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CHAPTER EIGHT

SUDAN AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE ERA OF COLONIAL DISMANTLEMENT (1946-1956): HISTORY TEACHING IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

IRIS SERI-HERSCH

The position of Sudan in the world has recently undergone a dramatic change. Since July 9, 2011, there exist legally and politically two Sudans. The break-up of the country into two separate states raises complex problems of history writing and teaching in the region. Fundamental notions such as “Sudan”, “Sudanese history” and “Sudanese nation” need to be rethought and redefined. One of the main issues at stake, for scholars as well as citizens of Sudan and South Sudan, is the following one: how will historians (Sudanese and non-Sudanese alike) write and teachers teach about the Sudans from now on? Should they project post-2011 political boundaries on earlier times and specify if they deal with the history of Sudan, South Sudan, or the entire region? These are questions that a number of Sudan scholars have begun to ask.(1)

This article deals with issues of history writing and teaching in a context which, in many ways, is diametrically opposed to the current situation: the last decade of colonial rule in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (1946-1956). After 1946, the territory that had been ruled as two separate regions for a quarter of a century (Northern and Southern Sudan) was reconstituted as one administrative, political and educational unit. The British-dominated Sudan Government undertook the gradual unification of two educational systems which had been completely separated since the early 20th century. The (mainly missionary) Southern school system was melded into the (government) Northern school system during the 1950s.(2) Thus, we are dealing with a situation in which Sudan was hastily reunited in a context of British imperial dismantlement. The decade following World War II is a fascinating period if one wishes to reconnect Sudan to

the history of the wider British Empire, as is the purpose of this article.(3) Despite the enlistment of millions of soldiers from the colonies and the grandiloquent discourses of Prime Minister Winston Churchill, the British Empire was seriously shaken by the war. The defeat against Japanese armies in Singapore and Malaysia (1942), the struggle against (imperialist) Nazi Germany, the overt anti-imperialist ideology of Britain's main ally (the USA), and the radicalization of national movements in the colonies contributed to weaken the legitimacy and actual power of the Empire. In 1947, what had hitherto constituted the "jewel of the Crown" became independent in the shape of two dominions, India and Pakistan. The future of the Empire, however, remained largely uncertain. Under the impulse of Arthur Creech-Jones (Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1946-1950) and Andrew Cohen (Under-Secretary for African Affairs from 1947), the Colonial Office championed what I term "paternalist-progressive" policies in British Africa. These policies aimed at improving the social and economic conditions of colonized people (in particular through education) before granting them self-government.(4) But the Empire suffered increasing territorial losses: Burma, Ceylon and Palestine were abandoned by the British in 1948. Kenya was agitated by the Mau-Mau revolt from 1952 onwards. In Egypt, the Free Officers overthrew monarchical rule in 1952 and established a government that was much less accommodating with the ongoing British presence in the Suez Canal zone. At the same time, Sudan, which had been officially ruled by an Anglo-Egyptian administration since 1899, was the object of a fierce dispute between the two Condomini. From 1946 to 1952, Sudan constituted an enduring "*stone wall*" that foiled Anglo-Egyptian negotiations time and again.(5) The dual nature of imperial rule in the country had facilitated the development of two rival streams of Sudanese nationalism. Sudanese independentists aimed at full independence through pragmatic cooperation with the British. They were led by the neo-Mahdist political and religious leader Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdī (SAR). By contrast, Sudanese unionists advocated a political union between Sudan and Egypt. Led by SAR's long-time rival and head of the Khatmiyya Sufi order, Sayyid 'Alī al-Mīrghani, they were supported by Egyptian politicians and intellectuals.(6) In these circumstances, the future of Sudan was all but predictable. While ideological struggles and political uncertainty were at their highest (1946-1951), new history curricula and teaching materials were devised for Sudanese schools. They were the outcome of joint work by British and Northern Sudanese educators who were particularly eager to transform history teaching and learning practices in elementary and intermediate schools.

This article investigates history teaching in post-war Sudan and the wider British Empire in comparative perspective. It is meant to contribute new insights to the historiographies of both Sudan and the late British Empire. History teaching will be analyzed through several key-aspects: purposes of school history, curriculum contents, the ideological framing of school historical narratives, as well as history teachers and didactics. These various dimensions will be related, as far as possible, to the particular context of colonial dismantlement in which they existed or were deployed. History teaching is the lens through which I shall attempt to evaluate the position of Sudan within the late British Empire. But before exploring history teaching *per se*, we need to look at intra-imperial educational circulations. The movement of officials, publications and experiences between various regions of the Empire, it will be argued, is a crucial element for understanding and contextualizing similarities between Sudanese school history and school histories that were theorized and practiced in other parts of the Empire in the 1946-1956 decade.

Educational Circulations: Officials, Journals and Experiences across the British Empire

On the lines of Bernard S. Cohn and more recently scholars of “new imperial histories”(7), I suggest considering the Empire and the metropole within the same analytical framework. In this perspective, officials, educational models and personal experiences circulated along multiple trajectories; they did not always originate in Britain to end up in the colonies. Exchanges, transpositions and adaptations between the colonies were equally important. Some specific examples of educational movements, exchanges and interactions between Sudan and other British-controlled territories will highlight the significance of such circulations in the late colonial era.

The mobility of colonial officials varied from one imperial Service to another, and from one period to another. Attached to the Foreign Office rather than to the Colonial Office in London, the Sudan Political Service (SPS) recruited men for administrative functions. Their career was usually limited to Sudan.(8) However, mobility was higher at the upper echelons of the British Sudan administration. From 1925 onwards, almost all Governors-General had some previous non-Sudanese colonial experience or directly came from another part of the Empire. Sir Geoffrey Archer (1925-1926) arrived to Sudan from Uganda; Sir John Maffey (1926-1934) from India, where he had been Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province.(9) Sir Stewart Symes (1934-1940) had been Governor

of the Palestine North District (1920-1925), Chief Secretary to the Government of Palestine (1925-1928), and Governor of Tanganyika (1931-1933) before serving in Sudan. Sir Hubert Huddleston (1940-1946) had been a military commander in India during the period 1934-1938.(10) Upon Sudanese independence (1956), a number of ex-SPS officials pursued their imperial career by transferring to the Colonial Administrative Service, though a greater number entered the British Foreign Office.(11)

Officials of the Sudan Department of Education (who were not part of the SPS) enjoyed more possibilities of inter-territorial movement than SPS members. While some of them had had previous experience in other regions of the British Empire before coming to Sudan, others started their career in Sudan and went later on to other colonial locations or to the Colonial Office in London. Still, other officials encountered Sudan in the middle of their imperial career. Figure 1 exemplifies this mobility through some specific cases.

Figure 1: Mobility of Officials of the Sudan Department of Education(12)

Name	Function and Location	Years
Humphrey Bowman	Education Department, Egypt Education Department, Sudan Director of Education, Iraq Director of Education, Palestine	1903-1911 1911-1913 1918-1920 1920-1936
John W. Crowfoot	Inspector of Education, Egypt Director of Education, Sudan Director of the British School of Archaeology, Jerusalem, Palestine Director of the Palestine Exploration Fund	1909 1914-1926 1926-1935 1945-1950
Vincent L. Griffiths	Teacher, St Andrew's College, Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh, India Teacher, GMC, Khartoum, Sudan Inspector of Education, Sudan Principal, Institute of Education, Bakht er Ruda, Sudan	ca. 1925-1928 1929-1931 1931-1934 1934-1950
Ina M. Beasley	English Teacher, Rangoon University, Burma Controller of Girls' Education, Sudan	1935-1939 1939-1949
E. R. J. Hussey	Teacher, GMC, Khartoum, Sudan District Commissioner, Sudan Inspector of Education, Sudan Director of Education, Uganda Director of Education, Nigeria	1908-1912 1912-1918 1918-1925 1925-1929 1929-1936
C. W. M. Cox	Director of Education, Sudan Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Britain Educational Adviser, Department of Technical Cooperation, Britain Educational Adviser, Ministry of Overseas Development, Britain	1937-1939 1940-1961 1961-1964 1964-1970
John A. Bright	English Teacher, GMC, Khartoum, Sudan English Teacher, Wadi Seidna Secondary School, Sudan Inspector, Institute of Education, Bakht er Ruda, Sudan Chief Inspector, Institute of Education, Bakht er Ruda, Sudan Teachers' Training Officer, Makerere University College, Uganda	1939-1945 1945-1949 1949-1953 1953-1955 1956-1965

George C. Scott	Assistant District Commissioner, Sudan	1922-1930
	Inspector of Education, Sudan	1931
	Chief Inspector of Education, Sudan	1932-1933
	Warden, GMC, Khartoum, Sudan	1937-1943
	Assistant Principal, Higher Schools, Khartoum, Sudan	1943-1946
	Educational Research, University College of Khartoum, Sudan	1946-1949
	Director of Education, British Administration, Tripolitania	1950-1951
H. F. C. Smith	History Teacher, Wadi Seidna Secondary School, Sudan	1949-1955
	University of Ibadan, Nigeria	1955-1960s

Many members of the Sudan Department of Education did not have professional experience in the wider British Empire. History educators and academics such as John A. Haywood, Peter M. Holt, and Alan B. Theobald, who played a central role in the reform of school history curricula in post-war Sudan, spent their entire “imperial” career in Sudan. With regards to the colonial British Empire as a whole, the year 1930 marked a turning-point in the history of the Colonial Service. Before that time, officials were appointed to a particular territory; in most cases, they were destined to remain in the same service and territory for the whole of their career. Only top officials (governors, chief secretaries, heads of department) enjoyed a significant measure of mobility across the Empire.⁽¹³⁾ In 1930, the Colonial Office decided to unify the Colonial Service, with the following outcomes: all officers became eligible for transfer on promotion whenever there was a vacancy in another territory; they were also liable for transfer should the Colonial Office have required it; mobility opportunities considerably increased; moreover, the unified Colonial Service generated “a unique pool of knowledge and comparative experience”.⁽¹⁴⁾ The Administrative Service was the first to be unified (1932). The Education Service was unified in 1937.⁽¹⁵⁾

Colonial officials who moved from one territory to the other brought with them their experience, ideas and sensibilities. Of course, they were not the only medium through which ideas, policies and practices circulated within the British Empire. Written publications, in particular reports by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies (ACEC)⁽¹⁶⁾ and colonial journals, contributed to the extensive dissemination of information, models and opinions among colonial educators. *Oversea Education* was a quarterly, semi-official journal published by the ACEC from 1929 onwards. Destined to British officials, its main purpose was to facilitate “the exchange of knowledge in educational spheres between the colonies”⁽¹⁷⁾. It included articles on educational experiments and practices in various territories, opinions on educational theories and their application in the field, overviews of the latest educational developments in individual countries, and reviews of recent books. As will be seen below, *Oversea Education* is a central source for investigating history

teaching in the post-war British Empire. Under the editorship of W. E. F. Ward (1946-1963), the journal offered its audience a majority of articles on Africa (60%).⁽¹⁸⁾ After World War II, several new colonial journals were launched, with a special emphasis on education and “development” issues: *Mass Education Bulletin*, *Community Development Bulletin*, and *Corona* were all established in 1949.

Despite the fact that Sudan was not a colonial territory *de jure*, it was not excluded from the pages of these journals. On the contrary, the educational work of Bakht er Ruda (such was the name commonly given to Sudan’s Institute of Education, derived from its location) was repeatedly echoed in colonial journals and publications. In 1946 and 1947, *Oversea Education* published articles on mass education projects in Sudan. Later issues included notes on the Southern Sudanese publication bureau and Women’s Clubs in Sudan.⁽¹⁹⁾ In the early 1950s, *Oversea Education* offered reviews of books authored by Sudan educators, namely Vincent L. Griffiths, ‘Abd al-Rahman ‘Alī Ṭaha (ARAT) and John A. Bright.⁽²⁰⁾ In its second issue, *Corona*, the journal of the Colonial Service, devoted part of the editorial (by Creech-Jones) and an article (by a Sudan educator) to literacy campaigns in Northern Sudan.⁽²¹⁾ Creech-Jones presented the literacy campaigns as a model of community development project to be followed in other regions of British Africa. The *Mass Education Bulletin* also exposed adult education projects carried on in Sudan from 1944 to 1950.⁽²²⁾

The concept of “education for citizenship” such as it was developed by Griffiths and ARAT in Sudan was well appreciated in British colonial circles. In a report titled *Education for Citizenship in Africa* (1948), the ACEC included a text by Griffiths on Bakht er Ruda projects in this field.⁽²³⁾ The reform of Sudanese elementary education that took place between 1934 and 1950 was not overlooked. Although officially not covering Sudan, a report on African education co-edited by the Colonial Office and the Nuffield Foundation in 1953 devoted a few lines to Bakht er Ruda. The study group in charge of East and Central Africa noted “*the excellent work done in the Sudan by V. L. Griffiths at Bakht-er-Ruda Training College*”.⁽²⁴⁾ The Sudanese model, it was contended, would help train African primary teachers to become familiar with activity methods and introduce them in their teaching.

History Teaching in the Era of Colonial Dismantlement

Bearing in mind intra-imperial educational circulations, we move to the core issue of history teaching. This section offers comparative insights

into several aspects of school history in post-war Sudan and the wider British Empire. The regions I have selected for the study include territories of various administrative and political statuses within the Empire: colonial dependencies in British Africa (Uganda, North Rhodesia, Nigeria), a semi-independent country (Egypt), a newly-independent country (India), and the metropole itself (Britain). This selection is based on a combination of several criteria:

- (a) geographical, cultural or administrative similarities with the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan;
- (b) the indigenous origins of the bulk of the population;
- (c) their political, economic, demographical or symbolical importance within the British Empire;
- (d) the accessibility of relevant source-material.

The sources used here do not allow for a systematic or comprehensive comparative analysis. One major problem is the lack of detailed information for every school level in each of the territories under review. Another difficulty lies in the gap between prescription and real practice, and the fragmented nature of accessible data on both these dimensions in the various countries considered. However partial, the material I have consulted allows to highlight a number of significant, at times intriguing, similarities between Sudan and other British imperial locations. While focusing on some key-facets of history teaching, I try to maintain as precisely as possible the distinction between written prescriptions and real practices in schools.

Why Teach History?

Still debated today in educational circles, the purposes of history teaching were the subject of fascinating discussions in the post-war British Empire. These purposes need to be considered against the political, ideological and educational dynamics of late colonial times. Indeed, the fact that the political and moral legitimacy of the Empire had been increasingly questioned since the war (within colonized societies, colonial administrations and metropolitan public life)⁽²⁵⁾ certainly affected the ways in which educators and teachers thought about the aims of history teaching. Discussions on this issue involved textbook authors, teacher-training officers, history teachers, university scholars and editors of educational journals. The purposes of history teaching were more or less normative depending on whom enunciated them and in what kind of

publication (textbooks, reports, journal articles). Hence, the purposes we examine in this section include not only official and recommended aims of history teaching, but also observed and even contested aims.

The purposes of history teaching such as they were formulated by educators and textbook authors in late colonial Sudan had striking, though different, echoes in colonial British Africa and early-independence India. In both Sudan and British Africa, history lessons were designed to allow the pupils to develop a sense of historical time and a better understanding of the causes of historical changes.(26) They also aimed at training pupils to form moral judgments on the past. Moreover, history teaching was attributed an important civic function: it was meant to help educating the citizens of the independent states that were expected to emerge across the African continent in a more or less distant future. In Sudan, the mixed British-Northern Sudanese team in charge of the new elementary history curricula formulated this purpose in the following terms (1949): history lessons were supposed to “*satisfy the need of the Sudanese boy to know the history of his country*”; by using maps, pictures and historical summaries, the elementary teacher had to educate “*the man of the future*”, a man able to express his opinions in a clear, daring and thoughtful way.(27) At the secondary level, the (British) head of the Gordon Memorial College considered in the early 1940s that the main purpose of history teaching was to “*provide the future Sudanese citizens with useful facts and exercises*”(28). A decade later, the (again British) chairman of the history panel in the Sudan Examinations Council stressed that Sudan, which was about to become an independent nation, “*urgently requires of its educated citizens an understanding of (...) power politics in international relations which can only be achieved by a thorough grounding in modern history*”.(29) The civic aim of history teaching had also gained increased significance across British Africa since the 1930s and 1940s. Ward, the editor of *Oversea Education* (1946-1963) and a colonial educator who had played a central role in developing history syllabuses in Ghana in the 1930s, reported in 1956 that history teachers expected their lessons, among other things, to “*provide a foundation for responsible citizenship*”(30). In Uganda and Northern Rhodesia, the connection between history teaching and citizenship was present in the discourses of teachers of that time, albeit with a more elitist meaning. Secondary history teachers saw their task as one of educating an African elite that would be able both to “*fertilise*” the local society and govern the country.(31)

Sudanese school history shared different purposes with its Indian counterpart. Two of them are of particular interest here: the broadening of intellectual and cultural horizons and the training of critical thinking. In

Sudan, the first aim was emphasized at both elementary and intermediate levels of education (children aged 7 to 15). The designers of the elementary history syllabus hoped that by studying the history of human inventions and discoveries, young Sudanese boys would feel they had “*inherited a world legacy*” beyond the specific heritage of their “*homeland [waṭan]*” and “*culture [thaqāfa]*”(32). History as a way of developing critical thinking appeared at later stages. In a handbook for intermediate teachers, Peter M. Holt (an inspector of education at the time) presented history as a means to train the pupils’ character, which in his view amounted to the fostering of intellectual honesty and critical thinking.(33) In early postcolonial India, the head of the teachers training college at Calcutta, Kshetrapal D. Ghose, produced a handbook unequivocally titled “*Creative Teaching of History*” (1951). He repeatedly stated in its pages that one of the main purposes of history teaching was to widen the mental horizons of the pupils in order to cultivate tolerance towards other peoples and nations. Condemning narrowly patriotic aims advocated by some parents and teachers, Ghose suggested that history could foster what he termed “*the higher kind of patriotism*”(34), namely an international outlook and the sense of a world common heritage. Such a universalist ideal was very close to the views of late colonial Sudan educators such as Griffiths, Holt and Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. Interestingly, Ghose included critical thinking in a number of skills and attitudes that could be practiced through the study of history and that pupils would find useful later in real life. Together with memorization, imagination, clear expression and logical argumentation, the impartial correlation of facts and critical thinking(35) were highly valued by history educators in both Sudan and India in the post-war decade.

The purposes of history teaching were in no way better defined in the metropole than in the (ex-)colonies; quite the contrary was true. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, Britain’s decentralized educational policy had contributed to the heterogeneity of history teaching across the country. There existed no single, nation-wide history syllabus with clearly stated aims. When it came to matters of curriculum, the British Board of Education was limited to providing general directions and suggestions to teachers.(36) In 1943, an official report on secondary education noted that from all school subjects except for English, history admitted the most varied interpretations among teachers. In the midst of World War II, British secondary schools were confronted with fundamental issues pertaining to the very purposes of history teaching: what were these purposes? Were they the same for all pupils? How could history, along with geography, contribute to the education of members of a

democracy?(37) Whatever these goals were, the writers of the report argued, they played a key-role in determining the historical content and teaching methods used in schools.

Curriculum Contents

The second issue that obviously comes to mind when investigating history teaching is the question of content: what kind of history was prescribed and/or taught in schools to serve certain definite (or indefinite) ends? Here “kind” of history refers to the societies and cultures covered by the syllabi and textbooks rather than to more technical categorizations of history (*e.g.* political, social or economic history). Applied to late colonial and early postcolonial contexts, the question of contents is fascinating because it allows for a reappraisal of long-lived reductionist visions of relations of power and knowledge in (post)colonial educational settings.(38) The connection between the kind of history that was – or deemed suitable to be – taught and its domesticating or emancipating potential for colonized societies was not an obvious one; it was interpreted differently by various actors in different locations at different times, from Lord Lugard in Nigeria in the early 1920s(39) to Holt in Sudan in the late 1940s. From among local, regional, national, and what I term “translocal” history, what kinds of history were included in and excluded from the curricula and to what extent? What was translocal history about, *i.e.* what meaning did it take in Sudan and other (ex-)territories of the British Empire at this post-war critical juncture?

In Sudan as well as in Uganda and Northern Rhodesia, the prescribed and taught secondary history syllabi usually favoured a history that was translocal. Although its meaning varied from one place to another (sometimes from one school to another), it was most often equated with English and European history. In the Sudanese case, there was a significant gap between the secondary history syllabus such as it was discussed in 1944-1945 in official circles and effective implementation in schools from 1948 to 1955. In October 1944, Holt had suggested a course that focused on Middle Eastern history from the appearance of Islam to World War I. A few months later, this syllabus was subject to heated discussions within the History Advisory Committee in charge of curriculum revisions. One of the issues at stake was the respective positions of world history, European history, Islamic history, and Sudanese history in the secondary syllabus.(40) Divergences of opinions were such that the difficult task of defining the contents of the history syllabus was left to a future committee. In practice, however, Sudan’s secondary schools

offered different history courses at least until 1956 (see appendix 1 p.***(41) In most schools, the teaching of Ottoman history and the modern Middle East was neglected to the benefit of ancient Mediterranean history, early Islamic history, European history from the Renaissance to modern times and international relations from 1871 to 1939. Some schools taught ancient or modern Sudanese history, but this topic was quantitatively weak: it never amounted to more than one fifth of the total four-year secondary history syllabus.(42) Holt, who had strongly advocated the teaching of Middle Eastern history in Sudanese secondary schools, ended up publishing a textbook of English and European history to be used in these schools.(43) The gap between official and taught curricula can be explained by three main factors:

- (1) the constraints set by the School Certificate Examination, whose history exam focused on modern international relations rather than Ottoman history(44);
- (2) the nationality and qualifications of secondary teachers, most of whom were British that were knowledgeable in English and European history. It seems that even the Sudanese teachers (comparatively smaller in number) were more competent in European history than in Sudanese or Ottoman history(45);
- (3) the volatile and still experimental nature of the secondary history syllabus.

In Uganda, the history curriculum that was generally taught in African secondary schools in the late 1940s and early 1950s was organized around a core of British imperial history. A few lessons on local history and English social history completed the picture.(46) F. Musgrove, a British teacher working at Nyakasura school (Fort Portal), argued for the replacement of imperial history with English and European history. In his opinion, the latter was more useful and relevant for the young Ugandan generation, who was less interested in the growth of the British Empire than in its dismantlement. Europe, and in particular Britain, could and should serve as a model of civilization for Africa, in a similar way as Ancient Greece had served as a model for Renaissance Europe.(47) In fact, the kind of change advocated by Musgrove (the substitution of British imperial history with English and European history) took place in Northern Rhodesia a few years later. Until 1954, the history curriculum taught at Munali secondary school (Lusaka) included ancient history (prehistory, the development of communications and trade, the invention of writing, the growth of religion), modern African history (Africa in the old colonial system, the abolition of the slave trade and slavery, the

exploration and partition of Africa in the late 19th century) and British imperial history (the industrial and agrarian revolutions in Britain, the historical development of self-governing countries and dependencies in the Commonwealth with case studies of South Africa and Northern Rhodesia). In 1954, the history of the British Empire and Commonwealth was replaced with British and European history: the latter was deemed more relevant to young Africans and could be taught with the help of “*excellent*” and easily accessible textbooks.(48)

The data I have for post-war Nigeria is more fragmented, but it is clear that English and European history dominated the primary curriculum. In 1952, a set of textbooks for the 5th and 6th primary grades was published in London.(49) This history course started from the origins of the solar system and ended with the history of Nigeria under British rule. In-between it dealt with the Greek and Roman Empires, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the great discoveries, the slave trade, the agrarian and industrial revolutions in England and the abolition of slavery.(50) Nigerian local history, however, was not totally absent from post-war school programs. In 1953, a British teacher set up a “school antiquities society” in a Nigerian school, which gave pupils the opportunity to investigate local history, collect material artefacts, written documents and oral sources for the school museum, and practice historical research. Between 1953 and 1958, society members (pupils) took part in visits to historical sites, listened to academic conferences, gathered sources and archived them, and organized an exhibition of photographs and reproductions of local antiquities.(51)

All in all, English and European history was predominant in history curricula that were prescribed and taught in secondary (but not always elementary or primary) schools across Sudan and British Africa in the post-war decade. This reality should not be interpreted in overtly deterministic terms, as reflecting a well-planned agenda by the colonizers to colonize the mind of local, subjugated populations. It stemmed from ideological as well as pragmatic considerations, where the feeling of European superiority often combined with a sincere -though deeply paternalist- care for African political aspirations, and where the limits set by the Cambridge School Certificate and the availability of suitable teachers and textbooks also played a significant role. As Philip S. Zachernuk has neatly demonstrated for Nigeria, debates over history curricula and educational issues did not oppose a supposedly unified front of African nationalists to presumably united British imperialists; both sides were divided on the type of education and kind of history they judged appropriate for Africans. Perhaps to speak of an “alliance”(52) of British

“romantics” and African cultural nationalists championing the study of local, African history as against Eurocentric views (that prevailed among most government officials and members of the African intelligentsia) is to overstate the case, but this is certainly closer to historical realities than general and excessively theoretical assumptions about the taken-for-granted coherence, homogeneity and effectiveness of European imperial/colonial power in the field of knowledge production and education.(53)

What did Sudan share with the nearly independent and independent “jewels of the Crown”, Egypt and India, in terms of curriculum contents? In monarchical Egypt (1922-1952) and still after the Free Officers’ revolution, Egyptian history syllabi gave pre-eminence to Egyptian history from Pharaonic times to the 20th century. In 1945-1956, more than two thirds of the official history curriculum for Egyptian public schools (twelve years of education) were devoted to the history of Egypt (see appendix 2 p.***). The remaining part of the course dealt with Islamic, Ottoman, ancient Mediterranean, and European modern history. The latter was reserved for the small elite attending secondary schools.(54) At the end of World War II, the Sudanese and Egyptian history syllabi both included a significant amount of Islamic and Ottoman history, albeit in different proportions (Sudan: about one third of the entire history syllabus/Egypt: about one fifth).(55)

Highly differentiating them was the balance between local and translocal history. In the Sudanese syllabus, translocal (European and Islamic) history quantitatively exceeded Sudanese history. By contrast, the Egyptian syllabus was dominated by local (Egyptian) history. What can partly account for this difference is the political-legal status of each territory and the nationality of the men in charge of the education department or ministry in each country. Until 1956, Sudan was legally an Anglo-Egyptian territory and nearly a British colony for all practical ends. Until 1954 the department of education was headed by a British director(56); the Institute of Education, one of whose main missions was the reform of school curricula and the production of textbooks, was headed by a British educator until 1955. Officials responsible for designing history syllabi and writing related textbooks were British and Northern Sudanese. The situation in Egypt was significantly different: the British protectorate had been removed and the country officially declared independent in 1922, although it did not enjoy full sovereignty until the departure of the last British troops from the Suez Canal zone in 1956. But the Egyptian ministry of education had been in Egyptian hands under British occupation (at least since the 1890s). Its actual power, which was

first limited by the presence of British advisers, was reinforced after the establishment of monarchical rule in 1922.(57) The availability of books and textbooks dealing respectively with Sudanese and Egyptian history is another crucial factor that certainly played a part in limiting the teaching of local history in one case and allowing it to a large extent in the another.

In early postcolonial India, the history syllabi prescribed by Ghose (1951) achieved a balance between local and translocal history. In quantitative terms, Indian history on the one hand, and English and “world” history (mainly European and American history) on the other, were given an equal importance (see appendix 3 p.***).(58) Colonial Sudan shared with independent India a concept that was absent from Egyptian school history, that of world history. In Sudan as in India, it was a nebulous notion rather than a well-defined concept: “world history” was sometimes used to refer to a long-ago type of universal history, sometimes to the ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean Basin and the Middle East, sometimes to the modern history of Europe and the United States. It gave elementary and intermediate syllabi a legitimizing aura that made much sense in the aftermath of World War II atrocities. Particularly interesting is the fact that world history underwent an indigenization process in each case. In the Sudanese curriculum, Muslim historical figures such as the caliphs Omar and Harun al-Rashid, Saladin, Sultan Mehmet II and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk were included in a list of “*leaders of world history*” (First year intermediate).(59) In India the same phenomenon occurred with Buddha (Siddhārta Gautama), Candragupta and Ashoka.(60) Moreover, with regards to world history as the history of mankind, educators in Sudan and India based their recommendations on a common set of references, namely works by British and Dutch historians published in the 1920s.(61)

As mentioned before, history teaching in Britain was to a large extent decentralized. In 1943, the Norwood Committee issued several recommendations regarding the contents of the history curriculum. It was suggested to keep British history as the central core of the course and offer, from time to time, insights from wider history. At the secondary level, the first three grades should be devoted to pre-modern English history. In the upper grades, teachers should focus on the “*history of Britain at home and overseas*” from the late nineteenth century onwards.(62) According to the Committee, it was only in the sixth grade that “*real historical study*” began. Recommended topics included current events, public affairs, a survey of the British Commonwealth, questions of international relations, and the history of other nations. At this stage, the educators believed, history teaching could contribute to the growth of an

The Ideological Framing of Historical Narratives

The question of *how* history was taught, both at the ideological and didactic levels, is as important as *what* history was prescribed and actually taught. This section suggests a comparative analysis of how narratives of local (national) history were ideologically framed in Sudan, Egypt and India. Information on the different territories of British Africa is unfortunately too fragmentary for these regions to be included in the analysis. Late colonial Sudan and nearly-independent Egypt presented a curious similarity: they both offered their pupils a “nationalist” and more or less anti-imperialist reading of local history. One may briefly review these historical narratives before reflecting on the contextual reasons for their formulation.

Elaborated in the years 1947-1949, the Sudanese history curriculum for the fourth elementary grade focused entirely on the history of Sudan, from the coming of the Arabs in ancient times to the establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium at the turn of the twentieth century. In the teachers’ handbook, half of the thirty lessons were devoted to the Mahdiyya (1881-1898), a period of Sudanese independence within an Islamic Mahdist state.(66) This already indicates the centrality of that particular era in the mind of Sudan’s late colonial educators.(67) The Ottoman-Egyptian regime (1820-1881) that had preceded the Mahdiyya was depicted as a foreign and oppressive occupation; it was pejoratively described as an “*imperialist/colonial*” venture (*isti‘mār*).(68) By contrast, the Mahdiyya was mostly represented as an indigenous liberation movement pursuing legitimate goals. The vocabulary used in the school text was a modern, nationalist, at times quasi-anachronistic lexicon. The Mahdist revolution was referred to as a “*religious national predication* [da‘wa dīniyya waṭaniyya]” and a “*holy war* [jihād]” aiming at “*liberating the country* [taḥrīr al-waṭan]”.(69) Government (that is, Ottoman-Egyptian) troops were designated as the “*enemies* [a‘dā’]”. The teacher was invited to use symbolical means that would transform the Mahdiyya into a site of memory of independentist Sudanese nationalism. Evoking the beginning of the Mahdist movement, the teacher was supposed to ask the pupils: “*Where is Aba Island in relation to our school?*”(70) Let us imagine elementary pupils from various parts of Sudan pointing at Aba Island (White Nile): the birthplace of Mahdism would symbolically become the spiritual epicentre of a modern Sudanese nation in-the-making. Historical plays, a central didactic tool in Sudanese post-war elementary history teaching, were also used to cultivate a positive image of the Mahdiyya. The topic of the 4th grade final play was the fall of El Obeid to

the Mahdists (1883). In the script, Ottoman-Egyptian rule was fiercely condemned and the Mahdiyya highly praised. Everything opposed the good Mahdī (an indigenous, modest, moral and wise leader) to the bad governor of Kordofan, Muḥammad Saʿīd (a foreign, fat, arrogant, stupid and short-sighted man who had earned the ridiculous nickname “*bag of beans* [jirāb al-fūl]”).(71)

Nevertheless not all Mahdist episodes were showed in such an apologetic light. The siege of Khartoum by Mahdist forces (1884-1885), for instance, was described from the perspective of British general Charles G. Gordon. Rather than “*anṣār*” (a laudatory term used by the Mahdists and neo-Mahdists themselves, present in most parts of the text), the Mahdī’s followers were designated by the term “*darāwīsh*” (a derogatory term in this specific context).(72) Exemplifying the complex and heterogeneous nature of school texts produced by and under a colonial government, this combination of different, even conflicting, perspectives should be understood in the light of the variety of sources used to write the text. Indeed, J. A. Haywood and M. S. Ṣāliḥ relied on accounts of European prisoners of the Mahdist state (Joseph Ohrwalder and Rudolf Slatin), on a historical study by a Lebanese officer working for the Egyptian military intelligence (Naʿum Shuqayr), as well as on a much later work by a Sudanese historian (Mekki Shibeika).(73)

Overall, however, the fourth grade elementary history handbook offered a positive, even laudatory, picture of the Mahdiyya. This may seem surprising given the fact that the Mahdist state had been a historical enemy of the British. The death of Gordon at Khartoum (1885) had made him into a national hero and martyr for successive generations of Britons. It was under the supervision of a British general (Horatio Kitchener) that Anglo-Egyptian troops had fought and destroyed the Sudanese Mahdist state in 1896-1899. Moreover, the historical survey that was served to every new British recruit in the Sudan Political Service sacralized the memory of Gordon while diabolizing the “tyrannical” rule of Khalīfa ʿAbdullāhi, the Mahdī’s successor.(74) One may see in a moment how Sudanese school historical narratives were shaped by more immediate political and strategic circumstances in the post-war years.

In monarchical Egypt, school historical narratives were framed in such a way as to foster a feeling of national pride and belonging. Emphasis was put on two particular periods in Egyptian history, Pharaonic Egypt and the rule of Mehmet Ali (1805-1848).(75) Pharaonic Egypt was represented as a regional power that had succeeded in assuring commercial, technological and cultural dominance over her neighbours thanks to her one-man system of government and her military might. The Ottoman era (1517-1882) was

not considered as one bloc in primary history textbooks. The first three centuries were depicted as a dark “*Turkish*” period that was tantamount to a foreign domination of Egypt. Like the Romans 1500 years earlier, the Ottomans had only brought evils to the country: poverty, economic disparities, ignorance and the distortion of religion.(76) The disasters of the Ottoman era had been followed by a golden age that had witnessed the emergence of modern Egypt. Mehmet Ali was the main protagonist of this scenario in both primary and secondary textbooks. He was presented as the founder of modern Egypt, who had managed to elevate his country to the rank of the strongest European powers of the time. His political, military and economic ventures had all benefitted the Egyptian people, Muslims as well as Copts. The new army he had set up symbolized the unity of the Egyptian nation. The exploits of Mehmet Ali were said to have both reflected and contributed to “*Egyptian patriotism* [al-waṭaniyya al-miṣriyya]”(77). Such history lessons encouraged Egyptian pupils to believe that Mehmet Ali, as an heir to Pharaonic Egypt, had achieved the renaissance of a united Egyptian nation in modern times. The 1952 Free Officers’ revolution did not affect Egyptian school historical narratives in any deep way. Indeed, the picture of the overthrown king (Farouk) did not cover the new textbooks that were hastily produced in the wake of the revolution. In the revised curricula the relative importance of Pharaonic Egypt was reduced to the benefit of modern Egyptian history. However the scansions of Egyptian history such as they had appeared in the old textbooks remained unchanged. The role of the Egyptian people in the key events of Egyptian history was simply emphasized: the people had controlled their own destiny for a long time and it was they who had brought Mehmet Ali to power in order to achieve national unification.(78)

Hence, at the very time young Sudanese pupils encountered the Ottoman-Egyptian occupation of Sudan as a foreign invasion and an oppressive regime, their Egyptian comrades learnt that the conquest was undertaken for wholly legitimate reasons: expelling a group of people who had “obstructed” Mehmet Ali’s reforms (the Mamluks) and guaranteeing sufficient irrigation for Egypt through the control of the upper Nile.(79) One can see how “nationalist” framings of local (national) history led to quite opposite results in Sudan and Egypt: in one case school historical narratives offered a very dark representation of modern Egypt as an imperialist, occupying power; in the other case school texts were dominated by highly apologetic representations of Egypt in ancient and modern history. Perhaps more interesting are the contextual reasons underlying these “nationalist” readings of history in each of the two cases. In Egypt state educators were busy fostering an Egyptian national

consciousness well before the country had reached full sovereignty and independence from the British, that is from the 1930s onwards.(80) In Sudan the anti-Egyptian “nationalist” interpretation of Sudanese history was part of a wider attempt by the British-dominated Sudan Government to thwart Egyptian ambitions in the Nile Valley. Indeed, in late 1945 the Egyptian government had requested to renegotiate the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty. In the following years, negotiations between Egypt and Britain on two main issues (the evacuation of British troops from the Suez Canal zone and the political status of Sudan) repeatedly failed because of divergences on the “Sudan Question”. In late 1946, the highly ambivalent Sidqi-Bevin protocol, which recognized at once Sudanese-Egyptian unity under the Egyptian crown and the duty of the Condomini to prepare the Sudanese people for self-government, put a final blow to Anglo-Egyptian discussions. In July 1947 Egypt tried to internationalize the dispute by referring the Sudan issue to the United Nations. The move produced no results. Amidst increasing political tensions, the British authorities in Khartoum sought to weaken the ideology of the Nile Valley unity (advocated by Egyptian politicians and an influential stream of Sudanese nationalists) and gain the support of Northern Sudanese elites through a triple strategy:

- (1) by overtly positioning themselves in favour of Sudanese independence;
- (2) by making significant political concessions to the Sudanese neo-Mahdist, pro-independence camp;(81)
- (3) by uniting the Northern and Southern Sudan, which had been administrated separately since the 1920s.

The period when the fourth elementary grade history handbook was written (1947-1949) coincided with the polarization of British and Egyptian positions on the Sudan issue. Against the background of a heated political and ideological struggle between pro-independence and pro-union camps, the history curriculum was probably meant to revive an old but shaky alliance between the Sudan Government and independentist, mainly neo-Mahdist, Sudanese political forces.(82)

Whereas not-yet-independent countries such as Sudan and Egypt offered their pupils “nationalist” readings of history, postcolonial India still provided her pupils with “colonial” interpretations of history fifteen years after independence. According to recent studies by Indian scholars, history textbooks used in the 1950s until the mid-1960s reproduced British colonial conceptions of Indian history.(83) What were these conceptions? They were based on a religious periodization of Indian history. Since the

early nineteenth century British historians had divided the Indian past according to the religion of ruling dynasties. Thus Indian history was organized in Hindu, Islamic and British successive periods.(84) The Hindu era, which had witnessed the growth of an Aryan civilization (from the Sanskrit word *ārya* for “noble”), was considered as the golden age of Indian history. In this British historiography Hindu and Muslim communities were reduced to clearly defined entities that had been antagonistic since the Middle Ages and could not be reconciled in the modern era.(85) This body of “colonial” literature is seen by some as being responsible for planting the seeds of the Indian “communal historiography” that bloomed just after independence.(86) Not surprisingly, colonial historians produced interpretations of Indian history that sought to legitimize the British occupation of the subcontinent. Rulers who had predated the coming of the British were depicted as despotic, intolerant and extremely cruel. Indian society was represented as a barbaric society plagued by injustice, disease, and violent inter-communal conflicts between Hindus and Muslims. In this perspective, British imperial domination had brought a *pax britannica* relying on justice, efficient government and a healthy economy.(87) Indian history textbooks were subjected to a revision process only from the 1960s onwards.(88)

These examples from Sudan, Egypt and India show that the ideological framing of school historical narratives produced in colonial or postcolonial contexts cannot be taken for granted *a priori*. A careful examination of primary sources may reveal, as is the case here, intriguing discrepancies between the timing of political decolonization and the decolonization of historical narratives. Depending on specific political, ideological, educational and financial circumstances, the decolonization or nationalization of school texts could sometimes precede the achievement of political independence. In other cases it took almost a generation until “colonial” textbooks were revised or replaced with new books.(89)

History Teachers and Didactics

The last section of this comparative study focuses on how history was taught, didactically speaking, and by whom. Information on teachers and didactics is particularly scattered and uneven, that is why one must concentrate on salient convergences rather than divergences (which are less obvious to uncover) between Sudan and other territories within the (ex-)British Empire. Egypt will be almost absent from this discussion because of missing data.

With regard to history teachers the situation was similar in Northern Sudan and other regions of British Africa. Whereas the teaching of elementary and primary history courses was left to local, “native” teachers, the teaching of secondary history courses was often the preserve of British teachers. Colonial sources mention the recurrent lack of qualified indigenous teachers as the main reason for employing British staff in secondary schools.(90) Hence, the composition of the teaching staff reflected the social stratification that accompanied hierarchies of knowledge and know-how in African colonial contexts. Teachers’ nationalities affected the type of history that was taught in schools, as well as how it was taught. In Sudan, and probably elsewhere in colonial Africa, British teachers tended to teach English and European history because they were most familiar with it.(91) In Omdurman *ahliyya* (private) secondary school Sudanese history had to be temporarily removed from the fourth grade history course in 1954 because the school lacked a qualified Sudanese instructor to teach this subject.(92)

Real teaching situations in secondary schools were quite similar in Sudan and other British African territories. Oral presentations by teachers, note-taking by pupils, and class discussions were among the most commonly used teaching and learning methods. Didactic materials such as textbooks, images, maps and film strips were used to various degrees according to availability and perceived suitability in each country, region, or school. In Sudan secondary schools, for instance, historical atlases, wall maps, images, pictures and film strips (all of European or American origin) were frequently used in the years 1948-1955.(93) H. F. C. Smith, the chairman of the history panel in the Sudan Examinations Council, deplored the fact that most of this material did not pertain to African, Middle Eastern or Sudanese history. He therefore advocated the local production of historical atlases, wall maps and film strips that suited the Sudanese history curriculum.(94) In Munali secondary school (Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia), history teaching took the form of oral lessons with “*plenty of questions*” and “*some answers*”. Various didactic materials were accessible to teachers and students: history books in the school library, illustrations taken from *Pictorial Education*, and film strips. One teacher, James Hadfield, had found the following strips especially useful for his teaching: strips on the French Revolution, Napoleon, changes of European frontiers from the early nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, and the making of modern Germany.(95) In the articles he wrote for *Oversea Education*, Uganda-based secondary history teacher Musgrove did not elaborate on classroom real situations. He just criticized the “*dead*

catalogue of one-thing-after-another which is now [1951] presented as history".(96)

Another common feature between Sudan and British Africa was the lack of history textbooks considered suitable for indigenous secondary pupils. In Sudan this problem had been raised since the late 1920s and was recurrent until independence in 1956. The members of a commission of inspection on the Gordon Memorial College (the sole secondary school in Sudan until the 1940s) noted in 1929 that most history textbooks in use had been written by foreigners who knew nothing about Sudanese society and culture. This resulted in a constant gap between what student read in their books and the reality they knew outside of school.(97) A generation later, Smith mentioned the same problem in slightly different terms. In his view, history textbooks written by Europeans for European students presented three disadvantages:

- (1) their authors assumed a background knowledge of European politics, society and economics that the Sudanese did not possess;
- (2) they treated their material in a "*narrowly British viewpoint*";
- (3) language difficulties discouraged Sudanese students to read those books.(98)

On the other hand, history textbooks written in Arabic too often focused on the internal history of the country from which they came from, notably Egypt.(99) Surprisingly, Smith did not mention Holt's textbook on British and European modern history, which had been specifically produced for -and adapted to- Sudan secondary students in 1945.(100) One may also notice that at the time when the Northern and Southern Sudanese educational systems were still separated (before 1948), history textbooks designed for Southern elementary or primary schools did exist. Written in English by the inspector for Southern Sudanese education, they dealt with the history and geography of the district, the province, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Africa, the world (which primarily meant Europe, secondarily Asia and America) and the British Empire.(101) The question of their effective use in schools as diverse as British, American and Italian missionary schools is another one that is not easily answerable.

In British Africa, the lack of suitable history textbooks had also been evoked as a serious problem since the 1930s, especially by members of the International African Institute.(102) In the mid-1930s, the ACEC was urged to prepare a history course suited to secondary schools in tropical Africa. To be sure, there is strong evidence for the production and use of history textbooks and handbooks specifically designed for (British) Africa from the 1920s onwards.(103) Most of them may have been intended for

elementary or primary schools; the quality or relevance of some may have been judged inadequate by teachers working in the 1940s and 1950s. In any case, the lack of suitable history textbooks with relevant contents for African secondary students was still reported in Uganda in the early 1950s.(104) In Northern Rhodesia, Hadfield noted the non-existence of history books dealing with pre-colonial central Africa and hence the difficulty to teach such a topic.(105)

Secondary school students studied history in English throughout British Africa and in the Southern Sudanese Rumbek secondary school (founded in 1948). In Northern Sudan, secondary history teaching was bilingual: Middle Eastern and Sudanese history was usually taught in Arabic whereas African, European and world history was taught in English.(106) This bilingual reality varied according to the availability of teachers and textbooks. But educators and teachers repeatedly reported students' difficulties in studying history in the English language. As early as 1930, the British teacher in charge of history at the Gordon College regretted the impossibility of providing a history course entirely in Arabic. He stressed that the writing of historical essays in English was very difficult for Sudanese students.(107) In 1955 Smith suggested easing language obstacles by posing two conditions prior to the appointment of non Arabic-speaking (mainly British) teachers: candidates had to learn some basic Arabic and an English-Arabic vocabulary of historical terms had to be compiled and made available to them.(108) Late colonial teachers in Northern Rhodesia were also confronted with the language problem. According to Hadfield, the fact that African students were learning history in English was a "*considerable handicap*", even if they had been studying English for seven years beforehand.(109)

Sudanese and Northern Rhodesian primary schooling shared certain didactic conceptions and tools. Time-charts and historical plays, for example, were prescribed and used in schools of both countries. In Sudan, Holt included them in a range of recommended "*practical activities*" in which pupils would take an active part.(110) In Northern Rhodesia, a British training officer of African teachers had witnessed a representation of the Punic Wars by sixth grade pupils. Historical episodes were played either in English or in vernacular languages.(111) For Alfred J. Wills, plays were a highly valuable didactic tool as they could replace missing material (textbooks, images) and simulate historical reality in a unique way. In addition, he recommended the use of time-charts, models of historical scenes and essays on historical topics as means that could help pupils to memorize and understand important facts of history.(112)

Post-war history didactics was a field where late colonial Sudan met early postcolonial India. Prescribed – and sometimes practiced- -methods of history teaching and learning were very similar. Striking examples include the teaching of history through stories and the study of “great men” in lower grades, individual or group creative activities (drawings, model-making, historical plays, class discussions), the stimulation of pupils’ historical imagination, the linking of the historical past to daily life and familiar realities, and the critical discussion of historical famous figures.(113) It seems that history educators from both countries developed their didactical concepts and tools on the basis of a common set of references, namely official reports on British education and history teaching and books specialized in history didactics that had been published by British educators since the early twentieth century.(114) In late monarchical Egypt, certain creative activities used in secondary schools (drawing and model-making) were the very ones that were prescribed in Sudanese and Indian elementary schools. The influence of American pedagogy, in particular John Dewey’s ideas, began to penetrate Egyptian schooling in the 1940s and 1950s through educators such as Amīr Boktor, Russell Galt and Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥmad Raḍwān. Trained at the Teachers College, Columbia University, they taught at the American University in Cairo (Boktor and Galt) and at Ibrahim Pasha University (Raḍwān). All three argued against memorization as a learning tool and encouraged learning through creative activities, games, and critical thinking.(115)

Didactic prescriptions and practices in late colonial Sudan were very much inspired by approaches that had been developed in Britain and the United States since the late nineteenth century. In elementary grades the teaching of history in the form of stories and creative activities (drawing, model-making, map-making, exhibitions, historical plays) owed much to the Anglo-Saxon school tradition.(116) The study of the historical past through a selection of “great” men and women, the emphasis on chronology, the attempt to allow pupils to tame history through concrete examples taken from familiar settings, the willingness to develop their historical imagination and their ability to historicize conceptions and practices, and the effort to connect historical with geographical knowledge, were all characteristics of British theories – and sometimes practices – of history teaching from the early twentieth century on.(117) What strikingly differentiated Sudan from Britain was the nature of history teaching prescriptions and their desired implementation in the field. Sudan’s late colonial educators were not ready to abandon history teachers to their fate. The position of men such as Haywood, Ṣāliḥ and Holt was far removed from metropolitan *laissez-faire*. At the elementary and

intermediate levels, they provided Sudanese teachers with very detailed and precise instructions.(118) The aims, contents, and methods of history teaching were clearly defined. Did such a highly directive policy stem from a condescending attitude towards Sudanese teachers? It is difficult to say. What is certain is that colonial educators were deeply involved in the development and implementation of reformed history teaching practices after the war. It is thus tempting to argue that in the field of history didactics, the colony was “more metropolitan than the metropole”. Indeed, didactic tools initially developed in Britain were transposed, and reworked, in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. However, whereas they were meticulously prescribed in the colony, they were only vaguely recommended in the metropole.(119) In post-war Sudan, the educational process that was expected to unfold in elementary schools was planned in minute detail. Instructions from history educators were conveyed through a unique set of textbooks that was spread across the country. By contrast, British teachers benefitted from considerable freedom under the general direction of the Board of Education.

Conclusion: Sudan as an In-Between Space in the Late British Empire?

In the administrative, political and cultural spheres, post-war Sudan was located half-way between British-ruled African colonies and protectorates and the two semi-independent and independent “heavyweights” of the British Empire, Egypt and India. The same argument can be made in the field of school history. Late colonial Sudan shared with other regions of British Africa two important features: the dominance of translocal (ancient Mediterranean and modern European) history in secondary syllabi, which stemmed from both practical and ideological motives (the lack of sources and textbooks on local history and a hierarchization of types of history beneficial to metropolitan or translocal history); the social stratification of teaching staff along colonial hierarchies of knowledge and know-how. On the other hand, Sudan was closer to Egypt regarding the teaching of Islamic history and “nationalist” framings of school historical narratives. This may be surprising given the difference in the political status of the two countries. Whereas Egypt enjoyed a significant measure of independence, especially in internal matters such as education, Sudan was still under tight British control in the late 1940s. But the dual nature of Condominium rule and the growth of a “paternalist-progressive” form of imperialism in post-war British Africa explain to a considerable extent the ideological framing of Sudanese

school narratives: these presented an “anti-imperialist” reading of Sudanese history where the imperialist power was Egypt rather than Britain. Sudan shared with India a concept that was absent from Egyptian school history: *world history*. This nebulous notion was used on the basis of common references, namely history books published in Britain in the 1920s. On the didactic side, late colonial Sudanese school history was very much inspired by British and American approaches associated with “progressive education”.⁽¹²⁰⁾ A number of Indian educators also advocated “learning by doing” methods. Drawings, models, maps, exhibits, and plays were all viewed as crucial activities for getting pupils to imagine, tame, memorize and understand the historical past while developing their creativity, expression, and capacities for teamwork.

Reconnecting the Sudan’s particular trajectory with British imperial history in the critical years of post-war colonial dismantlement, this article will hopefully open the way for further research in this direction. To modern Sudanese studies it can contribute insights from the wider world to which Sudan belonged for half of the twentieth century. On the other end, the historiography of the British Empire can only be enriched by comparative works that take into account territories of various size, legal status, geographical location, and social makeup. Both diachronic and synchronic analyses are vital to improve our understanding of the historical connections between the whole and its parts, as well as between the different fragments of empire.

Notes

1. Yoshiko Kurita, “Re-Thinking the Role of Historiography in Sudan at the Time of Crisis: The De-Construction and Re-Construction of ‘Sudanese History,’” Paper presented at the International Summer School on Sudanese Studies, Khartoum: University of Khartoum, October 2011; Heather J. Sharkey, “Studying the Two Sudans: Where Do We Go from Here?”, Paper presented at the Symposium “Au-delà des dichotomies: le Soudan, de la formation du pays à l’indépendance du Sud, 1869-2011”, Paris, CEAF & IISMM, 12 November 2012.

2. The historical development of education in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan will not be detailed in this article. On this topic see Mohamed Omer Beshir, *Educational Development in the Sudan, 1898-1956*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Al-Sayyid Nāṣir, *Ta’rīkh al-Siyāsa wa-l-Ta’līm fī al-Sūdān*. (Khartoum: Dār Jāmi’at al-Kharṭūm li-l-Nashr, 1990 (1975); Lilian P. Sanderson and George N. Sanderson, *Education, Religion and Politics in Southern Sudan: 1899-1964*. (London: Ithaca Press & Khartoum: Khartoum University Press, 1981); Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism: Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Iris Seri-Hersch, “Nationalisme, impérialisme et pratiques patrimoniales: le cas de la Mahdiyya dans le Soudan

post-mahdiste”, *Egypte/Monde arabe: pratiques du patrimoine en Egypte et au Soudan* (Cairo, CEDEJ) n° 5-6, 3^e série, 2009, pp. 329-354. [online] <http://ema.revues.org/index2906.html> (December 17, 2012).

3. Historians of Sudan have rarely considered Sudanese history in the context of British imperial history; conversely, scholars of the British Empire have usually excluded Sudan from their studies. This is largely due to the anomalous status of Sudan as an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in the first half of the twentieth century, but also to the lack of a significant white settler community in colonial Sudan.

4. Colonial Office, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, *Mass Education in African Society*. Colonial No. 186. London: His Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1943, BW 90/58, National Archives, London. See also John M. Lee, *Colonial Development and Good Government: A Study of the Ideas Expressed by the British Official Classes in Planning Decolonization, 1939-1964*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 77-86; Robert D. Pearce, *The Turning Point in Africa: British Colonial Policy 1938-1948*. (London: F. Cass, 1982), pp. 21, 34-36, 100; Clive Whitehead, “The Impact of the Second World War on British Colonial Education Policy”, *History of Education*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1989), 267-293 and “The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part II: Africa and the Rest of the Colonial Empire”, *History of Education*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (2005), 445-446; Martin Shipway, *Decolonization and its Impact: A Comparative Approach to the End of the Colonial Empires*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 12, 116; I. Seri-Hersch, *Histoire scolaire, impérialisme(s) et décolonisation(s): le cas du Soudan anglo-égyptien (1945-1958)*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Aix-en-Provence, Aix-Marseille Université, 2012, Vol. I, pp. 79-80, 96-100. [online] <http://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-00700410> (December 3, 2012.)

5. William R. Louis, *The British Empire in the Middle East, 1945-1951: Arab Nationalism, the United States and Postwar Imperialism*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 231, 261-262. The expression was used by the British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin.

6. Sudanese nationalism has been studied by many Northern Sudanese scholars. Some central references include Muddathir Abd al-Rahim, *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Sudan: A Study in Constitutional and Political Development, 1899-1956*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); M. O. Beshir, *Revolution and Nationalism in the Sudan*. (London: Rex Collings, 1977 [1974]); Afaf Abdel Majid Abu Hasabu, *Factional Conflict in the Sudanese Nationalist Movement, 1918-1948*. (Khartoum: Graduate College, University of Khartoum, 1985); Amīn Al-Tūm, *Dhikrayāt wa-Mawāqif fī Ṭarīq al-Ḥaraka al-Waṭaniyya al-Sūdāniyya, 1914-1969*. (Khartoum: Dār Jāmi‘at al-Khartūm li-l-Nashr, 1987); Mahasin Abdelgadir Hag El-Safi (ed.), *The Nationalist Movement in the Sudan*. (Khartoum: Khartoum University Press, 1989.)

7. Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 4; Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, “Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda”, in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press,

- 1997), pp. 1-56; Joyce Goodman *et al.*, “Introduction: ‘Empires Overseas’ and ‘Empires at Home’: Postcolonial and Transnational Perspectives on Social Change in the History of Education”, *Paedagogical Historica*, Vol. 45, No. 6 (2009), pp. 700, 702; Stephen Howe (ed.), *The New Imperial Histories Reader*. (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 2.
8. Nicole Grandin, *Le Soudan nilotique et l'administration britannique (1898-1956): éléments d'interprétation socio-historique d'une expérience coloniale*. (Leiden: Brill, 1982), pp. 151-182; Anthony H. M. Kirk-Greene, “The Sudan Political Service: A Profile in the Sociology of Imperialism”, *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (1982), p. 22, note 1.
9. Grandin, *Soudan nilotique*, p. 151.
10. King's College London, Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, “Survey of the Papers of Senior UK Defence Personnel, 1900-1975” [online] <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/lhcma/locreg/HUDDLESTON.shtml> (December 21, 2012.)
11. Kirk-Greene, “Sudan Political Service”, p. 43. Such was for instance the case of Paul P. Howell, who spent 17 years in the SPS before working in (still colonial) Uganda from 1956 to 1960.
12. This table is mainly based on Clive Whitehead, *Colonial Educators: The British Indian and Colonial Education Service, 1858-1983*. (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), p. 86 and Seri-Hersch, *Histoire scolaire II*, pp. 46-58.
13. A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service: A History of HM Colonial and Overseas Civil Services, 1837-1997*. (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999), p. 33. It seems that the strong correlation between top positions and spatial mobility was similar in Sudan and other parts of the British Empire.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
15. See the date of unification of the Colonial Service's various branches in *Ibid.*, p. 35.
16. The ACEC was a Colonial Office committee that existed from 1929 to 1961. It replaced the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa (ACNETA, 1923-1929). Widely-disseminated reports by the ACNETA and ACEC include Colonial Office, Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa, 1925; Colonial Office, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, 1935; Colonial Office, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, 1943.
17. The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, “After Ten Years”, *Oversea Education*, Vol. 11(1), 1939, p. 1, quoted in Clive Whitehead, “Oversea Education and British Colonial Education, 1929-1963”, *History of Education*, Vol. 32, No. 5, 2003, p. 561.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 570, 573.
19. Notes: Mass Education – Anglo-Egyptian Sudan”, *Oversea Education*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (1946), pp. 369-373; “Notes: Mass Education – Sudan”, *Oversea Education*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1947), pp. 600-601; “Notes: Southern Sudan Publications Bureau”, *Oversea Education*, Vol. 22, No. 3, (1951), pp. 123-124; “Notes: Women's Clubs in the Sudan”, *Oversea Education*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1954), pp. 35-36.
20. “Reviews: *Character aims (...)* *Character Training*”, *Oversea Education*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (1950), p. 1040; “Reviews and Notices: *Précis Practice for Oversea*

- Students*”, *Oversea Education*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (1951), p. 173; “Reviews: *An Experiment in Education*”, *Oversea Education*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (1953), p. 127. Vincent L. Griffiths, *Character Aims: Some Suggestions on Standards for a Rising Nation*. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1949) was published in Longmans’ new “Good Citizen Series”. It could therefore easily be taken as a model for other “rising nations” within the British Empire.
21. “Community Development”, *Corona: The Journal of His Majesty’s Colonial Service*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1949), pp. 3-5; Robin A. Hodgkin, “Literacy Experiment in the Sudan”, *Corona: The Journal of His Majesty’s Colonial Service*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1949), pp. 13-15.
22. “Mass Education in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan”, *Mass Education Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1950), pp. 27-30.
23. Griffiths, *Character Aims*, p. III; Lee, *Colonial Development*, p. 165.
24. Nuffield Foundation & Colonial Office, *African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 89. [online] http://www.archive.org/stream/African_education013111mbp#page/n3/mode/2up (December 21, 2012)
25. See Margery Perham, *The Colonial Reckoning*. (London: Collins, 1961), pp. 25, 41-44, 50, 130; Lee, *Colonial Development*, p. 70; Pearce, *Turning Point*, pp. 12-14, 17-18, 26, 48, 109-115, 133, 206; Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 110-141; Nicholas Owen, “Critics of Empire in Britain”, in Judith M. Brown and William Roger Louis, eds., *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Vol. IV: The Twentieth Century*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 188-211.
26. H. F. C. Smith, “Appendix 4: Report on the Teaching of History in Sudan Secondary Schools”, 15 January 1955, in *The Republic of the Sudan, Report of the International Commission on Secondary Education in the Sudan, Appointed by the Sudan Government, February 1955*. (Khartoum: Publications Bureau, 1957), p. 112; “Editorial”, *Oversea Education*, Vol. 28, No. 3, (1956), p. 98.
27. John A. Haywood and Šāliḥ Muḥammad Šāliḥ, *Min Ta’rīkh al-Sūdān li-l-Sana al-Rābi’a al-Awwaliyya*. (Khartoum: Maktab al-Nashr bi-l-Kharṭūm, 1958 [1949]), pp. 1, 212; Ministry of Education, Sudan, *Handbook to Elementary Education for Boys’ Schools and Boys’ Clubs in the Sudan*. (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1951), p. 21.
28. George C. Scott, “Substance of a Lecture Given by G. C. Scott, Warden of GMC at the Cultural Centre, Khartoum on ‘The Gordon College Today’”, October 1942, SAD 673/7/23, Sudan Archive, Durham.
29. Smith, “Appendix 4”, p. 112.
30. “Editorial”, 1956, p. 98. As early as 1934 W.E. Ward thought that the study of history at school could contribute to make the pupil (African or other) into “a cool and well-balanced citizen of a modern State”; see his *British History for Oversea Students*. (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1934), p. 193.
31. F. Musgrove F., “History Teaching in African Secondary Schools”, *Oversea Education*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1951), p. 191; James Hadfield, “History in an African Secondary School”, *Oversea Education*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1956), p. 125.

32. Shu'bat al-Ta'rīkh bi-Bakht al-Rudā, *Naḥnu wa-Ajdādunā: Majmū'a min al-Qiṣaṣ al-Ta'rīkhiyya li-l-Ṣaff al-Thānī Ibtidā'ī*. (Khartoum: Maktab al-Nashr bi-l-Khartūm, 1970 [1948]), p. 5.
33. P.M. Holt, "A Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers of History in Intermediate Schools, 1st and 2nd years by P. M. Holt, Bakht er Ruda", 1946, SAD 639/2/3.
34. Kshetrapal D. Ghose, *Creative Teaching of History*. Teaching In India Series, No. 17. (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 17.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.
36. See for instance W. N. Bruce, "Teaching of History in Secondary Schools", Circular 599, 25 November 1908, in Board of Education, *Report on the Teaching of History*. Educational Pamphlets, No. 37. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1923 [reprinted in 1929]), p. 61.
37. Board of Education, *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools. Report of the Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1941*. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1943), p. 98 [online] <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/norwood/> (October 4, 2011)
38. See for instance Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. (New York: David MacKay, 1974); James A. Mangan, "Images for Confident Control: Stereotypes in Imperial Discourse", in James A Mangan, ed., *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience*. (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 6-22; P. Godfrey Okoth, "The Creation of a Dependent Culture: The Imperial School Curriculum in Uganda", in Mangan, *Imperial Curriculum*, pp. 135-146; Mohamed Kamara, "Education et conquête coloniale en Afrique francophone subsaharienne", *Afroeuropa*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (2007). [online] <http://journal.afroeuropa.eu/index.php/afroeuropa/article/viewFile/33/57> (September 23, 2011); Takako Mino, *History Education and Identity Formation: A Case Study of Uganda*. CMC Senior Theses. Paper 197. (Claremont [CA]: Claremont McKenna College, 2011), [online] http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cmc_theses/197 (December 6, 2012). For a much more nuanced and empirically-grounded approach see P. S. Zachernuk, "African History and Imperial Culture in Colonial Nigerian Schools", *Africa*, Vol. 68, No. 4 (1998), pp. 484-505.
39. Frederick D. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*. (London: F. Cass, 1965 [1922]), pp. 451-452.
40. "Report of the History Advisory Committee", n. d. [March 1945], *Al-Tarbiya wa-l-Ta'lim* (3)/1/72/269/6-8, National Records Office, Khartoum, pp. 6-7. The Committee included P. M. Holt, Alan B. Theobald, Obeid Abdel Nur, Robin A. Hodgkin and Mekki Abbas.
41. A careful examination of history syllabi in use in various secondary schools in 1954-1955 is very revealing: "Hantoub School, Wad Medani: History Syllabus", 2 November 1954, SAD 739/4/28, Sudan Archive, Durham; "Syllabus for Khor Taqqat Secondary School", 1954-1955, SAD 739/5/1-25, Sudan Archive, Durham; J. K. Jones, "Rumbek Secondary School: History", 1954-1955, SAD 739/1/48-50, Sudan Archive, Durham; "Omdurman Girls' Secondary School History Syllabus",

- 1955, SAD 739/6/9-15, Sudan Archive, Durham. See also the report on history teaching in secondary schools from 1948 to 1955 in Smith, "Appendix 4".
42. See appendix 1 p.***.
43. Peter M. Holt, *Europe and Great Britain, 1867-1918: A Textbook for Secondary Schools in the Sudan*. S. I.: s. n., 1945.
44. "Oversea School Certificate Examination: Syllabus in History for the Sudan", January 1952, SAD 739/3/28-30, Sudan Archive, Durham.
45. Smith, "Appendix 4", pp. 113-115.
46. Musgrove, "Secondary Schools", p. 189.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 189-190. The proposed curriculum included the growth of "British civilisation", the development of parliamentary institutions, industry, modern capitalism, the sense of property, the ideal of the gentleman, individualism and mutual aid tendencies, nationalism, scientific thinking, tolerance, and the nineteenth-century "mass-attack" upon religion.
48. Hadfield, "History in an African Secondary School", pp. 123-124.
49. Charles T. Quinn-Young and J. E. H. White, *A History for Nigerian Schools*. (London: Evans Brothers, 1952.) Standard V Teachers' Book, 144 pp., Pupils' Book, 127 pp.; Standard VI Teachers' Book, 149 pp., Pupils' Book, 128 pp.
50. "Reviews: *A History for Nigerian Schools*", *Oversea Education*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1954), p. 172.
51. E. O. Esigie, "A School History Society", *Oversea Education*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (1958), pp. 122-124.
52. Zachernuk, "African History and Imperial Culture", p. 496.
53. On the evolution and complexity of British educational policies and discourses in Africa during the first half of the 20th century, see Seri-Hersch, *Histoire scolaire I*, pp. 88-100; specifically on the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan see pp. 101-134.
54. Roderic D. Matthews and Matta Akrawi, *Education in Arab Countries of the Near East*. (Washington: American Council on Education, 1949), pp. 43, 51, 58,
59. [online] <http://www.archive.org/stream/educationinarabc009845mbp#page/n7/mode/2up> (October 27, 2011.)
55. Compare Annexes 13, 15 and 16 (Sudan) in Seri-Hersch, *Histoire scolaire I.*, and II, pp. 27, 30-34 with appendix 2 p.* (Egypt).
56. A ministry of education was set up in 1948 with ARAT at its head but the continuing existence of the position of director of education (held by British officials until 1954, then by Northern Sudanese) suggests the maintenance of British influence in educational matters until the eve of independence.
57. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Education in Parts of the British Empire*. Bulletin No. 49. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), p. 93. [online] <http://www.archive.org/stream/educationinparts00unituoft#page/n1/mode/2up> (October 27, 2011); Matthews and Akrawi, *Education in Arab Countries*, p. 4; Joseph S. Szyliowicz, *Education and Modernization in the Middle East*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), pp. 185-186; Mona Russell, "Competing, Overlapping, and Contradictory Agendas: Egyptian Education under British Occupation, 1882-1922", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 21, Nos. 1&2 (2001), p. 53.
58. Ghose, *Creative Teaching of History*, pp. 31, 46-48, 50-51.

59. "Scheme for a New History Course", 9-12 October 1944, *Al-Tarbiya wa-l-Ta'lim* (3)/1/72/269/9, National Records Office, Khartoum.
60. Ghose, *Creative Teaching of History*, p. 46.
61. Herbert G. Wells, *The Outline of History: Being a Plain History of Life and Mankind*. (London: Newnes, 1919-1920); Rutherford G. Ikin, *A Pageant of World History: An Outline of the History of the World*. (London: T. Nelson, 1928 [1940]); Hendrik W. Van Loon, *The Story of Mankind*. (London: George G. Harrap & Co, 1922) and *Multiplex Man or the Story of Survival through Invention*. (London: Jonathan Cape, 1928).
62. Board of Education, *Report on the Teaching of History*, p. 99.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
64. R. David Sylvester, "Change and Continuity in History Teaching, 1900-1993", in Bourdillon Hilary (ed.), *Teaching History*. (London: Routledge & The Open University, 1994), p. 11.
65. The language of modernity and progress was much used by those I term "paternalist-progressive" educators in late colonial Sudan. See for instance V. L. Griffiths, *Character Aims*, the book on qualities of character required by "rising nations" that was co-authored by Griffiths and 'Alī Ṭaha. Also relevant are Griffiths, *An Experiment in Education: An Account of the Attempts to Improve the Lower Stages of Boys' Education in the Moslem Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1930-1950*. (London: Longman, 1953), pp. 112-113, 164; "Memorandum by V. L. Griffiths to the Governor, Wad Medani on Gezira Adult Education", 28 November 1949, SAD 671/2/29-31, Sudan Archive, Durham and "Community Development", p. 4.
66. On Mahdist Sudan see P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan 1881-1898: A Study of its Origins, Development and Overthrow*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958); Muḥammad Sa'īd Al-Gaddāl, *Al-Mahdiyya wa-l-Habasha, Dirāsa fī al-Siyāsa al-Dākhiliyya wa-l-Khārijīyya li-Dawlat al-Mahdiyya, 1881-1898*. (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992); Aharon Layish, "The Mahdi's Legal Methodology as a Mechanism for Adapting the *Sharī'a* in the Sudan to Political and Social Purposes", *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, Vol. 91-94 (2000), pp. 221-238; Kim Searcy, *The Formation of the Sudanese Mahdist State: Ceremony and Symbols of Authority, 1882-1898*. (Leiden: Brill, 2010.)
67. Haywood and Ṣāliḥ, *Min Ta'riḫ al-Sūdān*, pp. 3, 13, 181.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 104, 105. For a more detailed study of the representation of the "Turkiyya" (Ottoman-Egyptian rule) in the fourth grade history handbook see Seri-Hersch, *Histoire scolaire*, I, pp. 194-196.
69. Haywood and Ṣāliḥ, *Min Ta'riḫ al-Sūdān*, pp. 86-87, 147.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 181-206.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 92-93. The Arabic *darāwīsh* and its English (*dervish*) and German (*Derwisch*) counterparts were indeed used derogatorily by Egyptian and European opponents to Mahdism. See Francis R. Wingate, *Mahdiism and the Egyptian Sudan: Being an Account of the Rise and Progress of Mahdiism, and of Subsequent Events in the Sudan to the Present Time*. (London: F. Cass, 1968 [1891]); Joseph Ohrwalder, *Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp*. Translated from German by

- F. R. Wingate. (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1892); Rudolf von Slatin Pascha, *Feuer und Schwert im Sudan: meine Kämpfe mit den Derwischen, meine Gefangenschaft und Flucht, 1879-1895*. (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1922 [1896]), [online] <http://www.archive.org/stream/feuerundschwerti00slat#page/n7/mode/2up> (November 24, 2011); Ibrāhīm Fawzī Bāshā, *Kitāb al-Sūdān bayna Yaday Ghurdūn wa-Kitshinir*. (Cairo: Idārat Jarīdat al-Mu'ayyad, 1901); Na'ūm Shuqayr, *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān al-Qadīm wa-l-Ḥadīth wa-Jughrāfiyatuhu*. Originally published in Cairo in 1903. The historical part has been edited by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salfīm and published as *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān*. (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1981).
73. Mekki Shibeika, *Al-Sūdān fī Qarn, 1819-1919*. (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta'lif wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Nashr, 1947).
74. Richard L. Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820-1881*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 144-148; Seri-Hersch, *Histoire scolaire I*, pp. 347-350. For historical surveys served to freshly-recruited SPS officials see "The Sudan: Historical Survey", 1924, uncatalogued material, K. D. D. HENDERSON G//S 890, Box 2, Sudan Archive, Durham and Harold A. MacMichael, "The Sudan Historical Survey", n. d., SAD 448/13/1-14, Sudan Archive, Durham.
75. Barak A. Salmoni, "Historical Consciousness for Modern Citizenship: Egyptian Schooling and the Lessons of History during the Constitutional Monarchy", in Arthur Goldschmidt, Amy Johnson and Barak A. Salmoni, eds., *Re-Envisioning Egypt, 1919-1952*. (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2005), p. 184. Although a non Arabic-speaking man of Macedonian origin, the Ottoman governor of Egypt is referred to by the Arabized version of his name (Muḥammad 'Alī) in Egyptian and Arab historical scholarship, as well as in significant segments of Western historiography. This practice, which has been legitimized by habit over the years, is not insignificant: it indicates a more or less conscious attempt to indigenize the man so as to make him into a key-figure of Egyptian and pan-Arab national narratives. Among the many works on Mehmet Ali, see Afaf Lutfi Sayyid-Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Ehud Toledano, "Mehmet Ali Paşa or Muhammad Ali Basha? An Historiographic Appraisal in the Wake of a Recent Book", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (1985), pp. 141-159; Fahmy K., 2002 (1997).XXX Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt*. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2002 [1997]).
76. Salmoni, "Historical Consciousness", pp. 175-176.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
78. Iman Farag, "Les manuels d'histoire égyptiens: genèse et imposition d'une norme", *Genèses*, No. 44, 2001, p. 2.8 [online] http://www.cairn.info/article.php?ID_REVUE=GEN&ID_NUMPUBLIE=GEN_044&ID_ARTICLE=GEN_044_0004 (March 25, 2009)
79. Salmoni, "Historical Consciousness", p. 181.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
81. The British authorities turned a blind eye to anti-Egyptian demonstrations organized by the Umma (neo-Mahdist) party in the wake of the Sidqi-Bevin protocol. They also allowed the neo-Mahdist leader and son of the Mahdī, Sayyid

'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdī, to rebuild his father's tomb, which had remained in ruins since the 1898 British bombardment of Omdurman.

82. On post-war Anglo-Egyptian negotiations over the Sudan issue see, among others, Mekki Abbas, *The Sudan Question: The Dispute over the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, 1884-1951*. (London: Faber & Faber, 1952), pp. 115-125; Lawrence A. Fabunmi, *The Sudan in Anglo-Egyptian Relations: A Case Study in Power Politics, 1800-1956*. (London: Longmans, 1960), pp. 224-291; Travis Hanes III, *Imperial Diplomacy in the Era of Decolonization: The Sudan and Anglo-Egyptian Relations, 1945-1956*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), pp. 1-145. On the relations between the Sudan Government and the neo-Mahdists in 1944-1947 see Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim, "The Neo-Mahdists and the British, 1944-47: From Tactical Co-operation to Short Lived Confrontation", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (2002), pp. 47-72.

83. Romila Thapar, "The History Debate and School Textbooks in India: A Personal Memoir", *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (2009), p. 87; Neeladri Bhattacharya, "Teaching History in Schools: The Politics of Textbooks in India", *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (2009), p. 101.

84. Thapar, "The History Debate", p. 90; Bhattacharya, "Teaching History in Schools", p. 102.

85. James Mill, *The History of British India*. (London: James Madden, 1817-1858); Alfred Lyall, *The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India*. (London: John Murray, 1894); Vincent A. Smith, *The Early History of India from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, Including the Invasion of Alexander the Great*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904); Edward J. Thompson, *A History of India*. (London: Benn, 1928); Edward J. Thompson and Geoffrey Garratt, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*. (London: s. n., 1934); Hugh G. Rawlinson, *A Concise History of the Indian People*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1938.)

86. Majid Hayat Siddiqi, "History-Writing in India", *History Workshop*, No. 10 (1980), p. 185; Rajeev Bhargava, "History, Nation and Community: Reflections on Nationalist Historiography of India and Pakistan", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (2000), p. 196.

87. Cohn, *Colonialism*, p. 6; Bhargava, "History, Nation and Community", p. 196; Thapar, "The History Debate", pp. 89, 94; Bhattacharya, "Teaching History in Schools", pp. 101, 102.

88. Thapar, "The History Debate", pp. 87-89.

89. On the partial decolonization of Sudanese elementary history handbooks see Seri-Hersch, *Histoire scolaire*, I.

90. Education Department, Sudan Government, *Annual Report*. (Khartoum: McCorquodale, 1930), p. 44; "Educating the African: Use of Mass Methods", excerpt from *The Times Educational Supplement*, 22 May 1948, BW 90/58, National Archives, London; Musgrove, "History Teaching in African Secondary Schools", p. 191; "Ahlia Secondary School Omdurman: History Syllabus", 1954-1955, SAD 739/2/58, Sudan Archive, Durham.

91. Smith, "Appendix 4", pp. 113-115.

92. "Ahlia Secondary School Omdurman: History Syllabus", 1954-1955.

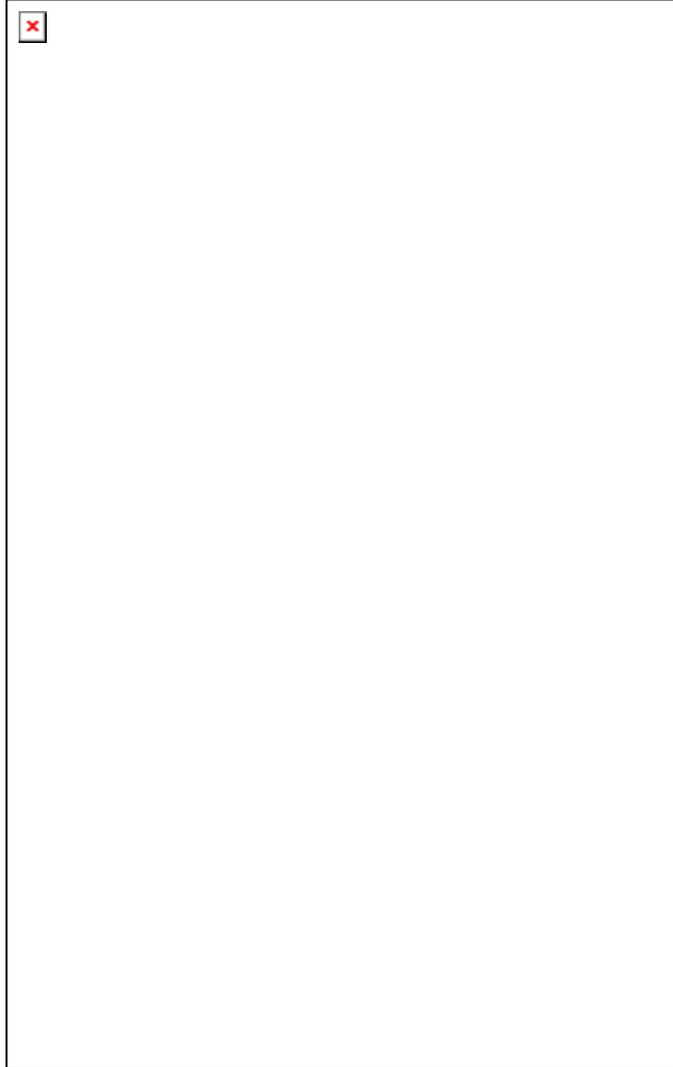
93. Smith, "Appendix 4", p. 117.

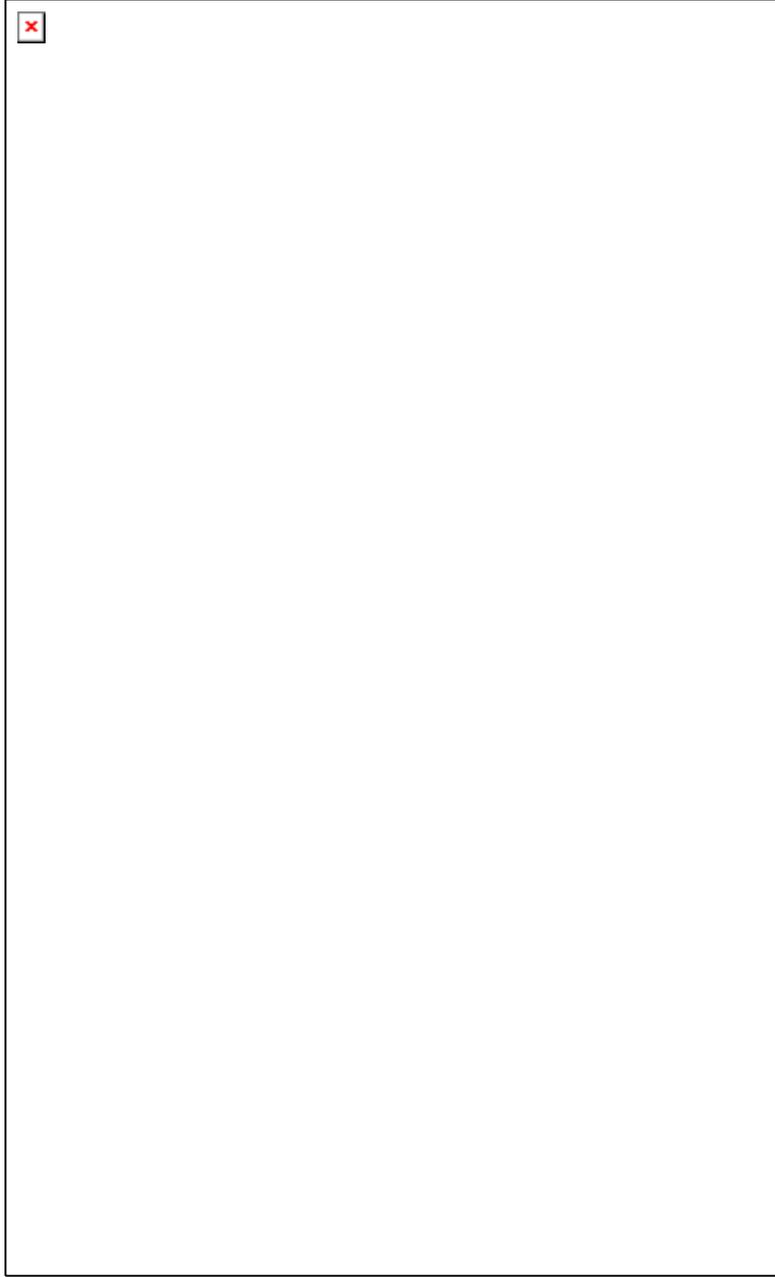
94. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
95. Hadfield, "History in an African Secondary School", p. 125. *Pictorial Education* was a quarterly magazine published in London from 1927 to 1982. There is primary evidence that the magazine was used in Sudanese intermediate schools in the 1950s: Institute of Education, *Bakht er Ruda: Twenty Years Old*. (Khartoum: Publication Bureau, 1954), pp. 16-17.
96. Musgrove, "History Teaching in African Secondary Schools", p. 191.
97. Sudan Government, *Report of a Commission of Inspection on the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum*. (Khartoum: McCorquodale, 1929), p. 33.
98. Smith, "Appendix 4", p. 116. The textbooks Smith referred to included Robert B. Mowat and Kelly Thomas, *The Ancient World*. Mayflower Series, Secondary Course Vol. I. (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1949); Elizabeth Underwood, *A Short History of the World from the Renaissance to the League of Nations*. (London: A. Maclehose & Co., 1934); David Somervell, *Modern Europe, 1871-1839*. (London: Methuen & Co., 1940) and George W. Southgate, *Europe 1870-1945*. (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1952.)
99. Smith, "Appendix 4", p. 116. Smith mentioned an Egyptian textbook: Rif'at Muḥammad, *Ma'ālim Ta'rīkh al-'Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭā*. Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Amīriyya, 1934, 238 p.
100. Holt, *Europe and Great Britain*.
101. N. B. Hunter, *A First Course in Geography and History for African Schools. Part I: The District, the Province, the Sudan*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931) and *A First Course in Geography and History for African schools. Part II: Africa, the World, the Empire*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931.)
102. D. G. Brackett and M. Wrong, "Some Notes on History and Geography Text-Books Used in Africa", *Africa*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1934), p. 202; D. C. Somervell, "Problems of Teaching History", *The Nigerian Teacher*, Vol. 4 (1935), p. 20, quoted in Michael Omolewa, "History Textbook Publications for Nigerian Schools since 1929", *Odu*, New Series, Vol. 18, (1978), pp. 45, 49.
103. See the list of about 65 books produced for African schools between 1920 and 1934 in Brackett and Wrong, "Notes on History and Geography Textbooks", pp. 204-212. They include textbooks and handbooks written in English, Ganda, Nyore, Swahili, Tumbuka, Hausa, Ibo, Xosa, Suto and Chuana. See also, for Nigeria: Alan Burns, *History of Nigeria*. (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1929); C. R. Niven, *A Short History of Nigeria*. (London: Longmans & Co., 1937); William R. Bascom and Margaret I. Potts, *A School History for Nigeria: Especially Compiled for Use under the Education Code of Nigeria*. (Lagos: C.M.S. Bookshop, 1938); Thomas R. Batten, *Tropical Africa in World History*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939-1940); Quinn-Young and White, *A History for Nigerian Schools*. Primary sources indicate that besides in Nigeria, Batten's four-volume textbook on the history of tropical Africa was used in a Southern Sudanese intermediate school as well as in Ugandan and Northern Rhodesian secondary schools in the early 1950s: Omolewa, "History Textbook Publications", Pp. 50-51; Olive A. Gray, "History Notes by O. A. Gray for Form II of the Nugent School", 1955, SAD 859/7/1-5, Sudan Archive, Durham; Musgrove, "History Teaching in the Junior Secondary

- School”, *Oversea Education*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (1953), pp. 20-25; Hadfield, “History in an African Secondary School”, p. 124.
104. Musgrove, “History Teaching in African Secondary Schools”, p. 191. Musgrove criticized Batten’s textbooks for omitting issues that were pertinent for Africans, for presenting a “*patient collection of information*” without pulling out larger patterns, and for uncritically repeating obsolete arguments made by historians of the previous generation: See also his “History Teaching in the Junior Secondary School”, pp. 23, 24.
105. Hadfield, “History in an African Secondary School”.
106. Education Department, Sudan Government, 1930, p. 44; Smith, “Appendix 4”, p. 120.
107. Education Department, Sudan Government, 1930, p. 44.
108. Smith, “Appendix 4”, p. 120.
109. Hadfield, “History in an African Secondary School”.
110. Holt, “Handbook of Suggestions”. Besides playing historical scenes and making time-charts, pupils were encouraged to produce geographical maps and drawings.
111. Alfred J Wills., “History in the African Primary School, Northern Rhodesia”, *Oversea Education*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (1958), p. 126.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
113. For more details see Seri-Hersch, *Histoire scolaire I.*, pp. 187-190, 268-272, 276-278, 284-301 (Sudan), and 362-363 (India).
114. In India, Ghose (*Creative Teaching of History*) generously drew on this literature, in particular on Maurice W. Keatinge, *Suggestion in Education*. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1907), [online] <http://www.archive.org/stream/cu31924031759909#page/n5/mode/2up> (October 31, 2011); Joseph J. Findlay, *History and Its Place in Education*. (London: London University Press, 1923); Board of Education, Consultative Committee on Secondary Education, *Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools*. (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1938), p. 193; [online] <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/spens/index.html> (October 29, 2011); Board of Education, *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools. Report of the Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1941*. (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1943), pp. 98-101; [online] <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/norwood/> (October 4, 2011.)
115. Gregory Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work: Education, Politics and Religious Transformation in Egypt*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 70. See Amir Boktor, *School and Society in the Valley of the Nile*. (Cairo: Elias’ Modern Press, 1936); Russell Galt, *The Effects of Centralization on Education in Modern Egypt*. (Cairo: American University, Department of Education, 1936); Radwan Abu al-Futouh Ahmad, *Old and New Forces in Egyptian Education: Proposals for the Reconstruction of the Program of Egyptian Education in the Light of Recent Cultural Trends*. (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951.)

116. W. N. Bruce, "Teaching of History in Secondary Schools", Circular 599, 25 November 1908, in Board of Education, *Report on the Teaching of History*, p. 61-68 ; Harriet Finlay-Johnson , *The Dramatic Method of Teaching*. (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1912), pp. 18-43; [online] <http://www.archive.org/stream/dramaticmethodof00finrich#page/n5/mode/2up> (October 31, 2011); Henry C. Cook *The Play Way: An Essay in Educational Method*. (London: Heinemann, 1917); [online] <http://www.archive.org/stream/cu31924102032467#page/n0/mode/2up> (October 31, 2011); Board of Education, *Report on the Teaching of History*, pp. 8, 29, 30.
117. Keatinge, *Suggestion in Education*; Board of Education, *Report on the Teaching of History*.
118. See for instance Shu'bat al-Ta'rīkh bi-Bakht al-Ruḍā, *Naḥnu wa-Ajdādunā*, pp. 10, 12, 75, 127-128, 194, 205-207; John A. Haywood and Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Qīṣaṣ min al-Māḍī: Majmū'a min al-Qīṣaṣ al-Ta'rīkhiyya li-l Sana al-Thālītha al-Awwaliyya*. (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif li-l-Tibā'a wa-l-Nashr, 1950), p. 7-26; Haywood and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Min Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān*, pp. 3-16; Holt, *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers of History*.
119. See Board of Education, *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools*, pp. 99, 101.
120. William H. Kilpatrick, "The Project Method", *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 19 (1918), pp. 319-335; John Dewey, *Experience and Education*. (New York: Macmillan, 1938); María del Mar del Pozo Andres, "The Transnational and National Dimensions of Pedagogical Ideas: the Case of the Project Method, 1918-1939", *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol. 45, Nos. 4 and 5 (2009), pp. 561-584.

Appendix 1:
History Syllabi in Various Sudanese Secondary Schools
at the Eve of Independence (1954-1955)





**Appendix 2:
Official History Syllabi in Egyptian Public Education
(1945-1946)**

Stage	1 st grade	2 nd grade	3 rd grade	4 th grade
Elementary	-	Pharaonic Egypt	Islamic History, Ottoman Conquest, Mamluk Egypt	Egypt: Napoleon's Campaign ➡ 1922
Primary	-	-	Egypt: Pharaonic Era, Greco- Roman Era, Early Islam	Egypt: Mamluk Era ➡ Present
Secondary	Pharaonic Egypt, Ancient Greece and Rome	Islamic History ➡ Mamluk Era	European Renaissance, Ottoman Empire, French and American Revolutions	Modern Egypt

Source: Matthews R. D. and Akrawi M., 1949, p. 43, 51, 58, 59.

**Appendix 3:
Prescribed History Syllabi
for Indian Public Schools (1951)**

Stage	1 st grade	2 nd grade	3 rd grade	4 th grade	5 th grade
Primary	Indian and World History: Romantic Tales	Idem 1 st grade	- Beginning of Human Life - Prehistory - Ancient Civilizations	- Indian History from Antiquity to 1707 - World History* (Crusades, Explorers, European Renaissance, Queen Elizabeth, King Charles I, Tsar Peter I)	- Indian History 1707-1950 - World History* (American Independence, French Revolution, Industrial Revolution, Kaiser, Wilson, Hitler & Stalin, UN, Aviation and Radio)
Secondary	- Indian History from Antiquity to 1525 - English History from Antiquity to 1485 - Civics	- Indian History 1525-1785 - English History 1485-1815 - Civics	- Indian History 1785-1950 - English History 1815-1950 - Civics	- Social and Cultural History of India - Social and Cultural History of the World from Antiquity to 1950** - Civics	Idem 9 th grade
	6th grade	7th grade	8th grade	9th grade	10th & 11th grades

*Recommended Textbook:

Van Loon Henrik W., *The Story of Mankind*. London: George G. Harrap & Co, 1922, XXVIII + 492 p.

****Recommended Textbooks:**

- Wells Herbert G., *The Outline of History: Being a Plain History of Life and Mankind*. London: Newnes, 1919-1920, 2 vol.
- Carter E. H. and C. K. Ogden, *General History in Outline and Story*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1938, 288 p.
- Ikin R. G., *A Pageant of World History: An Outline of the History of the World*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1928 (1940²), 270 p.
- Hoyland John S., *A Brief History of Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925.
- Corke Helen, *Class Books of World History. Book III: The Adventurers*. London: Oxford University Press, 1935.
- Pearce Frederick G., *Footprints on the Sands of Time: A Survey of Human History as Marked by the Lives of Great Men and Women*. London: H. Milford, 1941, 304 p.

Source: Ghose K. D., 1951, p. 31, 46-48, 50-51.

**Appendix 4:
Official History Syllabi
for British Secondary Schools (1952)**

1 st grade	Prehistory, Ancient Civilizations or Medieval History
2 nd grade	Tudors and Stuarts
3 rd grade	History of England in the 19 th century, some American and Imperial History
4 th grade	History of England and Europe in the 19 th century
5 th grade	idem

Source: Ministry of Education, *Teaching History*. Education Pamphlet, No. 23. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1952, 89 p., quoted in Sylvester D., 1994, p. 11.