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Review Article

## **The Role of Missionary Education in the Development of Formal Schools in Nigeria**

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**Abstract:** This study investigates the influence of missionary education on the evolution of formal schooling in Nigeria from the nineteenth century to the present. Utilising a qualitative historical research design with a secondary method approach, the study incorporates primary sources (missionary records, colonial documents, and contemporary accounts), secondary sources (scholarly monographs and articles), and official publications. The theoretical approach utilised dependency theory to investigate structural disparities. The results show that missionary education caused long-lasting differences between northern and southern Nigeria, set up patterns of gender inequality, and made religious instruction a part of formal schooling in ways that continue to cause arguments. At the same time, the results show that Africans had a lot of power. Liberated returnees, local converts, and communities all played a role in creating and negotiating missionary education. The study finds that the legacy of missionary education is mixed. It helped set up formal schools, but it also created disparities and institutional tendencies that are still big problems. Suggestions include focused funding for northern educational infrastructure, policy changes to promote gender equality, clearer definitions of the role of faith-based organisations in education, changes to the curriculum to include indigenous knowledge, and future research that uses comparative, oral history, and intersectional methods.

**Keywords:** Missionary Education, Formal Schooling, Nigeria, Colonial Education, African

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### **Introduction**

The establishment of formal education in Nigeria is fundamentally connected to the endeavours of Christian missionary societies that came to the West African coast in the nineteenth century. Before missionaries came to Nigeria, there were two main types of

schooling in the area. Indigenous education was informal, communal, and practical, designed to assimilate the child into society through vocational training, oral traditions, and rites of passage (Fafunwa, 1974). Islamic education has been firmly established for centuries in the northern regions, primarily through Quranic schools (Tsangaya) that imparted Arabic literacy, jurisprudence, and holy texts (Ajayi, 1965). But neither system offered the formal training in the Western style that would ultimately become the most common way to learn. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) came to Badagry in 1842, and this was the start of missionary societies. They brought a new way of teaching that integrated reading, writing, and vocational training (Ayandele, 1966). This missionary effort established the basic parts that the Nigerian formal school system was built on.

After the end of the transatlantic slave trade, Europeans became interested in West Africa again. Missionary groups saw the area as a place to preach Christianity and "civilisation" (Burns, 1929). Henry Townsend and Samuel Ajayi Crowther, who was a freed Yoruba man and later became the first African bishop, led the CMS. In 1843, they set up the first official primary school in Badagry (Ajayi, 1965). Other missionary groups came soon after. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society set up schools in Abeokuta and other parts of Yorubaland. The Catholic Mission and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland started schools in Lagos, the Niger Delta, and Calabar (Fafunwa, 1974). These missions did not just bring European ideas to Africa; they also used freed African slaves who had come back from Sierra Leone and Brazil as middlemen to help adapt Western education to local languages and cultures (Ayandele, 1966).

The ideology behind missionary education was sometimes summed up by the "three Cs": commerce, Christianity, and civilisation. Education, however, has strategic goals beyond evangelism. People learned to read and write so that they could read the Bible, which made the school a helper of the church (Fafunwa, 1974). Missionaries also wanted to get rid of native customs that they thought were not in line with Christianity, like polygamy and several traditional ceremonies. Mission schools also taught rudimentary reading, writing, and maths, as well as trades like carpentry, printing, and farming. This created a group of clerks, interpreters, and craftsmen who would help the growing colonial economy (Ajayi, 1965).

In the early 1900s, the British Crown formally colonised Nigeria, which made missionary education more complicated. The colonial government under Lord Lugard used indirect rule, which at first didn't care about the expansion of Western education, especially in the Muslim North, where the government didn't want to destabilise the existing emirate structure (Burns, 1929). Because of this, the colonial government didn't set up a public education system right away. Instead, it worked with the missions, which were made official by the Education Ordinances of 1882 and 1887. These laws recognised mission schools and gave them money in help (Fafunwa, 1974). This structure meant that the state depended on missionary societies to teach people in the whole colony. As a result, there was a big difference between regions: the South, especially Yorubaland and the Niger Delta, saw a lot of missionary activity, which led to a lot of new schools being built. The

North, on the other hand, had less access to missionaries, so it fell behind. This difference still affects Nigeria's education and politics today (Ayandele, 1966).

The importance of missionaries in creating formal education is well recognised; interpretations vary. Some researchers regard missionaries as altruistic pioneers who facilitated reading, contemporary education, and societal advancement (Burns, 1929). Some people say that missionary education was a form of cultural imperialism that cut Africans apart from their own culture, creating a Westernised elite that wasn't connected to local populations, and made it easier for colonial powers to take over (Ayandele, 1966). Additionally, the enduring structural ramifications of missionary education—including the intertwining of religion with public schooling, the educational disparity between the North and South, and the initial disregard for female education, as mission schools primarily catered to males—are essential factors for comprehending modern Nigerian education (Fafunwa, 1974). The years between 1842 and 1914, when the first CMS mission arrived and Nigeria became a colony, are when these patterns first began to take shape. Looking at this time period is important for understanding the problems we have now, such as the continuous dispute about the role of religion in secular education, who owns and runs schools, and the ongoing discrepancies in access to education among Nigeria's regions.

### **Statement of the Problem**

It is a historical fact that missionary societies played a key part in setting up official schools in Nigeria. The Church Missionary Society's arrival in Badagry in 1842 marked the beginning of missionary work that brought Western-style education to Nigeria. They set up the institutions, curriculum, and administrative structures that would later become the basis of the Nigerian educational system (Fafunwa, 1974; Ajayi, 1965). Nonetheless, although the comprehensive historical records of missionary endeavours, a notable deficiency persists in the rigorous analysis of the complex and frequently conflicting outcomes of this educational framework. Current scholarship is largely divided into two opposing factions: one lauds missionary education as a benevolent civilising influence that introduced literacy and modernity to Nigeria (Burns, 1929), while the other denounces it as a tool of cultural imperialism aimed at enabling colonial domination and undermining indigenous traditions (Ayandele, 1966). Neither viewpoint sufficiently tackles the intricate, persistent structural issues that emerged from the missionary educational initiative and continue to plague Nigerian education today.

The intertwining of religion with formal education, initiated during the missionary period, continues to be a very sensitive matter in present-day Nigeria. The missionaries set up schools mainly to spread the gospel, and they made Christian religious education a part of the main curriculum (Fafunwa, 1974). The colonial state took up this paradigm, and after Nigeria became independent, each of its governments did the same. This caused ongoing conflicts between secular educational goals and religious beliefs. In the northern region, colonial authorities limited missionary access to maintain the stability of the Islamic emirate system. Consequently, a separate system of Islamic education emerged, leading to a divided educational landscape that persists in obstructing national integration and equitable

educational development (Ajayi, 1965). The constitutional debates regarding the incorporation of religious education in public schools, the creation of faith-based universities, and the ongoing disputes between Christian and Muslim communities over educational resources all stem from the missionary origins of Nigerian education.

The missionary educational business also set up big differences between men and women and between different parts of Nigeria that still exist today. Missionary work was mostly done in the southern parts of the country, especially Yorubaland and the Niger Delta. This led to a quick growth in education in the South, whereas the North didn't get much Western education until the 1920s and 1930s (Ayandele, 1966). This historical difference established a structural imbalance that has been surprisingly strong. More than a century later, northern states still have lower educational levels, literacy rates, and school enrolment rates than southern states (Fafunwa, 1974). In the same way, early missionary education was mostly for boys, and girls were either not educated at all or just taught how to be good wives for educated men (Ajayi, 1965). While subsequent missionary initiatives did create educational institutions for girls, the initial disregard for female education instituted enduring trends of gender inequality, which persist in the form of reduced enrolment and graduation rates for girls in numerous regions of Nigeria.

Another significant issue is the insufficient focus on the agency of African converts and intermediates in influencing missionary education. Historiographical narratives have frequently focused on European missionaries, including Henry Townsend and Hope Waddell, while neglecting the contributions of African individuals such as Samuel Ajayi Crowther, who not only engaged in missionary activities but also championed the adaptation of education to African contexts (Ajayi, 1965). The degree to which African agency altered, opposed, or redirected missionary educational objectives is insufficiently examined, as is the intricate negotiation among missions, colonial authorities, and local communities about the curriculum and governance of education (Ayandele, 1966). This omission obscures the dynamic nature of the educational experience and perpetuates a narrative of passive African reception rather than active engagement and adaptation.

The partnership between missionary societies and the colonial state, which was made official by the Education Ordinances of 1882 and 1887, which gave government grants to mission schools, has also left a lasting legacy of confusion about who owns, funds, and controls schools in Nigeria (Fafunwa, 1974). After independence, different governments tried to take over mission schools, which led to the contentious takeover of schools by state governments in the 1970s and the eventual return of numerous schools to religious groups. This continuous dispute over who should run schools shows that there are still unsolved issues in a system that was first set up by missions but later taken over by the state.

Given these concerns, this study aims to transcend celebratory or condemnatory narratives to critically assess the influence of missionary education on the evolution of formal schooling in Nigeria. It seeks to examine the structural disparities, theological entanglements, and governance difficulties that began during the missionary era and persist

in influencing modern Nigerian education. This study will enhance the understanding of the historical foundations of Nigerian education and offer insights pertinent to contemporary policy discussions regarding educational reform, regional inequality, gender equity, and the involvement of faith-based organisations in public education.

### **Early Historical Accounts: The Civilizing Mission Narrative**

Early historical records of education in Nigeria, predominantly authored by colonial officials and missionary chroniclers, typically depicted missionary education as a philanthropic civilising endeavour. In his detailed *History of Nigeria*, Burns (1929) called missionary groups "pioneers of progress" who brought literature, Christianity, and modern civilisation to what he called a "benighted continent." From this point of view, missionary schools were tools of enlightenment that freed Africans from superstition and taught them the good things about Western knowledge and ideals. Burns (1929) highlighted the significance of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), specifically noting the founding of the inaugural formal school in Badagry in 1843 as a pivotal event in Nigeria's modernisation.

Lewis (1962), in *Education and Political Independence in Africa*, also underscored the altruistic commitment of missionaries and regarded the founding of schools as a philanthropic endeavour that facilitated Nigeria's subsequent political evolution. Lewis contended that missionary education furnished the intellectual and moral underpinnings that empowered Nigerians to engage in contemporary administration and trade. These narratives, however significant for their comprehensive documenting of missionary endeavours and their historical records of school foundations, have faced criticism for their Eurocentric biases and their oversight of African agency and indigenous educational practices (Fafunwa, 1974). The civilising mission narrative depicted Africans as passive recipients of European kindness, so obscuring the existence of established indigenous and Islamic educational systems that preceded the advent of missionaries.

### **The Nationalist Critique: Cultural Imperialism and Colonial Complicity**

A substantial transformation in history transpired with the growth of nationalist historiography in the 1960s and 1970s, aiming to reclaim African viewpoints and challenge the colonial endeavour. Ayandele (1966), in his important work *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842–1914*, provided a more critical analysis, contending that missionary education, although it facilitated formal schooling, also functioned as a tool of cultural imperialism. Ayandele asserted that missionaries sought to deconstruct indigenous cultures, subvert traditional power systems, and establish a Westernised elite disconnected from its own roots. He contended that the collaboration between missionary societies and the colonial state rendered education a mechanism of colonial domination, generating African clerks and interpreters who aided colonial governance instead of promoting authentic African advancement (Ayandele, 1966).

This critical viewpoint contested the laudatory accounts of previous research and highlighted the power relations intrinsic to the missionary educational initiative. Ayandele

(1966) recorded that missionary education systematically disparaged local religious practices, languages, and social structures, resulting in a generation of Africans schooled to choose European culture over their own. The nationalist critique stressed that missionary education was not a disinterested act of goodwill but was profoundly linked to the political and economic aims of colonialism. This viewpoint continues to have influence in modern academia, although later academics have endeavoured to muddy the dichotomy between colonial imposition and African resistance.

### **The Fafunwa Synthesis: Three Educational Traditions**

Fafunwa's (1974) *History of Education in Nigeria* is still the most important synthesis of Nigerian educational history. It gives a complete picture of how education has changed from before colonisation to after independence. Fafunwa (1974) recognised the pioneering significance of missionary societies in the establishment of formal education while also underscoring the presence of resilient indigenous educational systems prior to the advent of missionaries. He recorded the three different types of education that were present in Nigeria before colonisation: indigenous education, Islamic education in the north, and the new Western education that missionaries brought to the south.

Fafunwa (1974) defined indigenous education as a pragmatic, community framework designed to assimilate the child into society via vocational training, oral traditions, and rites of passage. He said that this system worked quite well for social reproduction, but it didn't have any formal institutions or literacy. Islamic education, on the other hand, was a structured system based on Quranic schools (Tsangaya or Ile Kewu) that had been around for hundreds of years in the north (Fafunwa, 1974). These schools taught Arabic literacy, jurisprudence, and religious texts. Fafunwa contended that the missionary contribution was paradoxical; whereas missions facilitated literacy and established formal institutional frameworks, they simultaneously undermined indigenous educational practices and engendered regional disparities with enduring repercussions. His work continues to be fundamental for comprehending the structural aspects of Nigerian educational growth and the intricate relationships among these three educational traditions.

### **African Agency and the Role of Liberated Returnees**

A notable contribution to the literature is the focus on African agency in the development of missionary education. Ajayi (1965), in *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841–1891: The Making of a New Élite*, conducted a comprehensive analysis of the initial missionary era, emphasising the rise of a Western-educated African elite. Ajayi's work was important because it focused on African agency, showing how freed Africans who returned from Sierra Leone and Brazil acted as middlemen between European missionaries and local people. He stressed that the educational process was not just forced on Africans from above; it was formed and negotiated by them, especially Samuel Ajayi Crowther, who was the first African bishop and pushed for Christianity and education to be adapted to African situations (Ajayi, 1965).

Peel (2000), in his examination of the Yoruba experience, elaborated on this subject by illustrating how Yoruba converts actively influenced the curriculum of missionary schools. He showed that Yoruba Christians translated scriptures into Yoruba, added local stories to Christian teaching, and used missionary teachings in ways that showed their own values and concerns (Peel, 2000). This emphasis on African activity served as a significant rectification to narratives depicting Africans as passive recipients of missionary efforts. It showed that the educational experience was a dynamic process of negotiation, adaptation, and creative synthesis, not just a matter of giving and receiving.

### **Regional Disparities: North-South Divergence**

Scholars have investigated the regional aspect of missionary education by analysing the differing educational paths in northern and southern Nigeria. Trimingham (1959) recorded the long-standing Islamic educational system in the north, which existed several centuries before the entrance of Christian missionaries. He said that the emirate system gave people a solid political and educational structure that was hard for Christian missionaries to get into. Colonial authorities, adhering to Lord Lugard's policy of indirect rule, intentionally limited missionary access to the Muslim emirates to preserve the existing political stability. As a result, Western education was predominantly absent from the north until the 1920s and 1930s (Trimingham, 1959).

Paden (1973) examined the political ramifications of this educational inequality, contending that unequal access to Western education influenced the allocation of power and resources in post-independence Nigeria. He showed that the northern region's intentional policy of limiting Western education led to a big difference in human capital that lasted even after independence. This affected politics and made tensions in the region worse (Paden, 1973). More recently, researchers have looked at how this historical legacy is still showing up in today's educational metrics. For example, northern states always have lower literacy rates, school enrolment, and educational achievement than southern states (Federal Ministry of Education, 2019). This geographical difference is perhaps one of the most lasting structural legacies of the missionary educational era.

### **Gender Dimensions: The Neglect of Female Education**

In recent decades, scholars have become more interested in the gendered aspects of missionary education. Early missionary education mostly targeted males, mirroring European gender theories and missionary goals that emphasised the education of boys destined to become church leaders and evangelists (Ajayi, 1965). Denzer (1994) chronicled the incremental advancement of female education, indicating that missionary societies first founded girls' schools mostly to cultivate appropriate marriages for educated men rather than to enhance women's empowerment. The CMS, for example, opened the first girls' school in Lagos in the 1860s, but it took decades for more girls to sign up (Denzer, 1994).

Subsequent missionary endeavours, notably by Methodist and Catholic missions, enhanced chances for females; yet, the initial disregard for female education created enduring patterns of gender inequality that have resisted reform (Fafunwa, 1974). Recent

research has connected these historical trends to ongoing gender disparities in Nigerian education, especially in northern Nigeria, where female enrolment is still much lower than male enrolment (UNESCO, 2020). Scholars contend that the missionary focus on male education, along with colonial policies that perpetuated patriarchal frameworks, established a gendered educational hierarchy that continues to limit women's educational chances in certain regions of Nigeria (Denzer, 1994).

### **Curriculum and Pedagogy: Content and Purpose**

Scholars interested in the content and goals of colonial schooling have looked at the curriculum and teaching methods of missionary education. Missionary education focused on religious teachings, English literacy, and fundamental vocational skills, with the curriculum largely aimed at generating literate converts and low-level auxiliary for the colonial economy (Ayandele, 1966). Ajayi (1965) observed that the curriculum was predominantly incongruent with the requirements of African communities, prioritising European knowledge and values while disregarding indigenous knowledge systems. The pedagogical approaches utilised were frequently authoritarian, prioritising memorisation and rote learning above critical thinking (Fafunwa, 1974).

More recent research, on the other hand, has made this picture more difficult by pointing out cases of curriculum adaptation. Peel (2000) recorded how Yoruba converts actively influenced the content of missionary education by translating works into Yoruba and integrating indigenous narratives into Christian instruction. Scholars have observed that missionary education was not uniform; various mission societies—CMS, Methodist, Catholic, and Presbyterian—employed distinct methodologies regarding curriculum and pedagogy (Fafunwa, 1974). For instance, the Catholic mission put more emphasis on vocational training and building secondary schools, while the CMS put more emphasis on primary education and training teachers (Ayandele, 1966). This focus on the negotiated and diverse aspects of the curriculum contests representations of missionary education as a mere imposition of European culture.

### **Colonial Educational Policy: The Missionary-State Partnership**

Academics interested in how education is run have looked into the link between missionary education and colonial educational policy. The Education Ordinances of 1882 and 1887 formalised the collaboration between the colonial government and missionary organisations, creating a system of grants-in-aid that rendered the government reliant on missions for education (Fafunwa, 1974). This setup meant that most of the time, missionaries built schools in colonial Nigeria, and the state paid for them. The state didn't get involved in building schools directly until the late colonial period.

Taiwo (1980) contended that this collaboration engendered persistent ambiguities over the ownership, governance, and financing of schools, tensions that reemerged post-independence as successive governments endeavoured to exert control over mission schools. The 1970 takeover of mission schools by state governments, followed by the partial reallocation of schools to religious organisations in succeeding decades, illustrates

the persistent contradictions within a system established on missionary-state collaboration (Taiwo, 1980). The colonial policy of indirect rule, which gave missions the job of educating people and limited the state's role, established a system of government that has been hard to change.

### **Post-Independence Legacies and Contemporary Relevance**

Scholars investigating modern educational issues in Nigeria have examined the post-independence legacy of missionary education. The intertwining of religion with public education, stemming from the missionary foundations of the school system, persists in eliciting controversy (Imam, 2012). Disputes regarding the incorporation of religious education in public school curricula, the formation of faith-based universities, and the persistent tensions between Christian and Muslim communities concerning educational resources all stem from the missionary origins of Nigerian education (Imam, 2012).

Moreover, the regional disparities resulting from unequal missionary access persist in influencing educational policy discussions, as northern states endeavour to rectify historical disadvantages through diverse reform measures (Federal Ministry of Education, 2019). The governance uncertainties stemming from the missionary-state cooperation persist, as successive administrations have fluctuated between enforcing state authority and integrating religious institutions as educational providers (Taiwo, 1980). Scholars have observed that the recent surge of private schools in Nigeria, particularly faith-based institutions, signifies a continuation of the historical trend wherein religious organisations have significantly influenced educational supply (Imam, 2012).

### **Theoretical Framework**

#### **Dependency Theory**

Dependency Theory, which came from Latin American research in the 1960s and 1970s, is a helpful way to look at the structural disparities that are built into missionary education. Dependency theory, initiated by authors like Andre Gunder Frank (1967) and Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1972), contested modernisation theories that depicted development as a linear progression of advancement. Dependency theorists contended that the underdevelopment of the Global South was not attributable to traditionalism or internal shortcomings, but rather was actively generated by the frameworks of colonial and neocolonial hegemony that incorporated peripheral regions into the global capitalist system in subordinate roles.

When applied to Nigeria, dependence theory shows how missionary education helped Nigeria fit into a colonial system that favoured European culture, language, and knowledge while pushing aside traditional Nigerian ways of learning. Ayandele (1966) illustrated that missionary education was not a neutral transmission of information; rather, it was integrated into a colonial initiative that regarded Africans as inferior beneficiaries of European civilisation. The curriculum, pedagogy, and institutional frameworks of missionary schools were engineered to cultivate a class of Africans capable of serving

colonial administrative and commercial interests, rather than promoting independent growth (Fafunwa, 1974).

The dependence framework elucidates the regional differences resulting from missionary education. Missionary work was mostly done in the southern and coastal areas that were easiest for Europeans to reach. The northern region, on the other hand, had a well-established Islamic educational system and was intentionally kept safe from missionary activities by colonial policy (Trimingham, 1959). This resulted in a pattern of uneven educational development, placing the south in a more integrated connection with the colonial economy, while the north remained peripheral, with effects that endured long after independence (Paden, 1973). Dependency theory offers a framework for comprehending how missionary education exacerbated the structural inequities that persist in Nigerian education.

Nonetheless, dependency theory has faced criticism for its propensity to depict peripheral countries as passive victims of external influences, overlooking the agency and resistance of colonised populations (Cooper, 1981). This limitation needs the integration of supplementary theoretical frameworks that can elucidate African agency and negotiation within the confines of colonial structures.

### **Methodology**

This study utilises a qualitative research design, adopting a secondary method approach to examine the influence of missionary education on the evolution of formal schooling in Nigeria. The secondary method, referred to as documentary research or archival research, entails the methodical collection, analysis, and interpretation of pre-existing sources—comprising primary documents, secondary scholarly works, archival records, and official publications—to formulate a cohesive historical and analytical narrative of the phenomenon under examination (Denscombe, 2017; McCulloch, 2004). This method is especially suitable for an investigation of missionary education, given that the events analysed transpired predominantly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, rendering direct observation or contemporary data collection unfeasible.

### **Conclusion**

The influence of missionary education on the evolution of formal schooling in Nigeria is not merely a tale of altruistic advancement or a clear account of colonial subjugation. Instead, it is a complicated history marked by institutional limitations and human action, by imposition and negotiation, by planned effects and contradictory results. Missionary organisations brought literacy, formal institutional structures, and Western knowledge systems to Nigeria, which are today important parts of Nigerian education. But they did so in a colonial setting that pushed aside native educational practices, created disparities based on area and gender, and mixed religion with public education in ways that still cause problems.

The lasting impact of missionary education in Nigeria is thus profoundly ambiguous. The missionary educational initiative established the groundwork for formal

schooling in Nigeria, developing institutions, training educators, and formulating curricula that have been modified and broadened over more than a century. Conversely, the frameworks of inequality and the institutional norms established during the missionary period persist in hindering educational advancement, sustaining inequities in access and quality that continue to pose considerable issues for modern Nigeria.

The theoretical approach utilised in this study has demonstrated efficacy in comprehending this intricate history. Dependency theory elucidates the systemic disparities inherent in missionary education. This framework posits that a comprehensive understanding of contemporary Nigerian education necessitates an examination of the historical legacies from the missionary era, acknowledging that the educational challenges confronting Nigeria today are not solely technical issues but are deeply embedded in a history of colonialism, cultural interaction, and institutional development that persistently influences reform opportunities.

### **Recommendations**

Based on the findings and conclusions of this study, the following recommendations are offered for policy, practice, and future research.

The research substantiates that the educational difference between northern and southern Nigeria is historically rooted in unequal access to missionary education throughout the colonial era. Policy interventions aimed at rectifying this imbalance must acknowledge its structural origins and the path-dependent processes that have sustained it. Suggestions include ongoing and focused funding for educational infrastructure in northern states, such as programs to train teachers, build schools, and get the community involved.

The historical function of missionary teacher training schools, exemplified by St. Andrew's College in Oyo, establishes a basis for the enhancement of modern teacher education. Suggestions include adding the history of Nigerian education to teacher training programs so that teachers can better comprehend the historical background of today's educational problems.

Most of the research that has been done so far has been on the CMS and Yorubaland, with less concentration on other mission societies and areas. Future research ought to do comparative analyses of various mission organisations (Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian) and distinct locations (the Niger Delta, the Middle Belt, the North) to discern disparities in missionary educational techniques and outcomes.

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