

The History of Educational development in Southern Sudan 1898-1956.

Dr. Daniel Thabo Nyibong Ding

Department of History, School of Education, University of Juba

*Corresponding Author: Dr. Daniel Thabo Nyibong Ding

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<p>Citation: Dr. Daniel Thabo Nyibong Ding. (2025). The History of Educational development in Southern Sudan 1898-1956. UKR Journal of Education and Literature (UKRJEL), Volume 1(3), 01-42.</p>	<p><i>The study traces the history of educational development in South Sudan from 1898-1956. The objective of this research study was designed to add fresh information to earlier studies on the same topic. As a University Professor of history, I felt fully convinced that much more investigations in this field of education had not yet been done to certain areas in general and to South Sudan in particular. For those who are interested in education, there is need to know full well about it. Since the inception of the colonial to the independence era the South Sudan had suffered very greatly from bad educational and economic policies. As a result of those educational and others prior to independence, South Sudan lagged far behind the north Sudan educationally, politically, Socially and economically. Such educational gaps linked with economic and other political policies enabled the northern Sudan prior to and after independence to predominate in the civil service, political arena, Socially and economically.</i></p> <p>Method of Research</p> <p><i>This study is especially based on historical description. In most cases, descriptive mode had been mainly dealt with. In other respects an analytical mode had been also used. Any information related to the research had been recorded down, explained and analyzed.</i></p> <p>Data Source</p> <p><i>The place of research had been the national Records office, Khartoum. Other places include also the British council library, African and Asian studies library and Sudan library. The researcher had travelled in South Sudan in view of making extensive research in the field of education as study indicates.</i></p> <p><i>In dealing with the research topic. I had tried on to consult and collect data and information in relation to the concept of educational development in South Sudan. Thus books linked the education and politics in the Sudan with special emphasis on South Sudan had been seen and checked properly. It is important to be worthwhile that review of articles, annual reports, departmental reports and Journals in common with the research topic had been consulted. Other sources either published or unpublished which are mainly based on old archival files of the three southern states or provinces were used. Not only that but also interviews and discussions with some important personalities had been conducted with such as Ustaz/Sir Al Khatim Al Khalifa, Ustaz /Arop Yor Ayik/ Ustaz/Clement Sebit Abele, Ustaz/Stephen Akot, Sayed Mathew Obur Ayang, Sayed Simon yor kur and other friends.</i></p> <p><i>Sir Al Khatim Al Khalifa had joined teaching in 1938-1956 at the Institute of Bakht Al Ruda. In January 1953-1960, he was in Juba and his main work was to plan for the introduction of Arabic. His general and minor comments are highly appreciative. He had positively contributed to the rearrangement of some chapters of the thesis. The evidence has indicated that in 1946 there were two government schools above sub-grade level in the Southern Sudan.</i></p> <p><i>Findings have shown that educational development in the Southern Sudan was of gradual progress based on the low standard required by the then Sudan Government. The missionaries were either allies or agents of the Sudan government to spread Christianity and fight Islam in</i></p>

Dedication: To my late brother Deng Nyibong Ding and my cousin Olieth Ojwok Amajok Ding and finally to God who made everything possible.

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Certainly without academics and friends, this research work would have not been arranged orderly as such.

At first, I feel indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Mohamed Saad Mohamed Salim who had exerted efforts and helped me in different ways to prepare this research work perfectly. To him many thanks.

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I am grateful for the considerable support and encouragement provided by the government of Upper Nile State by affording an opportunity of Scholarships at National level. This is a great that was done by the state.

This research work is organized around introduction, five chapters and a conclusion.

Chapter I provides an overview of education; Its Meanings, Principles, Aims and Purpose

Chapter II deals with missionaries and education, 1898-1927 in the South Sudan during the AngloEgyptian Condominium. This was before the Sudan Government could give assistance, advice, supervision and encouragement to the mission schools in that part of the Sudan i.e. South Sudan

Chapter III examine the Long Difficult Search for Lingua Franca, 1927-1929 in the South Sudan that led to the Rejaf Language Conference in 1928 which had recognized English rather than Arabic as a Lingua Franca for the South Sudan in

particular. Arabic is in fact the official language of the whole Sudan, while English is the Second language.

Chapter IV describes the Historical, Economic and Social Development Aspect 1930-1946 in the South Sudan. It also highlights the separate development in the terms of medical and educative services. This involves the organized politics which had begun in 1937.

Chapter V reviews education and politics 1946-1956 in the South Sudan. This chapter gives a description of an overall national integration of education and rapid expansion and improvement of secondary education in the Sudan in particular by tripling the intake of Rumbek, the single secondary school at that time

Conclusion analyses the positive and negative impacts or elements of the educational development in the South Sudan during the condominium regime from the inception to its demise. The educational work of these early pioneers has created not only vested interests but also a tradition of voluntary effort which fortunately persists to the present day before independence of South Sudan.

ABBREVIATIONS

NRO-National Records Office

SNR-Sudan National records

EP-Equatoria Province

UNP-Upper Nile Province

BG-Bahr El Ghazal

DC-District Commissioner

FO-Foreign Office

ERP-Sanderson and Sanderson Education, Religion and politics

SG-Sudan Government

CIVSEC- National Records Office (Khartoum Classification)

Bahr El Ghazal-National Records Office (Khartoum Classification)

Kordofan-National Records Office (Khartoum Classification)

GG-Governor-General

GOV-Governor

PALACE-National Records Office (Khartoum Classification)

JAS-Journal of African Society

JRAS-Journal of the Royal African Society

CMS-Church Mission Society

CMVF- Catholic Mission Verona Father

SUM-Sudan United Mission

SIM-Sudan Interior Mission

RCC-Roman Catholic Church

ICM-Italian Catholic Mission

DE-Department of Education

MIA- Ministry of Interior Archives

Introduction

In the global phenomenon of decolonization, the Sudan stand out because it was under a joint rule of British and Egyptian governments, a status which paradoxically hindered political confusion and complicated development and spurred constitutional progress. A joint rule status affected most aspects of political life, complicating, blurring and injecting an international dimension into home issues and sometimes raising a trivial location to the level of high politics. From 1898 to 1920, work began in Sudan and there were four missionary societies in operation such as Roman Catholic Church, Church Missionary Societies, American Presbyterians, and Sudan United Mission.

The rule set up in the Sudan by the Anglo-Egyptian agreements of 1899 was built on the rubble of the Turko-Egyptian and Mahdist predecessors: From 1898-1926, the programme policy aimed in fact to administer as little as possible in the South Sudan. A paramount consideration was the maintenance of public security used in the broadest sense of keeping the people occupiers, reasonably contented and peaceful, under Symes greater emphasis on technical and professional education in the South Sudan coincided with care and maintenance in the South Sudan.

A paramount consideration was based on the maintenance of public security from 1899-1926. In the South Sudan pacification was the work of decades, for the government would not allot the men and money needed to advance from periodic military patrols to civil administration. Therefore, the early joint rule had a distinctly military character.

The provision of education and medical healthcare social services was deeply affected from the beginning of the joint rule by administrative priorities and political prejudices.

To justify neglect, the government declared the South Sudan unready for exposure to the forces of modernity. The South Sudan would be closed to outsiders and allowed to develop along indigenous lines, free from contamination of Islamic, Arabic and Itinerant traders. The original policy called for speeding up of education to prepare southerners to administer their own country. In practice, the negative, exclusionary aspects of the policy was pursued, while the positive elements went unfulfilled. Southern policy became a charter for institutionalizing backwardness, a series of joint rule for which the Sudan would pay dearly.

Education in the whole Sudan depends on a division of schools into khalwa, bush schools, kuttabs, primary, Intermediate and secondary. Medical and educational services had suffered more from depression era retrenchment within the Sudan government's budget than rather area. In the Sudan, modern education was provided for practical motives, to train Sudanese to low paid,

subordinate posts in government machinery. In this and other respects the whole Sudan was treated very differently by the joint rule. Education in the Southern Sudan was first relegated to and later reserved for foreign missionary societies. It is true that Christian missions were the agents of British imperialism and instructed to provide for the slow standard required. As a result, it could be assumed that the South Sudan's backwardness was a result of British policy by declaring it as a separate development. This backwardness had added the flames they had traded in the footsteps of their predecessors. In 1947 the change of Southern policy was designed to meet the British's economic and political interests in the Suez Canal zone. A dual education policy of reaching the gospel of Christ parallel with secular education was a barrier to nation building. As regards to missionary societies, their educational work was an element of a civilizing effort which had almost no other, and permitted the government to direct its resources elsewhere. Under the governor, the

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governor-Generalship of Symes greater emphasis on technical and professional education in the northern Sudan coincided with care and maintenance in the South Sudan.

The coming of the graduate congress and political parties have created confusion and above all the rethinking of the joint rule cooperation, put pressure on the government to expand higher education. The concept of the northern political leadership towards unity and integration was to move heaven and earth to accomplish a purpose which was based on Islamization and Arabicization of the South Sudanese. Part of this mistake was that they used all and every means on the South Sudanese without making them understand the most important elements in it which led to the formidable resistance by the South Sudanese up to 2005 when the comprehensive peace Agreement was concluded.

It is partially true that the parents were reluctant to allow their sons and daughters to the schools at the beginning. But it would be misleading to accept that expansion of girl's education was slower owing to the disinclination of parents to send their daughters to school. It was the government policy to provide the low standard and directed their agent's. the missionary societies, in order to achieve the laid down educational policy. It can be admitted partially that the conclusion reached by the report of the De La War Commission of 1937 that the disappointing results of South Sudan had been due to lack of adequate trained, lack of organization and planning and absence of a common language for vernacular education. The Sudan government had got different objective towards the South Sudan at that time.

Perhaps, in case of being chased away by the northern elites, then the South Sudan could be the alternative place instead of going straight forward to their own land.

Review of Literature and Place of Research in relation to former Researches

The researcher is thankful and grateful to those authors who first tried out the research work concerning the South Sudan particularly Richard Gray and Collins, Robert O. Consequently without their first attempts little or no information would have been known at all.

Mohamed Omer Beshir wrote the book, "Educational development in the Sudan". In fact, the book was in general. But little had been said about educational development in South Sudan in particular. The researcher feels fully sure that there is still a room for more investigation in the area in order to know fully well about education.

Dr. Lilian Sanderson and Battle, V.M., have written articles concerning the educational development in South Sudan. I am fully convinced that several investigations should be done in the field of education for the areas where much has not yet been conducted. The aim is to add fresh information to their earlier studies but not to reproduce what they have done

Philip Chol Browess has submitted thesis concerning educational development in Southern Sudan during the British administration 1900-1956. The researcher is quite sure that he has done something lesser than what is wanted. It is far better for an additional information and make much more investigation in this field for those who have interests in education.

For those who had done researches in the field of education whose books, manuscripts, articles and letters had been consulted or not, the researcher feels certain that the extensive research efforts should be carried out in those areas where no more research has been investigated.

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CHAPTER ONE

Education: Its Meaning, Principles and Aims

In today's schools, too many children struggle with learning to read. As many teachers and parents will attest, reading failure has exacted a tremendous long-term consequence for children's development self-confidence and motivation to learn, as well as for their later school performance.

The establishment of the condominium administration of Egypt and Great Britain noted the beginning of the practical impact of Western ideas and concepts based on secular and missionary education in the Sudan. Before the condominium, formal education in the Northern Sudan was concerned with almost completely with religious studies.

Education is regarded as the organized preparation of the young persons in schools and colleges for both their personal and their subsequent social and economic roles in the society. ⁽¹⁾ Oxford Dictionary defines education as the process of training and instruction which is designed to give knowledge and develop skills. ⁽²⁾ Education is the social process or means by which a community, society or a nation has traditional aspects of its culture which is considered as fundamental and vital for its own stability and survival ⁽³⁾

through which knowledge can be transferred to people with the aim of contributing to and enhancing on what they already know. Helping them to be equipped with the necessary knowledge develop themselves and their communities. Again another definition of education is given by Rogers. Educationalist, in which he says "education is a planned process of learning undertaken by the intent, the sort of thing that commonly goes on in classrooms and involves some who are teachers some who are taught."⁽⁴⁾

The importance of education as an agent for stimulating the growth and the development of the individual and the community makes it a benefit that should be accessible to all. Because of this, people always hear different people from different societies at different times talk about the right education as basic human rights. However, the right education is always related to the issue of the obligation.

Education is the teaching or training of people especially in schools and so on to improve their knowledge and develop

¹ - The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Volume (7), 1995, p.9

² - The illustrated oxford dictionary, 1998, p. 22

³ - Colliers Grolier's Encyclopedia. p. 380

⁴ - Rogers L. Teaching Adults, Oxford University Press, E.

their skills: primary, secondary, higher and adult education.⁽⁵⁾

The General Principles, Aims and Purpose of Education

Education is any process by which an individual gains knowledge or insight or develops attitudes or skills. Formal education is acquired through organized study for institutions, as in a school or college. It is formal when its content arises from day to day experiences or through relatively unplanned or undirected contacts with communications media, such as books, periodicals, and motion pictures.⁽⁶⁾

A national system of education may be defined as the network of schools, both private and public and the supplementary agencies and activities which transmit to the populace the cultural heritage, knowledge, and skills necessary or desirable for individual and national well being.⁽⁷⁾

Neither a central administration nor a fixed organization is a necessary feature of a system of education. Education in the old Sudan was for the most part directly in the hands of the government. From 1900 education was aimed at producing those who could understand the merest elements of the machinery of government to fill minor government posts.⁽⁸⁾ that was in the Northern Sudan at the time.

On the Southern Sudan side, education was entirely managed by the missionary societies which was different from the north that cared by the government. It was called village education. The aim was to produce local evangelists, bus-school teachers, time keepers and local chief's clerks. It is important to note the difference in the educational aims for the areas in question. In the Southern Sudan which is now South Sudan, the missionaries were recognized media for education.⁽⁹⁾ In the Sudan, modern education was provided for practical reasons to train Sudanese for low-paid, subordinate posts in government departments.⁽¹⁰⁾ In the Southern Sudan, foreign missionary society's educational task was a component of a civilizing effort which had almost no other, and allowed the government to direct its resources elsewhere. The educational aim of the government it varies from tribe to tribe with the degree of development reached.

The aim of education had to be the training of students in skills, reading and writing to serve native administration.⁽¹¹⁾ It aims at making the student a better member of the tribe so that he could adapt to changing conditions within the context of his own families society.⁽¹²⁾

This implies that aim of education was not to detribalize the student. The goal of the Christian missionaries was to introduce trained teachers to all central educational bases where native teachers were available. it was aimed at elevating of the bush-schools to acknowledgeable educational level and the start of a simple education for females. A missionary education was opt to dim the natives idea that the government was the most important and dominant factor in his life, whereas this idea ought to be the most important basis of his education.⁽¹³⁾

The aim of education in the South was the object of education to fit the recipient to become a more efficient member of the society into which he has been born, not to qualify him for fresh spheres.⁽¹⁴⁾ on the other hand, there was the practical problem of providing a class of native chiefs, clerks, artisans etc who would be of use to the administration, but who could almost inevitable lose touch with the life of their tribes from which they had been sprung.⁽¹⁴⁾ A school of the northern Kuttab type which aims at making the native more efficient in his own walk of life, but declines to qualify him for fresh spheres would not fulfill purpose amongst very primitive people like the Dinka or Latuka. On the other hand, it would be dangerous to open up fresh spheres to a larger number of individuals than can be usefully employed. The withdrawal of a limited number of people from tribal life would not be seriously felt, but provision of unlimited education at the present day would result in the breakdown of tribal standards and the loss of the primitive virtues before they have ceased to play a useful part in the life of the native.

The purpose of education in the Sudan by that time was to provide artisans or junior staff to fill junior posts for the use of the state.⁽¹⁶⁾ Education was used as the way to inculcate western values in the minds of those whose duties were to obediently serve the occupying power. Through education as well as Christianity, the governments had to impose their culture. The Catholic missionaries took up the task of training artisans in return for preaching Christianity. This school ended secular education in the Southern Sudan until

⁵ - Church Missionary Society, Annual Report, 1901-1902, p.5

⁶ - The Encyclopedia American, Volume 9, p. 423

⁷ - Ibid, p.425

⁸ - Sudan Government: EP| 19|46 Province handbook

⁹ - Sudan Government: EP| 19|46 Province handbook

¹⁰ - Daly, M.W., Imperial Sudan: The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium 1934-1956, Cambridge, 1991, p.104

¹¹ - Church Missionary Society, Annual Report, 1901-1902, p.6

¹² - Mongalla| SCR| 17.J.2 Minutes of Education Conference of Mongalla Province April, 1932

¹⁴ - Ibid

after the Second World War they were allowed to proselytize in English because they were willing to provide the educational requirements of the government in the south at their own expense, while the British officials could plead lack of resources, they forgot education in the South, and turned to more important matters. Education was or is of three types. Formal education takes place in institutions called schools; its participants are usually young people who have not yet begun their working lives. The non-formal education is any organized systematic educational activities carried on outside the frame work of formal system to provide selected types of learning for particular adults and children. It is close to work and the life of the learners. It is meant to fill the gaps and treat the justice of the distribution of educational opportunities.⁽¹⁷⁾ The informal education is a long life process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily life experience and exposure to the environment (Donald R. Snodgrass: 1992) It takes place outside any institutional framework or organized programme. People learn many more important things at home, job and in the general community. The government intended to superimpose their culture that is, religion and language, on Southern Sudanese.

We can conclude that education should be mainly government and not religious one or the result would be disastrous. This has been the case in the North and the South respectively. Thus, the foundations of Muslim Education in the Sudan were laid at the time of decline in the Muslim world.⁽¹⁷⁾ The tribes in the northern Sudan were in contact with the sources of Muslim education in the North and East and had developed a political system. They were relatively easier to reach than other regions. As a result of these factors they were able to establish and develop an educational system suitable to their needs.⁽¹⁵⁾ Therefore, the general principles and educational aims were treated very differently in the northern Sudan and in the Southern Sudan. The church and the bush school (villages) were the main teaching institutions. It is important to note that the Koran and the gospel of Christ were emphasized as the basic religious instructions.

The Government Educational Policy towards South Sudan

In the Southern Sudan, educational development took an entirely various course, reflecting the various situations the British found there and the priority of their religious and administrative policies.⁽¹⁶⁾ Christian missionaries were in

favour of establishing schools since education was and goes hand with evangelization. The education policy of the Sudan government in the South Sudan was left to missionaries in the twentieth century.

Cromer did open the Southern Sudan to Christianity by training people in Christianity and civilization. He expected the missionaries to train literate clerks and artisans to staff. To Cromer, civilization meant education. His educational objective was to pay special attention to some form of industrial and agricultural instruction.⁽¹⁷⁾ Missionary societies argued that the Sudan Government policy was a betrayal of the religious aspirations of General Gordon and in contrast to the principle of neutrality between religion approved by the British Government. They also requested that the opportunity to replant Christian education was inconsistent with the welfare of the Southerners.⁽¹⁸⁾

A member of the House of Commons proposed that it was incumbent on Christian England to promote missionary activities in Southern Sudan. The Archbishop of Canterbury echoed the same argument. Under these pressures the Sudan Government agreed and missionary societies were give a freehand in the area of South of latitude 10° N. The whole region was divided into spheres of influence among the different Christian denominations

In addition to that the Sudan Government and the missionary societies agreed to get rid of Islamic influences as soon as possible, and that the later groups would provide the ultimate antidote to Islamic propaganda.

Education in the South Sudan

There was not in the Southern Sudan a tradition of education similar to the northern Sudan. It was to the southern Sudan that the missionaries had to turn their attention in the old Sudan. The Catholics accepted the restriction to the Southern Sudan and they set to work vigorously to establish themselves.

On 13 December 1900, the first station was founded at Lul, near Fashoda and thereafter set up at Attigo (Tonga). The efficient, well planned station at Lul was joined in 1903 by three religious sisters, and some instructors of the local Collo (Shilluk) began.⁽¹⁹⁾

The American Presbyterian mission began work in the South Sudan in 1902. They occupied Doleib Hill in March 1902. They quickly established a working station, learned the Collo language, and gained a degree of trust through

¹⁵ - Ibid, p.6

¹⁶ - CS|SCR|17.A.216 Education in Southern Sudan.

¹⁷ - Mohamed Omer Beshir: The Southern Sudan: Background to Conflict, London, Khartoum, 1968, pp 13 – 14.

¹⁸ - Yusuf Fadl Hassan: "The Role of Religion in North-South Conflict with Social reference to Islam": Studies in Sudanese History, Pp. 207-229.

¹⁹ - Church missionary Society, Annual Report, 1909-1902, p. 2

their skilled medical work. Some teaching was undertaken, and by 1905 a few boys were being instructed in crafts and in reading and writing Collo language. In 1905 Canadian Methodists approached Owen, the Sudan Agent in Cairo, for permission to work in the Bahr al Ghazal province. They were denied because they were regarded as the horrible fanatical canting kind of missionary and undesirable. But in fact they would have been accepted by the southerners who liked to marry many wives. Having struggled so long to establish itself in the Sudan, the Christian missionary society was slow to begin work in the northern Sudan. This was because of the financial limitations that beset the organization. Between 1906 and 1918 the challenges to the work of the Christian Missionary Society in the Southern Sudan were many and varied. They lacked the resource that is why they were inadequate to fill the expanding mission field in the world in general and the Southern Sudan in particular the educational policies in the Sudan was left to the missionaries because of lack of resources and were prepared to provide schools and teachers without charge of the government. As a result, they were able to monopolize education. In 1904 Governor Boulnois opened a school at Wau for the sons of soldiers and any sons of civilians who wished to attend. The catholic missionaries took up the takes of training artisans

in return for preaching Christianity. This school ended secular education in the South Sudan until after the Second World War. They were allowed to proselytize in English because they were willing to provide the educational requirements of the government in the Southern Sudan at their own expense, while the British officials could plead lack of resources, forget education in the South Sudan, and turn to more important matters.⁽²⁰⁾

From 1898 to 1920, work began in Sudan and there were four missionary societies in operation such as Roman Catholic Church, Church Missionary Societies, American Presbyterians, and Sudan United Mission.

Missionaries and Education in the South Sudan 1898-1927

There are two kinds of people in the former Sudan, the Afro-Arab and the

African people. Over hundred languages are spoken in the old Sudan.⁽²¹⁾

The South Sudan contains a variety of ethnic groups of languages. The Southerners are not generally Christians; their religions are of African descent. The people are Africans in culture, language and in physical appearance. The people of the South Sudan are classified into three ethnic categories: - Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic and Sudan. The Nilotic type includes the Dinka, the largest group of tribes, subdivided into smaller tribes such as the Cic, Aliab, Bor, Agar, and Atwot, the Nuer, the Collo and the Anuak. Each of these groups consists of several tribes, and they live mostly in the Bahr al Ghazal and Upper Nile States, being either agriculturalist or pastoral, depending upon the local terrain. The NiloHamitic category includes the Murle, Didinga, Boya, Toposa and Latuka, who mainly live in Equatoria State, but the sudden increase in number over the border into Uganda and Kenya, while the Sudanic category includes small and numerous tribes living in the western and south- western parts of the south, the most important of which is the Azande. The Zande district of Equatoria province supporting some 180,000 inhabitants bounded on the west of French Equatorial Africa and on the south by the Belgian Congo.^(22,23)

Some of these tribes have not always lived in the south Sudan, may have arrived in ancient migrations from the south, east and west.⁽²⁴⁾ There are other tribes which have developed from the meltings of the three main groups such as the Bari, Mandari, Nyangwara, Fajulu, Moru, Lulubo. The Madi are a very small tribe, who reside partly in Uganda and partly in the Sudan. They are also extremely mixed with alien blood.⁽²⁵⁾ They lived in the region of south of Juba and north of Uganda. This place is called Nimule. They live on both sides of the border between the Sudan and Uganda. Little is known of the history of the south Sudan before the nineteenth century, but it is suspected that it was a long confused one of tribal warfare and squabbling.⁽²⁸⁾

The condominium's early rulers were soldier whose priority was pacification of a war-born land and maintenance order. The capture of Khartoum in January 1885 was the end of the Turco-Egyptian colonization in the Sudan and the establishment of Mahdia State.⁽²⁶⁾

After a short illness Al -Mahdi died in June 1885. He was succeeded to the throne by Khalifa Abdullahi. The successor, Khalifa Abdullahi, was able to continue the importance of the movement and to maintain the

²⁰ - Church Missionary Society, Annual Report, 1909-1902, p. 3.

²¹ - Omer H. Ismail, Understanding educational policies in developing countries: The case of the New Higher Education Policy in the Sudan, the Pennsylvania State University, August 1991, p.3.

²² - Mohammed Omer Beshir, The Southern Sudan: Background to conflict, C. Hurst and Co.

²³ , Pp. 4 – 8

²⁴ - Church missionary Society, Annual Report, 1909-1902, p. 3.

²⁵ - Ministry of Interior, Class 112, File No. CS/112.A.4 28- O'balance, E., Op.Cit., P. 18.

²⁶ - Omer H. Ismail, Understanding educational policies in developing countries: The case of the New Higher Education Policy in the Sudan, the Pennsylvania State University, August, 1991, P. 3.

government. The end of the Mahdia state came in 1898 when Egyptian and British forces under Kitchener defeated Khalifa Abdullahi in the battle of Karari. But organized resistance came to an end when Khalifa was killed in the battle of Umm Diway Kirat in 1898⁽²⁷⁾ Sudanese resistance to Anglo-Egyptian invasion had been fierce, even desperate, and while the Mahdist state was destroyed, the cult of the Mahdi survived.

After Al-Mahdi, the Sudan was ruled by a joint, but British dominated, Anglo-Egyptian administration. Under this British colonization, western concepts of education, law, administration and health was introduced.⁽²⁸⁾ In the Southern Sudan, pacification was the work of decades, for the government would not allot the men and money needed to advance from periodic military patrols to civil administration.

The British had sustained the Egyptian claim to the Sudan, but they were unwilling to restore Egyptian authority, which they wanted for themselves, so they came up with the plan for a condominium that provided for joint British and Egyptian rule. The condominium Agreement was signed on the 19th January 1899, but power was seized and wielded by the British, hardly any being given to the Egyptians.⁽²⁹⁾ Thus, the early condominium regime had a distinctly military character.⁽³⁰⁾

In its attitude towards religion, too, the early Sudan government was conciliatory. Equally wary of crusaders, the government deflected missionaries from the Muslim North to the pagan south. The American mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America and the CMS of Great Britain were the two missionary agencies representing Protestant Christendom in the Egyptian Sudan.⁽³¹⁾ When the power of the Mahdi was broken, European and American missionary societies wanted to move into the Sudan, especially into the open south, to convert the inhabitants to Christianity. At first, surprisingly, they met opposition from the British authorities on the ground, who were reluctant to let them in because they would spoil the natives, although they were against the spread of Islamic influence into the South.⁽³²⁾ Pressure from within Britain caused this decision to be overruled by the British government. It was agreed that

missionaries might establish churches and schools in the Muslim parts of the Sudan, but must not proselytize; to the south of the 10th parallel they had freedom of action. Both missions began their task after the opening up of the Sudan through Kitchener's victory over the Mahdi forces at Omdurman: The CMS in 1899 and the American mission in 1900.⁽³³⁾

In the South Sudan, among the pagan tribes, each mission was given a free hand to operate in it. The American mission's sphere of work and influence was along the Sobat River; and that of the CMS lied along the upper reaches of the White Nile.

From 1899–1956, the Egyptian question was a tangled web of internal efforts by the British officials of the Sudan political service to eliminate at best or to circumscribe at worst Egyptian influence in the Sudan amidst an international skein of diplomacy to maintain British influence in Egypt and British presence in the Suez Canal Zone.⁽³⁴⁾

The southern question was more obscure largely because it remained so ill-defined geographically remote, and unprecedented. It is important to note that distances were vast and communications difficult owing to the lack of all-weather roads. Even disease was widespread and it was impossible for Europeans to survive. There was intense suspicion of strangers owing to earlier intrusion of slave traders.⁽³⁵⁾

At that time people of the Mabaan, Uduk and Dinka tribe, in whose areas we were permitted to begin work were said to be “looking south”. They were to be taught English in the elementary schools and were to get their education beyond that standard in the English language.⁽³⁶⁾

The development of education in the South Sudan during the condominium was closely related to administrative policy. During the first part of the century neither administrative nor educational policy was well-defined. From 1898 to 1926 the policy was in fact, to administer as little as possible in the South.⁽³⁷⁾ In 1898, the question was whether there could be any education at all in the South Sudan, but not what kind of education was to be given. The

27 - Idem

28 - Ibid, p. 3

29 - O'Balance, E., op. cit., p. 25

30 - Daly, M.W., *Imperial Sudan: The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, 1934 – 1956*, Cambridge, 1991, p.2.

31 - Charles R. Watson, *Christian Missions in the Egyptian Sudan*, Philadelphia: in Diedrich Wastermann (ed) *the Shilluk People*, Pp, LX – LXIII.

32 - O'balance, E. op. cit, P. 27

33 - Charles R. Watson, op. cit; Pp, LX – LXIII.

34 - Charles R. Watson, op. cit; Pp, LX – LXIII.

35 - Collins, R.O., *Sudanese Nationalism, Southern Policy and the Unification of the Sudan 1939 – 1946*, P. 222.

36 - Hunderson, K.D.D., *The Making of the Modern Sudan, Life and Letters of Sir*.

37 - File No. DE/9.9.22, Education Department, Khartoum, 18th October, 1945

government policy, therefore, was to tolerate rather than to encourage education and to see that what resulted.⁽³⁸⁾

Christian missions wanted to establish schools in the Sudan. Lord Cromer had assured Muslim Northern Leaders that no Proselytism would take place in Muslim areas and, the government therefore considered that Christian missionary societies would fulfill a more useful role in the South Sudan than in the North Sudan.⁽³⁹⁾

Mr. Bonham Carter, the Legal Secretary of the Sudan, undertook the task of starting the educational system early in 1900 and in the same year Currie, Sir James (1868-1937), British educationist, joined the Sudan civil service as the First – Director of Education, a post which he held till 1914.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The post carried with it the principal ship of Gordon Memorial College, opened in 1903. he was a member of the GovernorGeneral's Council, 1911-1914; to him fell the duty of organizing modern education in the Sudan from its beginning.⁽⁴¹⁾ He resigned his appointment with the Sudan Government. He occupied a senior post in the British Ministry of Munitions 1916-1918, during the First World War, from 1919 to 1921 he was in the Ministry of Labour.⁽⁴²⁾

At the outset, lack of funds forbade any great advance, but at the end of 1901 the educational institutions consisted of an industrial school, two higher primary schools, and small training college for teachers in Omdurman.⁽⁴³⁾

The educational aims of Sir James Currie's setout to achieve were:

1. The creation of a competent artisan class, which is completely lacking at present time.
2. The diffusion among the masses of the people of education sufficient to enable them understands the merest elements of the machinery of government, particularly with reference to enable and impartial administration of justice.
3. The creation of a small native administrative class who will ultimately fill many minor government posts.⁽⁴⁴⁾
4. Another aim was to train Sudanese to replace Egyptians in the army, and Egyptians and Syrians in the junior administrative positions. The majority of army officers

in the Sudan were either British or Egyptian.⁽⁴⁵⁾ It is believed that only by direct contact with the Sudanese could a good administration be achieved. For this reason, neither the Syrian nor the Egyptians could be entrusted with the job,⁽⁴⁶⁾ and it was therefore necessary to educate the Sudanese to a level where it was possible to have direct contact with them.⁽⁴⁷⁾

When the Mahdi's regime came to an end in 1898, there were still few Sudanese Christians, who had been baptized between 1850 and 1881. Thus small group of native Christians is all that remained of the result of missionary work in the Sudan in half a century.⁽⁴⁸⁾

In October 1900 Comboni Sisters' first school for girls was opened in Omdurman and then another in Khartoum. To ensure communication between Khartoum and the South Bishop Roveggio bought in England a steamer, which was assembled in kharotum by members of the mission in 1901 and was christened "Redemptor"⁽⁴⁹⁾ Having found no suitable place along the Sobat River, he founded a mission post at Lul on the Nile, in Shilluk territory. The he proceeded to Gondokoro, aiming to reviving the old mission founded there in 1858. But bureaucracy prevented any swift execution of this plan.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Bishop Roveggio returned to Khartoum broken in health and died on the train in Berber on 2 May 1902.⁽⁵⁴⁾

In 1902, the American mission opened work at Doleib Hill on the Sobat River six miles from the mouth of the White Nile. The American force here consisted of two industrial missionaries, an ordained missionary and a doctor. A boy school had been maintained but with some irregularity. Some 3600 clinic patients were treated.⁽⁵¹⁾ Agricultural and industrial training formed the chief characteristic of the mission's work. The mission was about to open another station further up the Sobat River in the vicinity of Nasser, and a doctor and an evangelistic missionary had been appointed to this task.

In 1903, the Sudan Government allotted to each missionary society then applying for work in the Sudan a separate territory for evangelization. The territory to the North of latitude 10 degrees – practically the northern Sudan was reserved to Muslim influence. Only the mission posts which were already established could continue to carry out

³⁸ - Lillian Sanderson, Educational Development in the Southern Sudan 1900-1948, In SNR XLIII, 1962, P. 105.

³⁹ - Ibid, p. 105-106

⁴⁰ - R.K. Winter, Education in the Sudan, Hamilton Ed in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from within, P. 392.

⁴¹ - Ibid.

⁴² - Richard Hill, Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan, Second Edition, Cases, 1967.

⁴³ - R.K. Winter, Education in the Sudan: In Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from within.

⁴⁴ - G.M.C.R, 1910, p.9

⁴⁵ - Beshir, M.O. Educational Development in the Sudan, p. 29

⁴⁶ - G.G.R., 1902, Pp. 78 – 79

⁴⁷ - Ibid, Pp, 78 – 79.

⁴⁸ - Giovanni Vantani, Christianity in the Sudan, Italy, Novaskampa Di Verona, 1981,p, 246

⁴⁹ - Ibid, p. 247

⁵¹ - Charles R. Watson, Christian Mission in the Egyptian Sudan, Philadelphia, 1912, in the Shilluk People, p. LXIII.

pastoral care of their respective flocks and do social work.⁽⁵²⁾ In the Upper Nile Province, the east bank of the Nile in the same province and the whole of Bahr el-Ghazal province (except the Lakes district, Rumbek), were allotted to the catholic mission. In Equatoria, District of Yei, Moru, Yambio on the west of the Nile and Lakes District were reserved to the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England, now locally called Episcopal Church.⁽⁵³⁾ The eastern side of Equatoria being under the administration of the Uganda protectorate did not fall under the decree of the Sudan Government.⁽⁵⁴⁾

In 1903 Bishop Francis-Xavier Geyer who succeeded Bishop Roveggio, sailed off to the south with a group of missionary priests, brothers and sisters. He left the sisters at Lul and proceeded to Tonga, where he opened a second mission post among the Collo in 1904 then he headed for Bahr el-Ghazal. In 1904, two mission posts were established in Bahr el-Ghazal, Kayango among the Ndogo/Golo and Mbili among the Jur.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Missionaries at Wau

In 1905 a group of missionaries landed at Wau, then a village of about 1,000 sold, terminal of the steamer navigation and residence of the government garrison.⁽⁵⁶⁾ People harassed by the tribal chiefs and others flocked to Wau from all districts seeking security. The missionaries had no intention of establishing a mission there. It was the governor himself who asked them to open a trade school and an elementary school to keep local children away from the street.

Nasser School

In 1903, the first school was opened in Nasser. Dr. Giffen and Dr. McLaughlin pioneered the work of the evangelicals in the Sudan. But the real work in the field of education only began with the arrival of Dr. Sowash in 1903 who was one of the missionary members. Dr. Giffen's promotional efforts proved fruitful. In 1905, the Presbyterian board had passed an approval for opening a new station on the Upper Sobat. In

1911, the board appointed two doctors to start a mission in Nasser,

but it was postponed for another because of lack of finance. In 1912, the missionaries were brought from Khartoum to work amongst the Nuer. When they arrived at the village of Kadbag, the government interfered once again, forbidding the missionaries to go any further.⁽⁵⁷⁾

From the military post of Nasir the mission took its name. Because of lack of knowledge of the local language, it was not until 1917 that the school was opened. Work was concentration in Doleib Hill and Nasir. No

New Station were opened until the end of World War Two.⁽⁵⁸⁾

Pastor Gwoynne

He had arrived in the Sudan in 1899. He intended to open a mission in the south, but the Sirdar Kitchener refused him permission because of the lack of security in those remote regions. So Gwynne stayed in Khartoum for five years, looking after the religious needs of the foreigners there. He became friendly with many Sudanese. He was a man of great gentleness, ready to receive anyone in his house without any discrimination.

Upper Nile Province 1902

In 1902, the church missionary society established a school at Bor in 1905, and another at Malek in 1906, and yet another at Yei in 1917; and the Sudan united mission opened small boarding school at Rom and Pachola, and then a co-educational one at Melut in 1913.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Both the Anglican (Episcopalians in the Sudan) missionary society and the American United Mission were at work in 1913 by the Australian and New Zealand United Mission.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The Austrian Carmelite Friars, who had also established themselves in the South, were dismissed or rejected in 1914, when world war I broke out, and their places were taken, after 1918, by the Verona fathers. By 1914 there was Anglican, Greek, Orthodox and Coptic Cathedrals in Khartoum, and churches in many other towns.⁽⁶¹⁾ In 1905 Pastor Gwynne and three other fellow priests, Shaw, Thomas and Hadow, with three other companions, set off by boat up the Nile. Major Cameron, the then Governor of Equatoria after much "Palaver": as to what place the missionaries could choose

for their mission, he had allowed finally to start work in Wadelmans, a village nine miles south of Bor.⁽⁶²⁾ The centre of activities was transferred from Wadelmans to Malek, a place which Show had discovered. The missionaries suffered much from tropical diseases. They were victims of tropical diseases like smallpox, malaria and yellow fever, which reduced their numbers. The missionaries lacked means of transport and they had to walk long distances along busy pathways. The thick impenetrable forest which the missionaries passed through

⁵² - Vantini, G., op. cit., p. 247

⁵³ - Ibid, Pp, 247.

⁵⁴ - Vantini, G. op.cit., p.247

⁵⁵ - Ibid, p. 248

⁵⁶ - S. Santanora, A Popular History of Wau, (Mineo) Rome 1977.

⁵⁷ - Ibid, Pp, 78 - 79.

⁵⁸ - Ibid, p. 263.

⁵⁹ - O' Balance, E. The Secret War in the Sudan, P.27.

⁶⁰ - Ibid, p. 27

⁶¹ - O' Balance, E., op. cit., p. 27

⁶² - Vantine, G., op. cit., p. 255.

hindered their quick movement. In addition, there were wild animals that scared the missionaries. They were few in number yet their area of operation was so wide. The missionaries as such were overworked and traveled far and wide, a situation which reduced their lifespan. Christian practices usually interfere with African traditional practices. Inter-state or intertribal wars and hostile tribes could not allow the missionaries to operate or to pass through their areas of jurisdiction. They did not have adequate resources like medicine. Also shelter was a problem since they had to adjust to less comfortable houses.

In fact, in 1903, Shaw was at work alone. In the same year Pastor Gwynne was appointed Assistant Bishop of the Bishop of Jerusalem. He became responsible for all members of the Episcopal Church in Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia.

In 1911, Gwynne visited the south for a second time. He was accompanied by Shaw and some others who came especially for the occasion. They visited Bahr al-Ghazal, Yambio, Maridi and Loka, looking for suitable places for mission work.⁽⁶³⁾ In 1913 Dr. Clive Gore and his wife took residence in Yambio and began work among the Zandi. They made an English-Zande dictionary. The Rev. Paul Gibson established himself in Yei in 1917 and opened a boys' school where the Bangala language was used. He began to teach the people about Christianity.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Dr. Kenneth Frazer and his wife settled in Lui, where they opened a small Hospital. This served the Moru tribe and the soldiers of the local garrison. In 1917 Shaw was at last able to establish station in the former Lado Enclave, at Yei. Mongalla was only jungle. This province, the Bor and Mongalla Districts, was established in 1906 under the

governorship of Captain Angus Cameron.⁽⁶⁴⁾

Angus Cameron was succeeded by Owen in March 1908 as Governor till

February 1918.⁽⁶⁵⁾

The missionaries taught in English or the local language and teachers were brought in from Uganda missions and elsewhere to help, but there was a lack of a common educational policy among the missions themselves, hardly any liaison or cooperation, and no guidance from the government.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The missionaries sent to the Southern Sudan mission field laboured successively to reduce the language to writing and to work out its grammar and

vocabulary, but they were greatly hampered both by the burden of other work and by an entire lack of acquaintance with cognate African languages.⁽⁶⁷⁾

In 1918 English became the official language of the south, and Sunday became the weekly day of rest, instead of the Muslim Friday. Some doubted the wisdom of entrusting education to the missionaries in the south, especially as the pupil had to accept Christianity before he was educated, which automatically debarred the few Muslims, the mass of animists and anyone who could not accept Christian beliefs and doctrines, but as money and facilities were unavailable, there seemed to be little option.⁽⁶⁸⁾

The Gordon Memorial College was the only secondary government school in the northern Sudan. It was founded as a primary by Lord Kitchener in 1902.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The Gordon Memorial Mission of the Church Missionary Society to the pagan tribes of the South Sudan was started in 1905.⁽⁷⁰⁾ The efforts of these missionary wives and single women were due to the beginnings of schools for women and girls in the Azande country, at Yambio and Maridi; in the Moru country, at Lui; in the Bari language area, at Yei, Kajokeji, Loka and Juba, and in the Dinka country at Malek.⁽⁷¹⁾ These areas represented the four main language places of the church missionary society sphere in the South Sudan, excluding the Nuer area where educational work was still in a very early stage.

The sphere system was started in 1903. It was introduced to ensure that the civilizing influence of the missions should be as widely spread as possible and to prevent a recurrence of disputes which had already arisen between rival missions operational in the same area.⁽⁷²⁾

The policy of strict zoning was maintained unaltered until 1935 when agreement was reached between the Roman Catholic and Church Missionary Society missions whereby each undertook not to oppose the entry of the other into its sphere of influence under certain conditions.⁽⁷³⁾ This new policy of interaction was promoted by the government and it has not been altered since its inception.⁽⁷⁴⁾ No mission station may be opened in any part of the Sudan save with the permission in writing of H.E Governor General.⁽⁷⁵⁾ It was emphasized that the opportunity at the beginning of any definite organization of girls' education the Southern Sudan of planning that education on lines which would be consonant with the village and tribe life in which the

⁶⁴ - SNR, volume 121, 1938

⁶⁵ - Vantine, G., op. cit., p. 255.

⁶⁶ - Mongalla, SNR, Vol. 22, 1939.

⁶⁷ - O' Ballance, the secret war in the Sudan 1955 – 1972, p. 28.

⁶⁸ - Charles R. Watson, Christian Missions in the Egyptian Sudan, Philadelphus. p. 3

⁶⁹ - EP/SCR/File No. 17.A.T

⁷⁰ - EP/SCR/File No. 17. J-3

⁷¹ - Ibid

⁷² - EP/SCR/46-A.1, Vol. VI

⁷³ - EP/SCR/46-A.1

⁷⁴ - Ibid

⁷⁵ - Ibid

woman plays so important apart.⁽⁷⁶⁾ It had been felt that to be of the utmost important for the future that the education given should be in the closest possible relationship to actual life. The Sudan government would therefore depreciate any attempt to standardize the education of girls in the Southern Sudan on the same lines as the curriculum laid down for the boys.⁽⁷⁷⁾

Bearing in mind that the main aim in the education of girls in Christian schools was so as to present Jesus Christ to them that, knowing and loving Him, they might be enabled to contribute to the building up of the Christian community their own unique contribution of Christian family life and the example of the Christian home.⁽⁷⁸⁾

In 1919 Governors were empowered to constitute a local authority over the elementary school.⁽⁷⁹⁾ This local authority might be the District Commissioner, the Mamur, or a committee of officials or notables or both.⁽⁸⁰⁾ As far as the District Commissioner was concerned the supervision of local education was now a definite part of his work, and in this the education officer could help him.

The main reasons why the native element in the local authority has not been competent are:

- (a) It is usually uneducated and says "education is the government's business don't drag on into it".⁽⁸¹⁾ (Headmasters have been-and still are-very frightened of uneducated interference but there has been so far none of this.)
- (b) It does not know what to do. The Mongalla mission schools, both Roman Catholic and Church Missionary School, were modeled on the existing system in Uganda because their problems are very similar to one another.

With regard to some of the mission stations it has been stated that, though undoubted they exercise a good influence on native character and outlook, the educational side was hardly developed.⁽⁸²⁾ As a rule, they worked in a haphazard way, without a definite syllabus of teaching, without means of enforcing regular attendance, and with a poor quality of native staff.⁽⁸⁸⁾

The Roman Catholic schools at Torit and Rosari had produced a certain number of natives capable of reading and writing their vernacular, and they sent their most

promising pupils into the village as catechists where they endeavored to teach the little they had learned.⁽⁸³⁸⁴⁾

As mentioned earlier, the aim of education in the south was to fit the recipient to become a more efficient member of the society into which he had been born, not to qualify him for fresh spheres. On the other hand, there was the practical problem of providing a class of native chiefs, clerks, and artisans ...etc who would almost inevitably lose touch with the life of their tribe from which they had spring.

In November 1914, when Turkey entered World War I on the side of Germany, Britain declared a protectorate over Egypt, and the Khedive was deposed. There was little trouble in general in the Muslim north during the war, except in Darfur Province, where the Sultan declared his loyalty to the Ottoman Empire and in May 1915 called upon the Sheikhs in adjacent Kordofan Province to rise with him in revolt against the British. It was not until May 1916 that the military force could be assemble to march against the rebellious sultan of Darfur, who was killed in the battle, after which the revolt subsided and the affected areas again came under central control. There was no trouble in this respect in the South during the World War I, despite the initial presence of Austrian Missionaries, who were soon interned.⁽⁸⁵⁾ The boundary between the Sudan and French Equatorial Africa was delineated in 1919.

In spite of war time restrictions and setbacks, there was evidently considerable growth in the Catholic school population between 1912 and 1920. In 1910 Wingate's attention was drawn to Jaballa complaints that the Americans were bartering grains with Shilluk (Cöllo) cattle. Wingate agreed that the mission had conducted this trade at no profit to themselves, and with laudable object of relieving distress.⁽⁸⁶⁾ The missions were also strictly forbidden to engage in trade.⁽⁸⁷⁾

Under this pressure, London stipulated and Shaw got the money he wanted. But he evidently feared that Malek would be a permanent poor relation of the CMS medical and educational work in the north, and in June 1910 he began to press for the creation of a separate Southern Fund out of the general society. He pointed out that large sum of money have been given to those interested in the pagan tribes, with no intension to the money being spent on work

⁷⁶ - EP/SCR/46-A.

⁷⁷ - Annual Report, Education Department, Khartoum, 15th April, 1939.

⁷⁸ - Ibid

⁷⁹ - CS/File No. 17-A.2/6.

⁸⁰ - Ibid

⁸¹ - Ibid

⁸² - CS/SCR/File No.

17.A.216 - Report on

Education in Mongalla

Province 88- Ibid, p. 3.

⁸³ - Ibid

⁸⁴ - O' Balance, E. The Secret War in the Sudan 1955 - 1972, p. 29

⁸⁵ - Ibid, p. 29

⁸⁶ - L.S Passmore Sanderson and G.N. Sanderson, Education, Religion and Politics in the Southern, Itahca Press, 1981, P.40

⁸⁷ - Ibid, Pp. 40 - 42

among Muslims and Christians, 1,000 miles away.⁽⁸⁸⁾ As early as the end of 1905 Mongalla was already too northern to be suitable for the CMS and in about 1910 the first Mosque in the south since the re-conquest was built at Wau.⁽⁸⁹⁾

Government grants to missions were modest. The missionary agencies themselves gradually came to realize that the magnitude of the educational task was beyond their resources. As early as 1910, at a conference held in Cambridge, mission groups urged governments to take a more active and responsible part in the development of education.⁽⁹⁰⁾ But the deteriorating European political situation and the outbreak of World War I delayed any action that might have been contemplated.

The Shilluk were reluctant to accept their sons to be transformed into Turks.⁽⁹¹⁾ Moreover, the King Kur Nyidhok, an exceptionally powerful and able man, soon began actively to resent the mission as a rival source of authority. Reth Kur Nyidhok was deposed in 1903 and replaced by the more pliant Fadiet Kwathder. Reth Fadiet as resented the mission as a threat to his ritual and religious status; and, although he could not afford to imitate Kur's almost open hostility, he did as little as possible to help. In 1903 the government allowed the reinforcement of the station by three sisters. In 1906, the mission commissioned Dr. Muller, a German linguist, to prepare a Shilluk (Cöllo) grammar and vocabulary.

A start was made with general education as opposed to religious instruction; by 1908, a few boys were being taught to read and write in Shilluk and were being trained in handicrafts.⁽⁹²⁾ In 1909 the Catholics at Tonga were told that no land could be spared as it would be required to meet the demands of the Shilluk in the district whose number was increasing. The closing down of Tonga from 1916 to 1920 was no great quantitative loss; in 1915 it had only eleven pupils.⁽⁹³⁾

Although Shaw recognized by 1911 that large-scale conversion was a very remote prospect, and indeed that Christianizing among Dinka must be done by Dinka missionaries, he developed a strong dedication to the rather unrewarding work at Malek and made most of its limited opportunities. By 1912 the teaching of literacy and of crafts had progressed sufficiently for Shaw to ask for a hand-printing press and a loom. But the Dinka were slow

learners – so slow that in 1912 Shaw decided to exclude adults from his literacy classes and to concentrate upon twenty or so of the more promising boys.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Not until February 1912 was a second station opened, at Lay among the Chic Dinka. In 1922 Lau was abandoned because proved unsuccessful. Only in 1913, with the establishment of a station among the Azande at Yambio, did significant expansion began.⁽⁹⁵⁾ The American Presbyterian mission at Doleib Hill was also very slow to expand its activities. As early as 1905 evangelical centres were being planted in villages near Doleib Hill; but no new station was opened until 1913, when with strong government encouragement the mission began at Nassir, 150 miles up the Sobat.

The government hoped that their excellent medical work, in particular, might help to gain the goodwill of the increasingly shy and suspicious eastern Nuer.⁽⁹⁶⁾ In areas where Islam was the dominant religion missionaries were unwelcome and in most government forbade conversion work.⁽⁹⁷⁾

The Zande School at Mupoi grew quickly; it had about sixty pupils as early as 1916. Mbili was slower with only thirty pupils by 1920.⁽⁹⁸⁾ At the weak station at Roffili, there must have been over three pupils in the catholic schools 1920.

In 1920 a station was founded among the Bari at Juba on the west bank of the Bahr al Jabal. An attempt in 1920 to begin work at Opari among the Acholi, in the open sphere, collapsed because the Rev. H.F. Davies found station too isolated for single-handed writing.

A boarding school was opened at Juba 1920 with accommodation for seventy boys some 40 miles south of Mongalla and on the opposite west bank of the River. The school combined academic education with technical instruction, and for the forty three boys already on the roll in 1921 the school day was organized from 6 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.⁽⁹⁹⁾ The emphasis was the more a significant of English language in that almost all the boys shared Sudanese Arabic as a lingua franca.

Christian religious instruction was of course an integral part of the syllabus. By 1920 the education department began to give serious consideration to girls education amongst the Arab population of the northern Sudan.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ At that time there were in existence five girls schools, each with an attendance of from forth to sixty pupils. Miss Evans, the

⁸⁸ - Ibid, p. 54

⁸⁹ - ERP, p. 81

⁹⁰ - D. Gray Canom James O'Connell and David Cr. Scamton, Education and Nation Building in Africa, p.5.

⁹¹ - ERP, 1899 – 1964, p.35

⁹² - ERP – p. 40

⁹³ - SAD 103/7/2, Report of the Aliens Committee.

⁹⁴ - ERP, p. 54

⁹⁵ - Ibid, Pp. 54 – 55

⁹⁶ - Ibid, p. 56

⁹⁷ - L. Gray Cowan James O'Connell, et al, Education and Nation Building in Africa, London, 1965, p. 4

⁹⁸ - Information from Father S. Santander's Letter, 18 January, 1979.

⁹⁹ - ERP, p. 54 – 56

¹⁰⁰ - Ibid

first controller of girls education wrote as follows: “*the attitude of the natives towards girls’ education varied. A few were in favour of it, many were indifferent and some indefinitely opposed to it. The opposition was due to great part to ignorance.*”

In the 1920s when the government developed an interest in education in the Southern Sudan, four missionary agencies were already at work there. One of these bodies, the mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, had no format school system in the South before 1924.

In December 1921 there were still only twelve boys undergoing any form of academic education of Doleib Hill.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Four of twelve boys could read in Shilluk; but no Shilluk reading books were available at the station. At Nassir the missionaries had begun educational work in 1916. They taught the children to read and write the language of Roman characters.⁽¹⁰²⁾

In 1921 a second Zande station was founded at Maridi and in the same year a station among the Moru at Lui. In 1922 the south was formally declared to be a closed district and Muslim traders and others were practically debarred from entry to many parts of it. They were convinced that Islam should be prevented from permeating the south.⁽¹⁰³⁾ It had in fact begun in 1902, because they feared that the newly emerging anti-British sentiments in the North, encouraged by Egyptian factions, might spread into the South, and from there into British East Africa territory.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

After the war 1914–1918, on the 22nd February 1922, the British protectorate over Egypt ended. Egypt achieved its independence and Ahmed Fuad was proclaimed the King of Egypt. The condominium remained in force, but became a source of friction between Britain and Egypt, which considerable unease arose in the Sudan as the politically conscious Egyptians, imbued with new national pride, tried to elbow the British administrator aside.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Early projects in the Sudan had been financed by the Egyptian, who had also made up the annual deficit in the Sudanese budget until it finally balanced in 1913 for the first time. The more nationalist-minded Egyptians began to agitate for a greater share in the administration of the condominium, which was resisted by the British.

Educational policy in British tropical Africa was the work of an advisory committee on native education in Africa appointed by the secretary of state for the colonies in 1923.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ This report also laid the strongest emphasis on character training and recognized the importance of religion in the education of Africans. The school could make its most effective contribution only as part of a more comprehensive programme, directed to the improvement of the total life of the community. It was further argued that the true educational aim was to educate, not only the young but also the whole community through coordination of the activities of all the agencies aiming at social improvement.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ The school was to communicate new ideas and knowledge necessary to improve the life of the community by supplying new motives and incentives to take the place of those which had ceased to be adequate.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Teachers in such schools were to be trained to acquire interest in all that pertained to the life of the community and to have an understanding of the relation of the work to its needs.⁽¹⁰⁹¹¹⁰⁾ On the 9th August 1924 Cadets at the military school at Khartoum made an armed demonstration through the streets. There were also disorders at Port Sudan, Atbara and Malakal at the same time. On the 9th November 1924 Sir Lee stack, Governor-general of Egypt and Commander in-chief (Sirdar) of its arrival forces, was assassinated in Cairo Street. The military college was closed down after the revolution of 1924. The courses for training Sudanese administrators were discontinued. In the southern Sudan there was prevention of a common Sudanese nationalism in accordance with the

Government’s Southern policy necessitated that opening of many nonArabic and non-Muslim schools.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

In 1925, for the first time, a comprehensive scheme of education in the South was prepared by the government in cooperation with the mission which received considerable, for the execution of the plan.⁽¹¹¹¹¹²⁾ The British officials declared that these measures were aimed at protecting the Southerners from the northern exploitations.

In the southern Sudan the missions were the recognized voice or media for education. Schools had been started by them from 1906 onwards but although officials of the educational department had visited the southern provinces after 1918 to investigate educational problems it was not

¹⁰¹ - D.S. Oyler (1831 – 1934)

¹⁰² - ERP, p. 56

¹⁰³ - O’ Balance, E., op cit., p. 28

¹⁰⁴ - Ibid, p. 30

¹⁰⁵ - A.J. Lover ridge, British Colonial experience in Educational Development: A Survey of non-formal education for rural and agricultural development. Great Britain, p. 429

¹⁰⁶ - D.N. Sifuna, Vocational Education in Schools: A Historical Survey of Kenya and Tanzania, Kampala, Nairobi, Dar el Salaam, 1976, pp. 94 – 95

¹⁰⁷ - Ibid, p. 95

¹⁰⁸ - ibid

¹⁰⁹ - Sir James Currie, The Educational Experiment in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1900-1933; in the Journal of the African Society 34, 1955, p. 109

¹¹⁰ - Ibid

¹¹¹ - Badr –Edin Muddathir, the bath and the problem of he Southern Sudan, El-Tomaddon, Ltd, P. 13.

¹¹² - O’ Balance, E. op.cit., p.28

until 1926 that government participation was suggested by Mr. Crowfoot, then Director of Education.⁽¹¹³⁾ He succeeded Sir James Curries, the first Director of Education.

In addition there were numerous villages' schools which were often co-educational. Bush schools were often far from the mission stations. They varied greatly in size and educational standard. In 1927 a scheme drawn up by Mr. Hussey, formerly of the Sudan Education Department and then Director of Education in Uganda, was adopted. By this scheme, the educational activities of the missions were subsidized by government which had the right of inspection and control.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ The legal position was regulated, by the non-Muslim schools ordinance, 1927.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

The educational organization was as follows:

- 1- The sub-grade or bush schools, which may be compared to the Khalwa in the North. These were not subsidized or controlled by the government. They were chiefly evangelizing centres. A certain amount of elementary instruction was imparted but although there were important exceptions their educational value was so far generally slight. The media of instruction were the various vernaculars. Some rudimentary health educations were taught as well as reading and copying in the vernacular.⁽¹¹⁶⁾
- 2- The elementary vernacular schools may be compared to the northern Kattabs though the standard was not so high. The course was four years, the age of entry 9–10 or 7–8. Instruction was in the local vernacular; a certain amount of elementary English was taught in the last two years. each mission station had an elementary

vernacular school attached to it; thus there were ten in the province, five at the CMS at Juba, Yei, Kajokaji, Amadi and Maridi; of the ICM are Rajaf East, Lou, Lerua, West part of Upper Nile and Bahr al Ghazal provinces except Rumbek, Torit and Isoke. These schools provided the teachers for the bush schools, those of the CMS being examined and certificated in three grades, local, junior and senior teachers.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ They also provided Court Clerks and Chiefs Clerks for the native administrators. It was however the intention that the majority of boys educated at these schools should return in due course to their villages.

- 3- The intermediate schools of which there were two, the Nugent School at Loka (CMS) and the Roman Catholic School at Okaru as well as Busseiri. These were comparable to the Northern primary schools both the standard was not so high.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

The course was six years and instruction was in English throughout. These schools were started comparatively late and the first 6th year class at Okaru would only complete its studies at the end of 1933. This was completed at the end of that year. These schools would supply government clerks and higher grade teachers.

There were trade schools at Loka and Torit, and also normal schools for training of teachers, the provision of which was one of the greatest problems. Girls schools have been opened in some of the centres missions at first were establishing themselves. They built the churches and schools to meet the low standards required by the Sudan Government to attain to.

¹¹³ - Sudan government, EP/19/46, Province Handbook .

¹¹⁴ - EP/SCR/19/46, Province Handbook

¹¹⁵ - Ibid, Province Handbook

¹¹⁶ - Ibid

¹¹⁷ - EP/SCR/19/46, Province Handbook

¹¹⁸ - Ibid

The Long Difficult Search for a Lingua Franca (1927 – 1929)

A language is defined as a system of communication which consists of a set of sounds and written symbols which are used by the people of a particular country or region for talking or writing in. Again, it could be said as a means of communication and an expression of people's culture. Colonialists of all types use language(s) for imparting their cultures. It is initially worth mentioning here that education must be in any multilingual and multi-ethnic society embody languages and cultures of that society, because education is the communal activity by which society orients its youth towards its being, i.e. its culture. The purpose for this is that the community must sustain and perpetuate itself by initiating a new generation of citizens and leaders, by shaping its children for a given social environment and a given historical age. Consequently education in any profound society must be about the culture of the society. Knowledge of other cultures is secondary. If education is effective, and if a social surrounding is to retain its basic things, they must be passed on in language which is as rich as the culture it propagates, and is original to the same environment. The medium of instruction in schools and of operation in natural affairs should not be decided independently of political, educational, economic and social factors; and failure to recognize this renders language; culture and education useless over 100 languages are spoken in the Sudan. Arabic is the language of the majority and the official language as well. ⁽¹²⁰⁾ English is considered as a second language. Islam is the major religion followed by more than 80% of the population. Sudanese are all Sunni. ⁽¹²¹⁾

The Southern Sudan contains a variety of ethnic groups of language. The southerners are not generally Christians; their religions are of African descent. The people are Africans in culture, language and in physical appearance. Contacts between cultures of different backgrounds become more frequent with the shrinking of distances and with the growing of centralized administrative units. This opens a new ways for mutual influence in which weaker cultures run the danger of being swept away by stronger ones. ⁽¹²²⁾

Teaching is a way of life in which one does not take part oneself is a delicate task. The danger, that the teacher

instead of introducing the projected society, will proselytize and teach their own way of life, is very great introducing without discrimination is a way of life that is traditional to Darfur, Dongola or Nuba Mountains into Zande Land may prove as disastrous as introducing European ways of life. ⁽¹²³⁾ An overall national culture can certainly be reconciled with local environmental differences.

In 1925 at the request of the secretary of state for the colonies, the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African dependencies published a general policy memorandum, education policy in Tropical Africa. ⁽¹²⁴⁾ British colonial educational policy in west and East Africa after the first world war influenced development in the Southern Sudan. ⁽⁷⁾ Missionaries working in British colonies as well as educationists were members of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, appointed by the Secretary of state in 1923. This educational reserved to itself:

The general direction and supervision of education policy.

- Cooperation between government and other educational agencies should be promoted.
- Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes and traditions of the various people.
- Education should seek to strengthen what is good in the old beliefs.
- The wellbeing of a country depended on the character of its people as much as on material prosperity.
- Voluntary agencies should be used in education.
- Grant-in-aid should be made, provided that the schools conformed to the established standards.
- The study of the educational use of the vernacular was of primary importance.
- The native teaching staff should be adequate.
- A system of visiting teachers should be established to help in the training of teachers.
- A system of inspection and supervision was vital of the operation of an efficient educational system.

¹¹⁹ - Bol Deng Chol, Lecturer of University of Juba on his paper presented on Arabicization and education language policies in Southern Sudan, 1992.

¹²⁰ - Omer H. Ismail, op. cit., p.2

¹²¹ - Bashir, M.O. Educational Development in the Sudan, 1969, pp. 1 – 22.

¹²² - Social effects of Hedge strip farming: SNR, Volume 36, Part I, June 1955, Khartoum, p. 2

¹²³ - Ibid

¹²⁴ - Education and nation-building in Africa, London, 1956, p. 5. 7- Lilian Sanderson, ERP, Op. Cit., p. 110

- Technical training could test be given in government workshops, provided that there was an adequate inspector.
- Vocational training should be directed by government departments.
- Better education of girls and women was badly needed, and
- The structure of the school system should vary according to local conditions, but should include elementary education, secondary or intermediate education, technical and vocational schools, and institutions that would include in their curricula the training for teachers, doctors and farmers.⁽¹²⁵⁾ The memorandum was to serve as the blue print for the future dependencies of education in British Africa.⁽⁹⁾

As T.H.B Mynors states that “we are all of opinion that mission schools and government schools organized on similar lines and aiming at similar ends, should share equally in the government’s attention.⁽¹²⁶⁾ In short, in British colonies advisory Boards were set up to ensure cooperation between missions, government and all concerned in education. The financial grants—in-aids which the mission schools receive should be recognized by more intense scholastic activity and by improvement of the standard of the native staff.⁽¹²⁷⁾

The Africans had obtained from Christian education two things such as spiritual support and consolation and the very sense of personal responsibility. It was that diffusion of Christian ideology which was the most potent influence in the development of native thought and custom. Africa is becoming receptive to evangelization no more rapidly than to other progressive influence and this process like the others can not be rushed or imposed by force and without regard to African custom.⁽¹²⁸⁾

The overall objective in both the Arabicized northern Sudanese and pagan divisions was to devise an educational system that would assist native population morally and materially to benefit by the changed conditions of a civilized government, the methods and agencies employed had been widely separated.⁽¹²⁹⁾

Since some years, the missions were made the trustees of government for education in the south. In theory, the system was soundly constructed with Bush school feeding the elementary and the latter leading on to the intermediate stage, supplemented Fade and Girls schools.⁽¹³⁰⁾ But in practice the whole edifice (large building) was undermined and rendered unsound by the fact that the foundations had not been well and certainly laid.⁽¹³¹⁾

The missionaries sent to the Southern Sudan mission field worked successively to reduce the language to writing and to work out its grammar and vocabulary, but they were greatly hampered both by the burden of other works and by the entire lack of acquaintance with cognate African languages.⁽¹³²⁾ However, Reverend Elbert McCrery especially were able to bring together considerable material bearing upon the structure and vocabulary of the Shilluk language, but it remained for the efforts with which this book is connected to set forth with adequate definiteness the grammatical structure of the language.

These efforts became possible through a generous grant made by the trustees of the Hartington Fund, to the Board of Foreign missions of the United Presbyterian Church of the North America under whose care the American Mission in the Sudan was operated.⁽¹³³⁾ There appears to be general agreement to the effect that the language of administration would be English and that Arabic has no place in the educational programme of the south.⁽¹³⁴⁾ It has to be pointed out that a debased form of Arabic was the universal lingua franca of Eastern Mongalla where it was not likely to be supplanted by any rival.⁽¹³⁵⁾ People who speak and understand it are found in every village and tribe, and it is noteworthy that this spread of

Arabic has not been accompanied by any

tendency to adopt Arabic customs. The problem of a lingua-franca, however, is quite distinct from that of a language of government and Higher education.⁽¹³⁶⁾

The introduction of English as the official language would not cause the lingua franca to disappear from the sphere in which it was found useful. A brand of corrupted Arabic is the only lingua-franca among the different tribes of different linguistic backgrounds.⁽¹³⁷⁾ None of the 50 southern languages was developed to be a lingua franca.

¹²⁵ - Education and nation-building in Africa, p.5 9- ibid. p. 6.

¹²⁶ - T.H.B, Mynors, The Ebone Memoranda of 1941: SNR Vol. 26, Part II, 1943.

¹²⁷ - Ibid

¹²⁸ - EP/SCR/17.J.2

¹²⁹ - Ibid

¹³⁰ - EP/SCR/17.A.3

¹³¹ - EP/SCR/17.A.3

¹³² - Charles R. Watson, Christian mission in the Southern Sudan, Philadelphia, LX – LXIII: In the Shilluk People, Diedirixh Westermann (Ed).

¹³³ - Ibid

¹³⁴ - CS/SCR/17.A.2/6, Report on Education in Mongalla Province.

¹³⁵ - Ibid

¹³⁶ - Young Al Khalifa Abu Bakr (Expert Southern Provinces Languages, the various local languages and their prevalence, p. 116.

¹³⁷ - Philosophical Society of the Sudan – Education in Sudan – proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Conference 10 – 11th January, 1963, Khartoum, p 119

Most of the Southern educated people are inclined to communicate in English. One can hear Arabic or a mixture of English and Arabic in their conversation.⁽¹³⁸⁾ There are about 64 languages in South Sudan and South Sudanese ethnic groups are only four namely: Nilotics, Nilo Hamites, Eastern Sudanic tribes and Western Sudanic tribes. The medium of instruction has been of vernacular, English and Arabic. The historical development of education in the Southern Sudan varies entirely from that of North. The South during the Anglo-Egyptian condominium was very differently treated as a separate territory. Missions were given free hand to plan and direct all its aspects without governments' interference.

In 1925, Dethwok was established as a third Shilluk state, close to the administrative centre of Fashoda in Kodok area. Kwajok was opened by the fathers in 1924 as their first Dinka station. In 1925 Yongang at Lul, the oldest established catholic school in the south, there was in 1924 still only 24 boys in three classes⁽¹³⁹⁾ of education in the southern Sudan demanded additional educational facilities, at all events for Mongalla and Bahr al Ghazal provinces, upper Nile was already being written off as educationally hopeless.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ In 1925 there had still been only about 700 pupils in the Southern Schools.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ From 1926 when Sir. H-Mac Michael became Civil Secretary, the government took increased responsibility for education in the south.⁽¹⁴²⁾ Administrative security had been established and the financial position had improved. The government aimed at greater uniformity of education provision, more

expansion and higher standards of work, maintaining ultimate authority in all educational matters. In 1926 the government appointed a Resident Inspector for Southern Provinces and initiated a regular system of government subsidies to missionary schools and became directly concerned with the form and content of education.

Lui was the central station of the Moru area. The women's school was started in 1926 with four pupils and has been continued almost without a break. In 1936 a separate class for girls was formed and in April 1937 this was made into a separate school.⁽¹⁴³⁾

The missionaries appeared anxious to conform to advice and suggestion owing to the wish to keep on the right side

of government that they might be able to maintain and extend their field of proselytization, but the good of the people themselves, the aims of government policy, the retention of tribal sanctions and, customs, the cause of education, such things were not reassured in their hearts.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ They seemed to despise the natives and so they had no belief in him or his future. They made free gifts to attract the boys to school but they were unable to keep them there for more than a year or two; the fourth classes in their elementary schools were either nonexistent or contain very few scholars.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ It is obviously best that teacher training should be conducted locally within the tribal area. When trained teachers are available, these should be recognized as the foundation of the educational system. They will provide the rudiments of education for the classes. The church missionary society already has a large number flourishing schools of this description. The Bush School would become the real village school, age school.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

The Sudan government had hitherto tolerated the effort of missionary societies to teach literacy to the tribes amongst whom they operated, and those efforts were regarded by many a British administrator as futile and even obstructive to government policy.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

In January 1926, Crowfoot proposed to subsidize the existing 17 central schools, plus five new ones, by paying the salaries of full-time missionary teachers and of trained southern teachers. As early as 1910, at a conference held in Cambridge, mission groups urged governments to take a more active and responsible part in the development of education. But the deteriorating European political situation and the outbreak of the First World War delayed any action that might have been contemplated.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

In the period following the First World War, the European governments began to assume a greater share of the burden of education. There are unknown number of languages and dialects in the Sudan. Though the spoken tongues are many but few have been reduced to writing. It was generally agreed that education must be based on the vernacular, both on the ground of expediency and of educational theory.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

The use of foreign language in elementary education was opposed both for its difficulty and impossibility of Achieving Satisfactory results.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ these were two fatal

¹³⁸ - ibid

¹³⁹ - ERP, p. 148

¹⁴⁰ - ERP, p. 132

¹⁴¹ - ERP, p. 171

¹⁴² - Lilian Sanderson, Educational Development in the Southern Sudan 1900 – 1948, SNR, p. 112.

¹⁴³ - Education Department, Khartoum, 15th April 1939, Education for Women and Girls in the area, occupied by the CMS in Southern Sudan.

¹⁴⁴ - EP/SCR/17.J.2

¹⁴⁵ - EP/SCR/17.J.2

¹⁴⁶ - EP/SCR/17.J.2

¹⁴⁷ - Sir Al Khatim Al Khalifa, Education in the Southern Provinces: In Philosophical Society of the Sudan – Proceedings of the eleventh Annual Conference 10 – 11th January, 1963, Khartoum, p, 35.

¹⁴⁸ - Battle, the American Mission and Educational Development in the Southern Sudan 1900-1929, p, 63

¹⁴⁹ - UNP/SCR/17/D/2 (1) 15/131, Sudan Government, Educational Policy Native Languages.

¹⁵⁰ - Ibid

practical objectives to use a foreign language in elementary school. It is inconceivable that adequate proficiency in the use of foreign language should be possible of attainment in the case of the African child in the early stages of his education but even if it were possible there are grave objections on cultural grounds.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

In its language is expressed the soul of a people. Take away the language of primitive folk and the result, for a time at least must be rapid social disintegration.⁽¹⁵²⁾ The policy of vernacular education implies the reduction of vernaculars to writing, their study in school and their use there as the medium of instruction at any rate in the elementary states.⁽¹⁵³⁾ Education began too early with a foreign language as the means of instruction, can only have a deadening effect on the child, tending to make him mechanical and less able to use his brains creatively than even his wholly untaught brother. If any of the conditions were unfulfilled the Resident Inspector might reduce or withdraw the grant for the following year.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

Some mission teachers were biased against local, social and matrimonial customs. The exclusion of completion in the sphere system had proved an obstacle to progress. The government was to inspect and thereby try to bring schools into more direct line with government schools elsewhere. Schools were to be improved and expanded within the existing system.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Intermediate education was to be limited to government and professional requirements. The Government ordinance for non-government schools of 1927 authorized the government to make any regulation and stipulated that all teachers must be recorded. Statistics were to be sent to the ministry for the employment of any teacher other than a native Sudanese. The ministry reserved the right to allow or prohibit such appointment. There was to be a person in charge, responsible to the government was to be notified of the person responsible in his absence.

In January 1927 a meeting was held in Mongalla to discuss educational matters at which the Director of Education, Uganda formerly of the Sudan Education Department, attended as well as members of the Missionary Societies and of Government. It was decided that the Governor, Mongalla Province, should convene annual meetings to discuss educational matters to which the missions should be invited to send representatives. The principles of the colonial office's advisory committee's report were

considered suitable for educational development in Mongalla. In authoritative language conference was required to consider education media of instruction.^(156,157)

In 1928 as a response to a report from the Governor-General about the spread of Arabic in the Sudan, the Rejaf language conference was convened to deliberate mainly on this issue.⁽⁴¹⁾ The CMS intermediate schools was during 1928, at Juba, in Mongalla province, but owing to the decision to move the headquarters to the province from Mongalla to Juba, at the beginning of 1929, it was moved temporarily to an inland site at Loka on the Rejaf–Abu road pending the selection of permanent site.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ It was proposed to hold a language conference at Rejaf in Mongalla province consisting of representatives of government and other various missionary societies interested in educational work in the southern Sudan.⁽⁴³⁾

In April 9, 1928 the Rejaf language conference took place in Mongalla province. The objectives of the conference were the following:

- To draw up a classified list of languages and dialects spoken in the Southern Sudan.

To make recommendation as to whether a system of group languages should be adopted for education purposes would be selected as the group languages for the various areas.

- To consider and report as to the adoption of a unified system of orthography.
- to make proposals for cooperation in the production of textbooks; and the adoption of a skeleton grammar, reading books and primers for general uses.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

The conference was also attended by Professor Westerman of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. It was decided that Professor Westerman should draw up a revised list of languages as the preparation of textbooks for vernacular elementary schools was urgent. In 1928 six groups languages that included Bari, Dinka, Latuka, Nuer, Shilluk and Zande has been designated, and English rather than Arabic named lingua franca. The attention to educational reform thus heralded was short lived.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ Colloquial Arabic in Roman script was required where no other vernacular was practicable. By 1928, each

¹⁵¹ - Ibid

¹⁵² - Ibid

¹⁵³ - UNP/SCR/17/D/2

¹⁵⁴ - Hamilton, J.A. Dec: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from within, p. 353.

¹⁵⁵ - Lilian Sanderson, op. cit., p. 112

¹⁵⁶ - Lilian Sanderson, op. cit., p. 112

¹⁵⁷ - Badir Din Muddathir, The Bath and the problem of the Southern Sudan, p. 13

¹⁵⁸ - Sudan Government: Annual Report of the Education Department, 1929, p.42 43- Annual Report of the Education Department 1929, p, 43

¹⁵⁹ - Sudan Government: Annual Report of the Education Department, 1929

¹⁶⁰ - M.W. Daly, op. cit., p.115

of them had in his province about a dozen educational centres worth inspection.⁽¹⁶¹⁾

In 1928 Nuba Mountains province was suppressed and assimilated to the over overwhelmingly Arab and Muslim province of Kordofan⁽¹⁶²⁾ In the same year, the educational department's policy on Southern elementary schools had moved a considerable way beyond Hilleson's very conservative and cautious recommendation of 1922. It emphasized in 1928 that the purpose of the schools was not only to produce literate leavers employable as junior clerks and technicians, for instance, subgrade school teachers, village medical orderlies, agricultural demonstrators, clerks to chiefs and chief's courts, but also to provide a sufficient number of boys to go on to intermediate schools, whose leavers would fill more responsible official posts.⁽¹⁶³⁾

There were in all 179 boys at the three intermediate in 1928. On 18 January 1929 Shaw raised the question of Advisory Council for the

Southern Sudan and was supported up to a point by Kitching.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ Mr.

Mathew the then Director of Education who succeeded Crowfoot in 1927/1932 had rejected the request of Show. Several motives underlined his objectives as follows: -

- Delay and hindrance to work in view of bad communications in the South.
- Government must maintain responsibility for educational work in the south and could not agree shifting this responsibility at present to Advisory councils.
- To start Advisory Councils in the South might involve government in undesirable implications in the north where no such councils existed.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾

His objections were based upon bad communications in the south which may delay and hinder work. On the other hand, it was the intention of the Sudan government to maintain

responsibility for educational work in the south which should not be shifted some where else. There was nothing of that kind in the north. There were thirty of elementary vernacular schools in 1929 with attendance of 1,907 boys⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ each was under the charge of European missionary. The schools were situated as follows:-

- Mongalla Province had ten elementary school of church missionary society, Kajokaji, Loka, Lui, Maridi, Yei. Italian catholic mission – Isoke, Lewa, Lua, Rejaf East and Torit.
- Bahr al Ghazal Province of Italian Catholic Missions were Cleveland, Dein Zubair, Kajol, Kayango, Mboro, Muppoi, Rafili, Wau and Yubu. Church missionary society was Yambio. All missions were eleven in number.
- Upper Nile Province had got seven CMS was Malek and Italian Catholic Mission included Dethwok, Lul, Tonga, Yonyang. Doleib Hill and Nasser were of American mission.
- Kordofan Province, particularly Nuba Mountains were of two Sudan United Mission consisting of Abn and Heiban.⁽⁵²⁾

In many cases sub-grade or bush schools have been started at the request of the local chief and the grass school houses erected by the inhabitants of the area, and they were often attended by adult men and women. In 1929 there was about 110 in bush schools.^(167/168) There was a technical education school in which instruction in carpentry was given, which was run in connection with the church missionary society's intermediate school at Loka. The numbers in 1929 were twenty –three. A new technical school was opened in 1929 at the Torit station of the Italian Catholic Mission, where carpenters, mechanics and masons were trained; the number of boys in 1929 was eighteen.

The following subsidies were given during 1929:

No	Type	Amount in English Pound
3	Intermediate School	2,000
30	Elementary vernacular schools (boys)	4,000
6	Elementary vernacular schools (girls)	150

¹⁶¹ - Sanderson, L. M. Education in the Southern Sudan, p. 163.

¹⁶² - ERP, p. 149

¹⁶³ - Sudan Government: CIVSEC BG/1/4/39 Memorandum 10 June 1928, p. 157.

¹⁶⁴ - Sudan Government: Annual Report of the Education Department, 1929

¹⁶⁵ - EP/SCR/17.J.2 Khartoum, 13th March 1928 SCR/.17.A.2 Education in the South, Advisory Councils.

¹⁶⁶ - Sudan

government, Annual Report of Education Department 1929 52- Annual Report of Education Department 1929.

¹⁶⁷ - ibid

¹⁶⁸ - Annual Report of Education Department 1929

1	Normal School	100
2	Technical Schools	300
Total		6,500(54)

There was not the slightest doubt that since the inception of the system of regular grants-in-aid the standard of education had improved steadily and a considerable measure of uniformity had been attained. The church missionary society and Italian catholic mission were able to make the progress during 1929 in the important work of training artisans.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ It is noteworthy that the conference of Directors which assembled at Dares-Salaam in 1929, recommended that in the elementary stage for boys and girls should be educated together, mainly for reasons of economy.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

Mr. Davies of the Agricultural Department had begun a class of agricultural administrators formed chiefly from boys from the elementary vernacular school at Yei in 1929. A fairly large number of ex-elementary school boys have been given employment in various localities as hospital orderlies, clerks to chiefs, and chief courts time keepers, on road work etc.⁽⁵⁷⁾

One boy from the stack memorial school had been employed by the ¹⁷¹public works department as a clerk at Wau. An extremely useful conference was held at Khartoum in January 1929, with representative of the church missionary society, the Reverend Wilson Cash, the General Secretary of the society was able to be present, also Dr. Lasbrey, and the

Secretary of the Egypt and Sudan committee, while the Rt. Reverent Bishop Shaw had come from Uganda and the Southern Sudan respectively. ⁽¹⁷²⁾ As a result of their meeting to more elementary vernacular schools were opened in the Bari areas of Mongalla Province and preparations made for a third in the Dinka Country near Rumbek in the Bahr al Ghazal Province. The opening up of the Nuer area at the Upper Nile Province was also visualized.⁽¹⁷³⁾

In 1928 the services of a linguistic expert Dr. Tucker was secured, while he was completing a course at University College, London, to advise on the preparation of books for the study of the group languages adopted by the conference.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ He came out to the Southern Sudan in the early autumn of 1928 for a period of two years⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ speaking

generally, the health of non-native mission personnel was much better in 1929 that it had been in the previous years.

The death of the Reverend Father Gali of the Italian Catholic Mission at Wau from black water fever occurred in February 1929. Father Galli, who had a great deal to do with the organization of the mission's efficient workshops at Wau, was also largely instrumented in getting the schools of the mission rapidly organized in 1927 on the lines agreed on with government.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ In 1929, Torit school was established to solve what was none of the outstanding difficult problems of educational expansion in the Southern Sudan. The language of instruction was Latuka. Dr. Tucker was appointed in August 1929, as linguistic expert coincided with some activity in this field and since that date he had amply justified his appointment.

His advice had been useful in the preparation of certain grammars and vocabularies, and he had been able to settle some outstanding questions of orthography in two or three of the group languages, thereby facilitating the production of textbooks in the orthography recommended by the Rejaf language conference.

The year 1927–1929 of the language education is very important in case of Southern Sudan. In 1926 and 1927 the government appointed a Resident Inspector(s) for the Southern Sudan and initiated a regular system of Government subsidies to missionary schools and became directly concerned with the form and content of education. The government subsidies were given under certain conditions that the government was to inspect and thereby try to bring schools into more direct line with government schools elsewhere. Schools were to be improved and expanded according to the existing system. In 1928 as a result of a report from the Governor-General about the spread of Arabic in the Sudan, the Rejaf language conference in April was convened to deliberate mainly on this issue.

The conference was attended by various agencies which passed a resolution that six group languages that included Bari, Dinka, Latuka, Nuer, Shilluk and Zande were designated and English named lingua franca rather than Arabic. English was the language used in the intermediate schools, and it might also be considered for technical

¹⁶⁹ - Annual Report of Education Department 1929

¹⁷⁰ - ibid

¹⁷¹ - ibid

¹⁷² - Annual Report of Education Department 1929

¹⁷³ - ibid

¹⁷⁴ - ibid

¹⁷⁵ - Annual Report of Education Department 1929

¹⁷⁶ - ibid

schools, while it was now the accepted policy that as circumstances permit it was to be the language in use in government offices in the Southern Sudan.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾

In the meantime necessities of trade, of intercourse with government officials unfamiliar with any of the local languages, and intercourse at government centres between people speaking different languages, have created and immediate demand for a common means of communication, and recourse has been had to a debased form of Arabic pretty well devoid of recognizable grammatical contraction and severely restricted as to vocabulary. A debased form Arabic has been urged that this will eventually become the only language of the Southern Sudan and that therefore it would be the language of instruction in schools, in preference either to a native vernacular or to English.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ In order to become a written language it would have to be approximated to northern Arabic language at present foreign to the Southern Sudan.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾

The encouragement of Arabic as the language of the Southern Sudan would to many, imply the opening of a door for the spread of Islam; and apart it would certainly tend to introduce the northern Sudanese outlook which differs widely from that of the southern Sudanese and indeed is likely unfavourable for the central Africa.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

What is meant here by Central Africa is Southern Sudan referred to. Arabic had undoubtedly become the vernacular in certain places, for instance, Wau, Mulukia settlements in the Upper Nile Province, etc where a return to a native vernacular as an educational medium may now be impossible.⁽¹⁸¹⁾ The adoption of the Roman script instead of the Arabic script may help to obviate the disadvantages shown above.

Since Southern Sudan has no single language as the recognized official language, it was decided that the meeting held at Rejaf to be known as Rajaf. The language conference which took place in April 1928 had designated certain indigenous languages to be used in schools. In it only six group languages were acknowledged. A child has to learn local vernacular in class I and class II and to learn English language for class III onwards. English language became the official language rather than Arabic in the Southern Sudan.

The missions' achievement was the writing of these languages and translating Bibles into them. It should be made clear that in the future Southern Sudan should have a language form from all these languages to become the official language of the Southern Sudan. It will not be possible to take one language to the Southern Sudan to be used as the official language of their country.

CHAPTER FOUR

Historical, Economic and Social Development of Education in the Southern Sudan 1930 – 1946

In 1930 the British administrators redefined their southern policy of separating the North from the South. It had in fact begun in 1902 and been furthered in 1922, because they feared that the newly emerging anti-British sentiments in the North, encouraged by Egyptian factions, might spread into the south, and from there into British African territory.⁽¹⁸²⁾

On January, the policy of the government in the Sudan was declared that the object was “to build up a series of self-contained racial and tribal units with structure and organization based to whatever extent the requirements of equity and good government permit, upon indigenous customs, traditional usages and beliefs”.⁽²⁾ The principle of indirect rule was clearly restated in order to promote the

above policy. The use of Arabic was unwanted and that of English encouraged, and an even stricter control was exercised over Muslims entering the south. Also the fundamental necessity for British to familiarize themselves with the beliefs and customs and the languages of the tribes they administered.⁽¹⁸³⁾

In this connection, it might be relevant to quote the civil secretary memorandum on southern policy, 1930 where it states:

Apart from the fact that restriction of Arabic is an essential feature of the general scheme it must not be forgotten that Arabic, being neither the language of the governing nor the governed, will progressively deteriorate. In short, whereas

¹⁷⁷ - SCR/17/D/2 of Upper Nile Province 1/15/131

¹⁷⁸ - UNP/SCR/17/D/2

¹⁷⁹ - UNP/File No. 1/15/131

¹⁸⁰ - idem

¹⁸¹ - ibid /SCR/File No. 1/15/131

¹⁸² - According to the war in the Sudan, by Cecil Eprile and Badri-Edin Muddathir, the Bath and Problem of the Southern Sudan, p. 30 2- EP/SCR/46.A.1, Vol. V

¹⁸³ - Cecil Eprile, the war in the Sudan.

at present Arabic is considered as the official and, is it were, the fashionable language, the object of all should be to counteract this idea by every practical means.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ The southerners themselves did not take the position of spectator who approves this policy- the colonial government own documents reported mutinies and rebellions of southern tribes against the educational policy which gave the Christian missions a free hand in the southern Sudan.

We refer in this connection to the position taken by the Sudan of the Feruga tribe who was sacked from his job in Yei for his protest against the educational policy and the missionary activities among the Muslim tribesmen. When the sultan attempted to publish his complaint in the newspaper in Khartoum, the colonial authorities order the press not to mention a word about this issue. However, they managed to keep the issue away from the graduate congress.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ Nevertheless, there was no specific goal as regard the future of the south should be established as an independent state, or otherwise, be annexed to the North or Uganda. However, in the words of the Governor-General, the policy of the colonial government should be persistent in pursuing the goal of “creating entities” in the southern Sudan and moreover, to preserve its backward primitive state and restrict any form of cultural and civilizing interaction with the North.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

British colonial government may be said to have concentrated their energies mainly on justice, health and political development, and to have shown to the least advantage in economic field despite individual advances, for instance in agricultural science.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ Towards the end of 1929 John Loader Maffey, after securing the full agreement of the British government to his southern policy directed the civil secretary to put it into operation.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ The creation of a firm barrier to “Arabicization” was considered essential prerequisite of this southern policy. The chief sources or causes of “Arabicization” were education on Arabic lines, religion, trade, economies, migration, army service, government service to mention just a few items.

The educational system in the Southern Sudan was entirely consisted of mission schools, subsidized and inspected by the government. there was no higher or secondary education, but there were three boys’ intermediate schools, a number of boys’ elementary schools, trade schools,

normal schools, a few small elementary for girls and a growing number of sub-grade or bush schools.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ The intermediate schools aimed at training boys as teachers, and for tribal and government service, and of the elementary schools was to provide a suitable education for a portion of the general public.

Sir James Currie wrote: “Education was to serve the Sudan of that time and to be geared to administrative needs. The quality of the education provided was emphasized. Educators were to have administrative experience so as to understand the requirements of the more distant areas.”⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ Sir James Currie in his retirement realized that, although education provision was adequate at the beginning of the century, by 1930 the time had come of a different kind of development. There were small girls schools at a few mission stations, and in some cases attended the boys’ elementary vernacular schools. Subsidies were granted in 1930 to six girls’ school. In February 1930, the Roman Catholic Mission at

Torit opened a normal school.⁽¹⁹¹⁾

Through these annual meetings and the work of the Resident Inspector for Southern Provinces, the government brought pressure to bear on missionary societies to improve education standards. There were certain regulations made regarding the opening of new schools were ranked into sub-grade, elementary, primary or intermediate, technical, agricultural or industrial, sub-grade education was expanded to feed the elementary schools. Boys extended to go to Makerere College, Uganda, for secondary education English remained the official language of the South Sudan. An Assistant Director of Education was to be resident at Juba, was then appointed to supervise educational development.⁽¹⁹²⁾ Mr. Hunter made several trails to make the Mongalla annual meetings more representative of the entire South but it was not until 1933 that the first educational conference of the whole of the south took place.

In the south administrative development was, in most regions, over. the introduction of elementary administrative processes had received fresh stimulus and orientation when, subsequent to the troubles in the North of 1921/5 and the consequent elimination of Egyptian Mamurs, the southern policy foreshadowed as early as 1916 was reformulated.⁽¹⁹³⁾ Its introduction was followed by more systematic sorting out of tribal units and by endeavor

¹⁸⁴ - Badr Edin Muddathir, the Bath and the Problem of the Southern Sudan, El Tamaddon, Ltd, p. 15

¹⁸⁵ - Badr-Edin Muddathir, op.cit. p. 15

¹⁸⁶ - ibid

¹⁸⁷ - G.E. Mathew, Governor of Upper Nile Province: Annual Report for 1907, p. 37

¹⁸⁸ - Equatoria Province File No. 46.A.1. Vol. V

¹⁸⁹ - Sudan Government, Annual Report of the Education Department 1935, pp. 6 – 7

¹⁹⁰ - Lillian Sanderson, A Survey of material available for the study of educational development in the modern Sudan 1900–1963, SNR, p. 73

¹⁹¹ - Annual Report of the Education Department 1935, p. 7

¹⁹² - Lillian Sanderson, Education Development in the Southern Sudan: 1900–1948 in SNR, p. 112

¹⁹³ - File No /SCR/B.1, 1935 Southern Governors Meeting, p. 2.

to regularize tribal system and build up tribalized administration functioning on the authority of individual British officer. It was not surprising that effort had produced no corresponding results in economic development or increase of trade, for such usually require scientific organization and large capital

expenditure; and the reaffirmation of the southern policy was quickly followed by the economic crisis, which precluded any expenditure on non-productive areas. In the existing circumstances of the region, feuds were not likely to be forthcoming for economic development on any large scale.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾

The region as a whole had certain problems, peculiar and common to it, such as: frontier protection, sleeping sickness, fly, mission establishment, and local tribal problems of Nilotics, Zande and various Mongalla types. The handling of each of these problems should be coordinated as far as possible and related to a general policy.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ Ideally, coordination and direction of local policies could best be exercised from a single centre to which could be delegated a maximum of authority and independence from Khartoum.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ It was based on the assumption that no very considerable economic development of the region was possible immediately, and consequently that no elaborate or costly administrative processes were necessary. A paramount consideration was the maintenance of public security used in the broadest sense of keeping the people occupied, reasonably contented and peaceful.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾

Any reduction of the 250,000 English pound net cost of administration in the south might be valuable and more constructively employed to meet the cost of investigating the pockets which appear capable of development.⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ In the southern Sudan the Roman Catholics only number between 62,000 and 70,000 baptized adherents, but owing to the educational work of the missions their importance in the population is greater than these figures suggested.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ The Anglican Church Missionary Society, the American United Presbyterian Mission and the Roman Catholic Verona Fathers Mission were allowed to open schools in the Arabized North the first decade of the century.⁽²⁰⁰⁾

In 1920, the Sudan United Mission began educational task in Kordofan. British colonial governments have has

concentrated their energies chiefly on justice, health and political development, and have has shown to the least advantage in economic field despite individual advances, for instance, in agricultural science.⁽²⁰¹⁾

The missionaries reserved the educational experience to nominal christens, more significantly, they provided employment only for those who processed some seemingly sincere interest in the Christian, message. Missionary education in Upper Nile Province far behind that in Bahr al Ghazal and Mongalla.⁽²⁰²⁾ G. E. Mathew asserted that the attitude of the Shilluk seemed to emphasize that the only necessary education for their children was cattle rearing. He felt that the European would lessen the dread over savage tribes had of the white man's intentions by encouraging medical missionaries.⁽²³⁾

Several methods were opposed by the missionaries to get compliance with their modernizing demands; they denied a place upon the ladders of material advancement to those who refused to comply with their dictates.⁽²⁰³⁾ All Muslim colonies were removed from the Southern Sudan, the Fellata and some Northern traders who were strict Muslims and were removed from Raja and Kafi Kingi end block to Darfur, Blue Nile or Kassala.⁽²⁰⁴⁾ Northern traders licenses would not be renewed after 1930 and they must leave the Southern Sudan at the least by 31st January 1931. This stressed that contacts between cultures of different background become more frequent with the shrinking of distances and with the growing of centralized administrative units.⁽²⁰⁵⁾ This opens new ways for mutual influence in which weaker cultures run the danger to being swept away by stronger ones. Certainly medical services had suffered from depression era retrenchment: expenditure fell from a budgeted high of 263, 566 English Pound in 1931 (when, however significant additional duties were assigned the medical service) to a low of 212, 213 English Pound in 1933.⁽²⁰⁶⁾

Thereafter it gradually increased. In 1936 health services accounted for 6.2% of government expenditure. Between 1930 and 1933 some 56% of non-Sudanese staff were dismissed.⁽²⁰⁷⁾ In 1931, at the depth of the depression, (British) army Doctors were withdrawn and the gradual removal of the good doctors began. This resulted in transfer to civilian control of responsibility for Darfur, Bahr al

¹⁹⁴ - File No. 8

¹⁹⁵ - *ibid*, p. 3

¹⁹⁶ - *ibid*

¹⁹⁷ - File No. B.1., p.4

¹⁹⁸ - *ibid*

¹⁹⁹ - David Mathew, Archbishop and Apostolic delegate, to the Governor General of the Sudan, Mombasa, 9 April 1948.

²⁰⁰ - H.C. Jackson, Pastor on the Nile, London, 1960

²⁰¹ - Lillian Sanderson, *Op.cit.* P. 74

²⁰² - John Middleton and David Tait, Tribes without

rulers, London, 1958, p.40 23-

G.E. Mathew, Governor Upper

Nile, Annual Report for 1907,

p. 37.

²⁰³ - Robert I. Rosberg, The rise of Nationalism in Central Africa, The making of Malawi and Zambia 1874-1964.p.9

²⁰⁴ - EP/SCR/46.A.1. Volume V.PP. 1 - 4

²⁰⁵ - SNR, Volume

²⁰⁶ - M.W. Daly, Imperial Sudan: The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, 1934-1956, p. 121.

²⁰⁷ - *ibid*, p.12

Ghazal, Mongalla and the Sudan Defence Forces, whose medical corps was finally abolished.

In 1932 there were only three (British) specialists in the country; Sudanese doctors began postgraduate training in Britain only in the late 1930s and it was in 1937 before the first Sudanese medical inspector was appointed.⁽²⁰⁸⁾ Hospital admissions increased steadily from about 70,000 to over 105,000 in 1939, and attendances rose from about 5.1m to 7.1m,⁽²⁰⁹⁾ Records show 73 licensed midwives in Khartoum province in 1941, 59 in Gezira, only 4 in the south all in Upper Nile Province.⁽²¹⁰⁾ A system of medical school began in Khartoum in 1933, only before anywhere else.

Concerning sleeping sickness, a serious outbreak in Zandeland in 1918 led to the establishment of the source Yubu settlement where, by 1929, some 3,648 cases were admitted, with a fatality rate of over 45%.⁽²¹¹⁾ Sleeping sickness had attracted the government attention early in the condominium time, and was the subject of pioneering research. In 1909, it was detected in Raga due to immigrants from the Congo Free State. Following incorporation of the Lado Enclave in 1910 there were diagnosed annually.

Medical missionaries continued to supplement and more usually take the place of inadequate government services, especially in the South.⁽²¹²⁾ CMS hospitals founded at Lui in 1920, Zeraf Island in 1936, Ler and Sallara, with subsidiary clinics were the only medical centers in their respective regions. The Sudan United Mission conducted small hospitals at Abri and Tabanya in the Nuba Mountains and at Rom in Upper Nile Province, while the American Presbyterian held clinics at Nassir and Doleib Hill.⁽²¹³⁾

When Mr. K. Winter became Director of Education in 1932 he made further attempts to integrate missionary education work more closely into the general policy of the Sudan Government. By 1932 there were three intermediate schools, Loka, Okaru in Mongalla Province, the CMS schools and Roman Catholic schools respectively.

The Bussere Roman Catholic School situated in Bahr al Ghazal there were 33 boys' elementary schools with a total attendance of 2,613 boys and eleven girls' elementary schools, the CMS Loka School and the Catholic Schools at Wau and Torit. In 1932 there were 263 Bush Schools attended by 7,500 pupils. Mr. Winter's policy was to concentrate on vernacular schools continuing to limit

intermediate education to government and professional requirements.

Mr. J.G. Mathew, Director of Education 1927-1932 endorsed Mr. Crowfoot's opinion and laid stress upon the fact that, though a certain number of boys who enter the Kuttab may go through the primary school and the Gordon College and so eventually into government service, the real objective of the schools was to enable the boys to return to their fathers avocations as more useful members of society.⁽²¹⁴⁾

In 1932 the school became a separate entity, having previously been subsidiary attachment, first to Omdurman Primary School, then to the College, and finally the Khartoum Primary School. It was the elementary teacher training school being discussed above. The number of girl Kuttabs had risen from 5 in 1920 to 22 in 1932. The first permanent protestant church in province, the church of all saints at Maridi, was consecrated in March 1933.⁽²¹⁵⁾ Dr. Frazer's mission at Lui was a medical mission and by arrangement with the government he had taken over all medical work in the Moru tribe.⁽²¹⁶⁾ Province education conferences take place annually, the first general conference for the whole south was held in 1933. There was now only one educational inspector for the whole

South, resident at Lianya on the Yei Road some miles from Juba.⁽²¹⁷⁾

The starting point or rates for government clerks who had done the full course at the intermediate schools had been laid down at no more than 1,500 English Pounds with a regular sale of increase. Department were supposed to engage these boys through the province headquarters and in the interests of uniformity it was important that they should do so.

The review of Southern education progress prepared by the inspector of education for the 1933 conference gave a valuable and comprehensive survey of the position. Over 850 boys were being educated in the elementary schools in 1932.⁽²¹⁸⁾

²⁰⁸ - H.C. Squire: The Sudan Medical Service, London 1958, pp. 10 – 11.

²⁰⁹ - Ahmed Bayomi, The History of the Sudan Health Services, Nairobi, 1979, p. 95

²¹⁰ - M.W. Daly, Op.cit, p. 123

²¹¹ - ibid, p. 124

²¹² - M.W. Daly, Op.cit, p. 125

²¹³ - Report(s) on the Finances, Administration and Condition of the Sudan (AR)

²¹⁴ - EP|SCR|File No. 17.A.1

²¹⁵ - EP|1|9|47 – Mongalla Province Summary No.2

²¹⁶ - Sudan Government, EP|1|9|46, EP|1|9|47 Mongalla Province Summary No.2

²¹⁷ - EP|1|9|47

²¹⁸ - EP|1|9|47- Mongalla Province Summary No.2

Education Statistics 1932 1- Bush Schools

CMS	With BLOGS	Without BLOGS	Total	No. of Pupils	
				1932	1931
Maridi	13	0	13	400	153
Juba	1	0	1	100	76
Yei	10	0	10	956	443
Lui	7	0	7	330	165
Loka	2	0	2	210	0
ICM					
Rejaf East	13	16	29	550	191
Isoke	9	0	9	270	275
Torit	18	2	20	410	538
Lerua	16	0	16	331	363
Loa	6	7	13	280	288
Total				3637	2572

II- Elementary Vernacular Schools

CMS	Boys	Girls
Juba	122	0
Yei	73	0
Kajo Kaji	76	22
Maridi	70	40
Lui	147	45
ICM		
Rejaf East	100	23
Torit	68	36
Isoke	39	34
Lerua	74	31
Loa	85	11
Total	874	242

III- Intermediate Schools

CMS	Boys	Girls
ICM Okaru	109	0
CMS Loka	72	0

IV- Trade Schools

CMS ²¹⁹	Boys	Girls
ICM Torit	52	0
CMS Loka	34	0

²¹⁹ - EP|1|9|47- Mongalla Province Summary No.2 41- File No.
|SCR|17.B.1 – Education Conference 1942.

V- Normal Schools

CMS	Boys	Girls
ICM Torit	52(40)	0

Education statistics 1932 has shown that Italian Catholic Mission (ICM) had been making progress with regard to Bush Schools than Church Missionary Society. Considering elementary Vernacular Schools, Italian Catholic Mission has more boys and girls than CMS, also in terms of trades and normal schools.

Mr. Hickson has review of education from 1933. He stressed that limitation and the school staffing and of the inspectorate, combined with the economic position, had prevented any rapid progress. He also added that even so in 1933 Southern education was ready for reorganization. The elementary vernacular course was to be lengthened, teacher training improved, and village schools developed.⁽⁴¹⁾ This plan emphasized the improvement of village life and the better preparation of boys entering the intermediate schools. He suggested that key schools should be staffed with trained educationalists.⁽²²⁰⁾

Subsidies to mission schools included the total of these in 1935 had been 7,720 English Pounds.⁽²²¹⁾ There were 32 of elementary vernacular schools in 1935 attendance of about 3000 boys. Each under the charge of European missionary.⁽²²²⁾ The teaching of English as an additional subject to the third and fourth years was allowed because some knowledge of a common tongue was extremely careful for boys entering intermediate schools which drew pupils from widely different language areas.

The conquest of Ethiopia by the Italian, which began in 1935, altered the balance of power in Africa, and the Egyptians became restless at the continuing presence of British soldiers in their capital, Cairo. The AngloEgyptian agreement, by which the British accepted to remove their troops from Egypt into the Suez Canal, was concluded on the 26th August 1936, but the condominium, still administered British Governor-General on behalf of Sudan and Egypt, remained, although the Egyptian position was almost a fiction.⁽²²³⁾

The educational system in 1936 was mainly consisted of three intermediate, thirty five elementary vernacular, three

trades, two normal and seventeen girls' schools. There were nearly 400 sub-grade or bush school.⁽²²⁴⁾ Once again, the treaty of 1936 was imposed on Egypt by Britain a new unequal agreement that prolonged indefinitely the military occupation of both countries in the Nile Valley, the population of the Sudan expressed the protest by demonstrations and rallies.⁽²²⁵⁾ There was no Sudanese who was represented or included the left the future status of the Sudan ill-defined. The negotiations were attentively followed by the politically conscious Sudanese, all of whom were bitterly disappointed.⁽²²⁶⁾ No Sudanese was consulted. Those who included to Egypt felt betrayed to those Egyptians who would agree to the condominium. Agreement of 1899, in order to be re-admitted to the Sudan, those who were hostile to Egypt, regarded British vagueness on the future status of the Sudan totally unsatisfactory.⁽²²⁷⁾

In 1937, Mr. Cox Christopher who arrived the country, he drafted plans for the reorganization of education in the church missionary society, Verona fathers mission and American mission areas. These plans were directed towards the training of the native teachers, the improvement of the village school as an instrument for improving the life of the community and expansion the girls' education.⁽²²⁸⁾ They provided for central boys' schools under trained educationists in each group, with a two year preparation for intermediate or trades schools or for training in elementary vernacular or village schools.⁽²²⁹⁾

The desirability of introducing British missionaries into every position within the catholic missions in the South was urged last winter by representatives of the Central Government, both because of the inherent education difficulties caused by differences of language and of outlook, in entrusting to an Italian mission and educational monopoly over so wide area in which British administrative principles were being applied; and also because it was obviously unsuitable that the whole of the catholic education in the south should be in the hands of

²²⁰ - ibid

²²¹ - Sudan Government, Annual Report of the Education Department 1935, p. 30.

²²² - ibid

²²³ - O' Balance, E., The Secret War in the Sudan

²²⁴ - Annual Report of Education Department, 1935.

²²⁵ - L.O. Lamper, (L.N. Feonov), A History of Africa 1918-1967, Moscow 1968, P.160.

²²⁶ - Robert O. Collins, Sudanese Nationalism, Southern Policy and the Unification of the Sudan, 1939-1940.

²²⁷ - ibid

²²⁸ - File No. 17.A.1

²²⁹ - File No, 17.A.1 – Education Conference 1942, draft.

missionaries of a single foreign nationality.⁽²³⁰⁾ It was found that the organization of catholic orders made the “secondment” of British missionaries to the Verona order impracticable, and regional substitution in some particular area was suggested as an alternative.⁽²³¹⁾ Educationally one of the chief functions was to train teachers capable of giving elementary instruction in the particular language.⁽²³²⁾

The De la War, report of 1937 included recommendations or education in the South. This report recommended the development of education within the existing system but expressed the view that mission teachers should be trained at the London Institute of Education or should follow the diploma course in education of an established recognized educational institute.⁽²³³⁾ The commission concluded that the disappointment results of southern education had been due to the lack of sufficient trained teacher, lack of organization and planning and the absence of common language for vernacular education.⁽²³⁴⁾ The church missionary society lacked funds to increase their numbers to trained teachers. The commission recommended too that there should be an intermediate school in Upper Nile Province and a full secondary school in the South.

Dr. Giffen, foresighted, as he was, realized that the future of the Sudan lay in the field of agriculture. From his very first years in the Sudan he had the idea of founding an agricultural school.⁽²³⁵⁾ The graduates from this agricultural school became leaders in the field of agriculture. The mission, however, was forced to close down this school in 1938.⁽²³⁶⁾

The Sudan interior mission began in the Sudan in 1939. Originally the mission was organized in 1893 to preach the gospel in Nigeria, which was part of the belt across Africa call “the Sudan”.⁽²³⁷⁾ The Sudan interior mission began work in Ethiopia in 1928. in 1935, at the time of the Italian invasion, all the Sudan interior mission were expelled, small groups of Christians had come into being in the pagan tribes of southern Ethiopia through the preaching of the gospel. Some of the missionaries, hoping that they might be able to keep in touch with Ethiopia, west to Khartoum to make arrangements with the government to open up work in the Sudan.⁽²³⁸⁾

In 1938 stations were opened at Doro among the Mabaan tribe and at Chali among the Uduks. Unwritten languages

were studied and reduced in writing. About the same time the Sudan interior mission (SIM) took over the stations of Melut and Paloich from the Sudan united Mission. Later, stations were opened at Banjang and Abayuat. These four stations were in the area of the Dinka tribe. Thus the area of the Sudan interior mission was from Renk and Melut on the White Nile to the Ethiopian border.⁽²³⁹⁾ Schools were opened in some of the station in cooperation with the government. They were later closed either as a result of the building of government schools nearby or because of the taking over of all schools.

In 1936 Mongalla and the Bahr al Ghazal was incorporated, and parts of Upper Nile Province were detached, to form a massive Equatoria Province with headquarters at Juba. In 1937 the Graduates General Congress was founded by Sudanese intellectuals, students, bourgeois and civil servants. The Graduates General Congress was founded on February 12, 1938 to serve the interests of the country and of the graduates.⁽²⁴⁰⁾ Membership was accorded to all graduates from post-elementary schools and the activities of the congress were to be guided by an executive committee of fifteen. In May 1938 they officially informed the Sudan Government of their existence emphasizing their interest in the public affairs and their wish for cooperation. Symes and the senior officials of the political service were reservedly delighted. The congress was well known both among school graduates and non-graduates as well.⁽²⁴¹⁾

Prior to the Second World War, the graduates’ congress engaged mainly in educational activities. Several petitions and letters requesting some reforms in the public health and educational system were presented to the Governor-General by the Congress.⁽²⁴²⁾ When Sir Douglas Newbold became Civil Secretary in 1939 he wanted further expansion of education for girls and boys in the South.⁽⁶⁵⁾ More teachers were to be trained for elementary vernacular schools. Syllabuses were to be revised to conform to a more uniform plan. An educational commission was to visit the CMS to make recommendations. Although the war slowed down these plans nevertheless these efforts led to higher educational standards and gave southern boys better opportunities of eventually obtaining university education. Boys education continued to expand as the following table shows.⁽²⁴³⁾

²³⁰ - O’ Balance, E., The Secret War in the Sudan.

²³¹ - Cox Christopher, Director of Education, Khartoum to the Governor, Malakal, 3rd April 1933.

²³² - Education Department, Khartou, 3rd April, 1939.

²³³ - Secretary for Education, Health etc to Heads of Missions.

²³⁴ - Lilian Sanerson, op.cit. p. 114

²³⁵ - Sudan Government, Report of the De la Warr Commission of 1937.

²³⁶ - Giovanni Vantini, Christianity in the Sudan, Italy, Nova stamps Di Verona, 1981, p. 25

²³⁷ - ibid, p. 268

²³⁸ - ibid

²³⁹ - Giovanni Vantini, Christianity in the Sudan, p. 268

²⁴⁰ - Robert O. Collins, Sudanese Nationalism, Southern Policy and the Unification of the Sudan 1939-1946

²⁴¹ - Robert O. Collins, op.cit., p. 223

²⁴² - L.O. Lampert, A History of Africa 1918-1967 UNESCO, Moscow, 1968, p. 161 65- Education Development in the Southern Sudan 1900-1948 by Lilian Sanderson, SNR.

²⁴³ - Sanderson, L. op.cit, p. 115.

Type of Grade	No. of schools 1928	Attendance 1928	No of schools 1948	Attendance 1948
Elementary	27	1,420	43	5,328
Intermediate	03	130	03	359

The expansion of girls' education was slower owing to the disinclination of parents to send their daughters to school. They were kept at home as sources of wealth. The proposal was adopted of schools for girls where there was a minimum of 10 boarders. The government then provided a grant of 30 English pounds per annum for a girls' school.

In 1939 only about 2,700 boys and 635 girls attended elementary schools in the south.⁽²⁴⁴⁾ Three intermediate schools taught 220 boys. Only 102 were enrolled in technical school, and two teacher training schools had but 88 students. Standards of the 451 Bush Schools with almost 12,000 pupils can not be appraised but may be imagined. Education thus remained largely as indirect. Rule system had decreed it should be, and was consistent with Syme's hollow development policy.⁽²⁴⁵⁾ In the short terms Syme's greatest achievement was retaining the Verona fathers, against the pressure of the foreign office, the embassy, and his own subordinates.

Southern Provinces became to all intents and purposes a separate, closed to northern Sudanese and widely open to British, Greek and missionaries.⁽²⁴⁶⁾

At the same time the southern policy was under consideration but still the restrictions against northerners should be maintained. The educational policy was also to remain the same as in the past, for instance, the active encouragement of English the lingua of the south and the cooperation of the missions were entrusted with the education of the southern people. As to the economic policy, political future of the Southern Sudan can not yet be determined.

In 1940 the church missionary society school at Lui was a small boarding school housed in a few grass huts. But in 1947 new buildings were erected at Lunjini.

Statistics of Detwok elementary vernacular school February 1941 is shown below

Year of the ²⁴⁷ Academic	Number of students in the classes			
	I	II	III	IV
1940	22	3	3	3
1941	9	6	3	1

In 1940 there were 3 girls, in 1941, 4 girls.⁽²⁴⁸⁾ A few girls were attending Lul, Tonga and Detwok schools and it was hoped that a start would be made by the opening of girls schools at Detwok in 1948 and probably at Lul and Tonga. By that time it was hoped that Mother Rachele and Sister Genève, two excellent teachers could be spared from the boys school.^(249,250) Yonyang school had increased from 10 to 17 in 1945. In 1941 the girls' school of Bari developed into a central boarding school for the whole Bari speaking area and the number of pupils increased considerably. In 1941, Davies became Governor of the Upper Nile, his views showed that he less pro southern than Skeet. From

1937–39 Skeet became Deputy Governor under Martin Parr. He had been in Mongalla later in 1934–35.

The visit of the Egyptian Prime Minister Al Mahir, in February 1941, provided the opportunity from the congress to encourage greater Egyptian activity in the Sudan including an Islamic mission to the south for conversion and education.⁽²⁵¹⁾ On March 15, 1941, British, Indian and Sudanese troops under General Platt defeated the Italians at the Battle of Keren, ending the threat of invasion into the Sudan from Ethiopia.⁽²⁵²⁾ As the people's national awareness developed, the national liberation movement gained momentum. It advanced during the Second World

²⁴⁴ - M.W. Daly, Imperial Sudan, Anglo-Egyptian Condominium 1934-1956. P.121

²⁴⁵ - Daly, M.W, op.cit, p.121

²⁴⁶ - EP|SCR|46.A.I, Vol.V

²⁴⁷ - ERP, P.228

²⁴⁸ - M.K.O William and Father Dempsey, Record of Conversation with Mgr Wall of Malakal, 11th August, 1945

²⁴⁹ - Record of conversation with Mgr. Wall of Malakal, Mr. K.O. William and Father Dempsey,

²⁵⁰ th August, 1945

²⁵¹ - Robert O. Collins, op.cit, p. 226

²⁵² - ibid, p. 227

War and assumed the biggest scale in the post war years, when imperialism's colonial system began to break up.⁽²⁵³⁾

In 1942, the Graduate Congress sent to the Governor-General a memorandum demanding for the establishment after the war of a self-government body which would possess, in particular, the right to draw the country's budget. The congress also demanded the abolition of the government (i.e. British) foreign trade monopoly and the admission of Sudanese capital to foreign markets. The memorandum, expressing the aspirations of the developing Sudanese bourgeoisie, was rejected by the British authorities. The Governor-General refused to consider it.⁽²⁵⁴⁾

In 1944, the Advisory Council for the Northern Sudan was set up with purely consultative functions. The British authorities demographically pictured these measures as the introduction of democratic self-government. They thought that such reforms would impede the antiimperialist struggle, but their calculations proved to be unfounded. The Congress ruptured internally into moderates and extremists who were soon sacked into sectarian rivalry between the Ansar of Sayyid Abd Al Rahman Al Mahdi and the Khatimiya of Sayyid Al Al Mirghani. The nationalists never spoke with one voice again, but the sting having been made could not be withdrawn.⁽²⁵⁵⁾ In 1945 the southern policy modified to suit the changing political, economic and social conditions prevailing throughout the country and in order to fit the British policy in the neighboring African territories.⁽²⁵⁶⁾ British government to whom this southern policy was sent to Lord Killeen approved the policy proposed by the Sudan Government. The approved policy was distinctly African and negroid on African and negroid lines in only by economic and educational development.⁽²⁵⁷⁾

In 1945 the school had developed into a day school of four classes with attendance of from 22 to 70 girls at Nassir and Doleib Hill. Some of the pupils of the school trained as teachers.⁽²⁵⁸⁾ On August 23, 1945, the executive committee of the graduates congress adopted a resolution demanding the evacuation of British troops from the Sudan and her unification with Egypt along federative lines. The adaptation of this resolution was accompanied by struggle for leadership of the liberation movement waged within the congress between Abdel al Rahman Al Mahdi and Ali Al Mirghani. In 1946 the Khatimiya founded the Ashigga. Its main slogans were the demands formulated in the August

resolution of the executive committee of the Graduates Congress. Ismail al Azhari became the leader of it.

The Administrative Conference of 1946 came to be considered as the political mouthpiece of the Sudanese people in which the Southern Sudan was not represented.⁽²⁵⁹⁾ The unity of the country, the introduction of a Legislative Assembly and the appointment of an Executive Council were the main recommendations made by the administrative conference to the Governor-General in July and passed to the condominium powers for their approval. Egypt rejected the recommendations on the ground that Egypt sovereignty over the Sudan was not included.⁽²⁶⁰⁾ Britain approved them and the Sudan went ahead with constitutional advancement.

After the war greater attention was paid to Southern Sudan education. In 1944 Williams, as seen above, had proposed a plan for (1946-1950) with overall objectives of consolidating and expanding the existing system of mission education and gradually introducing government schools and more British staff.⁽⁸²⁾ After lengthy discussions within the government and with the missionary societies, this amended proposals were adopted in 1946. In 1946 some 249 sub grade schools enrolled over 18,000 students; in 1952, 485 had over 41, 000. ⁽²⁶¹²⁶²⁾ Subsidized Khalwas, however decreased from 176 in 1946 to 104 in 1950 and enrolled from 10,000 to 6,700. The government's annual grants-in-aid of mission education would increased from about 24,000 English Pound in 1946 to almost 87.000 English Pound in 1950

End of 1946 the Civil Secretary decided that the future of the south is bound up with the North and the two have got to hang together as one.⁽²⁶³⁾ The two other courses open have both been ruled out, Isolationism as economically impossible and attachment of southern territories (Kenya and Uganda or the Congo) as neither in the best interest of the Southern Sudanese.⁽²⁶⁴⁾ *The policy of the Sudan Government regarding the Southern Sudan is to act upon the facts that geography and economics combined to render them in inextricably bound for future development to the Middle East and Arabicized northern Sudan; and therefore to ensure that they shall by education and economic development equipped in the future as socially and economically the equals of their partners of the northern Sudan in the Sudan of the future.*⁽⁸⁷⁾ The Southern Governors and their Commissioners have all welcomed this re-statement of southern policy.⁽⁸⁸⁾

²⁵³ - L.O Lempert, A History of Africa 1918 – 1967, p. 163

²⁵⁴ - ibid, p. 167 – 177

²⁵⁵ - Robert O. Collins, op.cit, p. 226

²⁵⁶ - EP|SCR|46.A.I. Vol.V

²⁵⁷ - EP|SCR|46.A.I. Vol.V

²⁵⁸ - EP|SCR|46.A.I. Vol.V

²⁵⁹ - Lilian Sanderson op.cit, P. 10

²⁶⁰ - Joseph Oduho and William Deng, the Problem of the Southern Sudan, London, 1963, p.21.

²⁶¹ - ibid, p. 22.

²⁶² - Daly, M.W. op.cit., p 337

²⁶³ - EP|SCR|46.A.I.

²⁶⁴ - ibid, p. 1. 87- EP|SCR|46.A.I. Vol.V 88- ibid, pp, 1 – 4.

This new southern policy having been approved and put into practice, it was highly essential that all possible way of associating and mingling between northerners and southerners should be encouraged and the artificial barriers erected 16 years ago should now be abandoned. Following the Rejaf language conference in April 1928 in which Arabic was discouraged and the encouragement was given to English as the official language in the Southern Sudan. Not only that but also stricter control was exercised over Muslims entering the South and vice versa.

In 1930 the British administrators aimed at separating the North from the South. This southern policy was initiated in 1902 and been furthered in 1922, because they feared that the newly emerging anti-British sentiments in the north, encouraged by the Egyptian factions, might spread into the south, and from there into British East African Colonies. The creation of a firm barrier to Arabicization was considered essential prerequisite of this southern policy.

Since district was first fully administered in 1930, one of the main objects of the administration has been the breaking down of these enmities.

In 1935 when the Roman Catholic and Protestant British Church Missionary Society were allowed into the district it is certain that the old rivalries and hatreds were revived, owing to the different religious teachings of the Protestants and Catholics. Actually the 1935 agreement suggests that both sides have agreed that they should not do anything to stop the legitimate missionary work of the either side, nor protest against the entry of any into any area with certain common sense provisos.⁽²⁶⁵⁾

Mr. Winter, Director of Education, in 1932 he made further attempts to integrate missionary educational work more closely into the general policy of the government. From 1926-1948 the government gradually took increasing responsibility for education work in the southern Sudan by cooperation and financial subsidies to Christian missionary societies.

The failure in the south stemmed from the basic attitude towards it as being an extra, unwelcome, financial and

administrative burden, necessary only for frontier security purposes, coupled with a basic ignorance of the structure and dynamics of southern Sudanese societies.⁽²⁶⁶⁾ Above mentioned factors have contributed to the exclusion of the southern Sudanese from the general national movement spearheaded by the graduates. The war years (1939-1945) were years of prosperity in terms of education. In the south progress and expansion at all levels above the Bush School depended on the presence of Europeans, especially Italian who were from June 1940 citizens of an enemy combatant nation.

The conference of 1946 not only brought a new interest to education and administration in the south, it gave added impetus to economic development. By the end of 1946 the Civil Secretary decided that the future of the south was bound with the north Sudan and the two have got to hang together as one. Isolationism and attachment to southern Sudan territories (Kenya, or Uganda or The Congo) have been ruled out as neither in the best interest of the south Sudanese people.

The policy of the Sudan Government regarding the Southern Sudan was to act upon the facts that geography and economics combined to hamper them inextricably bound for the future development to the middle east and Arabicised northern Sudan and therefore to ensure that they should be linked by educational and economic development in the future as socially and economically the equals of their partners of the northern Sudan in the Sudan of the future.

In 1930 the British had to redefine the new southern policy. The Sudan government came into provide for more financial assistance for the mission schools which was formally disregarded. The first General Educational Conference for the whole Southern Sudan was held in 1933. Mr. Cox Christopher who had arrived in 1937, he drafted plans in 1938 for the reorganization of education in the Christian missionary schools. In 1945 southern policy was changed to suit the political, economic and social conditions existing throughout the Sudan and in order to fit with the British policy in the neighboring countries.

²⁶⁵ - EP|SCR|46.A.I. Note by Governor.

²⁶⁶ - Afaf Abdel Majid Abu Hassan, Factional Conflict in the Sudanese Nationalist Movement 1918-1948,

Graduate College Publications No.12, University of Khartoum, 1985.

CHAPTER FIVE

Education and Politics in the Southern Sudan 1946 – 1956

An Advisory Council for the northern Sudan was set up in 1944 comprising of twenty-eight simple members, with the Governor-General as the head and the civil, financial and legal secretaries as ex-office Vice

Presidents.⁽²⁶⁷⁾

These ordinary members were all Sudanese, three from each of the six northern provinces of the country. Eight other Sudanese were appointed by the Governor-General with a view to security representation on the council of the more essential social and economic interests including 'agriculture, education and health', and two further members were elected by the chamber of commerce.⁽²⁾ Most of them were tribal chiefs, generally from the members of the province councils which has been formerly constituted as a link between central and local government.

Nothing has been mentioned regarding the Southern Sudan.

During 1944 the congress had come under the domination of the wider ambit of the first real political party with a definite policy in the Sudan. The Ashigga (blood brothers) aimed at unity of the Nile Valley under the Egyptian crown as regards to its policy.

On February 7, 1944, a meeting was called by the Governor-General at the Palace of all the provincial governors, the three secretaries, and the directors of agriculture.⁽²⁶⁸⁾ Education and the medical services to announce a policy of more intense and rapid economic and educational development of the Southern Sudan was needed and should now be executed.⁽²⁶⁹⁾ The demand of the products of the Sudan, inflated prices, and influx of men and materials supported the economy hitherto unprecedented on the profits of the economic boom during the war a development policy in the South could not have been rationally financed before was now feasible and desirable.⁽²⁷⁰⁾

The decision in February 1944 to develop the south with money of the north and any serious prospect of the separation of the two regions. The isolation of the south, its culture, ethnic and historic differences from the north, if distinct administration had combined during the decades to create a reality of place unrelated to the rest of the Sudan which was only partly true. Once the Southern Sudan was considered as a remote, alien land by the British officials in Khartoum, they commenced to treat it like a foreign

territory distinct and separate. For many years it was economically ruled by a devoted band of eccentric administrator, the Bog Barons, and thus required little attention from the central government.⁽⁶⁾

The Sudanese party would definitely insist that the new consultative body (to replace the Advisory for the northern Sudan) should represent the whole country; British refusal, notwithstanding protest about the Southern backwardness would confirm the worst suspicious.⁽⁷⁾ Administrative development in the Sudan could be roughly divided into stages.

- 1- That the military occupation, penetration of British officers, and native troops, reassurances of the population, reduction of turbulent elements and the establishment at convenient points of local administrative centers.
- 2- That of the introduction of elementary administrative processes of closer contacts and tribal identifications by British officers acting in a civil rather than a military capacity, of the gaining of medical, education and missionary enterprise and of the improvement of communications.⁽⁸⁾

The objective of the conference was an endeavor to form right opinions on current policies in the Southern Sudan. Over a great part of the North, these two stages were passed and administrative divisions were being reorganized to permit of the eventual formation of local government organs adapted to more complex problems of administration which were likely to arise.⁽⁹⁾

In the South the first stage was, in most regions, over. The second had received fresh stimulus and orientation when, subsequent to the troubles in the North of 1924/5 and the consequent elimination of Egyptian Mamurs, the southern policy, foreshadowed as early as 1916, was reformulated. Its introduction was followed by more systematic sorting of tribal units and by endeavours to regularized tribal system and buildup tribalized administration function on the authority of individual British officers. It was not surprising that effort had produced on corresponding results in economic development or increase of these for such usually need scientific organization and large capital expenditure; and the reaffirmation of the Southern policy was quickly followed by the economic crises, which on non-productive

²⁶⁷ - J.S.R. Duncan, *The Sudan: Record of Achievement*, Edinburgh and London, 1952, P. 207 2- Ibid, p. 208

²⁶⁸ - Robert O. Collins, *Sudanese nationalism, Southern Policy and the Unification of the Sudan*, p. 239

²⁶⁹ - EP/1/1/2, *Note of the Development of the Southern Sudan*, February 1944.

²⁷⁰ - EP/1/1/2, *Comments of Financial Secretary on Notes on the Development of the Southern Sudan*.

areas.⁽²⁷¹⁾ In the existing circumstances of the region, funds were not likely to be forthcoming for economic development on any large scale.⁽²⁷²⁾

Ideally, coordination and direction of local policies could best be exercised from a single centre of which could be delegated a maximum of authority and independence of Khartoum. The conference was unaware of which to combine as one in order to form into two areas Malakal to Juba. Malakal was being the modal point for river communication, the nearer to Khartoum and the closer to that sector of the Abyssinian frontier where disturbance might be expected could not be chosen. Juba being headquarters of the region from which the impulse economic development would spread as to be considered.⁽²⁷³⁾

In August 1945, the Equatoria was re-divided into two separate provinces. The Bahr al Ghazal and Mongalla provinces had been linked together at the insistence of Sir Stewart Symes as the administrative manifestation of his care and maintenance policy, and the lamentable symbol of his attempt to reduce the deficit for governing the southern provinces.⁽²⁷⁴⁾ In order to attain amalgamation, Symes had to override the unanimous opinion of his principal advisers Gillean Walker, Brick, Ingelson and Parr.⁽²⁷⁵⁾

Because there was a rough distinction between the pastoral and the turbulent tribes of Upper Nile and the agricultural and peaceful clans of Southern Bahr al Ghazal and Mongalla-Juba was chosen. To Mr. Ingelson question that he could assume that dilution in the south was to be by Southerners. Sir Stewart Symes explained that any development in the South would depend on cheap production.

Technology advice and control by British staff would have to be supplemented by trained native staff. The latter must either be southerners trained in the north or northerners imported to the south. The southern policy should not exclude the introduction of northern technicians, but in general they would only be brought in where trained southerners were not available.^(276,277,278)

In reply to the question of Parr, Symes went to say that his immediate aim in the Southern Sudan was reduction of the provincial centres from three to two. It was based on the assumption that the very considerable economic development, and consequently that no elaborate or costly administrative processes were necessary. A paramount

consideration was the maintenance of public security used in the broadest sense of keeping the people occupied, reasonable contented and peaceful.⁽¹⁶⁾

Any reduction of the 250,000 English Pounds bet cost of administration in the south might be valuable and more constructively employed to meet the cost of education had expressed that desirability of introducing British missionaries was impracticable by Catholic orders.⁽¹⁷⁾ In 1945 the Umma Party was formed. The principle of the peoples party was that "the Sudan for the Sudanese," and its object was to work for the Independence of the Sudan within its recognized geographical frontiers while preserving friendly relations with Britain and Egypt.⁽²⁷⁹⁾

In the same year the Southern policy modified to suit the changing political, economic and social conditions existing throughout the Sudan and in order to fit with British policy in the neighboring African lands. British government to whom this southern policy was sent by Lord Killean approved the policy proposed by the Sudan Government.⁽²⁸⁰⁾ The approved policy was distinctively African and negroid on African and negroid lines in only by economic educational development.

The northern advisory Council was not popular with the younger educated classes, who considered it a relatively useless body composed of grey-bearded gentlemen.⁽²⁸¹⁾

Then in 1946 the Governor-General set up a Sudan Administrative Conference, including representatives of all political parties except the Ashigga, which started to work on proposals for modifying further the constitution in the direction of the increased self-government for the Sudanese. The new proposals were for the creation of two bodies, a Legislative Assembly and Executive Council.⁽²⁸²⁾

As has been mentions, in 1946 there were two main political parties: the Umma Party standing for Independence and dominated by Sayed Abdel el Rahman el Mahdi, and the Ashigga Party standing for Unity of the Nile Valley with Egypt and dominated by Sayed Ali el Merghani. The situation was clear cut; two political parties consisting of number of educated people in the towns. No mentioning of any political party in the Southern Sudan. If Southerners were there, they would have been embodied into these two political parties. The administrative conference of 1946 came to be considered as the political

271 - File No. B.1, Governors of Southern Sudan Meeting, 1935

272 - Ibid

273 - File No. B.1, Governors of Southern Sudan Meeting, 1935

274 - ibid

275 - M.W. Daly, op.cit., p. 247

276 - File No. B.1, Governors of Southern Sudan Meeting, 1936

277 - Ibid

278 - Sudan Government, Education Department, Khartoum 3rd April 1939

279 - J.S.R Duncan, The Sudan: Record of Achievement, p. 196

280 - EP/SCR/46.A.1

281 - J.S.R Duncan, op.cit. p. 208

282 - Duncan, J.S.R op.cit. p. 208

mouthpiece of the Sudanese people in which the south was not at all represented.^(283,284)

The administrative conference made the following recommendations to the Governor-General such as the unity of the country, the introduction of a legislative assembly and the appointment of an executive council. The recommendations of the conference were endorsed by the

Governor-General in July 1947 and submitted by him to the Co-Domini. Egypt rejected the recommendations on the ground that the exclusion of their sovereignty over the Sudan. British approved them and the Sudan went ahead with constitutional development.⁽²⁸⁵⁾ Towards the end of 1946 the civil secretary decided that the future of the South is bound up with the North and the two have got to hang together as one. The two other courses open have both been ruled out-isolationism as economically impossible and attachment to southern territories of Kenya or Uganda or the Congo as neither in the best interest of the Southern Sudanese.⁽²⁸⁶⁾ The Southern Governors and their District Commissioners have all welcomed this re-statement of Southern policy.⁽²⁸⁷⁾

This new Southern policy having been approved and put into operation, it was highly essential that all possible ways of associating and mingling essential between northerners and southerners should be encouraged and the artificial barriers exerted sixteen (16) years ago should now be abandoned. All these measures were intended to promote a common outlook and a common feeling of citizenship such as equal regards for equal works, holidays should be standard throughout the country. The old practice of sending southerners to Makerere College in Uganda should cease, etc.

At that time the government did not necessary consider the future progress of the south to be through Arabicization.⁽²⁸⁸⁾ Today it is easy to see the advantages had Arabic been introduced uniformly at an earlier date, but this was far from obvious at that time. In that changing situation the government aimed at limiting higher education to administrative needs it was successful. From 1926-1948 the Sudan government gradually took increasing responsibility for educational work in the Southern Sudan by cooperation and financial subsidies to missionary societies.⁽²⁸⁹⁾

The south was completely out of balance with the race for education, as an end in itself, that was beginning in the

northern Sudan and which was to leave the south far behind. It was not till 1946 that the government really got a hold of southern education consolidated purely government schools with non-mission headmasters and teachers, and began the attempt to catch up the lost ground.⁽²⁹⁰⁾ In the light of this background the position of the southern cases should be understood. Education on the part of purely mission schools has not been very satisfactory. The place of the missionary being properly that of chaplain; but in the realm of medical work and of technical education, particularly by the Roman Catholic missions, the southerners owes a great deal to many unselfish persons who have spent the best part of their lives in his service.⁽²⁹¹⁾

The conference of 1946 not only brought and a new interest of education and administration in the South; it gave added impetus to economic development

As late as 1945 some the Nuer people still paid their taxes by giving bulls from their vast herds to the government, viewing money almost with disfavor, prefer in the time-honored system of barter.⁽³⁰⁾ But the government was much exercised with the urgent need for formulating a remote areas economic policy which would counteract in some measure that great obstacle to the development of Southern Sudan, its remoteness, which precludes the export of all except the most valuable agricultural products. In a memorandum entitled "A suggested experiment of the social emergence of indigenous races in remote areas", the Director of Agriculture of the time set the ball rolling in December 1943 by suggesting a policy which was to make these areas very nearly self-contained and to enable them to market sufficient manufactured products in the 100m coastal belt to enable to obtain the comparatively small amount of sterling pounds for self-sufficiency.

The area chosen for the experiment was that of the Zande people in the far southwest corner of the Sudan. In 1946 all these came to pass: the "Equatoria Project Board" was formed, entrusted with the management of production and trading projects in Zandeland and possibility, later, in other parts of Equatorial provinces of the Sudan.⁽³¹⁾

In 1946 there were two government schools above sub-grade level in the south.⁽³²⁾ since that date and within the framework of the ten year plan for the development and expansion of education, government has built and is building up a system of schools of its own in the southern provinces. The mission considered sovereignty and unity

²⁸³ - Joseph Oduho and William Deng, *the Problem of the Southern Sudan*, Oxford, 1963, p.

²⁸⁴ -

²⁸⁵ - Ibid, p. 31

²⁸⁶ - EP/SCR/46.A.1 Volume V: Missions General Correspondence 1/11/1955.

²⁸⁷ - Ibid

²⁸⁸ - Lilian Sanderson, *Educational Development in Southern Sudan 1900-1948*, SNR, p.117

²⁸⁹ - Lilian Sanderson, *A Survey of Material available for the study of educational development*

²⁹⁰ - Duncan, J.S.R op.cit., *the Sudan Record of Achievement*, p. 216

²⁹¹ - Ibid

for Sudan and one-way traffic towards Arabism and Islam and the sacrificing of all the Christian involvement of hard work and heroic missionaries.⁽³³⁾ at first the mission failed to realize that there is room for both religions Christianity and Islam in the future southern Sudan. This argument is based on human rights and human dignity to share in his expression of his understanding.

A few girls were attending Lul, Tonga and Detwok schools and it was also hoped that a start could be made by the opening of girls schools at Detwok in 1948 and possibly at Lul and Tonga. By that time it was hoped that Mother Rachele and Sister Geneve, two excellent teachers, could be spared from the boys' school.⁽³³⁾

On 31^{292st} March 1947 "A Legislative Assembly" and an "Executive Council and the association of the Southerners with Northerners in the governments of the United Sudan.

The Juba Conference 1947, held at Juba on 11.6.1947 the most important thing that merged very clearly from this conference was that everybody, apart from or two Equatoria chief, admitted the need for political unity, did not want to touch Uganda with a barge-pole and realized that the South can not stand alone.⁽²⁹³⁾ the logic of the new Southern policy demanded an integrated education system and introduction of Arabic, some officials have favored this for years, and the Juba Conference had occurred. The Sudan government's goal was to preserve British authority for as long as possible, particularly policies, however unpalatable had to be accepted as the price for northern cooperation.⁽²⁹⁴⁾

The creation of Legislative Assembly and Executive Council proposals were accepted by the United Kingdom but on the 26th November 1947 the Egyptian Government in a note to the United Kingdom proposed various modifications. The UK government's reply on the 15th January 1948 stated that many of the Egyptian proposals would be incorporated in the draft ordinance, and suggested that in order to achievement this eagerly awaited step towards Sudanese self-government should not be delayed, consultations should at once be held between Co-Domini.⁽²⁹⁵⁾ After some delays full agreement was reached in Cairo on the 28th May 1948 between the British Ambassador and the Egyptian Foreign Minister, subject to the approval of the Egyptian Government. The terms of the agreement provided for the nomination of Egyptian officials serving in Egyptian departments in the Sudan to the proposed executive council, and the formation of an Anglo-Egypto-Sudanese committee to supervise the

implementation of the policy extension of Sudanese self-government. On the 14th June the treaty having been rejected by Foreign Affairs Committee of the Egyptian senate.⁽³⁸⁾

Egyptian criticism of the ordinance was based broadly on the fact that it recognized the continued validity of 1899 condominium Agreement and failed to enshrine the principle of the unity of the Nile Valley under Egyptian crown but, as Mr. Mayhew emphasized at the conclusion of its statement, these negotiations covered only this practical question of the proposed ordinance and were never intended to reconcile the conflicting views regarding the status of the Sudan, on which both governments have previously and publicly reserved their positions.⁽³⁹⁾

The effective part played by the legislative assembly in the development of the Sudan is evidenced by the passing of legislation providing inter alia, for making Arabic the common language of the Southern Sudan, for the settlement of trade disputes and for the establishment of trade union. To the Assembly there came as members, in 1948, thirteen representatives of the Southern Sudan, and their presence has its origin in the government's general deliberations of 1948, when the difficult question of the future of the Southern Sudan came under review and it was decided, after a conference with representative Southerners in Juba that future policy should be that of fusion with the North and that all barriers should be removed which might render that fusion in any way difficult.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The decision was a major one. On theoretical grounds the decision has many opponents. On practical grounds it is less liable to opposition. The only alternative aid to keep the southerner living to zoo. The real danger to the south in an independent Sudan is neglected. At all events the Sudan was committed to the rough and tumble of life in the unified Sudan.⁽⁴¹⁾

The first measures towards the educational integration in the South with the North were taken in 1950, when the teaching of Arabic was introduced into all schools above elementary level, and students were sent to the Gordon College for higher education, instead of Makerere College in Uganda as formerly.⁽⁴²⁾ Throughout the year 1947, the Education Department was fully engaged in the heavy work of implementing the comprehensive plan of expansion which had been approved of in the previous year.⁽⁴³⁾ The Upper Nile Presbyterian actually came into being in 1948. In 1948 a secondary class was started at Atar; it moved in

²⁹² - Ibid

²⁹³ - EP/SCR/46.A.1, Vol.V

²⁹⁴ - Daly, M.W., op.cit., p. 342

²⁹⁵ - Duncan, J.S.R. op.cit., p. 209 38-
op.cit., p. 210

Duncan, J.S.R.

1949 to the site of the south's first secondary school, Rumbek. Total secondary enrolment grew from 528 in 1946 to about 1,700 a decade later. Girls secondary education lagged behind in absolute terms: the number of girls enrolled rose from 12 in 1946 to 92 in 1951 – 1952 and 25 in 1956 ⁽²⁹⁶⁾ change came through political bargaining as much as from statutory authority which led to the establishment of the Ministry of Education in 1948 symbolized greater Sudanese influence in determining policy. Sudanization provided the impetus for more technical education of a national education policy involved important changes in everything from curriculum to administration. Between 1944 and 1948 the number of boys elementary schools rose from 37 to 49, and the number of students almost doubled to 5,700. ⁽²⁹⁷⁾ the number of girls in elementary school grew from about 730 to 1,600 in 1949, when Government girls was established at Tonj. ⁽⁴⁶⁾

About school standards it is impossible to judge; the level of teaching must have improved with longer courses and more professional training, but a British visitor described the village schools as so ineffectual, that they could only do harm to the idea of education in general. ⁽²⁹⁸⁾ Total enrolment of intermediate education was only about 500 in 1948. ⁽²⁹⁹⁾ Just secondary education essential for the South's political development, was neglected so too was technical education vital to this economic future. ⁽³⁰⁰⁾ William's 1946 proposals were based on the report of a technical education committee set up in January 1945 by Marwood, the Governor of Equatoria. Its recommendation were surprisingly modest, indeed stressed above all the need to improve the status (by pay and terms of service) of Southern Artisans.

During this period (1947) Government intervention in Southern Education was a necessary development. The result was that by 1948 the Educational Department was represented by fourteen senior officials. ⁽³⁰¹⁾ there were 52 trained missionary educationalists and 311 trained Sudanese. Seventeen boys in 1948 were in secondary schools in Uganda. ⁽³⁰²⁾

In 1948 a unified system of educational policy started to be adopted for the northern and southern Sudan. ⁽⁵²⁾ Government schools were not opened in the south until the late 1940s, and the southern branch of the publication bureau started to produce literature for the south in 1948. In 1949 Rumbek Boys Secondary School was opened and a few years later a Technical Secondary School at Juba was also opened. On 3rd August 1949, the executive Council (a northern dominated institution) abandoned the terms of reference and issued a directive that Arabic should become the common language of a United Sudan. This directive was confirmed by the similarity instituted legislative Assembly in Number that same year.

In the plans made educational development after 1950 the southern system of education gradually appointed to that on the north. The first measures towards the educational amalgamation of the south with the north were taken in 1950, when the teaching of Arabic was introduced in all schools above elementary level, and students were sent to the Gordon College for higher education, instead of Makerere College in Uganda as preciously. ⁽⁵³⁾ At the beginning of 1050 the figures of mission schools in the southern Sudan were ⁽⁵⁴⁾

Type of School	No. of School	No. of Pupils
Boys Elementary and Intermediate	50	5,997
Boys Sub-Elementary	307	14,650
Boys Trades and Teacher's Training	12	512
Girls Elementary	12	1,179
Total	381	22,638

²⁹⁶ - M.W. Daly, op.cit., p. 335

²⁹⁷ - M.W. Daly, op.cit., p. 335 46-371/2015

²⁹⁸ - Ibid, pp. 186-187

²⁹⁹ - Daly, M.W. op.cit., p. 340

³⁰⁰ - Ibid

³⁰¹ - Sanderson, L.M., op.cit.

³⁰² - Lilian Sanderson, Educational Development in the South Sudan 1900-1948 in SNR, XLIII, 1962

Girls education had lagged behind that for boys in the Southern Provinces, as in the North⁽⁵⁵⁾ No allowance had been made into the programme 1948/56 for a girls secondary school in the Southern Provinces.

The 1946/1950 programme of educational development in the southern ³⁰³³⁰⁴provinces included the setting up of a form school at Yambio, but difficulties of staff and buildings had thitherto prevented the opening of this school. There were in 1950 three province education officers stationed at Malakal, Wau and Yambio.⁽⁵⁶⁾ In 1950 all village schools were still being run by missions, and over 90 percent of students in post village education were mission schools.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The government envisaged a continuing state-aided mission monopoly on the lowest ranks of the educational ladder, and state provision and control at the top. In the middle were the new schemes for teacher-training, in which a mixture of missionary effort and government finance and supervision was planned.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Once again, creation of a Ministry of Education in 1948, and appointment of Abdal Rahman Ali Taha, the Umma Politician and Veteran Educationalist, as Minister did not radically alter Southern education. Northern politicians saw Christian missions as allies of British imperialism, the south's backwardness as a result of British policy, British insistence of safeguards as hypocritical and insulting, and a dual education policy as a barrier to nation building. They would likely have disbelieved Robertson's private letter that Christianity must stand on its own merits and beat Islam without the government's aid.⁽³⁰⁵⁾ By 1948 the Verona Father's Primary teacher training at Bussere and the CMS's at Mundri were functioning according to plan. Progress in vernacular teacher training centres for village and elementary school was slow.⁽³⁰⁶⁾

Repeatedly, the integration of the Southern educational system, the product of missionary endeavour, either English not Arabic as the language of instruction began in 1950 and during the following decade has been pushed on with ever-increasing speed.⁽³⁰⁷⁾ Of more immediate importance than either the teaching of Arabic or ultimate control of nongovernment schools was vast expansion under a five year plan adopted in 1950, the Governor-General's council ceased to exist, and was superseded by an Executive Council of 12 to 18 members at least of whom were to be Sudanese.

The chief Sudanese member, in effect the Prime Minister, was the leader of the Assembly. He was elected by that body, and advised the Governor General on the appointment of Sudanese to ministerial posts.⁽³⁰⁸⁾ The three British Secretaries and Commander-in-chief remained members of the council. The Governor-General retained extensive powers, including a veto on the decisions of the Executive Council as well as competence to legislate by ordinance, and to define reserve matters on which the Assembly could not legislate. These reserved matters were the constitution, the condominium, foreign relations and Sudanese nationality.⁽³⁰⁹⁾ The leader of the Assembly was Abdallah Bey Khalid.

There was disagreement between Britain and Egypt in 1950 that began in the House of Common which reiterated the British position. The British government declared that they would maintain the right of the Sudanese freely to choose their ultimate status. It also declared that they would give their fullest support to the Governor-General in continuing to administer the Government of the Sudan in accordance with the condominium Agreement of 1899 and in his aim to assisting the Sudanese in the attainment of self-government at the earliest possible moment.⁽³¹⁰⁾

In the Sudan, the Umma, who dominated the Legislative Assembly, were alarmed at the Egyptian announcement. In the Assembly a motion demanding from the Co-Domini a joint declaration of Sudanese Self Government was carried in December 1950 by margin on one vote.⁽³¹¹⁾ The opponents of the motion favoured a slower advance to self government.⁽³¹²⁾ The original status had revived old suspicious by conferring on the Governor-General special responsibilities for the southern provinces.⁽³¹³⁾ Azhari began to accommodate his tactics to the changing public opinion. The southern political leaders adopted Azhari's own former tactics and began to seek Egyptian support.⁽³¹⁴⁾ They announced that they were aiming at establishing an autonomous south linked only in Federation with the North. This was customary, three southern ministers were appointed, but these were not the men nominated by the Liberal Party, the political group which included the majority of Southern deputies.

The result of this was to antagonize the southerners, forty of whom ³¹⁵combined an alliance known as the Federal Block, which was reared to vote with NUP opposition

³⁰³ - Proposals for the Expansion and Improvement, p. 14

³⁰⁴ - Daly, M.W., The Imperial Sudan:

The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium
1934-1956 ⁵⁸. Ibid

³⁰⁵ - Fo 321/2015, Lampson to Eden, 4th July 1930

³⁰⁶ - Daly, M.W., op.cit, p. 341

³⁰⁷ - Holt, P.M. op.cit, p. 181

³⁰⁸ - P.M. Holt, op.cit., 155

³⁰⁹ - Ibid

³¹⁰ - Duncan, JSR, Sudan: A record of achievement. London, 1952.
p. 247

³¹¹ - P.M. Holt, op.cit., 155

³¹² - Ibid

³¹³ - Ibid

³¹⁴ - P.M. Holt, op.cit., 164

³¹⁵ - Ibid, p. 169

(National Unionist Party), especially on question regarding the Sudan.⁽³¹⁶⁾ This development seriously undermined the stability of Abdallah Khalil's government, since he was dependent on South support to obtain parliamentary ratification for the economic and technical aid agreement with the USA. The support of the southerners had therefore to be sought. They, however, had threatened to boycott the parliament, in its role as a constituent Assembly, because the government would not allow the discussion of the Federal Constitution. Abdallah Khalil was forced to compromise on this point which was the principal southern demand since 1955.⁽³¹⁷⁾ the 1951-1956 plan called for a much greater role in boys' elementary education. No new mission elementary schools would be opened until 1954, but as many as eleven village schools could be up-graded to elementary standard; by then 17 were in fact so reclassified.⁽³¹⁸⁾ the government meanwhile would add 26 schools to the six it operated in 1951, by 1954 some 16 were opened. Thus both the planned total and the proportion of government to missionary school had not been reached. By 1954 the missions worked all but 5 of 382 village schools.⁽³¹⁹⁾

The smooth development of Azhari's policy was rudely interrupted in August 1955 by a revolt in the South. The Sudan police was centralized in 1953, because the Sudanese police commandants objected to being subordinate to newly promoted Sudanese Governors. On the 10th August a detachment of 500 northern soldiers arrived by air at Juba. It was the government's intention to station a few detachment of northern troops at strategic points in the south and to move some, but by no means all, Southern soldiers into the northern.⁽³²⁰⁾ To put this policy into effect a company at Torit, the headquarters of Equatoria Corps, was ordered to make ready to move northwards, but it became obvious that the soldiers were reluctant to obey this order.⁽⁷⁴⁾ It was also rumoured that they were to be disarmed. By this time, the northern administrators wanted the Equatoria Corps to be disbanded and that the order must be enforced.⁽³²¹⁾ As was feared, on the 18th August 1955, when ordered to mount the trucks that were to take them northwards, the southern soldiers at Torit refused to comply with and instead attacked their officers and broke into armoury. The mutiny suddenly exploded into violence as they began killing, burning and looting. Northerners and northern property suffered in particular.⁽³²²⁾ In the field of secondary education the five year plan called for tripling

the intake at Rumbek by 1956. The intermediate schools supplied on insufficient pool of potential secondary school entrants, who had prospects of employment in school teaching, government service, and elsewhere. The result had been termed disastrous and catastrophic,⁽³²³⁾ for the south was denied to only the means quickly to expand secondary education, but also a modern educated class large enough to represent these people in an area of self government and self-determination. As late as July 1952 Robertson told Governors that of educated Sudanese was going on to be difficult unless economic development keep pace with education.⁽³²⁴⁾

When the Sudan achieved Independent 1.1. 1956, the government's policy in the Southern Sudan aimed above all at keeping with the unity of the country. In 1956 ban on enlistment of southern soldiers was lifted, but they were expected to serve in the northern Sudan under northern soldiers, and few were attracted to such conditions in the climate of fear and distrust that had arisen.⁽³²⁵⁾ The Southern revolt on August 1955 led to the temporary closure of school there, but they were reopened in the year 1956 with the accession of power of the predominately Muslim government, determined obliterate as far as possible the cultural and education differences between the northern and southern policy which in the circumstances could only mean assimilation to northern province, the missionary schools as such were clearly doomed.⁽⁸⁰⁾ In February 1957, the Ministry of Education announced that it was the government's intention to take direct and full charge of education in the southern provinces and laid down a timetable for taking over the various classes of schools. The absorption the missionary schools by the government was one of the causes of southern resentment in the second parliament, and hence contributed to the situation which brought about the Army's Coup d'etat.

80- Ibid

In the same year all the mission schools in the southern Sudan were taken by the Ministry of Education, as a result Priest were no longer allowed to teach in those schools.⁽³²⁶⁾ These missionaries were suspected by the government of helping, and even inciting the rebels and of actively opposing the government's integration policy. No doubt some of them became involved to a degree, feeling that they were simply doing what could to keep back the seeping tide of Islam and to protect their flocks.⁽³²⁷⁾ In order to make

³¹⁶ . Ibid. p. 179

³¹⁷ . Ibid, p. 180

³¹⁸ . Daly, M.W., op.cit, p.. 343

³¹⁹ . P.M. Holt, op.cit, p. 342

³²⁰ - O'balance, E, op.cit., p. 41

³²¹ . Ibid, p.41

³²² . Ibid, p. 42

³²³ - Fo 371/2015, Foreign Office, Minute, 25 October 1936

³²⁴ - R.I. Campbell, Possible Expulsion of Italian Priests from the Sudan, 16th June 1937

³²⁵ - O'Ballance, E. op.cit., p.41

³²⁶ - Giovanni Vahtini, Christianity in the Sudan, Verona, 1981, p. 251

³²⁷ - O'Ballance, E. op.cit., p.51

concluding remarks of this chapter, the years 1946-1952 are unsatisfactory period in the history of Modern Sudan in general and the Southern Sudan in particular.

This was because of the dispute between Egypt and Britain, in which the status and future of the Sudan formed as an important element on previous occasion; and the development of self-government institution in the Sudan. The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium produced a frustrating deadlock between the two Co-Domini. After the war greater attention was paid to Southern education by the end of 1946 the civil secretary decided on his own interest that the future of the South Sudan was bound with the northern Sudan and the two have got to hang together as one. The purpose of this was because of a strategic naval base in the Suez Canal Zone. There were criticisms to this decision. No Southern Sudanese was represented in the administrative conference of the northern Sudan. Due to this, Juba Conference was held in 1947. In 1948 a unified system of education was established for the whole Sudan. In 1949, the Executive Council declared that Arabic should be applicable to all the Sudanese schools in order to adopt as the official language. In 1956, the Sudan attains its Independence. In 1957, all the mission schools were nationalized and priests prohibited teaching in these schools.

Conclusion

When the Sudan achieved independence on 1st January, 1956, the government's policy in the Southern Sudan aimed above all at keeping the unity of the country. In 1957 all the missionary schools in the Southern Sudan were taken over the Ministry of Education.

Consequently priests were no longer allowed to teach in those schools.

The Sudan had inherited from the Co-Domini administration an educational system of big complex way. Educational work in the Sudan started before the coming of the Arabs. This was particularly in Nubian. There were three Christian kingdoms before the advent of the Arabs in the Northern Sudan.

The coming of the Arabs in the country reshaped the main object to a religious one and reading and writing were mainly taught for the purpose of learning Koran and Islamic instructions. As a result, Khalwas played a very good part in the way of education and general enlightenment. These Khalwas were run by the Arab people themselves. Some of them were subsidized by the government. The two administrations (The TurcoEgyptian and Mahdist) had neglected the Southern areas on the upper reaches of the White Nile and Bahr al Ghazal Rivers.

However, modern education in the Sudan reactivated with AngloEgyptian Condominium when the government started to establish framework of schools of western type in the main towns of the northern Sudan. This kind of education was provided for practical reasons to train Sudanese low-paid, subordinate posts in government departments.

In the Southern Sudan education was first relegated to and later reserved for foreign missionary societies in contrast to that in the Northern Sudan under government. It was called bush education (village). The aim was to produce local evangelists, bush-school teachers, time-keepers and local chief's clerks. It was important to note the difference in the educational aims for the areas in questions. Their educational work (missionary societies) was a component of a civilizing effort which had almost no other and allowed the government to direct its resources elsewhere.

Missionary societies were allies or agents of the Sudan government. They were appointed by the government to build up a satisfactory organization of schools in order to reach the low-standard required. Their main work in the educational development of the southern Sudan was to preach the gospel and build the church of Christ. In other words, the overriding aim of foreign missionary societies is to proselytize and spread Christianity, each according to its denomination and the tenets in which it believes. Their personnel are in the first-charged with the accomplishment of this aim no matter whether they are qualified educationalist or otherwise.

From 1898-1926, the programme policy aimed in fact to administer as little as possible in the Southern Sudan. A paramount consideration was the maintenance of publicity security used in the broadest sense of keeping the people occupies, reasonably contented and peaceful, under Symes greater emphasis on technical and professional education in the Southern Sudan coincided with care and maintenance in the Southern Sudan.

The sphere system was started in 1903. It was introduced to ensure that the civilizing influence of the mission should be widely spread as possible and to prevent a recurrence of disputes which had already arisen between rival missions operating in the same area. This policy of strict zone was maintained unaltered until 1935 when an agreement was reached between the Roman Catholic and church missionary society. Missions whereby understood not to oppose entry of the other into its sphere of influence. This new policy of interlacing was promoted by the government and has not been altered since its inception.

At the start, the policy of the Sudan government was to limit the private influence of individual Muslim traders and officials and the spread of Islam has always not been chiefly

fostered in the pagan areas of the country. Several barriers were used to prevent national integration by the then Sudan government.

The activities of Christian missionary societies in the Muslim area of the Sudan have been restricted on grounds of public security. It aimed at keeping the counterbalance between Muslims and Southerners. The Government was happy about the arrival of Christian missions in the Southern Sudan, to aid spread western civilization to plant Christian faith and to act as a barrier against Islam.

The British authorities were convinced that Islam should be prevented from permeating the Southern Sudan by creating artificial barriers such as a Closed District and the permits to Trade order of 1925. In 1926 a Resident Inspector of Southern Provinces was appointed by the Government. Eventually in the same year the mission schools were subsidized by the Government; the theory was that they should give education to all Southerners who had to become a Christian to gain an education at all end.

Southern education was closely related to administrative policy and practice. In 1928 as a result of the Rejaf Language Conference "six group languages" were designated such as Bari, Latuka, Nuer, Shilluk, Dinka and Zande and English rather than Arabic named Lingua Franca. The greatest achievement of foreign missionaries was that they were able to write local vernacular languages for the Southern Sudan. In the Southern Sudan there is no homogeneity of culture, no tradition or any old civilization and no predominant literary language. Religion to the missionary comes first but the negative aspects of it are that it was pursued almost to the exclusion of sound method of education. Thus the education should be primarily a government and not a religious one or the results would be disastrous like the Southern Sudan.

Towards the end of 1929, John Loader Maffey, after securing the full agreement of the British government to his Southern Policy directed the Civil Secretary to put it into operation. The policy in the Southern Sudan was to build up a series of self-contained racial or tribal units based upon indigenous customs, traditional usage and beliefs.

The creation of a firm barrier to "Arabicization" was considered essential prerequisite of this southern policy. It is worthily to mention that the chief sources or causes of "Arabicization" were education on Arabic lines, religion, trade, economics, immigration, army service, governmental services, etc several means were pursued to eliminate the spread of Islam in the Southern Sudan in 1930.

In 1937 organized politics began in the Sudan at the birth of the Graduate Congress. By 1940 Muslim influence was completely eliminated and the three Southern Provinces became to all intents and purposes a separate unit closed to

Northern Sudanese and widely open to British, Greek and foreign missionaries. The educational policy was the active encouragement of English, the Lingua Franca, for the Southern Sudan and the cooperation of the missions were entrusted with the education of the Southern people. In 1946 the Southern policy, modified to suit the changing political, economic and social conditions prevailing throughout the country and in order to fit with British policy in the neighbouring African territories. The approved policy was distinctively African and negroid on African and negroid lines in only by economic educational development. It is of great importance that all possible way of associating and mingling between northerners and southerners should be encouraged and the artificial barriers erected should now be abandoned. Education of all kinds which is in itself a human investment must be speeded up.

In 1947 Juba Conference was held and the decision of which was hushed up against the will of Southerners by the then Civil Secretary and Shingeti. They wanted to reach the same level of the Northern Sudan in order to decide either to remain as one of separate body. The educated among Southerners, were willing to risk something for their personal advantage. Southern traders had no interest in attachment southwards.

In the same way, the northern Sudanese ruling circles adopted education to take the Arabic language and culture to the Southern Sudanese. In one sense it reinforced Arabic in the Southern Sudan. In 1948 a unified system of education was established to the whole Sudan. On 3 August 1949, the Executive Council (a northern dominated institution) abandoned its terms of reference and issued a directive that Arabic should become the common language of a united Sudan. This directive was confirmed by the similarly instituted "Legislative Assembly" in November that same year.

The advent of the Graduates Congress in its formation and political party's roles created so many things and above all, the obstacles of distance and language without initiating complex and expensive machinery. Most educated Africans in responsible positions had gained a Christian background. The weakness of these pioneers was that they failed to develop up to date Girls education and secondary education in the whole Sudan until after 1946. Another weakness was that religion was followed in the absence of sound method of education. In other words, their education was in opposition to secular education because it was not government but a religious one.

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