

Gowers of Uganda : Conduct and Misconduct

Being an abridged version of an article forthcoming in ARAS :

Gowers of Uganda: The Public and Private Life of a Forgotten Colonial Governor
Roger Scott, University of Queensland

I

Apparently, not a lot has been written about the conduct of the private lives of colonial governors. This is in contrast to the information provided in histories and novels and films about white settler society in southern and eastern Africa. In my conference contribution, I want to add to this scarce literature.

My forthcoming article in ARAS has a wider compass, including an appreciation of the intersection between the public and private life of a forgotten governor of Uganda, Sir William Gowers. Both pieces draw upon original archival and obscure secondary sources examined in the context of a wider project, a biography by my wife focussed on another member of the Gowers family, her paternal grand-father, Sir Ernest Gowers.

These primary sources¹ provide testimony from, among others, the Prince of Wales and his aide-de-campe, that Gowers was outgoing, entertaining, and full of bravado as well as personal bravery. The same files also reveal that his personal life became a source of widespread scandal among the East African Europeans, especially missionaries, and it required the intervention of his mentor Lord Lugard to fight off his dismissal by the Colonial Secretary. William was in other words a prototype of the cliché of the romantic literature of his era: the “Black Sheep” of the family.

William and his younger brother Ernest were provided with an education at Rugby and Cambridge explicitly designed for entry to the public service. Perhaps William was attracted to the colonial rather than the metropolitan civil service because of his adventurous spirit and opportunities for advancement. He may have gone to Africa because of encouragement from his entrepreneurial father who was a personal friend of Rudyard Kipling. What is certain is that he joined the British South Africa Company in 1889, during the last stages of the Boer War. He then joined the Colonial Service and relocated to Northern Nigeria, functioning there as one of Lord Lugard’s “young men” who went on to careers as senior administrators and ultimately colonial governors.

In 1906, he demonstrated that his schoolboy sense of adventure had not been entirely satisfied by civilian administration. He negotiated a posting to the army as guide and

¹ Files examined were located at the Churchill Archives (Amery Papers), Cambridge, and Rhodes House (Lord Lugard, Lugard-Perham and Sir William Gowers), Oxford.

intelligence gatherer for a British force engaged in a punitive expedition against a recalcitrant local tribe. He was mentioned in despatches and on his return received a significant promotion. Part of his usefulness to the army was his facility with African languages, drawing on his skills as a classicist. In later life, he was still competent enough in the northern Nigerian language of Hausa to act as a translator for a visit of Nigerian emirs to the London Zoo, where his role as a Director linked to his interest in wild-life, another great enthusiasm sustained in East Africa.²

During the First World War he was again seconded to the army, to join the Cameroons Expeditionary Force as political and intelligence adviser to the commanding general and was awarded a second Mention in Despatches. By that time, he had been promoted to Resident First Class (1910), held the key post at Kano (1911) and became Chief Secretary to the Northern Region (1912) – reinforcing the close link to Lugard.

There is no record of his social life during this period. The file note composed by the archivist at Rhodes House indicated that he married Maud Lorraine on July 19, 1904. They had met in Nigeria where she also was employed in the colonial service and shared his interest in linguistics. The archivist notes dryly that it should be noted that with effect from the 1936 Edition of ‘Who’s Who’, no further mention is made of Lady Gowers (nee Maud Lorraine).

After his senior experience in Nigeria and with his distinguished military record, Gowers would have regarded Uganda as a logical promotion, moving from one Protectorate dominated by Frederick (later Lord) Lugard and his philosophy of indirect rule to another with a similar history. The Rhodes House files show that Gowers was consulted extensively by Lugard (and later Margery Perham) in the preparation of subsequent editions of his master-work, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*³, and that Lugard in turn offered advice to Gowers about East Africa.

My ARAS paper deals with various aspects associated with Gowers’ public activity as Governor of Uganda, particularly his involvement in the promotion of African languages like Swahili to strengthen the notion of a common African identity among the inhabitants of the four East African territories (Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar) and his

² In his time in Uganda, he was an avid hunter of elephants, an enthusiasm he shared with the Prince of Wales. He took the photograph which appears below in a rare book reporting on the Prince’s visit to East Africa in 1928 and 1930. This publication was compiled by a leading British sports writer of the time from the diaries of the Prince and of Gowers. The full citation is in the list of references under Chalmers.

³ Frederick Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, London, 1922. This highly influential book advocated the allocation of the maximum responsibility to existing traditional authorities which was consistent with maintaining the overall accountability of the colonial administrators to the metropolitan government in Britain. This was sometimes termed “indirect rule” in contrast to direct rule which bypassed or minimised traditional authorities in favour of an external administrative hierarchy of colonial administrators. The distinction was first drawn in India.

hopes for Closer Union between these territories which ultimately foundered on the irreconcilable conflicts of interest between white settlers in Kenya and other groups of local inhabitants.

The record of the modest achievements in Gowers' public life needs to be set beside the unreported events in his private life which probably damaged his public standing, particularly among his more conservatively-minded peers, especially the missionaries for whom he had little sympathy. .

The papers of Leopold Amery in the Churchill College archive contain parts of a four-way correspondence involving Amery, as Colonial Secretary, the aforementioned Ormsby-Gore, Lord Lugard and Gowers. It is clear that the need for some form of disciplinary action was considered against Gowers but the advice of Lugard was enough to save him. Amery comments at the end of the investigation that "I can't help thinking that this has been a timely warning."⁴

William's family back in Britain were concerned enough for Ernest's wife and daughter to make an emergency visit to spend time at Government House, remembered in the family as a mission to set things right in the vice-regal household. The precise behaviour in question is not identified, for example whether there was more debauchery involved than the unconventional relationship formed between Gowers and the person who became successively his Principal Private Secretary, his mistress and then, on the death of the first Lady Gowers, his second wife.

Winifred Paul was known within the Gowers family circle as "Cinderella" because she disappeared at midnight on formal vice-regal occasions. Until the relationship was regularised after Maud's death in 1947, they feature in visitors books under separate names but a shared address. Correspondence in Ernest Gowers' archive reflects the warmth and affection with which they were both cherished by the family throughout the whole period.

Even though this extra-marital conduct now seems hardly reprehensible, the behaviour was obviously seen to threaten Gowers' authority as Governor, as is clear from the detailed correspondence found in the Lugard collection held at Rhodes House.⁵

Gowers had apparently been accused not only of "womanising", but also gambling and not paying his debts – in one formulation it was asserted that his female race-horse trainer in Kenya was also his mistress. In general, there was concern expressed about the

⁴ Leopold Amery papers, Churchill Archives, Cambridge, AMEL 2/4/13 (January 1925-November 1928: Kenya, Malta, Iraq and Uganda).

⁵ The correspondence appears in Rhodes House archives, Lugard, box 74, file 42 and 174/4, pp 3-19, dating from August 1927 onwards.

licentious atmosphere at Entebbe Government House. Gowers forcefully denied accusations about gambling and not paying his debts and he was backed up in these particulars by Lord Lugard, whose opinion was sought by Ormsby-Gore.

For the rest, he blamed one E.B.Jervis and his wife for providing the original grist to the rumour mill, based on a single dinner party. E.B.Jarvis seems to have been an influential member of the local community, holding the senior administrative post of Chief Secretary from a period pre-dating Gowers' arrival and functioning as Acting Governor during periods of interregnum and gubernatorial absences.

Lugard showed Ormsby-Gore the letter Lugard had received from Gowers defending himself against these accusations. Ormsby-Gore in turn provided the following response to Lugard, suggesting there was more to it than just the opinion of the Jervises:

There were tales from Khartoum to Benin, from Hattersley, from other missionaries, from General Davidson etc. Gowers implies it was all Jervis and his wife. Personally I am inclined to think he gets accused on account of the goings-on of his private secretary Cavendish Bentinck who has been most indiscreet in his social behaviour and in the type of woman he seems to prefer.

It is really important that G should go out of his way to be circumspect both in his general manners towards women, his guests at Government House – especially from Kenya; and he had better give up card games other than bridge for the moment. There were severe criticisms of Coryndon⁶ playing poker at Entebbe.

There is no doubt that G has shocked CMS⁷ opinion which is strong among missionaries and natives in Uganda. It is a country where more concessions to puritan traditions must be made by any governor who is really respected.

I personally don't like Jervis and his wife – but if a quarter of what he says about the Governor's social atmosphere is true, it is very embarrassing.

If you reply, I hope you will issue a friendly word of warning. Gowers is a good man but slightly intolerant of Victorian views. His quarrel with his wife is most unfortunate in the circumstances. He has got himself 'talked about' not only in

⁶ One of Gowers' predecessors, Governor 1917-1922.

⁷ The Church Mission Society was in fierce competition for African souls with the Roman Catholic White Fathers. In Uganda, this reached the heights of religious wars in the period before the proclamation of the Protectorate and the agreement between the Kabaka and Queen Victoria at the turn of the century. The CMS promoted a peculiarly Victorian version of Christian morality, including the adoption of voluminous all-encompassing dresses of that period which continued to be worn by Baganda matrons until recent times, adding a bizarre feature to the local landscape.

Uganda but in Kenya and the Sudan. His nickname ‘naughty Willie’ has become widespread. I am sorry for him but there it is.

Governors, especially in a place like Entebbe where all are his subordinates and he is ‘the Excellency’ must take extra care. The ‘tales’ have not reached Buckingham Palace yet – but knowing how strong the feeling is there on such subjects I sincerely hope they will not.⁸

In fact it had reached the Palace, as is clear from the only published source referring to the matter, the diaries of Alan Lascelles, ADC to the Prince of Wales. Lascelles repeats an incident which was also recorded in the Prince’s own diaries and elsewhere, demonstrating Gowers’ sangfroid and bravery in the face of a charging elephant which was endangering the life of the Prince.

Lascelles then qualifies his admiration for Gowers as “a good chap but with a weakness for women which is dangerous in a governor, especially when his wife is permanently resident in Paris, as was the case here.”⁹ (Lascelles later gave up his own post at the Palace when he became aware that his own ‘governor’ was similarly compromised.)

Lugard, in turn, showed Ormsby-Gore’s response to Gowers. In a letter of 27 September 1927, barely a month later, Gowers expresses pleasure at the resolution of his problem even though he wrote previous letters to Lugard without expecting anyone else would see them, but he was glad now that they were seen by Ormsby-Gore. He again suggests that he was a victim of “malicious gossip” and that the other names respondents were retailing hearsay from a single source, especially his reputation for pursuing women – this could only have related to a single incident during Gowers’ break-up with his first wife Maud and Gowers was absent for six months immediately after that.

Gowers regarded the Ormsby-Gore letter to Lugard as “very nice and reasonable but reliant on hearsay and offers no particulars”. He denied any involvement in cards apart from bridge and in gambling, apart from a trivial delay in covering two small cheques dealt with by his ADC. Gowers claimed that he was now behaving circumspectly, including getting rid of **Cavendish-Bentinck**, his poor quality private secretary, and replacing **him** with Winifred Paul.

The correspondence was obviously widely circulated, as in the meantime Gowers’ response was rebutted in part by his accuser writing to one of Gowers’ fellow-governors and arch-protagonist, the redoubtable Donald Cameron.

⁸ **Lugard Collection, Rhodes House**, 27 August 1929. [I have added this and deleted ibid here – I assume this is correct – as per previous fn]

⁹ Alan Lascelles, in Rupert Hart-Davis, ed. *In Royal Service: letters and journals of Sir Alan Lascelles, 1920-1936*, (London, 1989).

Dear Sir Donald Cameron,

I asked Nicolson regarding the report that he was responsible for the non-payment of Sir W Gowers' debts and he states there is not the slightest vestige of truth in it. He is simply furious. I thought you might like to know. We are just off north and return on the 10th of October.

With kind regards, yours sincerely, E Jervis.

Cameron's notation on the letter (while forwarding it to Ormby-Gore presumably, or perhaps direct to Lugard who kept it on file):

This is unsolicited, of course. Nicolson is the late ADC. He has small abilities but is a gentleman. Gowers did not pay his tradesmen either before he went off on leave the last time.¹⁰

How reasonable was this harsh judgement? Cameron had shared many of Gowers' background experiences in Nigeria and his reservations about the attempt to entrench the interests of Kenyan white settlers, facilitated by links between Governor Grigg and Lord Delamere. But Cameron was also a difficult person to get on with, especially for any competitor. Philip Mitchell, his deputy in Tanganyika at the time and a great admirer, characterised him as less severe than his self-image as a strong harsh man, but "he had, certainly, strong dislikes and about people he disliked he would say the most outrageous, even apparently ill-natured things".¹¹

Perham has remarked on similar characteristics, having stayed with him for extended periods:

Sir Donald is the exact opposite of Sir Edward Grigg who, whatever his faults, seems to be lacking in malice; Sir Donald is full of it. Perhaps he exaggerates a little his condemnations, spicing them with a rather wicked humour. He has disparaged most other governors I know or know of, except I think Sir Hugh Clifford. Even Lord Lugard! But Gowers, Maxwell and Grigg are his special prey.¹²

Cameron seems to have mortally wounded his prey, even though Gowers remained as governor for several years. In the byzantine negotiations over **Closer Union**, Gowers became reconciled to Grigg when both embraced the Lugardian concept of a dual

¹⁰ Rhodes House (S1150, file 9, ff 1-25) 17, o

¹¹ Philip Mitchell, *African Afterthoughts*, (London, 1954) 105-106.

¹² Margery Perham, *East African Journey*, (London, 1976) 209.

mandate as applying to each of their territories : Kenya for the whites, Uganda for the blacks. There seems to have been some discussion, at least within the Gowers family, about William moving on to Kenya to succeed Grigg and taking his new son-in-law with him as ADC but the ADC chose to resume his military career in India¹³.

In the end, Gowers returned to England as Crown Agent for East and Southern Africa, an appointment applauded by the local Ugandan business community during the farewell celebrations. Perhaps they were less aware than people in London about the growing limitations associated with the commercial role of an organisation deeply rooted in colonial history. David Sunderland's substantial works on the Crown Agents suggest that by the mid-twentieth century, the Agency had grown inefficient:

The position of Crown Agent began to be seen as a reward for long years of service and as a dumping ground for individuals who were incompetent or could not adequately perform their duties because of ill-health, lack of drive or 'uncongenial personalities'.¹⁴

There is some indication that this disparagement of Gowers' reputation was either not widely known at the time or was regarded as undeserved. Certainly by 1931 when a nervous mother was concerned about the safety of her seemingly over-adventurous daughter, she sought Gowers' assistance and was pleased when he offered her the protection of residing at Government House. Or perhaps this particular mother with her links to the London School of Economics, the Fabian Society and the notoriously permissive Bloomsbury Group had a more tolerant attitude.

The Rhodes House files contain an exchange of correspondence which starts with a letter of 13 August 1931 from Jessie Mair, Sir William Beveridge's secretary at the London School of Economics and later his wife. It was addressed to Gowers' sister-in-law, Kit Gowers, known to Mair because of Ernest's working relationship with Beveridge:

My eldest daughter Lucy has been awarded a Research Grant by the Rockefeller Foundation to enable her to some investigations in Uganda into problems of colonial administration and I think Sir William Gowers is your brother-in-law. ...I am hopelessly ignorant about Uganda and do not know how completely civilised it is.¹⁵

¹³ During the visit of Ernest's wife and daughter Peggy, romance had blossomed between Peggy and the ADC; they married before he returned to India – perhaps it was something in the Entebbe air.

¹⁴ David Sunderland, *Managing British Colonial and Post-Colonial Development: The Crown Agents, 1914-1974*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2007) 2.

¹⁵ Rhodes House (File ref mss.afr.s1150, folio 2 ff).

On 6 November 1931, a letter was sent to Sir William from Arthur Bottomley at the Colonial Office asking for similar protection and pointing out that Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield was also taking a keen interest in the project. (While still humble Sidney Webb, Passfield was active in the Fabian Society and at Toynbee Hall with Beveridge).

Bottomley noted that Jessie had written also to the Crown Agents.

She is afraid that Lucy will be too adventurous and will get into remote districts where she may incur undesirable risks. Mrs Mair hopes that the authorities will keep a very watchful eye on Miss Lucy's movements and not let her go anywhere unaccompanied by some British protection.

Bottomley however distinguished between danger and fear of danger:

It is most desirable that Miss Mair should have the utmost freedom in making her investigations for herself. The value of her work ["in the minds of the Rockefeller Foundation" is inserted in pencil in the margin] would be ruined if she were merely shown things by government officials instead of finding out things for herself..... I think you will have no difficulty in finding a means whereby Miss Mair will not in any way be hampered, and yet will run no risk of getting into difficulties.

Gowers replied a fortnight later (19 November 1931) and assured Bottomley that there would be plenty of social contacts and indeed she would be offered hospitality at Government House.

I cannot imagine that there are any undesirable risks awaiting her in Buganda. I suppose she won't want to go hunting elephants or buffalo. Otherwise it seems to me that a girl is as safe or safer in Buganda than she is in London.....As you know my private secretary is a girl and she works alone accompanied by porters only in much more remote uncivilised country.

Lucy Mair's first book, *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, was published by Collins in 1932.¹⁶ She went on to a distinguished career as an academic social anthropologist.

Margery Perham, equally distinguished in later life, was another who braved the perceived moral danger posed by staying with Gowers at Entebbe. She refers to Gowers in her own memoir of a visit to Kenya and Tanganyika in 1929-30. In her preface she records that the material she gathered in her visit to Uganda was excluded for reasons of length and because Uganda with its special features of a strong native kingdom and very

¹⁶ Lucy Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, (London, 1932)

few white settlers had escaped the main pressures of the Closer Union controversy.¹⁷ Later on, she records discussions with Cameron where “Sir Donald made it clear that he holds Sir Edward Grigg and all his works in disapproval, almost in detestation.”¹⁸

Perham reflected later on the breakdown in the relationship between the different governors:

Grigg was the only one who did not depreciate his colleagues to me while officials in general are almost all bitter about the administration beyond their own frontiers. My approval of Uganda here was received with stony silence.... Mutual suspicion is bred out of ignorance.¹⁹

On the same page, she records the social end to a day of discussions:

At night, the Jardines came to dinner and his Excellency gave us full details of that recent controversial Governors Conference in London and many revelations about another governor who shall remain nameless...I might add that I had some furious arguments with Mr Jardine (Chief Secretary) who was, or pretended to be, horrified (a) at my having stayed unchaperoned with the Governor of Uganda and (b) at my having liked him.

The significance of the Gowers governorship is difficult to evaluate, partly because he tends to be overshadowed in the scholarly literature by more dominant characters working beside or after him, nearly all of whom he would have known and served with in Northern Nigeria but may have been hostile witnesses. Perham recognised in a generally complimentary obituary that Cameron could be a powerful enemy:

Close up he had blemishes. Though a mostly kindly and generous host and quickly sensitive to selfishness and injustice, his humour could be too mordant, his dislikes too violent.²⁰

Philip Mitchell provides an interesting personal insight into the hostility of all the other governors towards the Kenya governor, Edward Grigg. He asserts that it was Amery’s private intention to appoint Grigg as a putative Governor-General for all three African territories as the instrument for creating **Closer Union** but he did this in a clumsy way:

If Amery ever in fact had such an intention, he made it infinitely difficult of realisation when he chose as Grigg’s colleagues in Tanganyika and Uganda, two

¹⁷ Margery Perham, *East African Journey* (London, 1976) 14.

¹⁸ Margery Perham, *East African Journey*, 45.

¹⁹ Margery Perham, *East African Journey*, 46.

²⁰ Margery Perham, *Colonial Sequence, 1930-1949* (London, 1967), 395.

men of such exceptional ability, force of character and individualism as Cameron and Gowers.²¹

In his visits to East and Central Africa in 1925, Ormsby-Gore found the administrative structure “out of date and creaking,” and George Schuster reported in 1928 that:

It is astounding to find each little Government in each of these detached countries working out, on its own, problems which were common to all, without any knowledge of what its neighbours were doing and without any direction on main lines of policy from the Colonial Office.²²

Gowers was governor of one of these little detached countries and an enthusiast for **Closer Union** to overcome isolation and the diseconomies of scale. It is ironic perhaps that one of Gowers’ major disabilities was created by the local social grapevine: the one area where in all the territories there was certainly “knowledge of what its neighbours were doing”.

But, like his brother Ernest, William did not seek publicity or write about his life and times – although his views were sought and communicated to historians like Perham. Each of the other major actors in East Africa ensured their own place in history on their own terms by producing autobiographies, usually written at some distance from the events they described: Cameron published *My Tanganyika and Some Nigeria* in 1939;²³ Mitchell published *African Afterthoughts* in 1954;²⁴ Edward Grigg (by then Lord Antrincham) published *Kenya’s Opportunities* in 1955.²⁵ In terms of secondary sources, Lugard had Perham’s two volume biography, Cameron was the subject of Gailey’s posthumous biography in 1974²⁶ and Mitchell was the subject of one by Frost in 1992.²⁷

Gowers neither wrote at length about himself nor was written about by others, another instance of “forgotten deeds” created by his family’s habitual reticence. The main difference was that some of William’s deeds were unforgettable for the wrong reasons. One former diplomat told an eminent Ugandan historian that Gowers was still remembered in recent times as “the only colonial governor to have declared his wife a prohibited immigrant”.²⁸

²¹ Sir Philip Mitchell *African Afterthoughts*, 107.

²² George Schuster cited in Andrew Roberts, *Cambridge History of Africa, Volume 7 – 1905-1940*, Cambridge 1986. 48.

²³ Donald Cameron, *My Tanganyika and Some Nigeria* (London, 1939).

²⁴ Philip Mitchell, *African Afterthoughts*.

²⁵ Edward W M Grigg, *Kenya’s Opportunity: Memories, Hopes and Ideas* (London, 1955)

²⁶ Harry A Gailey, *Sir Donald Cameron, Colonial Governor* (Stanford, 1974).

²⁷ Richard Frost, *Enigmatic Proconsul: Sir Philip Mitchell and the Twilight of Empire*, (London, 1992).

²⁸ Personal correspondence with Professor Michael Twaddle, 22 December 2008.

Bibliography

- Cameron, Donald. *My Tanganyika and Some Nigeria* (London, 1939).
- Chalmers, Patrick, *HRH The Prince of Wales: Sport and Travel in East Africa: An Account of Two Visits 1928 and 1920, compiled from the private diaries of HRH The Prince of Wales*, E.P.Dutton, New York, undated – circa 1932
- Frost, Richard. *Enigmatic Proconsul: Sir Philip Mitchell and the Twilight of Empire*, (London, 1992).
- Gailey, Harry A. *Sir Donald Cameron, Colonial Governor* (Stanford, 1974).
- Grigg, Edward *Kenya's Opportunity: Memories, Hopes and Ideas* (London, 1955)
- Hart-Davis Rupert, ed. In *Royal Service: letters and journals of Sir Alan Lascelles, 1920-1936*, (London, 1989).
- Hussey, Edward. "Obituary, Sir William Gowers KCMG," *African Affairs*, 54 (1955) 57-58.
- Ingham, Kenneth. *The Making of Modern Uganda* (London, 1958)
- Kiganda, Christine R M. *Teaching Literacy in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Case of English in Primary Education in Uganda* (Nairobi, 2003).
- Low, David Anthony and Richard Cranford Pratt, *Buganda and British Over-Rule*, Oxford, 1956
- Mair, Lucy, *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, (London)1932)
- Mazrui, Ali and Zirumu, Pio. "The secularisation of an Afro-Islamic language: church, state and marketplace in the spread of Swahili", *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 1.1 (1979). 44-53.
- Mitchell, Philip. *African Afterthoughts*, (London, 1954) 105-106.
- Navenga, Peter F B "Chiefs and the Land Question in Busoga Uganda, 1895-1936", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 78 (1979);
- Perham Margery (ed), *Lugard: Vol 2 – The Years of Authority 1898-1945*, (London, 1960)
- Perham, Margery, *Colonial Sequence, 1930-1949* (London, 1967)
- Perham, Margery, *East African Journey* (London, 1976)
- Porter, Rae I "One Hundred Years of Contest – Land and Governance in Uganda", PhD thesis, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, 2001.
- Pratt, Richard Cranford "Administration and Politics in Uganda, 1919-1945" in Vincent Harlow, Elizabeth Chilver and Alison Smith, *History of East Africa*, Vol 2 (Oxford 1965).
- Roberts, Andrew, "The Colonial Mind", in Roberts, Andrew (ed) *Cambridge History of Africa, Volume 7 1905-1940*, Cambridge 1986 48.
- Roehl, Karl, "The Linguistic Situation in East Africa", *Africa* 1.1, April 1930
- Scott, Ann. *Ernest Gowers – Plain Words and Forgotten Deeds*, (London: Palgrave-Macmillan 2009).
- Sunderland, David. *Managing British Colonial and Post-Colonial Development: The Crown Agents, 1914-1974*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2007).

Whiteley, Wilfred. "The Changing Position of Swahili in East Africa", *Africa* 26.4 (1956) 343-353.

Archival Sources

(Files examined were located at the Churchill Archives Cambridge (Leopold Amery Papers) and Rhodes House Oxford (collections of Lord Lugard, Lugard-Perham and Sir William Gowers)..

Amery, Leopold Collection: AMEL 2/4/13 (January 1925-November 1928: Kenya, Malta, Iraq and Uganda .

Lugard Collection : Lugard box 74, file 42 and 174/4, pp 3-19, dating from August 1927 onwards..

Rhodes House, (S 1150, file 9, ff 1-25).

Rhodes House, (mss.afr.s1150, folio 2 ff).

Rhodes House, Lugard to Gowers, (9.4.1929, mss.afr.s1150, box 2, 97).

Rhodes House, Letter to Vischer 20 March 1928, (f 171, mss Africa.51150).

Rhodes House, Gowers address to Caledonian Society, (mss.afr.s1150, box 2, 253).

Rhodes House, Gowers letter to Governor of Kenya (mss.afr.s1150, box 2, 243)