

A HISTORY OF EDUCATION

IN RELATION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF

THE PROTECTORATE OF NORTHERN NIGERIA 1900 - 19.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE WORK OF

HANNS VISCHER.

- by -

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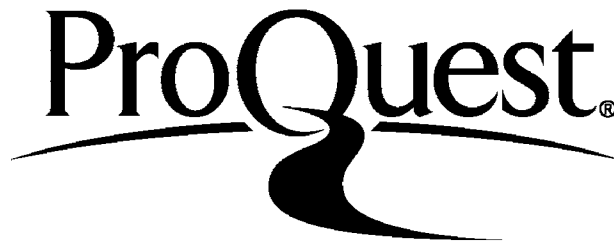
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A.

ABSTRACT OF THESIS.

Mission societies provided most education in British West African dependencies in 1900. Education followed a different pattern in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria because Lugard, short of money and men, preserved the Mohammedan emirates in the system known as Indirect Rule. Mohammedan dislike of Christianity and his own insecurity led Lugard to promise non-interference with the Mohammedan religion, a promise later used to exclude missionaries from emirates.

Indirect Rule requires at least educated governing and clerical classes. Lugard disliked on principle Government-supported mission education for Mohammedans, and he feared from past experience the disruptive effect on the social fabric of African life of mission stations. Yet financial difficulties compelled his interest in Dr. Miller's (C.M.S.) Zaria Schools plan.

This plan was too secular by C.M.S. standards and yet condemned by Administration for over-great religious bias. Girouard, Lugard's successor, determined on a Government Education Department as the only alternative, and he seconded Vischer - a political officer by temperament and experience sympathetic to Indirect Rule - to Education.

Vischer wished to lessen the strain of the culture-clash in Northern Nigeria and to use "adapted" education as part of the evolutionary process whereby Indirect Rule would eventually give way to self-government. Slow, sure progress was made in education from 1909 to 1914, and Mohammedan suspicion was lulled.

B.

Meanwhile some emirates had become Native Administrations with Treasuries, and mission expansion was considered more dangerous than ever to the political experiment. Education, religion and politics were so bound together any action resulted in a complex chain of reactions.

After the amalgamation in 1914 of Northern and Southern Nigeria, the Colonial Office insisted on Vischer's education system being safeguarded in the Education Ordinance of 1916 and by subsequent legislation. On political grounds this attitude was acceptable to many Residents.

War checked progress. Yet the Education Department opened new schools and in its 1918 Report "adapted" education was shown to be an evolutionary process rather than a static method.

From 1923 to 1939 Vischer was secretary to the Colonial Office's Advisory Council on Education, and from 1926 to 1945 to the International African Institute. He preached the doctrine of mutual enrichment through culture-clash without the disruption of either society. The ultimate choice in West Africa lay, he realized, with the African.

C.

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Map. A sketch map of Northern Nigeria showing the area in which Islam predominates and the principal mission stations named in this thesis is in the folder on the back cover.

NOTE

The Colonial Office original correspondence for the years 1907 - 1914 inclusive cited in this thesis must not be used or quoted by any reader without the permission of the Colonial Office Librarian.

NOTES ON RESEARCH
AND ON CERTAIN OF THE SOURCES USED.

My original intention was to write a detailed survey of Hanns Vischer's educational policy and practice in Northern Nigeria. Since Colonial Office correspondence is not open to inspection after the year 1902, this plan proved impracticable.

Mr. Mitchell, the Colonial Office Librarian, permitted me to see the Registers of Correspondence for the year 1907 to 1914 inclusive, although he said that he could not guarantee access to the letters themselves. In May 1951, after I had applied to see 600 letters, I was told that no member of the Colonial Office Staff could be spared to check these letters before I read them, and that no exception to the rule closing the files after 1902 could be made. I was then near the end of a year's work.

I had covered most of the available Colonial Office material, many secondary sources and the Vischer Papers. I first met Lady Vischer in December 1950, and I have been in touch with her for the past four years. She very kindly permitted me to work in Sir Hanns' study on the Vischer Papers, and as we have met several times and have discussed the same points on more than one occasion I have found it impossible to date any oral evidence which she gave me. All this oral evidence was collected, however, in the two years following December 1950. Through Lady Vischer I met several of Sir Hanns' friends, and therefore by the summer of 1951 I decided that the written and oral evidence which I had was sufficient to warrant my continuing with the subject of Sir Hanns' educational policy.

Moreover, at Easter 1951 I had applied for a Travelling Scholarship offered by The Goldsmiths' Company. My idea was to tour Northern Nigeria for six months and collect material at the Education Department, Kaduna, and from various District Offices. The Education Committee of the Goldsmiths' Company suggested, however, that I should apply to the Colonial Social Science Research Council for a grant, and offered to support my application, which was made to the C.S.S.R.C. in July 1951.

Grants made by the C.S.S.R.C. must be paid in part by the dependency in which the research will be carried out, and the Nigerian Education Department could not afford the expense. I am most grateful to H. Phillips Esq., Regional Deputy Director of Education, Northern Provinces, for his assurance of every help if I managed to arrive in Nigeria. Dr. Kenneth Mellanby, then of University College, Ibadan, very kindly offered me all facilities available at the College. At this juncture the Goldsmiths' Company generously offered me £200 on the condition that the C.S.S.R.C. provided an equal sum. In April 1952, however, I was informed that my work did not constitute the type of research for which a grant could be made by that Committee. The Nigerian material was therefore not available, and drastic changes were necessary to my plan.

I had meanwhile turned to the archives of the Church Missionary Society. My original application to work on these records had been made in February 1951, and had been refused because an archivist was being appointed to re-catalogue them. In December 1951, however, I was allowed access to the Society's archives and I found them very interesting. I realised that it would be possible to widen my subject to include that

question of the relations between the missionary societies and the Government which I now understood to be a vital factor in the educational development of Northern Nigeria.

A further encouragement was the permission which I received in December 1951 to make a second application to see some of the relevant Colonial Office correspondence, provided that I applied after I had exhausted other sources, and asked this time for only a few letters. Ultimately in August 1952 I read eleven letters which I had selected with the utmost care from the Registers of Correspondence to cover the years 1907 to 1914, in which I knew Hanns Vischer was active in the Protectorate. In return I agreed to submit this thesis to the Colonial Office before sending it to the Academic Board. The eleven letters proved most valuable and enabled me at last to re-design the thesis.

Then from 1953 to 1954 I spent fifteen months on the staff of a girls' boarding-school to which pupils come from many countries, and where I experienced the problems which arise when pupils of different races, religions, nationalities and languages work side by side. I found the experience helpful when I had to consider the educational aspects of this thesis.

I am aware of the unevenness in this work caused by the shortage of available material on certain points. The Lugard Papers, now being used by Miss Perham form the most obvious untapped source. Yet in view of the general uncertainty as to what precisely Vischer did in Northern Nigeria, (see bibliography under Theses), and why he did it, I believe that this work has been worth doing.

MATERIALS.

1. Vischer Papers. V.P. indicates these as the source of a document cited in a footnote. See bibliography under Vischer for a survey of the papers.
2. Gironard. I am indebted to Richard Gironard Esq. for kindly studying his family papers to see if Sir Percy Gironard left material relevant to this thesis. Unfortunately there is none.
3. Church Missionary Society Archives. I used these archives before the Nigerian papers were catalogued. The archives are very valuable. Letters are classified according to the mission field. Letters coming to Salisbury Square are summarized in the relevant mission's precis books, which form the registers of correspondence. These precis are factually accurate and usually well-balanced. Occasionally omissions appear to have been made on the grounds of discretion, but where a document has disappeared the precis may be taken as a fair indication of the contents. The missing document is fortunately rare - perhaps one a year in the fields I covered. Letters are filed according to the year in which they are received at Salisbury Square. Copies of letters from Salisbury Square are pasted in letter-books under the name of the mission to whose field-secretary they were sent.

The C.M.S. is organized in a series of committees. A mission has its Executive Committee in the field, and its Parent Committee at home.

All African Missions and the Palestine Missions come under the Group III Committee. The Resolutions of this Committee are found in the precis books of the missions to which it acts as Parent and are numbered. Since I used the precis books Mr. Cobb, the archivist responsible for the cataloguing, has uncovered three volumes of dated Minutes of the Group III Committee, but I understand that the volume for the years 1904 - 1917 is still missing. Sometimes important questions were referred to the Committee of Correspondence or the General Committee. Minutes of these committees are recorded in bound volumes. There does not appear to have been a Standing Education Committee for the C.M.S. during the years 1900 - 1919. When necessary a sub-committee for Education was appointed by the Group, or Parent, Committee. This position may be clarified when the cataloguing of the archives is complete.

The form of reference I have used for a letter is the Society's initials, the year under which the letter is filed, the initials in brackets of the relevant mission (N = Niger, N.N. = Northern Nigeria, H = Hausa and Y = Yoruba), the number of the letter, and then sender, place and date of sending, e.g.:-

C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No.56, Alvarez, Lokoja, 12 Nov. 1909.

Letters from the Society to the Mission are cited by the Society's initials, the title and page of the relevant letter-book and then S.S. (Salisbury Square) to recipient, and date.

In the bibliography I have noted the new cataloguing system alongside the old to facilitate any reader's inquiries.

The reports of interviews and memoranda filed in the archives are very valuable because on any important occasion a report to be filed would be sent by the Society to the other party concerned for confirmation or alterations. Thus the report of an interview with a government official at Salisbury Square, or at the Colonial Office, would be checked by him as well as by the C.M.S. representative who had been present.

Equally trustworthy are the copies made by field secretaries for the C.M.S. files of letters sent by government officials to missionaries. C.M.S. copies of letters written by Lugard to missionaries in the field are identical with the copies of the same correspondence forwarded by Lugard to the Colonial Office. e.g. see p. 43.

4. Sudan United Mission. This Society has only printed sources available, for its head-quarters suffered damage during the 1939 - 1945 War. The bound volumes of the magazine The Light-bearer contain annual Field Reports and extracts from letters as well as articles. Unfortunately both the 1905 and 1908 volumes are missing.
5. Sudan Interior Mission. This Society has its head-quarters at Toronto, and only secondary sources are available in Britain.
6. The annual reports of the Department of Education for the Northern Provinces, Nigeria, are not all to be found at the Public Records Office. The reports for the years 1915, 1916 and 1919 are missing

from the bound volumes of Administrative Reports and Sessional Papers, and no copies are available at the Colonial Office Library. The sections on education in the annual reports on Nigeria for these years are the only substitutes available.

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I am very grateful to Lady Vischer for her continuous aid over the past four years, for permission to use the Vischer Papers, for oral evidence and for introductions to friends of Sir Hanns. I owe to Dr. A.L. Vischer, whom I met on 21 July 1954, the information concerning the Vischer and Sarasin families and Sir Hanns' education.

I should like to thank the following for their kindness in giving me information orally or by letter. They are not responsible, however, for any information or opinions in this thesis save where I have specifically cited them:-

Oral evidence.

Sir Ralph Furse K.C.M.G., G.M.G., D.S.O.	21 February 1951.
E.J.R. Hussey Esq., C.M.G.	30 May 1951.
E.L. Mort Esq., O.B.E.	28 February 1951.
Major U.F. Ruxton C.M.G.	26-27 July 1952.
Sir George Tomlinson	27 February 1951.
Mallam Taker (School of Oriental and African Studies)	28 February, 5 and 7 March 1951.

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* I have heard with regret that Mr. Mitchell died early in 1954. I am indebted to his successor, B. Cheeseman Esq., for further assistance.

ABBREVIATIONS.

A.C.E.C.	= Advisory Council on Education in the Colonies.
C., Cd., Cmd.	= command paper.
Cf.	= compare.
C.M.S.	= Church Missionary Society.
" (H.)	= Hausa mission.
" (N.)	= Niger mission.
" (N.N.)	= Northern Nigeria mission.
" (Y.)	= Yoruba mission.
C.O.	= Colonial Office.
Conf.	= conference.
C.U.M.P.	= Cambridge University Mission Party.
C.U.P.	= Cambridge University Press.
Dept.	= Department.
D. of E.	= Director of Education.
Edin.	= Edinburgh.
edn.	= edition.
Educ.	= Education.
Gov.-Gen.	= Governor-General.
Govt.	= Government.
Grt. Brt.	= Great Britain.
hon. sec.	= honorary secretary.
I.A.I.	= International African Institute.
Imp.	= Imperial.
J.R.A.S.	= <u>Journal of the Royal African Society.</u>
lieut.	= lieutenant.
Lond.	= London.
L.P.	= Lugard Papers.
Memo.	= memorandum.
N.N.	= Northern Nigeria.
N.P.	= Northern Provinces.
N.Y.	= New York.
O.E.	= <u>Oversea Education.</u>
O.U.P.	= Oxford University Press.
p.	= page.
Parl. Pap.	= Parliamentary Paper.
R.E.S.	= Royal Empire Society.
S.C.M.	= Student Christian Movement.
Sess. Pap.	= Sessional Paper.
S.I.M.	= Sudan Interior Mission.
S.S.	= Salisbury Square.
S.U.M.	= Sudan United Mission.
V.P.	= Vischer Papers.
W.A.R.	= <u>West African Review.</u>

INTRODUCTION.

The Protectorate of Northern Nigeria was constituted by an Order in Council of 27 December 1899. At Lokoja on 1 January 1900 at 7.20 a.m. the Union Flag was hoisted in place of that of the Royal Niger Company in the presence of Sir Frederick Lugard, the High Commissioner. The Colonial Office's responsibility for approximately 258,000 sq. miles and 9,000,000 people had begun.

Eight years later Sir Percy Gironard seconded a political officer, Hanns Vischer, to organize an Education system and Department. There were only three men in the Department until 1912, when the recruitment of superintendents of education began in earnest. Why this new Protectorate waited a decade for constructive action on so important a matter as education is a valid question. The answer lies in the study of the history of the early years of the Protectorate, and in that story of expansion and political development under Sir Frederick Lugard may be seen also the reasons for the form which the education system eventually took - the Government monopoly of the education of Mohammedans and the insistence that the mission societies should confine their stations and schools to predominantly pagan areas save where emirs would accept their presence.

Furthermore, the principles on which those responsible for the Education Department in Northern Nigeria worked reflected the beliefs on which the political administration was itself based. Lord Hailey has written:

'The general agreement that education cannot be confined to a few, but must progressively extend to the mass of the population has focused attention on the problem of finding a suitable content for popular instruction, which must bear a close relation to the realities of African life.....
.....In the British colonies the new conception of the function of education seems to have been a consequence of the growth of the system of indirect rule, which is itself based on an appreciation of the needs of native life. The new outlook found concrete expression in the Memoranda of the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office which have not only had their effect on government policy, but have served to give direction to the activities of missionary bodies.'¹

Hanns Vischer, a Swiss missionary in Northern Nigeria, took British nationality in 1903 that he might enter the Colonial Service and work in the political Department of the Protectorate. The sometime missionary and political officer became Director of Education, and his education scheme was planned after a consideration of the complex needs of a Protectorate in which existed Mohammedan emirates, pagan tribes and ever-increasing European influences.

When Devonshire appointed an Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa in 1923, Hanns Vischer became a member and secretary. Even as the political theories of Indirect Rule and the Dual Mandate which Lord Lugard evolved from his African, and in particular his Nigerian, experience, became influential in colonial political circles from the 'twenties onwards, so the education system and principles used in Northern Nigeria to meet the needs of a land in the evolutionary process of indirect rule had, through both Vischer and Lugard, an influence on the work of this committee for all British Tropical African dependencies. In 1929 the

¹ Lord Hailey: African Survey (O.U.P., London, 1938) p.1281.

Committee's sphere was enlarged to cover all British colonies, and Vischer became joint secretary. Vischer was also a founder-member and hon. sec. from 1926 to 1945 of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, later known as the International African Institute.

The life and personality of Sir Hanns Vischer play an important part in the story of how an education system was evolved to meet the needs of Indirect Rule in Northern Nigeria in 1910, and how certain principles were formulated which had far greater relevance than the immediate circumstances of 1910, and which link up with the mass education theories - community or fundamental education as U.N.E.S.C.O. terms it - which are an important consideration of these middle years of the twentieth century.

While the imperial and international significance of Vischer's work are found in the years after 1919, yet because it was in Northern Nigeria from 1908 to 1919 that these education principles were formulated and practised by Vischer and the Department, these years contain the explanation of their origin and growth. The relation of political to educational development in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria from 1900 to 1913 and in the Northern Provinces of the Protectorate of Nigeria from 1914 to 1919 is therefore the main study of this thesis. Particular attention must be paid from both view points to the position of the mission societies.

CHAPTER I.

PIONEERING - POLITICAL AND MISSIONARY

The education of African peoples is not a new, twentieth-century development. Every social group has, from time immemorial, provided a system whereby children have been trained for their adult rôles in its existence. In tribal Africa successive generations of boys and girls have learned in their homes, in the fields and the markets, and through age-groups and initiation-rites, the knowledge which their elders wished to pass on, that a certain continuity might be maintained in the community's life. This thesis is written from the historical, and not the educational, point of view, and the word "education" as used in the title has that classroom connotation which it often bears in Western European minds. In the African world, something akin to this conception of education has existed in the predominantly Mohammedan regions of North and West Africa, ever since Islam spread first along the Mediterranean shores, and then south across the Sahara. Perhaps Mohammedan Africa has been the more easily appreciated by Europeans because the anthropologist has not been necessary to explain its civilization.

Islamic Africa has not only a monotheistic religion, but also political and social organizations of a higher order

than those of the vast majority of West African tribes. Islam has been described as an all-embracing institution, in which the Prophet incorporated 'his Arabianized monotheism and his Arabianized imperium into a single master institution'.¹ The result, in Africa, has been that wherever the creed of Islam has become dominant, there is found a society with certain political and social characteristics. A respected member of society is the mallam, or scholar, who has learned to read and write in some form of Arabic, that he may study the Koran and the traditions on which life in a Mohammedan state is based, however warped by the whims of a ruler or by long contact with adjacent, or submerged, pagan influences. Koranic schools, where the recitation, or the copying, of passages of the Koran and the committing of them to heart are the attainments to be desired, provided the first stage of all learning. The Hausa for learning is "karatu", and it has a specifically religious content.

Secular education had no meaning for the society which existed in Hausaland prior to the advent of the British, and universal education was also beyond comprehension. While there were enough literate men to act as wazirs, limams, alkalis and mallams, and to play their parts in the courts, the mosques and the schools, the social fabric of the emirates was adequately maintained. A parallel can be drawn with feudal, Christian Europe.

1. A. Toynbee: A Study of History (O.U.P., London, 1934) vol.III, p.277.

The Koranic schools did not exist to equip pupils for any particular form of work, but if a boy showed intelligence he might pass from one teacher to another, and learn of law, or medicine, or philosophy. All subjects would be tinged by the pervasive influence of Islam.

The occupations of lawyers, judges, doctors and scholars are those of a society economically developed to a pitch when scholastic studies are possible, when the basic requirements of food, warmth and shelter do not absorb all man's energies, and when some parents are able to provide a period of childhood for their sons, in which the boys may acquire a taste for further study.

In the area of West Africa which was known from 1900 to 1914 as the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, and from 1914 as the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, i.e. the area which is the concern of this thesis, the Mohammedanism practised is that of the Maliki school. This school predominates throughout North West Africa and affects the legal system in particular. It has been considered in the past to be rather conservative. It is, however, one of the main accepted schools of thought within Islam, and the Koran remains its focal point.

When, in 1898, a Committee considered the transfer of the Royal Niger Company's rights to the Crown, the process had

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1. Cf. S.G.V. Fitzgerald: Muhammedan Law. An abridgement according to its various schools. (O.U.P., London, 1931.)

begun which brought Northern Nigeria under a British Administration, and thereby brought Western European influences to bear on a region where Mohammedan civilization overlay indigenous African communities. In these more northern states the British intrusion complicated an existing culture-clash. Between these Mohammedan states and the northern banks of the Niger or Benue rivers lay pagan tribes which had not fallen under the sway of Islam, and whose political and social customs appeared far more primitive to the British officials.

This duality within the Protectorate had its influence on the development of the Protectorate, but the vast Mohammedan emirates had, naturally, an influence on British policy - political and educational - proportionate to their domination of all Hausaland. The educational policy of the Government of the new Protectorate might well have been that common to the other British West African colonies, but appreciation, and fear, of the power of Islam in the Northern Provinces led ultimately to a very different Government system of education being founded at Kano during the years 1909 to 1912.

In 1900 European-style schools existed in British West African colonies alongside the indigenous methods for the education of children. Mission societies of varying denominations provided the majority of the schools, and colonial Governments were content to provide grants-in-aid to such schools as seemed worthy of help. This attitude is

understandable when one considers how great a part voluntary agencies play in the history of education in England, and how late in the nineteenth century the provision of universal education became the concern of the Government.

There were only denominational schools in the Gambia in 1900, of which one was Anglican, three were Wesleyan and two were Roman Catholic. These schools were eligible for grants-in-aid, which were assessed in part on examination results and in part on average attendances in relation to the numbers on the school rolls. There was no secondary, technical, industrial or agricultural education provided in the colony. A Board of Education existed to make the grants, and its expenditure totalled £416 in 1900.¹ The Inspector of Schools held the same position in Sierra Leone, where he alone constituted a Department of Education. He also had a seat on the Sierra Leone Board of Education comprising the Governor, the Bishop, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Colonial Treasurer and four unofficial members. That three of the latter were clergymen in 1900 was natural, for there were no Government schools in Sierra Leone but both the Colony and the Protectorate were well served by mission schools. Since 1882 the Government's policy had been one of inspection and grants. Educational Rules laid down

1. Parl. Pap. 1901 XLV Report on Gambia for 1900. [Cd.431-17.] pp.7, 12; and C.O. List, 1900, p.108.

in 1899 would, it was hoped, soon raise the efficiency and standards of the staff in assisted schools. There were seventy-seven inspected schools in the Colony, all of which were missionary, and a further thirty-one in the Protectorate. In addition the Colony had five denominational secondary schools - three were for girls - and one undenominational school supported and run by natives of Sierra Leone. A unique position was held by the C.M.S.'s Fourah Bay College, at which, since 1876, it had been possible to obtain Durham University degrees. The first technical school had been founded in 1896, and was receiving generous Government support.

Thus education was of some importance in the long-established Colony of Sierra Leone, but nevertheless the Government's responsibility was a purely financial one, and in 1900 education cost the revenues £1,029.18s. The annual report for 1900 shows some dissatisfaction with the achievements of the year, but no indication of the Government sharing¹ in the provision of even elementary education.

The Gold Coast shows greater Government participation in education. A total of £7,000 was expended by the Administration on education in 1900, and £3,679.11s.11d. of that was given in grants to 131 mission schools. In addition the Government ran seven schools. The Department of Education

1. Parl. Pap. 1901 XLV Report on Sierra Leone for 1900.
[Cd.431-16.] pp.8, 26-9: and C.O.List, 1900, pp.212, 214.

consisted of a Director, an Inspector, a technical master and a schoolmaster, and there were also seven native staff, three of whom were women. The schools gave elementary instruction, but there was a link between the class-rooms and school plantations at most of the schools in the interior and a carpentry school had been added to Accra Government school. The annual report for 1900 on the Gold Coast Colony shows more interest in the content of education than is shown in the annual reports of other British West African Colonies. Yet the emphasis in the Gold Coast, as elsewhere, was on the voluntary agency, for in addition to the 131 assisted mission schools there were many other mission classes which had less than twenty pupils and therefore were not eligible for grants-in-aid. However the small schools made the balance even heavier against the seven Government schools.¹

In the Colony of Lagos there was one Government technical school, and a small Education Department consisting of an Inspector, a Technical School Instructor and a clerk, which was responsible for the allocation of grants to mission schools. The distinguishing feature of the Lagos system was that the Inspector was Henry Carr, an African. An interesting change in the subjects to be taught in all assisted schools was the addition of elementary hygiene to the schedule

1. Parl.Pap. 1902 LXIV Report on the Gold Coast for 1900. [Cd.788-14.] pp.14-17: and C.O. List, 1900, pp.116, 120.

in 1900.¹

In Southern Nigeria there was even less Government activity in education. All schools were mission schools until 1900, and any grants made in this region were made without inspection until 1901. One experimental school was begun at Duke Town, Old Calabar, to combine primary and industrial training, its expenses to be shared by the Government, local chiefs and merchant companies. There was no Education Department in Southern Nigeria until 1903, and even then the education system remained based on voluntary agencies, Government inspection and grants-in-aid.²

An extension of the voluntary system from the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria across the new boundary into the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria would appear a logical sequence. That this extension did not occur is important, for the ultimate result was a different content for education in the Northern Provinces, and a Government Department of Education based on principles which greatly affected British colonial educational policy in the 1920s and 1930s.

The political history of the creation and establishment of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria provides the reasons why the educational development of the Northern Provinces

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1. Parl.Pap. 1902 LXV Report on Lagos for 1900. [Cd.788-18.] p.14: and C.O. List, 1900, p.137.
 2. Parl.Pap. 1902 LXV Report on Southern Nigeria for 1900. [Cd.788-23.] p.16: also 1905 XXVI The Educational Systems of the Chief Crown Colonies and Possessions of the British Empire (1905). [Cd.2378.] pp.115-18.

differed from that of the South, and indeed from the other British West African colonies. It will be seen that the Protectorate was established reluctantly over an unmapped region, by a Government which had no detailed plans prepared because it knew very little about the peoples, the territory, the social or political conditions in the vast area for which it had declared itself responsible. In an official atmosphere of caution and financially straightened circumstances, the High Commissioner, Sir Frederick Lugard, developed a policy which recognized the distinctive political systems of the northern emirates, accepted them and utilized them. The theory of Indirect Rule was evolved by him when he tried to promote the welfare of the peoples of the Protectorate and of those of the protecting power in the circumstances in which he found himself and his Administration from 1900 to 1906 and 1912 to 1919. Lugard recognized the Mohammedan emirates and perpetuated them. Then, in 1908, when Indirect Rule was a visible system, (if not actually called by that name), came the search by Government for some system of education which might be established within the existing dual polity of Hausa states and British Administration.

The important condition of 1908 was the almost startling fact that eight years after the declaration of a Protectorate schools run by voluntary agencies had penetrated only the most southerly pagan districts and two Mohammedan towns. The

Administration therefore had a clear field for its experimental Education Department for that, like the political system, was created primarily with the Mohammedan Hausa states in view. Whether the voluntary agencies, i.e. the mission societies, had failed to meet the challenge of Hausaland or whether they had been denied the opportunity is a question answered only by a study of the years 1898 to 1908 and of the fluctuations in the relations between the various mission societies and the Administration - the latter personified until 1906 by the dominating High Commissioner, Sir Frederick Lugard.

Certainly in the years 1898, 1899 and 1900, the years of the conception and birth of the Protectorate, education was not a question of moment, for until the political outline of Nigeria had been resolved, all else was nebulous.

The Colony and Protectorate of Lagos was under the direction of the Colonial Office until 1900, while the Foreign Office controlled the Niger Coast Protectorate and the Niger territories were within the sphere of the Chartered Royal Niger Company. In August 1898 the Committee appointed to consider problems arising from the division of control and to suggest the best method of transferring the Company's rights to the Crown, produced its report.¹ There was unanimous agreement that there ought to be a clear division between the Soudanese Mohammedan region and the maritime region which had

1. C.O.446/3 No.17887, Report of the Niger Committee, 4 Aug. 1898.

a population of pagans but extended north so far as to include the Yoruba Mohammedans.¹ The recognition that the Northern Provinces belonged to the Sudan geographically and historically, was important. Any further division that proved necessary ought, in the Committee's opinion, to be a division separating Lagos and the west of the maritime region from the eastern area which might have its capital at Asaba.² The final decision was made by Chamberlain, and so three areas were devised, Lagos and the Colony of Southern Nigeria (which were amalgamated in 1906) and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria.³

That Nigeria should form a unit, or even possess one Governor-General, was specifically disallowed on the practical grounds that the absence of telegraphs or roads renders it really more difficult to communicate with all parts of the territories from any possible point within it than from Downing St.⁴

It was a foregone conclusion that the Niger territories should be removed from the Royal Niger Company's control and passed to the Colonial Office, and the report referred to the

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1. C.O.446/3 No.17887, Report of the Niger Committee, 4 Aug. 1898.
 2. Ibid.
 3. C.O.446/3 No.25517, minutes, R.L.Antrobus, 14 Nov. 1898 and 6 April 1899.
 4. C.O.446/3 No.1787, Report of the Niger Committee, 4 Aug.1898.

international complications which made the step necessary - including relations with France and Germany - and also to the need to abolish the slave-raiding and to establish and administer some code of criminal and civil law.¹

Sir George Goldie of the Royal Niger Company alone could advise on the policy to be pursued in the new Protectorate, as the other members of the Committee admitted their ignorance of the area.² Goldie advised against any general coup de main since agreement with the French on the boundary was a probability, and effective occupation would then not be necessary to draw Sokoto and the Hadeija within the British sphere. He suggested that each Emir should be dealt with separately, and that no Resident should be forced upon the Sultan of Sokoto, the Serikin Muslimin, a breach with whom might have very serious consequences and lead to a religious war against the Christian intruders.³

This piece-meal policy with undertones of divide et impera was accepted by the Colonial Office, and was later referred to as 'diplomatic administration'.⁴ Few details

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1. C.O.446/3 No.1787, Report of the Niger Committee, 4 Aug.1898.
 2. Ibid. (The other members were the Earl of Selborne, Sir Clement Hill, Sir Ralph Moor, R.L. Antrobus and Sir Henry McCallum.)
 3. Ibid.
 4. C.O.446/8 No.30397, minute, R.L. Antrobus, 19 Nov. 1899.

could be decided upon, although it was agreed that the great market town of Kano ought to be the focal point for northern railways,¹ and with the situation still so fluid, Lugard was recalled to England from West Africa to discuss the Protectorate of which he was to be High Commissioner.² The Committee had recognized that much would depend on him, for it had recommended that, 'Her Majesty's Government may well wait until the new Governor of the Sudan province can advise them as to the time for making an advance.'³

Lugard arrived in October, and while he conferred at the Colonial Office the transfer to the Crown which had been planned to take place on 1 January 1899 had to be postponed,⁴ and finally took effect from 1 January 1900.

The delay arose partly from financial difficulties. The benefits of all treaties and land and mining rights were assigned to the Crown by the Royal Niger Company. One responsibility which the Government thereby accepted was the payment of compensation and income to chiefs 'who, in consequence of British intervention have been or will be deprived

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1. C.O.446/3 No.1787⁸, Report of the Niger Committee, 4 Aug.1898.
 2. C.O.446/3 No.17887, draft telegram, C.O. to Lugard, 9 Aug. 1898.
 3. Ibid., Report of Niger Committee, 4 Aug. 1898.
 4. C.O.446/3 No.25517, minute, R.L. Antrobus, 14 Nov.1898, and C.O.446/9 No.299, Lugard, Lokoja, 1 Jan. 1900. (telegram)

of their livelihood i.e. slave-raiding.¹ The Committee had unanimously decided that it would be unwise to impose any direct taxation upon the chiefs of the new Protectorate,² and now it was realised that some indirect taxation would be essential to replace the income which those chiefs had derived from the slavery which was the basis of the emirates' social system. An Imperial grant-in-aid would be the mainstay of the new Protectorate in its first year, however, and until such time as its revenues became adequate.¹

Lugard's estimates for the first year's costs totalled £133,917, but those prepared at the Colonial Office amounted to £75,754.³ Chamberlain thought that £50,000 or 'at the most £60,000'⁴ should be sufficient, but was finally informed that⁵ £86,000 was the essential sum.

The costs of the Protectorate in its first three months i.e. the last quarter of 1899, had been met by an Imperial grant-in-aid of £56,530.⁶ To meet the increased estimates for

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1. C.O.446/6 No.10272, Memo. by R.L. Antrobus on the Financial Arrangements necessary upon the transfer of the R.N.Co.'s territories.
 2. C.O.446/3 No.17887, Report of Niger Committee, 4 Aug.1898.
 3. C.O.446/6 No.10272, Memo. by R.L. Antrobus.
 4. Ibid., draft by R.L.Antrobus to Treasury Office, 6 June 1899.
 5. C.O.446/6 No.30497, Civil Estimates, 10 May 1899; and C.O.446/7 No.2655, Lugard, London, 2 Feb. 1899, with minute, J. Chamberlain, 24 April 1899; also No.12010, Revised Estimates, 10 May 1899 and minutes, R.L.Antrobus and J. Chamberlain, 19 June 1899.
 6. C.O.446/14 No.3561, Lugard, Jebba, 26 Jan.1901, (telegram), and draft reply, 20 Feb. 1901.

1900, an Imperial grant-in-aid of £88,800 was made: local revenue from fees and licences came to £2,179 (approximately) and £44,750 was received from customs duties collected at ports in Southern Nigeria on goods destined for the Protectorate. Therefore Lugard obtained approximately £135,729 which covered his original estimates and more than covered the actual expenditure of £96,457. The grant-in-aid rose in 1901 to £280,000 and in 1902 became £290,000, but, with total receipts for 1902 of £357,009 (approximately), expenditure for the year was just over £389,399. As no balance had been reached it was necessary to increase the grant-in-aid to £405,000 in 1903.¹ G.D. Hazzledine, Private Secretary to Lugard in 1902, drew a picture of a government pressed for every penny and appealed to British investors to aid the new Protectorate. He pointed scathingly to the fact that the expenses of the whole of Northern Nigeria were less than those of a third-rate municipality and declared that, 'the measure of the estimates is absolute necessity.'² What work had Lugard in mind, then, once the lengthy correspondence on the estimates for 1900 had shown him that his financial resources would be limited?

By the end of his preparations in England Lugard had

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1. Parl. Pap. 1905 LII Report on N.N. for 1903. [Cd.2238-14.] pp.31-3.
 2. G.D. Hazzledine: The White Man in Nigeria (Arnold, London, 1904) p.52.

accepted Goldie's conception of a diplomatic administration.¹
 The High Commissioner intended to concentrate on the improvement of communications, and the suppression of the slave-trade and of slavery. The latter work Lugard thought to be ordinary West African Frontier Force duty, but it was pointed out that suppression of the payment of slaves as tribute to the Sultan of Sokoto by the other emirs might easily lead to the very breach which the Colonial Office, following Goldie's advice, wished to avoid.² Politics and economics could be linked too quickly with religious antagonisms. One feels that Gordon and Khartoum were present in the minds of those who were recommending the use of patience and diplomacy. Lugard intended 'to use the troops under my command as I may find prudent and necessary in the interests of humanity.'³ Chamberlain, however, showed a nice balance of moral and political claims:-

'Colonel Lugard must remember that we alone know about the general situation in Europe and elsewhere, and a just war may be most impolitic if commenced at the wrong time.'⁴

Lugard's security - and that of all Europeans in the

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1. C.O.446/8 No.30397, Memo. on the Development of N.N., Lugard, London, 2 Nov. 1899, and minute, R.L.Antrobus, 19 Nov. 1899.
 2. Ibid.
 3. C.O.446/8 No.30397, Memo. on the Development of N.N., Lugard, London, 2 Nov. 1899.
 4. Ibid., minute, J. Chamberlain.

new Protectorate - would depend on the West African Frontier Force recruited first in 1898.¹ New, native, largely Mohammedan, it had British Officers and N.C.O.s, and to it were added in 1900 some of the former Niger Coast Constabulary.² Lugard's officers, civil or military, would be the first Europeans to be seen in all but a very few towns and villages in the vast new Protectorate, for the mission societies had not penetrated and settled in Hausaland as they had done in other West African regions prior to the advent of European governments. A C.M.S. station had been established at Lokoja in May 1890 and had one or two minor outstations, and a Roman Catholic mission had acquired a site in Lokoja two years later,³ but the northern emirates remained untouched. Indeed the Royal Niger Company itself had only riverside posts, despite its nominal dealings with the Sultan of Sokoto in the far north-west, the Fulani spiritual overlord of the Hausa states. The reaction of the northern emirates to the advent of the British would determine in part Lugard's policy. If they proved capable of uniting against him, then he and his small force would be in danger. Such a union would be unexpected in view of the internecine warfare which had been

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1. Parl.Pap. 1902 LXV Report on N.N. for 1900-1901. [Cd.788-16.] p.26.
 2. C.O.446/9 No.12014, Lugard, Jebba, 20 Feb. 1900; also No.12021, Lugard, Jebba, 27 Feb. 1900.
 3. C.O.446/10 No.21724, minute, C. Strachey, 20 July 1900.

Hausaland's lot in the nineteenth century, but it might be achieved by some religious stimulus capable of counteracting past enmities.

The conquest of Hausaland by the Fulani¹ was half achieved by peaceful penetration in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the political and military conquest occurred in the nineteenth. The pagan state of Gober had been in control of much of northern Hausaland including Zarfara and Kana, at the end of the eighteenth century. The Fulani trading communities within Gober steadily increased and when the Imaum, Othman dan Fodio, revolted and declared a jihad, Zarfara, Zaria, Kano and Katsina were quickly taken, for the Fulani traders formed a "fifth-column".

On Othman's death in 1816, his son and brother divided the newly-conquered empire. Mohammed Bello, the founder of Sokoto, kept the eastern section, whilst Abda Clai, Othman's brother, ruled in the West. Bello had a hard and lengthy task in subduing his inheritance, for a political confederacy of Hausa states was formed against him. The Moors aided both sides, and it was Mohammedan against Mohammedan and not the Faithful against the infidel.

Dispossessed Hausa rulers appealed to Bornu where the great Mohammed el Kanemi was in control of both the Shehu and

1. Cf. Flora Shaw: A Tropical Dependency. An Outline of the Ancient History of the Western Sudan with an Account of the Modern Settlement of Northern Nigeria (London, Nisbet, 1905), Chapter XL, pp.371-89.

the country. The war between El Kanemi and Bello was resolved in a battle in 1826. Peace followed, and when el Kanemi died in 1835, his son took the throne of Bornu and founded a new dynasty. Elsewhere the Fulani dynasties were assured. The Hausas of the western states of the Hausa confederation retained their hereditary rulers, but Gando appears to have been their over-lord. The ruler of Gando had always relied on Sokoto for aid, and therefore the Sultan of Sokoto had an undefined suzerainty over all. Therefore 'Fulani rule was established more or less completely from the capital of that province to the farthest limit enclosed between the Middle Niger and the Benue.'¹

Unfortunately for Hausaland, Bello and el Kanemi were the only strong rulers of the nineteenth century. After their deaths their empires disintegrated. Bornu had shrunk to a fraction of its former size by 1900, and had fallen prey to Rabeh. The Hausa states had tried to throw off Fulani lords, and petty tyrants had arisen. There was no brotherhood in the Mohammedanism they knew, and the pagans attempted to assert their independence at every opportunity. The bane of the Hausa states was the slave raids which decimated the population and interfered with trade.²

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1. Cf. Flora Shaw: A Tropical Dependency. An Outline of the Ancient History of the Western Sudan with an Account of the Modern Settlement of Northern Nigeria (London, Nisbet, 1905), Chapter XL, p.396.
 2. Flora Shaw: op.cit., Chapter XLIII, pp.399-407, and Chapter XLIV, pp.408-16.

Mohammedanism is not so much a collection of religious dogma as a creed for living. The influence of Islam in Hausaland could be seen in the judicial systems, taxation, the social structure and the Koranic schools of the various states. As the nineteenth century passed, the injunctions of the Koran meant less and the caprice and convenience of individual rulers led to a general debasement of the original ideals.¹

Lady Lugard declared that at the beginning of British rule there were three types of states in Hausaland: those under Fulani rule coupled with active Fulani institutions, such as Sokoto and Gando and Bida; the nominally Fulani states where the strength of Mohammedan institutions depended on the changing rulers; and those wholly independent states, some of which had always maintained their independence and others which had thrown off allegiance to Fulani overlords and were known as the Tawai, 'the revolted peoples.'² In the southern districts were independent pagan tribes, some cannibal. To the admixture of Mohammedanism and indigenous African cultures was now to be added the impact of the Western European, Christian civilization.

The Royal Niger Company had provided the initial contact for not only had it maintained several riverside stations - dependent as it was upon the waterways for safe, quick

1. Flora Shaw: op.cit., Chapter XLIII, pp.399-407, and Chapter XLIV, pp.408-16.

2. Flora Shaw: op.cit., p.407.

transport - but it had recognized that political suzerainty based upon religious supremacy of the Sultan of Sokoto, the Serikin Muslimin. The Company had entered into negotiations with him as a result of which a subsidy was paid annually to him and to Gando. In 1897 the Company had warred with Nupe because Goldie feared that state was preparing an attack. Nupe was vassal to Gando, and Sokoto rejected the subsidy and made it clear that reprisals were discussed. That the Sultan of Sokoto had been induced eventually to accept the subsidy once more was of the utmost importance, for the Company was then at the point of transferring its rights to the Crown and if Sokoto rejected the treaty there was nothing to transfer. The Company's interpretation of that treaty differed radically from that of the Sultan, anyway. The former claimed that the treaty involved sovereign rights: the latter¹ that the subsidy merely bought continued friendship. Lugard provided in his Estimates for the payment of the subsidies, and an explanation of the transfer from the Company to the Crown was sent to the Sultan of Sokoto, but Lugard received no reply. The money was therefore not paid, and as no message arrived from the Sultan until May 1902, for many months the High Commissioner had no news, save rumours, of what was² happening in the most important emirate of the Protectorate.

1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] p.23.

2. Ibid., p.24.

All that Sir Frederick Lugard knew in 1900 was that he was responsible for a Protectorate of undefined boundaries and un-numbered peoples, from which he had to ward off French German encroachments or the marauding Rabeh, whilst stopping the slave-raiding and trading traditional to the Sudan and establishing some form of peace and justice which would be acceptable in Downing Street and ultimately in the homes of the British tax-payers, and would yet prove suited to Hausaland. Above all, open warfare was to be avoided, for there had been enough fighting in South Africa, and since this new annexation had been necessitated by consideration for the safety of British trade, which depended on peaceful development, battles would prove unpopular both at the Colonial Office and the Treasury.¹ The British Resident was aware from the first that raids and reprisals would be tokens of his own inefficiency.²

Into this complicated situation obtruded a factor which might serve as a spark to the tinder - the advent of mission societies wishing to extend their fields into the new British possession. The C.M.S. Niger Mission which had a station in Lokoja was primarily concerned with the conversion of pagans,

1. See Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] p.69 for the paragraph in which Lugard balanced the cost of the Protectorate against the amelioration of the condition of the people and the future development of British trade.

2. G.D. Hazzledine: op.cit., p.108.

but in May 1898 Lugard had been approached by Bishop Tugwell of the C.M.S. with a request for permission for a party of missionaries, who had studied in Tripoli and who wished to establish a Christian Mission at Kano, to enter the new Protectorate.¹ This Hausaland Mission was to be a mission to the Mohammedans, and of course the C.M.S. could draw upon its experience in other Mohammedan areas to give some guidance to those working in this new field.

Bishop Tugwell, who was to lead the party, accepted Lugard's condition that 'when the missionaries desire to penetrate beyond the zone into which the Administration can afford them effective guarantees of safety they should undertake in the clearest manner to attempt no advance without his consent and to be guided by the limitations which he may see fit to impose not merely for their own safety, but with the object of avoiding any violence which may involve the Administration'.² Lugard was quite satisfied with this assurance, but Chamberlain thought that the advent of the Hausa Mission would be premature and he inquired whether the Colonial Office had ever prevented such a mission enterprise.³ He accepted Lugard's arrangement on being informed that the task of

1. C.O.446/7 No.23477, Lugard, London, 17 Aug. 1899.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., minute, J. Chamberlain, 8 Sept. 1899.

deciding where missions might be set up would be too onerous for the Colonial Office in London, but his apprehensive minute, 'I wish the Mission were not going. It seems to me premature and may give rise to trouble' remained on record.¹

The permission given to Tugwell and the C.M.S. Hausa party was extended also the Canadian, R.V. Bingham, who was the head of the African Industrial Mission, sometimes called the Toronto Industrial Mission and later known as the Sudan Interior Mission.² Lugard declared that 'provided they agree to the conditions as Bishop Tugwell has done, every assistance will be given to them which they can reasonably claim from the Government.'³ Land was available for mission stations 'in accordance with the law of the Protectorate.'⁴ Lugard had no thought of excluding missions from the Northern Provinces because they might cause resentment and risings amongst the Mohammedans. Chamberlain was worried: Lugard on the other hand was pleased at the advent of an industrial mission, 'for in my view industrial missions if really practical and well conducted are a great benefit to African Protectorates.'⁵

Lugard elaborated this point two months later when asked

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1. C.O.446/7 No.23477, minutes, E. Wingfield, 18 Sept. 1899 and Selborne, 23 Sept. 1899, and J. Chamberlain, 8 Sept. 1899.
 2. CO.446/6 No.1669, R.V. Bingham, Toronto, 16 June 1899 and No.34725, R.V. Bingham, Toronto, 2 Dec. 1899.
 3. C.O.446/9 No.10533, Lugard, Jebba, 14 Feb. 1900.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid.

for his views on a suggestion for a training college for future government employees in Nigeria, made by Sir Ralph Moor when the latter was Commissioner and Consul-General of the Niger Coast Protectorate. Sir Frederick agreed that such a centre would be beneficial to the Northern Provinces, although few pupils would be available for it at first from that area but he considered that 'the training of native born Africans in handicrafts is even more important than higher education.'¹ He thought that if a centre were built, it should be a technical one, so that Nigeria might produce its own engineers, blacksmiths, carpenters, brick-makers and layers and masons, and so there would be no need for the Administrations to bring men from Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast to do this work. Nurses, male and female, dispensers and ward-servants were others whom the High Commissioner wished to see trained in Nigeria, and for all 'I would make a knowledge of English compulsory.'²

Here are no tabulated aims or expressions of educational theories and principles, and because Lugard gives no reasons for his decisions (other than a mention of the aptitude for craftsmanship shown by certain tribes and the Yorubas in particular)³ it would be easy to read too much into what was but one despatch commenting on another man's plans. Two

1. C.O.446/9 No.19109, Lugard, Jebba, 23 April 1900.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

points are clear, however: Lugard was against over-emphasizing literary education and underestimating technical, and he had not, in 1900, considered the merits of early teaching being given in the vernacular. He wished, for practical reasons, that Africans given a training within a British Protectorate should speak the language of the Administration in which, or by which, they would be employed.

Yet he was not viewing the situation purely as an administrator, or otherwise he would have considered the production of clerks for work in the various Departments as a prime necessity. He bemoaned the lack of men suited to the many posts vacant in Northern Nigeria,¹ yet he put technical education before the 'higher', or more literary education, which such clerks would require. One sentence included in his despatch is important for it shows that Lugard was determined to shoulder burdens often left, both in the colonies and in Europe, to voluntary agencies. He declared:-

'I have also always felt that it was neither good policy nor fair upon charitable institutions that government should rely on Mission Societies and make little or no effort in tropical Africa to turn out a sufficiency of clerks, artisans and other trained natives to meet at least a part of its own demands - men with a sound secular education whether as clerks or artisans.'²

It seemed in 1900 that the High Commissioner of the new Protectorate was prepared to accept the presence of missions

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1. C.O.446/9 No.19109, Lugard, Jebba, 23 April 1900.
 2. Ibid.

which would inevitably set up schools, either to teach converts to read and know the Scriptures, or to attract non-Christians to classes and through those classes to the Church. In addition to mission schools, however, there would be more active participation by the Administration in the provision of education for the Protectorate than had hitherto been usual in British West Africa.¹ Such plans could be implemented only when the occupation of the Protectorate had been effected.

The civil establishment for 1900 shows, excluding Lugard, a strength of seventeen names. There were a Private Secretary, five Residents, an Attorney-General, a Secretary to the Government, a Treasurer, an Assistant Treasurer, four Medical Officers, a Marine Superintendent, an executive engineer and a storekeeper.² Nine political officers had been budgeted for in 1899,³ but there were nine only by the time the 1901 Colonial List was published, when the total strength had risen to thirty-nine.⁴ Six of the latter were medical officers, and none were education officers - a comment in itself on the pioneering conditions.

The first work to be done was to survey the land along the rivers and to find suitable headquarters. Patrols went up the Niger, Benue and Kaduna rivers, united near Ghierko

1. See above pp.5-8.

2. C.O. List, 1900, p.198.

3. C.O.446/6 No.30497, Civil Estimates, 10 May 1899.

4. C.O. List, 1901, p.248.

and sent back topographical information. Some pagans who had the habit of attacking travellers were defeated near Chikara and Limu, and the Benue patrol clashed with Munchi tribesmen. Whether the Mohammedans of the northern emirates opposed the British or not, it was clear that the pagan tribes would have to be subdued.¹

At this critical stage Lugard was asked to send troops to the Ashanti war. He sent a total of 1200 men and so his own force was drastically cut. This knowledge quickly reached the slave-raiders, who were as quick to make use of it.² One political officer had been murdered near Lokoja, and the company of W.A.F.F. left above Wushishi was in danger of being isolated by the Emirs of Bida and Kontagora, the great slave-raiders who did not want pax Britannica within their preserves. July 1900 saw Lugard hurrying to Wushishi with reinforcements, there to "sit down" whilst the Emirs' armies raided almost to the banks of the Niger and the two rulers urged Ilorin to join a rising and expel the British, who, according to rumour, were suffering grave defeats in Ashanti.³ One lone

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1. Parl.Pap. 1902 LXV Report on N.N. for 1900-1901. [Cd.788-16.]: also C.O.446/9 No.7970, Lugard, Jebba, 30 Jan. 1900.
 2. C.O.446/9 No.10524, Lugard, Jebba, 14 Feb. 1900; and No.11758, Lugard, Jebba, 13 April 1900: also C.O.446/10 No.25626, Gollan, Lokoja, 5 Aug. 1900.
 3. C.O.446/10 No.28694, Lugard, Wushishi, 1 Aug. 1900 and No.32017, Lugard, Jebba, 28 Aug. 1900: also C.J. Orr: The Making of Northern Nigeria (Macmillan, London, 1911) pp.88-9.

political officer kept Ilorin neutral whilst skirmishing took place up the Kaduna between the marauders and a British patrol which, pluckily but rashly, entered Bida.¹

The return of the Ashanti expedition in December 1900 made possible a march on "Gwamachi", Emir of Kontagora, whose attitude proved that nothing short of such aggressive action would check his exploits.² The diplomatic administration would, after all, have a basis of force. The Emir fled after a defeat, and Kontagora town received a W.A.F.F. garrison.³

The main force then marched on to deal with the Emir of Bida. Twice that ruler was invited to attend, with his chiefs, a meeting with Lugard, and the High Commissioner guaranteed their safe return to Bida. Twice a subordinate arrived in place of the Emir, and so Lugard and his escort marched to Bida town. Lugard sent a message that there would be no fighting unless the British force was attacked, but that a settlement must be reached and Abu Bakri would not be allowed to remain Emir. The Emir fled, and Lugard entered the town unopposed, and declared the Markun to be the new Emir. The Markun had first become Emir in 1897, when Abu Bakri had been defeated by the Royal Niger Company, but the

1. Parl.Pap. 1902 LXV Report on N.N. for 1900-1901.
[Cd.788-16.] p.13.

2. C.O.446/11 No.4580, Lugard, Jebba, 27 Dec. 1900.

3. C.O.446/14 No.6744, Lugard, 17 Feb. 1901.(telegram.)

latter had regained the throne.'

At the installation ceremony Lugard followed the system of British India, giving the Emir a letter of appointment containing his instructions: the Emir was to rule justly in accordance with the laws of the Protectorate, to obey the High Commission and to accept advice from his representative, the Resident. Minerals and waste land were appropriated to the Crown. No mention is to be found in Lugard's précis of any reciprocal promise made by him that the Mohammedan faith would be protected.² In September 1901 such a promise was made to Amadu, Emir of British Adamawa. He swore to obey

the laws of the Protectorate, to aid the Residents, to place no restrictions on traders, and to impose no taxes without the High Commissioner's permission: all minerals, waste and uninhabited land passed to the Crown, and all non-native titles to land were to receive the High Commissioner's sanction. In return for this oath Wallace, the Acting High Commissioner, gave the assurance:-

'And as long as you shall in this wise conform, I do hereby in the name of Her Majesty promise you protection and I do guarantee that no interference by Government shall be made in your chosen form of religion, so long as the same does not involve acts contrary to the laws of humanity and oppression to your people.'³

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1. C.O.446/11 No.14934, Lugard, Jebba, 12 March 1901.
 2. Parl.Pap. 1902 LXV. Report on N.N. for 1900-1901. [Cd.788-16.] pp.14-15.
 3. C.O.446/16 No.37793, Wallace, Jebba, 26 Sept. 1901.

The interpretation of "interference" was to affect vitally later missionary educational work, limiting its sphere and scope. The only definite assurance in the statement is that the Administration's attitude is conciliatory.

The same spirit animated Lugard's explanation in March 1901 to the Sultan of Sokoto about the Emir of Kontagora's deposition and the High Commissioner's request that, as a mark of friendship, the Sultan should nominate the new Emir who would be vassal to the Serikin Muslimin.¹ The overture was ignored,² and Lugard had to bear that fact in mind while he watched the activities of the slave-raiding rulers of Yola and Bauchi and by organization and proclamations made his Administration effective in the south.

In this pioneering stage there were surveys to be made and staff to be appointed and there was not the opportunity or time or money to consider the provision of education. After the conquest of Bida and Kontagora Chamberlain observed:

'I wish I knew a little more as to the possibilities of trade in these new provinces. At present it is all debit and no credit.'³

The most important situation to be clarified was the

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1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] pp.99-100.
 2. See ibid. p.101 for the terms of the Sultan's rejection of this overture, May 1902.
 3. C.O.446/14 No.14934, Report on dealings with, and defeat of, Bida and Kontagora, Lugard, Jebba, 12 March 1901, and minute, J. Chamberlain, 27 Jan. 1902.

legal. By the Courts Proclamation¹ a Supreme Court was set up with jurisdiction over all non-natives, whilst in the provinces the Residents would administer English law modified by native law and custom to natives through the Provincial Courts. Sentences for serious cases would need the High Commissioner's confirmation. Moreover the cause lists submitted by the Residents to the High Commissioner operated as appeals; and the latter might, after taking legal advice, submit any case to the Supreme Court. In the cantonments of Jebba and Lokoja magistrates, who later became Commissioners of the Supreme Court, were appointed.² Co-existent with the Provincial Courts were Native Courts.³ These tribunals were recognized by the Administration and dealt with native civil actions and the less serious criminal charges against natives, but actions brought under any of the Proclamations were usually heard by the Provincial Courts. Thus a compromise between British and native systems of law was attempted. It is significant that both the Courts Proclamation and the Native Courts Proclamation needed revising before a year was out.⁴ Perpetual modification was necessary as the Administration developed and the Protectorate extended.

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1. Protectorate Courts Proclamation, No.4 of 1900. (N.N.)
 2. Parl.Pap. 1902 LXV Report on N.N. for 1900-1901. [Cd.788-16.] pp.16-17.
 3. Native Courts Proclamation, No.5 of 1900. (N.N.)
 4. Parl.Pap. 1902 LXV Report on N.N. for 1900-1901. [Cd.788-16.] pp.16-17.

The High Commissioner moved carefully. Title to land might be acquired by a non-native only if the High Commissioner's consent (in writing) had been given.¹ Thus the Hausas were protected from exploitation by farming, mining or trading combines. The importation, and sale or possession of liquor was forbidden in deference to the tenets of Islam.² Wisdom tempered reform. The slavery proclamation penalized all transactions in slaves, abolished the legal status of slavery and freed all children born after 31 March 1901.³ It did not enforce the emancipation of all domestic slaves, for in a country where free, wage labour was practically unknown, the result would have been chaotic, a complete dislocation of society. Moreover, to declare emancipation while large areas of the Protectorate were not under effective control would have merely drawn attention to the weakness of the British Administration which could not enforce its own Proclamations.

As raiders were defeated, traders captured and more and more children set free, so Lugard was faced with his first educational problem. The government, having freed the children, was now responsible for them. Few could be returned to their distant and often obliterated homes. To settle the children in families as wards would have meant no practical difference

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1. The Lands Proclamation, No.8 of 1900, (N.N.), clause 2.
 2. The Liquor Prohibition Proclamation, No.13 of 1900. (N.N.)
 3. The Slavery Proclamation, No.2 of 1900. (N.N.)

between their status and that of domestic slaves, and therefore Lugard rejected that simple solution.¹ Some boys could be apprenticed to the Public Works Department and girls might be employed as servants, but the haphazard placing of the few would be quite inadequate once the traffic in the eastern provinces was checked and children there set free. Lugard planned a Freed Slaves' Home where small children might receive elementary education without any compulsory religious teaching and freed women might live until they chose to marry or be repatriated.

'I see no reason why religion - be it of one sort or another - should be forced upon the liberated slaves... I see much in it to exasperate the Mohammedan master who considers himself robbed of his property that we may further a religious propaganda hostile to his creed.'²

Thus the High Commissioner stated a case for the secular³ education of these ex-slaves. This was his second³ mention of secular education provided by the Administration, as opposed to education with a religious bias given by mission societies.

Lugard reckoned that the care of 100 children by a European supervisor, two European women helpers and two assistant African teachers, would cost £1,400 a year, and he

1. C.O.446/10 No.23453, Lugard, Jebba, 16 June 1900.

2. Ibid.

3. See above p.26.

noted, gravely, that 'the care of children is not lucrative'.¹
 The financial aspect could not alter Lugard's duty, as he saw it, for the education of these children was not just a practical question, but a matter of principle.

'I...submit...that the Government of a country like this has an obligation towards such children of the state analogous to that of a civilized state towards foundlings etc.'²

This was his duty towards freed slave children, but general education was another matter. Despite his desire that the Administration should share with voluntary agencies the responsibility of providing schools within the Protectorate, Lugard knew that while Northern Nigeria was dependent on an Imperial grant-in-aid the Administration's work would be strictly limited. Indeed in 1904 he pointed out that he could not do all that was necessary even for the freed slave children, and there was scope 'for the exercise of private philanthropy³ by those interested in the welfare of Africans.' Private philanthropy shows that Lugard meant individual donations, not the active participation of voluntary agencies in the running of the Freed Slaves' Homes.

Yet there is no mention at this stage of a desire on the High Commissioner's part to exclude mission schools. He hoped that it would become possible to offer some alternative

1. C.O.446/10 No.23453, Lugard, Jebba, 16 June 1900.

2. Ibid.

3. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.W. for 1904.
 [Cd.2684-22.] p.143n.

under the Government's direction, just as, on principle, he insisted on controlling the Freed Slaves' Homes although there would have been nothing unusual in his handing the children into the care of mission societies.

Unfortunately the C.M.S. Hausa Mission did not have an auspicious first year in the Protectorate. A series of misunderstandings and unhappy incidents led to an atmosphere not conducive to easy co-operation between the Administration and this Society. The C.M.S. paid careful attention to education in each of its fields throughout the world, but was prevented from becoming the foremost educational agency of Northern Nigeria in the period of this thesis because of internal factors peculiar to the society which become more evident as the story progresses, and because of the external factor of conflict with the Administration. Government-mission relations are so vital to the history of the development of education in the Protectorate that some details of this first contact are important. Lugard's reaction was a very definite one, and led in its turn to all the promise and failure of the Zaria experiment.¹

These pioneers of the Hausa Mission were led by Bishop Tugwell, Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa. He had travelled from Abeokuta to Jebba and on to Lokoja in the days of the Royal Niger Company, and had experienced the power of Mohammedanism when he had failed to persuade the Emir of Ilorin

1. See below, Chapter III, pp. 93-142.

to permit the C.M.S. to place a teacher in that city.¹ The Bishop's party consisted of Dr. W.R.S. Miller, the Revs. S.A. Richardson and J.C.D. Ryder, all of whom had studied Hausa in Tripoli, and Mr. J.K. Burgin.² They had left England on 16 December, 1899, with the objective of 'Kano or such other centre as God's providence may indicate',³ and they were bound by Tugwell's agreement with Lugard.

At first all went well. They reached Jebba on 16th February 1900,⁴ and stayed three weeks, living in the store-manager's house and receiving kindness, information and aid from Lugard and the officers stationed there. No one could tell them the road to Kano or the exact distance, for even the Kaduna survey had not taken place at that time. The Administration recruited 100 carriers, however, to add to the 40 men the Hausa party already had, and a chief referred to as 'King of the Hausas' promised another 60 men and an excellent guide.⁵ The party was travelling with all pomp. Up to this time there is no question of the cordial relations between the missionaries and the Administration. Miller and Burgin were both patients at the Government hospital because

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1. Church Missionary Intelligencer, Jan. 1899, p.42.
 2. C.O.446/7 No.23477, Lugard, London, 17 Aug. 1899.
 3. Church Missionary Intelligencer, Sept. 1899, p.795.
 4. Ibid., March 1900, p.228.
 5. C.M.S. 1900 (H.) No.13, Richardson, Jebba, 17 Feb. 1900.

of a fever they contracted, and Tugwell and Ryder¹ received every attention when they, too, fell ill at Jebba.

Then as a result of inquiries, Lugard sent the following to the Bishop:-

'Mr. Wallace thinks the road from here to Daba perfectly safe. I see no obstacle therefore to your going as far as that point. Beyond Daba is more uncertain, but I shall shortly receive full reports of the country ahead from the officer in charge of the Protectorate Preventive Service there, and will let you know at once. If however communication with me should cause you unnecessary delay I should be glad if you will communicate direct with Major Morland and be guided by him. He will have full information and will receive instructions from me regarding your party.'²

It is clear that the missionaries left Jebba on 5 March 1900 in the direction of Daba. Tugwell learned on the road that there was a British officer at Wushishi and so the party by-passed Daba and went straight to Wushishi.³ Later Tugwell said that he had been under the impression that the officer was Morland,⁴ but in fact it was a Captain Williams who had no knowledge of, or information concerning, the Hausa party. At Wushishi the Bishop noted in his diary that Morland was away to the east,⁵ but instead of waiting to contact him or

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1. C.M.S. 1900 (H.) No. 15 , Richardson, Jebba, 26 Feb. 1900.
 2. Ibid., No.14, enclosure, Lugard to Tugwell, Govt. House.
 3. Ibid., No.25, Extracts from Bishop Tugwell's diary.
 4. C.O.446/11 No.2656, enclosure, Tugwell to Lugard, Ghierko, 16 Oct. 1900.
 5. C.M.S. 1900 (H.) No.25, Extracts from Bishop Tugwell's diary. (The general tone of these is vague, and no details are given of the 'messenger' Tugwell met en route for Daba, or the information he gave about the 'British officer' at Wushishi.)

writing to Lugard, the missionaries decided to travel north.

No one questioned the wisdom of ignoring the High Commissioner's instructions, and leaving the happily ignorant Williams at Wushishi the party pressed on to Zaria. The Emir of Zaria did not hinder them, for he was too close to the British forces to act rashly, but he gave them no welcome. The party, undaunted, travelled on to Kano. The Emir of Kano, a spectator so far of the British advance, believed the missionaries to be spies and ordered them out of his demesnes. They retreated to Zaria with what dignity they could muster, having provoked just such an action by the Emir of Kano that ¹ Lugard wished to avoid.

The Emir of Zaria now wished to have nothing to do with them, but they had caught him between the Scylla of Kano's disapproval and the Charybdis of the approaching British power, and so he compromised by permitting them to live at Ghierko, outside Zaria town. ² There Ryder died, and from there Richardson was invalided home to tell to the British newspapers the first story of the hostility and rebuff given by the Emir of Kano. ³

At Ghierko there was a small W.A.F.F. force which

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1. C.M.S. 1901 (H.) No.3, Lugard to Tugwell, 12 July 1900; and 1900 (H.) No.34, Tugwell, Ghierko, 28 May 1900.
 2. Ibid.
 3. C.M.S. 1900 (H.) No.35, Executive Committee Minutes, Ghierko, 22 and 24 May 1900.

guaranteed the missionaries' safety and letters written there state clearly the conflicting positions of the political officers and missionaries during the pioneering stage of a Protectorate. The conflict was to recur again and again, and was in part responsible for the reluctance with which some Residents were to view any mission expansion within their provinces.

The Bishop was very grateful to the political staff because they had huts built for the missionaries, gave them medical supplies and showed them every kindness.¹ Colonel Lowry Cole was appalled at the missionaries' idea of approaching the Sultan of Sokoto, and begged the Bishop to wait until the High Commissioner could speak with the Sultan on behalf of the missionaries. The Colonel put the political view bluntly:-

'I don't know to what extent General Lugard is responsible for your safety but at any rate should anything happen to you it would certainly be a difficult thing for him to ignore even if he wished to. It is of course all important to keep the prestige of the white man in this country and of course they don't know that you are a free lance.'²

Colonel Kembell offered to intercede for the party with the Emir of Zaria, meanwhile, so that their place at Ghierko might be secure.³ Then the position was seriously

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1. C.M.S. 1900 (H.) No.37, Tugwell, Ghierko, 30 May 1900.
 2. Ibid., No.33, Lowry Cole to Tugwell, Ghierko, 12 May 1900.
 3. Ibid., No.34, Tugwell, Ghierko, 28 May 1900.

altered, for the withdrawal of troops to the Ashanti war left Ghierko a dangerously weak station: Kemball himself was wanted in the Gold Coast, but he offered to set aside a small troop to escort the missionaries to Wushishi.¹ The uncompromising reply from Tugwell is particularly interesting in view of the agreement entered into by him with Lugard in London:

'You are in no way responsible for us: we deeply appreciate your kind interest in us, but do not let us be a burden to you. Our service is rendered to the Ruler of the Kings of the earth - and therefore wherever we are we are safe and therefore happy and confident.'²

A deadlock had been achieved. There the party was at Ghierko, and there, with great courage, it intended to remain. The climate had killed Ryder and invalided Richardson, but the others studied Hausa, planned to develop industrial work and to introduce bullock waggons.³ They looked forward to the advent of two more recruits, who had already been nominated as members of the Hausa mission, the Rev. G.P. Bargery and Hanns Vischer.⁴

Inevitably, Lowry Cole referred the matter to the High Commissioner. Lugard's only information concerning the party from the time it had left Jebba was a message from a Niger

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1. C.M.S. 1900 (H.) No.47, Tugwell, Ghierko, 26 June 1900.
 2. Ibid., No.48, enclosure, Tugwell to Kemball, Ghierko, 28 June 1900. (Copy).
 3. Ibid., No.58, Tugwell, Ghierko, 15 Aug. 1900: and No.60, Burgin, Ghierko, 15 Aug. 1900.
 4. Ibid., No.24, Tugwell, Ukusu, 28 March 1900.

Company's agent that on 25 March it had been eight days' march from Zaria, followed by a letter from the Bishop at Zaria dated 11 April. The missionaries had left Zaria for the north before these letters had reached Lugard. Lowry Cole's contained the next news.¹ From these letters the High Commissioner learned of the missionaries' rude ejection from Kano, their refusal to withdraw from Ghierko, and the prospect of their intended journey to the Mohammedan overlord in Sokoto, who as yet remained so aloof from contact with the British. Lugard felt that Tugwell had ignored the London agreement, and he therefore stated -

'with regret ... that I cannot at the present time afford you protection at Ghierko, or facilities for obtaining supplies and mails from the Niger. I have also the honour to add that I cannot concur in your proposed trip to Sokoto, nor do I think it would be advisable to attempt to establish a Mission at the present moment at Kano or Zaria.'²

Despite the veiled command to retire and also permission to withdraw sent from Salisbury Square, the missionaries stayed at Ghierko, sending Burgin to negotiate with Lugard at Wushishi³ and forwarding letters to the latter via Kemball requesting definite permission to remain in Ghierko. The mission claimed that it was welcomed by the local people whom

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1. C.M.S. 1901 (H.) No.3, Lugard to Tugwell, Govt. House, 12 July 1900.
 2. Ibid.
 3. C.M.S. 1901 (H.) No.5, Tugwell, Ghierko, 9 Nov. 1900.

it protected from the injustices of their Zaria overlords.¹

The irritation Lugard already felt was aggravated now by two factors: the letters forwarded to him were open ones not addressed specifically to the High Commissioner, and he had just learned from English newspapers the full dramatic details of the mission party's few days in Kano, and the extent of the hostility shown towards them.² That Lugard's first clear information of what had happened in a province of the Protectorate should come from newspapers printed in London, was confirmatory evidence to him of the irresponsibility of the Hausa mission party, which had failed to abide by its agreement or to extend such courtesy to him as was his due as High Commissioner.

Kemball warned Lugard that the Emir of Zaria wanted the C.M.S. missionaries to leave Ghierko now that the rains were over. The comparative courtesy extended by the Emir had been the result of the close position of the British force.³

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1. C.M.S. 1901 (H.) No.8, Lugard to Tugwell, Lokoja, 1 Nov. 1900. (Copy.) See also C.O.446/11 No.2656, Lugard, Jebba, 12 Dec. 1900 and the enclosures: Lugard to Tugwell, 17 Feb. 1900, 12 July 1900, 1 Nov. 1900, and 11 Dec. 1900; also Tugwell to Lugard, 11 April 1900, and 16 Oct. 1900. (These enclosed letters compare exactly with those in the C.M.S. files and prove the accuracy of the C.M.S. records of this period. C.M.S. copies of Government letters agree with the originals, and vice versa.)
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

Any protection the missionaries had afforded local inhabitants rested on the security given them by the W.A.F.F.. Lugard had no intention of supporting a mission by force. He considered it an unethical basis.¹ The situation within the Protectorate was difficult without additional complications. Troops had been sent to the Gold Coast or south to Lagos and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, and moreover the W.A.F.F. who remained were Mohammedans closer allied in religion and origins to the Fulani and Hausas than to their British officers, and now was not the time to test their loyalty. The missionary, trader and political officer were one in the Hausa's eyes, and Lugard refused to jeopardize the success of political and commercial agents by their advent being associated by the people with propaganda against the Mohammedan faith.²

Lugard was prepared to assist the Hausa Mission if it would transfer its personnel to some pagan district in the south of the Protectorate - perhaps Kabba province - or even into the Southern Protectorate to work amongst the Yoruba. He informed Tugwell firmly that slavery in the Northern Protectorate was the Administration's concern not the missionaries'.³

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1. Ibid. also C.O.446/14 No.14945, Lugard, S.Y. "Heron", 3 April 1901, and enclosure, Lugard to Tugwell, S.Y. "Heron", 27 March 1901. (Copy.)
 2. C.M.S. 1901 (H.) No.8, Lugard to Tugwell, 1 Nov. 1900. (Copy.)
 3. Ibid.

The missionaries protested that they had acted in good
¹ faith, and finally Lugard permitted them to remain at
 Ghierko until he himself was able to travel to Wushishi and
 make further arrangements for them.² About this time the
 dispensary at Ghierko was burned down.³ Assuredly, the
 party's lot was not a happy one.

The Bishop tried to obtain a site at Keffi, the Magaji of
 which was a subordinate of the Emir of Zaria,⁴ but Cargill,
 the Resident, warned Tugwell that military action against the
 Magaji might soon be necessary.⁵ There was some talk of
 Nassarawa, but the mission finally withdrew to Loko, with the
 Emir of Nassarawa's permission,⁶ and a vote of £100 for
 buildings from Salisbury Square.⁷ There at Loko a station
 was founded, and there Lugard was glad to see the missionaries -
 well to the south of his advancing forces. After a parting
 cry for 'Your Excellency's ... sympathy, your confidence and

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1. C.M.S. 1901 (H.) No.28, Tugwell, Miller and Burgin to
 Lugard, Loko, 14 Feb. 1901. (Copy.)
 2. Ibid., No.21, Lugard to Tugwell, Jebba, 11 Dec.1900. (Copy.)
 3. Ibid., No.15, Tugwell, Ghierko, 7 Dec. 1900.
 4. Ibid., No.16, Tugwell, Ghierko, 14 Dec. 1900.
 5. Ibid., No.22, Tugwell, Loko, 4 Feb. 1901, and No.23,
 Cargill to Tugwell, Nassarawa, 27 Jan. 1901. (Copy.)
 6. Ibid.
 7. Group III Committee, Resolution XX of 1901.

full accord in our work',¹ the Bishop returned to London,² knowing that two new recruits were on their way to Loko. In London the perturbed Parent Committee of the Hausa Mission was considering asking Sir George Goldie's opinion of the prospects for the C.M.S. in the Protectorate.³

Meanwhile Lugard's report to the Colonial Office of the unfortunate expedition and the steps he had taken⁴ brought full approval of his attitude. He told the Colonial Office that in his opinion the prohibition of religious propaganda in Northern Nigeria would 'for the present...be beneficial.'⁴ Ommaney⁵ minuted that he wished 'it were practical' to keep missionaries out of the Mohammedan districts for the time being, and Chamberlain⁶ vehemently agreed. Once Lugard could show that it was a question of practical politics, then he would have support ready-made at the Colonial Office for the prohibition of mission enterprise in the Northern Provinces. Moreover the unfortunate episode of the Hausa Mission's expedition to Kano was evidence to lend support to the hardening of the

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1. C.M.S. 1901 (H.) No.28, Tugwell, Miller and Burgin to Lugard, Loko, 14 Feb. 1901. (Copy.)
 2. Ibid., No.25, Aitken, Lokoja, 17 Feb. 1901.
 3. Ibid., No.27, Tugwell, Loko, 12 Feb. 1901.
 4. C.O.446/11 No.2656, Lugard, Jebba, 12 Dec. 1900.
 5. Ibid., minute, Ommaney, 26 March 1901.
 6. Ibid., minute, J. Chamberlain, 27 March 1901.

official attitude towards mission expansion in the Protectorate which became more apparent from 1906-1912.

Yet in 1901 there was no serious consideration of banning missionaries from the Mohammedan provinces, and therefore no realization of the additional duties which would fall to the Administration if missions, which brought with their creeds all the ancillary benefits of schools and surgeries, were forbidden - if but for a few years - to enter the Emirates without the Emirs' permission.

CHAPTER II.

EFFECTIVE OCCUPATION AND ITS REQUIREMENTS.

Lugard's wrath at the Hausa Mission's activities is understandable, for the party had provoked the Emir of Kano into hostile action at a very awkward, and even dangerous, period of the Protectorate's existence. Lugard was not in a position to challenge Kano and Sokoto in 1901, for he had to subdue the more southerly Emirates, including Kontagora and Bida during that year, and the troops available to him were lessened by the drain of the Ashanti war. As late as April 1901 between 600 and 700 W.A.F.F. were sent to the Gold Coast, and the year continued with a series of crises¹ which fully occupied the energies of the High Commissioner and his staff.

The Fulani chief of Yola refused to allow traders from the Royal Niger Company's hulk to come ashore, and he forced them to lower the flag flown from that hulk.² This Emir was an educated Mohammedan, but a fanatic in his opposition to Christians, and a trader who made a good profit on slaves

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1. C.O.446/15 No.13895, Lugard, Lokoja, 16 April 1901 and No.14693: Lugard, Jebba, 26 April 1901.
 2. C.O.446/15 No.26884, Wallace, Jebba, 3 July 1901.

brought from the neighbouring German territory. His town was stormed and he fled, to be killed eventually in a clash with pagan tribesmen. A Resident and a small garrison were left in Yoka and the 'acknowledged heir'¹ was installed as the new Emir. Meanwhile the most disturbing rumours were coming out of Bornu,² and in the October Lugard had to lend 300 troops to Southern Nigeria for an expedition against the Aro tribes.³

The situation in Bornu involved France, Britain and Rabeh, lieutenant of Zubehr Pasha, who had marched westwards after Zubehr's defeat by Egypt in 1878. Rabeh had clashed with the French at Wadai, entered Bornu in 1893, defeated the Shehu, took Kuka, and set up his capital at ^DKikwa, in what was recognized by Europe as the German sphere of influence. The French established a Protectorate over Wadai and there followed two battles between French forces and Rabeh's men. In 1900 a French nominee was declared Shehu of Bornu, although Britain considered that Bornu fell within the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Rabeh was killed that Spring in a clash with the French,⁴ but his son, Fadr-el-Allah fell back into the interior of Bornu and sent several appeals to the High Commissioner for protection.⁵

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1. Parl.Pap. 1903 XLIII Report on N.N. for 1901. [Cd.1338-1.] p.8; also C.O.446/15 No.30652 Wallace, Jebba, 2 Aug.1901.
 2. C.O.446/15 No.27295 Wallace, Jebba, 4 Aug. 1901.
 3. Parl.Pap. 1903 XLIII Report on N.N. for 1901. [Cd.1388-1.] p.9.
 4. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904. [Cd.2684-22.] p.25.
 5. C.O.446/11 No.36876, Lugard, Jebba, 2 Oct. 1900.

This was the situation in the Autumn when irate letters were passing between Bishop Tugwell and Sir Frederick Lugard concerning the activities of the mission to Mohammedans.

A British officer was finally sent to Bornu in June 1901, and he reported favourably on Fadr-el-Allah as a British candidate for the position of Shehu of Bornu. Lugard, however, doubted the wisdom of recognizing officially a man known to be the enemy of France at a time when the Anglo-French boundary commission had yet to make some amicable decision on the northern limits of the Protectorate.¹ The problem solved itself, for Fadr-el-Allah clashed with the French once more in the summer of 1901 and was pursued 160 miles into British territory before being killed.²

Lugard had been in England during this period, and he returned to the Protectorate determined to clarify the situation by the effective occupation of Bornu. A force set out from Ibi in February 1902. It passed through Bauchi replacing the slave-raiding Emir with a new one and leaving a British Resident and a garrison there in its wake. The rest of the force marched north-east, and had to beat off the attack of a Mohammedan band led by a self-declared mahdi, mallam

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1. C.O.446/16 Nos.27295 and 39672, Wallace, Jebba, 4 Aug. and 14 Oct. 1901: also C.O.446/21 Nos.29624, 31098, 38139, Lugard, Haslemere, 22 Aug., 30 Aug., 29 Oct. 1901; and No.42991, Lugard, S.S. "Bornu", 9 Nov. 1901: and C.O.446/17 No.4995, Lugard, Jebba, 28 Dec. 1901. This correspondence shows how very delicate the situation was.
 2. C.O.446/22 No.657, Lugard, 2 Jan. 1902. (telegram.)

Jibrella.¹ The latter was not a real danger to the W.A.F.F. troops, but while such a band could be gathered together by a mahdi, fears of a jihad are understandable, as are Lugard's careful inquiries about the influence of the Senussi sect.

It was March 11 when the expedition reached Gujba, and Morland continued to Lake Tchad where he offered British recognition to a Shehu detained at Dikwa. The latter accepted and entered British territory, becoming the Shehu of Bornu. The French meantime had to evacuate Dikwa because of the advance of a large German force.²

Thus nearly three years after he became High Commissioner Lugard added the province of Bornu extending over 60,000 square miles, to the effectively occupied area of the Protectorate.³ This was still the period of expansion.

There remained the central strip of Nassarawa, Zaria, Kano and Katsina, with Sokoto away to the far north-west. Nassarawa had an unenviable reputation for brigandage, particularly around Abuja, where a native missionary named Bako was murdered in June 1902.⁴ The suzerain of most of Nassarawa was the Magaji of Keffi, a nominee of the Emir of Zaria, and the man from whom Cargill anticipated trouble.⁵

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1. C.O.446/23 No.20713, Lugard, Jebba, 27 April 1902.
 2. Parl. Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] pp.8-9.
 3. Ibid., p.4.
 4. Ibid., p.11.
 5. See above, Chapter I, p.45.

The Magaji would not co-operate with the Administration, and an attempt to establish better relations ended in the murder of a Resident, Captain Maloney, and the Magaji's flight to Kano, where the Emir received him with honour.¹

Control over the province of Nassarawa was then tightened, and Zaria was the next to feel British pressure. The Emir of Zaria had appealed to Lugard for protection against the marauding ex-Emir of Kontagora, and in March 1902 a garrison had arrived at Zaria town with a Resident, and there Resident and garrison had remained. The Emir's cruelties and slaving activities could not be ignored any longer, and he was now deposed by the Resident. It was hoped that the deposition might be temporary, but since the Emir showed no intention of changing his attitude, eventually another man was installed who was a grandson of the original flagbearer of Othman dan Fodio.²

"Our rule in Zaria Province itself was a farce",³ however, whilst Kano and Sokoto still dominated the minds of all in the Northern Provinces. The Emir of Kano postponed his attack on the Zaria garrison when news of the Sultan of Sokoto's death reached him, but the danger to the Zaria station remained. Moreover the Anglo-French boundary commission had to be protected when it began its work of delimiting the boundary

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1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902.
[Cd.1768-14.] pp.12-13.
 2. Ibid., pp.13-15.
 3. Ibid., p.17.

along the Sokoto-Katsina frontier and stores would have to pass through Kano emirate to reach the commission. For all these reasons Lugard determined in the Autumn of 1902 to use Zaria as a base for an attack on the Northern Hausa states.¹ He had tried to establish friendly relations and had failed: now he was resorting to force, and because his aims of establishing internal peace, security for trade, the prohibition of slave raiding and trading and the restoration of government, remained the same, the conquest was to be as conservative in outcome as he could make it.

His approach was responsible for the generous treatment of the northern emirates once the W.A.F.F. had proved victorious. This resort to force did not alter in any way Lugard's policy of refining Fulani rule, eliminating the dross and substituting² a sense of the duties, the responsibilities, of a ruling class. That he maintained his policy is important, for from it stemmed Vischer's educational policy.

On 29 January 1903, 24 British officers and 700 W.A.F.F. left Zaria town. At Kano resistance was slight. The Emir, welcomer of Moloney's murderer, had gone to Sokoto. The way seemed clear. Reinforcements were brought up, and Lugard himself led one section of the force to Sokoto. He arrived on March 19th to find that the Sokoto army had been defeated and

1. Parl. Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902.
[Cd.1768-14.] pp.17-18.

2. Ibid., p.26.

the Waziri and three chiefs had arrived in the British camp to surrender formally. The leading Sokoto councillors were invited to state their choice of a new Sultan and his installation took place on March 22nd. Six days later the Emir of Katsina received Lugard and took part in a similar ceremony, and then the High Commissioner marched south investing the new Emirs of Kano and Zaria with their office. On April 14th Lugard was back at Zungeru, having covered 800 miles in 38 days and effectively occupied Kano, Sokoto and Katsena during the hottest season of the year, with native carriers as his sole means of transport for all equipment.¹

Nowhere had Lugard met a firm, popular stand. Opposition in every case had come from the Emir and his officials. The huge armies rumoured to exist had vanished like mirages. Even the Serikin Muslimin, who had rejected Lugard's overtures and declared,

'Between us and you there are no dealings except as between Mussulmans and Unbelievers - War as God almighty has enjoined on us' ² -

even he was unable to obtain popular support.

Lugard had pursued a policy for three long years of avoiding any public provocation of the Sultan of Sokoto on account of which sympathetic public support for the latter against the British might have been aroused. Such

1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] pp.27-30, 36-8, 40-4.
2. Ibid., Appendix I, p.101.

support would have spread most easily from religious origins as the Sultan was the Serikin Muslimin of all Mohammedans in Hausaland. For this reason the C.M.S. Hausaland mission had been checked after its rejection by the Emir of Kano. Now some political officers would see in the successful occupation of the northern emirates the justification for Lugard's policy, and - since numerically the British were a mere handful in relation to the Hausas, Fulanis and Kanuris - for the continuation of that policy in order to prevent any uprising. Viewed in this light, the control of mission expansion was essential. Moreover, since the only point on which the Mohammedan and the Christian missionary were likely to agree was that education had religious undertones, then mission schools were additional sources of danger. A mission station which gave medical aid might be regarded with distrust, but Christians teaching, like Christians preaching, would be considered detractors of the state and not just of Islam by those whose temporal power had a certain spiritual basis - in particular the Serikin Muslimin.

On the other hand, missionaries might claim that the ease with which Lugard had overcome opposition was proof that the Administration over-estimated the anti-Christian bias of the Hausas and the influence of Mohammedanism. The relevance to the subject of this thesis of the bitter controversy which ultimately ensued is that the political evolution, the careful rehabilitation of the Fulani emirates, necessitated the

provision of some harmonious form of education. Education, however, had to await the post-pioneering stage. It comes after peace and order. Therefore it is conditioned by the form that order takes. This process is traceable in the years 1900 to 1908 before a Government Education Department emerges. It is not a steady progress to a well-defined end, however, for policy fluctuates. It is interesting, and difficult, to trace the degree of responsibility which lies with the Colonial Office as opposed to the Administration of Northern Nigeria.

Certainly the Colonial Office was opposed to any military action by Lugard which was not defensive. In fact the High Commissioner was rebuked for not giving the Home Government more time to consider his plans and to decide 'with the knowledge which they alone possess of the general situation in other parts of the Empire, whether it was necessary to send an expedition to Kano and whether it was expedient to do so at this time and with the force which is available.'¹ Antrobus minuted, when discussing the alarming increase in the Estimates for 1903-4:-

'It is of no use asking ourselves whether the policy of conquering Borgu, Bida, Kontagora, Yola, Bautshi, Bornu, Kano, Katsena, Sokoto and practically all Northern Nigeria is right. It is not what we intended

1. Parl.Pap. 1903 XLV Correspondence relating to Kano.
[Cd.1433.] p.12.

when we took from the Royal Niger Company the administration rights, but we are now committed to it and cannot draw back.' ¹

The High Commissioner was reminded that 'there is no desire on the part of His Majesty's Government to destroy the existing forms of administration or to govern the country otherwise than through its own rulers.' ² Preservation was therefore the key from the beginning, when it possessed the negative virtue of causing the fewest difficulties and the least expense. Although the deposition of Emirs was more frequent than Lugard wished, the men appointed to rule were always the nearest acceptable claimants in order that the depositions might have as little disruptive effect as possible. ³ Gradually the idea of preservation permeated various aspects of the Administration's work and in time became an important contributory factor to Vischer's educational theories. By then what had begun as a political and economic necessity had all the moral weight of a principle.

Even the triumphant Sokoto campaign illustrates the weakness of the British position. Hundreds of slaves followed Lugard when he left Sokoto town, but he was marching to Katsina across unmapped, arid land, and there was neither food nor water to spare. Moreover Lugard had no intention of

1. C.O.446/25 No.52540, minute, R.L. Antrobus, 22 Feb. 1903.

2. Parl.Pap. 1903 XLV Correspondence relating to Kano.
[Cd.1433.] p.11.

3. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.]
p.14

abruptly altering Sokoto's social fabric, and therefore the 'poor wretches'¹ were sent back, the new Resident of Sokoto being instructed to inquire into any special cases. The king of Gober was dogging the rear of Lugard's column with 300 or 400 horsemen, and many of the returning slaves were caught by this force. Lugard insisted that the king disgorge these slaves, who were then set loose:-

'Doubtless very many bolted to neighbouring towns, but I considered my obligations of honour and necessity satisfied when I turned them out of my following, and'² I did not enquire too curiously what had become of them.'

The people of Hausaland appreciated this weakness even though they were unable to utilise it against the British. Lugard had wished to restore the ex-Emir of Zaria, but the chiefs who were loyal to the Administration assured him that if the ex-Emir returned, they would have to flee the town. Nothing Lugard could say would convince the chiefs that they would be safe under British protection. Finally the Resident and Lugard agreed to the installation of another man.³

Even in 1903 the Hausa states were not convinced that the British had come to stay. One popular prophecy was that the British would stay four years and then pass as other conquerors had done. The delay in tackling Kano and Sokoto

1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902.
[Cd.1768-14.] p.41.

2. Ibid., pp.41-2.

3. Ibid., pp.14-15.

was ascribed by some to fear, and by others to Britain's indifference over a transitory possession. The Emir of Nupe, who travelled to Zungeru in November 1902, was astounded by the electric light and the railway there, and was convinced by them that the British intended to remain in occupation for many years.¹ Not everyone could be so dazzled by mechanical devices, however, for they were limited in the early years of the Protectorate.

The occupation had taken Lugard three years: the second stage in the Protectorate's existence was the establishment of an efficient civil administration. Lugard wanted, and needed, the goodwill of the peoples of Northern Nigeria. Force alone is no basis for permanent government. Both in 1900² and 1902³ Lugard had explained officially his intention of maintaining Fulani rule purged of its gross abuses. After the occupation of Sokoto, the High Commissioner confirmed and explained this policy at the installation of the Sultan. In his speech at Sokoto, Lugard stated, 'Government will in no way interfere with the Mohammedan religion. All men are free to worship God as they please.'⁴ At Katsina Lugard's speech included this assurance and also the statement that he would

1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902.
[Cd.1768-14.] pp.16, 17, 48.

2. Parl.Pap. 1902 LXV Report on N.N. for 1900-1901.
[Cd.788-16.] pp.28-9.

3. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902.
[Cd.1768-14.] pp.25-6.

4. Ibid., Appendix III, p.106.

be only too glad to give every possible assistance to education. He thought that Katsina's reputation as a centre of Western Sudanese education in the past, made that town an appropriate place for such a declaration.¹

As has been explained already, education in Hausaland had very definite religious sub-tones. Much would depend on the interpretation officially laid on the phrases of Lugard's speeches. He wished to establish a sense of security, of continuity and peace and order. He needed trust and harmony between the existing Islamic office holders and his own small civil establishment, that they might work together.

Lugard had already decided that there was a danger to the peace of the Protectorate if the Christian missionary and the Resident were thought to be fellow-agents of the Administration by the Emirs and their peoples. Therefore he had tried to persuade the one mission to the Mohammedans to direct its attention to the pagan tribes of the southern regions of the Protectorate.² While mission work might be construed as Government interference with the Mohammedan religion, there was a chance that the High Commissioner would remind the Colonial Office again of the restrictions on mission work existing in the condominium of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and

1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902.[Cd.1768-14.] Appendix III, p.42.

2. See above, Chapter I, pp.44.

request support for the pursuance of a similar policy in the Protectorate.¹ Yet Lugard had promised freedom of worship, and cannot have been thinking of supporting a permanent monopoly of the Northern Provinces for the Mohammedan religion.² His father, after all, had been the Hon. District Secretary of the C.M.S. at Worcester for many years,³ and though Lugard's attitude towards mission societies fluctuated from 1900 to 1906, it never settled into a consistent anti-missionary bias.

It is significant that at the time of his Katsina speech the Governor had no intention of setting up an Education Department or of founding government schools. He hoped at first to make grants to mission schools,⁴ but also considered small grants to improve the elementary education in the Koranic schools.⁵ A benevolent neutrality might have been the Administration's rôle if these hopes had been put into practice together. A point in favour of mission schools was

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1. In his despatch of 12 Dec. 1901 (C.O.446/11 No.2656) Lugard had stated that the prohibition of religious propaganda in N.N. 'for the present, would, in my view, be beneficial,' and he cited the 'Nile Sudan' as a parallel case.
 2. In the Report on N.N. for 1902 [Cd.1768-14] pp.77-8, Lugard explained that while all pagan areas were open to missions, a Mohammedan province might be entered only with the consent of the Emir. This was his compromise in 1902.
 3. E. Stock: The History of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S., London, 1916) vol.IV, p.35.
 4. Parl.Pap. 1903 XLIII Report on N.N. for 1901. [Cd.1388-1.] p.23.
 5. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] p.47.

that Lugard wished to have English taught in the Protectorate, and the Roman script substituted for Arabic characters in writing, but he was doubtful as to how far even these limited aims were practicable with the Koranic schools as his only means.¹

Lugard did not underestimate the difficulties of establishing an educational system in the Mohammedan provinces. One Rundhir Singh, son of the Kumar of Tajpur, India, arrived in the Protectorate in 1900, and offered £2000 for a college in Northern Nigeria modelled on the lines of Gordon College, Khartoum. Studies were to be in Arabic and English, and Mohammedan teachers were to be brought from Egypt and India. Singh's attitude foreshadows both Lugard's and Vischer's, for the Indian was 'convinced that an Institute like this would be beneficial to the people of this country and in time to come prove a help by turning out students who would be useful perhaps in filling subordinate positions or more in the administration of the Protectorate.'²

In 1900 this plan seemed premature to Lugard and the Colonial Office agreed that it was so.³ Moreover, an investigation of Singh's background proved that he was not a

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1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1766-14.] p.47: also C.O. 446/17 No.4954, Memo. enclosed with Estimates for 1902-3, Lugard, Jebba, 31 Dec. 1901.
 2. C.O.446/11 No.2659, enclosure, Rundhir Singh to Lugard, Lokoja, 29 Oct. 1900.
 3. Ibid., minute, R.L. Antrobus, 4 Feb. 1901.

wealthy man.¹ It was noted that E.W. Blyden had put forward a scheme in 1899 for some Mohammeden Institute in British West Africa,² a scheme which had not proved feasible. Singh's plan was not therefore the first, but it is interesting that Vischer also found his example in Gordon College, eight years later, although there is no evidence that Vischer ever heard of Singh's proposal.

Even had the moment been propitious, £2000 was an inadequate sum and Lugard had no means of supplementing it.³ The initial cost of the Institute would be more than £2000 and the recurrent expenses of upkeep and staff salaries could not be met by the Protectorate.⁴ Some British supervision would be necessary, but Lugard found it difficult to obtain the number of political officers he needed without trying to cover the salaries of education officers as well. Moreover he could not second any of his political staff either to an Institute or to form an inspectorate and an Education Department on lines similar to those followed in Southern Nigeria. Lugard had spoken of the possibility of making grants to

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1. C.O.446/13 No.37893, India Office to C.O., 1 Nov. 1900.
 2. C.O.446/11 No.2659, minute, R.L. Antrobus, 4 Feb. 1900.
 3. Ibid., Lugard, Jebba, 16 Dec. 1900.
 4. Ibid., also enclosure, Lugard to Singh, 30 Oct. 1900.
(Copy.)

Koranic schools, but even that slight action would have necessitated some form of inspectorate. The stringent financial circumstances of the Protectorate meant that too few staff were busy on too many projects all considered of prior importance to the Protectorate than an educational system.

After the 1903 campaigns Lugard had sixteen provinces to administer i.e. North and South Bornu, Bauchi, Sokoto, Kano, Katagum, Zaria, Yola, Kontagora, Nassarawa, Muri, Bassa, Kabba, Nupe, Ilorin and Borgu. For their administration he had thirty-eight Residents, out of a total civil establishment of eighty-eight.¹ Within a year the political department increased to forty-five.² Yet it was not a question of quantity alone, but of quantity allied with quality. In 1902 Oxford and Cambridge first offered facilities for graduates wishing to enter the Colonial Service.³ Cambridge already gave one Hausa Scholarship, and Major Burdon, a Resident in Northern Nigeria, suggested a chair endowed for Hausa and Arabic, and to include instruction in the religious tenets, law and polity of western Mohammedanism.⁴ Lugard was criticised for employing army officers in civilian posts. They were men who had served in the South African War and were

1. C.O. List, 1903, pp.275-6.

2. C.O. List, 1904, p.281.

3. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.]
p.50.

4. Ibid.

freed for other employment in 1902. Lugard, himself a soldier, approved of the qualities and general character of these ex-officers,¹ and in lieu of men of experience in West African affairs, he had to use character as a basis for selection. 'The fact remained, however, that during the early years of the Protectorate, when the first impression on the natives of Europeans and their administration was of such vital importance, the High Commissioner was obliged to rely upon subordinates for the most part untrained or untried, who had to learn their work at the same time as they performed it.'² Moreover eighteen months proved the maximum period for a duty tour in the Protectorate, and therefore there was always a high percentage of officers on leave. An officer had no sooner obtained an insight into a district or become friendly with the local chiefs, than his place was taken by a stranger, and the whole process began again. Sickness added to the frequency of these changes.³ Yet on these Residents Lugard was dependent for information concerning his Protectorate.

The Resident played many parts.⁴ He was responsible for the maintenance of law, order and good government. He

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1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] pp.49-50.
 2. C.J. Orr: op.cit., pp.136-7.
 3. Ibid., pp.81-2: also C.O.446/25 No.43587, Lugard, Zungeru, 19 Oct. 1902.
 4. The following survey is taken from C.J. Orr: op.cit., pp.131-43, and from the Reports on N.N. for the years 1900-1905, i.e. [Cd.788-16.], [Cd.1388-1.], [Cd.1768.14.], [Cd.2238.14.], [Cd.2684-22] and [Cd.3285-3.].

had to investigate charges, to arrest men, try their cases or pass them to the Native Court and keep an eye on the subsequent events. He was responsible for the drill and discipline of the Civil Police and the maintenance of the local gaols. He was the liaison officer between Europeans and the local tribesmen, fixing prices and currency values, arranging supplies, stores and transport. In these early years of the Protectorate a Resident often supervised the building of his station and of roads in his locality. He had to map the natural features of his districts, and its boundaries and towns and villages, meanwhile encouraging agriculture and trade and perhaps re-afforestation.

In addition the Resident had plenty of office work to do. He was personally responsible for the collection of the revenues and each month he sent accounts to the Treasurer, with the names set out under the proper heads and sub-heads and his vouchers all in duplicate. He compiled statistics of population, trade and crimes and details of taxation, land, tribal customs and languages, slavery and missions, and sent them to the High Commissioner. A cause list of the provincial court went to the Attorney-General each month, transport returns to the Transport Officer and meteorological statistics to the Principal Medical Officer. Lack of clerical subordinates made the work arduous, and one can understand reluctance on the part of a Resident to accept a mission

station in his area if he knew that there was a strong Mohammedan section of the population hostile to the project and prepared to withdraw former co-operation if he supported the mission.

The Resident of the early days of the Protectorate was daily undergoing a process of education through experience which, if he could endure and profit by it, ultimately made him a more competent and knowledgeable officer. Meanwhile, he had no time to spare for the class-room education of the local people. Only two Residents' schools were set up prior to 1906, and they owed their origin to men of exceptional ability, and are discussed more fully below. Such work was additional to a Resident's duties, however, and beyond the scope of the majority.

Paradoxically, the need for educated Nigerians was borne upon the Resident at every turn. Some openings for technical education were provided by the Public Works Department and in the Telegraph, Printing and Marine Departments, all of which accepted young apprentices. Even then the training given was incidental to the work of the Departments. The overwhelming political need was for literate native subordinates in all Departments. In 1901 Lugard wanted a clerk or an interpreter for each province, and four scholars for the Political Department who would act as Arabic-English interpreters and translate communications from, and to, the Emirs.¹ By 1902 he was

1. C.O.446/14 No.6116, Lugard, Jebba, 19 Jan. 1901.

searching for bi-lingual mallams to be attached to the Native Courts.¹ Yet there was no provision for the training of such men.

The demand for clerks in the Administration and in commercial firms far exceeded the supply. The Secretariat and cantonments of Lokoja and Zungeru were staffed by coastal clerks who had not sufficient education for their work and were therefore unreliable. They received £120 to £180 p.a. and free quarters, where available. Only good salaries would induce them to work up-country, yet Lugard felt that few were worth these rates.² The Residents needed reliable political agents and interpreters, but interpreters could not be controlled and often used their positions for their own aggrandisement, causing serious difficulties and injustices before discovery.³ The death of Moloney at the hands of the Magaji of Keffi was ascribed by Lugard to the intrigues of Awudu, the government agent. The latter misled Webster into entering the Magaji's private apartments from which he was forcibly ejected. The Magaji anticipated arrest for this attack on a European, and, rushing out, murdered Moloney and Awudu, and was off to Kano before Webster could seize him. Thus occurred the occasion for the British advance on Kano, all leading from

1. C.O.446/ No.10563, Lugard, Lokoja, 11 Feb. 1902.

2. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.]
p.50.

3. Ibid.

a misapprehension which may have been contrived by Awudu.¹

Lugard's own speeches at the installation of Emirs were made in English and translated by African interpreters. The best scholar to hand amongst the Residents tried to check every phrase.²

In 1904 the need for clerks speaking English who would be reliable public servants was so great that a scheme to bring clerks from India was mooted. Nine arrived in 1905, but they left a year later, for knowing English but not Hausa, their use was limited. The twenty-eight Indian artisans brought over to develop a cart for agricultural purposes on a modified Indian pattern, were more successful, and fulfilled their three years' engagement.³

Yet it was not only educated subordinates who were needed. The Resident speaking little Hausa or Arabic was yet expected to co-operate with emirs, alkalis and other officials who thought in Fulani, Hausa, Kanuri or Arabic, and wrote in Arabic characters. Thus the Resident's task was complicated a thousand-fold. It was necessary to educate - in the broadest sense of that term - Nigerians in the aims of British policy and in their duties and privileges under a dual mandate. Lugard

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1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] p.12.
 2. Ibid., p.36.
 3. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904. [Cd.2684-22.] p.7: and 1907 LIV Report on N.N. for 1905-6. [Cd.3285-3.] pp.8, 91: also 1908 LXIX Report on N.N. for 1906-7. [Cd.3729-15.] p.4.

had declared the Fulani to be, 'unfit at present to exercise power except under supervision, nor do I hope for any great success in the present generation, but I hope and believe that with careful guidance their sons and grandsons will form invaluable rulers under British supervision and that their superior intelligence can be developed as a useful asset in our administration.'¹ The first step would be either to persuade this ruling class to write Hausa in the Roman script, or to teach it English.

By the end of 1904 there were eighty Native Courts, and those at Sokoto and Kano were empowered to impose the death sentence, though it could not be carried out without the sanction of the Resident of the province.² The Emir of Kano sent in returns of sixty to eighty cases each month. Lugard³ considered founding a law-school for mallams at Sokoto and he desired the 'compilation of a compendium of Koranic law'⁴ from the books of reference used by the alkalis of the Protectorate, that the work might be translated into English and used by all political officers. These ideas remained in embryo, but in 1906 the criminal code and relevant proclamations were translated into Arabic.⁵ Lugard regretted that court

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1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] p.26.
 2. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904. [Cd.2684-22.] p.83.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Parl.Pap. 1907 LIV Report on N.N. for 1905-6. [Cd.3285-3.] p.61.
 5. Ibid.

returns in Arabic still meant laborious work for the Residents, who missed much of interest in native law and customs, and could not supervise the courts effectively, because they had to work in Hausa and English from the Arabic characters. A further complication was the script derived from Arabic which was sometimes used instead of the original Arabic characters. A Resident of Kano summed up the language problem:-

'What one says is transposed into a bastard Arabic almost unintelligible to an ordinary Arabic scholar and re-translated at the other end with probably additional alterations and inaccuracies.' 2

Since the political value of even elementary education was thus widely appreciated, the fact that the Administration took no steps to provide that education must be explained. One must remember that for the Government to provide an education system was unknown in West Africa, and that any attempt to do the work that was usually in the hands of voluntary agencies would be revolutionary. Whatever Lugard might wish to do, his hands were tied financially. Whilst the Protectorate was dependent for the essentials of its everyday existence on an Imperial grant-in-aid, he would not be able to provide more than those bare essentials. Only as local revenue increased would more money be available for the provision of an "extra" such as education. Unfortunately, of course, as local revenue

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1. Parl.Pap. 1907 LIV Report on N.N. for 1905-6. [Cd.3285-3.] p.61.
 2. C.O.446/65 No.41753, enclosure, Festing to Girouard, Kano, [Aug.-Sept.] 1907.

increased so the Imperial grant-in-aid would diminish.

The Protectorate's revenue for each year can be divided under three heads - local revenue, revenue accepted from Southern Nigeria in lieu of import and export duties collected there instead of on the boundary of Northern Nigeria, and the Imperial grant-in-aid. Revenue rose from £135,700 in 1900 to £559,500 in 1904, but dropped in 1905 to £505,500 because the Imperial grant-in-aid, which had risen from £38,800 to £405,500 by 1904, was then cut to £320,000.¹ It was the Administration's duty to continue this decrease.

It was impossible to devise a taxation system for the Protectorate until the Residents had acquired a sound knowledge of their provinces. The big increase in local revenue from £16,000 in 1902 to £53,000 in the following year was the result of the establishment of a small Revenue Department whose members, although otherwise acting as Assistant Residents, did the specialized work of assessment and collection.² All chiefs collecting tribute paid a portion - not exceeding a quarter of the total - to the Government, in recognition of its suzerainty. A community without a single head paid its tax direct to the Revenue Department.³ Thus land and its produce

1. For details of revenue and expenditure see Appendix B, p. 429.

2. Parl.Pap. 1905 LII Report on N.N. for 1903. [Cd.2238-14.] p.20.

3. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] p.53-4.

were taxed. In addition, tolls were instituted on caravans, the levy being 5% of the value of the goods payable in each Province traversed to a maximum of 15% on the same article.¹ Only those "down" caravans which carried articles of native origin were taxed until 1904, when the system was extended to "up" caravans, but goods which had paid duty at the coast received a correspondingly lower tax assessment.² Canoes were licensed at 5 shs. - £3 p.a. according to their earning capacity, the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors were taxed and that duty which had originally been imposed by the Royal Niger Company of £1 per ton on salt imported from Southern to Northern Nigeria was revived.³

The items of expenditure during the years 1900 to 1906 reflect the price of security, for figures for the Police Department and for the W.A.F.F. are high in relation to the totals. The Medical Department was also an expense, and a very necessary one, for combating diseases in the vast new Protectorate and keeping officials fit during their eighteen month tours was vital work. The Public Works and the Political Departments, with Treasury, Audit, Prisons and Transport⁴ swallowed the residue.

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1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] p.54.
 2. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904 [Cd.2684-22.] p.85.
 3. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] p.54.
 4. See Appendix B, p.429.

The revenue obtained from the Land Tax was increasing year by year, but even at the end of Lugard's first tenure of office i.e. 1906, the Land Tax was not collected throughout the Protectorate. Some chiefs and tribes were still so independent of British control that they contributed nothing to the Treasury.¹ The finances of the Protectorate depended still on the Imperial grant-in-aid, and the Administration's intention was to end that grant as soon as possible. No margin existed from which funds could be drawn to provide an Education Department. Lugard had from time to time mentioned grants-in-aid, either to Koranic schools or to missions² and one efficient voluntary agency did exist - the Niger Mission of the C.M.S. which had its headquarters at Onitsha in Southern Nigeria.

The C.M.S. Niger Mission was not connected with the ill-fated Hausaland Mission, but had established stations in Kabba and Bassa provinces during the Royal Niger Company's régime, and by 1900 the mission's field extended from Onitsha in Southern Nigeria to Lokoja in the new Protectorate of Northern Nigeria.³ At many of its stations the Niger Mission had passed from the pioneering into the organizing stage.

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1. Parl.Pap. 1908 LXIX Report on N.N. for 1906-7. [Cd.3729-15.] p.65.
 2. See above p.61.
 3. C.O.446/10 No.21724, minute, C. Strachey, 20 July 1900. The C.M.S.'s title to land at Lokoja was granted by the R.N.Co. in May 1890.

Dr. C.F. Harford Battersby had been sent by the C.M.S. on a four months' tour of this field in 1897. He reported to Salisbury Square that there then existed a C.M.S. school at Lokoja, a station school at Ake in the care of a native agent from Lagos, a small school run by a native evangelist at Kpata and an experiment at a Training Institute for teachers and evangelists at Ababe. Harford Battersby criticized the lack of uniformity in the schools and the fact that teaching was left to the inexperienced and the untrained. He reported a very strong prejudice among the native agents of the Mission against teaching in the vernacular. He believed that this attitude was the result of over-great stress on the teaching of English in the earlier days of the Mission when these agents had been trained and also of the absence of literature in the vernacular.¹ The fact that in 1897 the Niger Mission was already trying to teach in the vernacular is interesting as Lugard in 1900 still believed the teaching of English to be the most important subject.² Moreover in 1900 another missionary with Nigerian experience warned Salisbury Square that the Society's schools 'should no longer endeavour to turn out black Englishmen.'³ Certain C.M.S. missionaries were

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1. C.M.S. Letterbook N. (1897-1906) pp.27-8, Report by Dr. C.F. Harford Battersby, June-Sept. 1897.
 2. C.O.446/9 No.19109, Lugard, Jebba, 23 April 1900. See above, Chapter I, p.25.
 3. C.M.S. 1900 (N.) no.88, Bennet, Gravesend, 2 July 1900.

therefore already considering the relation between the classroom and the environment in which pupils lived.

Lugard showed interest in the school at Lokoja from the beginning of the Administration when he suggested that the missionaries should concentrate on sound elementary education.¹ The latter early realised the importance of education to their work on the Upper Niger and the need for a trained European schoolmaster and some form of industrial training was pointed out to Salisbury Square as early as March 1900.² Moreover the idea of educating Northern Nigerians to work amongst their own people occurred to the missionaries as well as to Lugard.

Wilson Hill of the Onitsha station wrote:-

'Most of the men from Sierra Leone, Lagos and towns on the Coast despise the native of the Niger, and are generally very affected in their manners.'³

Whether the blame lay with those who had trained the coastal men was a question which had not as yet been clearly voiced. However, the denunciation of a training which produced 'black Englishmen' shows a certain awareness that methods were not suitable.

The C.M.S. hoped in 1900 that the declaration of the new Protectorate would mean aid for its work, and perhaps grants of money or land if Lugard were pleased with the Lokoja school.⁴

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1. C.M.S. 1900 (N.) No.64, Wilson Hill, Onitsha, 1 March 1900.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

Moreover the Resident at Lokoja, W.S. Sharpe, was very co-operative and even asked the Mission to help him care for the freed slaves who arrived at Lokoja. His idea was that there should be two Homes, one for men and one for women and children, and that the Government should pay board and lodging and school-fees, whilst the C.M.S. took charge of the Homes, of the education of the children and of the teaching of trades to the adults. The Acting-Secretary of the Mission accepted ex-slave children gladly for the existing Lokoja school. The monthly fee, exclusive of books and materials, was 4d. or 800 cowries. The Resident suggested a total fee of 1/- per month per child, rising to 2/6d. and then to 5/- as the pupil progressed and needed better tuition. 'He laid stress upon the teaching of English and said the government would rather pay more than have this excluded, as a knowledge of English would give children a so much better chance in life afterwards.'¹ Again there is the idea of education for a purely practical purpose - that the pupil may be useful and earn a living in the Protectorate.

The Resident's suggestions were, of course, subject to the High Commissioner's approval, and Lugard would not give the proposed Homes into the charge of missionaries. He corresponded with W.R.S. Miller of the Hausaland Mission on this subject. Lugard admitted the need of a man or woman

1. C.M.S. 1901 (N.) No.35, Dennis, Onitsha, 21 Feb. 1901; and enclosure, Sharpe, to Aitken, Lokoja, 13 Feb. 1901; also enclosure, Dennis to Sharpe, Onitsha, 14 Feb. 1901.

speaking Hausa, or quick to learn it, to take over the Government Freed Slaves' Home, but he insisted on retaining full control over the Home. He would have accepted a C.M.S. employee as matron if the Society would have been content with character training and would have agreed not to give a religious bias to the Institution.¹ The High Commissioner had already stated:

'I have little sympathy with change either of persons or place in mission work and still less with the mixture of political and mission work.'²

This fear of the transitory nature of mission appointments now re-appeared and Lugard said that he would not, 'consent to the position that the Head of such an Institution might at will resign, or be recalled or changed by the Council at home without my knowledge or concurrence.'³ These strictures and reservations were unwelcome to the C.M.S., and the freed slaves remained wholly the Government's responsibility until 1909.⁴

The C.M.S. work at Lokoja progressed very slowly. The missionaries could make no contacts beyond the original Christian circle of converts, and language barriers prevented

1. C.M.S. 1901 (H.) No.66, enclosure, Lugard to Miller, S.S. "Olenda", 12 April 1901. (Copy.)
2. C.O.446/15 No.14945, enclosure, Lugard to Tugwell, S.Y. "Heron", 27 March 1901. (Copy.)
3. C.M.S. 1901 (H.) No.66, enclosure, Lugard to Miller, S.S. "Olenda", 12 April 1901. (Copy.)
4. See below, Chapter V, p. 271.

the spread of the Gospels throughout Lokoja.¹ Yet the experience and success of the school-work there were sufficient for the Niger Mission to define the lines on which ^{the} embryonic school was to develop. At the beginning of 1903 a British schoolmaster was appointed with a Nigerian assistant. The schoolmaster was to devote seven and a half hours each week to the instruction of his pupil teachers.² Previously any interested boy had gone south to Onitsha for such training. The new system was in accordance with the Rules and Regulations for C.M.S. Elementary Schools³ which had been worked out at Onitsha. Only children who had attended lessons in reading and writing in the local vernacular might attend English instruction.⁴ In the Infants and in Standard I of the Primary Department children were to read in the vernacular, after which they were to have one vernacular and one English reading book.⁵ Geography might be taken from Standard III upwards but was, rather surprisingly, to be alternative to Grammar after Standard IV.⁶ Singing, object lessons and drill were compulsory throughout, as was Scripture.⁷ Scripture consisted

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1. C.M.S. 1903 (N.) No.119, Macintyre, Lokoja, 6 Nov. 1903.
 2. C.M.S. 1903 (N.) No.54, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, Feb. 1903.
 3. C.M.S. 1903 (N.) No.61, Rules and Regulations for C.M.S. Elementary Schools, 1 Jan. 1903.
 4. Ibid., Rule 59.
 5. Ibid., Rules 57, 58.
 6. Ibid., Rules 62, 63, 64.
 7. Ibid., Rules, 66, 62.

of set portions of the Old and the New Testaments, and Religious Knowledge covered the catechism, the life of Christ, and certain texts.¹ Unless a pupil passed in Religious Knowledge as well as in the 3Rs, he could not move up from a standard.² History was to be added from Standard V.³ Standards V and VI were those of the pupil teachers, and in these the boys covered the Wars of the Roses, the Tudor period and the Stuarts.⁴ The Reformation and the constitutional developments must have been difficult to teach and bewildering to the pupil. The Geography syllabus was far better related to his surroundings, for the schedule for examinations concentrated on Nigeria and Africa.⁵

In practice the Niger Mission found that children could not pass their vernacular examinations if they began to read in English in Standard II. At Onitsha, amongst the 160 children, the missionaries postponed English to Standard III, but were forced to return to the earlier introduction of that language because of the criticism and discontent amongst parents and children.⁶ Each educationalist has to decide whether to teach what he thinks his pupils should know, or to teach what they wish to learn: the two seldom seem to

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1. C.M.S. 1903 (N.) No.61, Rules and Regulations for C.M.S. Elementary Schools, 1 Jan. 1903. Rule 61.
 2. Ibid., Rule 55.
 3. Ibid., Rule 65.
 4. Ibid., Schedule III.
 5. Ibid.
 6. C.M.S. 1903 (N.) No.54, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 23 -28 Feb. 1903.

coincide. For the sake of their religious influence the missionaries this time sacrificed their educational principle.

These Rules and Schedules drawn up by the Niger Committee were for immediate use in Southern Nigeria and were to be followed as nearly as possible in the Northern Protectorate. Clearly any Freed Slaves' Home run by such rules would have become an Anglican institution. It is interesting to note in this connection that the High Commissioner reported in 1902 that a Roman Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost in Southern Nigeria wished to establish a mission at Ibo among the pagans 'and open a freed slaves' home and a freed slave village there. I have secured the necessary sites and I believe they intend to open a mission shortly.'¹ Lugard does not admit in so many words that he gave permission to the priests to open the home which they had planned, and in the event they did not. They changed their scheme while Lugard was on leave, and obtained the Acting-Governor's permission to enter Bassa² province, where the C.M.S. was already at work. Later, in 1905, the Mission withdrew from Northern Nigeria.³

The interesting point is that a freed slaves' home run by a Roman Catholic Mission would necessarily have had a religious bias. It is highly improbable that secular education

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1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.]
p.78.
 2. Parl.Pap. 1905 LII Report on N.N. for 1903 [Cd.2238-14.]
p.18.
 3. Parl.Pap. 1907 LIV Report on N.N. for 1905-6. [Cd.3285-3.]
p.55.

would have been provided. Therefore it appears that Lugard was being inconsistent in granting permission to one mission to open a freed slaves' home when he had already expressed the view that ex-slaves should be given secular education. As the Home did not materialize the point has no practical importance, but it does show that the High Commissioner had not yet really determined his attitude to missions in general, but would still consider individual cases as they occurred.

Lugard was annoyed that the Roman Catholic Mission had moved into Bassa province, for he disliked the Anglican and Catholic stations being so close to each other while so much of the Protectorate remained untouched. Perhaps his experience in Uganda accounts for his dislike of the new arrangement. The entry of missions offering different creeds each claiming to be able to bring converts to Christ can result in bewilderment and jealousies. Moreover, each mission has its own educational standard, and if a Resident approves one but not another, or the Administration gives a grant to one only - since one good school may serve its purposes better than several small ones - then accusations of religious bias are made. Yet because missions concentrate on strategic points, comparisons are often thrust before the Administration. One whisper of undue influence or favouritism, and comparisons become odious indeed.

The C.M.S. had another Protestant mission to consider as either a rival or a companion, for the Sudan Interior Mission,

which had accepted limitations similar to those imposed on Tugwell's original Hausaland party,¹ had acquired a site near Pategi at the confluence of the Niger and the Kaduna. Its educational aims were industrial, and Lugard provided cotton seed for the S.I.M. farm.² From Pategi this mission spread to Wushishi and Bida, at the request of the Resident of Nupe.

The missionaries grew vegetables successfully, but lost two thirds of the cotton crop because of boll worm. Lugard blamed their continual change of plans for their lack of progress and suggested that they should keep poultry at Wushishi and plant cotton and wheat for the Zungeru market.³ The poultry farm failed, and though they did some dispensing, the six men and two women of the mission who were in the Protectorate 1905 were not likely to be encouraged by Lugard to take any responsibility for the education of Nigerians, for the Governor wrote:-

'I am informed that they preach the equality of Europeans and natives, which, however true from a doctrinal point of view, is apt to be misapplied by people in a low stage of development, and interpreted as an abolition of class distinction.'⁴

Lugard rendered unto God and Caesar their dues as a Governor might do in the fourth year of Edward VII's reign.

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1. See above, Chapter I, pp. 23-4.
 2. Parl.Pap. 1903 XLIII Report on N.N. for 1901 [Cd.1388-1.] p.50: also 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] p.77.
 3. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904. [Cd.2684-22.] p.125.
 4. Parl.Pap. 1907 LIV Report on N.N. for 1905-6. [Cd.3285-3.] p.119.

The S.I.M.'s entry into Bida was only a few days ahead of the arrival of A.E. Ball (C.M.S.) to found a station there in 1903.¹ The next year saw the advent of another Mission in Nigeria, the Sudan United Mission. The S.U.M. and the S.I.M. were both Protestant missions with strong Free Church backing, and they even merged for a few months in 1906, but the merger was only temporary. The S.I.M. was Canadian in origin, concentrated on evangelization and was peripatetic during these early years in the Protectorate. Its industrial aims had no real success, and its schools existed only at the few permanent mission stations. Education was not in the fore-front of its programme.²

The Sudan United Mission was founded at Edinburgh in June 1904, because none of the existing societies of the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist or Presbyterian churches of Great Britain or Ireland was able to accept the care of the new field in the Sudan and to stem alone the tide of Islam.³ Four missionaries under Dr. Karl Kumm arrived in the Protectorate in September of that same year, and they were allowed to set up a station at Wase in north Muri. The party wished to teach the pagans to use new agricultural tools, to make bricks

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1. C.M.S. 1903 (N.) No.119, Macintyre, Lokoja, 6 Nov. 1903.
 2. E.S. Horn, Sec. S.I.M., to writer, London, 31 May 1951.
 3. S.U.M. Lightbearer, XIV, June 1918, pp.84-5.

and to speak a little English, and also to encourage farming in order to end the famines which caused parents to sell their children into slavery when they could no longer feed them.¹ The missionaries preached and itinerated around Wase, but they suffered from various illnesses.²

The net educational result of these missions to the pagans was slight by the end of Lugard's period as High Commissioner. Work had been curtailed by the limitations set to mission expansion in districts which were part pagan and part Mohammedan, and where some at least of the population understood the benefits of literacy. Thus the S.I.M. was 'requested' to desist from work in Wase Town because the Mohammedan chief objected to the presence of Christian missionaries.³ Similarly, although pagan Pategi, in the province of Ilorin, was open to missionaries,⁴ Ilorin town was closed to them because that town was predominantly Mohammedan and the Emir objected when consulted about the establishment there of a C.M.S. station.⁵

Yet there was no formulated policy in 1903 whereby all

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1. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904. [Cd.2684-22.] p.126.
 2. Parl.Pap. 1907 LIV Report on N.N. for 1905-6. [Cd.3285-3.] p.119.
 3. Ibid.
 4. See above, p.83.
 5. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14.] p.77.

missions were to be kept from all Mohammedan provinces, regardless of circumstances. On the contrary, both the C.M.S. and the S.I.M. established stations at Bida in that year with the Emir of Bida's concurrence.¹ Lugard was prepared to welcome their advent because Bida was linked by telegraph with Lokoja and firmly under British control. Co-operation between Resident and Emir was emphasized when A.E. Ball (C.M.S.) asked for a site on which to build. He applied to the Resident for permission, but was allotted the land by the Emir. In this case a plot 65 x 83 yards was obtained, and labour was provided to build the compound wall, the two stables and the eight round houses, with verandahs and beaten earth floors. The cost to the C.M.S. was £41.²

At Bida the C.M.S. began an educational experiment which met with initial success. The first plan was to open a school in September 1904 for Nupe reading and writing in the Roman character.³ Lugard claimed that it was at his suggestion that there was to be a class for mallams as the first real attempt to encourage court officials to write Hausa in Roman script, 'being more adapted to express its sounds and readable by every political officer.'⁴ The C.M.S. papers do not mention

1. C.M.S. 1903 (N.) No.119, Macintyre, Lokoja, 6 Nov. 1903.

2. C.M.S. 1904 (N.) No.94, Alvarez, Lokoja, 10 Aug. 1904.

3. Ibid.

4. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904.
[Cd.2684-22.] p.124-5.

the origin of the scheme nor name Lugard at all in connection with it, but the Resident at Bida promised to send mallams and to pay their fees,¹ and so one may accept Lugard's full participation in the plan.

The C.M.S. on the other hand had neither the men nor the money to spare and therefore could not sanction a strong advance in Bida,² but the Parent Committee did provide Ball with two West Indian assistants, Macfarlane and Gordon. Their school hours were to be 7 a.m. to 9 a.m.; the subjects were to be Scripture, Geography, a little Singing, and reading and writing in the vernaculars. The textbooks were to be Labarin Allah, the C.M.S. Hausa St. Mark, Bible stories translated by Dr. Miller, and any C.M.S. Nupe translations available, although in 1903 little had been done in that language by the Niger Mission. Fees were to be 1/- a month for students working in Hausa, but only 6d. a month for Nupe. English was to be taught later, when proficiency in the vernacular had been acquired.³ Lugard, however, reported 'some progress... in the teaching of English'⁴ a few months after the classes had begun. Perhaps the missionaries had given way to the

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1. C.M.S. 1904 (N.) No.101, Executive Committee Minutes, Onitsha, 29 Aug. 1904.
 2. C.M.S. 1904 (N.) No.10, Macintyre, Lokoja, 18 Dec. 1903; and No.15, Harford, London, 27 Jan. 1904.
 3. C.M.S. 1904 (N.) No.101, Executive Committee Minutes, Onitsha, 29 Aug. 1904.
 4. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904. [Cd.2684-22.] p.125.

wishes of their adult pupils in introducing English so soon.

Another divergence is shown by Lugard's statement that the curriculum was 'entirely secular.'¹ Religious Instruction was not on the time-table, and the original plan for the teaching of Scripture was not extended to those mallams sent by the Resident, but the Niger Mission had very clear religious aims and intentions:

'As we shall use the Gospels as text-books and carefully chosen texts as writing copies, I feel it will be very definitely a missionary opportunity. Also if people see these mallams coming to us for teaching we shall possibly later on be able to open a school on more definite missionary lines.'²

Thus wrote the Field Secretary.

The boys' class at Bida seemed at first quite successful and the average attendance of ten per session gradually increased. The mallams' class, on the other hand, dwindled over the first five months, when only a few stalwarts were left. The mission was uncertain whether the indirect religious teaching was the cause of this falling off in attendance.³ In the light of the later Zaria experiment, it must be accepted as the major cause of the failure of the Bida mallams' class. The mallams were old enough, and intelligent enough, to appreciate the underlying aim of that mission class. Thus

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1. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904. [Cd.2684-22.] p.125.
 2. C.M.S. 1904 (N.) No.94, Alvarez, Lokoja, 10 Aug. 1904.
 3. C.M.S. 1905 (N.) No.50, Executive Committee Minutes, Onitsha, 28 Feb. 1905.

the weakness of Government-mission co-operation for the education of Mohammedans - a weakness inherent in any combination when the partners' unity of aim is not complete and entire - was illustrated on a small scale prior to the Zaria experiment of 1906 to 1908. The scale was too small however for the lesson to be conclusive, and therefore it was not cited for or against Miller's Zaria plan. Yet the one perennial mission problem had already appeared in the Protectorate. Missionaries are, and always will be, evangelists first and educationalists second, or they are untrue to their vocation. This fact makes their work harder, because they are teaching men to read that they may read the Bible; they are training converts to be evangelists and catechists as well as teachers. The clever teacher is not always a steadfast Christian however, and the faithful evangelist cannot always teach. In the case of Bida, the C.M.S. project was made possible by the Administration's support given for educational reasons, but no mission station could do entirely secular work.

Thus by 1905, as Lugard's term of office drew to a close, the provision of education for the peoples of the Protectorate had still not received any adequate attention. Certain facts had emerged, however, including the need for education suitable for Mohammedans on the one hand, and on the other for pagans of different tribes, speaking different languages and not using Hausa as a lingua franca. Since the Mohammedan character of the Hausa states was being supported

by the Administration, the education of Mohammedans was the more pressing question and the one which would show practical results more quickly from the Government's point of view. The education of Mohammedans would therefore be a better immediate investment for whatever revenues might be spared, than would the education of the pagans. Yet the religious significance of education to the Mohammedan Hausa or Fulani complicated the matter and involved the political relations of the central Administration and the Native Administrations. The unsettled question was whether the mission societies would be allowed to attempt to provide schools for pagans and Mohammedans, supposing that their often limited and always incalculable resources made the dual provision possible.

The Hausaland (C.M.S.) Mission remained the only mission to the Mohammedans, despite the extension of the Niger Mission into Bida - an overlapping which had soon to be clarified by the creation of the Northern Nigeria Mission in 1906, to be responsible for the whole field of C.M.S. work in the Northern Protectorate.¹ The Hausaland mission had been based at Ghierko since 1902² and Miller, Tugwell's successor as its leader, had established a very cordial personal relationship with the High Commissioner. Miller was developing an increasing interest in the Mohammedan population of Hausaland,

1. See below, Chapter V, p. 244.

2. The Mission's plans and attempts to move from Ghierko are discussed in Chapter III.

coupled with an intense desire for its conversion. A doctor and an able linguist, he had been appointed one of the first examiners for the Government Hausa examinations set for political staff.¹ He helped to translate proclamations.² He had even been approached with the tentative offer of Resident's rank and a province if he would change from the service of the C.M.S. to that of the Government.³ Lugard thought more highly of Miller than of any other missionary at this period,⁴ and Miller was prepared to use any influence that esteem gave him in the service of his Society and of the Mohammedans. That was his object.

Miller's method was unexpected in a doctor, for whom medical work might be thought to have most appeal, for he decided that the provision of education would afford the C.M.S. the best method of arousing the interest and respect of Mohammedan Hausaland.⁵ This conclusion, coupled with Miller's personal contact with Lugard, gave rise to the Zaria plan. It was an experiment at close co-operation between the C.M.S. and the Administration involving a unique degree of compromise. The compromise was deliberate and sincere on Miller's part.

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1. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904.
[Cd.2684-22.] p.7.
 2. C.M.S. 1902 (H.) No.24, Miller, Ghierko, 29 Sept. 1902.
 3. Ibid., Nos.14 and 23, Miller, Ghierko, 7 May and
5 Sept. 1902.
 4. C.M.S. 1903 (H.) No.37, Lugard, Abinger, 27 Oct. 1903.
 5. Ibid., No.25, Miller, Ghierko, 26 May 1903.

He recognized the importance and integrity of the Mohammedan emirates in that system of Indirect Rule which he watched Lugard create in the Protectorate. Miller recognized that an education system based on that political reality would have the best chance of taking root, and he intended to obtain a lead in education in the Mohammedan provinces for the C.M.S. Whatever compromise or sacrifice had to be made, here, for Miller, lay the Church's opportunity.

CHAPTER III

The C.M.S.'s Experiment at Zaria and its failure.

Dr. Miller's scheme for the education of mallams and of the sons of chiefs at Zaria, where he was the superintendent of the C.M.S. Hausaland Mission station, was the first detailed plan for education in Northern Nigeria. From this one station it was hoped that the successful experiment would develop to fulfil the educational need of the Protectorate, recognized by both mission and administration.¹ Years afterwards Miller wrote:-

' I could have done a great deal for the education of the country before the Education Department got into its stride much later on, but this again was feared to have elements which would excite the suspicion of the Moslem rulers.'² Thus he passed over his early work and this important attempt by the C.M.S. to develop, with the support of Lugard, an education system for the Mohammedan provinces.

The idea was conceived in 1903, when Miller, who had three years' experience of the Protectorate, sent his

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1. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No.36, Miller, Northwold, 29 June 1906.
 2. W.R.S. Miller: Reflections of a Pioneer (C.M.S., London, 1936) p.93.

observations on various pressing questions to Salisbury Square, with the request that the C.M.S. should pass them on to Lugard, who was then on leave. Education was one point to which Miller had devoted much consideration. In the document which he forwarded, he condemned the existing Koranic schools in which the highest education was the committing of the Koran and the Commentaries to heart. 'The encouragement of these schools, the giving of grants to them or any other proceeding in connection with them is bound to be entirely barren', he declared. He suggested that West Indians or Christian Yoruba from Lagos, Oyo or Ibadan would make the best teachers for the Northern Provinces at that time, and he looked forward to the day when the C.M.S. would have sufficient men in the Protectorate to work out a definite educational programme. Almost casually, Miller then touched upon the point on which his Zaria plan was later to founder:-

' It is of course a principle of all our work that education is never separated from the teaching of the Christian faith. Should Your Excellency see your way soon to put every facility in our way for really taking up this work without restriction, I have great hope that a most difficult problem may be attacked and dealt with the dense ignorance which breeds disloyalty will only break down in this country through

1. C.M.S. 1903 (H.) No. 25, Miller, Ghierko, 26 May 1903.

two means, Christianity and education.¹

Without further defining the type of school which he was considering, Miller then suggested a form of bribery to gain pupils and break the apathy of the Hausa people, some of whom, he realized, were needed by the Government in its offices as clerks and interpreters. He suggested that the father of a boy who attended school regularly, learned English and showed some aptitude, should be granted exemption from part of the annual tax. 'It is a desperately sordid unimaginative people and such methods seem the only ones, apart from Christianity, that will touch them.'² So Miller half excused this suggestion.

Lugard expressed his interest in these suggestions, admitting that he had already been corresponding with James Currie of Gordon College, Khartoum, about Mohammedans education. Perhaps in this Lugard was influenced by Singh's earlier suggestion,³ but the position in ^{Northern Nigeria} N.A.N.A. remained the same. Lugard pointed out to Miller that there were no funds, and that any diminution of taxes as suggested would only aggravate the financial situation. Moreover the total lack of schools made the discussion of such details unprofitable

1. C.M.S. 1903 (H.) No. 25, Miller, Ghierko, 26 May 1903.

2. Ibid.

3. See above, Chapter II, p. 62.

for, 'it is, like everything else, largely a matter of money.'¹ At the same time the Governor did ask Miller to send him the names of useful Yoruba boys and the rate of pay they would require as teachers, and he also enquired in general terms what facilities the C.M.S. would require for taking up educational work in the Protectorate.²

The Society took no steps to answer or act upon these enquiries. The desire to press forward into the main Mohammedan centres was absorbing the home and field committees. The stemming of the tide of Islam was the chief topic, not education.

Miller himself wished to leave Ghierko, as he had little hope of any results in that village. He had already seen Lugard in March 1903, and obtained his permission to go to Kano or Katsina to reconnoitre. It was agreed that Miller might put in a further request for a permanent station at either of these towns if the C.M.S. later desired one. Lugard freely admitted that he disliked the idea of Christian missionaries working amongst the Mohammedans, but 'he quite understood that he had no reason for keeping us out of any part of this country except where there were definite troubles anticipated.'³ Thus Miller knew, when he made his observations

1. C.M.S. 1903 (H.) No. 33, Lugard, Abinger, 5 Sept. 1903.

2. Ibid.

3. C.M.S. 1903 (H.) No. 9, Miller, Ghierko, 7 March 1903.

on education that he would be moving north when hostilities with Sokoto had ceased. Men and the move, and the general question of mission expansion rather than the particular one of education were absorbing him at the time.

Salisbury Square gave Miller permission to move from Ghierko¹, but the shortage of men was so great - despite the recent additions of the Revs. Low and Lacy to the Hausa field - that the Ghierko station was to be closed, unless Bargery could return from furlough before Miller moved to Kano in October 1903.² Even the C.M.S.'s Loko premises had been left unoccupied and the Government was enquiring whether the Mission wished to retain the site. Meanwhile the house was being used as a lodging for travelling officials.³ Yet Miller was determined to go further north, believing that the most worthwhile work could be done in the Mohammedan towns which had some tradition of learning, of scholarship and medicine. There he thought a mission might thrive on opposition rather than be smothered by indifferent toleration, as at Gierka. The latter he hoped to retain as a centre for itineration, but it had too many disadvantages as a permanent station. For six months of the year the station school was empty while everyone was farming. In the great towns Miller hoped to find the merchants

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1. C.M.S. Letterbook N. (1898-1905) p. 413 SS to Miller, 24 April 1903. Also p. 397, 30 Jan. 1903.
 2. C.M.S. 1903 (H.) No. 13, Miller, Ghierko, 28 April 1903.
 3. Ibid No. 17, Miller, Ghierko, 13 May 1903.

and artisans, as well as the mallams, possessed of wider interests or more leisure and able to give their children a longer childhood and the time for schooling.¹

Miller's reasoning foreshadows the action of Vischer, who in 1910 chose Kano as his initial attacking point, and from there developed a network of schools at the main towns of the Provinces. In 1903, however, Miller lost his opportunity to go to Kano. The C.M.S. had appointed a sub-committee, 'to consider the relative claims of certain openings among the Moslems and Pagans, especially in the Sudan and Hausa states, and the methods of work to be followed where advantage is to be taken of these openings.'² Fully aware of the suspicions entertained by Lugard as to the Hausaland Mission's reliability ever since the first unfortunate expedition to Kano, the sub-committee declared that in Hausaland care should be taken 'to avoid as far as possible anything which would at the outset arouse the opposition of the Moslems or would cause such anxiety to the authorities as to lead to restrictions being placed by them upon the work consequently it is desirable to begin as far as possible in places that are predominantly pagan, seeking to influence the stronger Moslem centres from a distance and so perhaps ultimately to win a welcome into such

1. C.M.S. 1903(M)No. 28, Miller, Zaria, 11 June 1903.

2. C.M.S. 1903 (Egypt) No. 82, Report to the General Committee, 14 July 1903.

centres in a direct way.¹

The report continued by recommending that the next Hausaland station should be a small medical one at a place like Yakoba in Bauchi district, but as the sub-committee believed that Miller's gifts for literary and translation work merited special attention, he was to be asked to put before it any considerations favouring his paying a temporary visit to Kano or Katsina for linguistic purposes.²

The controlling committee and its agent held opposed views. Miller thought that this report would encourage Lugard to stress his private inclination for mission work amongst the pagans, although previously Miller had been able to rely on Lugard's sense of justice to overcome his bias. As Miller had no intention of merely studying Hausa and Arabic at Kano, he gave up his autumn journey, despite the fact that he had obtained written permission for it from the Acting High Commissioner.³

Wallace, who held that rank while Lugard was on leave, was under the impression that the latter had given Miller permission to choose a permanent site for a C.M.S. station in either Katsina or Kano. This misapprehension was made clear

1. C.M.S. 1903 (Egypt) No. 82, Report to the General Committee, 14 July 1903.

2. Ibid.

3. C.M.S. 1903 (H.) No. 36, Miller, Ghierko, 13 Sept. 1903.

to Lugard by a letter from Wallace, and the High Commissioner wrote at once to Salisbury Square protesting sharply that he was not prepared to grant such a concession unless the relevant Mohammedan emir's opinion had been invited and had proved favourable. Lugard said that his Residents believed that otherwise distrust would be created, and he was not prepared to disregard that view, although he would like to know the C.M.S.'s opinion. It appears that Miller's hope of educational and other work at Kano had been over-optimistic. Of Miller, Lugard wrote:-

' I have rarely met with a missionary who so favourably impressed me. But a Mission which Dr. Miller may found cannot be always under his supervision, and even supposing that an experiment made under his guidance and control did not produce untoward political results, it is possible that when his commonsense and experience and tact were withdrawn a different result might follow.'¹

The reply made by the C.M.S. was intended to inspire confidence in its motives and methods. Lugard was assured of the Society's wish to work unobtrusively, but the idea that a mission should await the invitation of a Mohammedan chief was deprecated, as offering an opportunity for indifference, rather than dislike based on knowledge, to limit the sphere

1. C.M.S. 1903 (H.) No. 37, Lugard, Abinger, 27 Oct. 1903.

of the Christian church. The C.M.S. explained that men "called" to Mohammedan service could not be turned aside easily to pagan fields.¹ Yet Miller was sent a telegram which, decoded, read rather euphemistically, 'No encouragement to go on.'² Kano's first schools were not to be mission ones.

During the period of Miller's hopeful plans, in June 1903, he had commented on E.D. Morel's criticisms of the first Kano expedition, and had admitted that bitter experience had taught him the folly of a dramatic approach to an emir, and that only fear had been aroused by the Kano expedition's procedure.³ Miller was prepared now to work quietly and tactfully, but he was firm on his difference with Lugard over the Kano offer. He believed that he had quoted only Lugard's own words to Wallace, and commented on the difficulties of dealing orally with a Governor.⁴ He despaired of entering Kano or Sokoto if the concurrence of the Emirs had first to be obtained.⁵

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1. C.M.S. Letterbook N. (1898-1905) p. 473, S.S. to Lugard, 4 Dec. 1903.
 2. Ibid., p. 471, S.S. to Miller, 4 Dec. 1903.
 3. C.M.S. 1903 (H.) No. 28, Miller, Zaria, 11 June 1903.
 4. Miller overlooked the fact that on his own evidence (see above p. 96) he had been told to apply for a permanent site at a later date, but had not been promised one.
 5. C.M.S. 1904 (H.) No. 4, Miller, Ghierko, 24 Dec. 1903.

For a year Miller was forced to let his plans lapse. He came to England on furlough in the spring of 1904 after having seen Lugard again at Zungeru and pressed for entry into some town of reasonable size east of Kano.¹ Persistence bore fruit in 1905.

In his capacity as an examiner for the Government Hausa examinations, Miller had impressed several officials. Sharpe, the Resident at Kontagora, celebrated passing his examination by sending Miller the gratuity of £10 given by the Administration to successful entrants. The money was to be used as a contribution towards a schoolroom at Ghierko.² Sharpe's enthusiasm appeared³ to affect the Emir of Kontagora. The latter had visited Zungeru while Miller was staying with Wallace at Government House. The Emir arrived to salute Wallace ceremonially and thus symbolize Kontagora's desire to work at peace with the Administration. Miller's hopes were raised when, in a talk with the Emir - to whom he had been introduced as a missionary and a friend of the Governor - he was invited to Kontagora. Sharpe supported the Emir's request, which was repeated in a letter.⁴ Lugard had to be consulted,⁵ but in

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1. C.M.S. 1904 (H.) No. 11, Memo of interview between Miller and C.M.S. representatives, London, 22 April 1904.
 2. C.M.S. 1905 (H.) No. 13, Miller, Ghierko, 15 Jan. 1905.
 3. See below, p. 124.
 4. C.M.S. 1905 (H.) No. 22, C.U.M.P. Notes, April 1905, p.5.
 5. Ibid., No.20, Miller, Ghierko, 26 Feb.1905.

the event Miller went to Zaria, not Kontagora.

The invitation to live in Zaria town was received by Miller in March 1905. It came from Orr, the Resident, and from the Emir of Zaria.¹ Then Lugard made a definite offer to the mission - an offer more generous than any he had yet made. His wire read:-

'Permission to establish mission in Kano granted provided that establishment is in European quarter - wire at once whether mission wishes to establish now at Kontagora, Kano or Zaria.'² Miller replied that he wished to settle in Zaria but hoped, 'to take advantage of your offer of Kano and Kontagora after Autumn.'³ Miller saw Zaria as a base for further expansion, but he was disappointed that, because of the sub-committee's report and existing conditions, that expansion had to be postponed:-

'Sorry as I am to have the door opened in Kontagora and not be able to go in I feel that with the small number of men at our disposal it would not be right, this season anyhow, to start fresh work beyond Zaria.... It is a bad thing after hammering the Government for three years to open the door to us, now the opposition is breaking down not

1. C.M.S. 1905 (H.) No. 23, Miller, Ghierko, 9 March 1905.

2. Ibid., No. 26, Miller, Zaria, 11 April 1905.

3. Ibid.

to be able to avail ourselves of the change.¹

This regret was to be intensified later when the Government offer was not renewed although the Society was prepared for expansion. Clearly in 1905 Lugard was agreeable to controlled expansion by Miller and the C.M.S. in Nigeria, and for the missionaries to evangelize and to do hospital and school work at stations in picked Mohammedan towns. The Society missed an opportunity.

This failure was emphasized for Miller by the fact that the Zaria work proved congenial. Miller was now in daily contact with the intelligent mallam class to whom the idea of education was no new thing. In fact, it was some time before the Zaria mallams accepted Miller as an educated man. The belief prevalent amongst them was that the Englishman was an official or a soldier, a man of action, but not a scholar. Gradually, they accepted Miller and discussed the Koran and the New Testament with him, and one bold spirit chose to study Hausa in the Roman script. In three months he was reading, and about eight other mallams followed his lead. The reading matter was St. John's and St. Mark's Gospels in Miller's Hausa translations.² This occasion was the first successful approach to Mohammedan men.

In the first flush of enthusiasm Miller recommended

1. C.M.S. 1905 (H.) No. 23, Miller, Ghierko, 9 March 1905.

2. Ibid., No. 45, Miller, Zaria, 12 Sept. 1905.

that women missionaries, who had been trained in elementary or kindergarten schoolwork, should be sent out to organize work amongst the Zaria women and girls. These teachers would also need some knowledge of housekeeping, cookery and nursing.¹ Within a few months Miller withdrew the recommendation, for the Administration believed that the presence of women doing such work might upset Mohammedan susceptibilities. Miller wrote to Salisbury Square that the arrival of a missionary's wife in the Protectorate would be very tactless unless Lugard had been notified in advance.² Both Bargery and Druitt had their wives in Northern Nigeria at the time.³ The year ended with Miller receiving permission from Lugard to go forward to Kontagora in January 1906.⁴ However, the missionary had to return to London for discussions at Salisbury Square in the Spring of 1906, and therefore could not avail himself of the offer. As the offer had been made to him personally, the Mission could not send anyone else to Kontagora.⁵

One of the matters which Miller discussed with Group III Committee was his education scheme. The schoolwork at Zaria had

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1. C.M.S. 1905 (H.) No. 39, Memo. on Women Missionaries, Miller, Zaria, 11 July 1905.
 2. Ibid., Nos. 50, 51, 53, Miller, Zaria, 11 and 12 Sept. and 28 Oct. 1905.
 3. Ibid.
 4. C.M.S. 1905 (H.) No. 54, Miller, Zaria, 12 Oct. 1905.
 5. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 23, Memo of meeting between Miller and C.M.S. officials, London, 6 April 1906.

absorbed his interest, for he found it more useful than medical work in bringing him into contact with the people of Zaria. He had had to adapt the methods tried out on the pagans of Gnienzo to a people at a higher level civilization,¹ and followed this change by a serious consideration of education for Mohammedans. Whether Miller first consulted Lugard or vice versa is not clear, but by February 1906 enough detail had been worked out for Miller to ask the C.M.S. for another West Indian teacher for Zaria to be recruited through the West Indian Council. Miller already had the help of one, Thompson, and this request for reinforcement was a preparatory move before the education scheme was put into action. The consultations with Lugard had been 'on the subject of education for all the Protectorate',² and Miller arrived in England with his ambitious plan.

This was sent in written form to Salisbury Square, to be forwarded by the C.M.S. to Lugard. The plan would not be official until accepted by the C.M.S. Group III Committee. That committee, however, refused even to discuss the proposals until Lugard's opinion of them was known.³ From the first discussions promised to be involved and prolonged.

The plan as written down by Miller shows a surprising

1. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 5, Miller, Zaria, 4 Dec. 1905.
2. Ibid., No. 19, Miller, Zungeru, 13 Feb. 1906.
3. Ibid., No. 25, Miller, Exeter, 13 April 1906: also Group III Committee, Resolution VIII of 1906.

degree of co-operation between Governor and missionary, and it is clear that both were approaching the question with sincerity. In 1906 there was still every possibility that mission education might become as widespread in the Northern Protectorate, as it was already in Southern Nigeria. Lugard believed that whilst the Government depended on an imperial grant-in-aid, it could not undertake chief financial responsibility for education.¹ In 1902 his desire had been limited to teaching the children of the Government Freed Slaves' Home English, and to the substitution throughout the Protectorate of the Roman character for the Arabic.² The latter was a point he stressed continually in his Annual Reports.³ In his Report for 1905-06 he had progressed as far as a four point plan:

- a) Mallams should be taught the Roman character for writing Hausa, colloquial English, arithmetic and geography.
- b) a school or college for the sons of chiefs should be established, where the pupils would be boarders and would receive a primary education, and be so trained in the virtues of patriotism, honesty, loyalty, etc. that they would become enlightened rulers. They were not to imbibe such western ideas as would cause them to lose

1. Parl. Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904 [Cd.2684-22] p.143 n.
 2. Parl.Pap.1909 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1907-8 [Cd.3285-3.] p.78.
 3. Parl.Pap.1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904 [Cd.2684-22.] p.126

the respect of their subjects, nor should they necessarily forego their religion.

- c) Secular general primary schools should be established throughout the Protectorate.
- d) Cantonment schools for the education of children of clerks and other Government officials should be set up, that Coastal clerks need no longer send their children away for education - a practice which deterred clerks from applying for work in the Northern Protectorate.¹

Lugard was essentially practical. He needed satisfied clerks, capable officials and loyal Emirs and so his plan catered for them. Although general primary education might follow one day, 1905 was not a suitable time to consider it in detail and therefore it could be dismissed in one sentence - but a sentence containing the one vital adjective, "secular".

In that 1905 Report Lugard stated that Miller had a plan to cover (a) and (b), adding, "I have considerable hopes of the success of such a scheme."² These hopes were probably founded on the fact that Lugard approved of the work which Miller had already done at Zaria and of the attempt on similar lines being carried on at Bida, the other C.M.S. Mohammedan station³ in the Northern Provinces. The boys' school there

1. Parl.Pap.1907 LIV Report on N.N. for 1905-6 [Ca.3285-3.7
p.p.119-20.]

2. Ibid., p. 120.

3. Ibid., p. 118.

had twenty-nine pupils by September 1906, six of whom studied English.¹

Indeed when Lugard left the Protectorate in 1906, his tone towards the C.M.S. was very favourable. He declared that the Government owed a debt to the C.M.S. for the useful work it had done at Bida, and that much good had resulted from the the Emir of Zaria's habit of consulting Miller on social conditions and on certain abuses.²

Yet the Governor was not blind to the overwhelming need of the vast Protectorate. He complained that British Central Africa, a Protectorate one-sixth the size of Northern Nigeria, had 36,000 children attending 720 mission schools - all unassisted by grants-in-aid - in conditions not more difficult and amongst people not more intelligent than those of Northern Nigeria.³ Therefore he received Miller's plan from the C.M.S. in April 1906 with great interest. Both he and Miller were then in England.

Miller's plan had two sections, both of which he was prepared to put into practice at any Mohammedan town Lugard chose, but preferably at Zaria. First Miller dealt with the literate mallam class who would begin to appreciate the new

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1. Parl.Pap.1908 LXIX Report on N.N. for 1906-7 [Cd.3729-15.7
p.38
 2. Parl.Pap.1907 LIV Report on N.N. for 1905-6 [Cd.3285-3.7
p.118
 3. Ibid., pp.120-1.

régime only when the adoption of the Roman script had made communication between them and the white officials easier. Miller suggested that emir of each province should be requested by the Governor to select two mallams, versed in Koranic scholarship but preferably not courtiers. They should stay for six months near Miller's compound and for the first three months receive lessons in reading and writing Hausa in the Roman script. Afterwards they should receive three months' instruction in elementary geography, grammar, arithmetic and hygiene, including public health and sanitation. Lessons would occupy two hours each day and neither Miller nor his assistants would give any religious instruction in that time. However neither the local Resident nor the Emir was to be allowed to hinder the mallams visiting Miller at any other time, when he would consider himself free to treat them as visitors 'seeking instruction, religious or otherwise.' Miller promised not to interfere with his pupils' religious observances nor to use his position to force anything upon them. Once the school was established he was to have sole authority within it, and he agreed to supply all apparatus, though the Government should pay £10.15 p.a. to any Northern Nigerian teachers who might be helping him.¹ These were the proposals.

How much the mallams would learn in two hours per day

1. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 26, Miller to Lugard, Exeter,
4 April 1906.

for six months is a moot point and whether the class was to meet on the holy days of Sunday and Friday was not considered. Admittedly this was to be a six months' experiment, but the pupils would have had to be intelligent and already possessed of a scholarly approach to benefit from so short a course.

Miller was prepared to welcome any visit of inspection from a Resident, or emir of both the mallams' and the boys' classes. The boys' school was the second part of his plan. It was to be a boarding school for the sons of chiefs. Lugard had been considering the possibility of sending such boys to Gordon College, Khartoum, but Miller argued that the long journey would be expensive, parents would be reluctant to send their children so far, and only older boys could be sent. He suggested that pupils might be influenced by subversive elements in the Eastern Sudan and return to the Protectorate less loyal than when they left.¹

Miller's alternative was a boarding school run in conjunction with the mallams' school. He suggested that each emir should be asked to send two sons, or two children of important families in his province, aged 12-16 years. They would live with Miller, and the emirs should be told that Miller was a white mallam in whom Lugard had the utmost confidence. Miller hoped that Lugard's emphatic declaration

1. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 26 , Miller to Lugard, Exeter,
4 April 1906.

that in no way should the religion of the people be interfered with would be taken as sufficient guarantee of the childrens' safety. The emirs would be told that the pupils would be encouraged to fulfil their religious duties, but Miller warned Lugard that the Residents should not say too much on this point to the emirs for fear of arousing doubts through over-protestations. Each emir was to pay whatever sum the Governor considered adequate for the support of the two boys and for the school materials which they used. The money was to be paid to Miller for the C.M.S. The school itself was to be built on ground given by the emir of whatever town was chosen by Lugard as the place for these experiments.¹

The first and last conditions which Miller suggested to Lugard are most interesting. The first was that the boys' school should run for a year, during which period it would be in the complete control of Miller and Thompson, his West Indian assistant. At the end of the year Lugard, in conference with the Residents and Emirs, was to decide, 'the value of, the success of, and advisability of continuing the school.'² So far the conditions were most reasonable but the last point bore the seeds of trouble.

'While I definitely pledge myself in no way to interfere with any part of the religious duties of these Mohammedan

1. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 26, Miller to Lugard, Exeter,
4 April 1906.

2. Ibid.

boys, nevertheless must be left perfectly free to give them whatever positive religious instruction I like, which I can assure Your Excellency, who will trust me, will never consist of an attack on, or abuse of, their own religion, which would from any point of view be wrong and useless with boys. They would attend the usual morning and evening prayers with all the rest of the household and beyond that is the atmosphere which is bound to pervade a house where the life and teaching and love of Christ are paramount. My aim will be so to permeate these boys with a sense of justice, righteousness, truth, purity, cleanliness and manliness (none of which they have!) that another day, even though not while at school, they will think of these things in connection with those they knew as Christians and, from that, weigh the claims of what was taught them of our Master and Saviour.¹

The sincerity of that passage shows the heart of the missionary, and makes it clear also that the Zaria school was Miller's means to an end somewhat different from that envisaged by Lugard. Yet it was clear that only Lugard's influence would win the emir's co-operation or acquiescence in the scheme. Lugard trusted Miller and therefore there was a chance that the emirs would accept Miller. If the emirs understood the implications of Miller's conditions and arrangements, then they might

1. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 26, Miller to Lugard, Exeter,
4 April 1906.

well lose faith not only in the school, but also in the Governor. Miller was being quite honest with Lugard, but that was as far as honesty could go: the story told to the emirs would have to be a carefully abridged edition.

The plan does, however, show a certain courageous acceptance of the position in the Protectorate in 1906. There was to be a small, inexpensive beginning, but from that centre mallams might later be sent to begin primary schools in other provinces, thus enlarging the one school into a system: moreover, the welfare of the country would be promoted by the training offered to the next generation of officials in the Native Administrations. Miller, like Lugard,¹ looked ahead and pinned his faith on the next generation. All was to depend, however, on the degree of trust between Government and Mission Society, and between Resident and Emir. Miller was relying on the Governor, on his personality and the respect in which he was held in the Protectorate.

Lugard had expressed his dislike of transitory missions;² now Miller was faced with the termination of Lugard's governorship. All seemed well. Lugard admitted his anxiety to forward education in the Protectorate, and that he was prepared to support the adoption of Miller's scheme with, so Miller wrote,

1. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N.for 1902 [Cd.1768-14.]
p.26.

2. C.M.S. 1904 (H.) No. 67, Lugard to Miller, S.S."Olenda",
12 April 1901

'practically no amendments.'¹ Lugard gave up his own idea of sending boys to Gordon College, Khartoum and said that he would suggest grants-in-aid to further the work at the Zaria schools. The one cloud on the horizon was that Lugard did not expect to return to Nigeria and that a new Governor, lacking his experience and knowledge of the C.M.S. in Hausaland, might not take the same attitude. Miller admitted that his relationship with Lugard was, 'the result of long mutual knowledge, and is from a logical point of view, on educational grounds, a difficult and perhaps an anomalous one for a Government to take.'² His great encouragement was that Lugard was prepared to put the matter at once before Elgin, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to try to hasten the adoption of the plan before the end of his term of office.³

'He desires that this will only be a stepping stone to our further taking up the whole question of education of all the people, lower classes etc. and trusts that this will follow as a natural development.'⁴ Thus wrote Miller with enthusiastic emphasis, but he admitted that Lugard disliked the idea of the boys receiving actual Christian doctrine in school.⁵ Any plan

1. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 36, Miller, Northwold, 29 June 1906.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., and No. 44, Memo. of meeting of Lugard and C.M.S. representatives, London, 23 July 1906.

with the ultimate aim of establishing C.M.S. Christian schools throughout the Protectorate with the active co-operation of the Administration ought to have been weighed against the statements Lugard had already made as to the desirability of secular Government schools, and the unethical basis that force supplied by Government gave to unpopular missions.¹ Religious instruction had to be given in all C.M.S. schools in accordance with the Regulations of 1883.²

Miller must have realized that Lugard's dislike of anything that might be construed as Government-supported religious propaganda, might grow into an impediment to the Zaria schools, for Miller and Alvarez, now Secretary of the Northern Nigeria Mission, combined to urge the C.M.S. to waive the regulation which made religious instruction compulsory at all C.M.S. schools. The two men explained the seriousness of the crisis, and the opportunity offered to the Society and suggested that in this instance the example of Christian teachers should be relied on in place of definite religious instruction.³

Before any reply to this request was received, Miller's fear was realized. In September, he was told by Lugard that the plan would be held up because the latter was not returning

1. C.M.S. 1907 (H.) No. 78, Monroe, Liskeard, 19 Sept. 1907: also Letterbook N. (1898-1905) p. 388, S.S. to Alvarez, 7 Nov. 1902 and enclosure, Circular Letter to Missionaries engaged in Educational Work.

2. C.M.S. Laws and Regulations 1883, part VII, p.5.

3. C.M.S. 1906 (N.) No.96, Alvarez, Newquay, (recvd.20 Aug.1906).

to the Protectorate from England. Although Lugard could not have forced the emirs to co-operate, his personal influence might have been sufficient persuasion. Now all that he could do to help Miller was to draft a memorandum on the subject for the Colonial Office.¹

Meanwhile the plan had still to be accepted by the C.M.S. By the casting vote of the Chairman, Group III Committee agreed to support the plan even if religious instruction for the boys was forbidden by the Administration.² This decision was then referred to the Committee of Correspondence which passed the resolution:

'That Dr. Miller receive from the Committee full encouragement to go forward with the Education scheme for Mallams, Sons of Emirs, and others, provided that he can secure from the Government full liberty for the teaching of the Bible in school hours in the boarding school, and for presenting Christianity to all pupils and students on a constructive basis.'³ Thus one Committee counteracted the other.

Miller played his last card with either remarkable foresight, or a knowledge of some rumours already bruited in

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1. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 55, Miller, London, 25 Sept. 1906.
 2. C.M.S. Letterbook N. (1906-16) pp.88-101, S.S. to Miller, 16 Nov.1906; also Group III Committee Resolution XXV of 1906.
 3. C.M.S. Letterbook N. (1906-16) pp.88-101, S.S. to Miller, 16 Nov. 1906.

Government circles:-

"I have just had, and answered, a most interesting letter from Lord Scarborough.... and I have asked him to use all his influence (he has already done a good deal) with Lord Elgin to secure for us the Education of the country to be in our hands. He has for a long time been rallying the Government on the lack of interest and the little they have done for education in Northern Nigeria and his words as chairman of the Niger Company have a great deal of weight.... If Government, pressed on all sides, should feel they must introduce an educational policy for Northern Nigeria and feel that ours was too tight and impossible for them to take up, then I don't doubt they will spend money and ask some man like Vischer to start it, or even create a department, and then it will be goodbye altogether to all our educational hopes for very long, for Government, not missionaries, will have had the first innings."¹

December 1906 saw Miller back in the Protectorate, enthusiastic as ever, but tied by his own Mission Society. Lugard, true to his word, had had particulars of Miller's plan sent to Wallace, the Acting High Commissioner. The latter was to make a tour through the provinces, and he told Miller that he was prepared to discuss the question then with the Residents

1. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 91, Miller, S.S. "Aro", 27 Oct. 1906.

and Emirs. He was well aware that the religious instruction might form an insuperable bar, but he hoped that it would not, and that within six weeks he would be able to sanction the school officially.¹

In London Lord Scarborough discussed the matter with Elgin, and Miller believed that Scarborough had pressed for Colonial Office sanction of the scheme to be sent to Wallace. Miller respected his General Committee's stand for religion, but feared that the consequences would be disastrous to the plan.²

In February 1907 Miller's fears were strengthened. Wallace informed him that nearly all the Residents were opposed to the plan, although the Emirs of Zaria, Kontagora and Katsina had each promised to send two boys and two mallams. Despite this difference of opinion Wallace felt that Colonial Office sanction might still be obtained and therefore Miller began building preparations. A schoolroom was prepared at Zaria and huts were planned in which the boys would live and sleep. Miller wished to open the school on May 1st, partly in order to take advantage of the effect on the Emirs of Wallace's recent tour, partly that the next High Commissioner might be presented with a fait accompli.³ The blow came in March

1. C.M.S. 1907 (H.) No. 1, Miller, Zungeru, 2 Dec. 1906.

2. Ibid., No. 20, Miller, Zaria, 24 Dec. 1906.

3. Ibid., No. 38, Miller, Zaria, 9 Feb. 1907.

when Wallace announced that the scheme must await the arrival of Lugard's successor, Sir Percy Girouard.¹

The objections, of course, centred on the boys' boarding school and Miller's determination to lay before these youths, whose parents were really obliged to send them to school, the truths of the Christian religion. The mallams were considered old enough to take care of themselves.

In an effort to find a compromise and to put part of the plan into operation at once, Miller and Bishop Tugwell - now returned to Hausaland - conferred at Zaria with Orr, the local Resident and Festing, then Resident at Kano. They all agreed that the mallams' school was feasible, but that basic alterations were essential in the school for the sons of chiefs. It was suggested that the latter become a day school, and Orr undertook to ask the Emir of Zaria to provide suitable lodgings for the pupils. Other emirs were then to be invited - there could be no form of pressure - to send their sons or young relatives as day scholars, who would live in the care of a Mohammedan emir outside school hours. Most important of all, the Bishop agreed to ask the C.M.S. to sanction the school on the same lines as the mallams' class, thus excluding all religious instruction from the curriculum.²

1. C.M.S. 1907 (H.) No. 50, Miller, Zaria, 19 March 1907.

2. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) No. 58, Tugwell, between Onitsha and Forcados, 10 May 1907: also No. 60, Memo of discussion on education, Zaria, 17 April 1907.

The Northern Nigeria Missions' Executive Committee sanctioned the temporary establishment of such a school whilst the home committees' permission was being sought.¹ Group III Committee and the General Committee authorized the experiment for twelve months in terms which show how reluctant members were to do so. The change from a boarding to a day school took Salisbury Square by surprise, and the Group Secretary feared that the General Committee's resolution was so ambiguous it might be interpreted in different ways. The Committee accepted 'the proposal of the Northern Nigerian Government to set aside two hours per day for the secular teaching of such persons as may be sent to the Mission for that purpose, provided that at any other time each day, whether in school or otherwise, they are at liberty to present the truths of the Christian religion to the persons so committed to their care, it being understood that no pressure will be put on those who are unwilling to receive such Christian instruction.'² The Group Secretary thought that one interpretation could be that the school would be open more than two hours each day and that religious instruction would then be offered to the sons of the emirs - in

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1. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) No. 64, Executive Committee Minutes, Bida, 30 April - 4 May 1907.
 2. C.M.S., Group III Committee Resolution XIII of 1907: also Committee Minutes vol. 71, p. 586, Committee of Correspondence Resolution IV, 2 July 1907, and p. 610, General Committee Resolution III, 9 July 1907: also Letterbook N.N. (1906-20) pp. 23-5, S.S. to Alvarez, 12 July 1907.

fact he implied that the Committee did not know whether Miller intended to do that, whereas the Administration might well feel cheated by such an interpretation.¹

The schools began officially in May 1907 at Zaria.² That site had one great advantage, for in his two years' residence there Miller had already been running a class for a few mallams, some adult inquirers and his houseboys. He had the help of Thompson and Audu Miller, a convert whom he had adopted, and when Miller was in England in 1906 the class was continued successfully in his absence by the two C.M.S. missionaries, Bargery and Druitt.³

Progress may best be gauged by Druitt's orders for equipment in April 1906. The order was for 20 slates, 20 copy books, 4 lbs of blackboard chalk, 5 lbs of slate pencils and 2 gross nibs. These sound like kindergarten materials, but the prosaic list is made more interesting by the note 'to make up the load to 60 lbs please add chalk or more slates.'⁴ The standard weight for a porter's load was 60 lbs and although these goods might travel part of the way from Lagos on the river, Nigerian carriers would be needed for part of the journey.

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1. C.M.S. Letterbook N.N. (1906-20) pp. 23-5, S.S. to Alvarez, 12 July 1907.
 2. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 4, Report on Zaria Schools for 1907-8.
 3. C.M.S. 1905 (H.) No. 53, Miller, Zaria, 28 Oct. 1905; also 1906 (H.) Nos. 13 and 25, Miller, Zaria, 28 Oct. 1905, Exeter 4 April 1906.
 4. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 30, Druitt, Zaria, 4 April 1906.

In August Druitt added a request for a map of the world, and in September he required certain simple English primers.¹ These books may not have been for immediate use. Certainly Miller, in England, was affirming that English would not be taught in the new schools until proficiency in Hausa had been reached.² It is interesting that the Administration was considered to have various opinions on this language question, for Macintyre of the C.M.S. Bida and Lokoja stations, recommended educational work to the Cambridge University Mission Party on the grounds that the Government was, 'most willing to assist in this work, the natives are most anxious to learn, and the establishment of a school always opens a sphere of influence to the Missionary,'³ and Macintyre specified as education the teaching of reading and writing in English⁴. Yet in this same year Miller declared that he was not prepared to rush straight into "English education",⁵ and he showed caution too in refusing to appoint more school teachers for Zaria until the new school had been put into practice and showed signs of success, despite the fact that

1. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) Nos. 58 and 77, Druitt, Zaria, 18 Aug. and 11 Sept. 1906.

2. Ibid., No. 71, Miller, Exeter, 11 Oct. 1906.

3. Ibid.

4. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 14, C.U.M.P. Notes, Jan. 1906, p.4

5. Ibid., No. 71, Miller, Exeter, 11 Oct. 1906.

money for these appointments had been allotted him in the Mission Estimates.¹

In the details Miller showed caution, but whether he was too sanguine about the scheme as a whole is a moot point. His enthusiasms were always over-whelming. He had been quite certain that the way to Kontagora was open to the C.M.S., but while Miller was in England in 1906, Bargery reported a rumour current in the Protectorate that the Emir of Kontagora was quite apathetic, and had asked for a school out of a desire to please the Resident, Sharpe.² There may have been some truth in the rumour, for when Bargery applied for a school in Kontagora such stringent conditions were laid down by Sharpe and the Emir that the school - indeed the station - could not be opened.³ Sharpe's apparent volte-face can only be accounted for by a discovery that the Emir was not sincere during the original proposals.

So it was with the Zaria work. Miller himself had said that the situation was delicate, that the people there were difficult to influence and that he was tempted to leave the C.M.S. and work in Zaria town as a friend, guide and teacher unbound by

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1. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 79, Miller, Exeter, 15 Oct. 1906.
 2. Ibid., No. 41, Bargery, Lokoja, 19 June 1906; also see above, p. 102.
 3. C.M.S. 1907 (H.) No. 36, Miller, Zaria, 30 Jan. 1907.

mission regulations.¹ By 1907 the obstacles were obvious. The C.M.S. had proved reluctant to relax its regulations, the majority of the Residents were unsympathetic, yet if emirs were to be persuaded to send their children to the care of the Emir of Zaria much would depend on the support given to the school by the Administration. There was no reason why the emirs, conscious of Hausaland's history of inter-state warfare, should trust one of their number with their sons any more than they would have trusted Miller himself.

The Zaria schools which Miller had planned as the foundation of a C.M.S. system of education for the whole Protectorate began in their mutilated form in May 1907. The boys' school did not achieve even that status agreed upon as a compromise at Zaria in April. No pupils arrived from other provinces and so the Emir of Zaria chose fifteen boys from the leading families of Zaria town. Most of the pupils had not the slightest desire to attend the school and were more than satisfied with their own institutions.² The boarding school for the sons of chiefs had become a small day school, very similar to the school at Bida.

On one point the missionaries remained firm, and that was that no encouragement by false means would promote true

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1. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 13, Miller, Zaria, 12 Jan. 1906.
 2. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) C.U.M.P. Notes, Nov. 1907, p. 6.

learning. Bida provided a warning example, for there Macintyre was having difficulty in stopping a too-helpful Resident paying boys to attend the school, and rewarding those who attended regularly. It was suggested that an official grant based on examination results would be a more satisfactory way of encouraging the school,¹ but the damage had already been done at Bida, for when the Resident's payments stopped, the school numbers dwindled rapidly. Eventually the small class which remained had to be incorporated in the station school for houseboys.² Miller never made use of bribery at Zaria, although the work progressed very slowly in 1907.

Lloyd and Fox, both graduates of Cambridge, helped with the teaching of the boys at Zaria. They found that only two of their pupils showed genuine interest in their lessons, two of the others were married and were "boys" only by western-age standards, and that an average attendance of eight each session was all that could be obtained from their class of fifteen.

The mallams' class faced fewer initial difficulties and achieved better results. One convert, Mallam Fati, was to prove a great help to Miller in all translation work.³ Another mallam returned to his native town of Katsina after completing

1. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) No. 64, Executive Committee Minutes, Bida, 30 April - 4 May, 1907.

2. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 12a, Executive Committee Minutes, Tegna, 25-29 Nov. 1907.

3. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) No. 5, Tugwell, Lokoja, 18 Dec. 1907. also W.R.S. Miller: op.cit., p.p.207-8.

a course with Miller, and there gained the respect of the Emir for his increased knowledge and ability.¹ It was one of Miller's mallams who taught the Emir of Zaria to read Hausa in the Roman character. The lessons were given secretly in the evenings, until the Emir visited the school and requested Miller to test him with a reading-sheet.² A certain stir was created in the town by this news and the Emir's accomplishment was duly noted in the Annual Report.³

Thus with these adults Miller was achieving the sort of results for which Lugard had hoped. If his work made contact between emirs and Residents easier by providing them with a written lingua franca, then it was of real benefit to the Administration.

The Emir of Zaria continued to show a genuine interest in Miller's classes, but Miller at one point believed that the boys school would have to be closed through the indifference of the pupils. The Emir then came to his rescue in June 1908, weeded out the undesirables, and left him with six keen pupils to each of whom the Emir presented a special robe. Such gifts were signs of favour and Miller was prepared to accept that

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1. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 12a, Executive Committee Minutes Tegna, 25-29 Nov. 1907.
 2. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) No. 50 Miller, Zaria, 19 March 1907.
 3. Parl. Pap. 1909 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1907-8
[Cd.4448-3.] p. 48.

mild form of persuasive bribery. The six boys attended regularly and made progress under Audu Miller, now returned to Zaria from a short course at the C.M.S.'s Oyo Training College in Southern Nigeria.¹

This secular Zaria school, exempt from the C.M.S. regulation insisting upon religious instruction in all its schools, had as its Hausa reading books the Gospel of St. John, the Gospel of St. Mark, the First Epistle of St. John and Stories in Hausa from the New Testament, all of which were Miller's translations. The Emir and the Resident were aware of this fact, for indeed there were no Hausa books available other than Miller's works. The Emir had expressed his willingness to find more pupils for the school, but it is significant that he sent none.² He had co-operated as far as was necessary to win the gratitude of the Administration, but he had no fervent desire to aid this missionary.

Alvarez, Field Secretary of the Northern Nigeria Mission, thought the Zaria experiment a success so late as December 1908.³ It is clear that Miller never regarded it as such, for in practice the classes bore little relation to his original scheme. In fact his hopes faded and the plan petered out until

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1. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 4 Report on Zaria Schools for 1907-8.
 2. Ibid.
 3. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 3, Alvarez, Zungeru, 11 Dec. 1908.

the boys' school became an ordinary Code school, fulfilling all the C.M.S. regulations, on July 1st, 1910.¹ After 1906 there is no reference in the C.M.S. records to the possibility of taking over the education of the whole Protectorate. The mallams' class did not develop into a training school for teachers nor did it ever receive two mallams from every Province. It remained as a class for adult inquirers who came and went as they pleased. The boarding school for the sons of chiefs never left paper as a C.M.S. project, but was to be established ultimately by Hanns Vischer as a Government secular school in 1910.² Miller blamed the opposition of the Residents and the action of Sir Percy Girouard for the failure of his scheme,³ but that is not the whole truth, for there had been a considerable change of opinion at the Colonial Office prior to Girouard taking up his appointment. As the opposition of the Residents was the basic factor for the final official condemnation of the scheme, the reasons for the Residents' attitude require examination before one considers the validity of that condemnation.

When Wallace had toured the Protectorate early in 1906 and had shown the Residents in charge of provinces copies of Miller's and Lugard's letters, he had also discussed the plans

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1. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 47, Executive Committee Minutes, Bida, 10-19 March 1910.
 2. See below, Chapter IV, pp.205-6.
 3. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 4, Report on Zaria Schools for 1907-8.

with the Emirs of Kano, Zaria, Katsina and Kontagora. The scheme was not mentioned at all to the Sultan of Sokoto at the expressed wish of the Residents Temple and Goldsmith, who both believed that the Resident's school established there two years before by Major Burdon might be jeopardized if the Sultan as Serikin Muslimin, took exception to the Zaria classes. The four Emirs consulted politely promised full co-operation, only to decline to adhere to the arrangements once Wallace had returned to Zungeru.¹ Typical was the letter from the Emir of Kano requesting Wallace to reconsider the whole subject on three grounds: the Emir's own sons were too young or too old for school; he could not compel his chiefs to send their boys away from home and furthermore none of the mallams at Kano wished to go to Zaria.² The Emir of Zaria pleaded that he had not understood that the school was to be a boarding school, and that although he could send two mallams, it would be impossible for him to find two boys to become boarders. Orr, Resident of Zaria, warned Wallace that a plea of misunderstanding was merely the polite form of rejection, although he thought that a day school at Zaria remained a possibility³ - as it proved to be. Palmer reported from

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1. C.O. 446/62 No. 15068, Wallace to C.O., S.Y. "Corona", 1 April 1907.
 2. Ibid., enclosure, Abbas, Serikin Kano, to Wallace, Kano, 1 Feb. 1907.
 3. Ibid., enclosure, Orr to Wallace, Zaria, 1 March 1907.

Katsina that the Emir was willing to build a school in Katsina town and pay half the salary of a teacher, but that if the Administration insisted upon two boys being sent to Zaria, the Emir would believe that forced conversion was the official policy. Palmer feared not what Miller would teach the boys, but the way in which rumour would magnify and distort the truth. He believed that the mallams' class might be helpful.¹

Festing, Resident of Kano, was not so sanguine. He had been three months at Kano and reported that a passive, yet stubborn, resistance met all his innovations. He had set up a dispensary and offered the people opportunities to learn brick-making, iron and leather work, and information on mule breeding, all to no avail. His suggestions met with polite agreement and were tacitly ignored. He believed that the only hope of success would lie in a local school and that a central one was an impossibility. He declared his decided opposition to Miller's scheme with genuine reluctance and hoped that some final plan might be adopted which would include the necessary teaching of Hausa in the Roman script.²

From Kontagora Sharpe wrote that he agreed with Orr that prayers at the beginning of the school day would be an imposition quite contrary to the Administration's pledged policy

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1. C.O. 446/62 No.15068, enclosure, Palmer to Resident at Kano, Katsina, 26 Jan. 1907.
 2. Ibid., enclosure, Festing to Wallace, Katsina, 24 Jan.1907.

of non-interference with the religion of the people. Sharpe expressed his willingness to have Bargery (C.M.S.) at Kontagora once agreement had been reached on that point, and on an arrangement that secular subjects would be kept apart from any voluntary religious instruction classes.¹

The clearest, most detailed objections and comments came from Temple of Sokoto, and were frankly based on political grounds. Miller was welcome, so Temple wrote, to teach mallams to read and write Hausa in the Roman script, for that would benefit the Government and Native Administrations, but to send him the sons of Emirs would be impossible. Until the Government had a firm hold on all the peoples of the Protectorate, nothing ought to be done which might lessen the influence of the emirs over their followers. Moreover as the emirs invariably - and as Temple admitted, fortunately - fell in with the Residents' wishes, it was incumbent on the latter to view the emirs' positions with sympathetic understanding. If the Emir of Sokoto or Gando, or even of Katsina, Kano or Bornu, had to send blood relations to live in Zaria, a minor emirate, he would lose prestige. Temple put Sokoto in a separate class and declared that it should be left free and undisturbed to develop Burdon's school, as should any other province which had some form of secular education. Miller

1. C.O. 446/62 No. 15068, enclosure, Sharpe to Wallace, Kontagora, 27 Dec. 1906.

might, however, be allowed to receive children from the smaller emirates, such as Keffi, if he promised not to use the school as an advertisement to induce the conversion of natives of a poorer sort in any way that might cause unrest or a fanatical uprising. Temple added - and one can see the influence of the idea of a dual mandate -

'I feel impelled to write however that this question of the Education of Mohammedans in what must appear to them a direction contrary to their most cherished traditions and beliefs appears to me to be one that should be approached with the greatest caution especially in what must be considered the initial stages of a European administration, further that any undue haste or precipitation may lead to a great injustice being done to the natives.'¹

Such were the opinions of the political officers on whom the onus of the Zaria scheme would fall in the Emirs' eyes. Men so unwilling to accept the plan would never have made it work. Their motive for objection was political and it is difficult to ascertain the degree of sincerity in each individual case. Missionaries have often accused Nigerian political officers of keeping ^{them} out of the Protectorate because the officers were lazy or desired an easy, quiet task. Considering the position of a Resident as outlined above, it would be

1. C.O. 446/62 No. 15068, enclosure, Temple to Wallace, Sokoto, 11 Jan.1907.

more accurate to state that many had no wish to complicate an already difficult task by welcoming the expansion of missionary enterprise. Some were prepared to state clearly that the additional responsibility was unwelcome on political grounds. To gauge the sincerity of a man from one or two short documents is difficult, but in the cases of men such as Burdon¹ and Temple, it is clear that their replies were the result of considerable thought and a sincere desire to do what would be best for Hausaland. That both were attacked by missionaries as pro-Mohammedan² does not detract in any way from their sincerity. Miller was quick to see who led the opposition and to attack accordingly.

The Colonial Office studied all these opinions and also five letters forwarded by Wallace in which Miller expressed his dismay at the Residents' stand in somewhat vehement tones³ which harmed his cause. It was decided that to put any pressure to bear on the emirs was quite out of the question, and Elgin himself insisted on a telegram being sent to order the immediate suspension of any preparations for the boarding school for the sons of chiefs. Elgin commented

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1. C.O. 446/65 No. 41753, enclosure, Burdon to Girouard, Zungeru, 18 Oct. 1907.
 2. C.M.S. 1904 (H.) No. 4, Miller, Ghierko, 24 Dec. 1903; also 1908 (N.N.) No. 44, enclosure, Miller, Zaria, 5 Feb. 1908; and 1911 (N.N.) No. 64, Alvarez, Lokoja, 20 May 1911.
 3. C.O. 446/62 No. 15068, enclosures, Miller to Wallace, Zaria, 13 Feb. 1907 and Miller to Sharpe, Zaria, 13 Feb. 1907

on the importance of not weakening the bonds between chiefs and their peoples, and he obviously believed that Miller's strong principles and very nature would militate against the successful outcome of so delicate a scheme as the one proposed. Apparently Elgin's previous support had been the result of Lugard's influence, but now, with Lugard no longer there to control the Protectorate, Elgin wrote:

'I regret extremely that I gave any countenance to the project.'¹

The telegram from the Colonial Office was sent on 26 July 1907, nearly three months after Miller's day school for Zaria children had begun! The telegram was not construed as putting an end to that, and the whole problem was now passed to Sir Percy Girouard, the new High Commissioner.

Girouard was a French-Canadian by birth, son of a judge of the High Court of Canada. His appointment had a particular significance, for railways had been the chief factor in his career. His career had begun when he was gazetted to the Royal Engineers, and he served as Traffic Manager for five years at Woolwich Arsenal. He was then sent to Egypt to work on the construction and management of the Nile railway. He received the D.S.O. when the Anglo-Egyptian forces reached Dongola in 1896, and remained at work on communications until

1. C.O. 446/62 No. 15068, minutes and draft answer, 26 July 1907.

until Kitchener's return to Khartoum. In 1898 Girouard returned to England, only to be sent to South Africa as Director of Railways on the outbreak of the Boer War. When his extensive estimates for stores and materials which he needed were rejected by the War Office on financial grounds, Girouard showed his determination. He appealed straight to Chamberlain - and received everything he had requested.

'Without this material Robert's march on Pretoria would have been impossible.'¹ Later Girouard was Commissioner of Railways in the Transvaal Orange River Company. He became High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria in February 1907.²

In a country hitherto dependent on rivers and a few roads, the implications of Girouard's appointment were obvious. The missions knew that the projected Baro-Kano railway line would have first call upon his energies. The only other point on which they were certain was that Girouard was a Roman Catholic. When one remembers the storms aroused in England on religious grounds by the Education Act of 1902, it is not surprising that in 1907 there was a genuine fear amongst C.M.S. personnel that the future education policy of the Protectorate might be affected by the faith of the new High Commissioner.³

1. The Times, 27 Sept. 1932, p.9 (Obituary).

2. Ibid.

3. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) No. 50, Miller, Zaria, 19 March 1907.

Mohammedans were not, apparently, the only people to link education and religion. After some months Alvarez was able to assure Salisbury Square that Sir Percy's faith, combined with his character, made him more than fair to missionaries of other creeds.¹ Alvarez believed that Girouard's Sudan experience had left its mark on him in one vital way:

'He is genuinely horrified at the possibility of a fanatical outbreak with a religious war cry, as in his opinion the military forces out here are barely adequate, possibly totally inadequate in his opinion to quell any combined movement in the early stages.'²

Inevitably Girouard was strongly influenced by his Sudanese experience and his fear of a jihad when he was faced with the question of education and mission expansion within the Protectorate. On 17 July 1907 he forwarded to the senior Residents a letter requesting their frank opinions not only of Miller's scheme but also of the position of Missions within the Protectorate.³ Significantly, for their guidance Girouard included an extract from Lord Cromer's Report on the Sudan 1904-5, and drew a parallel between Cromer's Eastern Sudan and his own Northern Nigeria. Cromer had divided the Sudan

1. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 13, Alvarez, Zungeru, 31 Dec.1907.

2. Ibid.

3. C.O. 446/55 No. 41753, enclosure, Girouard to Residents, Zungeru, 17 July 1907.

into three areas, one of which, the southern region inhabited by primitive pagan tribes, he considered the best field for mission work.¹ Girouard thought that Southern Nigeria was similar in that it was the best Nigerian area for mission stations.² Cromer stated that the area inhabited by Mohammedans, whom he described as prone to fits of excitement and very credulous, was unsuitable for mission expansion because the people were incapable of differentiating between a missionary and a government official.³ Such was the enclosure circulated by Girouard, and he stressed in his covering letter his belief that the Protectorate was an area similar to the one Cromer had defined as unsuitable for mission expansion and that therefore strict control of mission expansion in the Protectorate was logically applicable. He added:-

'I must deprecate for the time being any missionary effort which has for its main and primary object the conversion of the Moslem population and I am absolutely opposed to their having any educational functions with or without Government assistance.'⁴

Girouard recognized that his only alternative, now that

1. C.O. 446/55 No. 41753, enclosure.
2. C.O. 446/55 No. 41753, enclosure, Girouard to Residents, Zungeru, 17 July 1907.
3. Ibid., enclosure.
4. C.O. 446/55 No. 41753, enclosure, Girouard to Residents, Zungeru, 17 July 1907.

the Protectorate was no longer in the pioneering stage, was to take the responsibility for education, and he outlined certain proposals in his letter to the senior Residents. He realized that the British political officer would remain the chief civilizing medium for some areas, but he suggested that a central training school ought to be established shortly where a British staff would teach English, reading and writing, and qualified Mohammedans would give legal training. The school should be under a competent principal, preferably a Resident who had volunteered for the task. One of his ideas was unique, for Girouard believed that the Mohammedan teaching ought to be in Arabic as 'to attempt Hausa in Roman will, I think, mean a setback in our Educational policy.'¹

In view of such a lead it is not surprising that the Residents' opposition to Miller's scheme now crystallized. Burdon, Hewby, Festing and Temple all replied that the C.M.S. neglect of the pagans was inexplicable, and that they were in agreement with Girouard that the presence of missionaries in Mohammedan provinces constituted a threat to their peaceful development. Yet the Residents were eager to use the C.M.S. wherever possible Government financial help to the Society for all work among pagan tribes was suggested: the query was put as to why the C.M.S. did not relieve the Administration

1. C.O. 446/55 No. 41753, enclosure, Girouard to Residents, Zungeru, 17 July 1907.

of the philanthropic work of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru: it was pointed out that Christianity amongst the pagans was the best bulwark against the spread of Islam.¹ What had begun as a purely educational scheme had become a question of mission expansion largely because Girouard saw quite clearly that the one meant the other.

The attitude of Orr of Zaria is interesting, and was important. He agreed that the Government's duty was to provide secular education, and that further mission penetration of the Northern Provinces must be banned because stations added to Residents' responsibilities and formed a ready handle for seditious agitation. Yet Orr spoke highly of Miller's work in Zaria, and the good results of a medical mission, of the example of energy and unselfishness, of the close contact a missionary could establish with the people and the control he might exercise over ruling families by his very presence when the Resident was touring, besides mentioning the material benefits of mission language study and the knowledge of local customs which accrued to the Residents. Orr urged that Khartoum and Zaria were parallel cases and that Miller be given freedom to develop his day school there on the secular lines already accepted.² Orr's suggestion carried weight

1. C.O. 446/65 No. 41753, enclosures, Temple, Hewby, Festing, Burdon to Girouard, Aug.-Oct.1907.

2. C.O. 446/65 No. 41753, enclosure, Orr to Girouard, Zaria
[Oct.] 1907.

because Cromer had stated, in the extract sent out by Girouard, that missions were allowed in Khartoum because the Administration was able to supervise mission policy and there/ to make certain that parents realized that religious instruction at mission schools was voluntary, and the children did not have to attend those classes. Cromer had added that the schools at Khartoum were controlled by Government regulations and:-

'The action of the latter [i.e. Government] is limited to securing perfect toleration for all creeds, and to exercising such an amount of supervision over missionary effort as will ensure none but legitimate and unobjectionable methods being adopted in order to convert those who are not Christian to the Christian faith.'¹ This was the parallel urged by Orr.

Orr's view was accepted by Girouard, who reported to the Colonial Office that although he would like to see the C.M.S. withdraw voluntarily, yet he would accept the existing position at Zaria.² This grudging admission of 1907 contrasts sharply with Miller's glowing hopes of 1906, and Elgin minuted on the strange difference between 'the unanimous opinion of

1. C.O. 446/65 No. 41753, enclosure.

2. C.O. 446/65 No. 41753, Girouard to C.O., Zungeru, 31 Oct. 1907.

these reports' and 'Sir Frederick Lugard's letter.... which (with the interview to which it refers) induced me, and all who minuted, to concur in the experiment.'¹

From the Autumn of 1907 the mission societies were to find it increasingly difficult to extend their spheres within Northern Nigeria, and the C.M.S.'s hope of developing mission education throughout the Mohammedan provinces was not only dead, but damned.

1. C.O. 446/65 No. 41753, minute, Elgin, 1 Jan. 1908.

CHAPTER IV.

PART I. THE SEARCH FOR AN ALTERNATIVE

Girouard had made it quite clear in his memorandum to the Residents that he would not approve the spread of mission education in the Northern Provinces of the Protectorate, but he had also asked for the Residents' frank criticism and advice. In particular he had requested their opinion as to the advisability of establishing a Government Training Centre for teachers.¹ Although all were agreed that some Government action was essential, the actual suggestions made by the Residents differed greatly.

Even the question as to the most suitable site for a Training Centre produced conflicting answers. Two Residents rejected Katsina as a suitable town because the Emir there was already intent on establishing his own school for the sons of chiefs, whilst another chose Katsina for that very reason. Three suggested Kano because it was the focal point of so many routes, but one declared that the people there were unco-operative, and that true education could not flourish in that city's commercial atmosphere. It is interesting that one experienced Resident suggested that each province should

1. C.O.446/65 No.41753, enclosure, Girouard to Residents, Zungeru, 17 July 1907.

have a training college under the Resident's supervision, that the issue might not be confused by the introduction of rivalry between political officers. He believed that a Resident might well be disinclined to trust the heirs of his own emir to the influence of another officer whom he disliked, or with whose ideas he disagreed. Yet another Resident suggested that there ought to be one college for Mohammedans and another for pagans.¹

The latter two Residents, Major Burdon and Captain Ruxton went considerably deeper than the others in discussing the principles on which Government action should be based. Ruxton claimed that any scheme must have a moral and not just a utilitarian basis. He declared that Mohammedans ought to be afforded fuller knowledge of their own religion, laws and philosophy in order that dangers arising from ignorant fanaticism might be avoided, and eventually the Mohammedans be allowed to play a prominent part in the life of the Protectorate. The pagans, Ruxton wrote, should also be educated 'on their own African lines to a knowledge of their own individuality without making them poor counterfeits of a civilization which has taken us centuries to attain to.'² If the mission societies and the Government would agree to the principles involved, then, so Ruxton suggested, the missionaries should ascertain the best

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1. C.O.446/65 No.41753, enclosures, Barclay, Burdon, Cargill, Festing, Hewby, Orr, Ruxton, Temple to Girouard, Aug.-Sept. 1907.
 2. Ibid., enclosure, Ruxton to Girouard, s.y. "Sarota", 8 Sept. 1907.

form in which the teachings of Christ might be brought to the pagans, and thereby establish a barrier against the further spread of Islam. From his experience of the Benue area and the pagans of Muri Province Ruxton felt strongly that the first need was for a heightened moral code, and that the teaching of English etc. might follow afterwards. He alone advocated a semi-official communiqué to the mission societies setting out the aims and policy of the Administration regarding missionary work. Such a declaration would help the Residents to follow a uniform policy and would 'minimise personal predilections which can occasionally be traced in official correspondence addressed to missionaries.'¹ In his own work Ruxton had more experience of the S.U.M. and the Société des Missions Africaines de Lyons than of the C.M.S. His co-operative attitude is noteworthy, as his previous relations with missionaries had tended to make him think them troublesome to the administration, although harmless.²

Major Burdon, who rejected outright the claim of the C.M.S. to stations within predominantly Mohammedan provinces,³ had some experience of the problems involved in government

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1. C.O.446/65 No.41753, enclosure, Ruxton to Girouard, Amar, 20 Sept. 1907.
 2. Ibid., enclosure, Ruxton to Girouard, S.Y. "Sarota", 9 Sept. 1907.
 3. Ibid., enclosure, Burdon to Girouard, Zungeru, 18 Oct. 1907.

education for Mohammedans. In 1905 he began a small school at Sokoto where he was then the Resident. For months he tried to persuade the Sultan and office holders of the Province to send their children, but attendances averaged only four pupils per session throughout the first year.¹ Then the Emir of Gando agreed to send two sons and so did the Serikin Tambawel (Tambawel being the powerful town on the frontier of Gando which sent 150 loyal horsemen to Sokoto with the Tega detachment in the critical days of the Satiru rising.)² The education given was secular, and the instructor was a certain Mallam Ibrahim whom Major Burdon had taken to England to complete his education.³ As the numbers in the school rose and the senior pupils outstripped the Mallam, a clerk of the Political Department, who had been a pupil teacher in the Gold Coast, was allowed to take the advanced class for three hours a week.⁴ By Autumn 1907, there were thirty-six pupils, and all were from the leading families of the Sokoto, Gando and Argungu Emirates. Some success in teaching the rudiments of English elementary education had been obtained, and the three senior pupils assisted in the clerical work of

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1. C.O.446/65 No.41753, enclosure, Burdon to Girouard, Zungeru, 18 Oct. 1907: also Parl. Pap. 1907 LIV Report on N.N. for 1905-6, [Cd.3285-3.] p.12.
 2. [Cd.3285-3.] p.15.
 3. C.O.446/65 No.41753, enclosure, Burdon to Girouard, Zungeru, 18 Oct. 1907.
 4. Parl.Pap. 1908 LXIX Report on N.N. for 1906-7. [Cd.3729-15.] pp.7-8.

the Resident's office.¹ Despite this success and the fact that the Sultan of Sokoto had accepted financial responsibility for the school, Burdon did not feel that the dislike and suspicion originally aroused by the school had yet been allayed. Burdon agreed with Ruxton on the fundamental principles involved. 'Each race,' he told Girouard 'evolves training of mind and character in conjunction and agreement with its racial growth of mind and character.'² Therefore Burdon held that Mohammedans must have Mohammedan teachers.

'These are the lines on which I started the Sokoto school and on which I hope most sincerely my successors have continued it. I would accept no boy unless he was well advanced in his own Arabic studies, and I insisted that whilst attending my school in the afternoon, every pupil should devote his mornings, or where necessary his evenings, to his native schoolmaster.'³

Elementary English education ought, in Burdon's opinion, to be superimposed only to the extent of providing for the Government's clerical requirements, and the staff should not be Indians or Egyptians but West Africans of the mallam class, specially trained for the work. Burdon pointed out that no one in Northern Nigeria in 1907 could do more than theorize about education, and that practical work ought to

1. C.O.446/65 No.41753, Girouard, Zungeru, 31 Oct. 1907.

2. Ibid., enclosure, Burdon to Girouard, Zungeru, 18 Oct. 1907.

3. Ibid.

begin in a small way so that the Government might learn by its errors without causing irreparable harm. He expressed most sincerely that attitude of some of the finest British administrators which has caused dismay to many an eager African:

'We are given to rushing reforms in order that in our short tour out here we may see for ourselves their beneficial effect. It is only human nature. But - it is a mistake.' ¹

Burdon and Ruxton between them touched on many of the points to be developed by colonial educationalists of the mid-twenties and thirties, and which were to be expressed in Memoranda of the Advisory Committee on Education. In 1907 the other Residents consulted were agreed on the need for some immediate government action. Girouard himself pointed out to the Colonial Office that the advancing railway line, 'bringing in its train twentieth century Europe to tenth century Hausaland,' ² laid on the Government the duty of preparing the Nigerians to meet the changes which would follow in its wake and rapidly affect their lives. He realized however the contradiction that any Education Department would probably develop pari passu with the increase in revenue following upon the opening up of the country by the railway. Meanwhile he could only include the sum of £1000 under the general subhead of grants to schools in the Estimates of 1908-09. ³

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1. C.O.446/65 No.41753, enclosure, Burdon to Girouard, Zungeru, 18 Oct. 1907.
 2. C.O.446/65 No.41753, Girouard, Zungeru, 31 Oct. 1907.
 3. Ibid.

Nine months later Girouard told the Colonial Office that he had chosen a Resident for the position of organizer of a system of education for the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Hanns Vischer, Third Class Resident, had been offered and had accepted the task, for which Girouard believed him to be 'entirely suited'.¹ Some account of Hanns Vischer's background is important in assessing the qualities for which Girouard had sought, and which he believed he had found. Moreover the child being father to the man, some idea of Vischer's reaction to the work before him can be gauged, and that reaction better understood, by a study of his life prior to 1908. He was to devote his life to African affairs, retiring from his position as joint hon. sec. to the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies only in 1939, and his unofficial work as hon. sec. of the International African Institute continued throughout the Second World War until his death in 1945. It was in Northern Nigeria that the foundations of his career were laid, foundations which can be traced, naturally, in the lines of his later work.

²
Hanns Vischer was born in Basle on 14 September 1876 to Rosalie and Adolphe Vischer. The Vischer family originated in Colmar, Alsace, but had moved to Basle as Protestant

1. C.O.446/74 No.30542, Girouard, Zungeru, 22 July 1908.

2. All this account of Hanns Vischer's family and his life from 1876 to 1900 is based on the oral evidence of Dr. A.L. Vischer, his brother, save where other authorities are cited for particular facts.

refugees c.1670. There the family became prominent in the silk trade, and commerce and Protestantism brought the family into an influential position in Basle.

In the nineteenth century academic interests and connections with England were added to Hanns' heritage. His paternal grandfather, Wilhelm Vischer, was Professor of classical Greek at the University of Basle and through him the young Nietzsche was offered, and accepted, the appointment of Professor of classical philology. Nietzsche became a family friend, but in particular a friend of Adolphe Vischer, Hanns' father - a fact which shows the calibre of Adolphe Vischer's mind.

The Vischer household was in touch with evangelicals in England, and Wilhelm Vischer's wife forged additional links by becoming friendly, at a German spa, with Lady Byron and her ^{grand-}daughter, Annabella. The friendship was maintained by both families. Annabella became Mrs. Wilfred Scawen Blunt, and shared her husband's interest in Egyptian and Arabic affairs. Hanns visited them later both in Egypt and at the stud they kept in Sussex.

A further link with English colonial affairs was provided by Adolphe Vischer's journey to China in the 1860s in connection with the family silk trade. There he met "Chinese" Gordon, for whose ability and leadership he developed a warm admiration. Hanns' father was probably attracted by Gordon's religious sincerity, for the faith which had caused his

ancestors to leave Alsace drove Adolphe to give up his business interests that he might live more fully as a Christian, although this meant considerable economic sacrifices. He received decorations from Switzerland, Serbia, France and Italy for his humanitarian work, in particular for his aid to orphans and to the wounded of various wars.¹

His wife, Hanns' mother, had been Rosalie Sarasin before her marriage, and through the Sarasins Hanns could draw on a religious, commercial and academic background. The Sarasins were Huguenots from Pont-à-Moussin in Lorraine, which they had left for Basle c.1645. They too were interested in textiles, and Felix Sarasin (1797-1862) continued the family traditions by building one of the first - perhaps, indeed, the first - cotton mills in Switzerland. He studied the cotton industry in Lancashire first, and thus established another connection with England. A man of enterprise, he was Burgomaster of Basle. Thus Hanns had a Burgomaster of Basle and a Professor of Basle University as his grandfathers.

Fritz Sarasin, Hanns' maternal uncle, was a naturalist who worked as far afield as Ceylon, the Celebes and New Caledonia with his younger brother who shared his interests. Hanns therefore had a broad horizon in view from a very early

1. V.P.: List of family documents etc. compiled by Hanns Vischer.

age, with a father who had travelled in the Far East and who was European in his outlook, and with an uncle whose world-wide journeys brought strange places close to the Swiss household. Fritz Sarasin's friend, Professor Leopold Rüttimeyer, encouraged Hanns to take an interest in ethnology, and years afterwards Hanns gave many objects collected on his own travels to the Museum für Volkerkunde, in which Rüttimeyer was keenly interested.

Why, with so many vistas before him, Vischer turned to Africa is not known. Africa had an especial appeal for him from his early years. He had grown up in a family proud of its city of Basle, to the history and development of which his ancestors had contributed so much. His father had written A Child's History of Basle,¹ and Hanns had a well-developed historical sense, a feeling for "roots" which kept him attached to his native land throughout the forty-two years after 1903 when he became a naturalized British subject. On his death he was said to have been 'a true and eminent son of his native land',² and this feeling for his own background made him very conscious when in Northern Nigeria that he must not weaken the finer traditions in the heritage of his pupils by superimposing a system of education unrelated to their past. Vischer drew his strength from his home. He inherited none of the

1. V.P.: List of family documents etc. compiled by Hanns Vischer.

2. Swiss Observer, 29 March 1945.

business instincts of past Vischers or Sarasins, but he had an intellectual calibre and linguistic abilities, a sense of humour, a belief in the importance of the individual in any society, past, present or future, and a very great faith, which was nurtured in the near-Calvinistic church of Basle but which found harmony later in the Church of England because it was not based on any narrow dogma but on the living creed of humanitarianism. His humanitarian outlook moulded his life, and remains the over-riding impression of him in the minds of friends who knew him for years.¹ In Northern Nigeria this quality was recognised by the bestowal of the name Dan Hausa, Son of Hausa, the name still known in the Northern Provinces.² This humanitarianism took Vischer to Africa by way of England.

Hanns' education was begun at Basle and continued at Niesky, in Germany. Then, through his father's friendship with English evangelicals, he was sent to the South-Eastern College at Ramsgate. Before Hanns left there for Emmanuel College, Cambridge, he was already sure that his life's work lay in Africa. The young Swiss entered Emmanuel at Michaelmas, 1896. There he took an Ordinary Degree by passing the Special Examination in Modern Languages. He graduated B.A. on June 17th, 1899, and was to become an M.A. in 1903. A brother, who

1. e.g. Sir Ralph Furse and Sir George Tomlinson.

2. Oral evidence: Major Peter Vischer.

followed him to Emmanuel in 1897, took theology and was
later ordained.¹

Vischer arrived at Cambridge rather shy, and with a limited knowledge of English. His interest in the Boat Club found him his niche in college life. He rowed in the College Senior Trials in Evelyn Howell's boat and soon found a place in the 2nd May boat. Howell was to be knighted for his service in India, but it was as Captain of the College Boat Club that he helped "Swissy" to find his feet. Vischer, in his friend's opinion, 'became one of the most popular men in the college. He had great courage, gaiety and charm and was always ready for a rag. But with it all he was a sincere and devout Christian and lived up to his principles.'² Vischer was elected to Mildmay³ in his third year and gave a paper in English on Machiavelli. His first long vacation he spent in Tripoli learning Hausa.⁴ In later days it was said that Vischer could interpret, converse, telephone or make speeches in seven languages with equal facility.⁵ The facets of his

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1. Bursar, Emmanuel College, to writer, 7 Nov. 1952.
 2. Sir Evelyn Howell to writer, 12 Nov. 1952.
 3. Sir Walter Mildmay founded Emmanuel in 1584. The Mildmay Essay Society, founded in the 1880's, is the senior College Literary Society.
 4. Sir Evelyn Howell to writer, 12 Nov. 1952.
 5. O.E. XVI 1945 April p.113.

character reflected many different interests, but the African interest was ever-present. It was the spiritual side of his character which took him to Ridley Hall for a one year course after graduation, and at Ridley he, as a member of the Church of England, volunteered for missionary work with the C.M.S. Hausa party.¹

The young Swiss did not present the conventional picture of a missionary. The original group of missionaries for Hausaland had only reached the Canaries when one of them was writing to urge that Vischer be speedily sent after them, and was at the same time beseeching the Group III Committee Secretary to see that Vischer's true worth was appreciated at Salisbury Square.² Vischer had not been closely identified with any of the Christian groups at work in Cambridge until he entered Ridley Hall. Even then he remained unorthodox. His principle "good work" was the founding of a dining club for wandering Italian musicians - including those organ grinders no longer today a feature of English towns. This he called the Macaroni Club, and the enjoyment with which he organized it made the meals revels rather than charity.³ Those members of the C.M.S. who knew Vischer at Cambridge were sure that all he needed was a purpose to which his energies might be

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1. C.M.S. Register of Missionaries and Native Clergy 1804-1904, p.406.
 2. C.M.S. 1900 (H.) No.2, Richardson, S.S. "Bornu", 24 Dec.1899.
 3. Oral evidence: Lady Vischer.

harnessed.¹ The theory is excellent, but the purpose must suit the individual.

The young man returned to Switzerland after his year at Ridley, and after he had rowed for Emmanuel in the Ladies Plate at Henley in 1900.² That summer he took a course at a hospital in Berne. He continued his Biblical studies with his father, and decided not to be ordained, but to go out to Hausaland as a lay missionary.³

Hanns was a missionary for little more than two years. He sailed with G.P. Bargery in November, 1900, and with him travelled to Lokoja where they stayed a short while.⁴ The delay was caused by the precarious position of the Hausa mission. The party had been rejected by Kano, were unwelcome at Zaria, and had aroused the indignation of the High Commissioner.⁵ Only when relations with Lugard were better and the mission party had moved to Loko could the two new missionaries travel on to join it in February, 1901.⁶ Lugard had renewed his amicable tone in his letters to Bishop Tugwell, and when thanking the Bishop for the offer of meteorological information to publish in the Gazette, added that he regretted having been

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1. C.M.S. 1900 (H.) No.2, Richardson, S.S."Bornu", 24 Dec.1899.
 2. Sir Evelyn Howell to writer, 12 Nov. 1952.
 3. C.M.S. 1900 (H.) No.38, Vischer, Berne, 14 July 1900.
 4. C.M.S. 1901 (H.) No.13, Aitken, Lokoja, 7 Dec. 1900.
 5. See above, Chapter I, pp. 39-43.
 6. C.M.S. 1901 (H.) No.29, Tugwell, Loko, 19 Feb. 1901

too busy to give an interview to Vischer when the latter was in Lokoja but, 'I hope I may see him later.'¹ This was the first occasion on which the paths of the two men crossed. Vischer was to work under Lugard and then with him, when their acquaintance was to ripen into friendship and deep regard, despite the difference in their ages and the almost startling contrast in their temperaments.² Meanwhile Vischer had received a visitation of another kind, for he had had his first attack of fever within two months of leaving the ship.³

At Loko Vischer remained throughout his sojourn in Nigeria as a missionary. There he studied Arabic and Hausa, sharing one of the two C.M.S. huts with Burgin.⁴ The short course at Berne hospital was of help to him in his relations with Africans, but as he reported treating a local native judge with horse embrocation for rheumatism, Vischer's ministrations can hardly be dignified with the description of dispensing.⁵

The relations between the missionaries and the local political officers were quite cordial, and when Lugard asked if the mission would take any slave children for whom suitable native guardians could not be found, the missionaries agreed

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1. C.M.S. 1901 (H.) No.33, enclosure, Lugard to Tugwell, Kaduna, 20 Feb. 1901. (Copy.)
 2. Oral evidence: Lady Vischer.
 3. C.M.S. 1901 (H.) No.29, Tugwell, Loko, 19 Feb. 1901.
 4. Ibid., No.33, enclosure, Burgin to Lugard, Loko, 4 March 1901. (Copy.)
 5. Ibid., Nos.50 and 51, Vischer, Loko, 3 and 16 June 1901.

to do so. They already had several houseboys in whom Vischer saw the nucleus of a future school, and first two, and then another eleven, ex-slave boys were handed over to them.¹ The C.M.S. wished to know if the enthusiastic Swiss had acted alone in accepting the children. Vischer promptly informed Salisbury Square that the arrangement had been made by Miller, as Secretary, with the consent of the Hausaland Executive Committee. He inquired if the Society expected the missionaries to keep the thirteen children out of their allowances of £200 p.a., but swept on to declare in the next paragraph that he would be financially responsible for all the boys, as he knew that his Swiss friends would contribute willingly.²

Vischer felt, with all the conviction and enthusiasm of youth, that the opportunities offered in the Protectorate were unique. Men, money and action were needed. He sent for a forge and blacksmith's tools on his own account and spoke hopefully of the prospects for a permanent school.³ For most of November, 1901, he remained alone at Loko,⁴ however, and he suffered repeated attacks of fever which he treated himself.

Miller returned to Loko in December with plans for a forward movement. He found Vischer eager to accompany him

1. C.M.S. 190 (H.) Nos. 51 and 54, Vischer, Loko, 16 and 27 June 1901.
2. Ibid., No.59, Vischer, Loko, 2 Aug. 1901.
3. Ibid., Nos.68 and 71, Vischer, Loko, 27 Oct. and 19 Nov.1901.
4. Ibid., No.71, Vischer, Loko, 19 Nov. 1901.

north, and certain from his eight months' work in Loko that it was not suitable for a mission station.¹ Vischer believed, as did Miller, that something more than haphazard preaching, teaching and medical work was needed. He had worked out a scheme for a farm and an industrial mission at Gierko,^h and Miller agreed with the general plan and suggested that Vischer put it before the Group Committee when in England.² His furlough came sooner than expected, for Miller discovered that the Swiss had had nine attacks of fever in six months, some lasting a week.³ Vischer left Lagos for England in February, 1902. He was to return as a British Assistant Resident.

There must have been a certain amount of friction at Loko. Not personal, but rather the result of a young man feeling himself a misfit. Vischer's superior found him charming, resourceful and capable, but very independent and 'on any suggestion of limitations [he] speaks of working independent of the society. I think I have talked him out of this, but if he grips an idea it is very hard to get him off it.'⁴ The alternative to mission work in the Protectorate was ever-present. During one of Vischer's attacks of fever he had been found alone at Loko by Capt. Ruxton. The political officer had used the

1. C.M.S. 1902 (H.) No.1, Miller, Loko, 7 Dec. 1901.

2. Ibid., No.2, Miller, Loko, 19 Dec. 1901.

3. Ibid., No.3, Miller, Loko, 1 Jan. 1902.

4. Ibid., No.7, Miller, Kikui, 22 Jan. 1902.

simple expedient of douching the patient with cold water to lower his temperature. It was the only cure to hand, and it worked.¹ Vischer and Ruxton became lifelong friends. They found each other congenial company and had many a talk. They discussed the possibility of Vischer becoming a British citizen and entering the Colonial Service: they considered the practical qualifications, such as a surveying certificate, which he would then find useful, and the alternative career open if he studied law.² Ruxton had considerable influence in persuading Vischer to become a political officer.

Six months sick leave had been prescribed, and so Vischer returned home to Switzerland.³ He was there when his father and one of his brothers died within a week of each other, and he decided to remain with his mother throughout the winter instead of returning to Hausaland in the Autumn of 1902.⁴ His resignation from the C.M.S., 'in these very altered circumstances',⁵ was accepted by the Society in December. 'In order that I might be able to keep in touch with the country where I feel that lies the work of my life I have applied for a post of Resident in Northern Nigeria.'⁶ The Hausa Mission

1. Oral evidence: Lady Vischer and Major Ruxton.

2. Ibid.

3. C.M.S. 1902 (H.) No.12, Medical Certificate, 5 Jan.1902.

4. Ibid., No.13, Vischer, Berne, 27 June 1902.

5. Ibid., No.27, Vischer, Redhill, 6 Dec. 1902.

6. Ibid.

heard of his resignation with regret, for Miller had had great hopes of the pioneering work Vischer might do in the Northern Provinces.¹

The attraction that Northern Nigeria held for the young Swiss must have been really strong, for as a missionary he had experienced the loneliness, the sickness, hard living conditions, monotonous food and inadequate transport which affected all Europeans serving in the Protectorate in those early years of the British Administration. His devotion to Africa was quite literal. For years he said that he would never marry as he wished to devote himself entirely to Africa and the risks of taking a wife out to West African conditions seemed too great.² Recognition of this sincerity and the essential humanitarianism of his approach won for him a decade later from the peoples of Hausaland the affectionate name of Dan Hausa.

In 1903 however Vischer was just a foreigner whose previous contact with Africa had been as a missionary, 'neither of which circumstances could in those days be regarded as an open sesame to the British Colonial Service.'³ In June 1903, Hanns Vischer was duly registered as a British subject, being described as 'of the age of twenty six years: a student of

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1. C.M.S. 1902 (H.) No.21, Miller, Ghierko, 18 Aug. 1902.
 2. Lady Vischer to writer, Newport Pagnell, 5 March 1954.
 3. Sir George Tomlinson: Nature CLV 14 April 1945, p.446.

the Middle Temple ... unmarried.¹ He was never called to the Bar, but it would seem that for a few months at least he had studied law. He had also graduated M.A.² during these months after his resignation, and had acquired the Royal Geographical Society's Survey Certificate 'for efficiency with Theodolite, Sextant & Artificial Horizon, Plane table, Tachometer, Prismatic Compass, Barometer and Boiling Point Thermometer.'³ Vischer had been an F.R.G.S. since November, 1902, when his proposer had been Capt. Ruxton.⁴ With Emmanuel behind him and some knowledge of medicine, surveying and law, and with experience of Northern Nigeria and acquaintance with both Arabic and Hausa, Vischer was far better equipped than many a new political officer when he sailed for West Africa as an Assistant Resident of Northern Nigeria, on September 19th, 1903. Yet others who had had previous experience of Northern Nigeria had served the Royal Niger Company,⁵ not a mission society, and neither his membership of the C.M.S. nor his Swiss birth helped Vischer at first. Five years later it was noted at the Colonial Office that Vischer 'has lived down the objections to employing him which his name at first excited.'⁶

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1. V.P.: Naturalization Certificate, 4 June 1903.
 2. Bursar, Emmanuel College, to writer, 7 Nov. 1952.
 3. V.P.: Survey Certificate, R.G.S., 23 March 1903.
 4. V.P.: Letter from R.G.S. announcing election, 25 Nov. 1902.
 5. e.g. W. Wallace and W.P. Hewby.
 6. C.O.446/74 No.30542, minute, F.G.A. Butler, 27 Aug. 1908.

That prejudice probably made itself felt in Nigeria as much as in London. Prior to 1914 naturalization was not the common process two world wars have since made it.

Most of the new Assistant Resident's time was spent in Bornu under W.P. Hewby, a First Class Resident who was awarded the C.M.G. in 1904.¹ There were over forty officers in the Political Department when Vischer joined,² but that was still few enough, and conditions were still unsettled enough, to make the routine of a junior officer busy and varied. Six months after Vischer's appointment an incident occurred which brought his name into the Annual Report. Hewby had been in charge of a station at Ibi on the Benue as a servant of the Royal Niger Company, and he had had the area 'traversed in every direction',³ and thus gained some information about the interior. Three main trade routes converged at Wase, and although the Government had from time to time sent expeditions to protect these routes, cannibal pagans of the Gurkawa, Yergum and Montol tribes in the north of Muri Province had practically cut off the Fulani of Wase from Yelua by the end of 1903. Six traders had been murdered and there were strong suspicions that a Government messenger had been killed and eaten. An expedition was therefore sent under the command of Capt. Shortt, and accompanied by Vischer as the

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1. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904. [Cd.2684-22.] p.24.
 2. C.O. List, 1904, p. 261.
 3. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904 [Cd.2684-22.] p.55.

political agent. The operations lasted a month during which time two brigand bands were destroyed, the chiefs of Barot and Langtang were deposed, the chief of the Gazums and Gyuns removed at their request, and fines totalling £460 were imposed. Vischer saved the life of an African soldier by sucking the poison from his arrow wound.¹

The young man rather enjoyed action even when it was dangerous, and in 1906 carried out a plan which fully demonstrates his knack of combining adventure with more peaceful intellectual pursuits. Many political officers were deeply interested in the new Protectorate and they were encouraged to study languages, customs, laws and the social structure, and everything for which they could find the time and which would help the Government to establish the Native Administrations on a firm basis. Missionaries who were linguists were pressed to act as examiners in Arabic and Hausa for the Government,² and officers passing these tests received a gratuity for each standard.³ A number of the interested used to spend part of their leaves in Tripoli in order to study Arabic and Hausa. The Consul General at Tripoli was permitted by the Foreign Office to pass information direct to the High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria.⁴ Senior officials on leave also sent news.

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1. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904 [Cd.2684-22.] pp.55, 56, 122.
 2. C.M.S. 1904 (H.) No.10, Miller, Ghierko, 8 Feb. 1904.
 3. C.M.S. 1905 (H.) No.13, Miller, Ghierko, 15 Jan. 1905.
 4. Parl.Pap. 1907 LIV Report on N.N. for 1905-6. [Cd.3285-3.] pp.7-8.

Temple reported on the elusive Senussi sect and the fact that the Arabs were importing arms 'apparently with a view to resisting service in the Turkish Army.'¹ In fact the territory between Tripoli and the Protectorate was a constant source of rumours and reports.

Vischer, serving in Bornu, heard of the caravan route to North Africa.² He listened to pilgrims returning from Mecca who spoke with awe of the Saharan journey, to Sheikh Abubakr of Bornu who 'spoke of nothing so readily as of the Tripoli Pashas and their great friendship with his great grandfather, El Kanemi, who had defeated the Fulanis in Bornu with the help of Fezzani tribesmen,³ and to the Arab traders deploring the loss of the Tripoli-Bornu route and the former trade in ivory, ostrich feathers and slaves for sugar, spices and cloth. Vischer believed that although the sea trade would prevent the trans-Saharan caravans regaining their former size, 'the spiritual influence that has given the Hausa his religion, his art, and culture will still continue to penetrate from the North.'⁴ A journey along the old route might hold the answer to several questions, showing what possibilities of revival were inherent in the Arab trade,

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1. Parl.Pap. 1907 LIV Report on N.N. for 1905-6.
[Cd.3285-3.] p.8.
 2. L.P.: Vischer to Lugard, Kano, 27 March 1910.
 3. H. Vischer: Across the Sahara from Tripoli to Bornu
(Arnold, London, 1910) p.2.
 4. Ibid., p.3.

providing by personal contact some information about the Senussi more reliable than the current rumours, and enabling some assessment to be made of the probable southward spread of the arid sand dunes into Bornu. ¹ Moreover:-

'By planning a journey across the desert, by the monument of the people's early history, through the tribes which had contributed towards the foundation of the present day Kanuri, I hoped to better understand those people among whom my life work lay.' ²

Vischer had a historical sense, a desire for, and understanding of roots, which was very apparent in his later educational work. The success of his journey can be gauged from his book, and from the fact that the Royal Geographical Society awarded him the Back Grant for his observations.

The journey itself lasted from July to December, 1906. ³

The caravan consisted of Mecca pilgrims returning to Nigeria, liberated slaves from Bagirmi and Wadai to act as Vischer's escort, Tubbus from Bilma, and Arab camel drivers who had agreed to take him as far as Murzuk. Fritz Sarasin went to Tripoli to help the less experienced traveller prepare for the journey, which was in itself of scientific interest as it was Vischer's intention to gather geological and naturalistic data as well as historical and political information. ⁴

1. H. Vischer: Across the Sahara from Tripoli to Bornu (Arnold, London, 1910) p.4.

2. Ibid., p.3.

3. Parl.Pap. 1908 LXIX Report on N.N. for 1906-7. [Cd.3729-15.] p.10.

4. Oral evidence: Dr. A.L. Vischer.

There was an outcry in Tripoli town against allowing a European Christian into the interior, but the Turkish Government gave permission. As a result of the protests, however, Vischer had to bribe his frightened "escort" to accompany him, and he knew from that start that he was considered a likely victim for any wandering Tubbus or Tuaregs who might attack.¹ At Kidwa however, he met Major Djamy Bey of the Turkish cavalry who arranged to meet him again at Gharian and there to see if Vischer might join the caravan of Sheikh Ahmed el Kwaidi of Wadi Shiati.² The fact that the Sheikh refused at first to speak to the Christian stranger did not augur well. His cameldrivers refused to travel with Vischer's negroes, who held the latter responsible for the Arabs' insults. A division of the caravan was therefore made, the Bey and his soldiers, the Sheikh and his caravan were joined by Vischer and some of the negroes. The remainder with the loads and money travelled with the most trustworthy sheikh of the camel drivers, who promised to deliver all safely to Vischer at Murzuk and who kept his word.³

Sheikh Ahmed and Vischer travelled in the same direction but at a distance which ensured that the Christian would not contaminate the Mohammedan. They shared a camp fire one night, however, and after talking with Vischer the Sheikh was content

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1. H. Vischer: op.cit., pp.18-19.
 2. Ibid., pp.27-8.
 3. Ibid., pp.42, 49-51.

to travel south with him, and a friendship developed between them based on mutual respect. Finally Sheikh Ahmed told Vischer that they were both seeking one God, but by different paths. He could pay no greater compliment, and this incident is an early example of the younger man's ability to break through Mohammedan reserve and suspicion.¹

Sheikh Ahmed's hospitality included full protection of his guest. At Misda, when Vischer attempted to sketch the great Sauwya of the Senussi, where policy and religion were discussed, pupils taught and guests accommodated, Sheikh Ahmed advised his withdrawal to camp because the Senussi were angered by his action. Vischer blamed the general atmosphere of Misda rather than the Senussi sect for the incident. The Senussi he reported to be a well organized sect, equipped with smuggled modern weapons, but containing many to whom the charity and hospitality enjoined by the Koran were living tenets. In the event of a jehad their knowledge of the desert would make the Senussi dangerous adversaries, but Vischer claimed that not even El Senussi would be able to eliminate the differences between the tribes and unite them for any length of time in a holy war.²

'My own experiences among the Senussi leads me to respect them as men and to like them as true friends whose good

1. Lady Vischer to writer, Newport Pagnell, 5 March 1954.

2. H. Vischer: op.cit., pp.65-9.

faith helped me more than anything else to accomplish my journey in spite of all difficulties.¹ The finer qualities which Vischer saw impressed him more than the treachery and cruelty of the Saharan tribes, although he never underestimated the dangers, and was twice attacked with the connivance of his own camel drivers.²

The other Mohammedans who impressed him were the Turkish political exiles whom he met at Murzuk. The first whom he noticed was a European Turk selling tea and sugar in the market who read Baudelaire when he had no customers. He was a naval officer called Samy Bey, who came from Philoppopolis and had been condemned to a hundred and one years of exile.³ Another, Hilmy Bey, could quote Hegel, Kant or Persian poetry with equal ease. Although they were prisoners they advised the Turkish governor, helped in his office, and founded a local school where they acted as teachers. Vischer's house became their meeting place.⁴

The sequel was unexpected. In July 1908, there arrived at Maiduguri in Bornu eight escaped Turkish exiles, destitute and eager to return to their country now in the throes of the Young Turk revolt. One of them was Samy Bey. They must have provided a slight diplomatic headache, but arrangements were

1. H. Vischer: op.cit., p.69.

2. Ibid., pp.202-16.

3. Ibid., pp.137-8.

4. Ibid., pp.145-7.

made for them to travel to England, and Vischer was detailed to act as their escort. From London they returned to their own homes, having provided an enjoyable duty for Vischer.¹

The Saharan journey aroused interest right from the start. Vischer brought back information about the Senussi, the tribes, trade, the state of the oases, the Turkish settlements and geological and archaeological matters. H.T. Huddleston, then commanding the Mounted Infantry Company in Bornu, met Vischer and planned a return trip with him. Hewby did not approve however, and therefore Girouard refused permission. Huddleston met Vischer again when the latter was on a Committee of Inspection for Gordon College, and Huddleston himself became Governor of the Sudan.²

The ordinary work of a Resident went on, but Vischer became a little more prominent. He contributed a short survey report on Lake Chad and its drainage area for an Annual Report.³ Then, when Girouard requested his senior Residents' opinions on education and missionary enterprise,⁴ Vischer's name was brought forward by Hewby. In his reply the latter suggested the establishment of a Government school at Kano for industrial work, and the teaching of the 3 Rs in English and also of Mohammedan law. He not only stated that he

1. Oral evidence: Lady Vischer.
2. V.P.: H.T. Huddleston to Lady Vischer, Khartoum, 22 Feb. 1945.
3. Parl. Pap 1908 LXIX Report on N.N. for 1906-7. [Cd. 3729-15.] pp. 11-2.
4. See above, p. 143.

considered Vischer competent to conduct such a school, but referred the High Commissioner to a report by Vischer on the Turkish Industrial School at Tripoli, sent to the Colonial Office in June 1906, and enclosed a few notes on the problem by Vischer.¹ In these Vischer suggested somewhat diffidently an industrial school adapted to local handicrafts, which would produce useful workmen and introduce European improvements in their traditional methods. Promising pupils who so desired would be taught elementary reading and writing in English. The manager of the workshops should be European and the African foremen local natives, not coastal men. When discussing the possible encouragement of the Mohammedan schools Vischer expressed some doubt as to whether capable Moslem teachers willing to work with the Government could be found. He felt that they would hardly teach the idea of a free labour market enthusiastically, but he agreed on the other hand that the Hausa would assimilate Arabic learning more quickly than European notions, and he recognized 'the great work of civilization done by the teaching of Islam in Africa.'² Vischer urged the necessity for strict supervision of any Mohammedan school receiving government support, and that the political officer in charge be an Arabic scholar.

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1. C.O.446/65 No.41753, enclosure, Hewby to Girouard, 30 Sept. 1907. (The report must have been prepared while Vischer was waiting to start his journey to Bornu.)
 2. C.O.446/65 No.41753, enclosure, Vischer to Hewby, Mongonu, 1 Aug. 1907.

He made it clear that he did not consider himself suited to the work. He prefaced his suggestions with a statement that he lacked perfect knowledge of the natives, of Mohammedan religion and of education in general.¹ Hewby confirmed in his covering letter that Vischer, despite the fact that Hewby considered him fully qualified, had no desire to organize any such school.²

The fact remained that Vischer's name was the only one put forward in these replies. Girouard must have investigated and decided that this Third Class Resident's value was greater than his estimate of his own worth. Vischer was finishing a grammar of the Kanuri language in the early summer of 1908, and the fact that he could speak to Kanuris, Arabs, Hausas or Fulanis in their own tongues 'gives him a power of intercourse with the native as nothing else could do. His knowledge of Arabic and consequently of the Mohammedan sacred books will enable him to dissipate the religious suspicion which enquiry into education - an essentially religious matter with Mohammedans - would otherwise engender.'³ Above all Girouard placed his belief that Vischer had a sympathetic insight into native minds.⁴ The desire to understand a problem, that the solution may have the strength of inward fitness rather than

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1. C.O.446/65 No.41753, enclosure, Vischer to Hewby, Mongonu, 1 Aug. 1907.
 2. Ibid., Hewby to Girouard, 30 Sept. 1907.
 3. C.O.446/74 No.30542, Girouard, Zungeru, 22 July 1908.
 4. Ibid.

just the force of an imposition, is one of the best results on the administrative mind of the development of the system known as Indirect Rule. Girouard was himself already convinced that the only step for which the Mohammedan provinces were ready was the improvement of the native system of education.¹ Every town or village had its school which, although producing little literary effect on the population as a whole, did provide the early training of mallams. Girouard believed the latter to be 'universally admitted to be so intelligent and trustworthy that the value of the best side of the existing system [i.e. of education] seems to be proved.'² Holding such an opinion the High Commissioner naturally wished to discover the exact source of this value, and so develop and increase it throughout the schools of the Protectorate. The phrase he used was, 'natural education on national lines.'³

About this same time Miller of the C.M.S., hearing of Vischer's imminent appointment, invited him to stay for a few days at Zaria. They had several long talks on their problems and Miller understood that Vischer would accept the position only if he were given a free hand, that he was prepared to support the C.M.S. Zaria school, and that 'he is entirely opposed to the usual Colonial way of backing up Islam educationally.'⁴

1. C.O.446/74 No.30542, Girouard, Zungeru, 22 July 1908.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No.107, Miller, Zaria, 8 Sept. 1908.

The sentence is not qualified and unfortunately might mean anything. Miller's letter does show however that Vischer was aware of the difficulties ahead of him and was determined to use his own judgment. The fact that Vischer had been a missionary made it easier for him to maintain cordial relations with members of the various societies, particularly of course the C.M.S. since he already knew a number of its personnel. In that respect Vischer was obviously the best man to try to persuade the missionaries to run their schools on lines of which the Government could approve, and Girouard was anxious to establish such co-operation in the pagan areas. He was only too aware that for a long time lack of revenue would confine Government action amongst the pagans to whatever civilising influence the political officers might exert.¹

Miller was relieved at the promise of non-intervention in Zaria, and quite hopeful about the future. Girouard was less sanguine. The arrangement which he made, and which was sanctioned by the Colonial Office, was that there should be no official Department as yet. Vischer was to be seconded to educational work from July 1st, 1908, remaining supernumerary on the Political List and drawing his pay and allowance by his rank from the Education Vote. The plans were tentative and Girouard did not wish any failure in education on Vischer's part to harm his reputation in the Political Department, 'where

1. C.O.446/74 No.30542, Girouard, Zungeru, 22 July 1908.

he has already proved his value.¹ Only harm would result from a double transfer if he had to return to the usual duties of a Resident.

This curious position lasted several years. In fact it appears that until 1914, when Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated, Vischer remained seconded from the political department, although he was known as the Director of Education and in 1913 produced the first annual report of the Department of Education for Northern Nigeria. Vischer's credit for the success of the Nassarawa schools opened in 1910 is all the greater considering that Government viewed his work as an experiment. Since the whole position in the Mohammedan provinces was so different from any that had arisen in the educational history of the other British West African colonies, the Administration's caution is understandable. The result, however, has been some uncertainty as to when the Education Department was created. Certainly Vischer received a letter of appointment as Director of Education, Northern Provinces, with effect from January 1st, 1914,² and there is no previous letter of appointment in his family papers which appear complete as regards his official positions, nor is such a letter registered in the C.O. Correspondence for 1908 to 1914.

The immediate step taken in 1908 was to give Vischer

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1. C.O.446/74 No.30542, Girouard, Zungeru, 22 July 1908.
 2. V.P.: Lugard to Vischer, Zungeru, 31 March 1914.

six months' leave to study the education systems of other colonies. Girouard suggested that he went to Cyprus, Egypt, the Sudan, Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and finally Southern Nigeria.¹ The Colonial Office decided that Cyprus would be of no help and that Sierra Leone could be left out as a report was already being drafted about education there. The Malay Peninsula and Zanzibar were suggested as substitutes. India was ruled out as taking too much time, and there was some discussion about Gambia. Finally it was agreed that a tour of Egypt, the Sudan, the Gold Coast and Lagos should be sufficient.²

Vischer returned to London with the escaped Turks, and when all the arrangements had been made and his secondment confirmed, he travelled to Egypt, arriving in Cairo on February 1st, 1909. He spent from February 10 - 28 in Khartoum, and had a second week in Cairo before leaving Egypt.³

At Cairo he visited two Kuttabs, a primary and a secondary school, the Mansura Industrial School, the Bulak Technical School and the School of Agriculture at Gizeh. The Kuttabs were for boys and girls who received instruction in Arabic from Egyptian religious teachers. Schools which complied with the Code Regulations were eligible for grants in aid from the

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1. C.O.446/74 No.30542, Girouard, Zungeru, 22 July 1908.
 2. Ibid., see minutes, F.G.A. Butler, 27 Aug. 1908, A. Fiddian and C.P. Lucas, 5 Sept. 1908: also draft to Board of Education, 23 Sept. 1908.
 3. C.O.446/89 No.13864, Hesketh Bell, Zungeru, 30 March 1910.

Ministry of Education. The timetable included seventeen lessons on the Koran, six each in writing and arithmetic and five each in reading and dictation. The primary schools' wider curriculum gave English and French together slightly more prominence than Arabic during the four year course. The secondary schools covered a further four years, and the work was on European lines. The five lessons on religious instruction customary in the primary school were omitted, although there remained eight lessons in Arabic to nine in English and French. History in the secondary school extended from Egyptian to cover the whole range from classical Greek to modern European, and physics and chemistry were amongst the subjects added to the curriculum. All the instruction was in Arabic save the lessons on European languages and drawing.¹

Vischer found the Bulak Technical School housed in most impressive buildings. All its students had to be between 14 and 16 years of age, and to hold primary education certificates and testimonials as to their good behaviour. They served a year on probation after their four years in training and received a diploma if they proved satisfactory during that year. Their afternoons were spent having lessons about subjects including algebra, trigonometry, physics and chemistry, irrigation and building, telegraphs, and English

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Report on Tour: Egypt, Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]

and French. The school produced turner fitters, moulders, boiler, copper and tin smiths, joiners, cabinet makers, engravers and painters. The Mansura Industrial school on the other hand gave a three year course in carpentry and joinery, cabinet making and building, for boys of a humbler, artisan origin.¹

The Gizeh Agricultural School also gave a diploma after the completion of four years there and one at work. Pupils concentrated on English, chemistry, physics and mathematics in their first two years, but had eight hours a week of practical work including surveying and botany from their second year. In the last two years they concentrated on veterinary work, botany and entomology, farm engineering and land surveying, with a couple of hours book-keeping and plenty of practical agriculture. Vischer was most impressed by the European comfort of the accommodation provided for pupils and by the modern equipment of the workshops and laboratories. He was also impressed by the fact that all valuable tools, including microscopes, had to be kept under lock and key because, despite those good conduct certificates from their primary schools, many pupils indulged in thieving.²

In fact the opinion that Vischer held after his couple

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Report on tour: Egypt. Vischer. [Sept.1909.]
2. Ibid.

of weeks in Cairo was that something was radically wrong. He himself believed from what he had seen that the Egyptians were being trained to think and work on European lines, but that they were capable of accommodating themselves to outside influences without altering their real mode of thought at all. Politically they did not seem to grasp European methods, and likewise pupils of technical schools often reverted to their traditional primitive methods on leaving. 'I think all this points to the fact that even with the very best material available it is not advisable to hurry on a system of education, the fundamental ideas of which are strange to the country and to the people.'¹ That belief Vischer learned in Cairo. It is important because once methods have been decided, their pace is the next most vital issue. This is true of political or educational policy, and can lead to as much acrimonious dispute and discontent, as can the methods themselves.

At Khartoum in the Sudan Vischer found work which he believed to be more securely based. He stayed with the Director of Education, James Currie, with whom Lugard had corresponded about Mohammedan education.² Vischer visited the Gordon Memorial College which comprised a Training College for Teachers and Kadis, an Upper School, a Primary School and an

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Report on tour: Egypt. Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]

2. See above, Chapter III, p. 95.

Industrial Workshop, and he also saw something of the work done in the elementary vernacular schools. The latter were still mainly in the hands of elderly village sheikhs and the co-operation of these respected men with the Education Department was largely responsible for the popularity of the schools. There were some 20 of them attended by about 1280 pupils. The schools were regularly inspected by an education officer, and the teaching aimed at spreading knowledge amongst the rising generation in order to dispel the credulity and ignorance which could be played upon by fanatics for religious and political ends.

There were six primary schools under the direct control of the Director of Education. Pupils studied the Koran, Arabic translation and penmanship as well as English, arithmetic and the geography of the Nile, Egypt, the Sudan and Africa. They also did some land surveying in their fourth year. The staff were all Egyptian in 1909 and the pupils either took minor government posts or passed to the Gordon College Upper School. This latter should have consisted of four separate schools, but as the ordinary secondary school had not been opened because of the financial depression, the thirty-nine pupils of the Upper School could choose between the training school for assistant engineers or surveyors, and that for the training of teachers. Surveyors took a two year

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Report on tour:
Sudan. Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]

course and the civil engineers a four year one, and all concentrated on English rather than Arabic. The teachers studied geography, Arabic and drawing, as well as more advanced English and mathematics. There were nine men taking the teachers' course when Vischer visited Khartoum, and they gained practical experience by teaching junior classes of the Gordon College.¹

The most highly trained men however, were the products of the Training College for Teachers and Kadis. The original plan had been to select Arabs of good family, well versed in Koranic learning, teach them elementary subjects for three years and then let them choose to specialize in education or law for a further two years. The five year course had proved too short, for the men were too habituated to inveterate memorising to take easily to European methods. It was then decided to send promising youths to the primary schools and from them select the best for higher education. There were 125 pupils in the Training College in 1909, and Vischer was told that the difficulty was to prevent young Sheikhs becoming so Europeanized that after their five year course they returned to their homes quite out of touch with their own environment and duties.²

The other aspects of the Education Department's work had not been neglected despite the emphasis on teacher training.

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1. C.O., 446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Report on tour: Sudan. Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]
 2. Ibid. (For curriculum of the Training College for Teachers and Kadis see Appendix C.)

There was an Industrial Workshop at Khartoum, and others at Omdurman and Kassala. At these, boys had six hours of elementary instruction each week for three years, and also learned carpentry, painting, smiths' work, cotton ginning and primary engineering including the care of certain machinery. Apprentices studied whatever would be useful in their own locality. At Omdurman they concentrated on stone cutting and building. The managers and the two British foremen of these workshops had been carefully selected, and their pupils almost invariably entered Government service.¹

The Sudan Education Department appeared to Vischer to be achieving genuine success because its methods had been so adapted to the requirements and the conditions of the country that education was becoming popular. At Rufaa on the Blue Nile, despite prejudice against the education of girls, forty-six were allowed to attend their own Kuttab because the teacher was a revered local sheikh of great intelligence. Yet officials of the Department regularly inspected this school.²

Much of the success and cohesion of the Education Department depended on these latter whom Vischer admired. He noted that they were nearly all university scholars and several were Gold Medallists. They liked their work and were genuinely interested in the Sudanese. One point about which Vischer remained doubtful was the inclusion of Arabic and religious

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1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Report on tour: Sudan. Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]
 2. Ibid.

instruction in the official syllabus, doubts which were apparently shared by others. 'It is well to remember that the authorities at Khartoum would readily leave out both and employ the time in more profitable studies,' he reported.¹

So far Vischer had inspected only government schools, although he mentioned in his report that remarkably good work was being done in the C.M.S. girls' school at Khartoum. In the Gold Coast Vischer had the opportunity of studying a very different system, for education there was mainly in the hands of five different mission societies, the Basel, the Bremen, Church of England, Roman Catholic and Wesleyan. In 1908 there were 152 inspected mission schools of which 137 received grants in aid, but there were 223 unassisted schools. The payment by results system introduced by the 1887 Education Ordinance was still in use. The Government schools were wholly government supported. There were two at Accra, two at Cape Coast, one at Oda, a military school at Coomasie and a Civil Police School at Accra. Of these schools, Vischer visited the government schools at Accra and the Basel Mission School at Christiansborg.²

At both the girls' and boys' schools at Accra Vischer was impressed by the strong mulatto element and the quick adaptation of the pupils to the European syllabus and way

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1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Report on tour: Sudan. Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]
 2. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Report on tour: Gold Coast. Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]

of thought, The teaching was in English, although the staff were from Sierra Leone or British Guiana. At the Basel Mission School the vernacular was used for the elementary classes and English was taught in the primary stage. The school had a plantation, but in the classrooms the most important subject remained the religious teaching which would develop young native pastors. Vischer discovered that the Basel and Bremen Mission Schools were the only ones in which the first year work was in the vernacular. The societies had printed their own Ga and Twi textbooks. The Basel schools usually had a technical department similar to those at the Government schools of Accra and Cape Coast. At Accra a big secular government technical and industrial institute was being built, and also an undenominational school for training teachers. This was a new step for the Education Department, for in all Government schools a short time each day was set aside for prayers and Bible reading. The only Mohammedan school had closed down because of dissension amongst its leaders, The whole system was controlled by a Board of Education comprising members of the Legislative Council and eight nominees of the Governor, and the Director of Education. The latter was assisted in the actual work by two Inspectors of Schools.¹

Vischer decided that the education system of the Gold Coast was complete and effective without any attempt being made to adapt methods to the racial or national character of the

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Report on tour: Gold Coast. Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]

coastal pupils. He found the clerks and schoolmasters the best West Africans of their kind, and believed that they themselves favoured the Europeanization to which long contact with missions and traders, the mulatto element in their blood and the widespread Christianity had accustomed them. He doubted very much, however, whether the system would achieve success if extended to Ashanti and Northern territories where conditions were so different.¹ That doubt influenced his own choice for Northern Nigeria.

If Vischer's opinion of the system of education in Egypt is compared with his comments on that of the Gold Coast, it becomes clear that he did not set^{out} on his tour with any pre-conceived preference for European education in African territories or for education based on local vernaculars. He had no educational principles in mind for which he was seeking justification. On the contrary, he was considering each Education Department in relation to its own environment, and was not attempting generalizations on colonial education, whether Government or missionary.

Of the mission work in Southern Nigeria Vischer did not gain so favourable an impression. Statutory recognition had first been given to mission schools in 1882, when Lagos was part of the Gold Coast. A year after Lagos became a Crown Colony its own Education ordinance had been passed on which

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Report on tour: Gold Coast. Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]

the grants in aid were still based. Vischer reported that in the Western Provinces, including Lagos, there were eight government schools (four being Mohammedan) and forty aided mission schools. Mission schools receiving grants had to restrict religious instruction to certain hours of the day. The first government Inspector of Schools had been appointed in 1901, but there were no European schoolmasters in the Western Provinces, most of the teachers being Southern Nigerians. The Director had great difficulty in finding competent mallams for the four Mohammedan schools, and Vischer was amazed at the low standard of the Yoruba mallam, his four assistants and the pupils of the Lagos Mohammedan school. At the C.M.S. Grammar School, Lagos, and the C.M.S. Aroloya St. John's School Vischer also found much to criticize in the syllabus. The Greek and Latin cramming he thought unnecessary, and he disliked the English dress and the atmosphere of the schools. He preferred the Roman Catholic schools which he visited, the St. Gregory's Grammar School for boys and the St. Mary's Convent school for girls. He decided that the contrast in the behaviour and manners of the pupils was the result of the Catholic schools having European staff and the C.M.S. teachers all being African.

There was little industrial or technical education offered in Southern Nigeria, and that was mainly to be had at the

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Report on tour: S.N. Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]

Government workshops at Apapa and in the Public Works Department and the Telegraphs Department at Lagos. Apprentices, Vischer reported, were difficult to find and had to be paid to take instruction. Rarely did they enter government service even if they completed the course of training.¹

Vischer decided that the anomalies in the system and the problems facing the Education Department officials arose from initial mistakes which were more easily to be avoided than corrected. Native languages were not officially recognized in the syllabus, yet the English textbooks had not been compiled for African use. Manual work was absent from most school curriculums, and therefore despised. Vischer reported that, as a result of education in the Colony being for so long in mission hands:-

'European notions were often taken for essentials of Christian faith. With the beliefs of his pagan ancestors the convert was encouraged to discard his manners and change his mode of living for the one followed by his northern pastor ... The result of this process is the modern Coast negro, a lamentable tragedy fully realized by the more intelligent native.' 2

He considered that the Education Department's weakness lay in its lack of control over those schools which were willing to forego grants in aid and therefore might ignore Government Regulations on education.³

Lagos seemed to provide a warning. The question remained

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Report on tour: S.N. Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

which of the education systems Vischer had seen was the most applicable to the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, or from which would he derive aid in working out his own scheme. Although Vischer approved of what he saw in the Gold Coast in 1909, he had expressed doubt as to the wisdom of extending that system to the Northern Territories. Clearly the peoples of Northern Nigeria also had little in common with those coastal negroes. The pagans who lived on the banks of the Niger and the Benue and were to be found as far north as the provinces of Yola, Zaria and Bauchi, were at primitive stages and lacked that long contact with European ways which history had afforded to the coastal peoples, particularly those of the Gold Coast.¹ The principal emirates of the Protectorate were Mohammedan, as were the Fulani rulers, the Kanuris of Bornu and the majority of the Hausas. Their civilization had come from the north, from the north-west and Morocco via the Fez-Aiwalatin route, from the north-east and Egypt via the Tripoli-Pezzan desert route.² The Kanem Empire had covered the territory from Meroe on the Nile to west of Lake Chad, and Bornu was its last stronghold.³ The Songhay Empire had included at one time Sokoto, Kano, Katsina, Niger and Zaria

1. See C.K. Meek: The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, 2 vols. (O.U.P., London, 1925.) Also J.R. Wilson-Haffenden: The Red Men of Nigeria. (Seeley, London, 1930.)

2. Flora Shaw: op.cit., pp.15-18.

3. Ibid., pp.268, 272.

provinces.¹ Not all the destruction of the Moors,² the internecine warfare of the Hausa states, irruption of Othman dan Fodio and the rivalry of Sokoto and Bornu had served to obliterate the northern inheritance. Lugard had already decided that although some Fulani rulers were degenerate, their administrative system could be made sound:³ Girouard had already suggested the development of the Kuttabs as the probable general line on which education would be encouraged.⁴ Vischer now saw an affinity between the needs of Northern Nigeria and the work being done in the Sudan. He advocated the establishment of a system similar to that of the Sudan, a system which not only appealed to his historical sense but was eminently suited to the Administration's policy. Vischer's actual plan was submitted to the Acting-Governor in September, 1909.⁵

Vischer proposed that the Government schools should be confined to Mohammedan districts and that the missions be free to extend their work amongst the pagans. Their schools were to be subject to inspection by officials of the Education Department with a view to the eventual formation of a system

1. Flora Shaw: op.cit., p.161.

2. Ibid., p.361.

3. See above, Chapter II, p.70.

4. C.O.446/74 No.30542, Girouard, Zungeru, 22 July 1908.

5. C.O.446/89 No.13864, Hesketh Bell, Zungeru, 31 March 1910.

of grants in aid based on efficiency. The extension of Government schools to pagan areas was to be considered after the successful establishment of Mohammedan schools. In this way Vischer hoped to encourage the civilising work done by the missions and yet not lose all control over it, which point was precisely the one Girouard had in mind in his remarks on education in the Annual Report 1907-08. The religious susceptibilities of the Mohammedans were to be spared the intrusion of mission schools, and in the Government schools actual religious teaching was to be avoided and lessons on ethical values substituted e.g. honesty, loyalty, patriotism. Those schools for chiefs' sons already in existence were to be reorganized, and the first Government elementary school was planned for Autumn 1910, to be followed a year later by a primary school in a central position. Kano was the site Vischer suggested, and there he hoped to have industrial workshops and even a secondary school. His staff were to be Europeans, or natives of the existing mallam class of Northern Nigeria. He advocated the drawing up of an Education Code by the members of the Education Department to be submitted to the Governor before the elementary schools were opened. He also suggested the formation of an Advisory Board, 'such as exists in the Egyptian Sudan.'¹

These were the actual steps Vischer advised, but he

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, General Ideas by Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]

derived his plans from certain principles which he stated fully in his report. These show the influence of observations he made during his tour, and also his comprehension of the necessity to find some balance between the natives' needs and those of the Administration. The training was to be such as would:-

- 1) Develop the national and racial characteristics of the natives on such lines as would enable them to use their own moral and physical forces to the best advantage.
- 2) Widen their mental horizon without destroying their respect for race or parentage.
- 3) Supply men for employment by the Government.
- 4) Produce men who would be able to carry on the Native Administration in the spirit of Government.
- 5) Impart sufficient knowledge of Western ideas to enable the natives to meet the influx of traders etc. from the coast with the advent of the railway on equal terms.
- 6) Avoid creating a 'Babu' class.
- 7) Avoid encouraging the idea readily formed by the African that it is more honourable to sit in an office than to earn a living by manual labour by introducing at the earliest opportunity technical instruction side by side with purely clerical teaching.

Each type of school was to further some of these aims

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, General Ideas by Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]

and thus to contribute to the cumulative influence on the Mohammedan states. The schools for the sons of chiefs were to train future emirs, alkalís and other officials to understand the Government's requirements and to help formulate and fulfil the policies of the Native Administrations. The elementary schools would teach the elements of the 3 Rs in the vernacular, and a little hygiene, geography, history and gardening, which would all help to lessen the ignorance of the villagers, and on their resumption of village work make them of benefit to their fellows rather than social misfits. Brighter pupils would pass to the primary school where they might learn English and fit themselves for clerkships or employment on the railway, whilst practical boys would learn to improve their native crafts in the industrial workshops, and also, if they wished, the techniques useful to them in the Railway, Marine, Telegraphs or Public Works Departments.¹ There is however no suggestion in Vischer's report of deliberate proportioning by which opportunities and output might be balanced. It was not of course a question of moment in 1909. The choice between government or private employment would, moreover, rest with the individual.

Of all Vischer's plan the vital points are his first two. The very essence of his work was to develop the natural characteristics of his Nigerian pupils that they might use them to the best advantage in the changing circumstances brought

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, General Ideas by Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]

about by a British Protectorate, and yet not be isolated from their families and homes, in which daily life would differ very slightly, if at all, from in the years before the declaration of the Protectorate. Points (1) and (2) of Vischer's list, which have since been echoed over and over again, were not just phrases to him, but definite aims which he hoped to achieve. If one considers his own education in Switzerland, Germany and England, and his adoption of British nationality in order to serve Africa, while yet remaining proud of his Swiss heritage, it becomes clear that Vischer was drawing on his own experience. He wished Africa to gain from Europe without losing its own multiple identities.

Vischer showed conscious recognition - in point (5) - that an intensification of the clash between indigenous and intrusive cultures would result inevitably from the opening up of the country by the railway, and he believed that the Government's duty was to protect the peoples of the Protectorate from the evils attendant on such a clash - or rather to teach them to protect themselves. Thus education would make easier the dual mandate.

Although there is no mention in Vischer's report of either the phrase "dual mandate" or of "Indirect Rule" - both of which became current later when Lugard's work was appreciated - it is significant that Vischer wrote to Lugard, who was in Hong Kong, whilst drawing up his plans for education in

Northern Nigeria. Although Lugard had left the Protectorate in 1906, when Vischer had been a Third Class Resident, it was from him that Vischer received advice. Lugard later declared that he could not remember the occasion, but Vischer remembered it years later, and he appears to have thought that Girouard's choice of him for the work was due in some way to Lugard.¹ The important fact which is clear, however, is the parallel between Lugard's political aims and Vischer's educational policy. The latter was clearly suited to the political system which Lugard had bequeathed to his successors, Girouard and Hesketh Bell, and which was being nurtured so carefully in the Northern Provinces. A grafting of the best in European to the best in an African civilization, was the high ideal. Nevertheless, if Indirect Rule was to be a practicable proposition, it was in the interests of all to see that every official from emir to clerk received training fitting him morally and practically for his work. Points (3) and (4) following hard upon (1) and (2) express a duality in Vischer's aims, though not necessarily a conflict.

Such were the principles and the plan as Vischer conceived them. The decision that the government should confine itself at first to Mohammedan education was not of course solely his. It arose naturally out of all the discussions and arguments of the past years concerning the place of the mission societies in the Protectorate. Girouard had already declared its

1. See below, Chapter VII, p.396.

necessity both to the Colonial Office¹ and to the public on financial grounds.² £1000 was all that could be spared in the Estimates for 1908-09. Vischer hoped to make parents pay for their children's education and to encourage the Native Administrations to take over part of the burden, including the upkeep of the elementary vernacular schools.³ He had hopes, somewhat optimistic according to the Colonial Office,⁴ that, 'firms at home who will eventually supply the needs created by advanced technical instruction in this country'⁵ would help by private subscription to supply the initial plant for the workshops. Clearly the financing of Mohammedan government education presented enough problems, and the pagan areas were of necessity neglected. Equally obviously, Girouard had realized that before he chose Hanns Vischer, an Arabic and Hausa scholar, for the work.

The question of education was 'close to Sir Percy Girouard's heart.'⁶ He would seem to have had certain strong opinions of his own. In October, 1908, prior to Vischer's tour, Girouard desired Colonial Office permission to publish

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1. C.O.446/75 No.42885, Girouard, Zungeru, 17 Oct. 1908.
 2. Parl.Pap. 1909 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1907-8. [Cd.4448-3.] p.71.
 3. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, General Ideas by Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]
 4. Ibid., marginal comment by C. Strachey. [July 1910.]
 5. Ibid., enclosure, General Ideas by Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]
 6. C.O.446/74 No.30542, minute, F.G.A. Butler, 27 Aug. 1910.

some statement of policy, but was advised to await Hanns Vischer's report.¹ Nevertheless Girouard's Annual Report for 1907-08 reflects the sentiments, and in part the very phrases of that October despatch. He suggested in both that the "probable" development of government Mohammedan education would adhere to the lines adopted by Lord Cromer in the Sudan, with first a school for teachers under a Director of Education, and then the gradual introduction of elementary education through the Kuttabs. He declared that he would support mission schools in predominantly pagan areas if the societies would co-operate with the Government and include instruction in industrial work and the simplest Christian teaching in their syllabi, reserving English and more advanced education for intelligent pupils or the sons of headmen and chiefs.² The influence of Girouard's previous experience in the Egyptian Sudan was strong.

Although the Governor naturally chose a political officer likely to be sympathetic towards his views, yet Vischer was given the freedom to make his own enquiries and reach his own conclusions.³ His report was sent to the Acting-Governor in September 1909, when Sir Percy Girouard had already left the Protectorate, and Sir Henry Hesketh Bell had not taken over.

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1. C.O.446/75 No.42885, draft reply, 1 Jan. 1909.
 2. *Ibid.*, Girouard, Zungeru, 17 Oct. 1908: also Parl.Pap. 1909 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1907-8. [Cd. 4448-3.] pp.70-1.
 3. C.O.446/75 No.42885, minute, C. Strachey, 3 Dec. 1908.

It was Spring, 1910, before the Colonial Office received a copy of Vischer's report with Hesketh Bell's comments and approval.¹ A cautious minute was made to the effect that in the Sudan the organization of the Education Department was 'more elaborate'² but official approval was expressed of the general plan, until some idea of the way in which the details worked in practice could be gained.³ Vischer had, however, already taken the initial steps to introduce Government education into the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria.

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1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, Hesketh Bell, Zungeru, 30 March 1910.
 2. Ibid., marginal comment by C. Strachey. [July 1910.]
 3. Ibid., minute, C. Strachey, 23 July 1910, and draft reply, 25 Aug. 1910.

PART II. THE ALTERNATIVE IN PRACTICE: VISCHER'S WORK 1909-13.

Although Hanns Vischer's plan was submitted in September 1909, and the Kano elementary school was to be opened in October 1910,¹ Vischer's duties began in May 1909, when he returned to the Protectorate after his tour.² Whilst preparing his report he had also to acquaint himself with the existing state of both Mohammedan and mission education.

It appears that certain questions had been put to the mission societies by the Administration, for the C.M.S. Northern Nigerian Mission recorded its answers in the Executive Committee Minutes of February 1909.³ The date makes it likely that Girouard rather than Vischer, then on tour in Egypt, was responsible for the form, at least, which these questions took. The Committee asserted in its reply to the Secretary of the Administration that the missionaries always taught in the vernacular in the early stages of education before passing to Hausa in the Roman character. The Committee said it would not approve the teaching of pagans in Hausa right from the start if they had their own other vernaculars,

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1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, Hesketh Bell, Zungeru, 30 March 1910, and enclosures.
 2. L.P.: Vischer to Lugard, Kano, 27 March 1910.
 3. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No.56, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 15 Feb. 1909.

but would approve the introduction of English once a high standard of reading and writing in the vernacular had been attained. English dress, on the other hand, was discouraged by the C.M.S. and pupil teachers at Lokoja wore a uniform based on native dress. The Committee expressed the hope that an Education Board would soon be established on which the societies would be represented.¹ The Committee's deliberations show every sign of a desire to cooperate, and as Vischer was to confine himself for several years to Mohammedan education a clash on matters educational was unlikely, for the C.M.S. still had only the two stations of Bida and Zaria in the Mohammedan provinces. The forward movement had made no progress at all during Sir Percy Girouard's tenure of office.

Girouard was consistent throughout. At his first interview with Bishop Tugwell he intimated that he might demand the withdrawal of the C.M.S. from Zaria, and he declined to make any statement of policy until he had investigated the political situation thoroughly.² His refusal to support the Zaria school was but one instance of his general refusal to countenance mission expansion in the north. Both Tugwell and Alvarez believed in the sincerity of Girouard's convictions. He did not hide the fact that he believed that the C.M.S. had

1. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No.56, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 15 Feb.1909.

2. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 5, Tugwell, Lokoja, 18 Dec. 1907.

pressed forward with its Zaria scheme, its extension in Bida, and the introduction of women at the Zaria station during the interregnum between Lugard's departure and his own arrival, and that in a manner that savoured of the underhand. He also took exception to open air baptisms performed at Zaria, for he thought that ceremony appertained to Baptists alone and was a deliberate innovation of certain C.M.S. missionaries for propaganda purposes which might have led to a breach of the peace.¹ He maintained strongly his refusal to allow the C.M.S. entry into Kano.

Lugard had written on March 16th, 1905, that he had no actual objections to Miller going to Kano provided that certain conditions laid down by the local Resident were observed. These then included that the missionary should live in the European station and conduct his work privately and with discretion.² The C.M.S. lacked the personnel to allow Miller to seize this opportunity.³ The latter made further inquiries in May, 1907, when the Resident at Kano was Colonel Festing. The latter, in his reply that August, referred to the fact that the Satiru and Hadeija troubles had occurred since the provisional 1905 permission, deprecated Miller's idea of

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1. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No.13, Alvarez, Zungeru, 31 Dec.1907, also No. 43, enclosure, Orr to Miller, 7 Jan. 1908.
 2. C.M.S. 1912 (N.N.) No.90, Memorandum on Kano, undated.
 3. C.M.S. 1905 (H.) No.26, Miller, Zaria, 11 April 1905; also C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No.9, Miller, Zaria, 11 Dec. 1905.

... sending a West Indian schoolmaster, W.A. Thompson, to Kano¹ alone as a preliminary step, and referred Miller to Girouard. Girouard refused permission and maintained his refusal on the grounds of security.² He was supported by the Colonial Office, for after a petition from Salisbury Square Crewe directed the reply that permission could not be granted 'because of the repeated and unanimous opinion of all the responsible Residents of the Northern (Mohammedan) Provinces of Northern Nigeria to the effect that any extension of mission enterprise in those provinces would at the present time be undesirable and even dangerous.'³ The only hope that Girouard ever held out was that the Baro-Kano railway would, on completion, aid security by providing quick transport and accustoming the northerners to a larger influx of Europeans and to their ways, and in such altered conditions the missionaries might be allowed entrance to Kano.⁴

As a result of these deliberations and decisions Vischer had the whole field of the Northern Provinces north of Zaria for his own work. He was relieved moreover of the responsibility for the freed slaves, a responsibility which Lugard had asserted

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1. C.M.S. Précis Book N.N. 1908, No.32, Correspondence of Miller with Government officials.
 2. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No.43, enclosure, Orr to Miller, Zaria, 7 Jan. 1908: also No.62, Correspondence relating to Girouard's interview at S.S., 28 April 1908.
 3. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No.80, C.O. to S.S., 21 July 1909.
 4. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No.62, Correspondence relating to Girouard's interview at S.S., 28 April 1908.

belonged to the Administration.¹ The first proper provision for these people had been made when the Zungeru Home was opened in November, 1903, and children previously cared for at Lokoja were transferred there under the care of a European matron and two native matrons.² To lower the death rate amongst children freed from caravans dealing with German Adamawa who had not the strength to travel to Zungeru, another home was opened in 1904 in Bornu.³ These children received a practical education of which Lugard approved. There was laundry work, gardening, baking, sewing and carpentry in the daily routine, as well as the most elementary clerical education which cannot have made much impression on the ever-changing inmates. Youngsters left to work as servants in houses chosen by senior officials, women married, boys were apprenticed, many died, but all the time more came in, freed from marauding traders. Thus on January 1st, 1904, there were 184 women and children at Zungeru, 217 were received during the year but 223 left the Home, and therefore there were 178 present on December 31st.⁴ At the Bornu Home the freed slaves learned to make pottery and mats and to do leather and smith's work, but the increase in

1. C.O.446/10 No.23453, Lugard, Jebba, 16 June 1900;
also C.O.446/22 No.10573, Lugard, Lokoja, 12 Feb.1902.

2. Parl. Pap. 1905 LII Report on N.N. for 1903. [Cd.2238-14.7
p.12.

3. Parl.Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N.for 1904. [Cd.2684-22.7
p.80.

4. Ibid., p. 79.

adults led to a village being built which it was hoped would become self-supporting. The total cost of both Homes was £1,695.11.10d during 1905, less the £105 earned by the freed slaves. £120 was contributed towards the cost by the Giles Trust Fund.¹ Lugard had declared that whilst the Protectorate depended on an Imperial grant in aid the Government had to limit its support of philanthropic and educational work,² but had felt responsible for these freed slaves. Girouard now allowed the S.U.M. to take charge of them.

The S.U.M. had considered the erection of a Home at Djen on the borders of the Yola and Muri Provinces as a memorial to Mrs. Karl Kumm, wife of the pioneer. It was hoped that liberated slaves would return to their own peoples as evangelists, thus furthering the Christian cause.³ The first site proved unhealthy and quite unsuitable, and the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home was finally erected at Rumasha in Nassarawa Province.⁴ The Bornu Home had been closed in November, 1907, and now the 164 inmates of the Zungeru Home were transferred to Rumasha, the Government paying an annual subsidy of about £500 for their keep.⁵ The Home was opened on August 24th, 1909,

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1. Parl. Pap. 1907 LIV Report on N.N. for 1905-6 [Cd.3285-3.] p.59
 2. Parl. Pap. 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904 [Cd.2684-22.] p.143n.
 3. S.U.M. Light bearer III, Jan. 1907, p.20.
 4. Parl. Pap. 1909 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1907-8 [Cd.4448-3.] p.33.
 5. Parl. Pap. 1911 LI Report on N.N. for 1909. [Cd.5467-10.] p.14.

by William Wallace, the Acting Governor. In his speech he stressed the need for 'an improved agricultural system before booklearning, combined with the simplest Christian teaching and that in their own language or in Hausa'.¹ The Government was encouraging the Christian education of these children, whilst north of Zaria Vischer founded secular Government education for Mohammedans.

Since the first elementary school was scheduled for October, 1910, and he did not wish to employ coastal negroes or West Indians as teachers, Vischer began with a teacher training class at Kano in September, 1909.² The Residents of Sokoto, Kano and Katsina Provinces exerted their persuasive powers on the Emirs to obtain mallams as pupils for the school. It was not an easy task. The first four mallams from Sokoto included one cured lunatic, and the other three were of the poorest type and lived on the patronage of less literate but wealthy natives.³ Katsina and Kano produced a better type of man, but many of the first to be trained can hardly have justified Girouard's high estimation of the average mallam's character.⁴ A dozen mallams of varying ages gathered daily

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1. S.U.M. Light bearer V, Oct. 1909, between pp. 184, 185.
 2. L.P.: Vischer to Lugard, Kano, 27 March 1910.
 3. G.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Vischer to Hesketh Bell, Kano, 10 March 1910.
 4. See above, p.

at two round native huts at Nassarawa, outside Kano city.

'Dans les plis obscurs de ces coeurs de noir, luttaiient le mépris, la curiosité et la peur. Ne comprenant pas les desseins du blanc, ils le soupçonnaient d'intentions utilitaires et déloyales.'¹

From the first Vischer held that the native mind justified his highest hopes but that a very real, deep-rooted distrust and even hatred had to be overcome before any constructive work could be done. Lengthy discussions helped to override suspicion and gradually the syllabus covering Hausa reading and writing in the Roman script, arithmetic up to simple decimals and fractions, and the geography of the Protectorate, of Africa and then the Empire, was begun.

Vischer taught from 8 a.m. to 12 noon and 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. He was working alone without text-books or any real school equipment. Once initial suspicion waned the numbers rose steadily. There were 35 mallams attending school in March, 1910, but before the year was out there were 100.²

A small class for the sons of chiefs was also begun, and had thirty-one pupils that March. For this class too the pupils could only be gained by Residents exercising their most persuasive powers. No chiefs wished to send his son to Kano

1. Isabelle Vischer: Croquis et Souvenirs de la Nigérie du Nord (Attinger, Paris-Neuchatel, 1917) pp.113-14.

2. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Vischer to Hesketh Bell, Kano, 10 March 1910.

to a boarding school the purpose of which he could not understand. When the Emirs of Dambam and Jemare of the Katagum Division agreed to send their children to Vischer neither they nor their people expected to see the boys again and the children left their homes accompanied by a weeping procession. The return of the boys, perfectly healthy and happy, for the holidays caused a sensation.¹

To teach this class Vischer had the help of three of the more advanced mallams. The curriculum was a modified version of that used for the teachers themselves, but the boys had lessons in agriculture, particular attention being paid to the cultivation of crops which might form the staples for exports. These lessons were given in the school garden which an Arab cultivated. Vischer wished to connect manual and classroom subjects together within the syllabus, for he believed it was wrong that boys should not be able to use their hands. Above all, however, he was trying to instil the 'spirit of an English public school into this work', and he reported that 'the boys are as open to this as any boy at home.'² The belief was that this form of character training would enable the next generation of Native Administration officials to cooperate with the British officials more easily.

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Vischer to Hesketh Bell, Kano, 10 March 1910.

2. Ibid.

Lugard had this same concern for the character training of pupils in Government schools.¹

Vischer was the supervisor of the technical instruction at this period, although there was a carpenter from Onitsha who gave instruction in leather work and in some smith's work. Vischer wished the technical and elementary classes to be associated. Whilst fearing that neglect might result in lack of apprentices for Public Works Departments, he was also afraid of providing expensive training within the schools which would be of no use to pupils who had to earn their livings in villages. He believed that original neglect of technical instruction was responsible for the shortage of apprentices in Lagos, and both Currie at Khartoum and Dunlop in Cairo had warned him not to provide training unrelated to conditions outside the schools. The technical school had, however, been started by these experimental classes, and Vischer was already, in 1910, looking forward to the appointment of a technical instructor.²

The Education Department was growing at this time pari passu with the development of a system of education. There appears to have been no official creation of an Education Department on any particular date. Vischer was promoted to

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1. C.O.583/14 No.4527, Lugard, Govt. House, 28 Oct. 1914: also Parl. Pap. 1919 XXXVI Report by Sir F.D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration 1912-19 [Cmd.468.] p.62.
 2. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Vischer to Hesketh Bell, Kano, 10 March 1910.

2nd Class Resident on the recommendation of Hesketh Bell, who described Vischer as Superintendent of the Nassarawa Schools acting as Director of Education.¹ Since Lugard appointed Vischer Director of Education for Northern Nigeria as from January 1st, 1914,² it would appear that until then Vischer remained a political officer seconded to educational work. In 1910 he needed assistance and requested, and obtained, the appointment of F. Urling Smith of the Egyptian Education Department who was given the rank of 3rd Class Resident.³ Urling Smith was also referred to as Superintendent of the Nassarawa schools,⁴ later becoming Senior Superintendent⁵ on the appointment of junior officials. I have therefore found it simplest to adopt the usage of Colonial Annual Reports from 1909⁶ which refer to Vischer as Director of Education. The lateness of his actual appointment as Director in March, 1914,

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1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Hesketh Bell, Zungeru, 30 March 1910.
 2. V.P.: Lugard to Vischer, Zungeru, 31 March 1914.
 3. C.O.446/89 No.13864, Hesketh Bell, Zungeru, 30 March 1910.
 4. Ibid., enclosure, Estimates. (undated).
 5. Annual Report by D. of E. (N.N.) for 1913, p.1.
 6. Parl. Pap. LI Report on N.N. for 1909. [Cd.5467-10.] p.13.

confirms that to the Government Vischer's educational projects¹ seemed experimental until at least 1913.

The money for the initial work was provided partly from the revenues of the Central Government and partly by the Beit el Mal of Kano. The system of Native Treasuries owed its origin largely to the work of two political officers, C.L. Temple and H.R. Palmer.² Through these Treasuries the Native Administrations first shouldered real responsibilities. The system was inaugurated in 1910-11, at precisely the time when Vischer could most benefit by it. The total amount of taxes paid by a native unit was divided into four equal shares of which two went straight into the general revenue of the Protectorate, whilst the other two were paid into the newly created Treasury of the appropriate Native Administration. Each Emir had a fixed civil list covering his own emoluments, his police, messengers, councillors, officials in charge of public works and his judges. This civil list was offset by part of one share received by the Native Administration's Treasury, the remainder of that share being devoted to actual public works, a reserve fund and such charities etc. as accorded with Mohammedan tenets. The second share was divided amongst the district and village heads in proportion to the

1. See above, p. 175.

2. Parl. Pap. 1912-13 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1910-11.
[Cd.6007-4.] p.4.

amounts of rents and taxes for which they were responsible, although in certain provinces the district heads were given fixed salaries. The funds administered by the Native Treasuries during 1910 amounted to £200,000,¹ and it was a triumph for the principles involved that the Emir of Kano set aside £1000 for the Nassarawa Schools. Moreover he made it an annual grant, and his example was followed by the Shehu of Bornu and the Emirs of Bauchu and Muri who contributed £120, £100, and £50 respectively.²

The monies received from the Government and the Kano Beit-el-Mal were expended separately, the division in uses being clear from Vischer's Estimates of Expenditure 1910-11.³

The European staff's salaries and allowances were paid by the Government, but the African teachers and instructors salaries came from Beit el Mal funds, as did the grants to poor mallams and the allowances for apprentices. The office servant was the Government's responsibility, but the two servants attached to the schools were paid for by the Native Treasury.

So far the figures are clear, but while the Government grant included the equipment of the technical school and workshops, the materials used by the craftsmen were entered under

1. Parl. Pap. 1912-13 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1910-11
[Cd.6007-4.) p.33.

2. Ibid., p. 18.

3. See Appendix E, pp.434-5.

the Beit el Mal grant. Perhaps this division of responsibility was intended to reflect the fact that technical education was a British importation, whilst the crafts were indigenous to Northern Nigeria.

The most interesting point is that £110 of the Beit el Mal grant was allotted to the upkeep and extension of the school buildings. Vischer wanted the Native Administrations to realize that the schools belonged to the provinces, and from 1910 the responsibility for the building rested upon the Native Treasuries.

The £1000 of the Beit el Mal grant was trebled by the Government offer of £2000.¹ Vischer had estimated his expenses for 1910 at £1795.12. 6d.² but he spent only £923³ of the £2000 available. The reason was that the Technical workshops were not fully organized by the end of the year and Urling Smith, coming during the year, did not draw a full year's salary.

Vischer still had hopes of persuading commercial concerns to support his venture. Sir Alfred Jones of the Elder Dempster Company died on Dec. 13, 1909. From the residue of his estate which was in the hands of certain trustees he directed that charitable grants should be made from time to

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1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, Hesketh Bell, Zungeru, 30 March 1910.
 2. See Appendix E, p.434.
 3. Parl. Pap.1912-13 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1910-11
[Cd.6007-4.] p.10.

time, and although he did not bind the trustees in any way, Sir Alfred suggested six different forms which such grants might take. The first of these was towards 'the technical education of natives on the west Coast of Africa.'¹ Hesketh Bell informed the Colonial Office in March, 1910, that Vischer hoped for some grant under the terms of the will when the time came for an institute to be built.²

The horse allowances to the two Europeans emphasizes the difference between the hopes and the reality of 1910. Two British officials had charge of the education of a population 'roughly estimated at 10,000,000'³ and covering an area of over 250,000 sq. miles. There were no roads in the European sense. The railway was being extended from Baro to Kano, but would not reach that town until 1911 - the year after Vischer began the Nassarawa schools - and branch lines were non-existent. Steamers could be used on the Niger and the Benue, but away from the rivers or the railway, horses were essential. The only cars in the Protectorate were those used by the Governor. Hence the vital importance of the horse allowances, but whereas the Superintendent, Urling Smith, received £30 p.a.

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1. Will of Sir Alfred Jones, 8 Oct. 1904 (probate granted 8 Jan. 1910) clauses 12-16.
 2. C.C.446/89 No.13864, Hesketh Bell, Zungeru, 30 March 1910. (Technical education was so delayed by the 1914-18 war that the Protectorate was unable to benefit from this will while Vischer was Director.)
 3. Parl. Pap.1912-13 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1910-11
[Cd.6007-4.] p.21.

as a horse allowance, the Director, Vischer, had a horse and tent allowance amounting to £45 p.a.¹ One wonders if only Directors were permitted tents, or whether only one of the men would be sleeping out at a time and therefore the tent might be shared satisfactorily. One hopes so.

The pace of all plans had to be slowed to suit the horses' pace, or, if baggage was to be carried, to the pace of the native carriers. The one advantage was that the traveller came nearer to the people and the country than if he had passed by with speed and ease. However, in the conditions of 1910, Vischer chose the neighbourhood of Kano for his schools because the great market town was the focal point of caravan routes from all parts of the Protectorate and from the Sahara beyond and from those North African areas, the influence of which, on the lives of the Northern Nigerians, he had already traced. Lacking staff and transport, Vischer had to draw his pupils to one accessible point. He felt most strongly, however, that once the schools were organized and his assistant present, he himself should be free to travel the Provinces breaking down that hostility to his work which yet remained very real.²

The Mohammedans had to be convinced that this education

1. See Appendix E, p. 434.

2. C.O. 446/89 No. 13864, Hesketh Bell, Zungeru, 30 March 1910.

had no Christian bias. Vischer made every possible concession to them. No school was held on Sunday or on Friday, on which day the Mohammedan pupils were encouraged to attend religious instruction and worship at the local mosque, for Vischer believed it better for a man to be a staunch Mohammedan than to be of no faith at all. The annual two months holiday not only covered the Mohammedan fast and festival of Rhamadan, but left the boys time to journey to their homes to observe the occasion with their families. The pupils were encouraged to keep in touch with their parents and to reassure the latter the boys were allowed to bring their own little retinues to Nassarawa. Pupils of each province had their own compound, and there they lived with their attendants, and sometimes their wives, in conditions related as closely as possible to their homes.¹ This system had the great merit of not breaking the pattern of the boys' lives and Vischer intended that when they returned to their homes for good they would not have to re-adjust themselves to their environment. He wished to train the plant, not uproot it.

Each compound was in the charge of a mallam, and the European staff and a medical officer inspected it regularly.² These compounds were concern of the Native Treasuries, but in 1910 the chiefs were paying £5 p.a. in fees for their sons.³ By

1. Imperial Education Conference Papers III. Educational Systems of the Chief colonies not possessing responsible Government. (N.N.) 1913, p.p. 4-5.

2. Ibid.

3. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Vischer to Hesketh Bell, Kano, 10 March 1910.

the end of 1911 there were ninety-seven boys in the Chiefs' Sons' School, all of whom might be expected to hold office and to exert considerable influence on their local Administrations¹ when they returned to their people.

As the numbers grew the shortage of text-books became more and more apparent. Vischer was in London during the summer months of 1911 conferring with L.C.C. officials and others about text-books, and he was in haste to produce those which he needed for the new school year, beginning in October after the Rhamadan holiday.² His initial difficulty had been the lack of any recognized alphabet or spellings by which to show Hausa words in the Roman script.

The English alphabet had been considered inadequate for all Hausa sounds, and as early as April 1910, Tugwell had proposed to Hesketh Bell that a committee composed of Miller and Bargery for the C.M.S., and Vischer, Palmer, and perhaps Arnett, for the Administration should meet to discuss problems of the Hausa language. Tugwell reported that Hesketh Bell had agreed to delay the publication of Vischer's Hausa primers until the committee had met and agreed upon an alphabet to form a working basis.³ In May 1910 the Governor reported that Vischer had passed a preliminary memorandum amongst Government

1. Parl. Pap. 1912-13 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1911
[Cd.6007-38.] p.11.

2. C.O.446/103 No.1874, Vischer, London, 8 June 1911.

3. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No.37, Tugwell to Alvarez, River
Kaduna, 1 April, 1910.

officials, and had sent a copy of it to Miller at Zaria.¹ All the Protestant mission societies held a meeting at Lokoja in June 1910, but they were not in agreement amongst themselves on many translation questions although they all accepted a standard alphabet for Hausa.² Alvarez deplored the fact that language questions 'always seem to excite the strongest feeling between missionaries.'³

In March 1911 the C.M.S. still hoped that Miller and Alvarez would both attend a Hausa language conference with Vischer.⁴ Some correspondence must have passed between the mission and the Administration for in May, Temple, the Acting-Governor, told Alvarez that he was not prepared to initiate further discussion by correspondence or conference. The Government would delay no longer for Vischer had approved a final memorandum which Hesketh Bell had accepted.⁵ The need for haste is obvious. Vischer must have completed some of his books by then, for in June eighteen of his Hausa Readers were at the printers in London.⁶

C.M.S. missionaries claimed that Vischer's final memorandum was not submitted to other scholars for criticism,⁷ but

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1. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 58, Memo. of interviews between Hesketh Bell and Alvarez, Lokoja, 24 May 1910.
 2. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 93, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 7-11 Aug. 1911.
 3. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 89, Alvarez, Lokoja, 6 Sept. 1910.
 4. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 38, Executive Committee Minutes, Zaria and Kaduna, 11-23 March 1911.
 5. Ibid., No. 71, Alvarez, Zungeru, 30 May 1911.
 6. C.O.446/103 No.1874, Vischer, London, 8 June 1911.
 7. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 71, Alvarez, Zungeru, 30 May 1911.

when Vischer's article, Rules for Hausa Spelling, was published early in 1912, he cited Miller and six political officers ¹ as having made helpful recommendations. The suggestions must have followed the circulation of Vischer's first memorandum. There is no evidence that Hesketh Bell considered himself bound to promote a joint language conference.

The alphabet used by Vischer had twenty-eight letters being peculiar to it. The letters c, q, v, x, were eliminated, the complete alphabet being:-

a b ḅ c h d ḍ e f g h i j k ḳ l m n o p r s sh t ts u w y z. ²

That discussed by the missions at Lokoja had twenty-nine letters, q and x alone being removed:-

a b ḅ c c̣ d ḍ e f g h i j k ḳ l m n o p r s ṣ t u v w y z. ³

The missionaries had been seeking a standard alphabet to which they might add different letters for Hausa, Nupe, Yoruba and for the languages of the Benue districts. ⁴ Vischer was concerned solely with Hausa, and so it is not surprising that the results differed.

Vischer had made a thorough study of spelling and grammatical problems too, for in the article he dealt with

1. H. Vischer: Rules for Hausa Spelling, J.R.A.S. XI 1912 April p.340.
2. Ibid.
3. C.M.S. 1911. (N.N.) No. 93, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 7-11 Aug. 1911.
4. Ibid.

consonants, vowels, diphthongs, hyphens, capital letters, pronouns, prepositions, and the formation of plurals and of tenses of verbs. He ruled that many Arabic words long ago incorporated in Hausa, including religious and judicial terms should be spelt as pronounced in Hausa, whilst Arabic names would be transcribed. English words he wanted to translate into Hausa 'leaving it to the next generation to decide the question of their future form.'¹

For many phrases Vischer could find no Hausa equivalents in 1911. Two of his four progressive readers dealt with hygiene and certain technical instruction and these had to await completion in Nigeria as 'the necessary words do not yet exist in Hausa and they can only be found by consulting the more learned natives on the spot.'² The hygiene book he left therefore in the hands of Dr. Cameron Blair who acted as medical officer for the Nassarawa schools. Vischer inserted certain general principles of hygiene into his Readers to suffice until Blair's work was finished.³

The two arithmetic books which Vischer was preparing in 1911 - one for use in the primary school, the other as a hand-book for teachers in the elementary school - had to be written

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1. H. Vischer: Rules for Hausa Spelling J.R.A.S. XI
1912 April p.345.
 2. C.O.446/103 No.18794, Vischer, London, 8 June 1911.
 3. Ibid.

in English and no geometry text-books could be prepared until some of the mallams should be sufficiently advanced, both in languages and mathematics, to assist in its construction. The maps for the geography lessons were to show physical features and agricultural and commercial aspects rather than political divisions, and a wall map of Africa had been prepared by the summer of 1911, and another of Nigeria was planned. Vischer informed the Colonial Office that the text-book for geography would need revision on his return to Nigeria, and that the history books could be completed only on his return to the Protectorate as he planned a syllabus ranging from local history to the history of the British Empire. Vischer was also preparing drawing sheets - much used in British schools at that time - showing plants and geometrical designs which might be used both in drawing lessons and in some of the technical classes. The designs were to be connected with the principles of Mohammedan Sarenic art in order to develop, rather than supplant, these designs already in use in Northern Nigeria in 1911. The preparation of these books and sheets took some considerable time as Vischer wanted them to be 'Hausa in thought and structure and not merely translations.'² Consultations with the mallams naturally delayed matters before the books

1. C.O.446/103 No.18794, Vischer, London, 8 June 1911.

2. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (N.N.) 1913, p.8.

were finally ready to be sent to the printers in England.

The mallams were themselves attending the Nassarawa Schools in ever-increasing numbers, a fact which was a tribute to the work of Vischer and Urling Smith but strained them to the utmost. It was so important for the future welfare of the Native Administrations that trained men of good character should be ready to undertake official positions and duties that certain poor mallams of special aptitude were given free instruction, and were provided with the books and school materials which they needed.¹ Otherwise Vischer maintained his opinion that the Nigerians would appreciate education the more if it cost them something.² Some of these mallams Vischer taught elementary surveying, fortified by his R.G.S. certificate. As early as 1910 certain of them were employed in Bauchi by the Survey Department, traversing and filling in areas between points fixed by triangulation. Others were assisting political officers to make rough surveys for land revenue assessment, and helping to keep accounts in the new Treasuries.³ Useful as they were to the Administrations at that time, Vischer himself knew the limitations of their knowledge. By December 31st, 1911, he had 320 pupils. In the new elementary school

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1. Parl.Pap.1912-13 LVIII Report on N.N.for 1910-11 [Cd.6007-4.] p.42.
 2. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, General Ideas by Vischer. [Sept.1909.]
 3. Cd.6007-4. p.42.

there were 102, in the Chiefs' Sons School there were 97, 80 in the mallams' class, 31 in the workshops and 10 in the surveying class.¹ Vischer wrote in his report to the Governor,

' The most encouraging part of the work is the natives' ready response to our efforts, and this fact, I think, justifies our highest hopes for the future. The arrival of almajirai (young mallam students) from outlying districts and the desire for schools expressed by the Emirs, indicate a real demand for further extension of our work. But the greatest care must be employed in the process of extension. If we have in the space of two years since the school was started attained any lasting results, it is due, I believe, entirely to the principle laid down at the beginning, namely the preservation of the native and his gradual development on lines adapted to his mental and physical condition.'² He knew that the success of 1911 lay rather in the confidence he had established than in the degree of knowledge imparted and absorbed.

The attempt to evolve instruction suited to the Protectorate made the work more difficult as it precluded the adoption of text-books and school equipment of other colonies. Vischer did not work on these lines because they made his task easier, for they did not. Nor was he averse to the introduction of

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1. Par1.Pap.1912-13 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1911
[Cd.6007-38.] p.12.
 2. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

European education because of any racial prejudice or desire to maintain an intellectual barrier between the Nigerian and the European. On the contrary, he had a genuine fear of, and a desire not to be responsible for, the creation of a class of mere clerks, rootless and unhappy.¹ This conception of his duty lay behind all the daily improvisations of 1909-10, and when rapid expansion came in 1912, Vischer kept to the policy he had outlined in 1909. He had had no training as a teacher and was not an educationalist, and he stressed the fluidity of his plans since 'the best way of filling in the details must be indicated by the natives themselves.'² The principles underlying his work remained constant.

The expansion really began with the opening of the elementary school at Nassarawa in 1911. The mallams learned practical teaching by taking certain classes, and the school was successful enough for Vischer to plan a second at Sokoto to be opened in 1912, when another³ was also begun at Katsina. These were the first of the provincial schools. The aim was to have one in each province or large division staffed by the finest products of the mallams' class at Nassarawa. Major Burdon's school at Sokoto had been continued with success, the Native Administration bearing the financial responsibility for

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, General Ideas by Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]

2. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (N.N.) 1913, p.3.

3. Parl.Pap.1914 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1912. [Cd.7050.26.]
p.13.

it, and therefore there was a good foundation for a government secular school even in that Mohammedan stronghold. The Emir of Katsina, anxious to maintain that city's educational traditions, had founded a Koranic school for his chiefs' sons in 1907,¹ and he welcomed the advent of two mallams sent to him by Vischer.² The advantage which the new teachers possessed in the Emir's eyes was that they were versed in Koranic learning as well as in the new subjects on which the Europeans set such store, and which apparently helped one to understand them. The emirs were used to Koranic scholars and many had themselves reached the status of mallams, and so they had something in common with the new teachers. The latter were still in part the guardians of traditional lore, and therefore aroused some trust in the emirs. As a result money was forthcoming from the Native Treasuries.

From Vischer's point of view the obvious deficiencies of these mallams, who had only a short period of training, were more than compensated at this time by the way they, as masters of Koranic learning, allayed suspicion. Therein lies the truth of the statement that 'the system of education introduced by the Government is designed to extend and develop the existing system of native schools.'³ The Koranic learning

1. Parl. Pap. 1909 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1907-8
[Cd. 4448-3.] p. 42.

2. Parl. Pap. 1914 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1912 [Cd. 7050-26,] 7
p. 32

3. Ibid.

had no place in the curriculum of provincial schools, which was the same as that followed by Vischer in the elementary school at Nassarawa, but in these provincial schools also the pupils were free to keep the Mohammedan holidays and to attend their mosques and Koranic classes.

Whenever possible Vischer or Urling Smith visited the provincial schools, but otherwise these remained under the supervision of the Residents.¹ More staff were needed and during 1912 a schoolmaster, a technical instructor and a superintendent of agriculture were added.² The medical officer for Kano, Dr. Blair,³ was already responsible for the hygiene lessons,³ but the whole system was growing beyond the bounds of this staff. In Nassarawa alone in 1912 there were two elementary schools and a primary and a secondary school, as well as the teachers' training class, the survey class, the workshops and the farm. The terms adopted for the schools had not the social implications or the suggestion of age-groups which they held in England at the time, but just distinguished the stages of progress in school.⁴ Admittedly the two elementary schools at Nassarawa differed in that one was for chiefs' sons and

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1. Parl. Pap. 1914 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1912
[Cd.7050-26.] p. 32.
 2. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (N.N.) 1913, p. 3.
 3. C.O.446/103 No.18794, Vischer, London, 8 June 1911.
 4. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (N.N.) 1913, p. 3.

young mallams, and the other was for apprentices or anyone who could pay for his materials and the school fees of 1/- to 2/6d a month.¹ The latter school had a simpler syllabus, as the majority of pupils would not pass to the primary school. They were divided into four classes and were taught the 3 Rs and some hygiene in Hausa by senior pupils of the primary standard. These elementary pupils' ages varied from 6 - 40 years. That was just one of the peculiar difficulties the teaching staff had to face. In the chiefs' sons school the ages varied from 5-26 years, some being infants and others married men.² The syllabus was more extensive than that of the other elementary school. It covered five classes in which the pupils learned to read and write, to measure areas and to calculate simple profit and loss sums. Free-hand drawing classes existed alongside the lessons in which work-shop designs were copied. Nature Study and Geography were confined to the study of the locality of the Nassarawa schools. The simplicity accounts in part for the early success. Only by ruthless paring could a syllabus be designed which would be feasible in view of the ignorance of the pupils and the shortage of equipment.³

Mallams and advanced pupils passed from this elementary

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1. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (N.N.) 1913, p.3.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (N.N.) 1913, p.5.

stage to the primary school at Nassarawa. Here the ages varied from 15 - 50 years. Mallams who felt themselves too old to attend the elementary school with the young men, had a preparation class for themselves before entering the classes of the primary school. Tact was being used in every possible way. The curriculum led easily from that of the elementary school.

The pupils extended their vocabularies, and their knowledge of arithmetic and drawing, but in Geography, Vischer had the best opportunity of showing how to adapt a syllabus to the environment of a school. The secondary school pupil already knew something of the area around the Nassarawa schools, and now he studied Kano city, the province, then the Protectorate, and finally the continent of Africa. Watercourses, wells, roads and railways, were all explained to these pupils to whom European ideas of sanitation and communications were new, and to most of whom the sea was unknown and Niger launches were powerful vessels. Blair, the medical officer for Kano, helped by giving hygiene instruction.¹

Thus the curriculum for the primary school was adopted to the conditions in the Protectorate, but not in order to deprive the pupils of the education given in English primary schools. On the contrary, Vischer's aim was to give his pupils something more worth-while than a transposed English syllabus.

1. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (N.N.) 1913, p.5.

One can appreciate the way the fear that "adapted" education is education for people "inferior" to Europeans has developed amongst educated west Africans, but this is often linked with the idea that "adapted" education is a means to maintain white political supremacy. If Vischer's own statements are considered together with the work which he began in the Protectorate in these creative years before the first World War, it must be accepted that he was not concerned with inherent superiority or inferiority, but with a difference in circumstances. He did not generalise on racial abilities, but studied the particular circumstances of the Protectorate developing under a system of Indirect Rule - a system which was itself the recognition that the white man has no permanent home in West Africa. Vischer could not provide "native" education because Europeans can pass on only their European heritage, but in altering his method of approach he was doing what any good teacher would do if passing from the primary school of an industrial city to that of a rural community.

The secondary school was opened in the autumn of 1912 to take pupils who had successfully covered the primary syllabus and those mallams who wished to be teachers. Until this secondary stage all the work was done in Hausa, save the first lessons for those Bornu pupils who spoke only Kanuri on arrival at Nassarawa and who had therefore to receive their first

lessons in that language.¹ All the writing was done in the Roman character. Pupils of the secondary school were taught English if their parents so desired. The instruction included arithmetic, geography, hygiene, Hausa reading, English conversation and law.² Some mallams continued to take the surveying course with special training in assessment work (taki), that they might pace farms, compute areas and keep registers of the size and taxes of farms for the Native Treasuries.³

The technical or crafts side of the school had developed pari passu with the literary. The appointment of a trained European instructor in 1912 greatly improved the standard of work.⁴ There was not the expensive equipment which Vischer had seen in the Sudan, but the aim was to use native resources,⁵ better the native tools and thereby develop the native markets.⁵ The instructor had six classes under him as follows:-⁶

Carpenters' Class. The native instructor came from the R.C. school at Onitsha, but was assisted by one man trained by

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1. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (N.N.) 1913, p.4.
 2. Ibid., p.6.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Annual Report by D. of E. (N.N.) for 1913, p.2.
 5. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Vischer to Hesketh Bell, Kano, 10 March 1910.
 6. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (N.N.) 1913, pp.6-7.

by Vischer. The twenty-four apprentices worked on furniture, agricultural implements, and doors, windows and furniture for the European station. The tools used for the latter were not within the purchasing power of the pupils once they left the school, but the other tools were.

Blacksmiths' Class. The two native instructors and their nine apprentices greatly appreciated the anvils, files, hammers, stocks and dies to which they were introduced, but the apprentices preferred their own fires and bellows to the official field-smithy belonging to the school. Some hammered silverwork and other articles for local markets were made, and the smiths attempted to mend bullock wagons belonging to the Emir, but were limited by their lack of equipment.

Leatherworkers' Class. The three native instructors and their fifteen apprentices copied traditional Kano styles of coloured and cut leather, embroidered shoes and boots, and the Bornu fashion of plaiting, and embroidering with, leather strips. They adapted saddlery and other work for sale to Europeans, including cushions, writing cases and chair covers. The aim was not just to supply resident Europeans but to produce leather work for export. Kano leather had been a staple of the trade with Tripoli, and Vischer believed that if the traditional goods could be adapted to European requirements a direct sea export trade would become possible.

Embroiderers' Class. The two Kano born instructors and the

one from Bornu had three Kano and one Bornu apprentices. They collected native designs and worked them into household and other goods. Some thread was bought and dyed locally, some was European, and some came from the spinners' class. The cloth came from the weaving class.

The weaving and spinning classes were experimental. The former was started in an attempt to make a representative collection of native-made cloth and thus to study the means of improvement. The native loom was a narrow one, and Vischer wished to see if some form of handloom similar to the Scottish might be substituted.¹ The spinning class was begun in July, 1912, for the female attendants of pupils. Hanns Vischer had married in 1911 Isabelle de Tscharner, and to her fell the task of teaching these women. The spinners were paid for their work at market rates. The class was a failure however because of the indiscipline of the women.²

That the more literary students might do some manual work, the school garden was extended into a farm of 30 acres. The pupils grew cotton, groundnuts and guinea corn and learned the use of manures and how to select seeds in order to improve yield and quality. The livestock consisted of ostriches, native cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys.³

1. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (N.N.) 1913, p.7.

2. Lady Vischer to writer, Newport Pagnell, 5 March 1954.

3. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (N.N.) 1913, p.7.

The essence of the curriculum was this attempt at the practical. At this early stage only a bare minimum of subjects could be offered and therefore there was to be no cramming of European languages or history, and the techniques used in the workshops were to be divorced as little as possible from the methods of the local craftsmen. The contrast with Southern Nigeria was already clear. There the 1911 Education Code had provided for the first time for manual, industrial and agricultural training in the schools.¹ Vischer had from the first advocated some form of manual training for the pupils of the elementary and secondary schools.² The language policy was different too, for colloquial English was a compulsory subject in the Southern Nigerian primary schools,³ but English was taught in the north only to pupils whose parents agreed that their children should have such lessons.⁴ Nothing illustrates more clearly the difference in the conditions between Northern Nigeria and the South, than the difference in the respective education policies. Vischer was an idealist in the unusual position of being required to put his ideals into practice. He believed in the Administration's fundamental policy and his

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1. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (S.N.) 1913, p.16.
 2. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Vischer to Hesketh Bell, Kano, 10 March 1910.
 3. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (S.N.) 1913, p.16.
 4. Parl. Pap. 1914 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1912
[Cd.7050-26.] p.31

own education theories suited that policy. The best exposition of his work at this time is found in a published extract of a letter written at Kano by Isabelle Vischer in 1912. Of Swiss birth, she had no previous colonial experience nor any previous knowledge of Africa, and accepted her husband's theories which she described in that letter. She wrote:-

' Pour que l'arbre puisse croître, il fallait que ses racines se trouvent dans le sol africain même. C'est la la condition primordiale d'un succès utile et durable. On crea donc un systeme d'education nationale. Le noir sait que, loin de vouloir l'européaniser, on tient, au contraire, a lui laisser son caractère africain. Il est vrai que l'administrateur europeen a besoin de clerics et d'employés pour l'administration, mais ce but est considéré comme secondaire dans l'organisation des écoles de Nigérie. Avant tout, on recherche le bien du noir, le développement de ses industries, le progres de sa litterature et de ses idées propres. Toutes les branches sont enseignées en haussa. Certains élèves, doués de dispositions particulières pour recevoir une education plus rapprochée de la nôtre, sont admis a apprendre la langue anglaise et a suivre l'instruction secondaire.....

' Les années d'école terminées, l'élève doit pouvoir rentrer dans son milieu, et reprendre la vie parmi les siens, sans peine, et sans aucun sentiment d'y être depayse.

' La surveillance et la direction du blanc sont encore indispensables a l'heure qu'il est. C'est a lui qu'incombe le travail de discernement et d'adaptation.... Le jour viendra ou les écoles n'auront plus besoin d'être dirigées par le Blanc. Avec la benediction d'Allah, la generation future verra l'oeuvre continuée par le corps enseignant purement indigene, qu'aura forme une universitee nigérienne.' ¹

It appears that Vischer saw the policy of adaptation as a method of evolution, and that he did not intend it to exert

1. Isabelle Vischer: op.cit., pp.116-18.

a stagnating influence on the development of higher education in the Protectorate. That, in his view, would follow in the fullness of time, and to be successful would also need to be rooted in the Northern Provinces. 'Educate the African as a human being and not as a museum specimen, or as a fossil or preserved animal for scientific experimentation'¹ has been urged since. Vischer's concentration on the past and on traditional developments was not intended to imply any of these latter attitudes. He would not, however, consider the African as a human being in vacuo. He saw his pupil as a Nigerian whose life was conditioned by a civilization largely Mohammedan, and who was now affected by the partial introduction of western thought, organizations and law into the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. He hoped to educate the pupil to withstand the shock of the impact of the two civilizations, prevent him from losing the best in the old or being exploited by the worst of the new.²

Time was against such a necessarily gradual process. Girouard had realized that the completion of the Baro-Kano railway might be a danger as well as a blessing.³ The track reached Kano in March 1911, although the line was not open to

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1. B.N. Azikwe: How shall we Educate the African? J.R.A.S. XXXII 1934 April p.149.
 2. Parl. Pap. 1914-16 XLIV Report on N.N. for 1913
[Cd.7622-12.] p.30.
 3. C.O.446/65 No.41753, Girouard, Zungeru, 31 Oct.1907.

public traffic until November 3rd.¹ The railway was symbolic of the fact that the rate of material development was bound to be quicker than that of educational progress.

Compensation lay however in this material development, for the financial position of the Protectorate showed a steady advance. The total local revenue for 1911-12 had come to within £212,647 of the expenditure and the Imperial grant in aid for ordinary services, i.e. excluding the railway loan,² had dropped to £237,384. The return of Lugard as Governor-General in 1912 foreshadowed the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria which would, it was hoped, be of financial benefit to the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Plans were made for an increase in staff during 1913 that Vischer might open schools in Ilorin, Kano city, Zaria, Maiduguri and Bida. The money would be available in 1914 for such expansion.³

Vischer decided that he needed fourteen junior superintendents of education on duty in the Protectorate and therefore twenty-one men were necessary because leave was still given at the end of each twelve months' tour. In addition to the Director and Urling Smith, there were Annetts, appointed on 23 October 1912, and Horan, an ex-sergeant of the W.A.F.F. It was therefore arranged that a further nineteen junior

1. Parl.Pap.1912-13 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1911
[Cd.6007-38.] p. 24.

2. Ibid. p.6.

3. C.O.446/112 No.15517, Lugard, London, 1 May 1913.

superintendents should be appointed, and also three technical instructors. As the men were to spend some weeks at Nassarawa schools becoming accustomed to the work and the conditions before being sent to the provincial schools, it was useless to send them all out together. It was proposed to send seven junior superintendents and one technical instructor during midsummer 1913, with a similar group following in December. The remainder needed would be appointed early in 1914. Vischer had fifteen names to recommend.¹ It is interesting to see the type of man who was chosen, and also the difficulties experienced by the Colonial Office in what appears superficially to be a straightforward task.²

Three names had been put forward in September 1912, but only Annetts of these three had accepted appointment. Of the first two men selected in May 1913, one refused and the other, M.R. Smith, was invalided shortly after arriving in the Protectorate. A medical test removed one of the next four proposed, leaving H.C. Brooks, C.B. Smith and G.A.J. Bienemann to be appointed in June 1913. The names of A.A. Isherwood and the Rev. G.P. Bargery had been put forward in July, and the technical instructor had already been selected in May. These men together constituted the first group to go out. Smith and

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1. C.O.446/112 No.15517, also minutes, C. Strachey, 8 May, G. Fiddes, 10 May 1913.
 2. Ibid: also appended papers covering selection of candidates, appointments, sailing dates etc. May 1913 to Feb.1914.

Isherwood had just left Oxford, and Bieneman went straight from Cambridge. Brooks had had four years' experience as an Assistant Resident in Northern Nigeria after leaving Oxford, and Bargery had served the C.M.S. in the Protectorate for ten years and had been one of Vischer's colleagues at Loko. Since 1910, when he resigned from the C.M.S., Bargery had assisted Vischer with some Hausa translation work. Annetts was the only one with teaching experience in England, but Vischer was more concerned with all round ability and character than with teaching experience or certificates. Annetts, who arrived in Nigeria on 9 November 1912, had to act as Senior Superintendent of the Nassarawa Schools from January to July 1913. The men had to be reliable and responsible.

The next set to be appointed were H. Wynne Pierce, M.W. Oakes, T.J. Cronshaw and ^{G. Power} G.O. Pauer. Three were from Oxford and one from Cambridge: they had degrees in Natural Science, Agriculture, English Literature and Modern History respectively. None had previous teaching experience, and Pauer was too young to take up his appointment in December 1913. The implication would seem to be that a junior superintendent had to be 23 years old. Two other men refused appointments, but E.C.T. Clouston and H.W. Cole were added to the Department at the turn of the year. The second technical instructor was appointed, and the third set of men was to follow in 1914.

That the work was no sinecure is emphasized by the quick

invaliding of M.R. Smith, Pierce, who left Britain on 3 December 1913, was dead of diphtheria by mid-January,¹ but he had brought that illness with him for it is not endemic to Northern Nigeria.² The schools had their epidemics as did English schools, but at Nassarawa there was guinea worm until condensed water was used, and in the prolonged dry season there was the danger of smallpox and other fevers. The hygiene lessons and the supervision exercised over the compounds by the local medical officer were very necessary. At the Kano school hospital 448 cases were treated during 1913, and although all the pupils and their servants were vaccinated, there were still two deaths from smallpox as well as one from pneumonia.³

The advent of new staff gave an impetus to the work. The Nassarawa schools had a European superintendent throughout 1913, and the schools at Sokoto and Katsina had European supervision for several months. The technical classes at Kano showed marked progress under the guidance of the trained instructor. The nine native instructors and sixty-eight pupils all attended evening classes in Hausa reading and writing. The carpenter from Onitsha was sent home once his

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1. C.O.446/112 No.15517, Lugard, London, 1 May 1913, and appended papers.
 2. Lady Vischer to writer, Newport Pagnell, 5 March 1954.
 3. Annual Report by D. of E. (N.N.) for 1913, p.6.

northern assistant proved capable of taking his place, for Vischer was determined to employ a native staff recruited solely from the Northern Provinces. The evening classes which these technical pupils attended were held from 3 - 4 p.m., whilst the ordinary school hours were now 7 - 11 a.m. The Normal Class worked from 11 a.m. to 12 noon. There were twenty native teachers employed by the Department at the end of 1913. In the Normal Class they prepared the next day's lessons and received criticism of the lessons which they had given the previous day.¹ The special class for surveyors ended during the year when the best nineteen pupils entered the newly opened school of the Survey Department, five found employment with Native Administrations and the rest of the mallams returned to the primary school. The Chief Surveyor declared that a secondary education was necessary for any wishing to study advanced surveying.²

The primary school at Nassarawa remained the only one of its standard in the Protectorate. The Nassarawa schools were now sometimes referred to as the Central School, and the 209 pupils on the registers on 31 December 1913 were drawn from different provinces:

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1. Annual Report by D. of E. (N.N.) for 1913, pp. 2-4.
 2. Parl. Pap. 1914-16 XLIV Report on N.N. for 1913.
[Cd.7622-12.] p.35.

<u>Province</u>	<u>Pupils</u>	<u>Province</u>	<u>Pupils</u>
Kano	59	Nassarawa	12
Niger.	40	Yola	11
Muri	25	Zaria	7
Bornu	17	Ilorin	6
Central.	13	Sokoto	6 ¹
Kontagora.	13		

The mallams in charge of the Sokoto school had had so little education themselves that they could not teach pupils of primary standard, but sent them to Kano. Before the advent of a permanent European superintendent the Sokoto school attendance had to be kept low that the mallams might cope with their work. The Katsina elementary school ranked as a provincial school after September 1913, when it also received European supervision. At Katsina also, applicants exceeded places. Simple games and Swedish drill were introduced here by the British staff, for at Nassarawa the boys had polo, hockey, drill and other exercises. Nassarawa pupils also worked on the school farm, following the written instructions of an official of the Agricultural Department whenever the latter could not be present.²

The main success of the schools lay not in the numerical results, for attendance was slight compared with the fact that

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1. Annual Report by D. of E. (N.N.) for 1913, p. 3-5.
 2. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

there were reputed to be 111,838 pupils at 14,611 Koranic schools in the Protectorate.¹ The continued support of some of the Native Administrations and the requests that the Department should extend its work meant that it had achieved some measure of popular support and the situation was therefore very different from 1909-10. At Bida and Argaie, and at Dekina and Ankpa, the Native Administrations were trying to provide elementary education - including agriculture at the latter two places.² The Bida school had been in the charge of a mallam since October 1911. He had had some training in the C.M.S. Bida school before spending a year under Vischer at Nassarawa.³ Bargery who had been Vischer's colleague as a missionary was put in charge of the Bassa Province work at first but he was transferred to the supervision of the preparation of Hausa text-books in November 1913.⁴ The Emirs of Zaria, Bida and Ilorin and the Shehu of Bornu had all asked for Government secular schools, and the Sultan of Sokoto wanted there to be elementary schools at Birnin Kebbi and Argungu as well as the school in Sokoto.⁵ The Emir of Katsina accompanied by his court came out of Katsina town to greet Vischer and his wife

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1. Annual Report by D. of E. (N.N.) for 1913, p.7.
 2. Ibid., p.5.
 3. C.M.S. 1912 (N.N.) No. 18, Williams, Bida, Nov.1911.
 4. Annual Report by D. of E. (N.N.) for 1913, p.2.
 5. Ibid., p.6.

when the Director arrived to inspect the Katsina schools.¹
Even when allowance is made for polite interest in a Government scheme, it seems that a genuine response had been called forth where previously there had been hostility or apathy.

To meet the requests Vischer travelled also through Zaria and Niger Provinces, and discussed with the Residents the advisability of establishing schools in Zaria and Bida Towns. He chose sites and ordered the erection of native buildings as classrooms in these places, which happened to be the most important centres of C.M.S. educational activities. These new Government schools were planned for 1914, as were others at Maiduguri and Ilorin. Moreover it was decided that a central school for pagans, which would play the part that Nassarawa had played in Mohammedan education, should be established at some unspecified site in a pagan district during 1914. The decision followed reports of requests from pagan communities in Yola, Muri, Bassa, Kabba, Ilorin and Niger Provinces for secular Government education.²

Thus 1914 was to be a most important year. Not only was an extension of the Mohammedan scheme planned, but the first step towards providing a Government system of education throughout the Protectorate would be taken when the pagan

1. Isabelle Vischer: op.cit., p.56.

2. Annual Report by D. of E. (N.N.) for 1913, pp.1-6.

central school was built. Vischer's work received recognition when he was appointed Director of Education for Northern Nigeria on the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria.¹ The Education Departments were not among the many which were centralized at the time of the amalgamation, and thus the Administration showed its awareness of the differences in conditions and methods of education in the North and the South. Now Vischer was ready to extend the sphere of his Department to include pagan education in areas where the missions were already at work and where they had previously exercised a monopoly. As early as 1909 he had advocated some control over mission schools,² but that control, like the Advisory Board,³ had not yet been evolved. Vischer had, however, been in constant touch with the missions in the Protectorate. They too had been striving in the years prior to 1914 for expansion and reorganization, and for co-operation amongst themselves in all their work, including that of education, which they gradually recognized to be of vital importance in the mission field of the Northern Protectorate.

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1. V.P.: Lugard to Vischer, Zungeru, 31 March 1914.
 2. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, General Ideas by Vischer. [Sept.1909.]
 3. Ibid.

· CHAPTER V

EIGHT YEARS OF EFFORT: THE MISSION SOCIETIES, 1906-1913

Mission societies became more and more active in Northern Nigeria after 1906. For those already established in the Protectorate the exploration stage was nearly over and the time for organization had come. The societies were to show increasing resentment at their exclusion by the Administration from the great Mohammedan emirates, and also to conclude, as Miller had done, that the provision of education gave a real contact with the peoples of Hausaland. Mission stations alone provided schools for the pagan tribes in the south of the Protectorate, and thus the expansion of mission societies in that area is important in the history of education in the Protectorate. Only the C.M.S. had stations in the heart of Mohammedan towns, and the Society's fight to extend from the towns of Zaria and Bida, and its campaign to enter Kano city, arouse interest from both the political and religious points of view, but they have a significance for education too, for once the Government plans for education were being made in 1908, then the intrusion of missionaries into the Northern Provinces would have caused changes in those plans. Mission schools would have meant inspection and grants-in-aid, matters which Vischer did not have to consider at all while he concentrated on his own work in the Mohammedan sphere, Girouard

had decided that mission societies would endanger the peace of the Mohammedan provinces, but Girouard left the Protectorate in July 1909, and so there came an opportunity for the missionaries to urge a change of policy on the Administration. The relations between missions and the Government during these years are very important, but so is the progress the societies made amongst the pagans and the gradual evolution of defined education policies by the principal societies working amongst the pagan tribes.

Organization within the missions and co-operation with other societies were much in debate during the years 1907 to 1913. Personnel increased, as did spheres of influence. When Lugard left the Protectorate in 1906 - when Miller still had high hopes of his Zaria scheme - the S.U.M. had ten missionaries in the field,¹ and the C.M.S. and the Cambridge University Mission Party (an affiliated body) had thirteen, three of whom² were accompanied by their wives.

These C.M.S. missionaries belonged to the Northern Nigeria Mission. The boundary devised between the Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria had split the field of the C.M.S.'s Niger Mission, and the resultant inconvenience had led to the amalgamation of the Hausa mission with that section

1. S.U.M. Lightbearer II, March 1906, p.37

2. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) No. 44, C.U.M.P. Notes, April 1907.

of the Niger Mission within the Northern Protectorate under the new name of the Northern Nigeria Mission. The first Executive Committee of this Mission was held in April 1907, and was composed of Bishop Tugwell, Macintyre, Aitken, Miller and Alvarez, the secretary of the new Mission.¹ It had stations at Lokoja, Mokwa, Zaria, Bida and Kuta, the latter having been opened in 1905 by the Revs. Low and Lacy who left Zaria to work among the Gwari pagans.²

The C.U.M.P. had been founded in 1905 to work with the C.M.S. It had only one missionary in the field by 1907, the Rev. Lloyd, who was destined for work in Bauchi province, but spent some time at Zaria first.³ Dr. Emelyn was stationed at Bukuru, in Bauchi, at an S.U.M. site, and only by co-operation between him and Alvarez - with the agreement of the Resident of Bauchi - were the respective spheres of the S.U.M. and C.U.M.P. within Bauchi defined. The C.U.M.P. was to work amongst the Sura and Angass tribes; the S.U.M. amongst the Rukaba and Kibbu.⁴ Since the Government did not begin pagan education before 1914, on such agreements depended the educational agency which an area was to have.

Certain difficulties were common to all the societies

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1. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) No.64, Executive Committee Minutes, Bida, 30 April 1907.
 2. C.M.S. 1905 (H.) No. 20, Miller, Ghierko, 26 Feb. 1905.
 3. Ibid., No. 25, Meeting of C.M.S. and C.U.M.P. representatives, London, 22 May 1905: also C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) C.U.M.P. Notes, Nov.1907, p.6.
 4. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) Nos.83 and 91, Alvarez, Tilde, 28 Sept. and 24 Oct.1907.

in their educational work. Without women missionaries the Europeans could not approach the native women, particularly the Mohammedans, who exerted a strong influence over children of school age. The first C.M.S. attempt to send women to Zaria had proved a failure. The Government considered that their presence might give rise to misconceptions and disturbances, for single women living in a mixed community were almost unknown in Hausaland. After the very short trial period, Tugwell pointed out that lack of training limited the European¹ womens' usefulness, and the women withdrew from the field.

Mohammedan men had at least veneration for their own traditional Koranic education, but among the pagan tribes the missionaries had first to explain the purpose - and indeed existence - of education, before teaching even an alphabet. After some months at Kuta during 1906, Lacy (C.M.S.) declared that he could entice only a few Gwari-Hausa boys to school, and that the local headman had explained that as no Gwari ever had read, obviously no Gwari ever would be able to do so. Lacy's command of the Gwari vernacular was too slight for him to argue convincingly, and the only thing he could do was to hope that by studying hard during the long, wet farming season

1. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) No. 58, Tugwell, between Onitsha and Forcados, 10 May 1907; also C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 98, Miller, Zaria, 25 Aug. 1908, and No. 62, Meeting of Girouard with C.M.S. representatives, London, 28 April 1908; also Group III Committee Resolution XLI of 1908.

he would so extend his vocabulary as to be able to make his purpose clear and win new Gwari pupils.¹

Children were as difficult to entice to school as adults. Pagan children shared the work of home and land as soon as they could walk and were old enough to fetch and carry. When immured within schools they were so much labour lost to their parents, and it often proved impossible to hold pupils in the wet season, when the whole village - save the infants, the sick and the aged - worked throughout daylight. Moreover a sense of time and discipline and of the need for regular attendance had to be most patiently instilled in pagan boys.

Even where a school was established it was not the missionary's chief concern. The European at a station had to preach, itinerate and perhaps dispense as well: the school could have but part of his time and care. Miller found Thompson, a C.M.S. West Indian agent, grieved because he had to concentrate on teaching when his heart was in evangelizing, and Miller suggested that the position ought to be clearly explained to the West Indians before they were accepted as agents for the Northern Nigerian Mission, because, of necessity, much of the school-work fell to them.² Naturally any training above the elementary given by the societies was designed to

1. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 48, Lacy, Kuta, 16 July 1906.

2. Ibid., No. 37, Miller, Northwold, 5 July 1906.

produce African teachers and evangelists to swell the missions' ranks. The usual system was to put one native in charge of an out-station where he coped with all aspects of the work. The weakness of the scheme lay in the fact that the efficient teacher was not always a true Christian, whilst the evangelist could not always teach.

When one considers the slow progress possible and the shortage of manpower, one cannot see how, even if Miller's Zaria school had been a success, the C.M.S. would have been able to plan a prominent part in the spread of education amongst the Mohammedans. The Society's commitments usually appear far greater than its resources.

The Northern Nigeria Executive Committee noted in 1907 that the work was suffering from shortage of men,¹ but was reminded by the parent committee that one C.M.S. scholar of the Fourah Bay College might be invited to work in the field - if the Mission's estimates permitted.² Meanwhile the training of native agents was continuing at the Kutigi Training Class and at the Watney Training Institute. The latter had been founded at Kpata soon after the establishment of the Hausa Mission in the Northern Provinces. At Easter 1907 it accepted

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1. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No.12, Executive Committee Minutes, Tgina, 25-29 Nov.1907.
 2. C.M.S. Letterbook N.N. (1906-20) pp.25-26, S.S. to Alvarez, 24 July 1907.

five new students, but could take no more that year as the estimates did not permit further expansion. Instead, three former students, then working as agents, were accepted for a refresher course, thus involving the C.M.S. in no further financial responsibility.¹

The Kutigi class was in a better financial position as it depended on subscriptions from Britain. The station had been opened in 1903, and at first the work was not taken seriously by the missionaries. There were complaints that some considered the class as a holiday-home for their house-boys whilst they themselves were on furlough. The class consisted of four boys in 1907. They worked under Gordon, a West Indian, and it was hoped that a night school might be started in Kutigi where the boys would gain experience as teachers.² Such a school might well prove a success, for a similar one at nearby Mokwa now attracted from twenty-five to thirty-three pupils every night, although begun only in 1906.³ The shortage of trained staff alone prevented the acceptance of more male pupils, or of any of the girls who had asked for tuition. Scripture, vernacular reading and a few English

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1. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 12, Executive Committee Minutes, Tgina, 25-29 Nov. 1907.
 2. Ibid., Nos. 12, 12a. Executive Committee Minutes, Tgina, 25-29 Nov. 1907.
 3. Ibid.

sentences were taught. The religious instruction was most important, and the staff were 'working and hoping for definite spiritual results.' One of the Kutigi class became ready during 1907 to help Aitken at Mokwa for the usual salary of a first year pupil teacher of 7/6d. a month.¹ Obviously such men were evangelists first and schoolteachers second, and it is clear that the C.M.S. did not expect immediate results from this branch of its work.

The idea of an industrial Mission was first broached at this time, but was put by to await 'better communications between the main waterways and the few places in Northern Nigeria where hard timber was plentiful.'² It is ironic that a few months after this decision Girouard informed C.M.S. representatives in London that, although he could not welcome the Mission north of Zaria, or even the advent there of unmarried women, he would willingly support any industrial work.³ The Northern Nigeria Mission did indeed find development difficult.

However its Executive Committee did sanction the opening by Miller of an industrial farm at Kokato for which⁴ '£30 of an appropriated contribution was available,' and the

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1. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) Nos.12,12a. Executive Committee Minutes, Tgina, 25-29 Nov. 1907.
 2. Ibid.
 3. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 62, Correspondence relating to a meeting of Girouard and C.M.S. representatives, London, 28 April 1908.
 4. Ibid., No. 12a, Executive Committee Minutes, Tgina, 25-29 Nov. 1907.

site, four miles from Zaria city gate, was selected in March, 1908. This farm was to be the preliminary experiment before industrial work was developed. Inevitably, the religious motif was present. Miller hoped to employ boys of a practical bent who would form the nucleus of a Christian settlement. Unfortunately, the soil was poor, and little manure was available. During the first year the Indian ^{corn} crop failed, as did part of the millet, but moderate results were achieved with groundnuts, beans, cassava, yams, guinea corn, sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Two boys worked on the farm and attended an elementary class, while one man lived there to care for the three cows. Expenditure during 1908 was £17, of which £10 represented the cost of the cows. After that year Miller decided that only large scale co-operative farming, with special attention to stock-keeping on European lines, would be profitable. He therefore advocated that a farm should be started in association with a training class for agents, that students of higher intelligence might learn the new methods. ¹ There was no money for this scheme, and the Kokato farm experiment faded out of existence.

Miller's enthusiasm died with the crops. The mission had learned however that for successful and only slightly supervised industrial work sound training was essential. The

1. C.M.S. 1909. (N.N.) No. 58, Reports on Districts, Lokoja, 19 Feb. 1909.

point was the one made later by the Chief Surveyor when he said that mallams from Vischer's little taki class would need secondary education before they were capable of dealing with the more advanced survey problems.¹

The need for industrial workers was felt, however, by the Mission which had decided that it could not train any. The Lokoja school needed new buildings in 1908, but Macintyre could find no Northerners capable of planning them, and was forced to obtain the services of a Southern Nigerian from the C.M.S. Onitsha Mission, 'in which case the beginning at least of the work might be under proper supervision.'² At Kabba Macintyre sanctioned the erection of a house for an agent, only to find that the local chief could not supply the promised labour³ because his men were working on Government projects. To build a station was difficult and to maintain it presented further problems.

The rights of societies to the sites which they occupied in the Protectorate were not always clear to the missionaries. The consent of the local chief, or of the tribe if the land were held collectively, was necessary,⁴ but

1. Parl. Pap. 1914-16 XLIV Report on N.N. for 1913
[Cd. 7622-12.] p. 35

2. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 12, Executive Committee Minutes, Tegna 25-29 Nov. 1907.

3. Ibid.

4. See above, Chapter III p. 86 and below p. 294.

no non-native might acquire title to land without the consent in writing of the High Commissioner.¹ Despite the Land Proclamations and the Land Registry proclamations,² missionary records show general uncertainty regarding legal title to land until the consolidation and amendment of the statute laws in force in the Protectorate in 1910.³ In 1908 the Executive Committee of the Northern Nigeria Mission urged all superintendents to obtain or to verify land titles for all C.M.S. property in their districts.⁴ The resolution suggests that there had been some laxity and confusion. Land was leasehold, but the leases for between three and twenty-one years were too short for a society to undertake expensive development of sites which might be lost to mining or other corporations.⁵ Thus in 1910 the S.U.M. had to give up its recently opened station at Gel on the Bukuru Plateau because the land was to be mined for tin.⁶

Field expansion continued in the pagan provinces, but

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1. The Lands Proclamation, No. 8 of 1900 (N.N.) clause 2.
 2. Nos. 8 of 1900, 10 of 1901 and 16 of 1902, 19 of 1902.
 3. Land and Native Rights Proclamation, No. 9 of 1910.(N.N.)
 4. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 12, Executive Committee Minutes, Tegna, 25-29 Nov.1907.
 5. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 74, Resolutions of Lokoja a Conference, July 1910.
 6. S.U.M. Lightbearer VI, Dec.1910, p.245.

always after careful consideration. During 1907 a C.M.S. Yoruba agent went to live among the Angass to learn their language as a preliminary step towards opening a station there. The same year Lloyd (C.U.M.P.) and another agent went to Panyam. It was reported on the new field:

'All these are absolutely pagan tribes, and the Angass are still addicted to cannibalism in some of their towns, although this and other degrading customs are giving way¹ before the advance of civil and Government influence.' When the Secretary of the Northern Nigeria Mission toured the Bauchi highlands he skirted 'the still unconquered little tribe, the Jarawas.'² The fact that a tribe was still independent seven years after the revocation of the Royal Niger Company's charter is a measure of the difficulties which the Administration faced. Among such people there could be no literary education for many years, but it was there that Alvarez found the hard timber essential to industrial work. In Alvarez' opinion only African mission agents could begin mission work among the pagan tribes of these highlands, for such men were far quicker³ to learn tribal languages than were Europeans.

Yet the European missionaries were determined to devote time and study to tribal languages. The C.M.S. had a standing

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1. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 12a, Executive Committee Minutes, Tgina, 25-29 Nov. 1907.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

committee for Hausa, including Miller, Bargery and Mallam Fati, a Zaria convert. There was also a Nupe Translation and Revision Committee of which Macintyre and Aitken were the mainstay. These committees formed Boards which set language examinations¹ for the missionaries. The study of languages was done in the field. Although King's College, London, notified the C.M.S. in November 1906 that it was inaugurating a series of lectures on Hausa for entrants to the government examinations,² there is no evidence from 1906 to 1919 that any missionaries took advantage of this opportunity to study in London. Yet, two years often passed before a missionary was fluent enough to be of real value on a station.³ Banfield of the S.I.M. who was an ordained member of the Mennonite Bretheren in Christ, was the best authority on Nupe. 'His having been the leading cornet player in a well-known band has enabled him to detect and write down differences in the various sounds in Nigeria which had puzzled us for a long time.'⁴ Translators naturally concentrated on the Gospels and Bible stories to use in the churches, at meetings and in the school-rooms.

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1. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) No.64, Executive Committee Minutes, Bida, 30 April 1907.
 2. C.M.S. 1906 (H.) No. 101, Secretary, King's College to S.S., London, 21 Nov. 1906.
 3. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No.85, Alvarez, Lokoja, 13 July 1908.
 4. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) No. 73, Macintyre, Lokoja, 31 July 1907: but R.V.Bingham refers to Banfield as a mechanic in Seven Sevens of Years. The story of the S.I.M. (Evangelical Press, Toronto & N.Y., 1943) p.33.

Girouard believed that the missionaries could best help the Protectorate and its peoples by studying and reducing to writing languages spoken in the various provinces. Moreover such work provided a basis for friendly relations between the missions and the Administration and for easy co-operation. Girouard asked Low of the C.M.S.'s Kuta-Zungeru district to prepare a Gwari vocabulary for the use of Government Officials.¹ The Governor was interested in the work done at Kuta, which was, in his eyes, a safe, pagan area. Low held morning school on the outskirts of the town and by 1908 had a dozen pupils attending regularly. Two were sons of the local chief, which made it possible that in the next generation British officials would find a chief at Kuta who already appreciated something of British standards of administration and justice. Girouard was anxious to see the spread of mission work among the pagans similar to Low's work at Kuta. Above all Girouard wished to see the missions used as 'civilizing agencies working on ethical lines,'² and during his two years residence in the Protectorate his firm refusal to permit mission expansion in the Mohammedan provinces was in part compensated by his willingness to assist work in pagan districts.

The Nupe area was particularly happy at this time in

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1. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 12a, Executive Committee Minutes, Tgina, 25-29 Nov. 1907.
 2. Ibid; also No. 13, Alvarez, Zungeru, 31 Dec. 1907 (As Girouard left no relevant papers this phrase cannot be clarified.)

the degree of co-operation displayed there both between missions, and between missions and the Administration. A joint standing committee on the Nupe language had been set up in October 1906 with C.M.S. and S.I.M. members, the active work being done by Banfield and Macintyre.¹ Macintyre's notes on the Nupe language, which he sent to a friend in government service, were typed at the request of the Resident and distributed to all government officials working on the railway which was being built through Nupe. Banfield had written a Nupe grammar and a vocabulary towards the publication of which Girouard gave £10. He had already given £25 towards a Nigerian English Primer.²

Stirrett of the S.I.M. was also convinced that language study was vital to all branches of mission enterprise, and he wanted an inter-denominational board for Hausa translations, as well as for Nupe. Miller would have been Chairman. The Northern Nigeria Mission decided however that the project was not feasible because 'difficulties in the way of communication are so great in Northern Nigeria at present.'³ The Nupe work was left largely in Banfield's hands for the same

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1. C.M.S. 1907 (N.N.) No. 64, Executive Committee Minutes, Bida, 30 April 1907.
 2. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) Nos. 65 and 66, Macintyre, Boscombe, 28 April and 7 May 1908.
 3. Ibid., No. 12, Executive Committee Minutes, Tgina, 25-29 Nov. 1907.

reason, despite the existence of an official committee. The furtherance of quick communications by the railway building which Girouard promoted was the latter's great contribution to the development of the Protectorate. Easier communications would alter not only Government, but also mission, procedure and organization. Railways would quicken the pace of the introduction of European influences to the more northern provinces.

During Girouard's governorship, however, the existing difficulties in communications within the Protectorate made the effect of his curtailment of mission expansion less obvious¹ than it was to appear once the line to Kano was open to traffic. In 1908 the C.M.S. field was divided into the Lokoja-Bida,² Zaria-Kano, Mokwa, Kuta-Zungeru and C.U.M.P. districts. The superintendents of these districts sometimes had the help of European missionaries, but often worked alone or with native agents. There was so much to do within the districts that journeys on foot or by horse or on the river which would keep them away from their stations for days at a time were impracticable. It was considered too difficult even for one member of the C.M.S. Nupe, Yoruba and Ibo Language Boards to meet for a conference early in 1909.³

1. See below, p.291.

2. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 12, Executive Committee Minutes, Tegna, 25-29 Nov. 1907.

3. Ibid.

The meetings which had to be held, despite the travelling involved, were the Executive Committee meetings of the Northern Nigeria Mission. When superintendents had to gather together - once or twice a year - they came prepared to discuss all subjects, including relations with the Government and also education. Each superintendent was responsible for the accounts and property in his district, for itineration and evangelization and for 'the supervision of all schoolwork... and for all arrangements for maintaining such work at a high standard of efficiency,'¹ Therefore it was at an Executive Committee meeting that the suggestion was first made that the Onitsha Code for primary schools, drawn up for Yoruba and Ibo pupils, was not altogether suited to the Northern Protectorate wherein there was a variety of languages and 'where Mohammed-²anism with a certain amount of culture of its own existed.' The Onitsha Code was considered unsuitable in its entirety for both the pagan and the Mohammedan areas of the Protectorate, a fact which shows a certain similarity of approach towards the provision of education for the Protectorate by these superintendents and by Vischer.

Macintyre and Alvarez produced a new draft Code which they considered preferable for the pagan areas south of Zaria.

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1. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 88, Standing Orders, January 1908.
 2. Ibid., No. 12, Executive Committee Minutes, Tgina, 25-29 Nov. 1907.

Each superintendent of that part of the field agreed to follow the code in all primary work and to prepare criticisms for a meeting in 1909. Miller asked for a copy in case he found the draft code applicable to the Zaria schools because he believed in the importance of 'a unifying factor of this nature in the matter of primary education.'¹ In the draft there were four standards, and any pupil passing the fourth was to be eligible for the pupil-teacher's course of three years, providing that he was of sufficient age and size to teach and control other boys, and that it was possible to send him to a station where the agent-in-charge would be capable of supervising his further studies.²

Some fifteen months later the superintendents made their suggestions and alterations and a Code was produced for all the primary schools in the Protectorate.³ The interesting point is that there was only one C.M.S. primary school in the Protectorate in this period, that at Lokoja. It was a day school run by a west Indian teacher with the aid of four pupil teachers and the daughter of an African pastor. New brick buildings were completed for the primary department in 1908

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1. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 12, Executive Committee Minutes, Tgina, 25-29 Nov. 1907.
 2. Ibid.
 3. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 56, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 19 Feb. 1909.

and the Acting-Resident opened them. He was agreeably surprised at the standard of work the 120 children were doing.¹ The Lokoja school was making steady progress, but there was nothing comparable to it in the rest of the Mission's field. Bida school had potential primary status, however, but the misfortune was that the school had lost all but a loyal handful of pupils by 1909 because religious instruction was a regular subject of study in accordance with C.M.S. regulations.² The Zaria school might become a primary school, but that school was still outside the Code and the usual C.M.S. regulations. Only in July 1910, did Miller give way to the inevitable in the face of the Mohammedan opposition, give up the compromise he had effected, and introduce Religious Instruction as a subject of all classes, and alter the weekly holiday from Friday to Sunday.³

In 1909 the C.M.S. had a primary Code but only one primary school to which to apply it. The incentive for this long-term planning was the news of Vischer's appointment and the Government's scheme. The Mission understood that the Government intended to open a school in each province, and as

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1. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 56, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 19 Feb. 1909.
 2. Ibid.
 3. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) Nos. 47, 48, Executive Committee Minutes, Bida, 10-19 March, 1910.

these would be secular, 'perhaps almost Mohammedan,'¹ the Mission wished to provide a Christian school at each provincial head-quarters, and to increase the number and efficiency of its night schools. To fulfil these plans six more men were needed for the Zaria-Kano district, four for permanent stations in Nupe, three for work among the Gwari, three at Lokoja and six for the C.U.M.P. field.² At this time the Mission lost Aitken, an experienced worker, who was transferred to another field after repeated clashes with government officials in his work at Mokwa. The loss was aggravated by the pressing need of the time. There was no hope of a spectacular increase in the number of white missionaries, and so some of the men would have to be trained in the Protectorate. The C.M.S. did not believe that only local men should be employed as teachers, for it often brought sound, Christian teachers to the Protectorate from Sierra Leone or the West Indies, but the Society recognized that local men were at an advantage in speaking the vernacular, and also, of course, they were less expensive to employ. Therefore as it was hoped to staff the new night-schools with local teachers, 1909 saw the reorganization of the Watney and Kutigi training classes, with the aim of highering

1. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 56, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 19 Feb. 1909.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., and No. 57, Alvarez, S.S. "Nigeria", 12 April 1909.

the general standard of attainment.

After the reorganization the Watney Training Institute at Kpata would accept only candidates who could read from any of the Gospels in a vernacular, transcribe passages and relate the story of Christ's life in outline. A candidate had therefore to be a pupil at some C.M.S. elementary or night school first, to obtain the necessary qualifications for entry. Once in the Institute the pupil worked under Williams, an African pastor, and Macintyre, the superintendent. The curriculum included Scripture, Bible stories, the outline of Christian doctrines and those of Islam, memorizing texts and learning to keep Church books. In addition there was reading and writing in the vernacular, the elements of the English language and arithmetic.¹ The products of such education would be church agents, but they would be capable of running schools of the original British Sunday-school type. The Institute was more impressive on paper than in fact, for during 1908 the average attendance per session was only five.²

The Kutigi class received the highest education provided by the C.M.S. in the Protectorate. Reading, writing, arithmetic and singing were the basic subjects to which a pupil added

1. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 56, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 19 Feb. 1909.

2. Ibid.

Religious Knowledge, Scripture, Dictation, Geography and Grammar as he progressed. There were fourteen pupils in 1908, and Gordon, the West Indian in charge, reported that all showed ability, but that his own health prevented him giving sufficient time to their tuition. He had one young agent to help him. The class produced two agents and two pupil teachers in 1908. This rate of output hardly seems adequate to supplying a night-school at every station and out-station in reply to the Government's proposed training of Mallams and the opening of Government schools for Mohammedans.

Even where night schools did exist, they were not always well attended. The Mokwa school suffered in 1908 and 1909 because many young men who had attended left their homes to find work on the railway line. Such distractions were bound to increase in the pagan areas. At Bida, where there was a night school for Mohammedans, hostility to the mission was strong enough to limit attendance to the houseboys and a few genuine Christian inquirers.

The Northern Nigeria Mission was far from satisfied with this state of affairs. One large primary school, elementary classes, and three or four pupil-teachers per year were not

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1. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 56, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 19 Feb. 1909.
 2. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 58, Reports on Districts, 19 Feb. 1909.
 3. Ibid.

enough to make an impression on the 9,000,000 inhabitants of the Protectorate. Vischer's proposed secular education for Mohammedans determined the Mission that an efficient central training college for teachers in Mohammedan areas was essential.¹ The Oyo Institute in Southern Nigeria was of little use because few Northern agents were Yoruba, and also because special training was needed for work amongst the Mohammedans. It was thought that, with Miller and Bargery at Zaria, students would have a good education and guidance in Mohammedan controversies. It was provisionally decided that two assistant school masters should be sent to Zaria in January 1910 if satisfactory arrangements could be made.² The Group Committee made it quite clear that no further money in addition to that provided in the 1910 estimates would be available for a new training centre, although Salisbury Square agreed that any advanced training should be given at Zaria.³

The Northern Nigeria Mission's Executive Committee also suggested that it was time to found a girls' boarding school within the Protectorate to supply Christian, literate wives for agents and converts. Already five girls were boarded out at Ibadan in Southern Nigeria, and they would form a nucleus for

1. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 19 Feb. 1909.

2. Ibid.

3. C.M.S. Letterbook N.N. (1906-20) pp. 121-122, S.S. to Macintyre, 27 May 1909: also see below, pp.290-1.

the school.¹ The Group Committee acquiesced and was willing to provide £180 for the project, but pointed out that three women would be needed as staff:² Girouard had expressed his disapproval of the presence of single women in the Northern Provinces.³ Provisionally, the date of the school's opening was fixed for autumn, 1910,⁴ thereby leaving 15 or 16 months for preparation - a not uncommon length of time for schemes which had to be discussed in London and in Nigeria, and for which money and personnel had to be found.

Meanwhile some extension of the work continued in 1909, particularly in Nupe. Ball moved to Katsa on the Baro-Kano railway in June and began his work with a school and a dispensary.⁵ Setbacks occurred elsewhere, however. Gordon, the master of the Kutigi class and a faithful C.M.S. member, died, and his successor, Franklin, was imprisoned for theft.⁶ The class had to be transferred to Bida. At Panyam, Lloyd and Wedgwood (C.U.M.P.) had to dismiss their interpreter for

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1. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 56, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 19 Feb. 1909.
 2. C.M.S. Letterbook N.N. (1906-20) pp.121-122, S.S. to Macintyre, 27 May 1909.
 3. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 68, Notes on interview between Girouard and C.M.S. representatives, London, 28 April, 1908
 4. C.M.S. Letterbook. N.N. (1906-20) pp.121-122, S.S. to Macintyre, 27 May, 1909.
 5. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 82, Macintyre, Bida, 6 July 1909.
 6. Ibid., No. 86, Macintyre, Bida, 28 Aug. 1909; also C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No.48, Executive Committee Minutes, Bida, 10-19 March 1910.

theft, and struggled on alone teaching a few boys to read and write in Sura.¹ It was always difficult to judge how agents would act without European supervision, and whether qualities might be manifest in the field which had not appeared during training in the West Indies, Sierra Leone or in the classes of Northern Nigeria. Some were devoted workers, others quite unreliable, and there were often minor upsets.

Then, towards the end of 1909, the C.M.S. heard of the appointment of Sir Henry Hesketh Bell on Girouard's transfer to East Africa. The eternal hope of entering Kano promptly revived, and with it the even greater hope, that the new Governor would permit mission expansion without restriction throughout the Northern Provinces. Such a change in policy in 1909 or 1910 would have meant the beginning of Vischer's work in conditions different from those for which his system had been planned. C.M.S. representatives met Hesketh Bell in London before he sailed, and raised both the question of free expansion and that of entry into Kano.² It was nearly a decade since the Protectorate had been declared, and the missionaries looked for some relaxation on the Administration's part now that it was securely established.

Hesketh Bell refused to commit himself to any statement

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1. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 108, Lloyd, Panyam, 10 Oct. 1909.
 2. Ibid., No. 107, Memo. of interview between Hesketh Bell and C.M.S. representatives, London, 18 Nov. 1909.

until he had first-hand knowledge of the situation in the Protectorate. This was the natural course for a new Governor to take. More disquieting was the fact that he, like Lugard, had knowledge of Uganda, and he raised the subject of the difficulties likely to occur when several denominations were at work in one district.¹

The Societies had already realized the necessity for delimiting the respective spheres in the Protectorate. Kumm (S.U.M.) had been pressing the need for some time, because of the proximity of S.U.M. to C.M.S. stations in Bauchi.² The Northern Nigeria Mission decided that an interdenominational conference at Lokoja in 1910 would be feasible, and agreed to discuss education and language study as well as purely church matters.³ The arrival of a new Governor was an appropriate time for the Societies to present a united front to the Administration, and the development of the railway, the increased knowledge of routes and the fact that Lokoja is situate at the confluence of the Niger and Benne rivers made the 1910 meeting possible. Probably the urgent need for co-operation and the results which joint action might bring,

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1. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 107, Memo. of interview between Hesketh Bell and C.M.S. representatives, London, 18 Nov. 1909.
 2. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 54, Kumm to S.S., London, 2 April 1908.
 3. C.M.S. 1909 (N.N.) No. 56, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 19 Feb. 1909.

encouraged the missionaries to overcome the difficulties inherent in their journeys to Lokoja.

The S.U.M. was as keen as the C.M.S. on holding a conference, and indeed Kumm of the S.U.M. had been the originator of the idea.¹ The S.U.M. had been increasing its sphere, but confined its work more strictly to evangelization than did the C.M.S. Itineration played a very great part in the work. S.U.M. schooling consisted of teaching the houseboys to read in Hausa that they might read the Gospels for themselves. Young's lament from Wukari station in 1907 might have come from any mission station among the pagans:

'It is practically an impossibility to get boys to attend school at present, as they are required on the farms during the wet season, therefore we have to be content with boys on the station, numbering only four, and at times only three. Occasionally two or three come in from the town to pass the time away with our boys, their services not being required on the farms just then. These we gather round us seek to interest them in learning the alphabet etc. but find them all very unwilling pupils, and seldom are they to be got hold of a second time.² The Rev. Barnhart (S.U.M.) set the alphabet to the tune of Pleyel's hymn and found that his boys

1. C.M.S. 1908 (N.N.) No. 54, Kumm to S.S., London, 2 April 1908.

2. S.U.M. Lightbearer III, Feb. 1907, p.43.

memorized it more easily that way.¹ He kept a larger staff of houseboys than he needed because he could compel all the houseboys to attend school as part of their duties. Persuasion did not make regular pupils of outsiders, for all thought that they should be paid for such work. The best of Barnhart's pupils left to be an interpreter to the Anglo-German Boundary Commission. 'The fickleness of the people is one of our greatest obstacles to thorough work.'²

Barnhart worked with the Rev. Baker at Donga, which was one of the seven districts in the S.U.M. field in 1909. Emelyn and Evans served at Bukuru, with Ghey at the Ngel outstation: Broadbent and Cooper were at Langtang, a station opened in 1907: Alexander was stationed at Wase Rock, the original S.U.M. centre, and the Burts were at nearby Dampar: Wukari had Guintier and Hoover: at Ibi, Maxwell worked with Aust: Botha and Hosking were at Djen on the Gongola river: whilst the Rumasha, Freed Slaves' Home was then staffed by the Pattersons, Martin, Young and two South African nurses.³ The missionaries tended to change stations rather frequently because itineration throughout areas rather than settlement at some particular villages was the aim.

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1. S.U.M. Lightbearer V, Feb. 1909, p.41
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid., April 1909, p.91.

The Rumasha Freed Slaves' Home was opened in October 1909 before Hesketh Bell left London for the Protectorate. Girouard had agreed to hand over to the S.U.M. the freed slaves in the Administration's care. He did not share Lugard's scruples about handing children taken from their Mohammedan masters into the care of a Christian mission. The S.U.M. received 132 girls and women and 52 boys when the Home was opened, and it was to give them industrial training which would enable them to earn their livings as adults in the villages or towns of the Protectorate. An hour and a half daily in the class-room was all the elementary teaching they received, but that was in Hausa or the children's own vernaculars, and therefore was the more easily assimilated.¹ It is curious that Barnhart (S.U.M.) feared the spread of Hausa as a lingua franca because 'the pagan cannot learn Hausa without learning the Moslem ideal with which the Hausa language is impregnated.'² This idea was not shared by his colleagues.

The S.U.M. experienced the same language difficulties as the C.M.S. The Field Superintendent reported to the Governor

'The tribes amongst whom we work do not all speak Hausa, consequently the work of teaching them, in some cases, at least

1. S.U.M. Lightbearer V, March 1909, p.58: and Oct. 1909, insertion between pp.184, 185.

2. Ibid., Feb.1909, p.41.

becomes more complicated, when the poor teacher tries for example to teach a Jukun-speaking boy to read Hausa. Hausa is, however, extending its sphere.¹ Of the teaching of English in 1909 he reported, 'such little teaching² as has been done was sporadic and practically negligible.' The four stations of Ibi, Wukari, Donga and Langtang which held regular schools had an average attendance of 10 per session and a total of 754 sessions in the year. Of all the pupils only 20-24 boys could read fairly well. The Superintendent also noted:

'As to the industrial work, any that has been done has been done by the bye, rather than in pursuance of a widespread scheme. We are scarcely ripe for the institution of any elaborate scheme for this purpose. The training of artisans demands a slight (if only slight) knowledge of reading and writing as well.'³ So long as industrial work is of the arts and crafts variety perhaps such slight knowledge is sufficient for the artisan, but when technical instruction of a more mechanical nature is given some mathematical knowledge and a certain fluency in English, as well as in the vernacular, become the minimum requirements. Lugard appreciated this point during his tenure of office as Governor-General of Nigeria.⁴

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1. S.U.M. Lightbearer VI, Aug.-Sept. 1910, p. 168.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Parl.Pap.1919 XXXVI Report by Sir F.D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration 1912-1919. [Cmd.468.] p.63.

Meanwhile the difference often existing between the conceptions of those at home and the views of the men in the field is illustrated by the fact that, at the time that this Field Report was being published, the S.U.M. Directors were considering future plans for education which seemed almost grandiose when related to the work actually done. The plans are a sign, however, that the S.U.M. was quite prepared to accept further tasks amongst the pagans. Kumm suggested:

'The various schools will before long need to be centralised and a High School or Seminary be established as a training centre for teachers, similar to the Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone, or the Central Educational Institution in British Central Africa. It might be well to have this school in the neighbourhood of the Freed Slaves' Home unless it were established in the Bukuru Plateau. It has also been suggested that a school for the sons of chiefs, like the Uganda Princes' School, be established. Both the Seminary and the Princes' School might advantageously be linked in some way with the Freed Slaves' Home.' ¹

The S.U.M. was therefore as interested in education as the C.M.S. when the Conference met at Lokoja in June, 1910. The C.M.S. sent Bishop and Mrs. Tugwell, the Misses Miller and Thomas, and also Miller, Macintyre, Harding, Lacy and Alvarez. The S.U.M. was represented by Maxwell, Evans, Barnhart, Hosking and Cooper, as well as by Banfield and his wife. Dr. Stirrett ² represented the Sudan Interior Mission.

1. S.U.M. Lightbearer VI, Aug.-Sept.1910, p. 162.

2. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 74, Alvarez, Lokoja, 27 July 1910.

The results of this Conference's deliberations were a series of Resolutions on church affairs, relations with government, education and translation work. Not only were these Resolutions submitted to the home committees of each mission,¹ but Bishop Tugwell discussed them with Captain Ruxton and with Vischer, now Director of Education, during November 1910, on board the S.S. "Zungeru". As a result of their advice Tugwell submitted an amended list to Salisbury Square in January, 1911, declaring that 'thus amended these Resolutions would be acceptable to officials in Northern Nigeria.'² Most of the amendments modified the aggressive tone of the Resolutions, which remained, however, the first statement of united missionary policy in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. The strongest expressions were still reserved for the Government's restrictions on missionary enterprise, despite slight modifications. Resolution 5 shed a reference to 'the inalienable right'³ of a people to choose their own religious teaching and became:

'That in accordance with the principles of Religious toleration, this Conference respectfully maintains that a Christian Missionary is free, courteously and peacefully to present the claims of his Faith wherever people are willing

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1. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No.74, enclosure, Resolutions adopted by the Lokoja Conference, July, 1910.
 2. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 4, Tugwell, Watlington, 18 Jan. 1911
 3. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 74, enclosure, op.cit.

to listen, whether in Mohammedan or heathen districts.' ¹ Careful transposition of phrases in No. 6 produced:

'That this Conference is unable to recognize restrictions placed upon the work of Christian missionaries which are based on any other principle than that of maintenance of peace and order. The Conference respectfully urges that in some cases an unfair use has been made of this principle in order to exclude missions from certain districts.' ² This statement is far less aggressive than the original, but the C.M.S. retained in full Resolution 7, with its direct challenge to the Administration:

'That this Conference does not consider that the pledge of non-interference with religion given by Government to Mohammedan rulers, is in any way violated by the presence of Christian missionaries peacefully and tactfully setting forth the claims of their Faith; and they consider that sufficient proof has already been given that the peaceful propagation of the Gospel in Mohammedan centres such as Zaria, Bida, Wushishi and Shonga has aided rather than hindered in the promotion of good relations between the Government and people of these cities.' ³

1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 5, Amended Resolutions.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., and C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 74, enclosure, op.cit.

From 1910 to 1914, when the outbreak of war confused the issue, the mission societies were attacking the Administration with increasing vigour, and if they had won permission to enter the Mohammedan provinces, mission education with its religious emphasis would have followed, in direct contrast to that secular system being nursed so carefully by Vischer.

That the Societies were now preparing an attack is clear from the last resolution of all:

' 36) That where communications are made by Government officials which appear to impose unjustifiable restrictions on missionary work, it be requested that the communications be made in writing, and if necessary the matter should be referred by the Secretary of the Mission concerned to a higher authority.¹ This warning of approaching storms is carefully marked, 'Not for Publication,'² in the C.M.S. records.

Vischer and Ruxton cannot have discussed the Resolutions with Bishop Tugwell in their respective official capacities as Director of Education and Resident. In all probability they had caught the same river boat as the Bishop, and, being interested in all that affected their work, were glad to hear news of the Lokoja Conference. This view is confirmed by the statement on the C.M.S. copy of the altered Resolutions that the changes were suggested by Bishop Tugwell and by Mr. F.

1. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 74, enclosure, op.cit.

2. Ibid.

Baylis, the Group III Committee secretary.¹

Ruxton had already expressed a more tolerant attitude towards mission expansion than most political officers,² and to Vischer the C.M.S.'s educational policy was important. He may well have had some part in broadening the scope of the Resolution which had deprecated the adoption of European dress by native Christians until it included, 'the adoption of customs on the part of members of the Native Races of Northern Nigeria which may tend to Europeanize and denationalize such races: eg. the wearing of English dress on the part of Native Christians and their teachers.'³ The phraseology reflects some of Vischer's own statements, and pupils and staff of the Nassarawa schools always wore their own dress.⁴ In any case Vischer must have welcomed two resolutions which remained unaltered. The first stated that the conference was unanimous in adopting the principle of delaying instruction in English until pupils could read and write fluently in a vernacular;⁵ the second suggested a common training centre for evangelists

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1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No.93, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 7-11 Aug. 1911.
 2. C.O.446/65 No.41753, enclosure, Ruxton to Girouard, Amar, 20 Sept. 1907.
 3. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 5, Amended Resolutions.
 4. C.O. 446/89 No.13864, enclosure, General Ideas by Visher. [Sept.1909.]; also Isabelle Vischer: op.cit., p.116.
 5. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 74, enclosure; and 1911 (N.N.) No. 5, Amended Resolutions.

and school-teachers of all the Societies, 'could the establishment of such an institution be found feasible.'¹

Vischer, after all, held a watching brief for education throughout the Protectorate, and these suggestions of the Conference of C.M.S., S.U.M. and S.I.M. representatives sounded most promising. Development on these lines might make co-operation possible to the extent of missions and the Administration running schools of equal standard throughout the Protectorate. One most significant and radical alteration was made, however, after Tugwell met Vischer. Resolution 12 had read:-

' That provided the full control of missionaries over their schools be safeguarded in the interests of the societies concerned, this Conference would welcome Government grants in aid of education.'²

It became:-

' That provided a due measure of control over their schools be safeguarded in the interests of the societies concerned, this Conference would welcome Government grants in aid on behalf of such schools.'³

Vischer had from the first declared the need for some control over missionary education,⁴ and he probably made it clear to Tugwell that certain concessions would be necessary if

1. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 74, enclosure; and 1911 (N.N.) No. 5, Amended Resolutions.
2. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 74, enclosure, op.cit.
3. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 5, Amended Resolutions.
4. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, General Ideas by Vischer. [Sept.1909.]

mission schools were to receive financial aid.

These Resolutions were adopted in their altered form¹ by the C.M.S. and S.U.M. and S.I.M., and twenty-six of the thirty-six were forwarded to the Governor. Resolutions concerning alphabets and the translation of certain words were held back, but from those forwarded Hesketh Bell learned of the Societies' plans for education, as well as their policy² on church matters, including polygamy, dowries and catechisms. Hesketh Bell's fear of a repetition of religious strife as it had been known in Uganda, must have been relieved by the agreement that thirty-six miles should separate missions at work in the Hausa states, the distance being twenty-five and fifteen miles respectively in the Gwari and Nupe sectors.³ He did not, however, make any statement to the Societies about the Resolutions.

The C.M.S. followed up the Lokoja Resolutions by inviting Vischer to meet its Education Committee in London in May 1911, while he was in England.⁴ Vischer insisted that he could not speak officially, but he circulated a memorandum on his

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1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 93, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 7-11 Aug. 1911.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 61. Memo. of Meeting of C.M.S. Education Committee [London] 31 May 1911.

opinion as to the future educational policy of the Protectorate among the members of the Committee before the meeting, and the C.M.S. considered his speech on the memorandum important, official or not. He explained that the education proposed by Government for Northern Nigeria was to be founded on the support of the people and financed by local taxation through the Native Administrations. He was quite definite that there was no prospect at the time of any grants-in-aid to any mission schools. He explained that the Government was resolved that all education should have a religious bias and that it considered Christianity and Islam as the only two 'possible' religions in the Protectorate. All education was therefore to be either Christian or Mohammedan. He assured the Committee that the Administration was opposed to any policy of extending Islam in the Protectorate, but that in towns and districts where population was partly pagan but predominantly Mohammedan, education would be Mohammedan and Mohammedan teachers would be appointed. On the other hand the Government would favour Christian schools and Christian staff in all predominantly pagan districts and towns, as well as in those wholly pagan. Yet:

'Mr. Vischer cited the following as instances of towns in which the Government would not wish for a Mohammedan school to be started unless they were first assured of starting a Christian school: Lokoja, Bida, Ilorin, Jebba, Ibi, Gbebe and

Loko.¹ It was not apparently possible to divide the Protectorate neatly into an area of Mohammedan education and one of Christian, and in some towns both might be expected. The question of the opening by missions of schools in towns where Government Mohammedan schools already existed was not brought forward at the meeting.

The last two points made by Vischer at the meeting showed him to be opposed to any extension of the voluntary agency system such as existed in Southern Nigeria and other British West African colonies. He declared:

'That the Government desired a uniform Education system in which both Moslem and Christian schools would be under Government control and be financed by Government.

'That while a Government Training Institute is being established at Kano at which teachers for the Moslem schools will be trained, Government will in all probability look to the Mission Societies to train Christian teachers for the Christian schools.'²

The Committee took up the second of these points in the discussion following Vischer's speech. Vischer was asked what would happen if a mission-trained teacher, who, as a teacher, satisfied the Government's requirements, yet in his conduct fell short of Christian standards. The Society would then wish for his dismissal, yet he and the school were apparently to be under Government control. Vischer appreciated

1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 61, Memo. of Meeting of C.M.S. Education Committee [London] 31 May 1911.

2. Ibid.

the difficulty, and suggested that a system might be possible whereby the teachers would be employed through the agency of the Society which trained them, 'so as to give the Societies a control analogous to the control of the managers of Provided Schools in England.'¹

At no point in the discussion did the Committee really take up the definite statement made by Vischer concerning full Government control of all schools. Much of the talk concentrated on the question whether religious instruction would be given within the schools, or outside the schools in churches and in mosques. Vischer explained that he had intended all children to leave the school buildings for such instruction, but that he was prepared to consider the alternative in the case of Christian schools.²

The Education Committee expressed its sympathy with Vischer's aims, welcomed the prospect of co-operation on teacher-training, and declared its gratitude 'to learn of Mr. Vischer's desire that no Mohammedan education shall be introduced into pagan districts or into any district not predominantly Muslim.'³ Vischer had warned the Committee that his own plans were not complete nor set in form, and the

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1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 61. Memo of Meeting of C.M.S. Education Committee [London] 31 May 1911.
 2. Ibid.
 3. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 59, Resolution of Education Committee [London] 31 May 1911.

latter expressed the hope that it would be possible for the C.M.S. to co-operate with the Administration once the plans had taken final shape.¹ In view of the great gulf existing between Resolution 12 of the Lokoja Conference - even with 'due control' substituted for 'full control'² - and Vischer's policy of Government control, the Committee's hope seems a vague, friendly gesture rather than a well-based desire.

One cause for grave concern had been removed however by Vischer's statement. All the societies had been worried at the prospect of Kano-trained Mohammedan teachers being sent by the Administration to open schools in pagan or predominantly pagan areas. Maxwell (S.U.M.) who honoured the Government for taking action on education, had been trying to discover Vischer's intentions and had reported:

'Their project I do not know sufficiently well to detail here, but as I gathered it, they are even now training at Kano a number of teachers in the rudiments linking together book and handiwork. These, after their training is completed, will be utilised up and down the country. They will all be either Moslem or Islam infected. Missions, it is up to you to provide teachers that God will recognize as qualified for the pagan districts so that schools in them need not be taught by

1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 61, Memo. of Meeting of the above Committee.

2. See above, p. 278.

Moslems. Who will stand in the breach?'¹ This misconception was corrected by a message from Hesketh Bell reassuring the S.U.M. that Mohammedans would not be used 'up and down the country,' and suggesting that the S.U.M. might develop a defined education scheme to be applied to the pagan areas where the Society was at work.²

Dr. Kumm was already aware of the need and had set out the principles on which he believed that S.U.M. educational work should be based. Primarily he emphasized the importance of character training, for to limit work to evangelization was not enough to produce trained habitual Christians. He recommended evangelist meetings and evening classes for adults, and regular schooling assisted by such meetings for the children. Education was but a weapon, albeit an important one, for the conversion of the Hausas. Kumm's simple scheme, 'adopted by the S.U.M. to be worked out in Northern Nigeria,'³ had been evolved after some consideration of mission experience in Uganda and in British Central Africa. The three sections were:

I Elementary Education

- a) Village schools. ie personal boys and village boys to be taught reading and writing at every station.

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1. S.U.M. Lightbearer VII, March 1911, p.55.
 2. Ibid., April 1911, p.65.
 3. Ibid., Feb.1911, p.31.

b) Freed Slaves' Home at Rumasha. Character and industrial training.

c) Proposed school for the sons of chiefs.

II Secondary Education.

a) Seminary for the training of teachers.

b) Technical Institution (handicrafts.
(agriculture or horticulture.

III A Rudimentary University, with the faculties of Arts, Science, Medecine and Theology represented, to be established at some later date.¹

This scheme is merely a broad outline. It is noticeable that the education of girls is not mentioned, even at the village school stage, but, of course, girls at the Freed Slaves' Home were given elementary instruction and so their inclusion elsewhere might be expected as schools developed and women teachers were available. The sum of £1000 had been contributed during 1910 for the prospective school for the sons of chiefs² and so Kumm had something definite behind that plan. Now in 1911 the S.U.M. went further and appointed Dr. Paul Krusius of Halle University, Germany, who had known Kumm in Egypt, to investigate the position and the needs of education in Northern Nigeria, and to take charge eventually of the proposed seminary.³ For over a year Krusius was to stay

1. S.U.M. Lightbearer VII, Feb.1911, pp.31-2: also H.C.W. Kumm: Khont-Hon-Nofer. The Lands of Ethiopia (Marshall, London & Edin., 1910) pp.190-1.

2. S.U.M. Lightbearer VII, Jan. 1911, p.116.

3. Ibid.

in the Protectorate and to study the work being done both at mission schools and by Vischer's department. That the S.U.M. should go to the not inconsiderable expense of keeping a specialist in the field for months solely for the purpose of preparing a report on existing education and a plan for the future, shows that by 1911 the Society was placing more importance than ever before on education as a means of evangelization. As the S.U.M. was chiefly a mission to pagans, it was naturally on the education of pagans that Krusius concentrated, although his report shows he was aware of the methods Vischer was employing in the Mohammedan provinces.¹

Meanwhile the C.M.S., the only Society with experience of Mohammedan work, was bringing increased pressure to bear on Hesketh Bell in 1911 that he might permit an entry into Kano. The Executive Committee had refused to consider a tentative Government enquiry as to whether the C.M.S. might like to enter Kontagora because dispersal of effort would weaken the drive on Kano.² The same reasons which made Vischer choose Kano as the neighbourhood for his schools, made the city desirable as a C.M.S. Station. Always an important centre, the province of Kano now had the added attraction for the Mission that it was a successful centre of indirect Rule,

1. See below, pp. 310-12.

2. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 47, Executive Committee Minutes, Bida, 10-19 March 1910.

under Temple. Alvarez wrote:

'Mr. Temple..... is the strongest pro-Islamic administrator out here, and he has in a remarkable manner in previous years while Resident of Kano brought the Mohammedan administration of Kano up to a very high level, taking the systems at Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, etc. as his models.... At present they are deliberately making Kano the centre for a renaissance movement in Mohammedanism in the Sudan, durbars are to be held there and Emirs brought up from the Nupe and Yoruba main centres to study the glories of the Islamic native methods of administration sanctioned by the European regime.'¹

The town seemed to constitute a challenge which Miller, with his Zaria experience, could best accept.

At first Hesketh Bell compromised. No permanent mission station might be set up until the railway had reached Kano and had given the security that swift communications afford. Meanwhile a missionary might visit Kano, if its Resident agreed. The Administration would have to be notified of the missionary's movements; he was not to preach publicly in Kano, nor cause offence to Mohammedans. He might stay for only a month at a time without special permission from the Resident at Kano, and was not to make any arrangements for a permanent station.²

Miller believed that Hesketh Bell really intended to be helpful. He had coupled his Kano suggestions with permission for single women to work at Zaria after February 1911.³

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1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 64, Alvarez, Lokoja, 20 May 1911.
 2. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 58, Memo. of interview between Hesketh Bell and Alvarez, Lokoja, 24 May 1910.
 3. Ibid., No. 93, Alvarez, Lokoja, 8 Sept. 1910, and No. 95, Tugwell, Onitsha, 15 Sept. 1910.

To Miller this concession was very important, and he thought Hesketh Bell might help considerably in the advancement of C.M.S. educational work. The Zaria school had lost many of its pupils after becoming a C.M.S. Code School in July, 1910.¹ Miller reported in August the loss of another pupil, a fourteen year old boy whose mother had objected to his attendance at a Christian school, while another mother had left her husband and three others had threatened to do so if their sons were not withdrawn from the school.² Miller was helpless against such tactics, but women missionaries would not only be able to open classes for girls, but could also talk to the mothers of boys and exert a reassuring influence. Married women were not so useful as single women missionaries. The wives of missionaries sometimes stayed in the Protectorate, but they were usually untrained and busy with their husbands and their homes. Moreover the C.M.S. had no control over them and their few activities were quite unofficial. Miller visualized splendid mission expansion amongst the Mohammedans under Hesketh Bell's protection.

Meanwhile Miller paid several visits to Kano in 1910 and 1911, keeping carefully to government instructions each time. His visits gave him his first opportunity to see a

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1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 9, Miller, Zaria, 7 Dec. 1910.
 2. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 91, Miller, Zaria, 21 Aug. 1910.

little of the work which Vischer was doing and to judge the Government's educational policy - embryonic though it was - for himself. He reported so well of the work being done at Nassarawa that his sister wrote to Salisbury Square and declared that what he had told her of the success of the Government's venture struck her as 'a forcible plea for the policy of leaving the work of education to a Government that has the time and means to do it - while the Church has neither time, nor means adequate to the bare work of evangelization.'

Miller, however, was affected in another way by the progress being made at Nassarawa, for that success and the failure of the Zaria Code school made him suggest that the C.M.S. should pay greater attention to the teaching of pagan boys. He and Douglas, a west Indian, should run a boarding school at Kano to which the Government would be asked to draft the sons of pagan chiefs. 'The presence of the well equipped and well managed school in Kano of the Government will, I think, make it necessary for us to look to the question of education very thoroughly and completely revise our methods,' Miller wrote. The Executive Committee of the Northern Nigeria Mission agreed with that general principle, but flatly rejected the actual proposal because of 'the suggested connection of the Government with it, the unsuitability in their opinion of either Kano or

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1. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 118, E. Miller, Alvaston, 28 Dec. 1910.
 2. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 49, Appendix to Executive Committee Minutes, Zaria and Kaduna, 11-23 March 1911.

Zaria for such a school, their difficulties about staff, and unsuitability of such a time for launching such a scheme.¹ The only point on which the Committee agreed to act was to promise to appeal for trained teachers when the next campaign for reinforcements began.²

The suggestion of either Kano or Zaria for a school for pagan boys does seem unsuitable since both were Mohammedan cities. Miller was so interested in them both, and had been weaving plans around them for so long, that the choice may have seemed natural to him. The Committee's very firm rejection of his scheme was the result of other trouble, however. The Zaria training Institute was the unhappy occasion. Miller was accused of beginning the scheme without notifying the Executive Committee of its details, and of having part-time students whom he paid for the loss of their working-hours, sometimes taking the money from his own pocket and sometimes from the church collections. The Committee believed that Miller had infringed C.M.S. regulations on the payment of students, on the conditions of their acceptance and on the correct procedure for initiating a scheme. Other differences concerning church matters were brought to the fore³ and Miller resigned his

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1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 38, Executive Committee Minutes, Zaria and Kaduna, 11-23 March 1911.
 2. Ibid.
 3. C.M.S. 1910 (N.N.) No. 107, Alvarez, Lokoja, 19 Nov. 1910; also No. 108, Miller, Zaria, 10 Oct. 1910.

superintendentship of the Zaria-Kano district in the Northern Nigeria Mission's field.¹ From May 1913 he worked as pioneer of the Hausaland district of the Yoruba Mission,² but the lengthy discussions prior to his transfer weakened for months the Mission's unity.

The crises occurred together and made 1911 an eventful year in the Northern Nigeria Mission's history. The Baro-Kano railway was completed in March 1911, although it was not immediately open to general traffic. Miller, remembering talk of the increased security the railway line would give, and clear too that the Governor had said that the completion of the line would be the right occasion, promptly applied for a permanent C.M.S. station in Kano, but was informed by the Resident, Palmer, that such a settlement could not be authorized at that time.³ Palmer, Gowers, Hewby, Annett and Temple seemed to Alvarez to form a bloc of official opinion resolutely opposed to the entry of the C.M.S. into Kano.⁴

Palmer was supported by Hesketh Bell when, at an interview in London in June of 1911, he declared that he had made

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1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 38, Executive Committee Minutes, Zaria and Kaduna, 11-23 March 1911.
 2. C.M.S. 1913 (N.N.) No. 49, Macintyre, Lokoja, 6 March 1913; and No. 70, Alvarez, Lokoja, 6 May 1913.
 3. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 64, Alvarez, Lokoja, 20 May 1911.
 4. Ibid.

no pledges to Alvarez as to when the C.M.S. might enter Kano. Furthermore, the Governor now announced that aliens' towns were to be built outside all Mohammedan walled cities, and all non-Africans would in future live in these aliens' towns under magisterial rule, with the political officers in adjoining¹ cantonments.

The only concession the Governor would now make was to permit the C.M.S. to have a compound with a school and dispensary inside Kano. Europeans would be able to visit it and African C.M.S. agents might, of course, live there.² Temple opposed even this concession at a very strained meeting with Alvarez and Hesketh Bell.³ Later Temple explained his persistence by declaring that native teachers and agents accompanying C.M.S. missionaries might not be amenable to orders given by dogarai. These native police were an important development in the work of the Native Administrations. Temple did not think the illiterate Mohammedan policeman capable of controlling mission-educated English-speaking Africans, without conflicts arising which might embroil the Administration with mission societies. Temple was therefore firm in maintaining that any

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1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 68, Memo. of interview between Hesketh Bell and C.M.S. representatives, London, 27 June 1911; also No. 80, Hesketh Bell, Folkestone, 18 July 1911.
 2. Ibid., No. 68, Memo. of interview between Hesketh Bell and C.M.S. representatives, London, 27 June 1911.
 3. Ibid., No. 102, Alvarez, Lokoja, 9 Sept. 1911.

school must be within the aliens' town.¹ The distance from Kano city was three miles, and a long way for curiosity to lure pupils. Alvarez declared that Temple disliked the idea of a C.M.S. School in Kano more than anything else,² but there is no other indication that Temple was defending Vischer's work from possible competition. At any rate Temple's objections to the C.M.S. entering Kano were always expressed on the grounds of peace, order and good government.

Vischer took no official part in the Kano controversy for he was seconded from the Political Department. While he was still in London discussing the composition of Hausa textbooks in the summer of 1911, an attempt was made by Sir William Mackworth Young, Chairman of the Problems and Policy Council of the Central Board of Missions to discover Vischer's attitude towards mission enterprise in the Protectorate. Vischer refused to make any statement and referred the matter - and Mackworth Young - to the Colonial Office.³ Miller, from his visits to Kano during the controversy, suspected Vischer of being 'totally opposed to us',⁴ but Vischer kept to his rôle as Director of Education when dealing with the missions

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1. C.M.S. 1913 (N.N.) No. 91, Memc. of interview between Temple and C.M.S. representatives, London, 2 Sept. 1913.
 2. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 102, Alvarez, Lokoja, 9 Sept. 1911.
 3. C.O. 446/103 No. 30632, Vischer, London, 18 Sept. 1911.
 4. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 98, enclosure, Miller to Alvarez, Kano, 31 May 1911.

avoiding all mention of Kano. The controversy affected his position vitally, however, for it formed a test-case for all societies desiring sites anywhere within the Mohammedan areas, and wherever there was a C.M.S. station there was, inevitably, a school.

There ensued a certain period of confusion. Alvarez was informed in November 1911, that the Emir of Kano had requested the exclusion of the C.M.S. from Kano city and that therefore the Administration could not give the C.M.S. permission to enter without appearing to violate the promise of non-interference with the religion of the people: a site outside the city gates was however a possibility if the Secretary of State agreed. The C.M.S. erected some buildings in spring 1912 just 300 yds. from one of Kano's gates. Here Hesketh Bell had agreed to a C.M.S. bookshop and school being established, and from the site missionaries might visit Kano¹ city with the Resident's consent.

The whole plan showed some desire on the Governor's part for a compromise, but was not approved by Harcourt, the Secretary of State, 'in view of the political conditions involved.... He has discussed the matter personally with Sir Frederick Lugard and has requested him to give it his most careful consideration on the spot.'² The buildings outside

1. C.M.S. 1912 (N.N.) No. 1, Hesketh Bell to Alvarez, Kano, 29 Nov. 1911. (Copy); also No. 31, Alvarez, Zaria, 17 Feb. 1912.

2. Ibid., No. 71, C.O. to S.S., London, 14 June 1912.

Kano were vacated, the C.M.S. deciding to accept any offer of a site in the aliens' town, three miles away, so long as the Mission was not bound by any agreements, and that its acceptance of a site there would not prejudice the question of another station within Kano at a future date.¹ Persistence is a mission virtue.

An interview between the C.M.S. representatives and Lugard before the latter sailed for Nigeria in July, 1912, to succeed Hesketh Bell, brought no result. Lugard admitted 'that the Government pledge might possibly be interpreted only as a pledge that Government would not interfere with their religion as elsewhere.... More than once he emphasized that the final decision rested with the Colonial Secretary. He stated that Mr. Gowers and other high officials had represented strongly that the present was not the time to start mission work in or out of Kano.'²

It seems that when Lugard originally pledged the Administration to non-interference, he was thinking of the need to calm Mohammedan fears. The nice and opposing interpretations of that pledge as the situation within the Protectorate altered, were mere phrases to him, and he would be bound as an Administrator to the practical needs of the moment.

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1. C.M.S. 1912 (N.N.) Nos. 101 and 124, Macintyre, Lokoja, 16 July and 9 Nov. 1912; also Letterbook N.N. (1906-20) pp. 264-266, S.S. to Macintyre, 1 Oct. 1912.
 2. C.M.S. 1912 (N.N.) No. 93, Memo. of interview between Lugard and C.M.S. representatives, London, 25 July 1912.

Since Lugard was going out as Governor-General to effect the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria on 1 January 1914, no change in the mission position could be expected until after that amalgamation.¹ Then only would he reconsider the situation, and the tone of his interview with the C.M.S. delegates should have warned them that reconsideration would be on a basis of the practical needs of 1914, not on the interpretation of statements made over a decade before. Until reconsideration, and possibly after, Vischer's monopoly of the education of Mohammedans everywhere except at Zaria and Bida, was secure, and his work could continue as planned.

The origin of the very strong opposition on the part of the senior Residents to extension of the C.M.S.'s field to Kano is important. By 1911-1912 the fear appears to be not so much a fear of a jihad, as a fear of incidents which might turn the officials of the Native Administrations from their awakening interest and co-operation to stubborn apathy. Both in Mohammedan Bida and in the pagan highlands events occurred in 1911 which strained mission-government relations and lent bitterness to the Kano controversy.

The C.M.S. had always striven hard to overcome the distrust it met at Bida. Under the new regulations for aliens' towns the Northern Nigeria Mission realized that it

1. C.M.S. 1912 (N.N.) No. 72, Miller, Blackheath, 19 June 1912.

would be unable to keep its station in Bida much longer. Yet at this time it seemed that the Government was linked with the Mohammedans against the Mission. One mallam, who had attended the C.M.S. night school with some of his pupils, left Bida at the Resident's suggestion and trained in Vischer's class for mallams at Nassarawa. A year later he returned to Bida and opened an elementary school under the Native Administration.¹ In the circumstances, the event rankled with the missionaries.

Meanwhile in the Bauchi highlands the C.U.M.P. was working hard, only to offset what spiritual results it obtained by earning a reputation for being involved in frequent disputes with local officials and of interfering in the 'politics' of the countryside. The tragedy was that the C.U.M.P. coupled the best of intentions with educational aims and methods in harmony with those of the Education Department, yet it was too often in conflict with officialdom.

The projected Bauchi extension railway line sanctioned as far as the tin mines of Naraguta would bring the mission-²aries within two or three days journey of a railway, and they were working to establish trust in the villages before

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1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 49, Appendix to Executive Committee Minutes, Zaria and Kaduna, 11-23 March 1911: also C.M.S. 1912 (N.N.) No. 18, Williams, Bida, Nov. 1911.
 2. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 22, Alvarez, Lokoja, 23 Jan. 1911.

the men were drawn away from their homes to become paid labourers. It is interesting that these missionaries should see the same dangers to the local people in the railway development as Girouard and Vischer had done.¹ There is a certain harmony in approach, a realization on both sides that primitive societies were being subjected to the increasing influence of an alien civilization, and that it was the duty of those imposing that alien influence to minimize possible harmful effects by preparing the way so that a villager's sense of values would not be completely destroyed upon his introduction to the material side of western European civilization. Both the Administration and the missionaries placed their trust in education. At the least it would mean that a village with one or two literates would not be at the mercy of every literate exploiter following the Administration into newly opened country. Later education might give a selective sense to help the African pupil accept the best in his own heritage and in the new opportunities offered to him, whilst rejecting the evil to be found in both. Literacy would be only the first step on a long road, and the generation which finished the journey might well be descendants of these who first stepped out. The C.U.M.P. knew all the disappointments of the early work.

At Panyam the Rev. G.T. Fox of the C.U.M.P., was

1. See above, pp. 148, 191.

trying to instil a little education in a class that might number eighty in an evening and thirty during the morning, but which dropped to a mere handful as soon as the fields needed attention. Fox could not reduce Sura to writing and had had only a few typed reading sheets in that language for use throughout 1910 and 1911. In despair he reverted to Hausa for all boys who had any knowledge of that language. Arithmetic was complicated by the fact that the pupils seemed to count in fives, and although Fox had found a Sura word which appeared to mean a "dozen", he could not discover the names of any numbers over twenty.¹

Fox's colleague, Lloyd, was struggling at Kabwir to learn Angass. He held school at 9 am and 2.30 pm on weekdays. The chief of Kabwir became so interested in Christianity that he refused to carry out certain religious rites which he, as priest, should have performed on behalf of the village. Fear and bitter animosity towards the C.U.M.P. were thereby aroused and villagers requested the Resident to remove the chief. The Resident refused to do so, but left the villagers free to act, and the chief was therefore deposed. Attendance at the mission school then became a test of courage too strong for many.²

Despite the hostility an average of fifty people per session attended the Kabwir school during 1912, by which time

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1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 26, G.T. Fox, Panyam, 24 Dec. 1910.
 2. Ibid., No. 13, Lloyd, Kabwir, 30 Nov. 1910.

an Angass reading book had been prepared. The class was then held in the evening after the day's work was done, and it attracted adults and children of both sexes. The hostility between the Christians and pagan elements grew, and again involved a political officer. The chief of Tuwan asked the missionaries if he might till his land instead of waiting until his overlord, the chief of Kabwir, had done so. The missionaries advised him to begin as the weather was right, but the tilling had a religious significance and the chief of Kabwir demanded a fine from Tuwan. After appeal and counter-appeal the local Resident agreed that the fine must be paid and he was angry with the missionaries for interfering between a chief and his overlord.¹

At Kuta, amongst the Gwari, the C.M.S. work had been successful enough to arouse the opposition of a certain Mohammedan element. The west Indian schoolmaster was accused of having undue influence in the town, and Green, the European missionary, was charged by political officers with interfering in local political affairs. The C.M.S. met the charges by changing the personnel of the station before the Mohammedan element at Kuta could press the Administration to insist on the withdrawal of the C.M.S. from the village.²

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1. C.M.S. 1912 (N.N.) No. 13, Lloyd, Kabwir, 15 Dec. 1911; also No. 33, J.L. Fox, Kabwir, 11 Feb. 1912.
 2. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 38, Executive Committee Minutes, Zaria and Kaduna, 11-23 March 1911.

Thus during 1911 there was friction between the C.M.S. and the Administration at pagan stations and in partially pagan areas at the very time when the Society was trying to persuade the Administration to permit it to open a station in the great Mohammedan town of Kano, and generally to withdraw the limits and restrictions imposed on free mission expansion in the Protectorate. At the same meeting in London in 1912 when the C.M.S. representative asked Lugard for entry into Kano, they also asked him to investigate the position at Kabwir where the Resident had supported the pagan chief against the chief of Tuwan, who had acted on mission advice.¹ Moreover Lugard had also to promise to investigate the expansion of the emirate of Bauchi, which, according to the missionaries, had recently been extended to bring many pagans under the Native (Mohammedan) Administration. Lugard agreed to make inquiries, but said that such an arrangement might occasionally be necessary in the interests of good government.²

Despite all the Regulations of the Society which prohibited C.M.S. missionaries from taking part in local politics, the fact that religious practices were linked both with the authority of the Mohammedan emir and of the pagan chief, made it only too easy for a missionary to become

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1. C.M.S. 1912 (N.N.) No. 93, Memo. of interview between Lugard and C.M.S. representatives, London, 25 July 1912.
 2. Ibid.

entangled in political questions and perhaps come to think of himself as holding a watching brief. Since native institutions were so important and integral a part of Indirect Rule, any interference with them might easily upset the plans of the local political officer. Officials who were absorbed in the work of developing the Mohammedan Native Administrations with their courts, treasuries and schools, might easily conclude that their provinces would be better without the danger of any such complications. Some Residents may have been over-cautious or lazy: some missionaries may have been rash and interfering: the overwhelming impression, however, is of the sincerity of the majority on both sides. That their ends did not coincide is part of the unhappy tale of the relations between the church and the modern state.

Certainly when co-operation was offered by the Government it was unfortunate that the C.M.S. could not always take advantage of it. Thus when the society was offered facilities for work amongst the Tangale tribe, the offer had to be refused because it was made in 1911, at which time it was reckoned that another ten European missionaries were needed during the next five years to give the existing Mission stations adequate¹ staff.

The Kabwir crisis was smoothed over and the Resident from Pankshim opened a new C.M.S. school building of sun-dried

1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 93, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 7-11 Aug. 1911.

brick at Kabwir in March 1912, thus giving official blessing to the venture.¹ The work was hampered however throughout 1913 by the continued feud between the pagan and Christian villagers, despite a new Resident's declaration of freedom of conscience.²

Amongst the Sura also the school-work was suffering, but there it was because of language and staff difficulties. Hausa was still used rather than the difficult Sura, and the agent to be left in charge when the European missionary was itinerating was a Yoruba. Consequently only about four boys could read the Gospels in Hausa.³ The C.U.M.P. decided that some form of boarding school for pagan boys was needed for keen scholars, who would work under the full-time supervision of trained European staff. Unfortunately the C.U.M.P. was barely solvent at the time, and the suggestion remained a hope.⁴

A further clash with Government officials occurred moreover during 1913 at Kataeregi, on the Baro-Kano railway line, where a C.M.S. building was pulled down by the local Resident because his permission, legally necessary, had not

1. C.M.S. 1912 (N.N.) No. 120, Lloyd, Kabwir, 13 Nov. 1912.

2. Ibid., No. 119, Wedgwood, Kabwir, 14 Oct. 1912.

3. Ibid., No. 118, Hayward, Panyam, 20 Sept. 1912.

4. Ibid., No. 115, enclosure, Minutes of C.U.M.P. meeting, London, 18 Oct. 1912.

been requested before the C.M.S. took the site.¹ A native C.M.S. agent was turned out of Doko, an outstation of Bida, at the request of the hostile Kpotum, although the villagers of Doko did not object to his presence. The Resident believed that the agent was unwanted; the missionaries thought that the villagers were afraid of the Kpotum.²

These minor affairs, which amounted to restriction of the C.M.S.'s free expansion in pagan areas where it alone as yet offered any schooling, were aggravated in that they came after Lugard had refused a lease to the C.M.S. for a site within the European quarter at Kano.³ The refusal was based on the C.M.S.'s admission that it wished to convert Moslems and not to minister to Christian Protestants of the European quarter. Temple had advised Lugard that preaching beyond the quarter would involve a risk of assault on the preacher and a fanatical outburst. Gowers, the Kano Resident, had pointed out that missionaries living with Europeans in that aliens'town known to the Nigerians as the White Officers' town would be 'fully identified with, and considered to be actively supported by, the Administration.'⁴ Since the Emir had expressed a desire

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1. C.M.S. 1913 (N.N.) No. 86, Alvarez, Katcha, 22 July 1913; also No. 108, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 1 Oct. 1913.
 2. Ibid., No. 108, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 1 Oct. 1913.
 3. Ibid., No. 30, Lugard to Alvarez, Kano, 10 Jan. 1913 (copy)
 4. Ibid.

that the C.M.S. should not be allowed to enter Kano,¹ the matter was settled as far as Lugard was concerned, for he would not override the Native Administration and the political officials.

In view of these developments and of the knowledge that Lugard was returning to London to complete the arrangements for the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, it is not surprising that the Interdenominational Conference at Lokoja in July, 1913 - the second of what were intended to be triennial meetings - was well attended. Education was a subject of prime importance. Lugard had asked for C.M.S. views on education,² and in the field the missionaries had made several changes. The first C.M.S. industrial class had been begun at Lokoja, with one carpenter and four apprentices.³ At Zaria the fact that pupils often left after they had learned to read and write to become messengers at the barracks, had led to the decision that the more advanced work, particularly the geography and arithmetic, should be made more interesting. The existing methods were criticized as too mechanical.⁴

The S.U.M. now had a far clearer picture of the difficulties which it faced and the best way to deal with them.

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1. C.M.S. 1913 (N.N.) No. 30, Lugard to Alvarez, Kano, 10 Jan. 1913 (copy.)
 2. C.M.S. 1912 (N.N.) No. 105, Lugard to S.S., Abinger, 4 Sept. 1912.
 3. C.M.S. 1913 (N.N.) No. 51, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 25 Jan. 1913.
 4. Ibid.

From Ibi the Farrants had written:-

'We have fully decided that children must come at the direct wish of their parents, for it is not to be expected that many children would so value education as to come, regularly. A school of twenty at then different stages is a hopeless muddle. Above all we wish them to feel that joining school is a definite step in their lives as it is with children at home, and that they are getting something of real value. The African is too apt to think that what he gets for nothing is of no value. Indeed, it is the opinion of the Resident here, that the Mission schools will not attract many until fees are charged. Then the people will believe that education is a precious thing.'¹

Vischer had charged fees from the first but he also provided free tuition for poor but intelligent mallams.² That problem had not yet occurred to the Farrants, but they were working towards it on lines in harmony with the Director of Education.

A further similarity between Vischer's theories and those of the S.U.M. is to be found in a statement of the principles on which education was based at the S.U.M.'s Rumasha Freed Slaves' Home. That any such statement was made shows how far the Society had advanced in educational theory and practice during the four years it had controlled the Home. The report for 1911 read:-

'A main principle underlining the method of training the children is to avoid Europeanising them... It is desired that when they leave the Home they may enter naturally into the interests and life of the community of which they become members.'³

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1. S.U.M. Lightbearer IX, Aug.-Sept. 1913, p.137.
 2. See above, Chapter IV, p.220.
 3. S.U.M. Lightbearer XIII, June-July 1912, p.110.

By 1912, there were 112 girls and 60 boys at Rumasha. They received their elementary education in the vernacular, usually Hausa, from 2 pm. to 3.30 pm. each day, and with some religious instruction. They spent six hours each day in manual work, helping in the upkeep of the Home and learning crafts. They cultivated over forty-nine acres of land, growing food and cotton for themselves.¹ The few who were suitable might choose to train as evangelists, but the majority of boys, like the girls, returned to village life when they were old enough. The training given appears to have suited its purpose.

Nearly all the single women missionaries worked at Rumasha. There were sixteen women and twenty-five men in the service of the S.U.M. by January 1913, and they represented British, American, Danish, South African, New Zealand and Australian branches.² The educational statistics for 1912 show that the classes which were held were small at the majority of stations.

<u>Station</u>	<u>Sessions of Schools</u>	<u>Total Attendances</u>
Ibi	151	1127
Wukari	220	3012
Donga (June-July)	119	3446
Langtang (March-Dec.)	176	2058
Du	94	541
Salatu	229	2459
	<u>989</u>	<u>12643</u> ³

1. S.U.M. Lightbearer IX, June-July 1913, p.110.
2. Ibid., Jan.1913, p.9.
3. Ibid., June-July 1913, p.110.

The S.U.M. used itineration more than the C.M.S., and S.U.M. stations were sometimes closed for a period to be reopened when a missionary could once more be spared for that place. When a station was closed it was hoped that some Christian convert would keep the Mission in the people's memory until its return. Schooling could not be continuous in such circumstances. Yet the Mission, sometimes gained from its flexibility. After a year's effort M'bula station was closed for lack of support: the station was transferred to Salatu because the Munchis there had asked for a school. The 1912 statistics show the success of the venture.¹

Salatu shows also some of the difficulties which the S.U.M. faced by keeping to the Lokoja Resolution that elementary teaching should be in the vernacular. Miss Villiers (S.U.M.) claimed that when she began teaching at Salatu in Munchi, she could hardly talk to her class and explanations of points in the lessons were impossible.² At Du, in similar circumstances, Evans had managed to identify and write down 600 Borom words, and he was teaching reading and writing to both boys and girls - the latter varying in age from four to twenty-four years.³

The S.U.M. had been given a free hand with the Munchi

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1. S.U.M. Lightbearer VIII, Dec. 1912, p.214: also, IX, April 1913, p.69.
 2. Ibid., IX, Nov. 1913, p.188.
 4. Ibid., VIII, Oct.1912, pp.164-5.

tribe by the Government. The Society had from 1911 to 1913 to effect its occupation of the area, and meanwhile the Administration agreed to protect the whole district from the encroachments of Mohammedan influence. The S.U.M. saw the reason for the co-operation in the fact that 'the policy of the Government in Nigeria is to give every facility for the education of natives.'¹ Obviously, Vischer would welcome teachers who wished to raise the standards of their pagan pupils and send them home eager to be of service in the social evolution of their own communities. That was his own aim in the Mohammedan provinces.

The future of the S.U.M. appeared therefore to be far more closely bound up with the question of education at the Lokoja Conference of 1913 than it had three years before, at the first interdenominational conference. Education was now as important to the S.U.M. as to the C.M.S.

At the Conference an Education Committee was appointed representing the C.M.S., the S.U.M. and the S.I.M. It was agreed that in future all the schools must teach some manual and industrial work, and thus all the mission schools, whether in pagan or Mohammedan districts, were brought into line with the Government practice. A uniform scale of payment for native mission agents and teachers was accepted by all the Societies, a uniform system of handwriting was to be taught

1. S.U.M. Lightbearer VIII, June-July 1912, p.112.

and the hope was expressed that all mission schools would use standard text-books. Krusius was to write a primer in English which would then be translated and printed in the vernaculars. This book was not, however, to exclude original writings in the vernaculars from the classrooms.¹ Vischer believed that books which had not been written direct in the vernacular could not represent the true idiom of the people.² Krusius opposed Vischer's primers on the ground that they were neutral on matters of religion and on moral questions, and he said that their contents had to be supplemented by works permeated with Christian principles.³

Dr. Krusius represented well-informed missionary opinion on education. His proposals, the result of over a year's stay in the Northern Provinces, were given fully in an address to the S.U.M. at Swanick.⁴ Krusius' first point was that a missionary was concerned with education because he wanted to teach his pupil to read the Bible, and all missionary educational policy must be founded on that basis. The S.U.M. elementary schools ought to teach Bible lessons, reading and

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1. C.M.S. 1914 (N.N.) No. 105, Report on the Interdenominational Conference, Lokoja, 24-31 July, 1913: also S.U.M. Lightbearer IX, Oct. 1913, pp. 156-7.
 2. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III (N.N.) 1913, p.8.
 3. S.U.M. Lightbearer IX, Oct. 1913, p.167.
 4. Ibid., p.166.

arithmetic, object lessons and hygiene, and all the work ought to be in the vernacular. Jukum would therefore be the language for the schools at Donga and Wukari, Munchi at Salatu, Yergum at Langtang and Borom on the Plateau, but Hausa might be taught everywhere as a lingua franca. In language policy and the importance of hygiene he was in agreement with Vischer.

Krusius visualized S.U.M. kindergartens, the first of which might be run by girls trained at the Rumasha Home. Secondary schools would be inter-tribal with Hausa as the language of instruction, and English and industrial work as important subjects. Like Vischer, he stressed the linking of mental and manual work in the development of a balanced curriculum.

Successful pupils were to pass from the S.U.M. secondary schools to training institutes for teachers and evangelists, but 'the training of pastors, doctors and really competent teachers may only be mentioned as desideratum in the process of our development.'¹

Krusius' suggestions thus bear relation to Kumm's² general outline of a scheme, but Krusius also suggested that practical steps for the immediate future should include the production of more text-books and the opportunity for new

1. S.U.M. Lightbearer IX, Oct. 1913, p.166

2. See above, p. 273.

missionaries to take part in theory lessons and practical studies before leaving England. He emphasized the need for continuity in the European supervision of the schools, and the fact that tuition should be paid for in money, kind or labour. Again there is an echo of Vischer's earlier statements.

Above all Krusius insisted on the importance of elementary education declaring that 'there is in some places difficulty in getting pupils, but this is not the case everywhere, and not at our oldest stations owing to the favourable attitude of the Government, and the interest it takes in school work.'¹ This is an expression of high praise for the Administration, and Krusius was prepared to co-operate with the Government even on certain aspects of educational literature, despite his criticism of Vischer's text-books.² It seems strange therefore, that when Vischer had already published an alphabet which had been accepted by the Administration,³ this second Lokoja Conference included, like the first, an attempt to find an alphabet which would be the foundation for all the languages in the Protectorate. Eventually it was decided that further enquiries should be made.⁴

The home committees of the mission societies now

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1. S.U.M. Lightbearer IX, Oct. 1913, p.169
 2. Ibid.
 3. See above, Chapter IV, p. 217.
 4. C.M.S. 1913 (N.N.) No. 105, Report of the Interdenominational Conference, Lokoja, 24-31 July, 1913.

intervened to offer co-operation in education to the Administration. Obviously the C.M.S. believed that Lugard was sincerely interested in missionary views on education.¹ A joint-letter from the C.M.S. and S.U.M. in London was to be sent to Lugard asking whether any co-operation was possible between the Societies and the Government in the matter of Christian education in pagan schools on lines similar to those discussed with Vischer in 1911.² Lunt (C.M.S.), who had met Vischer, undertook to forward the request to the latter to be passed on to Lugard. Lunt's covering letter showed the spirit of this approach:

'I am writing to tell you this because we all realise that the issue will be very much in your hands, and that you, more than anyone, will be able to secure that the proposal contained in our letter, a copy of which I append, shall receive as favourable consideration as possible from His Excellency.

'I commend the matter to you and your judgement. I know you will do what you can to further the cause. I know how much you have the interests of the country at heart.'³

Sympathetic consideration was hoped for from the ex-missionary who was Director of Education.

Meanwhile the Executive Committee of the Northern Nigeria Mission was busy in the Protectorate putting the school-work in order. Tentative regulations were drawn up for the night schools

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1. C.M.S. 1912 (N.N.) No. 105, Lugard, Abinger, 4 Sept. 1912.
 2. C.M.S. 1913 (N.N.) No. 106, Report of a meeting of C.M.S. and S.U.M. representatives, London, 12 Nov. 1913.
 3. C.M.S. Letterbook N.N. (1906-20), p.345, Lunt to Vischer, London, 19 Dec. 1913.

which had proved a success in the Bauchi highlands. They were to be held five nights a week with two weeks' holiday each year, and a syllabus was under consideration for adoption in 1914. Another regulation laid down that not only the Hausas but also the children of coastal clerks and other southerners taught in C.M.S. schools in the Protectorate must be proficient in Nupe, Yoruba or Hausa or some vernacular before learning English. Government Hausa readers were adopted for use in the C.U.M.P. area, despite their neutrality on religious questions.¹

It is clear, however, that while the C.M.S. was prepared to co-operate with the Education Department up to a point which included the training of Christian teachers for schools among the pagans, the Society was determined to maintain full control over its own schools. Both in Vischer's original report,² and in his interview at Salisbury Square in 1911,³ he envisaged Government control of all mission schools. Any co-operation between Government and missions on education in 1914 had first to overcome that obstacle.

Furthermore, the expansion planned by Vischer to take place in 1914 among the pagan tribes,⁴ meant an extension

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1. C.M.S. 1911 (N.N.) No. 113, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 1 Oct. 1913.
 2. See above, Chapter IV, pp. 189-90.
 3. See above, p. 281.
 4. See above, Chapter IV, p. 241.

of the Education Department's work over the regions where mission societies had previously had a monopoly of education, and where the rivalry between missions had been quite friendly. The situation was promising from Vischer's view, as the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria might well lead to more money and men being available for schools for pagans. The erection of such schools at a time when Lugard had confirmed the policy of excluding missions from the Mohammedan provinces, might well appear a further attack on the mission societies, unless tact was used. The C.M.S. had offered to cooperate with Government on education, but it was determined to fight all restrictions imposed by Government and to gather other Societies into the opposition. The year 1914 might well bring dramatic developments.

CHAPTER VI.

THE YEARS OF WAR.

PART I. ORDINANCES AND REGULATIONS.

On 1 January 1914 Sir Frederick Lugard became Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. The new Protectorate of Nigeria included provinces of Southern Nigeria in addition to the provinces covered by the former Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. The latter area was now designated the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, and it is the history of education related to the political development of these provinces which concerns this thesis after 1914.

The British Administration for this region was still that of a Protectorate, but the Protectorate had been enlarged. The amalgamation made one unit out of Nigeria, but the character of the Northern Provinces was considered sufficiently different from that of Southern Nigeria to prevent the centralization of all the Government Departments. The Departments of Education were not united, and so that of the former Protectorate of Northern Nigeria now became the Education Department of the Northern Provinces, Nigeria, and Vischer received official appointment as its Director.¹ The name alone appeared

1. See above, Chapter IV, pp. 174-5.

different.

Yet the situation had altered. Nigeria was in the process of being unified, and with one Governor-General and many centralized departments in the civil establishment the tendency for it to be considered as a unit would grow stronger. This factor would be of vital importance in Nigeria's political and social development. The gradual adoption in the South of the principles and aims underlying the development of the Native Administrations of the North was Lugard's avowed aim. Lugard himself had now to consider the welfare of the whole country and not just a part of it, and there was a possibility that the two Departments of Education in Nigeria would feel some effect of the political change. Lugard had already expressed his dissatisfaction with the results of education in Southern Nigeria¹ and if he were to recommend changes there, it would be logical for such changes to show some alignment with education for pagans north of the Niger and Benue rivers within the sphere of the Education Department of the Northern Provinces.

Lugard returned to England immediately after the official amalgamation, and in the July he met Manley, the C.M.S. Secretary, to discuss the future of Nigeria with him. As the C.M.S. had recently approached Lugard through Vischer with a request for greater opportunities for co-operation with

1. See above, Chapter II p. 69 for his criticisms of clerks educated in Southern Nigeria.

Government on educational matters, education was the major point discussed. Lugard admitted that he had plans for the education of pagans, but that they were not fully formed. He said that he hoped to include religious or moral instruction in the curriculum of every school in Nigeria, but that the duty of giving specific religious instruction could not be imposed upon Government education officers and that missionaries might therefore be called upon to take such lessons.¹

That was the sort of golden opportunity which the C.M.S. was seeking, but Lugard bluntly stated his opinion of mission schools in a way which showed that any co-operation he offered would be as a concession to, not a right of, the mission societies. He criticized the lack of discipline in Protestant mission schools, a lack which he felt occurred because 'they had not been animated by the traditions governing our English Public schools.'² That statement throws more light on Sir Frederick's character and standards than on missionary effort. Lugard blamed much of the racial discontent in Africa on past educational methods.³

Manley tried to defend the missions by forcing from Lugard the admission that he had no practical experience of educational work to support his theories, but the Governor-

1. C.M.S. 1914 (Y.) No.69, Memo. of meeting of Lugard and Manley, London, 3 July 1914.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

General did not retract his criticisms. Moreover, though he agreed that a conference on education in the Northern Provinces between Government and C.M.S. representatives would be a good idea and suggested that Vischer should attend it, he also made it clear that only by his own presence would the conference possess anything like final authority. Clearly, Lugard intended to take an active part in the work of the Education Department, and he indicated to Manley that he had certain important practical changes in mind, including the appointment of a Board of Education for the Northern Provinces. The Board which he visualized would have an official majority, but also unofficial members representing the mission societies. He was also considering the extension of the conditional grants-in-aid system to include mission schools of the Northern Provinces as well as those in Southern Nigeria.¹ Already, therefore, amalgamation was producing comparisons and contrasts in his mind.

The C.M.S. decided that it was the right moment to discuss education with Krusius, the S.U.M.'s educational adviser, and he was invited to Salisbury Square on 24 July. Yet, the only two points which are recorded as having been discussed at that meeting are the S.U.M.'s plans for a central training college for pagans, and Alvarez' opinion that the Governor-General was sincerely willing to listen to any

1. C.M.S. 1914 (Y.) No.69, Memo. of meeting of Lugard and Manley, London, 3 July 1914.

recommendation on education.¹ Apparently the meeting with Lugard was regarded as confidential and not discussed with Krusius. Moreover Krusius went to Salisbury Square eight days after the C.M.S. Education Committee had discussed 'the new draft code for Education in Nigeria,' and had interviewed not only C.M.S. missionaries but also Henry Carr, the Acting-Director of Education in Southern Nigeria, and yet the Education code was not mentioned to Krusius.¹ Krusius can have known nothing about the draft code, for in August Lugard wrote to the C.M.S. that though he would appreciate missionary criticism of the draft, he had not the S.U.M.'s address in England.²

To make matters more involved, the filed C.M.S. copy of the draft code was received from the Field Secretary in Nigeria on 24 September,³ and the Colonial Office received a copy sent from Nigeria by Lugard on 7 November.⁴ It would appear therefore that the C.M.S. Education Committee had a pre-view in July, yet no observations were sent to the Field Secretary until 13 October.⁵ The inference is that the draft

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1. C.M.S. 1914 (N.N.) No.49, Memo. of meeting of Manley and Krusius, London, 25 July 1914: also Letterbook N.N. (1906-20) p.373, Minute of Education Committee, 16 July 1914.
 2. C.M.S. 1914 (N.N.) No.53, Lugard to S. S., London, 14 Aug.1914.
 3. C.M.S. 1914 (Y.) No.91, Draft of the new Education Code for Nigeria.
 4. C.O.583/20 No.47053, Lugard, Govt. House, 7 Nov. 1914, and enclosure.
 5. C.M.S. Letterbook N.N. (1906-20) pp.372-3, S.S. to Alvarez, 13 Oct. 1914.

studied by the Education Committee was a copy given it by Lugard on condition that it should be regarded as confidential.

The draft was really in two sections, for there was a draft Ordinance and draft Code Regulations for grants-in-aid to voluntary schools. These documents were Lugard's own work, the product of his studies during the voyage to England in April 1914. He had written a Memorandum which applied to Southern Nigeria only, had redrafted the existing Grant Code Regulations, and had drawn up an Education Ordinance for the whole of Nigeria which modified existing ordinances. The new Grant Code Regulations had then been sent by the Governor to all managers of assisted schools and to inspectors of Government schools in Nigeria.¹ The Code had not been sent to the Education Department of the Northern Provinces as it had no inspectors, nor to any missionary schools of the Northern Provinces, for none were state-aided. The reception given to Lugard's suggestions in Nigeria had been 'gratifying',² and he had had his draft amended by the Attorney-General to include some of the alterations suggested to him.

The point immediately seized upon at the Colonial Office was that nowhere did Lugard give due recognition to the deliberate continuation after 1914 of two Education Departments

1. C.O.583/20 No.47053, Lugard, Govt. House, 7 Nov. 1914 and enclosures.

2. Ibid., Lugard, Govt. House, 7 Nov. 1914.

within Nigeria pursuing separate, different policies. Baynes, the first to minute, followed his résumé of the proposals with the blunt statement:

'Sir Frederick Lugard has not consulted Mr. Vischer at any stage about these proposals, and Mr. Vischer has not even seen the proposed Grant Code Regulations.' 1

Sir John Harding was more outspoken:

'I have considerable prima facie distrust of a scheme of education which is based on a memorandum written by Sir Frederick Lugard, a grant code re-drafted by Sir Frederick Lugard and an Education Ordinance ditto, and which has not one reference to the scheme of native education on native lines which Mr. Vischer has been working out in Northern Nigeria since 1909, and which, though at present not fully developed, is certainly the most promising new departure in education in West Africa.' 2

Harding referred to the fact that Lugard was a soldier, and continued with an interesting but not quite fair reference to the years 1899-1906:

'During his tenure of the post ... the Government had nothing at all to do with Education. No Government Schools existed, there was no Education Department, the few mission schools went their own way, and so far as I know, the education proposals of Sir Frederick Lugard were confined to supporting in 1906 a most dangerous scheme of Dr. Miller of the C.M.S. for starting mission schools in Mohammedan centres.' 3

Strachey agreed with Harding that suggestions were inapplicable to the Northern Provinces, and so did Fiddes, 4 5

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1. C.O.583/20 No.47053, minute, D.L. Baynes, 18 Feb. 1915.
 2. Ibid., minute, A.Harding, 23 March 1915.
 3. Ibid.
 4. C.O.583/20 No.47053, minute, C. Strachey, 21 April 1915.
 5. Ibid., minute, G.V. Fiddes, 22 April 1915.

but Sir John Anderson advised against being hyper-critical.¹
Harcourt merely minuted, 'as proposed generally by M. Baynes',²
and since Baynes had written that he would negative the pro-
posals at once in so far as they applied to the Northern
Provinces,³ the difference of opinion between the Colonial
Office and the Governor-General was clear. The ultimate
result was the Nigerian Education Ordinance, No.50 of 1916,
and the Regulations made under it in that same year, after
two years of discussions and alterations.

A comparison of the draft sent to Salisbury Square from Nigeria with the draft forwarded to the Colonial Office by Lugard, shows the alterations made after Lugard had circularized Government inspectors and the managers of assisted voluntary schools in Nigeria. The Ordinance and Regulations of 1916 show further - and vital - changes. One therefore sees both missionary and Colonial Office influence exerted on Lugard's plans. Lugard had been thinking in terms of Nigeria: the mission societies wished to alter the Regulations to make Government recognition of more of their schools a possibility, whilst yet retaining the maximum control over them: the Colonial Office insisted on recognition of the differences between the Northern and the Southern Provinces of Nigeria.

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1. C.O.583/20 No.47053, minute, Anderson, 22 April 1915.
 2. Ibid., minute, Harcourt, 28 April 1915.
 3. Ibid., minute, D.L. Baynes, 18 Feb. 1915.

Ultimately the Colonial Office was to oppose the uncontrolled extension of mission education even to pagans in the Northern Provinces. The story of the changes in the drafts lends strength to the opinion that there was important support within the Colonial Office for what the missionaries termed a pro-Mohammedan policy in the Northern Provinces, and that the Colonial Office under Elgin shared responsibility for the rejection of Miller's Zaria scheme ¹ with Girouard, and that Harcourt, not Hesketh-Bell, checked the C.M.S.'s advance to Kano in 1911. ² Lugard warned the C.M.S. not to minimize ³ the part played by the Colonial Office, and changes in the Education Ordinance and draft Grant Code Regulations prove that the Colonial Office was not a mere convenient scapegoat on which the blame for a policy unpopular with mission societies might be laid by an astute Governor.

An assessment of the part played by Vischer is complicated by two factors: first, he could be consulted only unofficially, since he would be in a very awkward position if called upon to give his official opinion of his Governor's policy. Thus Baynes had been in touch with Vischer before ⁴ minuting Lugard's plan, but did not mention Vischer's opinions.

1. See above, Chapter III, pp. 141-2.

2. See above, Chapter V, p. 294.

3. See above, Chapter V, p. 295.

4. C.O.583/20 No.47053, minute, D.L. Baynes, 25 March 1915.

The second difficulty is that Vischer was absent from Nigeria for the greater part of the period during which the Ordinance and Regulations were under discussion. He had enrolled in the Nigerian Land Contingent in August 1914¹ and he left the Protectorate in September. In November 1914 Vischer carried despatches from Berne to London on behalf of the Foreign Office,² and by November 1915 he was commissioned as a Lieutenant. Until the end of the war Vischer served the War Office and used his linguistic ability in various parts of Europe. He was military attaché to the British Ambassador in Spain in 1917, and he emerged from the war with decorations from France, Belgium and Italy, the C.B.E. (military division) and the rank of major in the Reserves.³

Throughout this period Vischer was officially Director of Education for the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, until his resignation on the grounds of ill-health in 1919. His work was left in the hands of the Acting-Director, F.M. Urling Smith. Vischer himself was not to take an active part again in African education until his appointment in 1923 as honorary secretary to the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa, the first committee to be appointed

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1. V.P.: Certificate of enrolment, Zungeru, 8 Aug. 1914.
 2. V.P.: Papers covering journey to Berne and return with despatches, dated 3-21 Nov. 1914, including immunity from customs examinations and F.O. receipt for despatches, signed W. Berrow, 21 Nov. 1914.
 3. See Appendix A, p. 428.

by the Colonial Office to evolve a general policy of education for several British African colonies. It is clear, however, that Vischer's work had admiration and support in certain Colonial Office circles, and that during the war, when all development was drastically curtailed, the Colonial Office insisted on the preservation of his system, though quite appreciating the fact that Vischer had had no time to implement all his plans. Alterations sponsored by the Colonial Office in Lugard's drafts are therefore important and interesting.

Lugard's Memorandum applying to the Colony and Southern Provinces is not the concern of this thesis, but the Ordinance and the Grant Code Regulations are because they applied also to the Northern Provinces, and they must therefore be considered at their various stages.

That Lugard as Governor-General viewed the whole of Nigeria as a unit after the amalgamation is clear, for his draft education ordinance was to apply 'to the Colony and Protectorate.'¹ When the Ordinance was promulgated in 1916 certain sections were applicable to the Northern Provinces only and others to Southern Nigeria alone because of the changes made during the two years of discussion and so that phrase² was omitted.

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1. C.O.583/20 No.47053, enclosure, draft Education Ordinance. [7 Nov. 1914.]
 2. The Education Ordinance, 1916, No.50 of 1916. (N.)

The 1914 draft Ordinance provided for one Board of Education for the Northern Provinces and another for the Colony and Southern Provinces. Each Board's duties were to be prescribed by the Governor. The Board of the Northern Provinces was to consist of the Lieutenant-Governor of that region, a Resident nominated by the Governor-General, the Director of Education, and three other persons nominated by the Governor and connected, if possible, with assisted schools.¹ Vischer had suggested an Advisory Board four years before,² and now Lugard outlined one which offered the mission societies an opportunity to influence educational policy.

Opposition came from the Colonial Office where doubts were expressed as to the value of an Advisory Board for the Northern Provinces. Baynes held that a Board existed to keep education and public opinion in touch, and that since there was no public opinion on matters of education in the Northern Provinces, a Board would be superfluous, and might interfere with Vischer's work.³ A Board for the Northern Provinces was therefore officially labelled 'undesirable',⁴ but in 1916 one was created by the Education Ordinance. This Board, however,

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1. C.O.583/20 No.47053, enclosure, draft Education Ordinance, clause 4(1).
 2. See above, Chapter IV, p.190.
 3. C.O.583/20 No.47053, minute, D.L. Baynes, 18 Feb. 1915.
 4. Ibid., draft reply, 26 May 1915.

had only two non-official members, which reduction gave a permanent official majority. Moreover the President of the Board - in normal circumstances the Lieutenant-Governor - had a casting vote as well as a member's vote. The quorum remained the same as for the draft Board, the President plus three members,¹ and therefore as there were but two unofficial members no situation could arise in which the officials could be outvoted, if they were in accord. Thus Vischer's work received protection from 'unofficial' interference.

The draft Ordinance made provision for School Committees as well as for the Education Boards. A School Committee might be set up in any province under the Resident and would fulfil such duties in relation to Government or Assisted Schools as the Governor might direct. The members of the Committees were to be the Governor's nominees, but the Committee's reports were to be sent to the relevant Director of Education. These Committees were embodied in the same form² in the 1916 Ordinance.

The Ordinance did not stand alone, however, and it was in the accompanying Regulations of 1916 that the spheres of the Boards of Education and of the School Committees were defined. These definitions are additions to the draft

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1. The Education Ordinance 1916, No.50 of 1916 (N.), clauses 4(1), 4(2), 4(3), 4(4) and 4(5).
 2. Compare C.O.583/20 No.47053, enclosure, draft Education Ordinance, clauses 6 and 7 with No.50 of 1916, clauses 6 and 7.

Regulations of 1914, not alterations, for Lugard had left the duties to the discretion of the Governor in his drafts. By the 1916 Regulations, a School Committee was not only to foster education in its province, but also to suggest to the Director or to the Board of Education 'any variations in the curriculum, or in any syllabus, or in the departmental rules, or in the conduct of the schools, which may in its opinion be suitable to the conditions of the province.'¹ Thus throughout Nigeria the School Committees would, in following these directions, also be following Vischer's theory that the education provided must be related to the pupil's environment.

The Education Board's advisory capacities were also clearly defined in the 1916 Regulations and a further vital addition confined the function of the Board in the Northern Provinces to Christian Government Schools and to Assisted Schools.² Thus the Colonial Office achieved the omission of Vischer's secular schools for Mohammedans from the Board's control, while yet, through the School Committees, extending to the Southern Provinces his theory of adaptation.

Further protection was given in 1916 to the Northern Province's system by the addition of section 13e to the Ordinance, stating that no grant could be made to any school or training institution:-

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1. Regulations made under the Education Ordinance, 1916, (52a) and (52b).
 2. Ibid., (51a) and (51b).

'which is a Mission or other Christian school or training institution situate in a District of the Northern Provinces in which no Mission or other Christian School or training institution is established at the commencement of this Ordinance.' 1

Thus although the expansion of Mission Schools in the Northern Provinces was not legally, specifically forbidden, this refusal of all state-aid would act as a discouragement, and showed that the Administration was opposed to such expansion.

Until the Ordinance was promulgated in 1916, the mission societies were ignorant of these drastic changes. The shock received by the C.M.S. was of added intensity because certain suggestions made by the Society after a perusal of the draft Ordinance and Regulations, had been accepted amicably by Lugard in 1915.

As the draft Ordinance of 1914 was innocuous, the C.M.S. had concentrated on modifications of the draft code regulations. The meeting of July 1914 was followed by a series of recommendations by the C.M.S. Education Committee to Lugard in March 1915.² The draft regulations explained all the conditions to be fulfilled in schools for which grants-in-aid were desired. Lugard wanted Moral or Religious Instruction to be given in all schools, and he laid down the syllabus to be followed in each

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1. The Education Ordinance 1916, No.50 of 1916 (N.) clause 13e.
 2. C.M.S. Letterbook N.N. (1606-20) p.373, Minute of Education Committee, 16 July 1914: also 1915 (Y.) No.24, Minute of Education Committee, 18 March 1915.

grade, Infants, Primary and Secondary. If the parents or guardians of a child attending an Assisted School did not wish the child to receive Religious Instruction, then 'a task in a secular subject'¹ was to be set that child.

The C.M.S. Education Committee wanted some reassurance that its own Religious Instruction course would be accepted for assisted C.M.S. schools in lieu of the course laid down in the schedules attached to Lugard's Grant Regulations.² As the Managers of all schools were permitted to submit their own schemes of work to the Director of Education for his approval, the Society had that chance of appeal in the field,³ and had to be content with it.

It is interesting that the C.M.S. Education Committee, was, like Vischer, dubious of the good effects to be obtained from Moral Instruction divorced from any creed. The Committee feared that such instruction would lack reality, and would be pushed into some unfavourable position in the syllabus. To make certain that the teaching of Moral Instruction was not scamped the Committee suggested that any Inspector assessing a school for a grant should pay more attention to Tone, Discipline, Organization and Moral Instruction - which counted

1. C.M.S. 1914 (Y.) No.91, Draft Grant Code Regulations, (5) and (8).
2. C.M.S. 1915 (Y.) No.24, Minute of Education Committee, 18 March 1915.
3. C.M.S. 1914 (Y.) No.91, Draft Grant Code Regulations, (7).

together - than to Examinations and General Progress.¹
 When the Regulations were published in 1916, however, the percentages of the grant allocated on these two divisions remained the same as in 1914, 30% to 40%.²

The C.M.S. had greater success over the question of qualifications of teachers. Lugard had set down the categories into which all the staff of an Assisted School had to fit, and no one who could not in this way be classed as a Head Master, Master, Certificated Teacher, Assistant Teacher or Pupil Teacher,³ might be employed to give instruction in an assisted school. The C.M.S. Education Committee asked for a liberal interpretation of that rule because of the difficulty of finding 'trained teachers morally and spiritually fitted for the work.'⁴ It was the old difficulty of the dual rôle of mission teachers. To meet the problem a Note was inserted after the tenth of the 1916 Regulations giving the Director of Education the power of according temporary recognition as Certificated Teacher in any circumstances where he deemed such action advisable.⁵ Another change was a cut

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1. C.M.S. 1915 (Y.) No.24, Minute of Education Committee, 18 March 1915.
 2. Regulations made under the Education Ordinance, 1916, (34).
 3. C.M.S. 1914 (Y.) No.91, Draft Grant Code Regulations, (10).
 4. C.M.S. 1915 (Y.) No.24, Minute of Education Committee, 18 March 1915.
 5. Regulations made under the Education Ordinance, 1916, (10n.).

in the minimum attendances at a Training Institute or Normal Class required of Assistant Teachers from 200 in two years¹ to 180.

Another Regulation in the 1914 draft received by missionaries in Nigeria had stated that Managers of schools who applied for grants would have to prove that their premises² would not be used for other than educational purposes. Most village mission stations had only a few buildings. The largest of these would be the church for the station, and as the school developed it too was often housed in the same building. Sometimes the schoolroom was also used as a dispensary or a store. The C.M.S. Education Committee asked that this regulation should not preclude village schools³ being used as churches, but Lugard had already added a proviso on the strength of representations made to him from Nigeria, and the final reading was:-

'The school premises will not be used for other⁴ than educational purposes, unless approved by the Inspector.'

The Education Committee had already grasped the importance of Inspectors in the new scheme of things and had asked that an advisory board with members representing government and aided schools should be set up to 'harmonize lines of teaching and to be consulted on appointments of Inspectors.'⁵

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1. Regulations made under the Education Ordinance, 1916, (15).
 2. C.M.S. 1914 (Y.) No.91, Draft Grant Code Regulations, (44).
 3. C.M.S. 1915 (Y.) No.24, Minute of Education Committee, 18 March 1915.
 4. Regulations made under the Education Ordinance, 1916, (43).
 5. C.M.S. 1915 (Y.) No.24, Minute of Education Committee, 18 March 1915.

This was a vain hope. Advice could be given through the Education Boards and School Committees, and the appointment of Inspectors remained the Administration's concern.

On minor points the C.M.S. Education Committee had the same mixture of success and failure. After its protestations, the maximum age limit for children in infants' schools was raised from 12 years to 13 years, and Colloquial English was added to Reading and Writing in the syllabus for these schools, although Lugard had intended to introduce it first at the primary stage. On the other hand, the rule that aided night schools should take only pupils of twenty years and ¹ under, was not altered.

It is interesting that the C.M.S. records show no consideration of the Northern Provinces as a separate educational area. Indeed, by suggesting one advisory body ² the Committee had treated Nigeria as a unit. This attitude is somewhat unexpected in view of the C.M.S.'s experiences, for the Hausa Mission had not been assimilated easily by the Northern Nigeria Mission, and from 1913 its field at Zaria ³ was attached uneasily to the Yoruba Mission. Moreover the C.M.S. schools at Bida and Zaria had suffered grave losses once they had been brought into line with the Code schools

1. C.M.S. 1915 (Y.) No.24, Minute of Education Committee, 18 March 1915, and Regulations made under the Education Ordinance, 1916, (4d), (4e) and (5a).

2. See above, p.333.

3. See above, Chapter V, pp.290-1.

further south.¹ It was, of course, to the Society's advantage to minimize the differences between the Northern Provinces and Southern Nigeria so that the mission enterprise permitted in the latter might be extended to Hausaland.

When the Education Ordinance and the Regulations were published in their final form, the C.M.S. found that its minor successes in achieving alterations to the Grant Code Regulations were more than off-set by the two additions to the Ordinance made after the Colonial Office had perused it. There would be no grants under clause 13e for any new mission schools or training institutions erected in a hitherto untouched District of the Northern Provinces, and the Government system of education for Mohammedans was carefully removed from the sphere of influence of the advisory Board of Education. The position of the mission societies was worse in 1916 because of these legal barriers than it had been in the undefined situation of the years 1913 and 1914.

Reaction was quick. Bishop Tugwell made inquiries and was told that clause 13e had been inserted at the direct wish of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.² Alvarez had been offered a seat on the Education Board for the Northern Provinces, but he wished to refuse it in view of the Education Ordinance. He accepted the seat at the direction of the C.M.S.

1. See above Chapter III, p. 129 and Chapter V, p. 261.

2. C.M.S. 1917 (Y.) No. 13, Jones, Oyo, 26 Jan. 1917.

Education Committee, but did not share the latter's confidence in the sincerity of the Administration's desire to co-operate. He warned Salisbury Square that the Board would not meet until 1918, and so no rapid changes could be expected as a result of the missionaries' discussions with Government officials.¹

The other non-official member of the Board was Dr. Stirrett of the Sudan Interior Mission. Andrew Stirrett was a doctor of medicine, a linguist and a missionary with a determined personality. Alvarez had been principal of Fourah Bay College, but Stirrett had no such experience of educational work. He was, however, devoted to Nigeria. Stirrett was born in 1865 and was thirty-five years old before he landed on Nigerian soil, but he spent forty-one of the remaining forty-six years of his life out there. He was a fine evangelist and a very capable person, which accounts in part for Lugard's offer.²

The S.U.M. had played more part in the provision of educational facilities for pagans than had the S.I.M., and might have expected a seat on the Board for its work at the Rumasha Freed Slaves' Home alone. However, its educational plans had been badly retarded by the outbreak of the war and

1. C.M.S. 1917 (Y.) Nos. 22, 27 and 34, Alvarez, Lokoja, 14 April, 18 Aug. and 14 Nov. 1917.

2. Ibid.: also D.C. Percy: Stirrett of the Sudan (Livingstone, Toronto, 1948) pp. 14-15.

the loss of its German specialist, Krusius. During the war years the S.U.M. had difficulty in maintaining its position in the disturbed pagan provinces towards the Cameroons boundary. It had neither men nor opportunity to implement its brave educational plans of 1912 to 1914. The C.M.S. as the largest mission organization was the most deeply concerned with the Education Ordinance and Regulations of 1916, and once the report that clause 13e had originated at the Colonial Office had been received, Salisbury Square prepared for action.

In March 1917 Strachey explained the origin of the clause to a member of the C.M.S. The clause was a compromise between the opinion that no grants should be made to any mission schools in the Northern Provinces, and the view that Nigeria should be treated as a whole and all areas receive similar opportunities.¹ Strachey described the rule as anomalous,² but Strachey himself had agreed in April 1915 that Lugard's draft ordinance was inapplicable to the Northern Provinces and had added:

'He does not seem to realize that he has got in the Northern Provinces a model system and indeed he appears anxious to pull it to pieces.'³

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1. C.M.S. 1917 (Y.) No.29, Memo. of interview between Strachey and Manley, London, 16 March 1917.
 2. Ibid.
 3. C.O. 583/20 No.47053, minute, C. Strachey, 21 April 1915.

In the circumstances his use of the word anomalous seems very diplomatic.

The clause remained an obvious point of attack. Then in July 1917 the Nigeria Gazette published Ordinance No.51 of 1917 which was to come into force on 25 October 1917 and to amend No.50 of 1916 by the deletion of clause 13e.¹ Superficially this amendment seemed a great victory, but Alvarez warned Salisbury Square that it meant a change of tactics not of objective, and that before the amendment came into force in the October other regulations issued in the July and August would strengthen the Administration's control over Christian mission schools in the Northern Provinces.²

Within seven days of the publication of the proposed deletion of clause 13e, the Gazette published two new regulations. The first of these narrowed the scope of the Board of Education in the Northern Provinces to Christian Assisted Schools for pagans and Christians, thus removing the Government schools for pagans or Christian pupils from its sphere of influence.³ Therefore the scheme for pagan provincial schools planned by Vischer but not put into practice because of the

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1. Supplement to The Nigeria Gazette (vol.IV No.35) 12 July 1917.
 2. Ibid., and C.M.S. 1917 (N.N.) No.27, Alvarez, Lokoja, 18 Aug. 1917.
 3. Supplement to The Nigeria Gazette (vol.IV No.36) 19 July 1917.

War, ~~it~~ now received that same protection from any interference which the Colonial Office had originally given the schools for Mohammedans. Baynes had mentioned the fact that Vischer's plans for the pagan provinces were under way when he minuted on Lugard's drafts in 1915,¹ and that fact had not been forgotten.

The second new regulation ruled that the Manager of a Christian assisted school must explain to anyone sending a Mohammedan child that the school was Christian, and that before Religious Instruction was given to a child of any race, nationality or creed in such an assisted school, that child's parents had to give their consent. The difference between this regulation and the existing Regulation 46 of the 1916 Grant Code Regulations was that previously parents had contracted out of the Religious Instruction on behalf of the child, and now they had to contract in. That such a difference may be very important has been proved by the history of Trade Unionism in Britain. The lazy or indifferent who would never have bothered to contract out of Religious Instruction would now not bother to contract in. Furthermore, a child doing other work during the Religious Instruction class had now to be out of earshot of that lesson and in some other room.

These new regulations were published in August 1917 under the heading Conditions under which the Mission Schools must be

1. C.O.583/20 No.47053, draft reply 26 May 1915 and minute, D.L. Baynes, 18 Feb. 1915.

conducted in the Northern Provinces, with the additional order that each school was to be open at all times to the inspection of the Governor or his representative. This same Government notice also embodied 'instructions as to the procedure to be carried out by Mission Societies desirous of obtaining rights of occupancy in the Northern Provinces for the purpose of establishing schools.'¹

These instructions applied to any new schools, whether the Managers were applying for aid or not. The former general application for a mission station with a school or dispensary and so many buildings on the plot of land required, now gave way to a detailed separate application for permission to open a school. The age, sex, nationality and qualifications of the staff for the proposed school were to be entered, with the numbers and ages of the children who would attend, and a plan of the proposed buildings was to be enclosed. The Director and the Lieutenant-Governor would then submit their opinions of the application to the Governor, who would himself make the decision.² Thus the control which Vischer had advocated over mission expansion³ in the former Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, now became a reality.

1. Govt. Notice No.91, The Nigeria Gazette (vol.IV No.40) p.305, 9 Aug. 1917.

2. Ibid.

3. See above, Chapter IV, pp. 189-90.

Such control would be excellent in that it would prevent the establishment of schools of low standard. The Administration could also claim that it was trying to be fair to its non-Christian subjects by refusing to pay revenues of their country to Christian schools where instruction in Christianity had to be accepted by pupils wishing to become literate. There is a similarity once again between the Northern Provinces and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, for Vischer had reported in 1909 that mission schools in Khartoum accepted only Mohammedan pupils whose elders fully understood that the schools were Christian ones.¹

On educational grounds and on those of justice the Administration could make a case for itself, but it is significant that Alvarez did not quarrel with the details of this Government notice, but with its tone, which he described as 'minatory'.² He obviously feared that the powers might be used for politico-religious reasons and not on educational grounds alone.

Alvarez was even more worried when he received in November 1917 the draft of an ordinance 'to enable the Governor to control the establishment of mission schools in the Northern Provinces of the Protectorate', and by which any schools opened after 1 Dec. 1917 had to be sanctioned by the Governor

1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure, Report on tour: Sudan. Vischer. [Sept. 1909.]

2. C.M.S. 1917 (N.N.) No.30, Alvarez, Lokoja, 23 Aug. 1917.

in writing. Such permission might be conditional and be withdrawn if he considered that to close the school would be in the public interest. This ordinance therefore covered any new schools, and not just new schools erected in Districts previously untouched by mission expansion. Thus any new school within Lokoja now had to be sanctioned by the Governor in writing. Furthermore, a school was defined as an assembly of personages met for instruction, and the draft ordinance ended with the information that the 'purpose of this ordinance, which has been drafted on the instruction of the Secretary of State is to enable the Government to control the establishment of Mission Schools in the Northern Provinces.'¹ Alvarez saw in this declaration the gage of a direct challenge. He pointed out that the definition of a school as being an assembly of people drawn together for instruction was so vague that it might be used for any religious meeting or preaching, and thus all mission work might be endangered.²

When the Ordinance came into effect as No.6 of 1918 on 4 April 1918, the definition was omitted, and so was the last paragraph which had stated the purpose of the Ordinance and the part played by the Secretary of State.³ These omissions

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1. C.M.S. 1918 (N.N.) No.2, Alvarez, Lokoja, 12 Dec. 1917 and enclosure.
 2. Ibid., No.12, Alvarez, Lokoja, 15 April 1918.
 3. Missions Schools (N.P.) Ordinance 1918, No.6 of 1918. (N.)

were, in Alvarez' opinion, the results of representations made to the Colonial Office by the C.M.S. He had expected some such concessions for he described the Administration's policy as one of demanding too much and then insisting on the major points while graciously conceding the minor ones which were unimportant.¹ The position of mission schools was now inextricably entangled with the question of mission expansion, and the Government was considering now not only the political effects of mission expansion but also the educational. The situation in 1918 was very different from that envisaged at Salisbury Square when Lugard's drafts had first been read in 1914 and Government-mission co-operation discussed with the Governor-General.

To understand the development of the Government's policy one must remember Colonial Office influence, the development of Indirect Rule as a political system for the pagan, as well as the Mohammedan, areas of Nigeria, and also consider both Government and mission education in the Northern Provinces during the war years, and the effect which the latter had on both. The circumstances which gave birth and form to the Education Department of the Northern Provinces have been described, and now the query is whether the growth required the protection which it received in 1916, 1917 and 1918,

1. C.M.S. 1918 (N.N.) No.19, Alvarez, Lokoja, 10 June 1918.

and whether it benefitted from its near monopoly. Political considerations had moulded education in the pre-war years, to what extent did they influence policy in the years 1914 to 1918?

PART II. DEVELOPMENT AND RESTRICTIONS

At the beginning of 1914 Vischer had four primary and two technical schools in the Northern Provinces. The former were at Nassarawa, where there were two schools just outside Kano city - the one being for the sons of chiefs only - and at Katsina and Sokoto. The technical schools were at Nassarawa and Katsina. All pupils save those from Sokoto and Katsina provinces had to come in to the Nassarawa central school.¹ These schools were for Mohammedans, and they had proved sufficiently popular by 1913 to produce requests for schools at Birnin Kebbi and Argungu in Sokoto Province, and the Emirs of Zaria and Bida and Ilorin and the Shehu of Bornu had made similar requests. Native Administrations were running elementary classes with local mallams as teachers at Bida and Agale in Niger Province and at Dekina and Ankpa in Bassa Province. Such schools were not likely to progress far without qualified teachers and European supervision, but they had been established voluntarily and therefore their potential value was far greater than their actual educational worth.²

In addition to these developments in predominantly Mohammedan areas, pagan communities in Yola, Muri, Bassa,

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1. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1914, p.1.
 2. Annual Report by the D. of E. N.N. 1913, p.5.

Kabba, Ilorin and Maiduguri had asked for Government schools.¹ Vischer planned to continue the expansion of a net-work of Mohammedan schools while at the same time beginning a similar system for pagans by opening a training college for teachers which would play the part in the pagan system that the Nassarawa class for mallams had played in the organization of the schools' system for Mohammedans.

Mohammedan education was furthered by the opening of new provincial schools and the setting-up of rural schools near to the longer-established provincial schools. The pattern of the net-work Vischer had designed first became evident in 1914.

In May new provincial schools were opened at Bida and Zaria. The schools began with eighty-three and sixty-four pupils respectively, and each had six teachers during the first year. Most of the pupils were new entrants, but some had been transferred from Nassarawa. Now that there were four provincial schools - at Sokoto, Katsina, Bida and Zaria - pupils from those provinces could receive their education nearer home, and so the Nassarawa central school became the Kano provincial school in 1914. All the schools followed the same curriculum and kept the same holidays, and so transfers were easy, and smooth development might reasonably be expected.²

1. Annual Report by the D. of E. N.N. 1913, p.7.

2. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1914, pp.1-3.

On 15 July 1914 all schools broke up for the annual holiday which was to include the festival of Rhamadan and to last until 14 September. By the end of September Vischer expected to have a Department of twenty-six men, fourteen of them of recent appointment and some, of course, would be on leave. The smooth development was immediately interrupted on the outbreak of the First World War. On 6 August 1914 six education officers were appointed to duty as transport officers.¹ The result was that the Bida school could not re-open until 16 October and the Zaria school until 15 October because of the shortage of junior superintendents of education.²

Moreover the officers supervising these schools had to be changed too frequently once the schools were open. Bida school was under Oakes from May to July and Zaria under Pauer.³ Oakes had arrived in Nigeria on 19 December 1913 and had spent the spring training for his work at Kano. In August Oakes left for Yola with the Carrier Corps attached to the Northern Column of the W.A.F.F.,⁴ and therefore Bida school was reopened in the October by another superintendent,

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1. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1914, p.1.
 2. Ibid., pp.4-5.
 3. Ibid.
 4. The Nigeria Civil Service List, 1925, p.388.

Bieneman, who had had eight months' experience of the Northern Provinces followed by six months' sick leave.¹ Oakes, however, left the Carrier Corps in October, and was available to re-open the Zaria school. This he had to leave after two months, when he was replaced by Walker. Add to these frequent changes the lack of experience of these young men and the additional factor that the rains damaged the Zaria school buildings,² and one would expect little progress during the year.

The Zaria school's numbers had dropped from sixty-four to forty-nine by the end of the year, but, of the fifteen who had left, ten had been transferred to the school at Birnin Kebbi because they lived in Kontagora Province. Two of the other five were 'too ill' to return, and three said that the fees were too high for their parents. The drop in attendance is therefore not as serious as appears from the statistics alone. The figures could have been higher, but while the Department provided free education for keen poor scholars, it did not extend the privilege to those whose parents could afford, but would not pay, the fees. Nor would the Department alter the curriculum to meet the strong demand by parents at Zaria for the instruction of the children in English.³

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1. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1914, p.5.
 2. Ibid., p.4.
 3. Ibid., pp.4-5.

The Bida roll had ninety names at the end of the year, but the work had had to be almost restarted in the October, when Bieneman realized that he must lower the standard of some of the classes and regrade the pupils. One extension of the system was made from Bida, however, as the Native Administration class at Badeggi was affiliated to the Bida school. A mallam had been teaching alone at Badeggi for three years, and now he came to Bida in November for a short course under Bieneman.¹ It was another link in Vischer's network.

The one essential was continuity of superintendents. That was vital to overcome the reluctance and suspicion of parents and to win the co-operation of pupils. Unfortunately continuity was the one thing the Department could not provide until the end of the war.

Meanwhile although the C.M.S. reported intense hatred of the new Government school at Zaria and in the Report of the Education Department for 1914 the reluctance of parents in that town to send their sons to school was commented upon,² in the conservative north-west province of Sokoto the system of extending from the provincial school was successfully begun. A class for fifty-six boys was opened at Birnin Kebbi in February 1914 by the Superintendent of the Sokoto school. While elementary education thus spread to a more rural area,

1. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1914, p.5.

2. C.M.S. 1914 (Y.) No.85, Executive Committee Minutes, Oshogbo, 14-17 July 1914: also Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1914, p.4.

the attendance at the Sokoto provincial school more than doubled, the roll rising from thirty-five to seventy-four. New school buildings were opened in the May to accommodate the larger numbers, and the success of the year's work owed not a little to the interest taken by the Sultan of Sokoto, the Serikin Muslimin. He lent sanction to the work by attending the opening in May, by addressing the pupils in November, after their holiday, and by giving the Birnin Kebbi class the full support - including financial - of the Native Administration.¹ Of course, Major Burdon had formed the first class in Sokoto a decade before,² and the very gradual development had been accepted by the inhabitants of the city with toleration, if not with enthusiasm.

The relative popularity of academic and technical education can be seen in the fact that Kano Technical School had 102 pupils at the end of 1914, but the Provincial School had only 31 pupils. Now that the school was no longer a central school but a provincial school, new buildings were being erected in Kano city with accommodation for sixteen classes of fifteen pupils each.³ The new school inside the city would belong to Kano Province alone in a way that the

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1. Annual Report of the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1914, pp.4-5.
 2. See above, Chapter IV, pp.145-~~2~~
 3. Annual Report of the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1914, pp.3, 6.

Nassarawa school could not, and the change in site is a result of the change in status.

The technical school at Kano was linked with the new Katsina technical school where the same methods were used in the work as at Kano. Four of the seventeen members of the Katsina class went to Kano at the end of the year for more intensive training. The work at Kano had been extended by the addition of tanning and brick-making to the subjects taught, but the standard of the native instructors was still low enough for them to count with their own pupils as pupils¹ of the European instructors.

The standards of the native staff were not always satisfactory. There were thirty-three mallams in the Government schools all of whom had had the usual Koranic training and most of them had also attended the Nassarawa classes. A few - like the mallam at Badeggi - depended on instruction and aid given to them individually by officers of the Education Department. The principle that each teacher must be employed in his own province where he and his origins were known and he might more easily therefore establish confidence, was still adhered to. All the mallams went to Kano during the holiday for either refresher courses or tuition, and during the term they received instruction after school hours from the local superintendent. Some of them kept only just ahead of their

1. Annual Report of the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1914, pp.3,6.

pupils, and on an average, the mallam showed more aptitude for Reading, Arithmetic and Hygiene than for Writing, Drawing, Geography and General Knowledge.¹

The work necessarily progressed slowly, but at least this staff was competent in grounding pupils in the elementary work. The great difficulty was to provide mallams capable of taking the more advanced classes. A teacher from Kano was quite capable of beginning a class at Maiduguri in 1915, and of acting as its Head Teacher,² but at the end of a couple of years his knowledge would be equalled by that of his brighter pupils, and his use would be confined to grounding more students in the elementary work.

The only new provision for teacher training in 1914 was the opening of a Normal Class in Ilorin to train Yoruba mallams, in order that a Government school for Yoruba Mohammedans might be opened in 1915. Of the sixteen men who began the course only ten showed any promise and the others were sent home. A further selection was anticipated as the course became harder.³ Such processes prove how much easier it was to recognize the shortage of native teachers than to provide an adequate remedy.

The same shortage affected the beginning of new Government

1. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1914, pp.1-2.

2. Ibid., p.2.

3. Ibid., p.5.

schools for pagans, for until the Government trained Northern Nigerians as assistant teachers there were none. In addition the Education Department had now to meet for the first time the difficulties with which missionaries were painfully familiar, tribes to whom literary education was incomprehensible, pupils to whom a systematic effort was something new.

The first Government school for pagans in the Northern Provinces was opened at Kabba on 1 July 1914 by an education officer who had known Hausaland since the British Protectorate was first declared, G.P. Bargery, once a C.M.S. missionary and a colleague of Vischer's at Loko and Ghierko,¹ and from August 1913 a junior superintendent of the Education Department. Again the weakness was lack of continuity. Bargery stayed for five weeks, his successor, Clouston, for ten and then Cole took over. The fact that Bargery left on 8 August shows that his removal was part of the change around which followed the transfer of six officers to the Transport Department on 6 August. Despite the changes in supervision, the number in the class rose from nine to fifteen by 31² December.

This Kabba class cannot be compared with the original classes held at Nassarawa. Kabba was not a training school

1. See above, Chapter I, p. 41.

2. Annual Report on Educ. Dept., N.P., 1914, pp. 5-6.

for future teachers, nor had it any political significance such as the school for the sons of chiefs had had. Kabba school was merely a small elementary class for boys whose average age was just under eight years. Yet the idea of central schools on similar lines to the Nassarawa experiment had not been abandoned.

Vischer had been in Ibi in May 1914, prospecting for a site for a school. The Resident had recommended its establishment among the Munchi tribe at, or near, Abinsi. Not until November could an officer be spared to go to Abinsi, and then Clouston was sent from Kabba, having had ten weeks' experience in the pagan school there. At Abinsi Clouston discovered that risings amongst the tribesmen prevented him from travelling in the province. He suggested a good site for the proposed school would be six miles from Abinsi and near the railway crossing the Benue at a place named Gidan Wanuni, sometimes referred to simply as Wannune. Meanwhile Clouston remained at Abinsi to do the preparatory work of studying the people, their history and their language, and writing reading sheets in the Tiv vernacular.¹

Similar work was being done by another education officer at Ankpa and Dekina in the Igbira language.² It was now clear that the multiplicity of pagan languages would make impossible

1. Annual Report on Educ. Dept., N.P., 1914, p.7.

2. Ibid.

one central school. Hausa had been used for all the pupils at Nassarawa save those speaking only Kanuri upon their entry, but since Vischer believed in early teaching in the vernacular Hausa could not be used as a lingua franca amongst all the pagans. The school at Gidan Wanuni might be the first big central school, but it would serve only the Tiv-speaking people of the Munchi tribe.

At the end of the year 1914 the Government schools, both Mohammedan and pagan, had a total of 527 pupils and 35 native teachers. At the same time the five mission societies providing educational returns claimed a total of 1,682 pupils. The approximate number of scholars in the Koranic schools was 218,615.¹ The population of the Northern Provinces was estimated at about nine millions, and although the population of school age could not be calculated, even so it is clear that only a very small percentage was receiving any tuition.

The figures for 1914 show therefore that the Government had but a third of the total number of scholars in mission schools. During 1915, however, the Department opened provincial schools at Bauchi, Maiduguri, Dekina and Gidan Wanuni, whilst the Birnin Kebbi class previously attached to the Sokoto provincial school achieved independent primary status. The 12 Government schools now had 781 pupils and

1. Annual Report on Educ. Dept., N.P., 1914, p.7.

53 native teachers, exclusive of those giving instruction only in Islam. In addition the Industrial School at Kano, which was entirely in the care of the Native Administration, had a further 52 pupils and 7 native instructors. The mission societies returned 46 schools with 1,643 pupils.¹

By the end of 1916, the Government had 13 schools, as a new training class for teachers had been opened at Yola, and 830 pupils with 63 native teachers for secular subjects. Kano Industrial School had 93 pupils and 11 native instructors. One of the schools had had its records destroyed by fire and therefore the average attendance of 733 was that returned by 12 schools only and the total attendance out of 830 was really higher. The 58 mission schools returned for 1916 an average attendance of 933 pupils.²

Despite the difficulties in trying to equate total numbers on school rolls with average attendances, these figures for 1914, 1915 and 1916 do infer a far greater rate of expansion on the part of the Department of Education than by the mission societies. Moreover, the Department was suffering from the loss of its Director to war service in Europe, and the secondment of six junior superintendents to military service with the Cameroons Expeditionary Force.³

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1. Parl.Pap. 1917-18 XXII Report on N. for 1915.
[Cd.8434-7.] p.16.
 2. Parl.Pap. 1917-18 XXII Report on N. for 1916.
[Cd.8434-33.] p.20.
 3. Nigeria Civil Service List, 1925, pp.386-99.

In the circumstances the Department showed slight but steady progress and a certain resilience.

The work of the mission societies was complicated, however, by the fact that many of the pagan areas were disturbed by rumours and fighting after the outbreak of the war. Small pagan tribes or villages often tended to be unruly still, and there had been clashes in 1914 prior to the outbreak of war between tribesmen and patrols in Bassa, Yola, Bauchi, Kontagora, Muri and Nassarawa Provinces. After August the provinces near or adjacent to the German Cameroons became restive as a result of rumours. Thus the Bassa decided that all the British had withdrawn and had been exterminated by their German enemies, and therefore the time was ripe for raids upon neighbouring tribes. Later the Bassa-Nge tribe believed a German trader's tale that the Germans would take over in three months, and they therefore refused to pay taxes and attacked a British political officer and a police patrol. Further tribal raids took place in the Tangale area of the Gombe Division of Bauchi Province in November.¹

During the same months the Mohammedan provinces experienced a famine and yet remained loyal. The Emirs contributed £38,000 to the war effort from their Treasuries, as well as private donations following the gift of £1000 by the

1. Parl.Pap. 1916 XIX Report on N. for 1914. [Cd.8172-4.] pp.28-9.

Sultan of Sokoto.¹ Here was a contrast which might well encourage that 'pro-Mohammedan' policy of which mission societies complained. Indeed, the political theory of Indirect Rule was now so clear and its results in the Mohammedan areas considered so good that the system was to be extended to pagan areas. 'A system so advanced and so elaborate in its detail could not, of course, be at once adopted in the areas occupied by the primitive pagan tribes who inhabited fully a half of the Northern Provinces, but the general outlines of this scheme of administration were made equally applicable to all, and it devolved on the political staff by constant effort to endeavour to raise these to the same level as that of the Hausa and Bornu states, but without encouraging them to adopt the Mohammedan religion.'² This was, of course, a long-term policy, and meanwhile patrols were needed to restore order in the disturbed pagan areas.

Schools in some of the affected districts had to be closed and staff sent to safe areas. Women in particular were moved quickly. The S.U.M. stations at Ibi, Wukari, Donga and Salatu were all disrupted, and after an attempted German raid towards Takum, the Administration ruled that the district was unsafe for women, and in September Donga was evacuated for a few weeks. The Donga school which had provided three of

1. Parl.Pap. 1916 XIX Report on N. for 1914. [Cd.8172-4.] pp.43-4.

2. Ibid., p.38.

the best senior students the S.U.M. had had, suffered greatly from these interruptions.¹

Staff had to be moved around. The woman missionary was not allowed to remain at Donga, and all three of the staff left Salatu. Some missionaries returned to their home countries, some of the women went to Rumasha, but after disturbances there moved on to Langtang among the Yergum.² They had hoped to return to their stations as soon as the immediate excitement was over, but the Administration refused permission until June 1915.³

The Danish branch of the S.U.M. entered Yola and founded a station at Numan in 1914, and the Administration permitted itineration from that centre. A school was not started, however, because women, who often acted as the school staff in the S.U.M., were not allowed at Numan.⁴ Such curtailments have to be borne in mind when statistics of Government schools are compared with those for mission schools.

On the other hand the quality of the education offered is more important than the numerical achievements. A Department organized for a particular task, its personnel chosen for their qualifications for that task, has an advantage over

1. S.U.M. Lightbearer X, Sept. 1914, p.60; also South African Lightbearer X, Dec.1914 - Jan.1915, p.8: and S.U.M. Lightbearer XI, June-July 1915, p.56.
2. S.U.M. South African Lightbearer XI, Feb.-March 1915, pp.7-8.
3. Ibid., June-July 1915, p.3.
4. S.U.M. Lightbearer XI, June-July 1915, p.62.

voluntary agencies with multiple aims. During the period of this thesis the missionaries went out to take up such work as they might be allotted in the field, and only in the case of Krusius was a missionary selected solely for the work of education. In 1915 Miller toured Zaria, Kano and Katsina provinces and reported that the Education Department had little to show for its five years' work, and that it was time to bring pressure to bear on the Government to do more, or to permit the mission societies to do the work.¹ Always supposing that the societies had the necessary funds for such extension, was the education they already provided of such a calibre that its extension into the Mohammedan provinces would have been of practical benefit to those areas? Both Vischer and Lugard feared the racial discontent and the denationalization which they believed had resulted from the educational efforts of voluntary agencies in Southern Nigeria. The societies with fields in the Northern Provinces had been making hopeful plans in 1913, but they had yet to show any results of those plans when the war curtailed all development.

The S.U.M. lost Krusius, its education expert, in 1914. He had to leave England on the outbreak of war, travelled to North America and was later interned there.² The plan for a school for the sons of pagan chiefs was abandoned, but the

1. C.M.S. 1915 (Y.) No.45, Sketch of journey by W.R.S. Miller, 15 Jan.-28 Feb. 1915.

2. Oral evidence: G. Dawson (S.U.M.)

seminary which Krusius had planned was opened in 1915 on a far less ambitious scale. It was called the Wukari Training Institute, was intended to produce teachers and evangelists, and bore a marked resemblance to the Watney Training Institute of the C.M.S. After a year at the Institute pupils were to spend a year at a station, returning after that for a final year at the Institute. No fully trained teachers would be ready until 1918, therefore. One hopeful sign was that the fourteen students accepted in 1915 came from nine different tribes. One of the students was a woman. The first year's progress was good, but the chief difficulty was to alter the pupils' outlook so that they forgot the commercial value that a knowledge of English would give them, and accepted the fact that three years of hard work were necessary before they could be efficient teachers capable of remedying the desperate shortage of native workers on S.U.M. outstations.¹

Judd of the S.U.M. visited the Government school for Munchi boys in 1915 and enjoyed a discussion on the education of pagans with Bargery, who was then in charge of the school. Judd's impressions of this school for pagans were more favourable than those Miller had of the Government schools for Mohammedans in 1915, but then Miller's views were always coloured by his earnest desire to break down all restrictions on mission enterprise in the Northern Provinces. Judd liked

1. S.U.M. Lightbearer XI, June-July 1915, p.57.

the school's location, for 'there are no lions, leopards or hyenas' and the water supply came from a well sunk in shale. He reported that the five scholars worked in a mud building 33' x 15' in area and 10' high, with a grass roof resting on poles. Eleven other similar buildings were planned, and though they were simple, the equipment for the lessons was plentiful. There were desks, blackboards, papier maché writing tablets, copy books, pencils and ink.¹ Such equipment was not so easily obtainable for S.U.M. schools. The school at Zaki Biam spent the first eight months of its existence without charts, books or a blackboard. A plank and a bath lid were painted black to do duty as boards, but 'the difficulty is that the chalk sticks better than the paint, consequently every time the boards are cleaned they require painting anew.'² Fortunately initiative received its reward,³ and a blackboard arrived at Zaki Biam in the spring of 1915.

Judd discussed the place of the vernacular in pagan schools with Bargery. Judd was a Government examiner in Munchi,⁴ just as Miller was one in Hausa. Bargery was using Munchi for his pupils until they could read fluently, when the rest of their tuition was given in Hausa. Arithmetic had

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1. S.U.M. South African Lightbearer XI, Oct.-Dec. 1915, pp.14-15.
 2. Ibid., Feb.-March 1915, p.10.
 3. Ibid.
 4. S.U.M. South African Lightbearer XI, Aug.-Sept. 1915, p.6.

to be taught in Hausa only because the Munchi method of counting was too cumbersome.¹ The S.U.M. had already done some work in the Munchi language for Judd had translated one of the Gospels and Miss de Villiers had had wall-sheets prepared and printed in South Africa to help the teaching of reading at S.U.M. stations among the Munchi.²

Judd, however, was interested not just in details, but in the whole organization of the S.U.M.'s educational efforts. His statement³ of the lines on which he believed that the S.U.M. ought to work show a very definite sympathy with those theories on which the work of the Education Department was based. Judd recognized the immediate need for pupil teachers and the ultimate need for trained staff. He understood the multiplicity of a mission's interests and aims, and that the requirements of different fields called for a different balancing of those interests in each case. Of Northern Nigeria he wrote that it was from the school work that 'we shall probably get the best returns, and some other department might have to suffer if we do our duty here.'⁴ He stressed the training of a pupil's whole being, of his mind and his body. He explained the influence of environment and the need for

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1. S.U.M. South African Lightbearer XI, Oct.-Dec. 1915, pp.14-15.
 2. Ibid., Aug.-Sept. 1915, p.6.
 3. S.U.M. Lightbearer XI, Aug.-Sept. 1915, pp.117-18.
 4. Ibid., p.117.

European staff , the foreigners with alien minds and habits, to find and to emphasize the points of contact between themselves and their scholars. Judd saw various weaknesses in the existing mission systems of education. He appreciated the difficulty of providing higher education while elementary education was not standardized, and of giving instruction in crafts which would be of practical value in the future to the pupils. 'Pupils trained to use European tools in woodwork, for instance, might be useful to Europeans, but the training would be to some extent lost. In agriculture, we could improve on native methods, probably along native lines. Could we help the cloth worker in spinning and weaving?'¹ Here is an approach very similar to that Vischer had used in 1909 and 1910. Krusius had recognized certain of the same problems, but he did not share quite the spiritual awareness which both Vischer and Judd had. Judd demanded 'more quality too ... The number of pupils at a school does not necessarily show the educational status of the school.'²

Judd was of course thinking towards the future. The actual position of S.U.M. education in the years 1914 and 1915 can best be seen by a glance at the Rumasha Freed Slaves' Home where the Society had been working consistently for five years. At the end of 1914 there were thirty-seven boys and eighty-nine

1. S.U.M. Lightbearer XI, Aug.-Sept. 1915, p.117.

2. Ibid., p.118.

girls in the Home. It was the only educational institution of the Northern Provinces where girls outnumbered boys. A European doctor and an African matron took care of the children, and the teaching staff consisted of four white missionaries - two men and two women - and eight pupil teachers. Apart from the house and farm work the children had $1\frac{1}{2}$ hrs. literary education every week-day. They learned to read and write in Hausa and to do elementary arithmetic. The three top classes read St. Mark's Gospel, and to help them do so they studied the geography of Palestine. This was their only geography lesson and they had no history lessons,¹ and so how they placed Christ's home and life in space and time would be interesting to know. 'Simple geography'² was taught at all S.U.M. station schools, but it is difficult to determine of what precisely it consisted. The students of the Wukari Training Institute learned the geography of Africa and of the Holy Land during one term of their work,³ and so at least at one level the geography lessons were related to the environment of the pupils. Movement along the lines on which Judd was working would lead to increased adaptation. A little reorganization and uniformity in the work and methods of the schools at the S.U.M. stations

1. S.U.M. Lightbearer XI, June-July 1915, pp.66-8.

2. Ibid., X, Aug.-Sept. 1914, p.133.

3. Ibid., XII, Sept.-Oct. 1916, pp.105-6.

would then bring the S.U.M. into agreement with Vischer's requirements. Certainly the reply of Lugard's secretary to the S.U.M. Field Secretary on receipt of the Field Report for 1914 sounds sincere:-

'I am to convey to you His Excellency's heartiest congratulations on the progress made in your work during the year under review, especially as regards education and the reduction of pagan languages to writing, the latter a work His Excellency considers of the utmost value.' 1

There was nothing in the 1916 Education Ordinance which might affect adversely the continued development of S.U.M. schools in pagan areas. Lugard wanted Christian or Moral Instruction to be stressed in the curriculum of every school for pagans, and that, naturally, the S.U.M. did. However, the standard required of schools by the Grant Code Regulations was too high for any S.U.M. school to be put on the assisted list until 1920, when the Freed Slaves' Home received a grant of £179.15.²7. The schedules appended to the Ordinance suggested the syllabus for each standard, and required systematic teaching, continuity and adequate equipment. Yet it was excellent that such standards should have been set, even if a mission society had a struggle to reach them. The Acting-Director of Education admitted that the new schedule for Mohammedan primary schools had meant some

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1. S.U.M. Lightbearer XI, June-July 1915, pp.49-50.
 2. Nigeria Sess. Pap. No.8 of 1921, Financial Returns for 1920, pp.48-9.

re-organization of the existing Government provincial schools for Mohammedans and a tightening of standards.¹ In the same way missionaries knew of the Regulations and were affected by them in their approach to their work.

Farrant of the S.U.M. school at Ibi told a rather amusing story of what happened when he carefully altered the school time-table to coincide 'more nearly' with the Government schedule. He added sewing to the time-table, told the children, and then forgot about the change. A week later he suddenly realized that the next lesson was sewing, that there was nobody at the station to help him, and that all he possessed were a few needles and some thread:-

'Bright idea! Let them mend their own clothes. The lesson would have a very practical value, and since the garments would soon be torn again, no record would be left if the sewing were of no known type.

So the class got instructions to wash their hands (a needless refinement this, since the clothes would be unlikely to show any extra marks) and produce a torn garment ... Two pupils wore no clothes and thus defeated the object of the lesson. One said his garment was not torn ... Fortunately one boy produced three garments, each of which was torn in several places, and provided work for all idle hands. ... I thought it wise to let well alone except in the case of one or two who very obviously knew less than me.' 2

That story illustrates delightfully the difference between the paper perfection of a syllabus and what often happens in the class-room. It shows too the gap between

1. Annual Report on Educ. Dept. , N.P., 1917, p.6.

2. S.U.M. Lightbearer XIV, Nov. 1918, p.180.

Government requirements and the work being done. Some central power, such as an Education Department, was essential to encourage the raising of standards in the schools of the Northern Provinces. It would also be essential to prevent small rural classes being formed by ex-pupils who found their little learning marketable and who knew just enough to unsettle their pupils but not enough to satisfy their needs. The eradication of such 'hedge schools' proved an expense¹ and a great difficulty in Southern Nigeria during the 1920s. The strict control of development in the Northern Provinces did avoid, as Vischer had wished to do, some of the mistakes made in Southern Nigeria.

The position of the C.M.S. was somewhat different from that of the S.U.M. and the S.I.M. and other missions which entered the pagan provinces. The S.U.M. could work within the Regulations imposed by the Education Ordinances, but the Ordinances themselves affected the C.M.S. The latter Society had schools in pagan districts, schools in part Mohammedan and part pagan areas, and also its schools at Bida and Zaria for Mohammedan pupils. The C.M.S. missionaries wished to extend their Mohammedan field, and now restrictions on educational development were added to the existing limits set

1. Parl.Pap. 1919 XXXVI Report by Sir F.D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, an Administration 1912-19. [Cmd. 468.] pp.159-60.

to mission expansion in the Northern Provinces. The Ordinances of 1916, 1917 and 1918 were fitted by the C.M.S. into the general conflict about the expansion of its field.

During the preparation of the 1916 Ordinance and Regulations, the Education Committee at Salisbury Square had been consulted by Lugard, and its suggestions on minor points¹ duly noted. Alvarez even reached a point in 1914 when he contemplated a future in which C.M.S.-trained native teachers would serve the Government Education Department in pagan schools. He thought that boys leaving school might prefer to go into commerce, however, because the Government did not always appreciate the 'independent attitude' cultivated by the mission schools. In any case Alvarez thought that it would be some years before the C.M.S. would be capable of giving real help to the Government² - an opinion which was more accurate than Miller's idea that the Government ought to step aside and permit the mission to develop education on a large scale in the Northern Provinces.³ Alvarez summed up the C.M.S.'s position:

'Changes may come suddenly of course in this country in an increased demand for education, but it would still be a matter of five or seven years before there can be any large increase in the number of C.M.S. men

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1. See above, pp. 330-5.
 2. C.M.S. 1914 (N.N.) No.28, Alvarez, Lokoja, 4 April 1914.
 3. C.M.S. 1915 (Y.) No.45, Sketch of a journey by W.R.S. Miller, 15 Jan. - 28 Feb. 1915.

capable of real service to the Government. The average number of Assistant Masters we produce each year is two or at the most three, and there will always be vacancies waiting for 50% of such products for some time on our own staff, where at present we have but few well-trained men: indeed the need for better trained men is a paramount one with us, though the last seven years have seen a very real improvement in this respect.' 1

The C.M.S. had neither the quantity nor the quality of native staff it required. The intention had been that some C.M.S. men should train with S.U.M. pupils at Krusius's central seminary, but the war put an end to that plan. In 1914 the C.M.S. had thirteen native teachers in the Northern Provinces and thirty-seven 'Institutions Colleges or Schools', of which nineteen were at Lokoja, two at Katcha, twelve at Bida and Zaria, one at Pamyam and one at Kabwir.² Every class held must have counted as a school. The schools at Lokoja included the vernacular schools held in the different quarters of the town and on its outskirts, but there was still only the one real primary school. The schools at Bida and Zaria had been unable to obtain that status because there was no public demand for schools in these towns. Miller described the work at Zaria as 'impossible', yet this was the same year in which he criticized the Government for not having done more for education in Kano and Katsina.³ At

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1. C.M.S. 1914 (N.N.) No.28, Alvarez, Lokoja, 4 April 1914.
 2. C.M.S. 1915 (Y.) No.38, Statistics of West African Missions, 1914.
 3. Ibid., No.14, Executive Committee Minutes, Oshogbo, 19-22 Jan. 1915: also No.45, Sketch of a journey by W.R.S. Miller, 15 Jan.-28 Feb. 1915.

Bida the C.M.S. school showed no improvement and the Northern Nigeria Mission was preparing to move out of the town to a site in the aliens' town in compliance with the Government regulations.¹

Ball wanted to adapt the work at the new Bida station to the new circumstances. His idea was that the station should no longer concentrate on Bida town but should be used as a centre for a mass education movement. For the three months of the dry season one man from each Nupe village near Bida should live in the town and be trained by the C.M.S. missionaries. Then they should be sent home for the rest of the year armed with a supply of vernacular reading sheets and a lamp each to teach reading to the villagers. Periodic visits would be made to each village by student-teachers and evangelists to keep interest alive.² This swing away from the town to the country was the result of set-backs in the towns and the new policy of developing aliens' towns and refusing to permit whites to live within the native towns. Miller founded a Christian village at Gimi outside Zaria when he felt development in Zaria was at an end.³ The C.M.S. did not make a campaign or a policy out of the movement and

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1. C.M.S. 1915 (N.N.) No.29, Alvarez, S. S. "Abasso", 20 May 1915.
 2. C.M.S. 1914 (N.N.) No.53, Ball, Bida, 3 Aug. 1914.
 3. C.M.S. 1919 (N.N.) No.23, Memo. of interview between Goldsmith and Manley, London, 25 June 1919.

perhaps it missed an opportunity for the pattern Ball had suggested recurred again in Nupe through the initiative of villagers who ran their own reading-classes at five villages around the C.M.S. Katseregi station in 1919.¹

Such work is similar to the mass education method advocated later in the century. The political advantage is that the method does not bring foreign teachers into conflict with local chiefs: the system costs little financially: the educational value is not only that an alphabet can widen the whole village's horizon, but that as the movement depends on the initiative and support of local people, so it takes shape as a natural growth of their own production. The primary work done by the outside influence is to arouse the curiosity and interest of a few people. Given the right stimulus these few may produce a snowball movement. Some faint outline of the system that was to become the adult mass education movement of the 1940s² was seen by the C.M.S. missionaries in the Northern Provinces during the First World War. They were too absorbed, however, by the struggle for unrestricted mission enterprise in Northern Nigeria to use the scheme sketched by Ball.

By 1915 it was clear that the European missionaries would have to leave their site inside Bida because of the

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1. C.M.S. 1920 (N.N.) No.4, Report on Katcha and Katseregi for 1919.
 2. See R.R. Young, E.M. Rimmer and Sally Anstey: Literacy for Adults (Sheldon, London, 1946): also Mass Education in African Society, Colonial No.186. (H.M.S.O., London, 1944.)

aliens' towns regulations. Health reasons were put forward as the grounds for this segregation. Alvarez obtained permission for the C.M.S. quarters inside the city to be occupied by a native agent. Both Alvarez and the Parent Committee asked for permission for a native of Nigeria to live there, but Goldsmith, the Lieutenant Governor, insisted that the man must be a native of Northern Nigeria.¹ Despite the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, the Northern Provinces were not to be opened to any influence from the South. One grave result of these restrictions was that C.M.S. West Indian agents were now as firmly excluded from quarters inside Nigerian towns as were the European missionaries, and yet West Indian agents, such as Thompson at Zaria,² had done invaluable educational work in previous years.

It was at this time that a new reason for restrictions on mission enterprise in the Northern Provinces was first mentioned. The new reason being the undesirability of offending Mohammedan public opinion in the Protectorate at a time when Britain was at war with Turkey.³ Missionaries decided that Lugard did not consider this a relevant reason, and the new rumour was mentioned by the C.M.S. secretary, Manley, to Strachey when they met to discuss restrictions on

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1. C.M.S. 1915 (N.N.) No.29, Alvarez, S. S. "Abasso", 20 May 1915: also Group III Committee, Resolution XII of 1915.
 2. See above, Chapter III, p. 106.
 3. C.M.S. 1915 (Y.) No.30, Jones, Kano, 23 March 1915: and 1915 (N.N.) No.23, Wedgwood, Kabwir, 20 March 1915.

the Society's work in Nigeria in December 1916. Strachey explained that Lugard was apt to underestimate the additional difficulties created by war-time circumstances and inferred that only at the end of the war would general policy be reconsidered.¹

This meeting between Strachey and Manley took place just before Salisbury Square received the information that clause 13e had^{been} inserted in the Education Ordinance of 1916 at the command of the Secretary of State.² A further meeting with Strachey, already referred to, then took place in March 1917, at which Strachey explained that clause was to be a compromise between prohibiting all mission schools in the Northern Provinces and treating all Nigeria alike.³ So the restrictions had mounted, including refusal of a site at Kano,⁴ the enforcement of the aliens' towns regulations,⁵ withdrawal from Bida, trouble at Katcha and Kataeregi,⁶ and then in 1916, the Education Ordinance. To the C.M.S. the Education

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1. C.M.S. 1916 (Y.) No.120, Memo. of meeting of Strachey and Manley, London, 4 Dec. 1916.
 2. C.M.S. 1917 (Y.) No.13, Jones, Oyo, 27 Jan. 1917.
 3. See above, p.337.
 4. C.M.S. 1914 (N.N.) No.41, Memo. of interview between Lugard and a C.M.S. representative, London, 3 July 1914.
 5. C.M.S. Letterbook N.N. (1906-20)^{p.413}, S.S. to Alvarez, 1 Feb. 1916, enclosure: Report of Sub-Committee on difficulties with the Nigeria Government, 26 Jan. 1916.
 6. C.M.S. 1915 (N.N.) No.55, Statement on difficulties at Kataeregi, and correspondence with Government 1912-15.

Ordinance came as part of the political evolution of the Northern Provinces which had no place for mission societies. The ironic point is that whereas Colonial Office objections to mission enterprise had originally had a political foundation, now there was a school of thought determined to protect the work of the Education Department of the Northern Provinces from any intrusion or competition.¹ The C.M.S. never once argued against the Education Ordinance on educational grounds. Objection was made to the curtailment of the freedom of British people in a British Protectorate and to limits imposed on Christian work by an Administration representing a Christian mother-country.² Not once was it argued that clause 13e would deprive Hausas of mission education.

Temple, the deputy Governor, showed that the Residents were now prepared to argue against mission expansion from the educational point of view, linking education with social development. Temple had already said that he objected to the presence of missionaries in Kano for fear of clashes between their servants and the dogarai, clashes which might involve the Mission with the Native Administration.³ Now he told Jones of the C.M.S. Yoruba Mission that he did not wish

1. See above, p.322.

2. C.M.S. 1917 (N.N.) No.22, Alvarez, Lokoja, 14 April 1917.

3. See above, Chapter V, pp.292-3.

to see Kano spoiled by the introduction of European-style education, that fear of the consequences of preaching in the Mohammedan town was no longer his objection.¹ Jones did not record his part at the interview and no one at Salisbury Square took up the point of European-style education in order to explain how early the Missions in Nigeria had begun to work in the vernaculars and to adapt their codes to the circumstances of the Northern Provinces.² Apparently the adaptation of education to the environment of the mission stations had not yet been grasped as a general principle of education by the C.M.S., although missionaries were working on those lines in the field of the Northern Nigeria and the Yoruba Missions.

Alvarez mentioned education in connection with the subject of relations with the Government at the end of a very lengthy memorandum, where his statement adds an almost comic touch:

'I do not want to leave the impression that all these limitations of Government have altogether hindered the work. In the Nupe country, where they hate British supremacy very bitterly, the young men are in no wise unwilling to attend Christian schools, because this is distasteful to the Resident and others, who hold them down with a strong hand. Sir Frederick Lugard does not hesitate to inveigh against the spirit of disloyalty that continually shows itself in educated natives out here, but it is very largely the Government's own handiwork in resorting to arbitrary measures when the people have got beyond the initial stages of civilization during which these matters are acquiesced in as a matter of course and necessity.'³

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1. C.M.S. 1916 (Y.) No.82, Jones, Oyo, 19 July 1916.
 2. See above, Chapter V, p. 259-60.
 3. C.M.S. 1916 (N.N.) No.15, Alvarez, Lokoja, 30 June 1916.

It is a pity that Alvarez gives no indication of the arbitrary measures which he had in mind. There is an ironic humour in the idea of Nupe men attending mission schools to spite the Administration in view of the fact that the Missions' usual complaint was that the Administration compelled attendance at its own schools.¹ Yet that a situation could exist wherein Nupe men could use the C.M.S. thus as a means of expressing their dislike of the Government was tragic, for it proves that the Europeans had increased the dissension in a province already divided between pagans and Mohammedans.

The issue was clear to Jones of the Yoruba Mission. He was certain that the Administration wished 'to run Northern Nigeria independently..of..the systems of Education and the civilization of the natives in Southern Nigeria.'² Jones understood what Residents such as Temple really wanted for the Northern Provinces. Jones believed that the promise of non-interference with the religion of the Mohammedan emirates really amounted to a promise of the preservation of the social and the political character of the Northern Provinces. Jones also attempted prophecy and time proved him correct. He said that there would be three phases in restrictions on

1. C.M.S. 1914 (N.N.) No.48, Macintyre, Bournemouth, 20 July 1914.

2. C.M.S. 1916 (Y.) No.73, Memo. on relations between C.M.S. and the Administration, Jones, June 1916.

mission enterprise in Northern Nigeria: the first had been the period up to 1914 while the Administration claimed to be settling and organizing the country; the second was the war period in which they were, and during which the Colonial Office would not review policy; the third would last for years after the war, that none might accuse Britain of using her victory to force an unpopular policy upon the Mohammedans of the Protectorate.¹ Despite this gloomy warning Salisbury Square continued diligently to prepare a case to present to the Colonial Office once peace returned. Clause 13e was withdrawn only to be replaced by further regulations in 1918 which provided even greater control over mission schools anywhere in the Northern Provinces.²

Thus the promulgation of the Ordinances and Regulations did not have any immediate effects on the education provided in mission schools within Northern Nigeria. The schedules were there as guides, but schools not requiring grants-in-aid had no compulsion to attempt to fulfil the Regulations. The direct effect of the educational legislation of 1916 to 1918 was to prevent the extension of mission education without Government permission. Lugard had worked steadily towards this position of control, a position which he felt was

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1. C.M.S. 1916 (Y.) No.73, Memo. on relations between C.M.S. and the Administration, Jones, June 1916.
 2. See above, pp. 338-43.

justified by the example of uncontrolled educational expansion in Southern Nigeria.¹

The War was the stronger check to expansion, however, and this delayed any real clash between the Administration and the mission societies. If Miller had been allowed to enter Kano he would have begun a school there, but it would have been a pioneering move by one man in war-time and a move that could not have received further support because of the shortage of missionaries. The Northern Nigeria mission was understaffed and two stations had to be closed.² The voyage to West Africa from England and from the West Indies became dangerous once the submarine war developed. When the S.S. "Falaba" was torpedoed in 1915 it was carrying both C.M.S. and S.U.M. missionaries, and the Rev. A. Field lost his life.³ Shipping was short and passages difficult to obtain. Early in 1917 all passages for women to and from West Africa were banned because it was thought that commanders would be more likely to attack submarines if their ships carried no women.⁴ Not

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1. Parl.Pap. 1919 XXXVI Report by Sir F.D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration 1912-19. [Cd.468.] p.160.
 2. C.M.S. 1918 (N.N.) No.24, Executive Committee Minutes, Lokoja, 12-17 Aug. 1918.
 3. C.M.S. 1915 (Y.) No.29, Miss Want, Bristol, 30 March 1915 and No.46, Jones, Oyo, 24 April 1915: also 1915 (N.N.) No.18, Driver (Elder Dempster Co.) to S.S., London, 31 March 1915.
 4. C.M.S. 1917 (Y.) No.29, Meeting of Strachey and a C.M.S. representative, London, 16 March 1917.

until the summer of 1918 was this restriction removed,¹ and so for a year the women teachers of the S.U.M. could neither enter nor leave Nigeria, and if married men wished to travel, they had to leave their wives behind. All movement in the field became complicated by family considerations.² The C.M.S. and S.U.M. lost missionaries to the R.A.M.C., the hospitals, and as Chaplains to the Forces.³ The C.M.S. Group III Committee was startled by the receipt of a letter informing it that Lugard had asked Miller to go as a doctor with the Hausa troops embarking for East Africa, and that Miller had suggested closing Zaria station in the meantime.⁴ This suggestion was rejected firmly by the Group III Committee⁵ and so Miller remained in the Hausaland, his itineration through Zaria province drawing protests from the Emir and requests from the Group III Committee itself not to embarrass the Government during war-time.⁶

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1. C.M.S. 1918 (N.N.) No.21, Alvarez, Lokoja, 10 Aug. 1918.
 2. Ibid., No.27, Alvarez, Lokoja, 18 Aug. 1917: also Letter-book N.N. (1906-20) p:423, S.S. to Alvarez, 19 March 1917.
 3. C.M.S. 1914 (N.N.) No.53, Ball, Bida, 3 Aug. 1914, and 1920 (N.N.) No.10, Ball, Romford, 13 March 1920: also S.U.M. Lightbearer XI, Oct.-Nov. 1915, p.142.
 4. C.M.S. 1917 (Y.) No.82, Jones, Oyo, 27 July 1917.
 5. Group III Committee, Resolution XXIV of 1917.
 6. C.M.S. 1918 (Y.) No.8, Jones, Oyo, 18 Jan. 1918, and Group III Committee, Resolution III of 1918.

In 1915 Wedgwood had foreseen the ease with which such an accusation of disloyalty might be made when he requested Salisbury Square not to continue demanding freedom for mission expansion around Kabwir. He wished to avoid any accusation of trying to take advantage of the Government during a war, and he also explained that, because of the war, the Mission had no men to undertake further work around Kabwir.¹ In the straightened circumstances of war the Government opposed mission expansion which did not exist. It cannot be claimed therefore that the peoples of Northern Nigeria suffered any educational loss from the Government policy of exclusion during the years 1916 to 1918.

At the end of the war, however, the restrictions did have effect, and as Jones had foreseen, the Administration was then in complete control of all mission enterprise, including educational, and intended to retain that control after 1918. The work of the Education Department of the Northern Provinces from 1916 to 1919 must therefore be reviewed to see if it was so maintained and expanded as to justify the unique degree of protection which its work was afforded even after the War.²

The Acting-Director noted in 1917 that to continue the

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1. G.M.S. 1915 (N.N.) No.23, Wedgwood, Kabwir, 20 March 1915.
 2. The only parallel was to be found in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan which, as a condominium, was not part of the Empire with a Christian mother-country.

Department's work was a continual struggle against adverse circumstances. At the beginning of the year he had nineteen education officers on duty, two on leave, and one other beside Vischer on military service. Eleven more were seconded to service in German East Africa during the year, so that his staff was reduced to nine on duty and two on leave. Political officers helped to supervise schools wherever possible, but the real burden was thrown on the native staff, of whom there were sixty-five teaching secular subjects and thirty-five for Arabic or religious instruction. Yet the Department introduced the new higher schedule in all schools, and removed inefficient native teachers from Maiduguri and Birnin Kebbi schools.¹ Standards were not lowered.

Such sacrifices as had to be made were made in those areas where the work was new. Dekina school was closed in April 1917 because the Resident of Bassa province considered that the degree of work being done was too slight to overcome local apathy, and yet the Department could not pay more attention to the school.² The only Government school for pagans was therefore that at Wannune after April, but as there were 114 mission schools in the pagan regions³ the Government retrenchment occurred at the most logical place.

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1. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1917, pp.1, 3, 4, 6, 8.
 2. Ibid., p.1.
 3. Ibid., pp.1, 9.

In the Mohammedan schools some progress was made, and at Birnin Kebbi new buildings made possible an increase in the number of pupils from fifty-one to eighty-three.¹ Progress in the provincial schools was steady, discipline was good and the various officials of the Native Administrations showed the requisite interest in their local school. A point of toleration had been reached at which the Mohammedans no longer feared the schools as subversive of their religion, but the mass did not desire them and some people saw in them only a means to a well-paid position - that attitude which Vischer had determined to discourage. As Urling Smith declared, 'the Government and the native population still have different points of view in the matter of Education.'³

The Acting-Director justified the Education Department's claims to have achieved some good by 1917 on two grounds: first, that the Department was nurturing a system rooted in local tradition and that this new experiment had to proceed slowly. The second basis for justification was that 'despite these times of Imperial strain it has not been considered advisable to suspend as inessential the work of the Department.'⁴

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1. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1917, p.2.
 2. Ibid., p.3.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

The money was available for expansion, but the officials were not.¹ There were fewer men in the Education Department in 1917 than there had been in 1913, and yet the standard of work in the Mohammedan provincial schools was raised to meet the schedules laid down under the Education Ordinance of 1916.²

At the beginning of 1918 there were only eight education officers on duty, and yet there were twelve schools open, and three more were opened during the year at Daura, Messau and Maiduguri. By the end of the year there were fourteen officers on duty, three new schools under construction - two at Sokoto and one in Nupe province - and new buildings had been erected at Argungu, Kaduna, Sokoto and Bida, and the Bauchi school had been transferred to a permanent site at Yelwa.³ The resilience shown by the Department in this year when the war ended explains why the Administration was determined to give the Department freedom to expand so that at last Vischer's full scheme for pagans and Mohammedans might be put into practice.

The greatest progress during 1918 was made in Bornu because the provincial school had continuous European supervision. Arabic replaced Hausa as the vernacular used in the

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1. Nigeria Sess. Pap. No.1 of 1918, Financial Returns for 1917, p.41.
 2. See above, p.382.
 3. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1918, p.1.

school, and as a result thirty new Arab pupils were enrolled. These, with a further 8 new pupils, brought the school's total to 109. The interest shown by the Shehu, by local Sheikhs and by parents of pupils was encouraging, and arrangements were made for two Arab teachers from Gordon College, Khartoum, to come to Maiduguri in 1919 to increase the popularity of the school with the Arabs.¹

Bornu also had a new Industrial school opened in July 1918. Two men from Kano Industrial school acted as metal-work instructors, but Kanuri craftsmen were the other teachers for the thirty-two pupils. There were classes in leather-work, wood-work, cart-building and the prescribed Government schedules had to be followed. Instruction was given in motor-body work and car driving, but even with such modern additions to the syllabus, the principles underlying the school were those which governed Kano Industrial School:

'Though there may be a great need for completed articles such as doors and windows, the production of manufactured articles is incidental only to the training of pupils, and care must be taken that the legitimate aims of the school be not sacrificed to supply such articles too soon.'²

Twenty-one of the eighty-six pupils of Kano Industrial school were ready for employment at the end of 1918 and all found work.³ No better justification of the policy pursued

1. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1918, pp.2-3.

2. Ibid., p.3.

3. Ibid., p.6.

at an Industrial school could be found. Public opinion in Kano now favoured the school because its ex-pupils proved skilled, reliable, and conversant with the traditional designs of crafts. The Department regretted that the ex-pupils were far better craftsmen than scholars, and that few were capable of scale-drawings and plans, but such limitations were not barriers to employment in the Kano of 1918.¹

The majority of the pupils and native instructors were from Kano, although one of the ten instructors came from Tripoli. Pupils came from the provinces of Nupe, Sokoto, Zaria, Bauchi and Yola, but the Technical Instructor wished to have representatives of every province.² The opening of the Bornu Industrial school had proved, however, that provincial expansion was possible and that it would meet with local co-operation. Patient, slow development and the cautious wooing of the Mohammedan inhabitants of the Northern Provinces was beginning to show results in education, just as it had shown a result in Mohammedan loyalty during the War.

The pagan school at Wannune was also proving a success. The roll had increased to fifty-five, and another fifty boys of Katsina Ala had had to be refused admission because the school was short of native staff to help the two Europeans,

1. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1918, pp.2-3 and 7.

2. Ibid.

Bargery and Cole, and three of the young teachers had to be dismissed during the year. The elementary school-work was done in Munchi, and farming, weaving and smithing were taught. Friendly curiosity brought many travellers out of their way to see the school at work.¹

The crying need reported from every province was for efficient native staff.² Many of Vischer's mallams from Nassarawa had done excellent work. Mallam Haliru had proved 'most loyal, hardworking and valuable',³ had acted as the head of Katsina school without any supervision, and maintained the interest of the Emir and of the town in the school's work until he died in 1919. The new schools at Messau and Daura were both being run by local mallams and the education officer who supervised Daura school for a few weeks reported that 'the more Daura can run its school from its own power, the better. The Daura people are proud of their school and of themselves: discipline is excellent: the school always spotlessly clean.'⁴ Such a natural, locally-supported development is precisely the type at which Vischer had aimed, and therefore after the stagnation of war-time, his education system was capable of providing the correct stimulus for

1. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1918, p.8.

2. Ibid., p.9.

3. Ibid., p.5.

4. Ibid., p.6.

such development. The Daura school, run by Daura for its own people, would teach all concerned far more than the 3Rs: Daura would be in partnership with the Education Department, and such partnership was the essence of Indirect Rule. Such a development was ensured protection by the educational legislation of 1916, 1917 and 1918.

Even at Bida where the Mohammedan hostility to education had proved so heart-breaking to the C.M.S., the Government provincial school had some success in 1918. The Political Department accepted all twenty-eight ex-pupils that year, and found its new employees quite satisfactory. The Acting-Director regretted that only the economic stimulus appeared likely to overcome local apathy towards education, but at least the pupils who were actuated by material ends studied well, and reached the requisite standard for employment.¹

The Department showed a further healthy sign in that its members were studying the conditions of their particular school or schools, and trying to alter the work accordingly. Boys at Zaria provincial school were learning 'pidgin' English, and therefore it was decided to teach English to them in school at Standard III and not to wait until they had entered Standard IV, as prescribed in the schedule to the Education Ordinance of 1916. Commercial firms at Zaria needed

1. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1918, pp.8-9.

staff who spoke good English, and so it was more sensible to fit Zaria men for the work than to force the traders to bring Southern Nigerians up-country to Zaria.¹ The Department would not have taught pupils English just to give them the necessary qualification for these posts, but in the circumstances the education superintendent at Zaria was prepared to make the best of the inevitable. The policy of adaptation can be kept permanently flexible.

This same year Walker, the superintendent of Ilorin provincial school - a school tolerated without enthusiasm by the populace - had to consider the effect of railway development on Ilorin province. Walker feared that the introduction of English prior to Standard IV might make Ilorin school a factory for the turning-out of clerks who would leave the school earlier to take posts, and therefore have a shorter period of character training. On the other hand, he felt that the Education Department was bound to follow the pace of 'the railway and all the other material educational influences of the country.'² Unling Smith thought that a training college for Yoruba teachers and a network of rural schools would soon alter the apathy of Ilorin Province towards education, and that then pupils would be capable of replacing³ South Nigerians working on the railway.

1. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1918, p.10.

2. Ibid., pp.3-4.

3. Ibid., p.4.

That such questions should be discussed at length by the Acting-Director in his Annual Report was excellent because the attitude of the Department showed that the theory of adaptation was not a static formula. The environment of the peoples of Hausaland would alter, and inevitably the degree of European influence would increase as science and commerce made changes. Vischer wanted education to fit the pupils to face the duality in their lives, and in the 1918 Report the Education Department proved that its policy was to alter its curriculum to meet the changes wrought by increasing European influence. The man who, in 1912, left the Nassarawa schools to return to a village remote from a Resident's office was not in the position of the man who left a provincial school in 1922 to live by a railway-line which he had known from childhood, and the presence of which was a perpetual reminder that the village was in a province, which in turn was part of a Protectorate linked with other lands across the seas. The difficulty would be - and has been - to educate those who are quick to feel new influences and are conscious of the enrichment that can be theirs by contact with European civilization, and also to educate the mass who cling to their own ways and resent drastic changes. Too full an acceptance of the demands of the former may lead to a superficial assimilation of alien ways: too much insistence on the pace of the majority will lead to the frustration and anger of

the quick minority. Vischer had a cardinal point that the character and well-being of the person educated was what mattered. He emphasized the individual, not the system. This stress on the individual is part of the essence of Christianity, but man in his social character is apt to evolve patterns which constrict or confine the few. A pattern allowing fair treatment for all within it was now the object of the Education Department of the Northern Provinces. As the influence of European civilization varied from area to area and from person to person, the question of adaptation would be complex, and only an approximation to the needs of the people could ever be reached. The merit of the 1918 Report is an awareness by various members of the Department of the shape of problems to come, and a desire to tackle them with the individual, not the system or the country, in mind.

In 1919 Hanns Vischer resigned from his post as Director of Education. He had been very ill with dysentery at the outbreak of the War and now his resignation on the grounds of ill-health was accepted, and for four years he passed from the colonial scene. Lugard left Nigeria and Sir Hugh Clifford took his place. The time for post-war development had come. As the work done by the Department of Education in the Mohammedan provinces had proved sound, although curtailed by war, the legislation which gave it a

near-monopoly of Hausaland was maintained years after the original plea of fear of a jehad could be made. Once Indirect Rule was established it was essential that education should not disrupt the social fabric of the Northern Provinces, for Indirect Rule required slow evolution, not sudden changes which would undermine traditional loyalties. Fear that the mission societies would be disruptive of the existing conditions caused the maintenance of the policy of their exclusion. They had established stations in the pagan districts before Indirect Rule was considered a feasible system for pagan tribes, and so once the policy of Indirect Rule was extended to the pagans, the Administration had to accept the presence of mission societies and to devise means of controlling their educational work. This development can be seen in the educational legislation of Nigeria from 1916 to 1918. Politics, religion and education form a permanent triangle in the history of Northern Nigeria from 1900 to 1919.

Before Lugard left Nigeria he had the satisfaction of promulgating an Ordinance first announced in 1918 under which the Administration obtained the power to inspect all schools, assisted or not, and to close unsatisfactory ones.¹ Government control was thus ensured, and Government responsibility for future educational development was the greater.

¹. Supplement to The Nigerian Gazette (vol.V No.61) 17 Oct. 1918: and ditto (vol.VI No.21) 27 March 1919, The Education Ordinance, No.8 of 1919. Also see below pp401-2.

CHAPTER VIII.

EPILOGUE

'The reports of educational facilities in Northern Nigeria vary so radically as to defeat any effort to determine their accuracy. There is, however, complete unanimity in the statement that the facilities are quantitatively negligible when they are measured by the education needs of a Mohammedan school population of at least one and a half millions and a non-Mohammedan population of over half a million'.¹ Thus wrote T. Jesse Jones in 1922, and speaking 'quantitatively' he was correct.

It is very difficult to make sense out of the school returns printed in the Annual Reports at the end of the war. Schools graded as "primary" one year appear as "elementary" the next,² and for two years running the mission societies' returns were not made in the prescribed fashion.³ Despite

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1. T. Jesse Jones: Education in Africa. A Study by the African Education Committee under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe, 1922, p.169.
 2. Compare the Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1917, p.9, with that for 1918, p.13.
 3. Annual Report on the Educ. Dept., N.P., 1920-1921, p.11, and for 1921, p.11.

these difficulties in making any assessment, Jesse Jones reported that the three Kano schools were visible proof of the Administration's desire to provide education which would promote the character, health and economic welfare of the various peoples of Northern Nigeria. These Kano schools were the Provincial school, which Jesse Jones considered to be too bookish,¹ the Arts and Crafts School, and the Survey School grown out of Vischer's taki class - 'a unique school of unusual effectiveness in the training of Native Surveyors.'² These three schools in the one town formed an excellent advertisement for the Education Department's work in Jesse Jones' opinion, despite his criticism of the provincial school.

Jesse Jones ended his report with the suggestion that a clearer distinction should be made between the education given the mass of the population and that higher education up to, and including, University level, which the professional men and ultimate leaders of Nigeria would need.³ Vischer had visualized a University from which would come the men to supersede the European officials in Nigeria.⁴ He believed that the one inescapable fact which had to be borne in mind was the inability of Europeans to settle permanently in Nigeria.⁵

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1. Jesse Jones: op.cit., p.171.
 2. Ibid., p.172.
 3. Ibid., p.176.
 4. Isabelle Vischer: op.cit., p.118.
 5. Oral evidence: Dr. A.L. Vischer.

The British might invest their wealth, their ambitions and their health in the tropics, but they could not settle there, and so the Northern Provinces, like all Nigeria, would remain African to a greater degree than the Cape, or the Kenya highlands. The future of Nigeria would belong to Nigerians. By 1922 Jesse Jones wanted a clearer system of education to produce an educated élite, but as the Katsina Training College for teachers, planned by Vischer in 1914, had opened only on 1 October 1921, because of delays caused¹ by the War, there was obviously little chance of rapid development of higher education in Hausaland during the 1920s.

Vischer had never set any time for the production of an educated class which would take more and more control of the country out of the hands of the British. He expected it at some undefined point in the future, just as Lugard in 1902 expected one or two generations to pass before the Fulani showed any real effects of European influence.²

Festina lente may seem a policy of excessive caution on occasions, but does not alone constitute sufficient grounds for an accusation of insincerity. Both Lugard and Vischer were looking so far ahead from existing circumstances that they were necessarily vague on factual details while yet being

1. Annual Report on Educ. Dept., N.P., 1921, pp.2-3.

2. Parl.Pap. 1904 LVII Report on N.N. for 1902.
[Cd.1768-14.] p.26.

clear and sincere in their aims and principles. Vischer always considered Lugard his mentor. In 1933 he wrote to Lugard:-

'I thank you moreover for giving me a chance to continue that comradeship at the Advisory Committee and at the Institute, where we try, or at least I try, to put into effect what you taught me over 30 years ago. It is good to have a sound doctrine to guide one in the present confusion, and better still to be able to put it into practice when those who taught it to you stand by you.' 1

Lugard, when reminded by Vischer of the advice he had sent Vischer from Hong Kong in 1910 when Vischer's educational work was beginning, spoke of 'your usual way of attributing to me or someone else the merit of having prompted and helped you to succeed in your best work.'² This attitude of Vischer to Lugard explains a great deal. As a missionary Vischer had been attracted to the political service in 1903 and from then on he had appreciated the political principles on which Sir Frederick was working, for Indirect Rule with the conservation of the best in the traditional ways of Hausaland made an immediate appeal to the sympathies of this man with a historical sense, while appealing at the same time to his intellectual appreciation of the political situation. Then came his educational work as a contribution to the future welfare of Nigeria, as both he and Lugard visualized it, with the country enriched and not disrupted by European contact.

1. L.P.: Vischer to Lugard, London, 30 Dec. 1933.

2. V.P.: Lugard to Vischer, Abinger Common, 12 Oct. 1940.

The significance for British colonial policy in both the political and educational fields of the developments within Northern Nigeria from 1900 to 1919 lie beyond that date-line. In the 1920s when Indirect Rule and the Dual Mandate both became phrases of meaning to colonial administrators as a result of Lugard's influence and the writings based largely on his Nigerian experiences, then the policy evolved by him in Northern Nigeria earned Lord Lugard the title of the greatest colonial administrator of the century, a title not disputed yet.¹ Yet in the years when his principles of Administration were influencing British colonial policy generally, Lugard was working with Vischer on colonial educational developments which reflect just as clearly their experience of Northern Nigeria.

When Sir George Tomlinson, who had served in the Nigerian political service and had known Hanns and Isabelle Vischer at Nassarawa, wrote in 1945 after Sir Hanns' death, he wrote of the early phase of Sir Hanns' career in Northern Nigeria because 'at that time the foundations of his future influence were laid - an influence which sprang from his passionate devotion to the people of Africa, and the reciprocal devotion to him of the Africans whom he served so well.'² Vischer's

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1. J.A. Williamson: A Short History of British Expansion (Macmillan, London, 3rd edn. reprinted 1947) vol.2, p.323.
 2. Sir George Tomlinson: Nature, 14 April 1945, p.446.

devotion led not to sentimental phraseology but to the conviction that the colonial educationist had to proffer the best in his own civilization while respecting the best in the civilization of the colony for which he was working: the chief was not to be separated from his tribe, nor the child from its parents by European influences. Disruption of the social fabric could be checked by sound education. Logically therefore, once higher education was provided, the intellectual minority must not be isolated by their education from the vast majority. This was not a question to trouble Vischer during the years 1909 to 1914 when he was at work in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, but it was a question he came to face while holding a position of much greater scope as a result of Colonial Office appreciation of the methods and aims he had demonstrated in Northern Nigeria. In the strong belief that the epilogue reveals the true significance of the tale, there follows an outline survey of some of the results of the educational and political development of Northern Nigeria from 1900 to 1919.

After his resignation from the Colonial Service Vischer went to Vienna and engaged in an unsuccessful business venture, but in 1923 while in London he heard that an attempt was being made to get in touch with him with the offer of an opportunity to serve Africa at the Colonial Office.¹ The

1. Oral evidence: Dr. A.L. Vischer.

official offer of the position of hon. secretary and member of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa was made in November, 1923.¹ Ormsby-Gore was Chairman and there were eight other members besides Vischer.² Two of these were bishops, one representing the Roman Catholic and one the Anglican Church. J.H. Oldham represented the missions, for he was a member of the International Mission Council.

Sir Michael Sadler and Major Church were also on the Committee with Charles Strachey of the Colonial Office - the man who fifteen years before had referred to Hanns Vischer as 'a remarkable young man and full of ideas'³ - and who had watched the course of his work in Nigeria. In addition there was Lugard himself, and Sir James Currie whose work at Khartoum had proved a valuable example to Vischer. A certain similarity of outlook might therefore be expected in at least four of the committee - Vischer, Lugard, Currie and Strachey. The Duke of Devonshire appointed the Committee in June, 1923 and Vischer, appointed five months later, remained at the Colonial Office for sixteen years. A man of personality and strong ideas, in those sixteen years he exercised a definite influence on educational policy, drawing on his experience of Northern Nigeria, and of tours

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1. V.P.: H.J. Read to Vischer, Downing St., 22 Nov. 1923.
 2. Memo. on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, 1925.
[Cmd. 2374.] p. 2.
 3. G.O. 446/89 No. 13864, minute, C. Strachey, 23 July 1910.

made to British colonies in Africa and to French West Africa, and adding now international contacts with the colonial educational advisers of other European countries.

The terms of reference of the Advisory Committee were precisely what that name implies i.e. -

'To advise the Secretary of State on any matters of Native Education in British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa which he may from time to time refer to them, and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in those Colonies and Protectorates.' ¹

After eighteen months' consideration, the Committee produced its first Memorandum which formulated 'the broad principles which in its judgment should form the basis of a sound educational policy, and ... set forth those views to the local Governments, together with some indication of the methods by which they should be applied.' ² A study of that now famous Memorandum with Vischer's theories and educational practice in Northern Nigeria elicits some interesting comparisons.

The great emphasis of that Memorandum was the use of education to conserve 'all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their [Africans of British possessions and dependencies] social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of

1. [Cmd.2374.] p.2. (It must be remembered that no general educational policy has ever been enforced by the Colonial Office. The Advisory Committee offers guidance to the Education Departments of dependencies.)

2. Ibid.

natural growth and evolution': the insistence is on the promotion of 'the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service.' Education should raise up 'capable, trustworthy, public spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race. Education thus defined will narrow the hiatus between the educated class and the rest of the community whether chiefs or peasants.'¹ These principles breathe the very spirit of the system of education which Vischer evolved within Lugard's political frame of Indirect Rule in Northern Nigeria.

Furthermore the Committee welcomed the aid of all mission and voluntary agencies in education, but reserved to Government the general direction and supervision of education.² Vischer had hoped for some official control of all educational establishments in the Protectorate in 1910: Lugard had striven to gain that control through Ordinances and Regulations. Writing just after he left Nigeria, the latter declared:

'The Nigerian Education Ordinance of 1916 anticipated to some extent the provision of the English Education Act, 1918, by obliging the manager of every unaided school to submit an annual return showing the subject

1. [Cmd.2374.] p.4.

2. Ibid., p.3.

taught and qualifications of staff etc. but the Colonial Office would not agree to any further control or inspection. Not till 1919 was an ordinance enacted empowering the Director of Education or the Resident of a Province to inspect a school which in their opinion ought to be closed, and enabling the Governor, on the report of a Commission of inquiry, to close such a school for certain specified offences or default.' ¹

Lugard continued his book with a survey of education in Africa and the East, including Northern Rhodesia where the High Commissioner for South Africa enforced a stringent control; India wherein the absence of Government control was held to be one of the four defects 'to which Sir Valentine Chirol attributes the failure of education in India'; ² the Sudan, where Kuttabs accepting inspection might receive a grant, and finally the Straits and Federation of Malay States, 'where the policy of the Colonial Office appears to have changed, for it has recently been announced that all unaided schools ... shall be registered with their teachers and ³ subjected to Regulations.'

Both Lugard and Vischer were in favour of Government control of voluntary agencies before they became members of the Advisory Committee. Strachey had been one of the Colonial Office officials who minuted in favour of Lugard's original suggestion to enforce the registration and inspection of

1. F.D. Lugard: op.cit., p.439n.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

schools in Nigeria. Strachey had thought that the idea might 'be unusual but seems quite reasonable.'¹ Eleven years later he was one of the Committee advising the extension of Government control over all schools in British tropical African possessions.

There are no means suggested by the Committee in 1925 for the further co-operation of Governments and voluntary educational agencies that had not been provided in the Nigeria Education Ordinances of 1916. The 1925 Memorandum suggested an Advisory Board of Education in each dependency on which mission and Government officials might serve, but with representatives of the Medical, Agricultural and Public Works Departments should sit not only educationalists and missionaries, but also traders, representatives of white settlers and representatives of native public opinion. The 1925 Boards had wider scope than those of 1916. The supplementary Educational Committees suggested for the provinces were very similar to the School Committees of the Nigerian Education Ordinance of 1916, however.²

The Memorandum was also concerned with the question of moral training. Vischer had left religious teaching to Mohammedan mallams, but considered it essential that through the school life some ethical values should be inculcated in

1. C.O.583/20 No.15324, minute, C. Strachey, 6 June 1914.

2. Compare The Education Ordinance 1916, No.50 of 1916, N., clauses 4 and 6 with [Cmd.2374.] pp.3-4.

the pupils 'i.e. duty to one's fellow men, honesty,
 patriotism and loyalty.'¹ In the year 1911 or 1912, Vischer
 drew up an agenda for an informal conference to consider what
 Government legislation would be necessary for the continuance
 of the Education Department on the lines on which it had been
 founded. The first of the Points for Discussion which he then
 noted was a series of questions 'on what can we base our
 moral teaching? What religions do we recognise? Who is
 to give religious instruction in the schools or to the pupils
 attending schools?'² Lugard had considered the same problems
 and laid more emphasis on moral instruction rather than the
 teaching of actual creeds, but the moral values he wished
 to see inculcated were the same in which Vischer believed.³
 These ideas were further developed by Sir Frederick in his
 book The Dual Mandate,⁴ and were expressed in the 1925
 Memorandum in phrases which might have been formed by either
 man, for the Memorandum declared that 'the formation of habits
 of industry, of truthfulness, of manliness, of readiness for
 social service and of disciplined co-operation, is the
 foundation of character.'⁵

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1. C.O.446/89 No.13864, General Ideas by Vischer. [Sept.1909.]
 2. V.P.: Memo. on the Present State of Government Schools in
 N.N., by Vischer. [1912?]
 3. C.O.583/20 No.47053, Lugard, Govt. House, 7 Nov. 1914.
 4. F.D. Lugard: op.cit., p.435.
 5. [Cmd.2374.] p.5.

Just as Vischer's pupils had played polo,¹ so Lugard² had emphasized the importance of field sports in education, and the 1925 Memorandum declared that 'field games and social recreations and intercourse are influences at least as important as class-room instruction.'³

Some missionaries had made the same point, of course. A.S. Judd pointed out the value, both to the missionary teacher and his pupils, of sharing some activity such as swimming.⁴ The value of the 1925 Memorandum lay in the fact that it gathered the experience of past years and set out ideas as guiding principles for colonial educational departments, with the sanction of the Colonial Office.

The Northern Nigeria Education Department had been founded by Vischer on the character as well as the academic qualifications of candidates for appointment. Later Urling Smith had chosen good men only to find that they preferred⁵ work elsewhere. The Advisory Committee now pointed out:-

'The ideals of education must depend largely on the outlook of those who control policy and on their capacity and enthusiasm. It is essential, therefore, that the status and conditions of service of the Education Department should be such as to attract the best available men,

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1. Oral evidence: Lady Vischer.
 2. F.D. Lugard: op.cit., p.435.
 3. [Cmd.2374.] p.5.
 4. S.U.M. Lightbearer XI, Aug.-Sept., 1915, p.118.
 5. Annual Report on Educ. Dept., N.P., 1920-21, p.3.

both British and African.¹

Furthermore, the Memorandum advised that sound work rested largely on native staff and that since the training given teachers was always very elementary when education systems were founded, such staff should receive refresher courses and further training 'from time to time.'² Such pronouncements conjure up pictures of Vischer's mallams' class, and of teachers just ahead of their pupils who had to return to Nassarawa in the holidays for further tuition. The Memorandum also advised that village school teachers 'should, when possible, be selected from pupils belonging to the tribe and district, who are familiar with its language, traditions and customs.'³ In the light of these statements it is clear that the education system established in Northern Nigeria in 1910 and developed there despite the War was in the minds of members of the Advisory Committee when the Memorandum was drawn up.

Certain sections of the 1925 Memorandum were concerned with fresh developments, including the education of women and girls, the use of itinerant teachers for village schools, and a clear division to be made between village crafts and technical industrial training of a more mechanical nature.⁴

1. [Cmd.2374.] p.5.

2. Ibid., p.6.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., pp.7-8.

The fact remains that the Advisory Committee's suggestions would, if put into practice, cause no break in the lines on which the Education Department in Northern Nigeria had been working since 1910. The basic principles remained the same: the education of the community, the avoidance of rifts in the social community, the provision of a complete life for the individual.

The school system visualized by the Committee extended from elementary, secondary and technical or vocational schools to Institutions which would provide training for teachers, doctors and agriculturalists, and which would finally achieve University status.¹ Similar plans had been sketched by Vischer,² Kumm² and Krusius,² but the Advisory Committee made one vital addition:-

'Adult Education. This, which is still in an experimental stage will vary according to local need. But it is recommended that those responsible for the administration of the Colony should keep adult education constantly in view in relation to the education of children and of young people. The 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.'³

From the basic principle of education preserving the social fabric of Africa, it followed that education must spread beyond the classroom into the village and town,

1. [Cmd.2374.] p.8.

2. See above, Chapter V, pp. 284-5, 310-12.

3. [Cmd.2374.] p.8.

otherwise the cleavage between a generation educated in the class-rooms and its traditional and political elders might rend that fabric in two. Then instead of the political system of Indirect Rule contributing to the evolution of self-governing peoples, it would be made useless by the gulf between the generations.

Yet adult education was still in the 'experimental stage'¹ in 1925, and the immediate development following the Memorandum was the study of vernacular text-books and the place and methods of the teaching of vernaculars in schools. The Advisory Committee appointed a sub-committee to consider these questions. 'The Committee suggests co-operation among scholars, with aid from Governments and Missionary Societies, in the preparation of vernacular text-books. The content and method of teaching in all subjects, especially History and Geography, should be adapted to the conditions in Africa.'² That Vischer was a member of the Text-book sub-committee³ is not surprising in view of the experience he had of preparing text-books in Hausa, and of his opinion that such books should not be translations of English text-books.⁴

1. [Cmd.2374.] p.7.

2. Ibid., p.6.

3. I.A.I. Minutes of C.O. Text-book sub-committee.
(2 Dec. 1929-22 Feb. 1934.)

4. See above, Chapter IV, p.219.

The Advisory Committee's second Memorandum was produced in 1927 and entitled The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education. This embodied not only the views of the sub-committee, but also confirmed the opinion of the Calcutta University Commission of 1919 and the Imperial Education Conference of 1923 that a child assimilated knowledge more easily if his first lessons were in the familiar tongue of his home life. The 1927 Memorandum recognised the difficulties occasioned by dialects and lack of vernacular literature, and that there were special considerations in the selection of a lingua franca or of the standard at which the vernacular should give place to English in the schools of each dependency. Although it might be more practical to use English for certain classes and for advanced work in schools and vocational Institutes, the Memorandum declared that 'for those taught to be able to benefit their communities, they must be able to express themselves and their new knowledge in the vernaculars.'¹ The African community, not a clerical class or a professional élite, was the basic consideration of the Advisory Committee.

Meanwhile Vischer was active in an important international colonial development, - the formation of the International Institute for African Languages and Cultures, known later as the International African Institute.

1. Memo. on The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education, African No.1110, C.O., May 1927, p.11.

The Colonial Office's Advisory Committee included J.H. Oldham, a joint-secretary of the International Mission Council. In 1924 that Council discussed means of co-operating with Governments in the education of Africans, and stated the need for 'a closer and more scientific study of the foundations of social institutions, and of the mainsprings of African thought and action than has hitherto been attempted.'¹ Oldham and his fellow secretary, Dr. Warnshuis, led a movement for an international association to co-ordinate policy, and from the first they found a fellow enthusiast in Hanns Vischer. After a particular - and successful - effort to enlist the interest of Roman Catholic missionary bodies, the preliminary meeting was held in September 1925 in London. In June of the next year nine countries and twenty-three organisations were represented at a London meeting at which Lugard, delegate of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa, was chairman. Two Directors for the new Institute were elected, one French and one German, and Vischer was made Secretary-General. These three, with the Treasurer, became ex-officio members of the Institute's Executive Council which represented twenty-eight different organizations and academic bodies.² That Vischer's experience in Northern

1. Lord Lugard: The Human Side of African Development, United Empire, XIX 1928 July, p.415.

2. Ibid., pp.415-18.

Nigeria continually influenced his attitude is clear. In an interview he said of the new Institute:

'I wish such a body had been in existence when I was Director of Education in Nigeria. For instance, the sort of help I wanted, and which I hope we shall be able to give to future Directors of Education is on apparently simple but vital subjects such as the literal A B C of a native literature. He may get, after some trouble, advice on orthography and phonetics from some source only to find that the very subject has been thoroughly investigated by a French or German body and his labour has been a waste of time. Missionaries, traders, explorers collect valuable information on languages and anthropology, but they do not know what to do with it. No one will ever know how much of such information has been lost or may even now be in the course of consumption by white ants.' 1

He spoke of the importance of research on African music to help understanding develop between African and European. He mentioned, too, the political importance of the work to be done by the Institute:-

'Colonial Governments, again, sometimes have to decide what is to be the official lingua franca over a large district. In East Africa we have Swahili, on the West Coast there are Hausa, Yoruba and Fanti. Unless they can obtain the advice of experts with scientific knowledge there is a great danger that not only a wrong choice may be made and waste incurred, but political trouble may even ensue. For instance there have been complications with one tribe in East Africa, not of Bantu stock, through the official use among them of Swahili, which to them was the tongue of the conqueror and the slave trader.' 2

The sphere of the one-time missionary, political officer and Director of Education had been widened from Northern

1. The Observer, 7 Nov. 1926.

2. Ibid.

Nigeria to include the whole of Africa, but the principles he held remained the same. He was pleased that missionary societies and commercial firms as well as learned societies in Europe and America appreciated 'the value of the new organisation as a means of enabling them to understand the real mind of the African.'¹ Vischer wanted the growth of sympathetic understanding of Africa by Europeans, an understanding based on scientific knowledge sifted with academic discipline. He could present his plea to any audience in a form appropriate to the occasion. In an address to the Women's Advertising Club of London he explained the commercial necessity of such an outlook:

'In order to develop trade and commerce with Africa, it is necessary to study the mind of the people, to study their language, their art, and above all their way of looking at things and their ideas on things which to us are obvious but are very strange to them.'²

In an interview after that speech Vischer pointed out that with the spread of literacy advertisers would have about sixty vernaculars in which to write their copy, and he stressed the potential markets of Africa and the importance of British manufacturers not failing in the competition for those markets.³

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1. The Australian Christian World, 24 Dec. 1926.
 2. The Christian Science Monitor, 12 Feb. 1929.
 3. Ibid.

The two positions Vischer held, the one at the Colonial Office and the other at the Institute, gave him an influential status, his work and knowledge in either capacity strengthening the value of any pronouncements which he made in the other. Thus his visit in June 1927 to French West Africa gave him information of value to both the Colonial Office and the Institute. He believed that the French aim of assimilation and the exclusive use of the French language would produce a community detached from its natural surroundings and unsatisfied with the rewards, material or otherwise, gained by a knowledge of French. He disliked the French method of giving moral instruction but no religious teaching in the schools, because he considered moral precepts divorced from religion would be incomprehensible to 'the native African mind which is so essentially religious.'¹

A comparison of Vischer's Report on French West Africa with Ormsby-Gore's Report on his visit to British West Africa in 1926 is interesting. The latter reported the difference in outlook and requirements between the English-speaking Africans of Freetown and the tribes of the interior. Of the people of Freetown he said:

'Their first schools were mission schools, and until quite recently the Government activities in education were limited to assisting the various missionary bodies in their educational work with

1. I.A.I. Minutes of discussion on text-books for African schools, 8 June 1927: also V.P.: Report by Major Vischer on his visit to French West Africa, London, 18 June 1926.

financial grants and concessions. When the Education Department was established, a system of schools formed entirely on European pattern already existed. This system has produced a certain number of men of considerable qualifications, but it has not yet succeeded in affecting the vast mass of the community.' ¹

The Advisory Committee's emphasis on the community was therefore of value in trying to balance such uneven development.

Although Vischer's education system had been retarded during the war, Ormsby-Gore thought that the 'concentration on quality rather than quantity which resulted from the check had produced a high standard of efficiency.' ² This commendation followed his strictures on the 2,000-4,000 bush schools of Southern Nigeria which were uncontrolled by Government and many of which had a 'bad influence', although 'most, but not all, of these schools are connected with one Mission or another.' ³ This criticism is support for the policy pursued in Northern Nigeria of controlling non-Government schools.

Another contrast Ormsby-Gore drew between North and South Nigeria was that instruction could be given in Hausa, Kanuri or Fulani or Yoruba in the North, but in Southern Nigeria -

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1. Report by W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore on his visit to West Africa, 1926. [Cmd.2744.] p.97.
 2. Ibid., p.92-3.
 3. Ibid., p.92.

'The presence of a great number of different tribes in comparatively small areas side by side with an English-speaking community makes the problem confronting the Department [of Education] hard, but when it is coupled with the great demand for education throughout the territory and the disastrous results of some of the sub-standard schools in which instruction has been given by incompetent and unqualified teachers, the task becomes one of the greatest difficulty.' ¹

Vischer had declared that the mistakes made in education in Southern Nigeria were more easily to be avoided than corrected. ² Both the Advisory Committee and the International African Institute were intended not only to help Departments to avoid mistakes but to rectify those already made.

As the languages and vernacular text-books were so important, the Institute had its own Text-book sub-committee and Vischer served on that also. In 1927 it began its work by forwarding Professor Westermann's Memorandum on Text-books for African Schools to all the Education Departments of European dependencies in Africa. ³ That same year the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa produced its Memorandum on the Place of the Vernacular in Native Education, ⁴ to be followed in 1930 by the Preliminary Memorandum on the Aims and Methods of Language Teaching in

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1. Report by W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore on his visit to West Africa, 1926. [Cmd.2744.] p.93.
 2. See above, Chapter IV, p.
 3. I.A.I.: Minutes of discussion on text-books for African schools, 8 June 1927: also Memo. on Text-books for African Schools, Professor Westermann, April 1927.
 4. See above, p.

the Colonies. This document urged each British colonial Education Department to appoint an officer to study linguistic policy and to pay particular attention to 'the needs and aspirations of the community on the one hand and the general working of the education machine on the other.'¹

In 1929 the sphere of the Advisory Committee had been enlarged from Native Education in British Tropical Africa to Education in the Colonies. The 1930 Memorandum, and those which succeeded it, had therefore a wider field of application than the earlier ones. Vischer was joint-secretary with Christopher Mayhew of this enlarged Committee.

Meanwhile the link between Vischer and Nigeria was maintained. He welcomed any members of the Education Department at his office in London.² In the Northern Provinces the work he initiated had reached the stage when it was 'not too early to say that the native co-operation in administration and control of schools, which all educationists in Africa now regard as of prime importance, is in many of the Emirates in Nigeria an accomplished fact. This is in itself a very great result. We cannot claim that the education results as measured by heads or by strictly "educational standards" are

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1. A Preliminary Memo. on Aims and Methods of Language Teaching in the Colonies, A.C.E.C., Miscellaneous No.411, 1930, p.16.
 2. V.P.: E.G. Morris to Vischer, Lagos, 12 Nov. 1939.

as yet large, but in any possible discouragement in estimating results it is well for us to restate and reconsider these ideals and principles which we have put first.¹

That statement was made at an Education Conference in Nigeria in 1928, and at the Conference the growth of public demand for adult education in both Bornu and Kano provinces was noted.²

This new development was not confined to Northern Nigeria, however, and in 1935 the Advisory Committee published its Memorandum on the Education of African Communities. This document was based on the 1925 paper, but emphasized education outside the schools, adult education, co-operative work and the extension of such knowledge as would increase the health and agricultural welfare of a community as a whole. The co-ordination of all educational effort was stressed and so was the stimulation of African initiative.³

Co-ordination was easier in the 1930s because missionary societies had accepted the 1925 Memorandum. In Nigeria restrictions on mission expansion had been slackened and the more friendly atmosphere helped Government-mission co-operation

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1. Report of the Second Conference of the Dept. of Educ., N.N., 6-9 March 1928, p. 6.
 2. Ibid., p. 10.
 3. Memo. on the Education of African Communities, A.C.E.G., 1935, Colonial No. 105.

on education. The Rev. R. Bingham, General Director of the S.I.M., dates the change in Nigeria from a conference between missionaries and Colonial Office representatives in London in 1927 when the 'Governor of Northern Nigeria gave assurance of a more liberal policy towards missions, and stated that steps would be taken to instruct the Moslem emirs in the British principles of toleration. Since then we have been given freedom to advance into these Moslem provinces so thickly populated.¹ The change of attitude on the part of the emirs Bingham dates as late as 1935, however, when missionary work among lepers aroused admiration in Sokoto, Kano, Katsina and Bornu.²

The class for Religious Instruction was first legally defined in the Education Ordinance of 1933 and accepted then by the Administration as 'the bottom rung of the ladder of education.'³

Thus the 1930s saw a more co-ordinated educational effort in the Northern Provinces whilst throughout Africa efforts were made 'to extend and apply the principles of the memoranda'⁴ of the Advisory Committee, and in particular of

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1. R.V. Bingham: The Burden of the Sudan (S.I.M., Grt.Brt.) pp.21-2.
 2. Ibid., pp.33-4. See also his Seven Sevens of Years, pp.81-6.
 3. S. Phillipson: Grants in Aid of Education in Nigeria (Govt., Lagos, 1948) p.130.
 4. African Education. A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa (O.U.P., 1953) p.3.

those dated 1925 and 1935. The result has been a system in each British African territory constructed on the lines suggested by the Advisory Committee, although only a minority of children have an opportunity to attend school. The Advisory Committee has continued to guide development by issuing papers on special subjects, and each territory has produced plans suited to its own circumstances.¹ In Nigeria there have been the Ten Year Plan,² the Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria,³ and the 1948 report, Grants in Aid of Education in Nigeria.⁴ One of the most interesting general papers is the 1944 Memorandum on Mass Education in African Society issued by the Colonial Office Advisory Committee.⁵

Vischer had resigned from the Colonial Office just after the outbreak of the Second World War, and he received his knighthood in 1941.⁶ He was not resting in retirement, however, and when the 1944 Memorandum was published he

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1. African Education. A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa (O.U.P., 1953) p.3.
 2. Nigeria Sess. Pap. No.6 of 1944, Ten Year Educational Plan.
 3. Nigeria Sess. Pap. No.20 of 1947, Memo. on Educational Policy in Nigeria.
 4. See above p.418, n.3.
 5. Mass Education in African Society, A.C.E.C., Colonial No.186, 1944.
 6. V.P.: M. Macdonald to Vischer, C.O., 17 Oct. 1939, and Dufferin and Ava to Vischer, C.O., 13 March 1940: also C. Eastward to Vischer, 17 Dec. 1940, and official papers 18th Feb. 1941.

reviewed it with interest and approbation.¹ In the foreword to that Memorandum the Committee set out the three aims of education in British colonial territories, the improvement of health and living conditions, economic development and welfare, and the development of 'political institutions and political power until the day arrives when the people can become effectively self-governing.'² Such had been the ultimate aim of Lugard and Vischer in Northern Nigeria. Now that the aim was extended to all British colonies, the link between education and political development was stated in plain language:

'A man may be healthy, though illiterate. He may ... live, and, indeed, enjoy life under a Government which provides him with security and justice. All these things may, in a measure, be true, but it is far truer that the general health of the whole community, its general well-being and prosperity, can only be secured and maintained if the whole mass of the people has a real share in education and has some understanding of its meaning and its purpose. It is equally true that without such general share in education and such understanding, true democracy cannot function and the rising hope of self-government will inevitably suffer frustration.'³

The question of the content of adult education followed immediately on the recognition of its importance. The Memorandum suggested the stimulation of a people's mind and self-respect through the study of their local history.⁴

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1. H. Vischer: Mass Education in African Society, Africa XIV 1943-4 April, p.336.
 2. Colonial No.186, 1944, p.4.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Colonial No.186, 1944, pp.17-18.

Vischer, commenting on the report, compared the adult education movements in Russia, Turkey and China where the people's enthusiasm for the spread of literacy had been stimulated by national reassertion, by 'the desire for a return to former greatness and glory by means of new progress and the development of natural resources not only material but also in the realms of the spirit, art, literature, music and philosophy.'¹ Although the African situation was different Vischer thought that vernaculars reduced to writing would reveal local traditions, hitherto oral, in which it would be possible 'to find that historical background which any people wishing to assert itself must have.'²

This insistence that inspiration must come from within was recognized also in the Memorandum which stated that any mass education scheme must be regarded as belonging to the local people, and be recognized by them as a powerful instrument for their own advancement.³ There is a clear echo of the statement concerning the Daura school in the Northern provinces of Nigeria made by a junior superintendent of education in 1918.⁴ Vischer had insisted from the foundation of the Education Department that the Native Administrations

1. H. Vischer: Africa XIV 1943-4 April, p.336.

2. Ibid.

3. Colonial No.186, 1944, p.10.

4. See above, Chapter VI, p.387.

should be encouraged to regard the provincial schools as theirs, and to take not only the financial responsibility but also a real interest in the contributions of the schools to the provinces.

Lord Hailey's suggestion that out of the growth of indirect rule there emerged a new function for, and content of, education for the mass of the people in any British colonial dependency is true.¹ The conception of the use of education to promote the welfare of the whole community, whilst recognizing that the environment of that community consists not only of indigenous but also of European influences in varying degrees, is the same as that conception first outlined by Vischer in 1909, and then put into practice in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria within the system of Indirect Rule.

It is difficult to gauge the degree of "adaptation" necessary in any dependency at a particular time, and the policy is one which may cause unrest and resentment among the few eager to throw off the past. The 1944 Memorandum warned Education Departments that the teaching of traditional crafts might be opposed by 'certain interested parties who will have many devices to prove the plan a sentimental retarding of progress.'² Such criticism must be faced, accepted or refuted, by the generation which has been called the only

1. See introduction, p. xi.

2. Colonial No.186, 1944, p.49.

generation to undertake the manipulation of human society.¹

Vischer accepted the responsibility. He spoke of 'the education of the African people which we direct'.² Yet he was aware of the reciprocal nature of education, knowing that the teacher and pupil learn from each other. He believed that the impact of one civilization on another, or on others, less advanced need not lead to the destruction of the latter, but with care might result in the enrichment of both.

Vischer's experience was not the only one of weight on the Advisory Committee, but when the accord between Lugard and Vischer is remembered and the regard in which they held each other in the years when they were on the Committee,³ it is evident that they were responsible for the otherwise strange coincidence of the similarity between the educational principles on which the Education Department of Northern Nigeria was founded, and those which the Advisory Committee suggested as basic, general policy for British Education Departments to follow.

Vischer had learned much from the example of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Sir James Currie must have influenced the Advisory Committee even as he had influenced Vischer in 1909. Yet the fruitfulness of an education policy would only be

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1. L.P. Mair: Native Policies in Africa (Routledge, London, 1936) p.6.
 2. V.P.: H. Vischer: Native Education in British Tropical Africa. Reale Accademia d'Italia, 4-11 Oct. 1938.
 3. L.P.: Vischer to Lugard, I.A.I. London, 29 June 1944 and V.P.: Lugard to Vischer, Abinger Common, 3 July 1944.

fully comprehended by its development within the colonial empire - and the sphere of the Colonial Office - allied to a successful political system. Hence the importance of the events in Northern Nigeria from 1900 to 1919 in the history of British colonial education.

Through Sir Hanns Vischer there was an opportunity for the education principles in which he believed to be extended beyond the Empire. As hon. secretary to the International African Institute he stressed the value of international co-operation on questions important to the education of African peoples. His linguistic ability and Swiss birth helped him to explain British theories and practice to other European countries. He wrote in German or French or English, and every time he emphasized the necessity of protecting the indigenous traditions which would give pupils moral stability and security in a changing world. He paid tribute to the mission societies which had realized, 'in the first instance', that the European education systems which they had introduced were disruptive of African society. He explained how from 1925 to 1935 the Colonial Office's education policy had gradually extended from a consideration of the individual and his background to a wider conception of education for the community.

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1. See bibliography under Vischer, p. 437.
 2. V.P.: H. Vischer: Native Education in British Tropical Africa. Reale Accademia d'Italia, 4-11 Oct. 1938.
 3. Ibid.

The Second World War stopped this international work. Vischer feared the death of the International African Institute if it were closed for the duration, and so he arranged to share the accommodation he was using for his war-work with the Institute. An interim committee published a quarterly bulletin. In 1943 he persuaded Lord Lugard, the Chairman, to agree to the resumption of full activities and to the reorganization of the Institute's London office. The last work which he did for the Institute was to visit Paris at the invitation of M. Giacobbi, the then Minister of Colonies, and to re-establish relations with French colonial educationists and linguists.¹

During the war years Sir Hanns was determined to preserve the international character of the Institute, and to keep the Institute in existence despite the fact that he was fully occupied with his own war-work. His great gifts as an international liaison officer had contributed not a little to the Institute's prestige and influence before the war,² and in 1941 when the Free French men and women were on a short course at London University before being sent out to French West Africa, Sir Hanns gave the inaugural lecture of their course,³ and opened the Institute's library to them.

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1. Lord Lugard, Africa XV 1945 April, pp.45-6.
 2. V.P.: Lugard to Vischer, Abinger Common, 2 Oct. 1940.
 3. The Times Educational Supplement, 15 Feb. 1941.

The Institute was but one of the many means of furthering the cause of African welfare, however, and just before his death Sir Hanns broadcast to West Africa two talks on the changes which the War had made, and he urged West Africans to realize that on them lay the onus of choice, the inescapable right and duty to choose or reject whatever Europe might offer them, and thus to shape their own future.¹ He died suddenly on 19 February 1945 at the age of 69 years.

Sir Hanns was a creative force in the history of British colonial educational development. A Swiss of very strong religious convictions, he went to serve Africans as a missionary. He saw in the political service, under Lugard, the field in which he should continue his work, and so acquired British nationality. When Sir Percy Girouard was continuing in Northern Nigeria the political system evolved by Sir Frederick Lugard, Vischer was chosen to attempt to establish a system of education suited to that vast area where advanced and primitive cultures existed. Indirect Rule necessitated the study of the established political, judicial and social systems, and Vischer looked for the same firm basis for his work. He produced principles which have outlasted the details of his curricula, and today the methods of implementing those principles are more debated than the principles themselves.

1. H. Vischer: The Place of Adult Education in African Life. W.A.R., 1945 Jan., pp.15-17.

At a time when the only new things coming from Africa appear to be racial or religious disturbances and antagonisms, the fact that Mohammedan, pagan and Christian are yet working together towards a federated Nigeria, despite their many differences and fears, is a tribute to the work of those who have helped to develop the land in the past half century. None will deny Lord Lugard's place, but the work of his friend, Dan Hausa, was constructive also towards the development of Northern Nigeria. Then from Northern Nigeria Sir Hanns brought the knowledge and experience which served to guide him at the Colonial Office, and at the International African Institute until his death in 1945.

APPENDIX A.Hanns Vischer (Dan Hausa).

- 1876 b. at Basle, 14 September.
 Educated at Basle, Niesky, Ramsgate and Cambridge
 (Emmanuel and Ridley, B.A. 1899, M.A. 1903.)
- 1899 Joined Church Missionary Society.
- 1900 Sailed to Northern Nigeria to join Hausa Mission.
 Served at Loko and Lokoja.
- 1902 Dec., resigned.
- 1903 June, naturalized.
- Sept., to Northern Nigeria as Assistant Resident.
- 1906 Appointed 3rd Class Resident.
 July - Sept., journey across Sahara from Tripoli to Lake
 Chad.
- 1908 Seconded to education, Northern Nigeria.
- 1914 Director of Education, Northern Provinces, Nigeria.
 Enrolled in Nigerian Land Contingent.
- 1915 Commissioned as Lieutenant from 17 Nov.
- 1919 Resigned from Colonial Service (ill health).
- 1921 Rank of Major (reserves).
- 1923 Hon. sec. and member of the Advisory Committee on
 Native Education in British Tropical Africa.
- 1928 Phelps Stokes Commission on Education in East Africa.
- 1929 Committee of Inspection, Gordon College, Khartoum.
 Joint hon. sec. of the Advisory Committee on Education
 in the Colonies.
- 1938 Committee of Inspection Achimota College.
- 1939 Retired.
- 1941 Knighted. (C.B.E. 1919, C.M.G. 1934.)
-
- 1926 - 45 Founder member and General Secretary of the International
 Institute of African Languages and Cultures.
-
- 1945 Died, 15 February.

	<u>1900-1.</u>	<u>1901-2.</u>	<u>1902-3.</u>	<u>1903-4.</u>	<u>1904-5.</u>	<u>1905-6.</u>
Imperial Grant in Aid.	88,800	280,000	290,000	405,000	405,500	320,000
Local Revenue.	2,180	4,424	16,316	53,727	94,026	110,545
<u>Total Revenue.</u>	135,730	318,424	357,009	508,727	559,526	505,545
<u>Total Expenditure.</u>	96,457	298,519	389,391	498,986	520,546	498,260
<u>Items:</u>						
Stipends to Chiefs.	125	-	-	-	-	-
Judicial.	1,720	1,786	2,562	3,414	3,395	2,208
Storekeepers & Transport.	2,501	4,197	4,278	4,109	-	-
Transport.	-	-	-	-	3,589	22,334
Political.	7,471	11,414	24,264	33,853	44,500	53,072
Marine & Workshops.	15,757	29,103	23,897	26,197	27,022	31,636
Medical.	6,745	16,360	20,328	22,069	26,306	27,838
West African Frontier Force.	-	132,583	139,132	191,445	190,259	181,471
Botanical & Forests.	-	-	-	592	2,037	3,283
Cantonment Magistrates & Freed Slaves Home.	-	-	-	-	-	4,575

Appendix B. Items of Revenue and Expenditure for the Years 1900 - '5.

from Parl. Pap. 1908 LXIX Report on N.W. for 1906. [Cd. 3 729 - 15] pp.93-4.

APPENDIX C.Training College for Teachers and Kadis,
Gordon College, Khartoum.

Instruction in hours per week. See C.O. 446/89 No.13864,
enclosure, Report on tour: Sudan. Vischer (Sept. 1909).

<u>Subject.</u>	<u>1st Year.</u>	<u>2nd Year.</u>	<u>3rd Year.</u>
Koran	2	0	0
Grammar	4	3	3
Reading	4	3	3
Written and Oral Exercises	3	2	2
Composition	0	2	2
Dictation	3	1	0
Fikh Body of Mohammedan Law	2	2	3
Tawhid	0	1	1
Arithmetic	6	4	5
Geometry	0	2	2
Arabic penmanship	4	3	2
Geography and map drawing	2	3	3
History	1	2	2
Drawing	2	1	1
English Language	0	3	3
Recitation (Arabic)	0	1	1

For their fourth and fifth years pupils chose either the Teachers' or the Kadis' class.

<u>Subject.</u>	<u>4th Year.</u>		<u>5th Year.</u>	
	<u>Teachers'</u> <u>Class.</u>	<u>Kadis'</u> <u>Class.</u>	<u>Teachers'</u> <u>Class.</u>	<u>Kadis'</u> <u>Class.</u>
Grammar	3	3	3	3
Rhetoric	2	2	2	2
Easy Writing	3	3	3	3
Literature	3	3	3	3
Fikh Body of Moh. Law	0	5	0	5
Arithmetic	4	4	4	4
Geography	2	2	2	2
Algebra	2	0	2	0
Arabic penmanship	2	2	2	0
Geog. and map drawing	3	0	3	0
History	2	2	2	2
of.	26	26	26	24

(Appendix G. continued).

<u>Subject.</u>	<u>4th Year.</u>		<u>5th Year.</u>	
	Teachers' Class.	Kadis' Class.	Teachers' Class.	Kadis' Class.
bf.	26	26	26	24
Drawing	2	0	2	0
Theory and Practice of Teaching	5	0	5	0
Tafsir (Commentaries)	0	2	0	2
Haditha (Traditions)	0	1	0	1
Tawthicat	0	0	0	1
Logic	0	1	0	1
Origin and Philosophy of Law.	0	3	0	2
Outline of Civil Law in relation to Korenic Law	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
	<u>33</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>33</u>

Appendix D. (C) The Curriculum of the Elementary School for the Sons of Chiefs.

Classes	Arithmetic (Lisafi)	Reading (Karatu)	Writing (Rabutu)	Drawing (Zane)	Nature Study (Abubua)	Geography (Lab. Fassa)
5 & 4	Counting up to 100, 10 x 10, division, addition, subtract- ion, elementary pacing	Sheets; 1st Series and printed reader	Alphabet (small) and short mono- syllables	Simple free- hand designs.	The school build- ing, mud, bricks, earth, trees, roads, rain, sunshine etc.	Plan of Nassarawa buildings (practical)
3	Counting up to 1,000 12 x 12, divisions, additions, subtract- ions, pacing long distances	Reader I Series I & II of reading sheets	Alphabet & capital & small letters. Short words	As for classes 5 & 4.	As above; domestic and wild animals etc.	Plan of school
2	Counting up to 10,000. Easy addition, easy surface measuring, squares etc.	Reader I Series I & II of read- ing sheets	Easy dictation	More advanced	More advanced	More advanced
I	Easy loss & profit; more advanced than 2.	Same as 2.	Dictation and essays	Copying designs from work shops	Trees, produce, domestic animals	Roads from Nassarawa

71. Imperial Education Conference Papers. 1913. N.N. p.5.

174
(II) Curriculum of the Primary School.

Classes	Arithmetic (Lisafi)	Reading (Karatu)	Writing (Rubutu)	Drawing (Zane)	Geography (Lab. Kassa)	Hygiene
5 & 4	Surface measuring, loss and profit, easy fractions	Temple's law and reading sheets	Dictation and essays	Workshop designs and leaves	Nassarawa, watercourses, roads, wells easy plans	According to Blair's plan
3	Surface measuring, pacing, loss and profit, fractions, addition of fractions	Gower's Risalah reading sheets	Calligraphy, dictation and essays	Leaves and designs	Kano and main physical features of W. Nigeria	According to Blair's plan
2	Same as for class 3 but more advanced, proportion	Same as for 3	Same as for 3	Same as for 3	Kano and its surroundings. Railways and steamers	According to Blair's plan
1	Same as for class 2 but more advanced	Same as for 2	Same as for 2	Same as for 2	Africa	According to Blair's plan

(Temple and Gower were both political officers, and Blair was the medical officer for Kano).

1. Imperial Education Conference Papers. 1913. N.W. p.5.

APPENDIX E.

The Estimated Expenditure of the Education Department, Northern Nigeria, for the year 1910, showing how Vischer divided the financial responsibility between the Government and the Kano Beit el Mal.

See G.O.446/89 No.13864, enclosure.

(I) Government Grant Under the Education Vote.

Salary of Director of Education (2nd Class Res.)	£570. 0. 0.	
Duty Pay	100. 0. 0.	
Salary of Superintendent of Nassarawa Schools	<u>450. 0. 0.</u>	1120. 0. 0.
Horse and Tent Allowance. D. of E.	45. 12. 6.	
Horse Allowance. Supt. of Nassarawa Schools	<u>30. 0. 0.</u>	75. 12. 6.
Petty Expenses	30. 0. 0.	
Books and Periodicals	25. 0. 0.	
Office Servant	<u>15. 0. 0.</u>	70. 0. 0.
Instructor of Technical Workshops		300. 0. 0.
Equipment of Technical Schools and Workshops		200. 0. 0.
Contingencies		30. 0. 0.
		<u>£1795. 12. 6.</u>

(II) Beit el Mal grantChiefs' Sons School

1 Head Teacher @ £3 p.m.	£36. 0. 0.	
2 Ass. Teachers @ £1 p.m.	24. 0. 0.	
Plant	24. 0. 0.	
1 Servant	12. 0. 0.	
Religious Instructor	18. 0. 0.	
	<u>114. 0. 0.</u>	£114. 0. 0.

Malamai School

1 Head Teacher @ £3	£36. 0. 0.	
2 Ass. Teachers @ £2	48. 0. 0.	
Plant	28. 0. 0.	
1 Servant	12. 0. 0.	
Subsistence to 15 mallams at £1 p.m.	180. 0. 0.	
Printing of Maps and schoolbooks	150. 0. 0.	
	<u>454. 0. 0.</u>	£454. 0. 0.

Elementary Vernacular School

Plant		24. 0. 0.
-------	--	-----------

Experimental Workshops and Garden

1 Blacksmith @ 4 p.m.	£48. 0. 0.	
Materials	24. 0. 0.	
Gardeners	16. 0. 0.	
Gardeners' materials	10. 0. 0.	
Leatherworkers		
Leatherworkers' materials)	60. 0. 0.	
Carpenter @ £4 p.m.	48. 0. 0.	
Apprentices' subsistence	48. 0. 0.	
Repairs and Upkeep of Build- ings	<u>50. 0. 0.</u>	£298. 0. 0.
Extension of Buildings	60. 0. 0.	
	<u>110. 0. 0.</u>	
Total		<u>£1000. 0. 0.</u>

SOURCES.A.) Vischer. M.S.

The Vischer Papers are not numerous. They give the outline of Sir Hanns' life and include his birth certificate, school records, naturalization certificate, R.G.S. surveying certificate, letters offering or confirming appointments in the Colonial Service, the Colonial Office and the Army, letters on retirement and letters of condolence written to Lady Vischer. There are also his membership cards for various societies, the official notifications of decorations given him, a list of family papers and possessions, photographs and paintings forming his personal record of his journey across the Sahara in 1910, printed copies of various speeches and a memorandum on education written in Northern Nigeria c.1912. Personal letters have not been kept save five from Lord Lugard. There is a volume of letters written by Sir Hanns to his sons in the late 1920's and through the 1930's in which fleeting references are made to his official work.

Four letters from Vischer to Lugard dated 27 March 1910, 30 Dec. 1933, 11 Oct. 1940 and 29 June 1944, were kindly sent me by Major E.J. Lugard. I forwarded them to Miss Perham, Nuffield College, Oxford, and have cited them after L.P. in the footnotes as they are now filed with the bulk of the Lugard Papers.

Letters written by or about Vischer while he was a missionary are in the C.M.S. Hausa Mission's records for the years 1900 to 1902.

Printed: books, articles and speeches by Hanns Vischer arranged in chronological order.

1. Across the Sahara from Tripoli to Bornu. (Arnold, London, 1910).
2. Rules for Hausa Spelling, J.R.A.S. 11 April 1912.
Native Education in German Africa, J.R.A.S. XIV Jan. 1915.
3. Constitution of an Advisory Committee to cover education in all the Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories, 10 April 1927. [Cmd. 2884] Appendix XVIII.
4. Die Völkerprobleme in Afrika und das Internationale Institut für afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen, 1929, Vehr. d. Schweiz. Naturforsch Ges. Davos.
5. L'enseignement en Afrique tropicale anglaise, Brussels, Institut Colonial International, 21^e session, Paris, mai 1931.
6. L'enseignement dans les possessions anglaises d'Afrique, congrès de l'Institut International des Langues et des civilisations Africains, Comptes Rendus, Paris, Oct., 1931.
7. The Road to English. Stage I. Sudan edn. (O.U.P., 1932.)
8. Education in British Tropical Africa, Brussels International Colonial Institut, 1932.
9. Native Education in British Tropical Africa, Reale. Accademia d'Italia, Roma, 4 - 11 October 1938.
10. Mass Education in African Society, Africa XIV, April 1944.
11. The Place of Adult Education in African Life and what it has done for other countries. West African Review, XVI, Jan. 1945.

There is a file of newspaper cuttings on Vischer at the International African Institute, the obituary notices from various magazines and papers, and also minutes of the Text-book sub-committee from 2 Dec. 1929 - 22 Feb. 1934. An article by H. Louwers entitled, Hanns Vischer 14 septembre 1876 - 19 février 1945, which was originally published in the Bulletin de l'Institut Royal Colonial belge, XVIII,

1947, is available at the I.A.I. in pamphlet form. It is a tribute by one who co-operated with Vischer in his international work.

The only secondary source really applying to Vischer's work is the book, Croquis et Souvenirs de la Nigérie du Nord, by his wife Isabelle Vischer - see secondary sources.

B.) Colonial Office.

Original Correspondence, Northern Nigeria.

<u>Reference.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Description.</u>
C.O. 446		
1	1898	Despatches
2	(1898 (1898 Jan. - Aug.	Offices: Admiralty, Crown Agents Offices: Foreign.
3	(1898 Sept. - Aug. (1898 (1898	Offices: Foreign Offices: House of Commons, Treasury, War, Miscellaneous. Individuals.
4	(1899 (1899	Despatches. Offices: Crown Agents, Medical Adviser, House of Commons.
5	1899	Offices: Foreign.
6	1899	Offices: Treasury, War, Miscellaneous.
7	(1899 (1899 Jan. - Aug 18.	Individuals A - K Individuals L
8	(1899 21 Aug. - Dec. 31 (1899	Individuals L Individuals M - Z
9	1900 Jan. - April	Despatches
10	1900 May - Aug.	Despatches
11	1900 Sept. - Dec.	Despatches
12	1900	Offices: (Except Treasury, War, Miscellaneous.)
13	(1900 (1900	Offices: Treasury, War, Miscellaneous, Individuals.

<u>Reference.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Description.</u>
G.O. 446		
14	1901 Jan. - March.	Despatches.
15	1901 April - July 15.	Despatches.
16	1901 July 16 - Oct. 15.	Despatches.
17	1901 Oct. 18 - Dec. 31	Despatches.
18	1901	Offices: Admiralty, Crown Agents, Audit, Foreign.
19	{ 1901	Offices: Medical Advisers, Treasury, War, Miscellaneous.
	{ 1901	Individuals A - G
20	{ 1901	Individuals H - K
	{ 1901 Jan. - July 14.	Individuals L
21	{ 1901 Aug. 16 - Dec. 31	Individuals L
	{ 1901	Individuals M - W
22	1902 Jan. - March	Despatches
23	1902 April - May	Despatches
24	1902 July - Sept.	Despatches
25	1902 Oct. - Nov.	Despatches
26	{ 1902 Dec.	Despatches
	{ 1902	Offices: Admiralty, Crown Agents.
27	1902	Offices: Foreign, Treasury.
28	1902	Offices: Audit, House of Commons, Medical Adviser, War, Local Military Authority, Miscellaneous.
29	1902	Individuals.

By Permission:-

(See Notes on Research.)

G.O. 446/62	Northern Nigeria	1907 vol. II No. 15068, 1 April
G.O. 446/65	" "	1907 vol. V No. 41753, 31 Oct.
G.O. 446/74	" "	1908 vol. III No. 30542, 22 July.
G.O. 446/75	" "	1908 vol. IV No. 42885, 17 Oct.
G.O. 446/89	" "	1910 vol. I No. 13864, 30 March.
G.O. 446/103	" "	1911 vol. VIII (No. 18794, 8 June. (No. 30632, 18 Sept.)
G.O. 446/112	" "	1913 vol. III No. 15517, 1 May.
G.O. 583/13	Nigeria	1914 vol. V No. 15324, 16 April.
G.O. 583/14	"	1914 vol. XI No. 45237, 28 Oct.
G.O. 583/20	"	1914 vol. XII No. 47053, 7 Nov.

Printed C.O. Material.

<u>Reference.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Description.</u>
<u>G.O. 657</u>		
1	1912 - 1915	<u>Nigeria.</u> Administrative Reports.
3	1914 - 1916	Sessional Papers.
4	1916 - 1919	Admin. Reports.
5	1917 - 1919	Sess. Pap.
6	1920 - 1922	Admin. Reports.
7	1922	Admin. Reports.
8	1920 - 1922	Sess. Pap.
27	1930	Admin. Reports.
<u>G.O. 658</u>		
5	1916	<u>Nigeria.</u> Government Gazettes.
6	1917 Jan. - June.	" "
7	1917 July - Dec.	" "
8	1918	" "
9	1918	Supplements.
10	1919	Government Gazettes.
11	1919	Supplements.
<u>G.O. 587</u>		
1	1900 - 1904	<u>Nigeria, Northern.</u> Proclamations.
2	1905 - 1913	"
3	1910 (No. 9 only)	"
<u>G.O. 656</u>		
1	1914 - 1915	Ordinances.
2	1916	"
3	1917	"

C.O. Lists for the years 1899 to 1920, inclusive, and 1922, 1924, 1932 to 35 inclusive, and 1938.

Nigeria Colonial Service List, 1925.

c.) Official and semi-official memoranda, reports, etc.

1. Imp. Educ. Conf. Pap. III Education Systems of the Chief Colonies not possessing responsible Government, N.N., S.N., 1913.
2. The Education Ordinance, 1916, and Regulations made under the Education Ordinance, 1916. (C.M.S., Lagos, 1917.)
3. T. Jesse Jones: Education in Africa. A study by the African Education Committee under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund

- and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe, 1922.
4. Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, March 1925,
Cmd. 2374.
 5. Report by the Hon. W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore on his Visit to West Africa,
1926, Cmd. 2744.
 6. Report of Education Conference, N.P., Nigeria, March 1928.
West African Pamphlets vol. III No. 70.
 7. The Education of African Communities, A.C.E.C., 1935, Colonial
No. 103.
 8. Mass Education in African Society, A.C.E.C., 1944, Colonial
No. 186.
 9. Ten Year Educational Plan, Nigeria Sess. Pap No. 6 of 1944.
 10. Ten Year Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria,
Nigeria Sess. Pap. No. 24 of 1945.
 11. Memo on Educational Policy in Nigeria, Nigeria Sess. Pap. No. 20 of
1947.
 12. S. Phillipson: Grants in Aid of Education in Nigeria (Govt.
Printer, Lagos, 1948.)
 13. African Education. A Study of Educational Policy and Practice
in British Tropical Africa - Nuffield Foundation and C.O.
(O.U.P., 1953.)

D.) Parliamentary Papers

- | | | |
|------|--------|---|
| 1899 | LXIII | Papers relating to the revocation of the Royal Niger
Company's Charter etc. [C.9372] |
| 1901 | XLV | Report on Sierra Leone for 1900. [Cd.431-16]
Report on Gambia for 1900. [Cd.431-17] |
| 1902 | LXIV | Report on the Gold Coast for 1900. [Cd.788-14] |
| | LXV | Report on N.N. for 1900. [Cd.788-16]
Report on Lagos for 1900. [Cd.788-18]
Report on Southern Nigeria for 1900. [Cd.788-23] |
| 1903 | XLVIII | Report on N.N. for 1901. [Cd.1388-1] |
| | XLV | Correspondence relating to Kano. [Cd. 1433] |
| 1904 | LVII | Report on N.N. for 1902. [Cd.1768-14] |

- 1905 XXVI The Educational Systems of the Chief Crown Colonies and Possessions of the British Empire - West Africa. [Cd.2378]
 LII Report on N.N. for 1903. [Cd.2238-14]
 LVI Returns of the Revenue & Expenditure (Actual and Estimated) of the West African Colonies & Protectorates for the years 1885 to 1905-1906. [Cd.2564]
- 1906 LXXIV Report on N.N. for 1904. [Cd.2684-22]
 LXXVIII Correspondence relating to railway construction in Nigeria. [Cd.2787]
 LXXXVI Agreement between the United Kingdom and Germany respecting the boundary between British and German territories from Yola to Lake Chad. [Cd.3260]
- 1907 LIV Report on N.N. for 1905. [Cd.3285-3]
 Memo. on the taxation of Natives in N.N. [Cd.3309]
 LVII Correspondence relating to Sokoto, Hadeija and the Munshi country. [Cd.3620]
- 1908 LXIX Report on N.N. for 1906. [Cd.3729-15]
- 1909 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1907. [Cd.4448-3]
 LX Further Correspondence relating to railway construction in Nigeria. [Cd.4523]
- 1910 XLIV Report of the N.N. Lands Committee and despatches relating thereto. [Cd.5102]
 N.N. Lands Committee. Minutes of Evidence and Appendices. [Cd.5103]
 LXIV Report on N.N. for 1908. [Cd.4964-7]
- 1911 LI Report on N.N. for 1909. [Cd.5467-16]
- 1912 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1910. [Cd.6007-4]
 -13 Report on N.N. for 1911. [Cd.6007-38]
- 1914 LVIII Report on N.N. for 1912. [Cd.7050-26]
- 1914 -16 XLIV Report on N.N. for 1913. [Cd.7622-12]
- 1916 XIX Report on Nigeria for 1914. [Cd.8172-4]
- 1917 XXII Report on Nigeria for 1915. [Cd.8434-7]
 -18 Report on Nigeria for 1916. [Cd.8434-33]
- 1919 XXXV Report on Nigeria for 1917. [Cmd.1-31]
 XXXVI Report by Sir F.D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration, 1912-1919. [Cmd.468]

1920 XXXII Report on Nigeria for 1918. [Cmd.508-14]

1921 XXIV Report on Nigeria for 1919. [Cmd.1103-7]

E.) Missions : Original Sources

Church Missionary Society

Now catalogued as:

1) Niger Mission

Precis books

1897-1906

G.3 A3/P4

1906-1916

G.3 A3/P5

Letters

1899, 1900, 1901

G.3 A3/O8

1902, 1903, 1904

G.3 A3/O9

1905, 1906

G.3 A3/O10

Letterbooks

1896-1901

G.3 A5/L8

1901-1906

G.3 A5/L9

2 & 3) Hausa & Northern Nigeria Missions

Precis books

1897-1906

G.3 A3/P4

1907-1932

G.3 A9/P1

Letters

1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906

G.3 A9/O1

1907, 1908, 1909, 1910

G.3 A9/O2

1911, 1912, 1913

G.3 A9/O3

Letterbooks

1901-1906

G.3 A5/L9

1906-1920

G.3 A9/L1

4) Yoruba Mission

Precis book

1907-1919

G.3 A2/P5

Letters

1912, 1913, 1914

G.3 A2/O15

1915, 1916

G.3 A2/O16

1917, 1918, 1919

G.3 A2/O17

Letterbook

1910-1919

G.3 A2/L9

Printed

Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1899, 1900 and 1901.
C.M.S. Laws & Regulations, 1883 and 1886.

Sudan United Mission

S.U.M. Lightbearer Vol. II for 1906, Vol. III for 1907,
Vol. V for 1909, Vol. VI for 1910, Vol. VII for 1911,
Vol. VIII for 1912, Vol. IX for 1913, Vol. X for 1914,
Vol. XI for 1915, Vol. XII for 1916, Vol. XIII for 1917,
Vol. XIV for 1918, Vol. XV for 1919.

From 1910 onwards The South African Lightbearer, a much smaller magazine, is found bound in these volumes.

- F.) Will Will of Sir Alfred Jones, 8th October, 1904 (probate granted 8th January, 1910) Somerset House.

Secondary SourcesA.) Theses

- J.C.O. Annene : The Establishment and Consolidation of Imperial Government in Southern Nigeria 1871-1904. M.A., London, 1952.
- K.O. Diké : Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830-1879. Ph.D., London, 1950.
- S.O. Biobaku : The Egba States and their Neighbours 1842-1873. Ph.D., London, 1951.
- C.A. Ekere : Education in Nigeria. A Critical Study of Policy and Practice in the Light of Modern Principles of Education. M.A. (Educ.), London, 1946.

Claims that in 1910 an Education Department was established for Northern Nigeria 'on the same lines as that for Southern Nigeria' (p.73) yet states that a different type of education from that which prevailed in Southern Nigeria was envisaged from the outset (p.225).

Most interesting explanation of African opposition to "adapted" education (pp.166-70).

- T.T. Solaru : Problems of Teacher Training in Nigeria. M.A., (Educ.), London, 1949.

Of great interest on this one educational aspect, but the brief historical review of education in Northern Nigeria 1903-1909 is misleading.

B.) Books

- Sir Thomas Arnold : The Legacy of Islam. (O.U.P., London, 1931)
Background.
- R.V. Bingham : Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee. (Evangelical Publishers, Toronto, 1943)
The story of the Sudan Interior Mission by its founder.
The Burden of the Sudan. (S.I.M., Grt. Brt. -)
Shorter version.
- D.W. Bittinger : Black and White in the Sudan. An Educational Experiment in its Cultural Setting. (Brethren Pub. House, Elgin, 1941)
Inaccurate on certain points, e.g. p.222 calls the Zaria C.M.S. school the 'only' mission school allowed in the native emirates, and says it 'ante-dated British rule'. By mistake in text or index, Hanns Vischer is called a German on p.59.
- E.W. Blyden : Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race. 2 edn. (Whittingham, London, 1888)
Interesting, particularly his inaugural address as President of Liberia College, 5th January 1881, but too early to be relevant to this thesis.
- R.L. Buell : The Native Problem in Africa. 2 Vols. (Macmillan, N.Y., 1928)
Invaluable.
- Sir A.C. Burns : History of Nigeria. 4 edn. (Allen & Unwin, London, 1948)
Standard work.
- J.D. Clarke : Omu. An African Experiment in Education. (Longmans, London, 1937)
Describes school for pagan boys founded in 1931 in Mohammedan Ilcrin emirate.
- A.N. Cook : British Enterprise in Nigeria. (Pennsylvania Univ. Press, Philadelphia, 1943)
Includes comprehensive economic survey, but no mention of missions or education. Uses Sir Charles Orr's private papers.

- J.J. Cooksey and A. Macleish : Religion & Civilization in West Africa.
(World Dominion Press, London, 1931)
A missionary survey excluding Nigeria.
- W.R. Crocker : Nigeria. A critique of British Colonial Administration. (Allen & Unwin, London, 1936)
Frank book written by a Nigerian Civil Servant.
Stimulating.
- A.F. Mockler-Ferryman: British Nigeria. (Cassell, London, 1902)
Contemporary impression.
- S.G.V. Fitzgerald: Muhammedan Law. An abridgement according to its various schools. (O.U.P., London, 1931)
Useful guide.
- B.A. Fletcher : Education and Colonial Development. (Methuen, London, 1936)
Concerned primarily with the East.
- Sir Wm. Geary : Nigeria under British Rule. (Methuen, London, 1927)
Valuable.
- Sir F.G. Guggisberg & A.G. Fraser : The Future of the Negro. Some Chapters in the development of a race. (S.C.M., London, 1929)
Provides material for comparison and contrast of the American and African negro.
- J.R. Wilson-Haffenden : The Red Men of Nigeria. (Seeley, Service, London, 1930)
Study of the Fulani.
- E.F. Haig : Nigerian Sketches. (Allen & Unwin, London, 1931)
Humorous background material.
- Lord Hailey : African Survey. (O.U.P., London, 1938)
Useful.
- : Native Administration in British African Territories. 5 Vols. (H.M.S.O., London, 1950-51, 1953)
Comprehensive.
- G.D. Hazzledine : The White Man in Nigeria. (Arnold, London, 1904)
Graphic picture of financial straits of young Protectorate.

- S.J. Hogben : Muhammedan Emirates of Northern Nigeria. (O.U.P., London, 1930)
Detailed : informative.
- H.C.W. (Karl) Kumm : Khont-hon-Nofer. The Lands of Ethiopia. (Marshalls, London, 1910)
By a founder of Sudan United Mission. Has chapter on education.
- Sir F.D. Lugard : The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa. 2 edn. (Blackwoods, Edin. & London, 1923)
Invaluable.
- L.P. Mair : Native Policies in Africa. (Routledge, London, 1936)
Interesting. Anthropological approach.
- B. Malinowski : The Dynamics of Culture Change. An inquiry into race relations in Africa. Edited by P. Karberry. (Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1945)
Valuable anthropological work.
- A. Mayhew : Education in the Colonial Empire. (Longmans, London, 1938)
A balanced survey as an introduction to the subject.
- J.L. Maxwell : Nigeria. The Land, the People & Christian Progress (World Dominion Press, London, 1924)
Chapters III and IV by A. Macleish need clearer indication of sources.
- C.K. Meek : The Northern Tribes of Nigeria. 2 Vols. (O.U.P., London, 1925)
Based on census reports for 1921. Useful.
- : Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria. 2 Vols. (Kegan Paul, London, 1931)
Comprehensive work written ten years later.
- W.R.S. Miller : Reflections of a Pioneer. (C.M.S., London, 1936)
: Have we Failed in Nigeria? (Lutterworth, London 1947)
: Success in Nigeria? Assets and Possibilities ... (Lutterworth, London, 1948)
Written by the strongest personality the C.M.S. has had in Northern Nigeria. Missionary bias clear and frank.

- A.V. Murray : School in the Bush. A Critical Study of the Theory & Practice of Native Education in Africa. 2 edn. (Longmans, London, 1938)
Appendix II containing Lugard's comment on Chapter XII is very interesting.
The statement that the C.M.S. Zaria school was established prior to Lugard's Indirect Rule system seems misleading in its ambiguity.
- C.R. Niven : A Short History of Nigeria. (Longmans, London, 1937)
: Nigeria : Outline of a Colony. (Nelson, London, 1946)
Concise, descriptive, humorous.
- J.H. Oldham and A.D. Gibson : The Remaking of Man in Africa. (O.U.P., London, 1931)
A consideration of the contribution of Christian education to Africa's future. Useful appendix surveying British colonial education systems in 1931.
- C.W.J. Orr : The Making of Northern Nigeria. (Macmillan, London, 1911)
Most useful account by a Resident who played an active part under Lugard, Girouard and Hesketh Bell.
- D.C. Percy : Stirrett of the Sudan. (Livingstone, Toronto, 1948)
Missionary publication about a pioneer of the Sudan Interior Mission.
- Margery Perham : Native Administration in Nigeria. (O.U.P., London, 1937)
Authoritative.
- C.H. Robinson : Nigeria. Our Latest Protectorate. (Marshalls, London, 1900)
Written to stimulate interest in Hausaland.
- Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard) : A Tropical Dependency. (Nisbit, London, 1905)
A fine account of the early history of the Western Sudan as well as of the first years of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria.
- E. Stock : A History of the Church Missionary Society. 4 Vols. (C.M.S., London, 1916)
Useful, official account.

- P.A. Talbot : The Peoples of Southern Nigeria. 4 Vols.
(O.U.P., London, 1926)
- : Tribes of the Niger Delta. (Sheldon, London, 1932)
- Ethnological works of value for background material.
- C.L. Temple : Native Races and their Rulers. (Argus, Cape Town, 1918)
- An advocacy of Indirect Rule by an influential "Northern Nigerian".
- Mrs. Temple : Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates & States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. (Argus, Cape Town, 1919)
- Alphabetically arranged information collected up to October, 1916.
- A. Toynbee : A Study of History. Abridgement of Vols. I-VI by D.C. Somervell (O.U.P., London, 1946)
- This was used as a guide to the full work. Stimulating for anyone concerned with questions of civilizations and religions.
- J.S. Trimingham : Islam in the Sudan. (O.U.P., London, 1949)
- Recent work useful for relating the Northern Provinces to the whole Sudan.
- Isabelle Vischer : Croquis et Souvenirs de la Nigérie du Nord. (Attinger, Paris-Neuchatel, 1917)
- Includes a most valuable account of her husband's aims and methods c.1912.
- D. Westermann : The African Today. (O.U.P., London, 1934)
- Thoughtful pre-war study by a Director of the International African Institute.
- Joan Wheare : The Nigerian Legislative Council. (Faber, London, 1950)
- Study of the 1946 constitutional changes in relation to previous development.
- J.A. Williamson : A Short History of British Expansion. 2 Vols. (Macmillan, London, 3 edn. reprinted 1947)
- Useful, clear work.

C.) Periodical Publications

The Journal of the African Society, first published in 1901 proved the most useful periodical for contemporary articles. Since 1940 it has been the Journal of the Royal African Society. The International Africa Institute has published Africa since 1928. Oversea Education was begun in 1929 and contains quarterly abstracts of proceedings of the Advisory Council on Education in the Colonies. A few of the articles read are listed below:-

The Journal of the Royal African Society

XV	1916 April	F.H. Harward : <u>Education in Nigeria.</u>
XVII	1918 Jan.	Sir T. Buxton : <u>The Education of the African.</u>
XXXI	1932 Jan.	R. Smith : <u>Education in British Africa.</u>
	April	continued
	July	continued
XXXII	1933 Jan.	Sir F.D. Lugard : <u>Education & Race Relations.</u>
		Sir J. Currie : <u>Indirect Rule in Africa and its bearings on educational development.</u>
XXXIII	1934 April	B. Azikiwe : <u>How shall we Educate the African?</u>
	October	Sir J. Currie : <u>The Educational Experiment in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1900-1933.</u>
XXXIV	1935 Jan.	continued
XXXVI	1937 April	W.G. Ormsby-Gore : <u>Educational Problems of the Colonial Empire</u>
XXXVIII	1939 Jan.	J. Dougall : <u>The Case for and against mission schools</u>

Africa

IV	1931 April	A. Hoernlé : <u>Education in Africa.</u>
	July	M. Perham : <u>The System of Native Administration in Tanganyika.</u>
V	1932 April	F. Clarke : <u>The Double Mind in African Education.</u>
VII	1934 Jan.	J.H. Oldham : <u>The Educational Work of the Mission Societies.</u>
	July	M. Perham : <u>A Restatement of Indirect Rule.</u>
XV	1945 April	Lord Lugard on Sir Hanns Vischer.

Oversea Education

- I 1930 April G. Stevens : The Aesthetic Education of the Negro.
- II 1930 October J. Huxley : A Biological Approach to Education in East Africa.
- III 1932 April O. Faulkener : The Place of Agriculture in the General Education System of Nigeria.
- July E.J.R. Hussey : Agricultural Education in Nigeria.
- IV 1933 Jan. Notes on Discussion on Indirect Rule in Africa and its bearing on Educational Development.
- July A.T. Lacy : Method versus Aim in African Education.
- V 1934 April R. Oliver : Comparison of Cultural Achievement.
- VI 1934 October L.P. Mair : The Anthropologist's Approach to Native Education.
- X 1939 Jan. A. Mayhew : Aims & Methods of Indigenous Education in Primitive Societies.
- XI 1940 April R. Day : Native Administration Education in Nigeria.
- XII 1940 October O. Field : Towards Tribalized Literacy. A Suggestion.
- XIII 1942 Jan. T. Lewis : The Problem of the Semi-educated African.

United Empire

- XIX 1928 July Lugard : The Human Side of African Development.

Nature

- CL 1945 April Sir G. Tomlinson on Sir Hanns Vischer.

D.) Newspapers

- The Times, 27th September 1932.
- The Times Educational Supplement, 15th February, 1941.
- The Observer, 7th November, 1926.
- The Swiss Observer, 29th March, 1945.
- The Australian and Christian World, 24th December, 1926.
- The Christian Science Monitor, 12th February, 1929.