as being too expensive.³ After the Maji-Maji Rebellion (1905 to 1907), the administration established two more post-primary schools, one at Bagamoyo and the other at Dar es Salaam, in order to increase the number of clerks and African akidas to replace the unpopular akidas from the coast. These three institutions remained the only government post-

¹Isaria N. Kimambo, "The Church in Tanzania: The Social, Economic and Political Background," (unpublished position paper delivered at Nyegesi, Tanzania, 1969), pp.3-5.

²John Iliffe, Tanganyika under German Rule, 1905-1912 (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1969), pp. 175-180. And "The Age of Improvement and Differentiation (1907-1945)," in A History of Tanzania, ed. by Isaria N. Kimambo and Arnold Teemu (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), pp. 128-129.

³Anthony Smith "The Missionary Contribution to Education (Tanganyika) to 1914," Tanganyika Notes and Records, LX (March, 1963), 99.

primary schools up to the outbreak of the war, and had to train students from the whole country.¹

During the war, most of the government schools and at least half of the missionary schools were closed down. Whereas mission schools were reopened soon after the war, government schools were not reopened until after December 1920 when a department to plan a new education system for the Territory was set up.² However, even after 1920, the Administration voted very little of the general revenue towards education. Sir Donald Cameron and John Huxley, commenting on this, concluded that the British "spent more money on the Governor's establishment than on the education of more than five million"³ in order to impress on the 'natives' "British superiority to Germans."⁴

From 1921 to 1931, although the Administration was reporting that "every year it was providing more educational facilities for the natives,"⁵ in actual fact it was re-opening the 99 government schools previously established by the German administration. In 1921, the Government reported to have opened 50 free schools to offer three years'

¹Iliffe, Tanganyika Under German Rule, 1905-1912, pp. 182-183.

²Owen Clough, ed., Report on African Affairs for the Year 1929 (London: Harrison & Sons Ltd., 1930), Vol. I, p. 172.

³Sir Donald Cameron, My Tanganyika Service and Some Nigeria (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 127.

⁴John Huxley, Africa View (New York: Greenwood Press, 1931), p. 29.

⁵Great Britain, Colonial Office, The 1927 White Paper: Future Policy in Eastern Africa (London: H.M.S.O., 1927), Command 2904, p. 5.

elementary education,¹ and by 1931 the administration claimed 105 government schools with an attendance of 7,570 children.² This means that over a period of ten years, the British had erected a grand total of exactly six new schools.

The direct overall commitment of the British administration towards African education is better illustrated by comparing its efforts with those of missionaries in the same field. After the war, mission schools showed a phenomenal growth from 1,832 schools in 1914 to about 3,371 schools in 1931, with a total enrolment of 159,872 children,³ excluding those attending "bush" schools. These figures show that by 1931 about 95 per cent of the children who received education in the country went to mission schools and only about 5 per cent were educated in government schools.

In spite of the fact that between 1921 and 1930 the British administration did very little towards opening new government schools, its activities during this decade deserve further attention. For it was during these years that the Government appointed special commissions and committees to develop coherent educational policies and re-assess the role of the 13 missionary societies⁴ then established in Tangania.

¹Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report on Tanganyika for the year 1922 (London: H.M.S.O., 1923), Command 1728, p. 27.

²Memorandum on "African Education," by the Department of Education (1933), TNA, 18680/72-76.

³Ibid.

⁴Alexander R. Thompson, "The Adaptation of Education to African Society in Tanganyika under the British Rule" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1968), p. 48.

It was also during the same period that Local Authorities became increasingly important in the advancement of African education.

I. A Liberal Policy, 1921 - 1930

From 1921 to 1930 the government adopted a liberal attitude towards African education, for although expansion of government schools was minimal, the policy was to encourage directly or indirectly the expansion of educational institutions by private agencies. This policy was particularly favoured because it was privately financed. As will be seen later, there were few restrictions placed on the operation of schools and the opening of new non-government schools, a striking feature which distinguishes this period from later periods.

Several factors led the Administration to attach more importance to African education. First, immediately after the war the British government took an increasing interest in the problems of colonial education.¹ It is in this period that it appointed the Phelps-Stokes Commission under the chairmanship of Sir William Ormsby-Gore to specifically study problems of education in the British African colonies a task which the Commission undertook from 1922 to 1924. Secondly, Britain regarded the economic contribution of the colonies to the European nations as vital, especially at the time when Europe had been devastated by the war.² Europe still looked upon the colonies as sources

¹L. Gray Cowan, James O'Connell, and David G. Scamlon, Education and Nation Building in Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p.5.

²Lewis, Phelps-Stokes Report on Education in Africa, p. 19.

of raw materials which would be required in over-increasing quantities. In order to maximise raw material production by the colonies, the British Administration logically considered it important that African peasants should be made conscious of cash crop cultivation. The evolution of British educational policy from 1921 to 1930 may be divided into two major periods: (A) 1920 to 1924 and (B) 1925 to 1930. Each period deserves separate attention.

I. (A) The Establishment of the Department of Education
and the Visit of the Phelps - Stokes
Commission to East Africa,
1920 to 1924

Although an embryonic Department of Education was one of the first government departments organized in 1919, it was established to frame a broad policy and had no day-to-day or direct involvement in creating schools. In fact, the Department operated without a separate budget for the first three years of its existence.¹ In December 1920 the Administration appointed Sir Rivers-Smith as the first Director of Education and charged him with the task of "framing a comprehensive scheme of native education" which would provide elementary education in the three 'R's² and ensure a supply of African clerks.

Naturally the Director of Education concentrated his efforts on supplying government departments with trained clerks. On taking over the administration, the British found that there was an acute shortage of

¹Great Britain, Colonial Office, Annual Report on Tanganyika for 1921, to the League of Nations (London: H.M.S.O., 1922), Command 1732, p. 43.

²Cmd. 1428, op. cit.; p. 41.

African clerks, firstly because the German-trained clerks could not speak English and secondly because the number of graduates from the English medium mission schools suitable for clerical work was negligible. It is probable that mission trained clerks were scarce for two reasons: (1) mission educated Africans were absorbed by the missions themselves as priests and teachers and (2) relatively few Africans took the clerical course in the first place because under German rule English trained clerks had found it difficult to get employment within Tanzania.

Unable to get enough local staff, the Administration had to recruit clerks, artisans and primary school teachers from Ceylon, India, Nyasaland (Malawi) and Mauritius.¹ From the beginning this system proved to be too expensive and the administration made plans to train Africans, whom they would be able to pay less.

Thus, in the early 1920's, the Department of Education's primary concern was to reopen the three formerly German clerical training schools. The schools at Tanga, Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo which were re-opened between 1921 and 1923 were among the first Central schools under British staff.² In 1924, in order to increase the annual production of clerks, and also to train "chiefs and headmen's,"³ the department started a new

¹ Sir D. Cameron, My Tanganyika Service and Some Nigeria, pp. 127-128.

² Cmd. 1428, op. cit., p. 41.

³ Sir D. Cameron, My Tanganyika Service and some Nigeria, p. 130.

post-primary school at Tabora. In spite of these developments, most of the elementary schools where African teachers could have been employed remained closed.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission, which consisted of educationalists from England, the West Indies, and America, visited East Africa in 1924 to examine the educational problems and the needs of the colonies. The Commission's report, submitted in 1925, lumped Tanzania with Great Britain's other colonies in East Africa, with no consideration of the political changes which had just affected her. The recommendations of the Commission were incorporated by the Colonial Office in a Memorandum on "Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa" and published as the White Paper of 1925 or Command 2374.

Briefly, the Commission recommended that in Tropical Africa,

Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples conserving...all the sound and healthy elements... adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas....¹

It set the following as the prime objectives of African education:- (1) to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life; (2) to promote the advancement of the Community as a whole, and (3) to narrow the hiatus between the educated class and the

¹Great Britain, Colonial Office, Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa (London; H.M.S.O., 1925), Command 2374, p.4.

rest of the Community. Furthermore, the Commission recommended that in Tanzania, as elsewhere, "education of the whole community should advance pari 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."¹ Finally, the Commission's ignorance of African needs led it to give top priority to "character training" for the African.

Obviously these objectives were unattainable and wrong headed, particularly in a society marked by discrimination and domination by a white colonial elite. Firstly, even in Europe in this period, there were major differences between the educated and uneducated. Secondly, a whole community cannot progress at the same rate unless such progress is rigidly controlled from without. Thirdly, although the Administration accepted recommendations calling for a programme approaching the scale of mass education, it failed to appropriate the resources to put these recommendations into effect. In the two fiscal years following the adoption of the new educational policy (1925-26 and 1926-27), the percentage of total revenue which the Administration allocated to education was only 1.9 per cent and 3.2 per cent respectively.² Finally, the Commission's recommendation to give top priority to character training for the African satisfied the desires

¹ Lewis, Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education, pp. 15, 44-48, and Cmd. 2374, op. cit., p. 8.

² Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report on Tanganyika for the Year 1925 (London: H.M.S.O., 1926), Colonial 18, p. 71.

MARKS ON ORIGINAL

of the Administration, the settlers, and the missionaries, but not the Africans, to whom character training was not a problem. The African's main concern was to get secular education, for it was only through "western education" that he would demonstrate his ability to cope with the conditions of the modern world.

TABLE I
TOTAL REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION
(ALL RACES), 1921 TO 1931

Fiscal Year	Total Revenue including Railways in Pounds	Percentage of Revenue Spent on Education
1921-22	978,192	0.82
1922-23	1,228,586	0.76
1923-24	1,257,540	1.05
1924-25	1,324,670	1.18
1925-26	1,641,532	1.90
1926-27	2,063,100	3.21
1927-28	1,853,828	3.21
1928-29	1,872,700	4.51
1929-30	1,898,730	5.32
1930-31	2,054,000	6.19
1931-32	1,911,500	6.53

Source: Great Britain, Colonial Office, Annual Report on Tanganyika (London; H.M.S.O., 1932), Colonial 60, p. 62, and Colonial 18, op. cit., p. 71.

The Commission's report as a whole was enthusiastically received in Tangania by the Administration, missionary societies, and European, and Asian settlers who, at a conference convened in 1925 to study the policy, unanimously accepted the memorandum and acclaimed it as "the most notable educational event of the year."¹ The 52 delegates at the

¹ Colonial 18, op. cit., p. 65.

conference represented government departments, missionary societies, planters and commercial association and the African and Asian communities.¹ Only two Africans were nominated to represent the five million Africans to whom the policy had a direct application. It is not known what the views of these two members were, but it is most probable that any disagreement they may have had with the majority was ignored.

Europeans and Asians favored the recommendations because in the first place they were ambiguous enough to allow manipulation and to justify almost any action the Government might take. For example, the vague declaration did not rule out the system whereby African education would emphasize the training of clerks, artisans, and messengers. The recommendations also gave the Administration the freedom to interpret and to decide what was "healthy" within African tradition, and should therefore be retained, and what was "unhealthy," and should therefore be suppressed. Under the Commission's guidelines, the British Administration would continue to decide what was best for the African even in matters about which the European was totally ignorant. The Administration was in fact able to use the recommendations as the basis for justifying separate educational systems for the three ethnic communities. Indeed, the Department was pleased to have the Commission's recommendations on paper to show that something was being done, since the definition of what needed to be done was left up to the Administration.

¹Report of the Central Education Committee, 1939-40, op. cit.,
p. 10.

The missionary societies had no complaints about the Commission's recommendations. Missionaries had every reason at this time to expect moral support from the Administration for their full scale assault on those "unhealthy" African traditions which were a stumbling block to the spreading of Christianity. The missions seized the opportunity offered by the report to campaign for financial aid or grants to run the mission schools through which the new converts could be won.

European and Asian settlers and traders saw nothing in the recommendations that threatened the status quo. They believed that if the new policy was put into effect they would get better clerks, artisans and labourers since the Commission had rightly emphasized that development of character was a "vital requisite in all educational activities."¹ The Asian representatives accepted the report because its implementation stood little chance of creating a class of Africans able to directly challenge them for the middle rank posts in the civil service.

I. (B) Education Ordinances and Grants-
in-Aid, 1925-1930

Tanzania's total revenue more than doubled between 1921 and 1931 (Table on p. 19). However, education was not given high priority. The percentage of total revenue spent on education increased from 1 per cent in 1921 to 6 per cent in 1931,² an insignificant amount compared to

¹ Lewis, Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa, p. 4.

² Stephens, The Political Transformation of Tanganyika, 1920-1967, p. 49.

expenditure on other services. It is noted, for example, that in the financial year 1925-1926, the amount spent on education was less than that spent on forestry alone.¹ Attempts to get aid under the Colonial Development Fund Act (1926) failed because education other than technical was not "included within the ambit" of the Act. Funds raised under the Act were to finance programmes considered to be of immediate or of material benefit.²

Reluctant to divert more of the local revenue to African education, the Administration adopted a new tactic whereby it could claim to having increased educational facilities for Africans without an appreciable increase in expenditure from the general revenue. Prior to 1926 the Administration had never offered more than moral support to voluntary societies engaged in educational work. From 1926 the Administration planned to give token financial support or grants to agencies as an incentive to make these agencies intensify (or expand) their efforts.

It has been mentioned before that voluntary agencies controlled the majority of schools within the country. Government grants to all voluntary schools would have made the new expenditure some multiple of the existing budget for education. In order to reduce the number of schools qualifying for government grants, from 1926 to 1930 the Admini-

¹Thompson, "The Adaptation of Education to African Society in Tanganyika under the British Rule," p. 47.

²Great Britain, Colonial Office, Summary of Proceedings of Colonial Conference, 1930 (London: H.M.S.O., 1931), Command 3628, pp 14-15.

stration introduced a series of Education Ordinances and Regulations. The overall effect of such regulations will be appreciated when one considers that of the 2,500¹ estimated voluntary agencies' schools (excluding about 900 Koranic schools²) only 173 were able to qualify for grants under the new regulations over a period of seven years (from 1926 to 1933).

The first of the restrictive regulations was introduced in 1926 when, in a confidential circular to all Provincial Commissioners, the Chief Secretary directed that henceforth the term "village school" was to be applied to any school established in a village by any person or body of persons other than the government of the territory.³ This first move was aimed at differentiating government schools from voluntary agencies' schools. In 1927, the Administration issued an Education Ordinance specifying the terms under which these "village schools" could qualify for grants-in-aid. According to the Ordinance, a "village" school had to be registered and recognized as meeting government standards.⁴

¹In 1914 there were 1,832 mission schools and by 1931 these had increased to 3,123 sub-grade schools and 140 "village" schools. Owen Clough ed., African Affairs (London: Billing & Sons Ltd., 1932), Vol. IV, p. 269. Assuming that there was a phenomenal growth in the number of schools after 1920, the total number of mission schools in 1926 would be in the region of 2,500.

²Clough, Report on African Affairs for the Year 1929, Vol. 1, p. 173.

³Circular from the Chief Secretary to all Provincial Commissioners (1926), TNA, 0574/15/1.

⁴Tanzania, Tanganyika Territory Ordinances (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1928), Education Ordinance No. 11 of 1927, p. 1.

The following year in order to drastically reduce the number of village schools which could qualify for registration, the Administration required that at least half of the teachers in any particular school must have teaching certificates, in addition to being recognized as meeting government standards.¹ This new measure disqualified so many mission schools that by 1931 only 140 schools, roughly 4 per cent of all the private schools, were receiving grants-in-aid.

To assist the Director of Education in considering applications for registration, and grants-in-aid, as well as advising on educational policy, an Advisory Committee for African Education was formed in 1927. The Committee was composed of the Director of Education, the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, and the Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA), plus 12 members nominated by the Governor, of whom eight represented missionary societies and bodies or corporations engaged in educational work in the country, two represented the Chamber of Commerce and Planters' Association, and two represented the African population of five million.² The first Africans to be nominated to the Advisory Committee were Martin Kayamba, an Assistant Secretary, and Mr. Stephano Mgalawe, a teacher. This territorial Advisory Committee was in turn to be assisted by Provincial Advisory Committees.³

¹ Tanzania, African Education (Amendment) Regulation of 1928
(Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1928), pp.1-2.

² List of members to the A.C.A.E., TNA, 18680/1/62.

³ Thompson, "The Adaptation of Education to African Society in Tanganyika under the British Rule," p. 51.

The Education Ordinance of 1927 drew a sharp line between "schools offering secular education up to standard III or IV and 'bush schools,' some of which had no established standards." Bush schools, as specified in 1927, included all mission controlled catechetical and sub-grade schools, kerganic schools and the African catechist founded and supervised schools which were often far from a mission (thus the name "bush schools"). Most of these schools offered religious instructions in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic. The standards of these schools varied from one to another. In some bush schools there were no different classes even when one attended the school for up to four years, but in others, there were as many as two to three classes of different standards. The educational standards in such schools were determined largely by the qualifications of the teachers themselves.¹

In most cases the Department of Education disqualified bush schools from the grants-in-aid program on the pretext that the teachers were "unqualified men who could not ensure permanent literacy."² The truth, however, was revealed in a comment by the Director of Education in 1928 that his Department wanted "to dismiss once and for all from the scheme of useful secular education the older men," who though they had served a useful purpose in the catechetical schools, "could never

¹Letter from Director of Education to Chief Secretary, November 30, 1936, the Director admitted that there was "no definition of a bush school," TNA, 33787/6-7. (The standards of these schools varied - my mother attended a bush school but she can read and write).

²Comments on the Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40, TNA, 28867/1/32A/5.

become an appreciable factor in the present secular educational scheme."¹
In fact the Administration had no interest in schools which did not produce clerks.

The Education Ordinance of 1927 brought relations between the Administration and the missionary societies to the brink of disruption; the African Education Regulation of 1928 triggered the blast. The new regulations made it very hard for mission schools to get registered and qualify for grants. Thus, in 1931, only 140 mission schools were receiving grants and by 1933 the figure had risen slightly to 173 schools.² Heads of the Roman Catholic Missions, disappointed with the new regulations, held a conference at Dakar de Salama from August 6th to 9th, to discuss the Education Ordinance of 1927 and the African Education Regulation of 1928. Though they submitted their representations against the requirements for school registrations as a qualification for grants-in-aid, the Department did not change its policy.³

By 1930, the Administration could afford to disappoint voluntary agencies. Combined output from mission and government schools since 1924 had considerably eased the desperate shortage of African clerks, artisans and messengers. It was at this time that the Administration started to

¹Director of Education commenting on the resolutions passed by Heads of Roman Catholic Missions, that such schools should be recognised. TNA, 12818/5.

²Clough, African Affairs, Vol. IV, p. 26 and TNA, 18680/II/280.

³Representations from Heads of Roman Catholic Missions to Director of Education, August 1928, TNA, 12818/1, resolutions II and XIII.

be highly selective in choosing candidates for clerical and technical training by introducing a standard VI territorial examination in Central schools to select a few of the best students for the required training.¹ The urgent need for African personnel was now over, and the Administration applied measures that would halt the rapid expansion of educational facilities, particularly at the post-primary level. The need to bring things under control became even greater as Native Authorities became increasingly involved in educational activities, a factor which the Administration had not foreseen and which necessitated a re-assessment of its policy. These factors, coupled with the fear of the depression which began in 1929, led to the most unfortunate policies of the early 1930's.

II. Retrenchment Policy, 1930 - 1937

From 1930 to 1937 the Administration and the Department of Education embarked on a retrenchment programme which sharply contrasted with the policies of the preceding period (1922 to 1930). The contrast was vividly brought out in the Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939 - 40 when it declared that:-

With the advent of the financial depression... the era of rapid expansion was brought to an abrupt close: Large reductions in staff and expenditure were decreed, several of the more advanced schools were closed... [and efforts were] concentrated on preserving intact the village school system.²

Although retrenchment in education spending did not begin until 1931-32,

¹ Report of the Central Education Committee, 1939-40, op. cit., p.41.

² Ibid., p. 11.

retrenchment planning began one year before it was implemented.

Before examining some of the new policies, it should be made clear that the financial depression was not so severe in Tanzania as to affect the general revenue. This was clearly pointed out by Sir Donald Cameron, who admitted in his memoirs that between 1930 and 1936 there was no year when general revenue decreased - on the contrary, the general revenue increased by as much as 40 per cent, while during the same period expenditure on African education decreased by 30 per cent.¹ Sir Frank Stockdale similarly observed, on his visit to East Africa early in 1937, that "Tanganyika had passed through the depression remarkably well."² These observations are supported by the report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40, whose findings on the total revenue and expenditure on African education are given in Table 2 below (p. 29).

From the figures given in Table 2 it can be seen that the expenditure on African education was lower in 1938 than in 1933, although total revenue had increased by over 30 per cent. It is also apparent in Table 3 that allocations for European and Asian education almost doubled, over the period when allocation for African education was being whittled down.

¹ Sir D. Cameron, My Tanganyika Service and Some Nigeria, p. 129.

² Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report by Sir Frank Stockdale on his Visit to East Africa (London: H.M.S.O., 1937), p. 24.

TABLE 2
TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON AFRICAN EDUCATION
IN RELATION TO GENERAL REVENUE
1933 TO 1938, IN POUNDS

Year	Total Revenue Except Railways	Expenditure on African Education*	Percentage of General Revenue Spent on African Education
1933	1,564,538	72,742	4.6
1934	1,720,285	67,095	3.9
1935	1,973,863	62,866	3.2
1936	2,153,542	62,670	2.9
1937	2,261,806	66,600	2.9
1938	2,113,294	70,146	3.3

* Excludes Native Authorities' contributions.

Source: Tanzania, Report of the Central Education Committee, 1939-40, op. cit., p. 38.

TABLE 3
GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN
TANZANIA FROM GENERAL REVENUE,
1933-1938, IN POUNDS

Year	Africans*	Europeans	Asians
1933	72,742 (4.6)**	7,470 (0.48)**	9,143 (0.58)**
1934	67,095 (3.9)	8,409 (0.49)	11,200 (0.65)
1935	62,866 (3.2)	8,031 (0.41)	10,207 (0.52)
1936	62,670 (2.9)	9,877 (0.46)	12,072 (0.56)
1937	66,600 (2.9)	10,900 (0.48)	14,813 (0.56)
1938	70,146 (3.3)	11,526 (0.55)	15,074 (0.71)

* Excludes Native Authorities contributions.

** Government spending on education as a percentage of general revenue is shown in parentheses for each national group.

Source: Great Britain, Colonial Office, Annual Report on Tanganyika, 1938 (London: H.M.S.O., 1939), Colonial 163, p. 199.

The government's desire to retrench and curtail African educational development cannot therefore be explained simply in terms of financial limitations; for if this had been the real cause, allocations for European and Asian education would have been proportionally reduced. Also, as will be explained later, Africans had shown a willingness to finance part of their education through a local education rate or cess,¹ but the Administration, instead of accepting and welcoming such a move, had termed it "premature" and did not accept it until 1942.

Several factors contributed to the policies of 1930 to 1936. First, we have seen that from 1922 to 1930 all efforts had been concentrated on training African clerks and artisans to fill posts in the lower ranks, and that output from both government and mission schools over those years was able to meet the demand. In 1930 the Director of Education was able to declare that there was

almost [a] cessation of demand from all sources for any further trained African staff² whether clerical or technical.

Closely connected with cessation of demand was the fact that Africans had not been educated and trained sufficiently to compete with Asians for the middle rank posts, although in the early 1920's it had been hoped that Africans would be able to replace those staff, who were

¹ The Secretary of Native Affairs to the Chief Secretary, May 5, 1932, regarding Education rate which the Advisory Committee on African Education had rejected on the grounds that it was "premature." TNA, 18680/II/193.

² Director of Education, Memorandum on African Education in Tanganyika, 1933, TNA, 18680/I/70.

rather expensive for the Administration.¹ As a result, the Administration had a surplus of inadequately trained Africans, while it was forced to maintain a middle cadre of expensive Asiatic workers in the civil service.

Furthermore, the introduction of a grants-in-aid system had put the Administration in a tight situation, as it was now being pressed to procure aid for more and more mission schools as they qualified under the regulations.² At the same time, new Native Administration schools were mushrooming in the country and had to be partly supported from general revenue. It is also important to note that some Government officers were at this period becoming concerned with social problems in other colonies, such as India and Ceylon, where a large number of youths were being "inappropriately and insufficiently" educated.³ High officials, including the Director of Education and the Chief Secretary, were becoming conscious of the dangers which would accompany the drifting of "half educated 'natives' into the towns,"⁴ let alone the unfavourable political implications if the government "turned out more clerks than could be employed." Such unemployed clerks, the Chief Secretary feared,

¹ A confidential circular from the Governor to the Chief Secretary, all Provincial Commissioners and Heads of Departments, June 28, 1934, TNA, 22068/I/17, 65 and 67.

² Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40, op. cit.,
p. 25.

³ Alexander E. Thompson, "Ideas Underlying British Colonial Education in Tanganyika," in Tanganyika: Revolution by Education, ed. by Idriss E. Rosnick (Arusha: Longmans of Tanganyika Ltd., 1960), p. 25. And "The Adaptation of Education to African Society in Tanganyika under the British Rule," p. 51.

⁴ Extract, Discussion Notes of the Finance Committee in 1929, TNA, 10680/I/1.

would turn into "agitators and seditionists."¹

Another factor of importance in this connection was the eagerness and skill with which Africans had responded to education and training. Local Authorities displayed over-zealousness in opening Native Administration schools, which by 1930 were already turning out a number of students suitable for further training in Government Central schools (Central schools offered more than four standards, including two or more years in English). This trend had not been anticipated by the Administration. Previously, the Administration had considered the "detribalized" or urban African as the only African suitable for recruitment.² As it turned out, however, students from rural areas responded so well to clerical and technical training that by 1930 the Administration felt compelled to introduce new restrictions whereby only those "possessing natural ability"³ were to be considered for clerical and technical training.

Three other points about the motives for retrenchment are worthy of note: first, the Administration was realizing that it was a mistake not to have concentrated earlier efforts on increasing agricultural production, which would have raised the total revenue of the country, while providing raw materials required in Britain. To correct this, the Administration wanted to abandon or de-accelerate its efforts in

¹The Chief Secretary to the Governor, July 26, 1932, TNA, 18680/1/64.

²The Director of Education to the Chief Secretary, May 16, 1931, TNA, 19347/4/2.

³Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report on Tanganyika to the League of Nations, 1931 (London: H.M.S.O., 1932), Colonial 71, p. 63.

clerical and technical training and concentrate on agriculture. According to the Secretary for Native Affairs, agricultural production could only be accelerated if the Administration "injected into the main productive areas, a number of educated progressive farmers."¹

Secondly, there was the racist element. By 1931, Tanzania had about 8,000 Europeans and 25,000 Asians with reserved "spheres of employment" to which Africans were not to be admitted. As long as Africans did not intrude into these "employment spheres," everything was socially alright. But with the increase in the output from Central schools in addition to training centres (teacher and technical training schools), it became apparent that Africans might intrude into fields which were reserved for whites who were less qualified for administrative positions. This was particularly the case in areas with a large white population, where it was feared that employing Africans in the higher ranks of the clerical and technical services would lead to the creation of "poor whites."²

Lastly, Tanzania's political status made the British Administration lack true commitment. The political future of Tanzania seemed uncertain under the terms of the mandate.³ Tanzania had been a German Colony and there was no guarantee that at a future date it would not be handed over to its former coloniser. This fear increased in the early

¹The Secretary of Native Affairs to the Chief Secretary, January 19, 1933, TNA, 18680/1/97/-8.

²Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province, to the Chief Secretary (1930), TNA, 22068/1/75.

³Stephens, The Political Transformation of Tanganyika, 1920-67, p. 40.

1930's as German power was in its ascent. It was also at this time that British attempts to form a closer union of the three East African countries (Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya) failed on the grounds that African witnesses from Tanzania and Uganda had expressed a "definite reluctance to be more intimately associated with Kenya."¹ This sort of political uncertainty led the British Administrators not to only believe that "Tanganyika was but a pawn in international politics,"² but also to distrust everyone, including the missionaries, who had up to this time acted as partners in African education. In fact, distrust of missionaries, many of whom were German, became an avowed policy and practice. Contrary to the freedom to evangelize granted by Article VIII of the Mandate, the Governor declared in 1934 that the Administration would delay "interminably the granting of permission to open new missions or schools."³

The overall effect of this lack of commitment, together with the political uncertainty, created an apathetic attitude among British Administrators, who, although they had declared in 1925 that it was "Britain's mission to work continuously for the training and education of the African,"⁴ had acquired the attitude by 1934 that it was diffi-

¹ Report of Joint Committee on "Closer Union in East Africa,"
Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 14.

² Sir Edward Twining, "Tanganyika Today and Tomorrow," in Rhodesia and East Africa, ed. by F.S. Jeelson (London: East Africa and Rhodesia, 1958), p. 227.

³ Governor's speech to the 11th session of the Council of the League of Nations (1934), TNA, 25787/1, p.8.

⁴ Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report on Indians in Kenya (London: H.M.S.O., 1925), Command 1922, p. 10.

cult" to undertake successfully.... the education of another race."¹
This new attitude was even supported by William Ormsby-Gore² who, as
Chairman of the Advisory Committee on African Education in 1925, had in
fact endorsed the original policy contained in Command 2374.

It was for all these reasons, rather than "financial limitations,"
that the Administration withdrew and curtailed its investments in African
education.

II.(A) Retrenchment Measures: 1930 - 1934

Measures to curtail African education were carried out largely
in accordance with the recommendations of the Retrenchment Commission,
appointed by the Governor in January 1931 under the chairmanship of
Commander Robert Walter Taylor. The Commission, which had no African
representative, was instructed to conduct an "inquiry into the financial
situation, and advise on how the shortfall in the revenue could be made
good either by additional taxation or by reduction in expenditure or
both."³

The Commission's recommendations concerning the Department of
Education advocated a reduction of expenditure so as to effect a total
savings of £7,683. To achieve this, the Commission recommended that:-

¹Proceedings of Advisory Committee on African Education,
November 1934, 23767/1/15-16.

²William Ormsby-Gore, "Educational Problems of Colonial Empire,"
Empire Review and Magazine, February, 1937, p. 80.

³Tanzania, Report on the Retrenchment Commission (Dar es Salaam:
Government Printer, 1931), Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1931, p. 1.

- (i) English classes should be concentrated in fewer centres in order to effect some reduction in the number of European staff;
- (ii) The Department of Education should reduce its African teachers from 262 to 270;
- (iii) School fees and boarding charges should be introduced and be paid by either the parents or Native Authorities;
- (iv) No new grants-in-aid should be offered until the African Education Regulation was amended, and for those schools receiving grants, grants should be reduced from 95 per cent to 75 per cent of recurrent expenditure;
- (v) Proposed new schools, such as a Masai School at Monduli, should not be opened;
- (vi) The Department of Education should exercise strict control over the opening of new schools by either the missions or Native Authorities; and
- (vii) The Administration should hand over some of its central schools to missions because per capita operating costs in mission boarding schools were only one-sixth of those in government schools, whereas the academic results were the same.¹

The Director of Education accepted the Commission's recommendations, for they were in line with what the Department itself had intended to do. In 1930, the Department of Education had already issued a directive that Native Administrations should not be allowed to open new schools in the districts served by mission schools, and also, that Native Administrations should seek the consent of the Director of Education before opening a new school. The Director's consent would depend, among other things, on the Department having "suitable" teachers

¹ Ibid., pp. 12-13, 17 and 29.

to be posted to a new school.¹ In 1932, there was yet another recommendation to cut down expenditure on education when Sir Sydney Armitage Smith conducted an inquiry into the "abnormal increase in expenditure," and reported that there had been over-expenditure in Education due to unnecessary "over-promotion."²

The Department of Education was so keen to implement the Retrenchment Commission's recommendations that by October 1931 Provincial Education Advisory Committees had already been suspended, a circular introducing school fees issued (to be effective from 1932),³ and teaching staff drastically reduced. European teachers were progressively reduced from 51 in 1931 to 33 in 1935,⁴ while African teachers were reduced within a few months from 282, not to 270 as recommended, but to 244⁵ - a figure below the 1928 establishment.

Meanwhile, the Director of Education, two of his staff (Messrs. Tyndale Biscoe and R.J. Mason), the Secretary of Native Affairs and the Director of Agriculture, were engaged in re-casting educational policy. They claimed that it was necessary to re-model the policy

¹ Tanzania, General Administration Memoranda (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1930), p. 9.

² Correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Governor, January 26, 1932, and November 16, 1932, TMA, 20665/I/15 and 20665/II/193.

³ Tanzania, Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1931 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, October 1931), p. 8.

⁴ Report of Central Education Committee, 1939-40, op. cit., p. 11.

⁵ Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1931, op. cit., p. 4.

advocated in the 1925 "Education Policy in British Tropical Africa," as it was over-generating progress out of proportion to the opportunities in which educated Africans could find a niche.¹

As a remedy, a few other changes were introduced. First, technical training centres were reduced from seven to two only, one at Tanga and another at Dar es Salaam; the course was extended and the intake per centre was reduced from six to three students per year.² The extension of the course in order to produce better qualified Africans was strongly supported by employers³ who required well qualified Africans to replace the expensive imported staff.⁴

Secondly, to prevent flooding the country with educated boys, central schools were reduced from eight in 1933 to three in 1934 and the number of standards in such schools raised from six to eight. Those retained as central schools were Tanga, Dar es Salaam, and Tabora, while Moshi, Malangali, Bukoba, Mtwapa, and Mvira, all of which were located in the best agricultural areas, were converted into elementary schools. In addition to the three Government Central schools, there were to be

¹ A memorandum on "African Education," by the Director of Education (1933), TNA, 18680/1/70-78, and Cmd. 2387, op. cit., p. 56.

² Notes on "African Education," by the Director of Education (1934), TNA, 18680/1/82.

³ Tanganyika Standard, February 20, 1932, p. 6.

⁴ B.T.G. Chiszero, Tanganyika and International Trusteeship (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 128.

15 ~~million~~ Central schools offering education up to standard VIII.¹

The objectives of the plan were to reduce the annual output of clerks, and to limit the number of Africans fluent in English on the grounds that English was de-nationalising the African² and making him intellectually malicious.³ Since English was offered in Central schools, mainly from standard IV to VIII, the very few privileged to undertake this course were regarded as the best educated. It was feared that these educated Africans, if unemployed, would start criticising the Administration for social injustice; in the 1930's, the Administration regarded social criticism as something "sinister" or "malicious." The effect of limiting English to very few Africans was to postpone indefinitely the chances of Africans to participate fully in politics or in the Legislative Councils and other bodies where they were not to be admitted or would not be able to actively participate due to their inability to "speak English."⁴

In order to ensure that English was not taught without the Administration's sanction, an African Education Ordinance was passed in 1936 outlawing the teaching of English by any teacher in any school unless "authorized in writing by the Director of Education."⁵ The

¹ Notes on "Plan for African Education," by the Director of Education (1934), TNA, 18680/II/281-2.

² Tanganyika Times, January 16, 1926, p. 2-3.

³ Chidzero, Tanganyika and International Trusteeship, p. 129.

⁴ Sir D. Cameron, My Tanganyika Service and Some Nigeria, p. 115.

⁵ Tanzania, African Education Ordinance (Dar es Salaam Government Printer, 1936), No. 24 of 1936, p. 3.

language issue had, in fact, started in 1926. African reaction to this complicated issue will be covered in the next chapter.

We have seen, that training in the English language and higher technical education were to be available to very few Africans. The rest of the African children in the educational system, amounting to about 3 per cent of the population, were to attend Elementary Vernacular schools which were to provide up to standard IV education. Of course these Elementary Vernacular schools were important as it was from them that the system obtained students for the "carefully regulated training" at the "fewer centres." This pyramidal structure of education was described by the Director of Education as designed to

develop the people of the country on the lines most suitable to their environment [with] the special aim... [of] increasing useful production.¹

The economic motives behind this policy should not be underestimated. It was noted earlier that a number of Central schools located in promising agricultural areas were down graded to Elementary Vernacular schools, the motive being to turn the Africans in these areas into good farmers through carrying out experiments and disseminating agricultural information to them.² Logically, Elementary Vernacular schools had to be in the "agricultural areas." To ensure that the missions too did not open new schools at random, a new Education Regulation was introduced in 1934,

¹"African Education Policy," as discussed and approved at the Governors Conference, 1933, TNA, 21440/GC/33e and 34(b).

²Tyndale Biscoe (Education Officer), expounding on the proposed Elementary Vernacular Education in 1933, TNA, 18680/I/54.

which required that before opening a new school, permission should be obtained from the Director of Education.¹ Applications to open new schools were to pass through District Advisory Committees on which the missionary societies were not represented.² The power of the Director of Education to control the opening of new schools was extended further in 1936, when it was declared that the Director of Education

could refuse to register any school for the reason that, in his opinion other sufficient educational facilities exist or for other good and sufficient reasons whether of the same or a different kind.³

All unregistered elementary schools were regarded as "sub-grade" or "bush" schools. By the nature of their status, even if they offered education equivalent to that of registered schools, their students could neither sit for the territorial examinations which formed the basis for selection to mission and government Central schools, nor could they get any certificates. It must not be forgotten that the certificate acted as a "passport" to employment or "evidence" that one had completed elementary school.

¹Resolutions passed at the 3rd session of Advisory Committee on African Education in 1934, TNA, 23787/1, p. 10. (The African members opposed the proposal).

²Secretary of State to the Chief Secretary (1934), TNA, 18680/III/391.

³African Education Ordinance, No. 24 of 1936, op. cit., p. 2.

II.(B) Retrenchment Fails: 1935-1937

From the very start, retrenchment was bound to clash with social and economic conditions in Tanzania. To the Africans, it meant losing the right to have more schools and extended courses, while to the missions it meant being progressively forced to adhere to stipulations governing grants-in-aid, to reduce the in-take of their Central schools, losing the right to sit on District Advisory Committees, and being barred from opening new schools at their own discretion. By 1935, retrenchment had become distasteful not only to Africans and missionaries, but also to a large section of the employers who required trained Africans.

Employers attacked the policy on the ground that they were unable to get enough sufficiently trained Africans, thus being forced to take less qualified Africans. The shortage of African personnel was critical from 1936, for the Department of Education could only supply 15 Africans with a junior secondary education in 1937, and 30 in 1938, whereas the requirement for government departments during the two years were 57 and 100 respectively.¹ In 1936 the Director of Education was attacked by Government departments and large employers for failing to "supply the state with men of sufficiently high standard." The following year at the Budget Session of the Finance Committee, it was agreed that due to accusations against the Department of Education, a "re-examination of

¹ The Director of Education to the Chief Secretary, regarding draft estimates for Secondary Education for Africans (1938), TNA, 11886/II/238 and 18680/III/508.

the Education policy was necessary."¹

Two other events assisted in defeating retrenchment. First in 1935, the Colonial Office issued a Memorandum on the "Education of African Communities" advocating the importance of agricultural education for rural communities.² This memorandum was welcomed by missionary societies, not so much for what it advocated, but because they thought it would help to justify their demand for full liberty to open new schools, particularly in rural areas.

Secondly, in 1937, a Commission on Higher Education in East Africa, under the chairmanship of Earl De La Warr, reported on the "need for the services of educated Africans," dispelling the fear that there was a "danger of creating a class of educated unemployed,"³ one of the major reasons given for retrenchment.

The unpopularity of its policies, social pressure, and new developments made the Administration change its view from 1937 to 1945, and take a fresh look at the problems of African Education. The new approach could not, however, correct the wrongs done in the retrenchment period, so African education had to remain in the doldrums for a further

¹ Extract notes of Standing Finance Committee (1936), TNA, 18680/III/495.

² Great Britain, Colonial Office, Memorandum: Education of African Communities, 1935 (London: H.M.S.O., 1935), Colonial 103, p.3.

³ Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa, 1937 (London: H.M.S.O., 1937), Command 2387, p. 56.

period of ten years.¹

III. Towards a Modest Program, 1937-1945

From 1937 to 1945 intensive investigations were carried out by individuals and Committees. One of the most revealing investigations, was carried out by the Central Education Committee of 1939-40 appointed by the Governor late in 1938, under the chairmanship of Mr. A.A.N. Isherwood, then Director of Education. Originally the Committee had 19 members including two Africans - Mr. Martin Kayamba and Stephane Mgalawe - but a third African, Hamed bin Salehs, then Livali of Dar es Salaam, was nominated to the Committee a few months later.²

The Committee was to consider the policy contained in the Memorandum on "Education of African Communities" of 1935 and consider the needs of any particular sections of the Community not adequately provided for in the plan.³ The deliberations and recommendations of this Committee were submitted to the government in 1939-40, but they were not released until 1943, and not implemented until after 1945 under the Ten Year Plan.

The Central Education Committee found a great disparity between the African, Asian and European education systems, and was struck

¹United Nations, Trusteeship Council, 4th Session, Supplement No. 3, 1950, United Nations Visiting Mission to East Africa: Report on Tanganyika and related Documents, U.N.T/218, p. 303.

²Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40, op. cit., p. iv.

³Ibid., p. iv.

by the relatively low proportion of general revenue spent on African education. It noted that education for women lagged behind that of men and placed part of the blame for this on the Administration, which spent only fifteen per cent of the funds allocated to African education on the education of females. The Committee also accused the Government of failing to approve a course of instruction for women, who were at this time barred from certain training including clerical and technical training.

In order to encourage the education of women and bridge the gap, the Committee strongly urged the Government to expand the facilities for the training of girls, particularly in teaching hygiene and child welfare.¹ It will be seen, however, that this recommendation was not without some economic motives. In most Tanzanian tribes, particularly in this period, women played a very important role in agricultural production. It was the women who ploughed, planted and harvested both food and cash crops. It was important therefore that African women should be made conscious of the benefits that would come from better farming and increased production, especially that of cash crops.

Regarding educational policy for African communities, the Committee recommended a primary school education for training Africans solely in farming in their own villages. A rural education system with three types of schools was proposed, starting with

¹Ibid., p. 31.

village day schools from which pupils [were to] be selected to enter rural middle schools [Stds. V to VIII]...., [From] the highest class of rural middle school [?] pupils [were to] be selected to enter the provincial teacher training centre or the industrial section attached thereto.¹

To meet the demand for secondary education for Africans, the Committee recommended up-grading of Tanga, Tabora and Minaki to secondary school status capable of providing education up to standard I. In addition, two new secondary schools were recommended, one of which was to be government controlled, with an agricultural bias, while the other was to be under the Roman Catholic Missions.² These five secondary schools were of course not adequate for the whole country. The Committee did not recommend more schools, not because of financial limitations, but as

qualitative and quantitative restrictions... [made it necessary] to maintain a balance between the supply of English-speaking Africans and the opportunities available for profitable use of an 'English' education.³

The main recommendations of the Committee amounted to the policy contained in the 1935 Memorandum on "Education for Rural Communities" except that it had provisions for urban communities. In other words, these later recommendations were meant to compromise the extremes of

¹ Ibid., p. 2.

² Ibid., p. 19.

³ Ibid., p. 18.

1926 to 1931, when the policy was to train clerks and technicians only, and 1931 to 1936, when the policy was to train farmers. One major difference between these recommendations and the earlier ones was the advice to encourage African initiatives, particularly the local education rate and Native Administration schools.

The Report by the Central Education Committee of 1939-40 was not received with as much enthusiasm as one would have expected. It was criticised by the Governor and members of the Legislative Council on various grounds: first, it was thought that any introduction of local rates would unnecessarily create a separate educational fund that would have to have its own collection machinery and would lead to a "triple instead of a dual system." The government would then have to collaborate with Native Authorities on one hand and missionary societies on the other.¹ Second, the recommendation to train leaders in African life was not accepted and was emotionally termed a "Nazi philosophy."² Third, the need to relate the number of pupils with secondary education to the needs of the territory was accepted only on condition that "no inexorable numerus clausus" was intended, for the Governor still feared that there would be political agitation from unemployed graduates.³ Lastly, there were the criticisms that the

¹ The Secretary of Native Affairs to the Chief Secretary (1942), TNA, 18680/III/132.

² The Chief Secretary, commenting on the Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40 (1943), TNA, 28867/I/31.

³ The Governor to the Chief Secretary, on the Report of Central Education Committee of 1939-40 (1943), TNA, 28867/I/32. o

report failed to pay enough attention to character training.¹

The Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40, was not released or implemented for several years. The outbreak of the war made collaboration between the Administration and missionary societies nearly impossible because some of the missionary societies were considered of "enemy origin."² When the report was finally released in 1943, the Director of Education advised the Administration not to implement it until other relevant developments which the Central Education Committee in 1939-40 had overlooked, such as mass-education, had been considered.³ For two years, the report underwent modifications. It was then reissued in 1945 as a memorandum on "The Development of Native Education," emphasising the importance of mass-education.

Post-war education policy emphasized the role and importance of mass-education. The war was chiefly responsible for this new development. From 1939 to 1945, Tanzanian soldiers had fought side by side with other British subjects. They had demonstrated their capabilities and reliability.⁴ Naturally, the return of Tanzanian soldiers home was expected to bring an influx of egalitarian and nationalist ideas. In order to counter-act the dissemination of democratic ideas and criticisms, the

¹ The Chief Secretary to the Director of Education on the Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40 (1943), TNA, 22867/I/37.

² The Director of Education modifying the recommendations contained in the Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40 (1943), TNA, 28867/I/32 p. 9.

³ Draft letter to the Secretary of State from the Chief Secretary regarding the delay in releasing the Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40 (1943), TNA, 28867/I/XI.

⁴ East Africa & Rhodesia, November 18, 1943.

Administration planned to use "mass-education."

To provide the staff for mass-education, the Director of Education proposed to greatly increase teacher-training centres so that each of the eight provinces would have one centre in addition to centres managed by voluntary agencies;¹ and for the first time the Administration encouraged bush-schools for children and adults.²

In formal education, the Department of Education planned to expand by ten times the facilities for village or primary education so that one child out of every five in the territory would be provided with a four-year course.³ To ensure that this education was sufficient to enable the pupils to become "enlightened members of the Community,"⁴ that is to achieve "permanent literacy," the Governor recommended that admittance as a rule should be limited to children who were at least eight years old.⁵ Slightly modifying this recommendation, the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies set seven years as the minimum age for admittance to village or elementary schools. (At the age of seven the Administration hoped that the child would have passed through

¹ Draft on "African Education" by the Director of Education (1943), TNA, 28867/I/32.

² Interim Report of Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, A.C.E.C. 7/44 of 1944, in TNA, 28867/II/66.

³ A Circular from the Chief Secretary to all Provincial Commissioners, September 13, 1945, re: "The Expansion of Education," TNA, 31889/176.

⁴ Great Britain, Colonial Office, Annual Report on Tanganyika for 1946 (H.M.S.O., 1947), Colonial 220, p. 156.

⁵ The Governor to the Secretary of State, October 1944, TNA, 28867/II/105.

traditional education.¹ After the four years of elementary education, it was proposed that there would be

three paths open for those whose intelligence or known future part in the leadership of the 'native' population warrants further education [chiefly] ...secondary schools.... Rural Middle schools ...or vocational training schools.²

Thus, post-elementary education was to be provided for those few who were to be employed by the Administration or missions in various capacities. To avoid African criticisms that there were no facilities for acquiring the highest education attainments - a college Diploma in Education, or an advanced Medical course - a conference of Governors decided in 1944 to pool the resources of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania and develop Makerere College in Uganda.³ In order to prepare a few Tanzanians for admission at the proposed college, Tabora secondary school was extended up to standard XII.

At the same time, the Administration decided to re-activate local participation in education by creating District Executive Committees on which Africans might take a more active part in implementing the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on African Education.⁴

¹ A.C.E.C. 7/44, op. cit., p.2.

² Director of Education on "African Education" (1944), TNA, 28867/II/32, p. 7.

³ A despatch from the Chief Secretary to the Secretary of State (1944), TNA, 18680/III/544. (Tanzania pledged to contribute not less than £1 million, whereas Uganda was to contribute £1 million).

⁴ Rev. A.H. Danielson to Moshi District Committee on the "Memorandum on Development of 'Native' Education," CCT, 1/62 General Papers.

Local education rates were to be encouraged in certain districts (Pare and Mushi) so as to make possible for the first time, the participation of Native Authorities in the management of mission schools. To implement these plans for broadening the school system, the Administration called on African teachers to accept greater responsibility in managing large classes as well as arranging double session classes.¹

IV. Conclusion

Over a period of 25 years British Education policy in Tanzania evolved in three crucial aspects. First, whereas from 1921 to 1935 the Administration gave a free hand to the voluntary agencies in the provision of African education, from 1936 to 1945 the Administration slowly and progressively shifted its reliance from the missions towards the Native Administrations. Secondly, there was a change in emphasis within the school curriculum. Whereas between 1921 to 1936 the Administration aimed at training the African for clerical employment or agricultural life, in the 1940's the curriculum for African schools emphasized literary education. Thirdly, there was a significant change in the Administration's attitude towards the African. In the beginning, the Administration directed its efforts towards providing the type of education that would prepare the African for profitable service to the government, but in 1945 there was a reckoning that to some degree the African must be schooled to take over his own destiny, an attitude which marked an acceptance of African initiatives and an African role in

¹Tanzania, Ten Year Plan, op. cit., p. 8.

influencing decisions pertaining to the welfare of Tanzanians.

Did these changes occur naturally or were they due to African influence and initiative? To answer this question, I shall analyze African influence on education policy during the period under discussion.

CHAPTER II

AFRICAN INFLUENCE ON POLICY

I. Positive Side

Western education was not readily accepted in Tanzania. Its acceptance was gradual and sporadic. African attitudes towards Western education during the period under discussion varied from area to area. In areas where missionary activities had been established for over fifty years, such as Kilimanjaro, Pare, Usambara, the Southern Highlands, Northwestern Tanzania and the areas around Songea, Western education was an accepted phenomenon. Indeed in some areas such as Bukoba, the traditional teachers (Bakama) had realized the importance of Western education to the extent that by 1923 they were actively taking part in building, supporting, and running some government district schools. Local interest and pride in these schools was so immense that when in 1924 the British Administration in Tanzania decided to exclude Local Authorities in the running of such schools, the disheartened Bakama completely withdrew their support.¹

On the other hand, in areas where missionary activities were relatively recent, or where Western education implied conversion,

¹A.W.M. Griffith, "Primitive Native Education in Bukoba District," Tanganyika Notes and Records, I (April, 1936), 89.

there was resistance or a negative attitude towards such education, although total and prolonged rejection was very rare. It was the miscalculated expectation that Africans would unquestionably accept everything Western, which led many Europeans to conclude that African resistance to Western education was an indication that the African "was little concerned with anything beyond his little village community."¹ It was only after coming into contact with Western education and realizing its importance and usefulness that the African became anxious to absorb and use it.

"Writing and reading" were fascinating skills which the African avidly sought to acquire.² African leaders were interested in Western education for different reasons. Prior to the colonial era, tribal business was conducted orally, committing much to memory, but with Western education, a new vista was opened. Reading and writing could be used to conduct tribal business with accuracy and fewer risks. Furthermore, tribal leaders realized that if they could acquire Western education they would be able to communicate directly and effectively with their colonizers instead of using interpreters or middlemen who were usually people outside their tribes.

Beginning in the 1920's, Tanzanians also began to recognize the cash value of a Western education. The higher wages of Western - schooled workers encouraged the view that Western education was a ticket to

¹ A.W. Hume, "An Outline of Native Conception of Education in Africa," Africa, IV (April, 1931), 147-148.

² Huxley, Africa View, p. 312.

well-paid employment to supplement the family income. Trained clerks earned a steady 70 to 130 shillings per month with prospects to advance to 360 shillings.¹ The trained artisan could look forward for 50 to 60 shillings or more per month, while a trained teacher's salary varied from 25 shillings in the mission schools to 130 shillings in the government services.² These salaries, though very low compared to what the European or Asian earned, were high in relation to what 60 per cent of uneducated African labourers earned per month. Most of the uneducated labourers earned less than 15 shillings per month.³ These material benefits naturally made Africans view Western education as the "panacea that would lead to higher standards of living and material benefits."⁴

In the 1940's Africans had an added reason for adopting Western education. It was apparent then that self-determination and political freedom could only be secured if the British accepted the fact that many Africans were "Western educated." The drive for socio-economic dividends and political aspirations acting in concert account for the African's active interest in education as expressed by his demands for more facilities and better syllabi, his willingness to contribute to the

¹Tanzania, Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1933 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1933), p. 4.

²Estimates of wages for Nyakate Agricultural School and for mission school (1933), TMA, 19972/102 and 31869/115.

³Iliffe, "The Age of Improvement and Differentiation (1907-45)," p. 145.

⁴Cowan, O'Connell and Soshlon, Education and Nation Building in Africa, p. 17.

financing of education, and his desire to have more control over local schools. Such pressures and initiative in turn influenced the educational policies in general as will be evident in the analysis of some of these factors.

I.(A) African Influence in Advisory Committees

The body charged with the responsibility of designing educational policies was the Advisory Committee on African Education (A.C.A.E.), assisted by Provincial District Committees. The African representatives nominated by the Governor to the A.C.A.E. were a minority thus making their impact in the Committee insignificant. In 1928 only two Africans were nominated to the A.C.A.E. which then comprised 15 members. In 1945 the number was slightly raised to eight in a Committee of 22 members.¹ In Provincial Committees, African membership varied, in some Committees, Africans remained a minority throughout the period under review, whereas in others, such as in the Northern Province, Africans constituted a majority in the Committee by 1945. African contributions in the A.C.A.E. were minimal for another reason as well. The Advisory Committee on African Education was rendered "quite moribund" from the early 1930's when it ceased to be summoned.²

¹In 1928, Messrs. Stephano Ngulawe, a teacher and Martin Kayumba, a key organizer of African civil servants, were nominated to the A.C.A.E. In 1945, Messrs. Adam Sapi (Iringa), Saidi Juma (Dodoma), Juma Salima (Tabora), Salim bin Omar (Dar es Salaam), Mambila Lagasha (Tabora), Ali Makani Nyanga (Shinyanga), Kasanda Mabeja (Nsaga), and Petro Itoni (Moshi), were nominated to the A.C.A.E. TNA, 18600/V/261.

²Church Missionary Society to the Editor, Tanganyika Standard, March 15, 1943, COT/Lutherans General.

Africans were able to use these committees, however, particularly the provincial ones, as platforms for criticizing education policies. For example, in 1934 the Bukoba African Civil Servants Association was able to use their Provincial Committee in attacking the Administration's decision to convert Nyakato Central School into an agricultural institution.¹ Even the Governor's appointees on the A.C.A.E. sometimes used that body to oppose official policy. For example, in 1934 the African members in the A.C.A.E. opposed the proposal to make the opening of new schools dependant on the discretion of the Government.² By 1940, the Director of Education observed that African members in the Central and Provincial Committees were voicing their views in an "er'spoken manner" and impressing their colleagues with the merits of their arguments. The Director of Education writing to the Chief Secretary on this stated that all African representatives "without exception... expressed themselves clearly, thoughtfully and with conviction;" he recommended that "on future Committees where African education [was] under consideration, a much higher number of places be given to Africans."³

The conviction that there should be more African members on committees dealing with African education was also felt among the missionary societies. In 1943, when the Tanganyika Missionary Council

¹ Ralph A. Austen, Northwest Tanzania under German and British Rule, Colonial Policy and Tribal Politics, 1889-1939 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 219-220.

² Extracts of the 3rd Session of the A.C.A.E. (1934), TMA, 23787/2/8.

³ The Director of Education to the Chief Secretary June 25, 1940, 28867/1/1.

(TMC) was asked to nominate three members to the Advisory Committee on African Education to work on the post-war education plan, the missions nominated two Africans and one European, because they felt strongly that "there should be more African Christians on this Council."¹

The desire to increase African membership on the Advisory Committee indicates a new attitude on the part of the European Community towards the African. This change was brought about by the Administrations' acceptance of African proposals, and, secondly, by the greater responsibilities which Africans assumed immediately after the outbreak of the war. Contrary to the belief that Africans would spend less of their funds on education, in 1941-42 Native Treasuries took over the entire financial responsibility of paying teachers' salaries in all Native Administration and Government schools in the districts.² In some areas, such as Kilimanjaro, Africans took over responsibility for all educational work when the missionaries in-charge were expelled.³

I.(B) Pressure for Facilities

One of the issues with which Africans concerned themselves most was the shortage of schools. Unlike the usual stereotyped picture of missionaries and European teachers enticing or dragging African children

¹ A letter from the Tanganyika Missionary Council to the Director of Education, September 12, 1943, OCT, 10/01.

² A minute from the Director of Education to the Assistant Secretary, n.d., TNA, 31889/Minute Sheet, p. 29.

³ D.C. Platt, "Self-Government in Primary School Management," Overseas Education, XIV (July, 1953), 101.

into school, the imported educators were turning away prospective pupils clamoring for admission. In 1930, the Central School at Old Moshi had many more requests for admission that it could manage,¹ and by 1931 Bukoba Central School had the maximum number that could be accommodated.² From 1934 onwards the government girls' schools at Tabora, Dar es Salaam and Tanga reported that "demand for admission far exceeded the accommodation available,"³ and four years later Dar es Salaam Government Primary School was returning children home until the time when there would be vacancies.⁴

Pressure for admission to schools was also felt in mission schools. "Our greatest difficulty at present," the Moravian Mission in Rungwe district reported in 1944, "is to keep children away from school."

We have long lists of children anxious to learn. It is not the parents who wish their children to attend school but in most cases the children themselves...it is rather a hard job to send the children home...they come again and again and sometimes change their names in the hope that they will have a better chance...the people are crying for education and it seems hardly possible to meet the needs.⁵

¹Quarterly Report on Old Moshi, September 30, 1930, THA, 19409/2.

²Quarterly Report on Bukoba Central School, May 1931, THA, 19409/63.

³Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report to League of Nations on Tanganyika, 1934 (London: H.M.S.O., 1935), Colonial 93, p. 67.

⁴Mwanafunzi, May 1938, p. 34.

⁵Annual Report of the Moravian Missions, Southern Highlands, for 1944, CCT 1/42.

Pressure for educational facilities and secular education was exerted by all sections of the African Community. Sir Donald Cameron states that during one of his visits to Songea and Usukuma the Chiefs requested him to provide "education for the children."¹ During his visit to the area in 1942, some tribes, such as the Chaggas, "forcefully brought to the attention" of the Director of Education "the totally inadequate education facilities."² Concerted African pressure was applied particularly in the 1930's, when the Administration applied retrenchment measures aimed at curbing, rather than expanding, educational facilities, just at a time when African interest in Western education was gathering momentum.

Thus, we have conglomerate groups, not of chiefs or particular tribes, but of Africans drawn all over the country, pressing for educational facilities. In 1938, two groups, the African Welfare and Commercial Association (a group of shopkeepers and stall holders) and the Young African Christian Association, informed Mark Young, the new Governor, that the "system of education [was] unsatisfactory" and that the "main problem [was the need for] good education and the spread of it throughout the territory." To stress their case, they reminded the Governor that it was only "through education that backward peoples

¹ Sir D. Cameron, My Tanganyika Service and Some Figures, pp. 130-32.

² A minute from the Director of Education to the Chief Secretary, March 27, 1942, TNA, 51723/2.

[could] hope to make progress and to keep pace."¹

British policy required Africans to make a special effort to secure school places for girls. Africans wanted schools where boys and girls could be educated separately or co-educationally, yet the myth persists that Africans were against the education of girls. The truth is just the opposite - Africans were anxious to have their girls educated. It was the Tanganyika African Club which offered free of rent the building in which Tanga Government Girls' School started, and the school was very popular.² The Kidia Girls' School in Moshi had the support of the parents who "insisted on providing cows [to the school] so that animal husbandry could be taught."³ The three government girls' schools at Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Tabora were reported in 1934 to have had "more requests for admission than they could accommodate." By 1935, "there was a large number of girls who would have continued their education were the facilities available."⁴ The number of African girls in government schools increased tremendously from 152 in 1932 to 772 in 1938, the year in which 21, 165 girls were also enrolled in mission schools.⁵ The

¹ Kwetu, August 21, 1938, p. 29 (A petition from A.W.C.A. to the Governor) and Kwetu, October 16, 1938, p. 6 (Petition from Young African Christian Association to the Governor dated August 8, 1938).

² Quarterly Report on Tanga Girls' School, July, 1931, TNA, 19409/96.

³ G.H. Khamu, "The Early Development of Education among the Chagga," Tanganyika Notes and Records, XLV (December, 1956), 23.

⁴ Notes on the education of women by a Senior Women's Education Officer (Miss Pelham Johnson), 1935, TNA, 28867/II/86A.

⁵ Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report to League of Nations on Tanganyika for 1938 (London: H.M.S.O., 1939), Colonial 165, p. 27.

Central Education Committee of 1939-40 reported that a "desire for further training for women and girls [was] being voiced throughout the Territory" and that "chiefs of large districts and headmen in small villages [were] demanding more girls' schools...."¹

That girls' education came to lag behind was entirely due to lack of encouragement and negligence on the part of the British Administration. Of the total government expenditure on African education, only 15 per cent was spent on girls' education.² The Chief Secretary as late as 1933 believed "in leaving female education to missions,"³ and even in 1940 the Department of Education was satisfied to give female education "priority on paper" only.⁴ Missions, too, discouraged girls' education; for example, Mr. Gutman, a teacher in Moshi, was "afraid of the influence of schooling on girls, for fear that education [would] make them less willing to concentrate on food supplies and take to coffee farming...."⁵ Furthermore, some missionary societies had instructions from their headquarters not to spend "mission funds on

¹ Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40, op. cit.
p. 31.

² Ibid., p. 40.

³ The Chief Secretary to the Governor, January 4, 1933, TNA, 18680/I/65.

⁴ Comments by the Senior Womens' Education Officer (Miss Pelham Johnson), on the recommendations of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40, April 5, 1945, TNA, 28867/II/86A.

⁵ Huxley, African View, pp. 54-55.

primary education."¹ Thus, when in "financial difficulties," they sometimes closed the only girls' schools in the district. A case in point was Berege Girls' school in Kileleshwa district which was closed in 1939 by the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) due to "financial difficulties."²

It was only later that parents preferred to educate their boys rather than the girls. This new development resulted from the lack of employment opportunities for trained women. The girls, too, became discouraged by the lack of opportunities or advanced training because, as one of them put it, they "could not get clerical posts."³ It is evident from the available evidence that British priorities and policies rather than African prejudice against women blocked the development of more educational facilities for girls.

Sometimes African pressure for more schools was accompanied by steps aimed at making the best use of existing facilities. Native Administrations, for example, after failing to get students into the Government Central schools, turned some of their village schools into a kind of District Central school with six standards instead of the four approved standards.⁴ In other instances voluntary agencies

¹The Director of Education to the Inspector of Schools, Moshi, September 25, 1943, TNA, 51723/14A.

²Notes on "Education of African Communities," 1939, TNA, 23437/3.

³Maybe Lee, March 1934, p. 37 (A letter to the Editor from Mrs. Charles Benifase).

⁴E.H. Mundy, "The Government Teacher Training Centre, Mwanza," Overseas Education, IX (January, 1949), 672.

were coerced into improving the "quality of their schools" as was the case in Uchagga and Usambaa, where the Native Administrations threatened to take over and convert mission sub-grade schools into N.A. schools.¹

It was African pressure, therefore, that partly helped to defeat the retrenchment policies of 1930 to 1936. By 1934 the Department of Education was admitting that

There [was] on the one hand, the question of gradually increasing the number of new schools for the schoolless multitudes, and on the other the question of meeting the need for an extended course in old established village schools where a simple four year elementary course [was] insufficient, a fact which [was] being increasingly realized by the African Communities themselves.²

I.(C) The Teaching of English

Next in importance to pressure for more schools and extended courses was the African demand for the teaching of English, an issue which generated the most alarm among colonial officials. African desire to learn English was motivated by several factors. The Central Education Committee of 1939-40 reported that the feeling among the Africans was that "a knowledge of English opened the door to a wider field."³ That

¹ A letter from the Christian Missionary Society to the Department of Education, February 9, 1943, COF, 11/13/1.

² Tanzania, Regional Paper No. 4 of 1934 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1934, p. 3.

³ Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40, pp. xii, p. 17.

this came to be the general feeling among Africans is understandable when one considers the historical and social condition which prevailed at the time. During the German period, there had been a tendency on the part of the Administration and large commercial firms to employ Arabs, Goans and Asians as clerks.¹ The British practiced the same system. By 1937 for instance, 14 out of 18 clerks in the Secretariat, 37 out of 39 clerks in the Treasury and 100 out of 119 clerks in the Customs were foreigners.² The excuse given all this time was that Africans lacked the pre-requisite qualifications, one being English, but the root cause was the deliberate attempt to maintain the social status quo by spending as little as possible on local training.

Secondly, African desire to know English was motivated by the spread of Western education,³ particularly as English symbolized the "language of the ruling classes."⁴ Knowledge of the English language was not a requirement for admission to the Legislative Council,⁵ but Africans nominated to the Council were unable to fully participate in its proceedings. In order to prepare themselves for full participation in the Legislative Council, Africans naturally insisted on having English courses

¹Smith, "The Missionary Contribution to Education to 1914," p.99.

²Sir D. Cameron, My Service in Tanganyika and some Nigeria, p. 129.

³Kwetu, January 14, 1939, pp. 9-10.

⁴Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40, op. cit., p. 17.

⁵George A. Lensen, The World Beyond Europe (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2nd Edition, 1966), p. 179.

in the curriculum. Lastly, many Africans regarded Western education, civilization and the European way of life as synonymous,¹ but one could not imitate the British without speaking the English language in the first instance.

African efforts to learn English appeared exceedingly threatening to commercial employers and European administrators who, in the 1930's, had feared that the teaching of English would facilitate the spread of "Bolshevism, Trade Unionism, Socialism and various other -isms of the left wing." Europeans naturally did not want Africans to come into contact with anti-colonial or trade union literature. Settlers and employers of domestic servants not only feared the westernization of Africans, but disliked the idea of having "their black servants understand what they said."² Such people forgot that the more they wanted to establish a language barrier, the more the African wanted to break the barrier by learning English.

Recognizing the great weight which Africans placed on the teaching of English, administrators with a long term view of British interests in Africa proposed token programmes of English instruction to pre-empt "radical" groups from capitalizing on the issue. In 1929, for example, a certain Major Wells, speaking in the Legislative Council, boastfully justified the pressure he applied on the Director of Education to teach English in a particular area.

¹R. Austin, quoted in Terence Ranger, "African Attempts to Control Education in East and Central Africa," Past and Present XXXII (December, 1965), 69.

²Huxley, African View, p. 327.

...as long ago as 1922 [he had] pointed out to the Director of Education the advisability of teaching English to a certain extent in the South-Western Highlands. [He had] pointed out if the Education Department did not take up this duty they would find that the Watch Tower Mission were definitely going to start it, and [he thought] that steps to teach English in that area were called for and had a very good result. The Watch Tower Mission [had] apparently died out.¹

Some Europeans misunderstood this policy. They saw no need to maintain the "expensive central schools" where English was taught. They called upon the Administration to abolish such schools, claiming that the African would "not suffer one iota" from such a measure.² Some settlers claimed that "the learning of English would not make the African a better man," and that teachers should train Africans in "husbandry" rather than teaching them English.³ The Director of Education reminded his critics in 1929 that:

In Government schools there [were] some 7,000 pupils and of these only slightly over 300 [were] being taught any English. Mission schools [claimed] a roll of 150,000 pupils and [he doubted] if more than 350 were receiving education in English. [He did] not think this [could be] regarded as "wholesale instruction" in the English language.⁴

¹ Proceedings of Legislative Council, 4th and 5th Sessions (1929-1931), December 9, 1929.

² Tanganyika Standard, February 20, 1932. An article on the "High cost of African Education."

³ Tanganyika Times, January 11, 1926.

⁴ Tanzania, Proceedings of Legislative Council, 4th and 5th Sessions, pp. 52-3.

This token programme was vital to the Administration's safety-valve strategy, as the Director of Education admitted candidly in private during one of the meetings of the Financial Committee. The Territory could not "do without some instruction in English" for he continued,

The very first to notice it would be the Africans themselves. They would be very ready to notice anything which indicated that they were being held back or suppressed and I regard the proper selection of clever pupils to pass on to instruction in English as a very excellent safety valve for any possible discontent that might arise¹

Thus the decision to retain some English classes within the retrenchment policies of the 1930's was clearly because of the fact that, though the Administration was the policy making body, the activist potential of the African Community was one of the most important factors to be borne in mind when making such decisions.

It should not be concluded that the intense African interest in learning English necessarily implied the rejection of the vernacular or the Swahili language. There is no evidence that Africans asked for the termination of Swahili classes. On the contrary, there was always a desire to know both Swahili and English. For example, in 1931, when Mr. Martin Kayunga (member of the Advisory Committee on African Education and President of the African Civil Servants' Association) was interviewed by the Joint Committee in East Africa, he called for "additional classes

¹ Extracts, Discussion Notes of the Financial Committee, December 1929, YHA, 18600/1/1.

in both Swahili and English."¹

I.(D) Control over Curriculum

Closely linked to the language issue was African pressure to control or modify curriculum in certain schools in which the people had a vested interest, particularly the three central schools at Moshi, Malangali and Nyakato (Bukoba). The most important feature of such schools was that they "harboured a wide variety of courses and training," foremost among which were courses in English and clerical skills.² In 1934, central schools, which had only gone up to standard VI, were raised to standard VIII.

Old Moshi was founded during the German period as a District school, and was among the first to be reopened by the British Administration. By 1928 it was already a central school offering an English course in standards V and VI. Although the school served the Arusha, Upare, Mbulu and Kilimanjaro districts,³ it was most important to the Chaggas of Kilimanjaro district. The retrenchment policies of 1930 to 1934 struck Old Moshi the hardest. Its English classes in standards V and VI were closed in 1932 and it was turned into a large elementary centre.⁴ As a consequence, boys desirous of taking the English course

¹ Despatch to the Secretary of State from the Chief Secretary, June 17, 1931, TNA, 18680/I/5.

² Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40, op. cit., p. 15.

³ Quarterly Report on Old Moshi, September 30, 1930, TNA, 19409/2.

⁴ Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1934, op. cit., p. 5.

had to proceed to either Tanga or Tabora. The Government's act, depriving the Chaggas of what they believed to be their central school, was very unpopular. In retaliation against the Administration's decision on the status of Moshi school, the Chagga Council in 1933 threatened to withdraw their pledge to contribute £420 towards the school's maintenance "unless standards V and VI [were] returned to Old Moshi."¹ The Chagga's protest hit home, and the school was re-established as a central school the same year in which they were to withdraw their support. Having got what it wanted, the Chagga Council paid £550 to run the school in 1934.²

Malangali faced a similar attack. Malangali was founded and run by Dr. W.B. Mumford in the late 1920's. It was to evolve from a purely traditional school to an innovational institution where "sound and healthy" traditional elements would be conserved and blended with new elements to "meet changed circumstances."³ In the initial stage, Dr. Mumford used tribal elders as instructors and advisers. By involving elders in the management of the school, Dr. Mumford was able to engage the interest of parents in furthering his project.⁴

¹ The Annual Report for Northern Province (1933), TNA, 11681/43-44.

² The Annual Report for Northern Province (1934), TNA, 1168/16.

³ W.B. Mumford, "Memorandum on Education and Social Adjustment of the Primitive Peoples of Africa to European Culture," in TNA, 11570/p. 24.

⁴ Huxley, African View. pp. 103-104.

Many British administrators in Tanzania did not support the Malangali experiment. Therefore, in 1928, Malangali was converted into an ordinary central school. Two years later, a new Board of Governors was nominated and a new headmaster was appointed. The new Board of Governors and the new headmaster saw no reason to collaborate with the elders. At the Iringa Provincial meeting in 1930, the Board of Governors decided that the "first necessity in African education [was] discipline, and such could not be maintained through a Council of elders, but only through the Headmaster."¹

The exclusion of tribal elders from the school's management diminished the support which surrounding tribes had given to the school. To make matters worse, two years later, in 1932, Malangali was turned into a large elementary centre. The feelings of the Wahaha were conveyed by their chief when he told Colonel John Malet Llewellyn that "Malangali [was] finished" and that they no longer had any interest in the school. According to Colonel Llewellyn's report, the school "suffered in consequence" and he advised the Administration to protect the school "against differences of opinion."²

Nyakato was the third central school which came under the retrenchment axe. Nyakato began as a "camp school" managed by the Bakamas up to 1924. In 1925 like the other "camp schools" in Bukoba, it was turned into an elementary school under the Bukoba District.

¹ Minutes of Iringa Provincial Committee, 1929, TNA, 19390/5.

² Minutes of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Education (Iringa Province) (1933), TNA, 19390/3-4.

Bearing in mind the high degree of interest in education reached in Bukoba district by 1923, it is hardly surprising that the tribe passionately defended the existence of its school. It was only after 1927 that the government partially regained tribal confidence by expanding the school into a central school. In his 1930 annual report on the school, the Superintendent of Schools reported that chiefs from remote areas, such as Biharamulo, visited Nyakato, a sign of tribal interest in the school.¹ Nyakato, unlike Moshi or Malangali, was converted into an Agricultural Training school under the Department of Agriculture in 1933.² The immediate reaction was a drop in attendance at Nyakato (for example, of the 12 boys selected from Kabare M.A. school to join Nyakato, none turned up). Government investigators commenting on the unpopularity of the school attributed it to three factors: (i) a "misunderstanding on the part of the parents as to the purpose for which the centre was instituted, (ii) a widespread belief that the teaching at the school was not conducted along the lines which appealed to the local "native" and (iii) the fact that although a number of chiefs had visited the centre, they had not "taken trouble to advertise its importance among the people."³

From this investigation, the Administration concluded that

¹ Quarterly Report on Bukoba, September 1930, TNA, 19409/14.

² The Director of Education briefing the Chief Secretary on the history of Nyakato school, June 27, 1944, TNA, 23271/II, Minute sheet p. 18.

³ The District Officer, Bukoba, to the Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province, on Nyakato school, February 23, 1935, TNA, 23271/I/76-78.

parents were reluctant to encourage their children to attend the school because the course did not prepare the Bahayas for employment as clerks or teachers, and that the parents had not seen any logic in persuading boys to go and get "full time agricultural training when the tribe had been doing cultivation for hundreds of years."¹

Bahaya protest was carried a step further in 1935 when some parents refused to pay school fees for their children attending the school and when the boys themselves staged a strike to protest against non-academic instruction. By 1936 it was evident that the agricultural orientation of Nyakate school was totally unpopular. The Provincial Commissioner was disturbed by these developments, which he interpreted as "an affront to Government." He informed the Chief Secretary that the situation required "careful and tactful handling," warning that "the possibility of the spread of disaffection should not be overlooked."²

By 1936, African protest had forced a change at Nyakate. According to the 1936 report, "academic instruction was increased" and "the school [had] recovered a little in popularity."³ However, nothing short of a central school could satisfy the Bahayas. In 1938, the Bahamas pleaded with the Governor to restore the institution to its former status as a

¹ Ibid., TNA, 23271/I/77-78.

² The Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province, to the Chief Secretary, March 18, 1937, TNA, 23271/I/108.

³ The Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province, to the Chief Secretary, June 6, 1939, TNA, 2371/I/133.

central school and thus satisfy "the needs of [the] Bukoba."¹ The Bahayas' desire for a central school is understandable. In the 1920's, the British Administration had imported Baganda subordinate staff into the district because of a shortage of qualified Bahayas.²

Nyakato failed as an agricultural school because the tribe would not support its curriculum.³ This is even clearer when we examine tribal efforts to get the school reconverted into a junior secondary school. From correspondence in the file on the school, it seems likely that it was the Bahayas who raised the £2,500 required for the purpose of reconverting the school in 1943, that they acted on the assurance that the school would become a secondary school and industrial training centre by 1944, and that the Bukoba Native Authority even agreed to undertake the responsibility of running the school in the interim period (1942 to 1943).⁴

The Mashi, Malangali and Nyakato cases illustrate African initiative or pressure for an academic curriculum, but should not wrongly be interpreted to imply that Africans were only interested in academic or

¹ A petition from the Bahayas to the Governor, May 1938, TNA, 23271/I/130.

² Anstey, Northwest Tanzania German and British Rule, 1889-1939, p. 124.

³ The Chief Secretary in a note to the Assistant Secretary, August 28, 1941, attributed the failure of the school to the fact that the school "had taught boys instead of girls" TNA, 23271/II/Minute Sheet, p.6.

⁴ Minutes between the Chief Secretary, the Director of Education and the Assistant Secretary (1940-1942), TNA, 23271/II/Minute Sheet p.6-9, 15-18.

MARKS ON ORIGINALLY

literary courses. African interest in professional and agricultural training was also evident. In Moshi, from the beginning, the Chaggas had shown great interest in agricultural and animal husbandry by providing their Old Moshi Kidia Girls' school with cows and other farm animals. The Chaggas donated cows to a girls' school because in Uchagga, as among many other tribes, it was the women who conducted most animal husbandry and farming; thus they were the ones to whom such training had direct application.

As early as 1928, chiefs in Tabora-Mwanza districts voiced criticism of the type of education which trained clerks instead of farmers in a cattle and agricultural country.¹ This criticism was seriously considered. At a Provincial Commissioners' meeting at Shinyanga on May 30, 1932, the Commissioners agreed that "steps would be taken to deal with the output" from the N.A. schools by establishing a school at Ibadakuli where agriculture and animal husbandry training would be carried out as the parents and chiefs desired.² That Ibadakuli later failed as a farm school was due to the fact that boys were not "taught [there,] but were merely used as cheap labour."³

African recognition of the importance of agricultural training was also apparent in other areas, such as Mpwapwa, where a teachers'

¹ Tyndale Biscoe, an Education Officer, to the Director of Education regarding Farm Central School for Tabora and Mwanza, (1933) TNA, 19972/7.

² Notes of a Conference between Provincial Commissioners (Lake and Western Provinces), May 30, 1932, TNA, 19972/72.

³ The Director of the Department of Agriculture to the Chief Secretary (1934), TNA, 19972/24.

training centre and veterinary farm, existed. In the 1934 report, we are told that "chiefs after their council meetings visited both these institutions" and that "they were always ready to support financially any crop experiment they wished to see carried out."¹ In Njombe district, it was also noted that "local parents desired their children to be taught agriculture, and handicrafts as well as the three R's."² In the Eastern Province, Native Authorities extended "education beyond the school rooms" by maintaining "a staff of agricultural instructors."³

It cannot therefore be said that Africans were uninterested in agricultural education; rather, they sought a balanced curriculum. The Karomas, Chaggas, Sukumas, Nyanwenis and Nchhes favoured agricultural training, but not, as the administrators tended to impose their policy on them, at the full expense of literary education.

I.(E) The Education Rate

Perhaps one of the best examples of African initiatives in education is to be found in the struggle to introduce an education rate in order to share the burden of financing schools and increase educational services.

The idea of an education rate, or cess, originated with the

¹ Tanzania, Provincial Commissioners' Annual Reports, 1934
(Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1936), p. 7.

² Tanzania, Provincial Commissioners' Annual Reports, 1937
(Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1938), p. 71.

³ Tanzania, Provincial Commissioners' Annual Reports, 1939
(Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1940), p. 24.

Director of Education but was elaborated and advanced by Africans themselves through their Native Administrations. As mentioned earlier, Native Administrations performed a variety of duties. Few Native Administrations managed sub-grade or bush-schools before 1928. However, with the introduction of the 1927-28, education ordinances and regulations, there was a mushrooming of N.A. schools when several Native Administrations attempted not only to raise the standards of their sub-grade schools so as to qualify for grants-in-aid, but to open new ones. N.A. schools, unlike mission or government schools, symbolized a "spirit of communal responsibility."¹ Each Native Administration had to build, support, and run its sub-grade schools until they attained the standard required to qualify for government grants-in-aid. The zealotness with which N.A.'s approached the problem of educational facilities is evidenced by the fact that, by 1931, 35 N.A. schools had qualified for grants-in-aid.² Native Administrations and Africans as a whole were disheartened in that year, however, by the near cessation of grants, the greatly reduced expenditure on education, and the new regulation that no new N.A. schools were to be opened without prior approval from the Director of Education.

The curtailment of educational expansion after 1930 was explained in terms of financial limitation. The Director of Education, not desiring to finance "elementary vernacular education," proposed a "local education rate." He believed that Native Administrations had reached a

¹ Platt, "Self-Government in Primary School Management," p. 100.

² Clough, African Affairs, Vol. IV, p. 269.

stage where they would "readily support the provision of funds to meet expenditure on a service liable to be severely curtailed." In order to make the idea acceptable to the Native Administrations, he proposed that Native Authorities should be made aware that the rate was to be "levied by [them] and definitely earmarked for local education" and that it would vary from "place to place and...[would be] adjusted to local conditions."¹ Furthermore, to make the plan more attractive, the Director of Education claimed that such rates would act as a "stimulus to local interest" and make Native Administrations feel that they were responsible "for advising on [an] important branch of the educational service."²

This proposal was circulated to Provincial Commissioners, heads of missionary agencies, and other government officials and conveyed to the Advisory Committee on Education by the Secretary of State for consideration. The Advisory Committee on Education approved the introduction of an education rate, but the Local Advisory Committee on African Education in Tanganyika rejected the proposal as distasteful.³

This proposal was actually rejected and abandoned for several reasons: The Secretary of Native Affairs objected to its introduction because it would have been administratively hard to collect from people during the depression. He also foresaw that many would object to the

¹The Director of Education, "Memorandum on African Education in Tanganyika," January 11, 1933, TNA, 18680/1/68.

²The Director of Education to the Chief Secretary on "Education Rate," January 4, 1933, TNA, 18680/1/68.

³Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1934, pp. 511, p. 3.

tax while access to education was limited, with a probability that some Native Authorities would close down their schools rather than raise such a rate.¹ Missionary Societies particularly, the University Mission to Central Africa (U.M.C.A.), campaigned against the establishment of the rate on the grounds that a "levy would have made both education and Missions unpopular as well as identifying Missions with government."²

Before the proposal was abandoned, the Secretary for Native Affairs had instructed the Provincial and District Commissioners to sound out African opinion. Most of the Africans then consulted supported a local education rate and continued to seek its implementation after the proposal was officially dropped. In 1934, it was reported that in Bukoba the 'natives' understood and would appreciate an education rate.³ Two years later, Provincial Commissioner Lake reported that Sukuma chiefs and peasants approved the purpose to which the proceeds of an education tax of one shilling per head would be devoted and would raise no objection to its collection.⁴ The same spirit prevailed in other

¹The Secretary for Native Affairs on "Education Rate" (1933), THA, 18680/I/132, 193 and 234-37.

²A memorandum on "Education Rate" by Bishop Bloomfield of the Zanzibar Diocese, 1933, THA, 18680/I/183-184.

³The Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province, to the Chief Secretary (1934), THA, 18680/II/279.

⁴The Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province, to the Chief Secretary, September 3, 1936, THA, 11470/III/499. Collection of the education rate in Sukuma alone would have raised £11,000 p.a. - that is more than the total direct Native Authorities contribution to education that year or one seventh of what the Central Government spent on African education in 1936. See Table 2.

regions, indicating that Africans wanted to move "faster and further than the government thought fit."¹

Education rate was pursued with greater vigour in Kilimanjaro and Upare Districts. In Upare the question of imposing an educational cess was pursued by leaders of local committees rather than Native Authorities. Local communities themselves realizing the failure of both Central and Native Authorities presented a petition to the Education Committee of 1939-40 to the effect that:-

1. The educational facilities in their area [were] insufficient. They would like to see a Primary village school within reach of each concentration of people;
2. In view of the fact that neither Government nor the Native Treasuries [were] in a position to increase expenditure on education, the Committees themselves [were] willing to provide funds; and
3. The fund should be collected in the form of an education rate and not in the form of school fees.²

Thus the Upare realized that providing education was the responsibility of the whole community and not just the duty of the individual parents. It was in response to this local petition that the Central Education Committee of 1939-40 recommended that government should accept local offers such as that of the Pare to impose a local education

¹ Raymond J. Mason, British Education in Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 48.

² Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40, op. cit.,
p. 43.

rate.¹ It is unlikely that this recommendation would have been made had the Wapare not taken the initiative. An education rate was not introduced for some years, but some important concessions were made. Under the Local Rates (Amendment), Ordinance No. 29 of 1942, Native Authorities were empowered to raise an annual rate to finance local services. In the first instance the application of this ordinance was limited to Pare district only, with provisions to extend it to other areas after it had been approved by the Legislative Council.²

The new graduated local rate in Pare was known as "mbiru" (after a traditional tribute which had ceased in the 1890's). "Mbiru" was abandoned in 1947 because it was unpopular. The Wapare viewed 'mbiru' as a new innovation aimed at equessing more and more money (by both the Administration and Native Treasuries), from their meagre resources.³ In the petition it will be remembered that the Wapare had expressed their dissatisfaction with both government and Native Treasuries as far as provision of educational facilities was concerned. The Wapare wanted a special education rate earmarked solely for education within their localities. "Mbiru" was not exclusively earmarked for education, but was to cover various services as Local Treasuries thought necessary. It was the lumping together of the education rate in an arbitrarily assessed

¹ Ibid., p. 44.

² Lord Hailey, Native Administrations in the British African Territories (London: H.M.S.O., 1950), Part I, p. 220.

³ Isaria N. Kimambo, Mbiru: Popular Protest in Colonial Tanzania (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971), p. 8.

graduated local rate earmarked for social services that made "mbiru" unpopular.

In Moshi District, too, despite the extension of the new rate in 1943, the Chagga Council continued to press for an education rate. In 1939, the Wachagga had proposed to introduce a one shilling per head education rate. The Chief Secretary, wanting to dismiss the issue, claimed that such a proposal reflected the views of the chiefs who did "not always speak for their people on [such] matters."¹ The Chaggas did not despair. In 1942 the issue took a dramatic turn when the Chagga Council raised the issue in a concrete form at a meeting with the District Commissioner (D.C.). The D.C., writing later to the Chief Secretary, stated that he took the Council's determination to introduce an education rate as a "fait accompli."² In an attempt to slow down the tempo, the Administration alleged that the decision to have an education rate could not represent the general opinion of the Wachagga and ordered the reconstitution of a Chagga Education Advisory Committee fully representative of all shades of 'native' public opinion, to advise on the matter. The newly formed Committee held a meeting with the Director of Education at Old Moshi on March 4, 1943, and all African members (six chiefs and six other Chagga men) were "unanimously in favour of the proposal to impose a cess on the whole tribe to meet the cost of additional

¹The Chief Secretary to the Director of Education, November 11, 1939, TNA, 31723/1.

²The District Commissioner, Moshi, to the Chief Secretary (1942), TNA, 148/2/2.

services."¹

Despite the introduction of the new Local Rate to Moshi District in 1943, the Chaggas still pressed for an education rate of two shillings and not one shilling per head as originally set. Two new developments made the introduction of a special education rate more desirable. In the first place, other than the increase of educational facilities, Native Authorities wanted to have some control over mission schools to ensure that educational services were not disrupted every time Europeans took to war. This is something Africans realized when they saw groups of missionaries who were "entrusted with considerable educational work,"² being expelled regardless of the effects on African education. Secondly, the Chaggas wanted to get rid of school fees "in kind" as charged by the missions.³

By 1942 it was apparent that the Chaggas keenly desired the introduction of an education rate. The Chief Secretary at last gave in and wrote to the Secretary of State recommending the introduction of an education rate.⁴ The Secretary of State accepted "the imposition of local education rates by Native Authorities" on the grounds that it would encourage and establish the principle of voluntary self improvement

¹The Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province, to the Chief Secretary, March 17, 1943, TNA, 31723/7A.

²A minute from the Director of Education to the Chief Secretary, December 4, 1942, TNA, 31723/Minute Sheet p. 2.

³Resolutions regarding the establishment of an education rate of two shillings passed by the Chagga Council, and intended for publication (1943). TNA, 31723/34A-B and 31723/14A.

⁴A confidential despatch to the Secretary of State, December 21, 1943, TNA, 31889/6.

(self-help) and make it possible for the Native Authorities to participate in the management of mission schools.¹

An education rate of two shillings per head in Moshi district was approved in 1943 "as an experiment upon which future policy for the whole Territory [was] going to be based."² The Administration also made provisions for extending the rate to other districts such as Pare, Bukuma and Bukoba, where there had been equal pressure for an education rate.³

That it took almost 15 years to have the rate approved was entirely due to its having been opposed by people who had failed to understand and accept African initiatives. In 1933, voluntary agencies bitterly opposed it because it would have deprived them of an important source of revenue, as well as control over their African staff.⁴ The Administration, though realising the contributions which could be made through an education rate, delayed its approval in the 1930's for fear of alienating the voluntary agencies and because it opposed diverting large sums to encourage African education in the midst of a retrenchment programme.

The introduction of an education rate enabled Native

¹ From the Secretary of State to the Governor, August 9, 1944, TNA, 28867/II/66.

² A Minute to D.A.S. (sic) in TNA, 31889/Minute Sheet pp. 2-6.

³ The Chief Secretary to the Director of Education (1943), TNA, 31723/7.

⁴ A memorandum by Bishop Hibernfield of Zanzibar on the "Education rate" (1933), TNA, 31889/40B and 18680/I/183-84.

Administrations to effectively influence the British Administration in some aspects of the education system. Before 1944, the salaries of equally qualified teachers varied from one mission to another and between missions and N.A. or the central government schools. For instance, N.A.'s and central government schools paid their teachers between 30 and 200 shillings per month, whereas equally qualified teachers in mission schools were paid between 15 and 45 shillings per month.¹

It was the introduction of the education rate in Moshi which enabled the N.A. to indicate its intention to establish a unified salary system in the district. The importance of establishing uniform salary scales for all teachers was further brought to the attention of the British Administration by the teachers themselves, who petitioned the Director of Education and Chief Secretary.² In response to these African proposals, the Administration "agreed to arrange [from 1946] to equalize the pay of Government and Mission on teachers," though in the first instance this was also to be on a provincial rather than a territorial basis.³

The education rate further enabled Native Administrations to exercise more control over mission schools. Although the British

¹Salaries of government and mission schools' teachers in the early 1940's, TNA, 31889/115, and Colonial 220, op. cit., p. 161.

²Letters from Teachers' Association at St. Mary School (Tabara), Singa Chini, Kibongoto and Machame (Moshi) to the Director of Education and Chief Secretary, 1944, TNA, 31889/15, 72A-D.

³A circular to all Provincial Commissioners from the Chief Secretary, directing the introduction of provincial salaries scale for teachers, August 7, 1945, TNA, 31889/89.

Administration in Tanzania continued to claim "total responsibility for the control of policy in regard to educational services,"¹ Native Administrations had by 1946 gained much ground in the management of those schools which received grants from the Native Treasuries. For instance, in 1946, the Chagga Education Authority was able to threaten to "rescind" all grants-in-aid to mission schools if the missions would not accept "the Authority's general education policy" that education must be free from "religious prejudices."² Among other things, this demand challenged the mission schools policy of refusing admittance to children who did not profess their faith.

II. Negative side

Pre-colonial African societies had their own conceptions of education and the means of imparting values and techniques to young men and women. Wherever Western educational concepts and objectives clashed with the essential functions of traditional education, Tanzanians struggled against the Administration.

Traditional education had several essential characteristics. Firstly, the Community collectively participated in one way or other in imparting knowledge or techniques to the younger generation. Secondly, traditional education was ultimately bound to African social life in a

¹The Chief Secretary to the Provincial Commissioner (Arusha), September 6, 1944, TNA, 31723/144/1-2.

²Petrol Itosi, of Chagga Council, to D.C. Platt, Education Secretary, Lutheran Church (Northern Province) 1946, TNA, 148/2/97.

material and spiritual sense.¹ For example, in Uchagga a girl was taught how to cut and collect animal grass by her mother and elder sisters through progressive participation, yet when learning the techniques of selecting good grass she learnt about poisonous grass, sacred figs, etc. As soon as the girl was old enough to need no particular supervision, she was encouraged to go and cut the grass among a group of girls of her age from the village, thus not only integrating her in her age group, but providing a yardstick with which the Community could judge the hardworking girl and the lazy type. In traditional education there was also a progressive differentiation between male and female education with the objective of equipping each for his or her social role in the Community.

Western education as introduced by the Administration and the missionaries neither fitted one for a traditional role in his own society, nor provided personal satisfaction. The educated African became a "cultural misfit,"² for though professing his tribal affinity, he found himself drifting into another society where he was not accepted, except for his services. The estrangement of the Western educated youths from their communities naturally made them unwilling "to cooperate in the life of their respective Communities."³ This was the development

¹ Abdou Moumouni, Education in Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p. 15.

² Abdul A. Said, The African Phenomenon (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1968), p. 39.

³ Lewis, Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa, p. 24.

which some chiefs and parents interpreted as "arrogance" and wanted to prevent by resisting formal education.

Economically, formal education clashed with African interests. In a traditional society, where the young learned by "joining with the older people in social services"¹ such as harvesting, building, and herding, the individual was part of the productive forces from an early age. In the case of formal education, one was not a producer until after completing school. Parents expressed their resentment against Western education in many ways, among them withholding their children from going to schools or not being particular about "enforcing attendance."²

Western education was also opposed at times because of its tendency to mix boys and girls in the same classroom and the practice of employing male teachers for female students. For example, at Ujiji, in 1934, parents "refused to send their girls to a [co-educational] mission school," but supported the building of a girls' school which was ready by 1937.³ To meet African objections to co-education, the Administration and missions established several girls schools. By 1932, there were four government girls' schools (at Tanga, Tabora, Malangali and Dar es Salaam) and 13 mission girls' schools.⁴ As late as

¹ Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya, p. 113.

² Great Britain, Colonial Office, The British Territories in East and Central Africa, 1945-1950 (London: H.M.S.O., 1951), Cmd. 7987, p. 110.

³ Unnaafushi, May 1938.

⁴ "Educational Notes" by the Acting Director of Education for Lord Passfield, 1932, TNA, 19575/14-15.

III. Conclusion

It was African popular pressure for education that helped defeat the retrenchment policies of 1930 to 36. Similar pressure forced the Administration to develop a balanced curriculum as well as to save some central schools from conversion to elementary centres where agricultural experiments could be carried out. It was African attempts to finance their own education that moved the Administration to approve the introduction of an education rate in some districts. These efforts to raise funds for education coupled with Native Administrations' involvement in African education, the standardisation of teachers salaries, and the management of mission schools, pushed the Administration into a position of accepting Native Administrations as potential partners in African education.

Of equal influence on educational policy was African resistance to some aspects of Western education. Opposition to co-education and the boarding school system, and government assistance to mission schools, forced the Administration and the missions to build more girls' and boys' schools and prompted the Administration and the Native Administrations to allocate resources to non-sectarian schools.

CHAPTER III

AFRICAN INITIATIVES IN EDUCATION

African initiatives were divided into complimentary efforts to promote the spread of education through informal and formal means. Informal techniques had profound effects upon urbanised Tanzanians. African - initiated newspapers, local reading rooms, evening classes and African associations played a major part in compensating for official neglect of formal education. These means were clearly beginnings which reflected Africans' desire to forge ahead and make Western education a universal experience.

I. Informal Activities

Swahili newspapers such as Mambo Leo, and Muganyizi were sponsored by the Department of Education and carried various educational articles by African teachers or civil servants, besides giving wide publicity to both N.A. and Government schools.¹ Of equal importance was Kwetu. Kwetu was initiated in 1937 by Mr. Eric Fisk, a Buganda shopkeeper who regarded himself as a Pan-Africanist, in conjunction with the Tanganyika African Welfare and Commercial Association

¹ Muganyizi, May 1938.

(originally a group of 16 shopkeepers and 32 stall-holders).¹ Kwetu was founded for the purpose of,

extending the scope of [the Association's] activities by securing a means whereby it [could] ...spread knowledge among the sons of the soil who could read and write.²

These newspapers, and Kwetu in particular, were inefficiently organized and sometimes irregularly published. Kwetu, though planned as a fortnightly paper, was issued irregularly. But the most important fact about all these newspapers was that they were popular among urban and rural Tanzanians. Mambo Lee found readers as far inland as Kahama (700 miles from Dar es Salaam), where the number of regular readers rose within two and a half years (January 1923 to June 1925) from 7 to 180.³

The Swahili papers pursued mass-education through self-help. This they did by serializing easily grasped educational articles. Mambo-Lee ran a series of translated extracts from Booker T. Washington's Up from Slavery for the purpose of "informing citizens of the ideals,"⁴ and a series on "Ustaarabu na Mafundisho" (Civilization and Education) in which Africans were urged to study their culture, use

¹ Cliffe, "The Age of Improvement and Differentiation (1907-45)," p. 147.

² Kwetu, December 7, 1937, p. 1.

³ Mambo Lee, May 1926, p. 427.

⁴ Mambo Lee, May 1924, p. 377.

their schools, and learn to understand the world.¹ Kwetu printed a series of articles which encouraged Africans to be "active and diligent" in learning how to read and write Swahili and English, and urged those Africans already acquainted with English to lend a helping hand while improving their own knowledge.² In order to have Kwetu read by as many people as possible, a group calling itself the "Kwetu Group Friends" opened a library in Dar es Salaam in 1940 "so as to provide a reading place" for many people who could not otherwise have obtained the newspaper.³

The Swahili newspapers were useful for several reasons. In the first place, most African with an elementary or "bush-school" education could read them. Secondly, they provided a forum for educated Africans in which they could "consider the major issues in the educational, social and economic spheres of their activities."⁴ Erica Fisk used Kwetu effectively to educate Africans about the fact that they were letting foreigners (Europeans and Asians) monopolize all trade in the country,⁵ a matter which he could not have discussed in English papers representing commercial interests. (e.g. the Tanganyika Times, Tanganyika Standard or East Africa and Rhodesia). Thus the African newspapers furthered

¹ Nembe Lee, January 1926, p. 278.

² Kwetu, July 10, 1938, p. 12.

³ Kwetu, October 29, 1940.

⁴ Kwetu, January 14, 1938.

⁵ Kwetu, December 7, 1937.

education in the widest sense.

Some African individuals, associations, and communities also organized adult education classes in their homes, clubs, or centres. The classes held in the house of Kwetu's editor, Mr. Erica Fiah, in 1937-38, were typical. Fiah ran an evening school at his own expense so that Africans could master the art of reading and writing as well as English and Arithmetic. This was a big programme involving more than 200 adults in the town of Dar es Salaam. To avoid inconveniences and over-crowding, Fiah arranged classes so that women attended from two to four in the afternoon, and men from eight to ten in the evening, hours which did not interfere with routine work. Like many individual efforts, Fiah's programme failed after a few months. The number of attendants dropped to 40 when they were asked to pay a small fee.¹

Several African professional organizations and associations promoted mass education as side activities with better results. The Tanganyika Territory African Civil Service Association (TTACSA), founded at Tanga in 1922, operated as a club for the purpose of helping its members to improve themselves by opening libraries, buying newspapers and teaching English.² The Association thrived at Tanga and by 1930 the club was able to help the Administration by donating free of rent the building in which the Tanga Government Girls' School started, after the Administration had tried without success to get its own building for

¹ Kwetu, January 14, 1938.

² Iliffe, "The Age of Improvement and Differentiation (1907-45)," pp. 154-55.

the purpose.¹ In 1937 the Association (TTACSA) still owned a clubhouse in Tanga with a reading room and a classroom where English and Arithmetic were taught in the evening.²

In Dar es Salaam, the first professional association - the African Labour Union - was formed in 1937. The Union, with an initial membership of 40 dock-workers, had a constitution which urged every member to "learn to read and write." In order to make that possible, the Union's constitution provided for the employment of a full-time teacher.³

An organization formed in the early twenties for the particular purpose of promoting education among Africans was the Bakoba Bahaya Union or "Omashabile gwa Bahaya" (Bahaya's hope). The organizers, who were mainly Bahayas living in Bakoba town, proclaimed that they had only one aim: "to help each other to know more and escape ignorance."⁴ The Union remained active and by 1938 it was helping teachers by canvassing through Bakoba town persuading truant children to attend school and reporting those who would not.⁵

Besides newspapers' and associations' efforts at mass-education,

¹ Quarterly Report on Tanga Girls' School, July 1931, TNA, 19409/95.

² Expa, December 7, 1937, p. 1.

³ Iliffe, "The Age of Improvement and Differentiation (1907-45)," pp. 148-49.

⁴ Hambo Leo, November 1924, p. 12.

⁵ Colonial II, 92. cit., p. 60.

there were evening class programmes organized by groups of educated African police, teachers and clerks. In the 1920's, some African police and army officers organized evening classes within the army barracks and Police Force compounds in such big towns as Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Bagamoyo.¹ By the late 1930's, evening classes had been extended to rural communities. At Kifuka, Upare District, some teachers had, "night schools in full swing four days a week" in 1939.² At Tabora, the Masai African school teachers in 1944 had organized "classes to teach English to some teachers" and a "few other youths in the district."³ After World War II, evening classes were conducted at several centres from six to seven in the evening when "Government clerks or educated Africans were free to teach their fellow Africans English and literacy."⁴

II. Formal Activities

The educational activities of individuals, associations and voluntary organisations significantly promoted the educational advancement of Africans. In order to get a full picture of African initiatives in education, however, it is also necessary to analyse a number of officially recognised or formal activities directed by Africans, in particular the programmes of the Native Administration

¹ Colonial 11, op. cit., p. 40.

² East, March 5, 1939, p. 8.

³ Annual Report - Masai Mission Tabora, 1944, CCT, 1/46/3.

⁴ R.W. Hamland, "Mass Education in Tanganyika," Overseas Education, XIII (October, 1950), 54.

schools, the Bush and sub-grade schools, and the Koranic schools.

II.(A) Native Administration Schools and Their Contributions

Native Administrations were run by the local "Native Authorities," who were either chiefs, headmen, or tribal men with influence. The Administrations sometimes covered large areas encompassing different societies or tribes. Each Native Administration had a percentage of the local taxes it collected rebated to it by the Central Government. With these funds, N.A.'s met all their administrative expenses and financed their programs.

The Native Administration (N.A.) schools in principle belonged to the Native Administrations which wholly or partly financed them, but such schools were initiated and built by the local community. For example, Lemira N.A. school was constructed and maintained by the people of Lemira from 1940 to 1946, and only became an N.A. school in 1947, when the community appealed for and received a financial grant from the Kilimanjaro Native Administration.¹ Although N.A. schools were financed by the Native Treasuries, they were controlled to varying degrees by the Central Government, which approved or supplied the teaching staff, sometimes offered financial aid, provided the syllabus, and carried out regular inspection. The difference, therefore, between N.A. and government schools was that the founding of the former clearly depended on the initiative and efforts of the local community, which

¹Annual Report - Northern Province, 1947, TNA, 148/2/36.

provided the site, erected the first buildings, and raised the standards of the schools in order to get the school registered and recognized for grants-in-aid.

African communities initiated the founding or building of N.A. schools for a variety of reasons: (a) as a result of their feelings against mission schools and their desire for secular education, free from religious propaganda; (b) in response to popular demand for more educational facilities; and (c) as a means of utilizing local interest to provide schools which the Central Government could not have financed otherwise.¹

The popularity and impact of N.A. schools was apparent in their relatively large enrolments and the rapid increase in their number. In Mwanza District, in 1929 the N.A. schools at Maswa, Kwimba and Musoma enrolled in their first year of operation 102, 108 and 82 students respectively.² With the exception of the retrenchment period from 1930 to 1937 when the number of N.A. schools only increased from 35 to 45 schools,³ the number of N.A. schools showed phenomenal growth, both absolutely, and relatively, when compared with the Administration's contribution during and immediately after the war. In 1940 and 1941

¹The official claim that these schools were "originally instituted with the primary purpose of educating the sons of headmen" (Colonial 165, op. cit., p. 120), is untrue.

²Tanzania, Provincial Commissioners' Annual Report, 1929 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1930), pp. 8-9.

³Colonial 60, op. cit., p. 55 and Colonial 165, op. cit., p. 27.

the Native Administration built a total of 29 new schools compared with 14 new schools erected by the Administration.¹ The total number of N.A. schools similarly showed a tremendous leap, from 45 schools in 1938 to 219 schools in 1947.² Of equal interest, the N.A. schools were able to change "their character and widen their scope." By raising their four vernacular standards to six standards, many N.A. schools assumed "the position[s] of central school[s] for the district[s] in which they were situated."³

The impact of N.A. schools was felt from the start by the missionary societies, who viewed the secular N.A. schools as a threat to their proselytizing efforts. As early as 1933, the Roman Catholic missions, fearing African control of the educational system, pleaded privately with the Director of Education for "a guarantee...against the starting of Independent Native schools" on the ground that,

the interests of the white population [would not] be secure when chiefs, who in large measure [did] not grasp the meaning of Education, [could] claim by virtue of paying the costs to dictate the character and types of schools they maintain[ed]... [They suggested that] for a period of years... the Government should refuse to recognize any school not directly under European control.⁴

¹ Great Britain, Colonial Office, Annual Report on Tanganyika for 1940 (London: H.M.S.O., 1941), Colonial 161, p. 65, and Annual Report on Tanganyika for 1941 (London: H.M.S.O., 1942), p. 56.

² Colonial 220, op. cit., p. 165, appendix XIII.

³ Colonial 165, op. cit., pp 120-21.

⁴ A memorandum submitted by Roman Catholic Bishops to the Advisory Committee on African Education, March 28, 1933, TNA 18680/II/271.

The Administration took the Catholic memorandum seriously.

One year later, in 1934, it required special application to the Director of Education for permission to open a new school.¹ With this regulation, the expansion of N.A. schools was momentarily brought to a standstill.

In order to further check the autonomy and independence of N.A. schools, in 1937 the Administration introduced a regulation governing the responsibility, control and financing of N.A. schools. Under the regulation,

(a) Native Administrations were:

1. to build village schools and teachers houses;
2. to maintain and repair such buildings;
3. to maintain boarders at those Native Authorities' schools where the scattered nature of the population or other factors warranted the maintenance of boarding schools;
4. to provide furniture and industrial equipment;
5. to pay school-fees for pupils in special circumstances, particularly for those who, by agreement, undertook to enter Native Administration service; and
6. to pay the salaries of teachers.

(b) Central Government was:

1. to train and provide the teaching staff;
2. to provide books, stationery, and school materials;
3. to pay all transport expenses;
4. to provide technical inspection and supervision services; and

¹ African Education (Amendment) No. 24 of 1936 p. 2 and Proceedings of 3rd meeting of the A.C.A.F., 1934, TNA, 25787/1/10.

5. to provide special financial assistance - in the form of grant-in-aid - where Native Treasuries had inadequate resources to meet their educational responsibilities.¹

This arrangement gave the Central Government all controlling powers. In most circumstances, Native Administration "paid the piper" and Government "called the tune." Despite this frustrating arrangement, the Native Authorities willingly cooperated in African education. Such cooperation is evidenced by the Native Authorities' annual contribution towards African education which greatly multiplied between 1938 and 1946 from £15,000 to over £90,000.² These figures omit the N.A.'s even greater contributions during the war, when they took over the entire financial responsibility for African education.³

The Native Authorities undertook this gigantic task by diverting more funds to education in planned stages. The activities of the Lindi Native Authority illustrates the N.A.'s willingness to progressively provide more schools. In 1944 the Lindi Native Authority was

prepared to build at least one school per year for the next few years, as long as government [paid] a fifty per cent building grant and the teachers' salaries in excess of shillings forty per month per teacher.⁴

¹Tanzania, Government Circular No. 23 of 1937 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1937), p. 1.

²Cmd. 7987, op. cit., p. 111.

³A minute from an Assistant Secretary to the Director of Education, 1945, TNA, 31889, Minute Sheet p. 29.

⁴A minute from the Director of Education to an Assistant Secretary, 1945, TNA, 31889, Minute Sheet p. 29.

In Northern Province, similar expansion of N.A. schools was planned. Expansion of N.A. schools in the area was described as "very serious indeed" by one of the missionary societies. The Christian Missionary Society explained the expansion thus:

There is a big programme of expansion of Native schools in an area that is still well served by the mission schools. There are to be four new schools in 1943, four in 1944 and two in 1945 or later... The local chiefs... have [even] expressed their desire to take over existing mission school-grade schools... in order to build new N.A. schools there....¹

Such a rapid expansion during and after World War II was made possible by several new developments or factors. Firstly, the Administration relaxed in practice the regulation governing the opening of new schools. Secondly, the Administration, wanting the Native Authorities to undertake the role played by the missions, encouraged some chiefs "to develop [their] own Native Administration schools" rather than accept mission schools.² Thirdly, N.A.'s participation in elementary education was welcomed because it left the administration free to concentrate on post-primary education. Fourthly, N.A. schools went a long way to satisfy popular pressure for educational facilities.

¹ A letter from the Education Secretary (CNS) to the Director of Education, February 9, 1943, CCT, 11/13.

² A letter from the Educational Secretary (CNS) to Bishop Canner Banks (CNS), July 15, 1942, CCT, 11/13.

Native Administration schools were expressions of African interest in making education a universal experience. There were also other ways in which Native Administrations helped to foster education. In Bukoba, where there was a considerable prejudice against school fees, Native Authorities went to the rescue by paying fees for some students.¹ The Kilimanjaro N.A. in 1944 undertook to pay boarding school fees for Chagga students attending Singa Chini, Marangu and Old Moshi (Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Government schools respectively) at the rate of 50 shillings per annum per student.² Other Native Administrations undertook to provide buildings at Government schools so as to accommodate their boys. The Waarusha as early as 1930 voted £100 to build a dormitory at Old Moshi school to accommodate Arusha boys.³ The Administration also reported that "chiefs and village communities "were willing" to provide school buildings if Government [could] provide a teacher."⁴

The effect of the N.A.'s support for education was that by 1945 the Administration heavily relied on these contributions. In the 1946 annual report on Tanganyika, the Administration admitted that it was the Native Authorities' acceptance of "the financial liability for primary

¹ Quarterly Report on Bukoba Central School, May 1931, TNA, 19409/63.

² Provincial Commissioner, Arusha, to the Director of Education, July 15, 1944, TNA, 148/2/19.

³ Quarterly report on Old Moshi, September 1930, TNA, 19409/2.

⁴ Colonial 18, op. cit., p. 70.

education," that "prevented the [education] system from collapsing" during the war.¹ Similar confessions were made by some missions which had been able to expand their education work in the 1940's because of financial grants received from local treasuries.²

Besides N.A. schools and other contributions made by the Native Administrations or Treasuries, a number of other African institutions, also operating without official aid, spread education among Africans. Institutions such as "Koranic," "bush," or "sub-grade" schools, which were often down-graded in official reports, helped Africans more than any other institutions to acquire the rudiments of elementary education.

II.(B) 'Bush' or 'Sub-Grade' Schools

'Bush' or 'sub-grade' was the term applied to those schools in rural and urban areas which were not registered during the period under discussion because they did not as a rule offer more than two standards. Due to their ambiguous status, voluntary agencies and even the Native Authorities often claimed them as their own schools. In actual fact, however, these schools belonged to the particular local community.

The bush schools came into existence by the turn of the century as 'catechetical' schools no longer directly attached to or within the vicinity of a mission. They usually operated as independent schools

¹Cmd. 7987, op. cit., p. 111.

²D.C. Platt, Education Secretary, Lutheran Mission Nairobi, to Chief Petre Itemi of Chagga Council (1950), TMA, 148/2/97.

under African management and supervision. The German and British Administrations mistakenly viewed them as mission schools, an error which misled the British Administration in 1931 to accept the missions' claims that they were operating "3371 schools"¹ without considering how these schools were founded and maintained.

The real nature of the bush schools became apparent in the 1930's when they were required to register. When the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) in Dodoma submitted registration applications for a number of bush schools, the Government Education Inspector protested:

the schools have been built by the converts of the missions on their own initiative and at their own expense, the European members of the mission disclaiming all responsibility beyond that of loaning a suitable teacher and acting as educational adviser. The persons who own and manage the schools are therefore the particular native community and not the missions.²

To appreciate the role played by the bush schools, one needs to understand how they functioned. The bush schools, unlike other schools, were run on a completely communal, open admission basis, with children and adults studying side by side. In order to avoid disrupting the social life of the community, class hours were flexible with classes usually held at times when most of the pupils had completed their regular work. This flexibility in scheduling misled many administrators

¹The Director of Education "Memorandum on African Education," 1931, TNA, 18680/1/76.

²Education Inspector, Dodoma, to the Director of Education, November 22, 1934, TNA, 22463/1/27.

into thinking that the bush schools were "inefficient," for when such administrators visited the schools during "normal school hours the schools were sometimes empty."¹

The bush schools were firmly integrated into the life of the community and were self-supporting. The community constructed the required buildings and then supported the teachers, who were either independent African catechists, who had ceased to be under the control of the mission, or mission-loaned catechists. In either case, the teachers were untrained or un-licensed personnel with sub-grade or elementary education.² To support the teachers who did not receive wages, each pupil or some members of his family were under obligation to cultivate a certain amount of land, the proceeds of which became the property of the teacher.³ In the case of mission loaned teachers, each instructor was under an obligation to turn over to the mission the produce he received in return for a small regular monthly salary. In Upogoro, for instance, the Benedictine Mission paid their catechists or bush school teachers only four to eight shillings per month.⁴

Bush school teachers lived in close association with the

¹The Director of Education - "Educational Report on Mahenge for 1928," TNA, 11681/17.

²In 1929 missions had only 104 fully trained and licensed teachers, with 1,079 provisional teachers. It was the latter who taught in bush schools. Colonial 39, op. cit., p. 95.

³"Mass Education and Rural Africa," Overseas Education, XVI (July, 1945), 165.

⁴The Director of Education - "Educational Report on Mahenge for 1928," TNA, 11681/17.

community and participated in all village activities. They were highly respected and called "mwalimu" (teacher) though they were not professional teachers. The Administration regarded them as men (and women) "of slender intellectual attainment,"¹ although the missionaries begrudgingly admitted that they were able "to teach the 3's and other practical subjects."²

Because the bush schools had no common educational standard, the Administration for a number of years refused to recognize them as part of the educational system and referred to them off-handedly as the "mass of small schools." There is no doubt about their vitality, for it was their proliferation which led the Administration to seek to regulate them (as in the Education Ordinances of 1927 and 1936, already mentioned, which were designed to bar them from grants in aid). Evidently some of these schools offered a standard of work approaching that of a mission or N.A. school with four standards, but, to disqualify them from grants in aid, the Administration called them sub-grade schools. This is clear from the favourable report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40, which stated that:

the claim for recognition of selected "centres" as schools is understandable; their recognition would bring them within the purview of the Grants-in-Aid Regulations and thus enable them to qualify for financial assistance from Government. The fact that the present grants-in-aid allocation is

¹ Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1932), pp. 201 - 02.

² Memorandum on "African Education" by Heads of Catholic Missions, submitted to the Director of Education, August 1928, TNA, 25787/1/3.

quite inadequate to pay full grants to recognized schools, which qualify for them as per se no just cause for non-recognition of these "centres" as schools.¹

It was only after an intensive investigation on the nature and function of "sub-grade" schools by the Central Education Committee of 1939-40 that the Administration at last acknowledged bush schools as forming the "base of the school system."² Despite this acknowledgement, for several years the Administration did very little to organize, encourage, and raise the standard of these schools. The Administration only turned to the bush schools as formal instruments for mass education after World War II. In 1944, the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies recommended that bush-schools should not be snuffed out by "rigid application of regulations," but should be encouraged, for they were "a crude form of response to a demand for literacy throughout the community."³

Since as early as 1928 the missionaries had been aware that bush schools were the "only type of schools" which were capable of providing mass education.⁴ Realizing the crucial role of these schools, in

¹ Report of the Central Education Committee of 1939-40, op. cit.,
p. 25.

² Ibid., p. 24.

³ Extract of Advisory Committee on Education in Colonies, Advice
7/44, despatched to Tanganyika, August 1944, TNA, Z8867/II/66A.

⁴ H. Longford-Smith, "Mass Education and Rural Africa,"
International Review of Missions, XXXIV (March, 1945), 128.

African education, some missionaries defended them,¹ while at the same time infiltrating them for religious purposes. By 1935 the Moravian mission in Tabora claimed authority over 38 bush schools and ten years later the Lutheran Missions in Rumu Singida sub-district and in Kilimanjaro alleged control over 105 and 150 bush schools respectively.²

Having infiltrated these schools, the missions arrogated to themselves full credit for the educational contribution of bush-schools. This is apparent in a memorandum submitted to the Director of Education in 1938 by the Heads of the Roman Catholic Missions, who claimed that:

the bulk of the people [had] been reached to a certain extent... due mainly if not solely, to the wonderful efforts made by all the missions in what [was] often contemptuously and indiscriminately called 'Bush-schools.'³

None would doubt that mass education was made possible through bush-schools, but that it was solely due to missionary efforts is a fabrication of the facts. How could one say that the Lutheran missionaries in Moshi ran 150 bush schools without African contributions, when these missionaries had instructions from their head office not to spend mission

¹Resolution of Tanganyika Missionary Council Meeting, July 8, 1946, forwarded to the Director of Education by Canon Banks, July 18, 1947, in which the Council reiterated its conviction on the importance of sub-grade schools in the educational system. THA, 21247/19 and THA, 33264/1A.

²Annual Reports on Moravian Mission, Tabora and Evangelical Lutheran Church, Central and Northern Synods, (1944 and 1947, CCT, 1/46/5, 1/55, and 1/64/2.

³Memorandum on "African Education" by Heads of Roman Catholic Missions to the Director of Education, 1938, THA, 23787/2/3.

funds on African elementary education, as mentioned earlier. Bush-schools were built and run by Africans. One cannot help concluding that it was through African efforts (including maintenance of the bush-schools) that the bulk of the people were reached.

II.(C) "Keranic" and Mohammedan Schools

Keranic schools, like bush schools, were not officially recognised as educational institutions until 1940, though they had existed even before the coming of Christian missionaries. As already pointed out, in areas where Islam was established, formal education was a familiar and valued part of society. Moslem education was carried out in schools which "assembled on the veranda of the Kadhi's house, or in the house of a local Mwalimu (teacher)" in every sizeable village.¹ Due to the fact that no specific buildings were erected for the purpose, such schools were difficult for the British to recognise, and official estimates of their numbers are unreliable. Tentative estimates would put the number of Keranic schools in 1929 at 900,² whereas in 1941 their numbers had more than doubled to "approximately 2,000."³ These schools were run entirely by Africans themselves on "their own initiative."⁴

¹ Provincial Commissioners' Reports, 1939, op. cit., p. 23.

² Clough, Report on African Affairs for 1929, op. cit., p. 173.

³ Report to the League of Nations on Tanganyika, 1941, op. cit., p. 56.

⁴ Letters from Moshi and Dar es Salaam Moslem Associations to the Legislative Member for Social Services, requesting the appointment of an officer to organize Moslem education, August 1949, TNA, 18680/V/207-207A.

Keranic schools, like bush-schools, were flexible and the course of instruction varied from school to school. Most of these schools concentrated on the recitation of the Koran in Arabic. But with the realisation of the importance of Western education, particularly reading and writing, by 1940 some of the Keranic schools were teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic in Swahili as well as the Koran.¹

It is apparent that by 1940 some Keranic schools had "made a definite breakaway from the usual type of Keranic schools" and become ordinary elementary schools. Sheikh Abu Mohamed Hussein's school at Kilwa and the Mohammedan School at New Street, Dar es Salaam, offer striking examples of the new trend. The Kilwa school began as a Keranic school in 1910, but by 1938 it had become a boarding school offering five years of education to 75 boys and 10 girls drawn from all over the country. The academic standard of the school convinced the Provincial Commissioner of Southern Province in 1939 to highly recommend the school for financial aid.² The New Street Mohammedan school at Dar es Salaam was also founded entirely through the efforts of Mohammedans. By 1938 the school had 250 boys and 160 girls who were taught "to read and write up to standard III or IV" in Swahili.³ Despite favourable reports on the Mohammedan schools at Kilwa and New Street,

¹Report to the League of Nations on Tanganyika, 1941, op. cit., p. 56.

²Provincial Commissioner, Lindi, to the Chief Secretary, July 30, 1939, TNA, 26330/1/21-2.

³"Report on Mohammedan School at New Street, Dar es Salaam (1938)," TNA, 26330/1/35.

Dar es Salaam, the Administration neither offered them grants or assistance nor appreciated their existence. The disappointed Mohammedans appealed to the Administration in 1949 to provide them with an officer who would advise and help them organize their "mmmerous schools" into ordinary elementary schools.¹

The rising number of Koranic schools and their readiness to introduce secular education were further manifestations of African efforts to provide education in the widest sense.

III. Conclusion

Reviewing the state of British rule in Tanzania, Sir Sydney Armitage Smith declared in 1933 that "on the grounds of finance alone" only Africans could "bring primary vernacular education within the reach of as many children as possible...."² While the seriously underestimated Great Britain's capacity to finance the venture, the British statesman certainly anticipated the course of African education in Tanzania over the next dozen years. African self-help and African innovation laid the foundation for the spread of Western education. Thanks to African-initiated schools, newspapers, and study groups, Tanzanians acquired the basic tools of literacy and education for their independence struggle.

¹Letters from the Dar es Salaam and Moshi Moslem Associations to members for Social Services, September 6, and August 25, 1949, respectively. TNA, 18680/V/207-207A.

²Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report of Sir Sydney Armitage Smith (London: H.M.S.O., 1934), p. 63.

MARKS ON ORIGINAL

CONCLUSION

This paper has briefly attempted to analyse African influence on educational policy in Tanzania from 1920 to 1945, and the role played by Africans in initiating and implementing policy. Three major factors influenced the African initiatives: first, the low social status which colonialism imposed on Africans; second, the competing educational demands of Europeans and Asians including settlers, commercialists, and missionaries; and third, the acculturating aspects of Western education, which were deeply resented among older Africans in Tanzania.

Despite the handicaps imposed by colonialism, African Tanzanians during the period under review, as Dr. T.O. Ranger has pointed out, did more "than has generally been allowed."¹ It is evident that in education Africans did not remain passive objects, indifferent to their fate. Instead, they were active participants in the struggle for educational advancement, attempting to "initiate, accelerate and control."²

The activities which Africans undertook ranged from pressing the Administration and all concerned to provide more educational

¹Terence O. Ranger, The Recovery of African Initiative in Tanzanian History (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam Printers Ltd., 1969), p. 3.

²Iliffe, Tanganyika Under German Rule, 1905-1912, p. 6.

facilities and relevant courses of instruction, organizing evening classes for adults, reading rooms, and self-improvement projects, to founding and supporting N.A., bush, and Koranic schools, granting aid to mission schools, and assuming financial responsibility for almost all primary schools during the war.

African efforts to control the educational system improved the curriculae, raised the quality of instruction, and curtailed the missions' influence on the schools. Direct African involvement in educational work also had a positive result, for, by the 1940's, N.A.'s had been accommodated in the educational system and accepted as partners in that respect by the Administration.

Western education was brought within the reach of many Africans not only through teachers, but also by non-professionals who were willing to share their experiences. Tanzania has changed in many ways, but the challenge to advance and disseminate knowledge and experience remains.

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