Child training in Sierra Leone: a description of education in relation to society

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Abstract of a Thesis on "Child Training in Sierra Leone."
by
L.J.B. Pratt, M.A. D.Th.P.T.

The population of Sierra Leone consists of a detribalised Colony group which has imitated British standards of education and social life for over 150 years and a heterogeneous Protectorate group which is strictly tribal and among which only about 4% of the children are receiving education of a Western type. Infiltration of Colony people into the Protectorate and Protectorate people into the Colony is now increasing rapidly and there are indications that certain less desirable tendencies of each group are being imitated by the other. Children growing up in the Colony believing that their goal should be one of the professions and they feel frustrated when this proves impossible. The same attitude has claimed a large proportion of the educated Protectorate group who tend to desert their villages for clerkships in the city and to despise their illiterate relations.

Primary school education of a 19th century Western type is provided for about 98% of the Colony children through the Amalgamated school system and secondary education is provided largely by the Missions. Of the few children who are in school in the Protectorate, most are in Mission schools; some are in Native Administration schools and a few in schools provided by the Central Government. The majority have only their tribal education which is given largely through the secret societies.

The areas where Western education is already established need a revolutionised school curriculum to meet the needs of the community; in the areas where no Western education has yet been
established it would be possible to develop a system which would avoid the serious effects of detribalisation and at the same time enable the people to take their place in the world society. In both cases the school should become a vital influence in the community and should stimulate social and economic progress.
THESIS
for
The Degree of
Master of Education
on
CHILD TRAINING IN SIERRA LEONE
A Description of Education
in Relation to Society.

Presented by

Lewis James Benjamin Pratt M.A. D.Th.P.T.
Sierra Leone.

February, 1948.

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from it should be acknowledged.
Preface.

Much of the information in this thesis has been collected through direct experience during my teaching career and I therefore think it wise to state what my experience has been:

1933-1936. Part-time lecturer, Fourah Bay College.
1936-1946. Teaching at Bo Government School (Secondary) - Bo is 136 miles from Freetown.
1946-present time. Teaching at Prince of Wales School, Freetown.
1947- " " Part-time lecturer at Fourah Bay College.

I also had the opportunity, as a boy, of spending a year in the Gold Coast and four years in Nigeria.

While at Bo, I ran a Normal Class for Bo School teachers and took part in annual teachers' vacation courses. I have travelled extensively in the Protectorate and all the towns named in my thesis are places I have visited.

I have seen the different types of schools in the Colony and the Teacher Training Colleges, all the Government Schools, the Mission Central Schools and a number of Mission Primary and Native Administration Schools in the Protectorate.
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Appendix II. Maps, Diagrams, etc. (Portfolio)
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Chapter 1.

Tribal Distribution in Sierra Leone. The Present Position.

To understand the present educational position in Sierra Leone and the problems which face educationists of the future, it is necessary to understand something of the tribal distribution at the present time and the extraordinary diverse standards of education in this comparatively small area, whose size is a little greater than that of the Irish Free State and whose population may be roughly estimated to be just over two million people. I do not suggest that there are not similar diverse standards in other parts of Africa but the diversity must be clearly stated in order that the position may be made clear.

In dividing Sierra Leone into areas where special tribes predominate, a start may be made with the seat of Government, Freetown. This city may be described as the home of the Creoles who form the bulk of its population. As the town is on the coast with a beautiful harbour where ships can anchor in safety and obtain plenty of fresh water, it began to attract explorers as far back as the days of Hanno the Carthaginian between 520 and 470 B.C. For nearly two thousand years after the visit of Hanno, the history of Sierra Leone remained a blank. Pedro Da Cintra opened the next stage by his memorable visit of 1462 A.D., nearly thirty years before the discovery of America by Columbus. During the American Slave Trade, Sierra Leone was an important slave trading centre and a rendezvous for European pirates, but on the abolition of the slave trade, the peninsula of Freetown became a settlement for freed slaves. Thus Nova Scotians, Maroons and Liberated Africans, through the efforts of Wilberforce and his supporters, were
brought to Freetown and given lands which were previously occupied by the Temnes, a tribe which migrated from the North-East about the 15th century. The Temnes after giving away their land to the first settlers for a very small token present consisting of European goods worth about thirty pounds, steadily withdrew into inland towns within a radius of 40 to 50 miles. Although Freetown today contains a number of Europeans, Indians, Syrians and natives of Liberia known as Kroos, and despite the fact that for over forty years there has been a re-infiltration of the Temnes and an immigration of other Protectorate tribes e.g. Mendes and Limbas, the Creoles outnumber all the groups found in the city of Freetown. Mr T.C. Luke in his article entitled "Some Notes On The Creoles And Their Land" writes:

"The term Creole (from the Spanish CRIOLLO native born) as used in Sierra Leone is applied to descendants of the original settlers, i.e. poor blacks, Nova Scotians, Maroons and Liberated Africans. The term implies no admixture of European blood nor any connexion with the West Indies (unless it be a very partial and remote one), as it does in the West Indies and America." Mr Luke however failed in his description of the Creoles to take into account families like the Easons, the Hayfords, the Renners or the Wrights, which definitely have an admixture of European blood. From the genealogical trees given in appendix 1, it will be observed that the families mentioned above, are partly of European descent. Their offspring have also been brought up on European lines, educated in the United Kingdom and have qualified in law or medicine. This has been partly due to the superior economic standing of these families. The Victorian background of the European ancestors seems to be the basis of life in this group and there is a strong desire to perpetuate European standards.
This small class takes a prominent place among the leaders of African society in Freetown and it has influenced a remarkably large section of the Freetown community so that they look to the learned professions as the hallmark of social culture and prestige. Following in the wake of this Creole aristocracy, sons of African merchants who flourished in business before the Syrians came, also went to England to qualify chiefly in law and medicine. Even sons of poor parents had and still have the same aspirations and they suffer from a sense of frustration when through lack of funds, they have to turn to other vocations like teaching, clerkships, nursing or agriculture.

The Nova Scotians were descendants of negroes who had fought for the British Government in the American War of Independence after which they were granted their freedom and allowed to settle in Nova Scotia. The Maroons were negroes whose ancestors gained a similar reward when the English took Jamaica from the Spaniards. The Liberated Africans were of a lower social class than the Nova Scotians and Maroons. They comprised Mendes, Kissis, Yorubas, Egbas, Ibos and other tribes, who were about to be taken into slavery from their homeland when their boats were captured by British warships. They formed the bulk of the population in the rural areas of the Colony and among them were to be found craftsmen and farmers. These men soon fused with Protectorate tribes from the River towns and today the Colony villages contain fewer Creoles and a much larger number of Protectorate natives. The Liberated Slaves returned to Africa with English ideas and outlook. Coming in contact with European Missionaries, traders and administrators during the early days of the settlement did not help these African settlers to develop along African lines. The type of education given in the Mission institutions was equally defective. It was an education
that fitted the Creoles for clerkship, the teaching profession or the ministry. Later he aspired to the legal and medical professions. Even the language spoken by the illiterates was an English "Patois".

It must be realised that if the tendency today in the Colony and even in the large towns of the Protectorate is to look away from the land to clerical work and the learned professions, it is due to the wrong start made by the early missionaries and government officials and it will be most unfair to blame the Sierra Leone native entirely for his slowness to adapt himself to the modern requirements of his country. It is even suggested that the Creoles have lost their place as middlemen in trade because of this defect in their educational system. The Boyles, Malamah Thomas and the Bishop families carried on a very flourishing trade from the latter part of the last century to the first two decades of the present century. Their children who should have succeeded them, instead of qualifying in commerce turned to law and medicine. Consequently when their fathers died, their business died with them. Thus the Syrian saw his advantage which, with his acumen for business, he has used to the utmost. He has been very successful in business and at the rate he is acquiring property and obtaining naturalisation rights, he will some day create a minority problem in Sierra Leone.

Some mention must now be made of the Kroos or Kroomen who form one of the principal tribes in Freetown. They hail from the Kroo tribal district near Cape Palmas in Liberia. The following reference is made to them by Captain Butt Thompson: "The Kroos or Kroomen are a very industrious people and frequently engage themselves to European vessels upon the coast, continuing on board several months and acting in the capacity of sailors and traders, in both which situations they show much intelligence and activity."(2) They still follow the
sea-faring occupation and in their absence, the women-folk are practically idle. Kroo women do not engage in trade or agriculture. I may here mention that there is a Kroo school, maintained by all Kroomen who go to sea. They pay a subscription of two shillings per man as often as they return from sea and the children are taught by men of their own tribe. This school is the only school in Sierra Leone which provides children with free education. Churches are also maintained by the Kroos and there is every desire to develop along the same lines as the Creoles.

Just as the Kroos provide the ships with workmen, so the Foulahs serve the Freetown community as carriers. This they do to collect a few pence to start business as petty traders. Their introduction into the country occurred as far back as the days of the Sierra Leone Company in the late 18th century, when Foulah chiefs came to Freetown to ask for permission to trade with the Company. The Foulahs are not a healthy-looking people but they are very successful petty-traders. A few of their number have become wealthy by cattle-trading and have acquired properties in the city; for example, Momodu Ali, who began life as an apprentice butcher owns a number of houses in Freetown and goes to Mecca on pilgrimage quite often. He has received the recognition of Government by his appointment as tribal ruler of the Foulahs. Government has however been deporting a large number of these people of late because this tribe has continued its stealing habits for which it was known from the days of the slave trade. But for this trait, Foulahs would have competed quite successfully with the other tribes as petty traders and domestic servants.

The people of the Colony villages are a heterogeneous group consisting of the original Liberated Africans and Protectorate
natives whose menfolk were imported as labourers but after a while obtained their own lands, brought in their wives and children or even married the women of the village. Agriculture in the villages has been gradually taken over by these Protectorate natives. Unlike the days when Creoles from the villages came to work in Freetown and returned every evening or at week-ends to their village homes, the present tendency is for such workmen to reside permanently in the city with their families. It was the hope of Sir Henry Moore, one of the past Governors of Sierra Leone, that if a Circular Peninsula motor road was constructed villagers would have easier access to the city for employment or trade, without deserting their farms. This hope, unfortunately, has not materialised and instead of the prosperous rural areas Sir Henry envisaged, there is a deserted countryside whose dilapidated buildings and insanitary roads are a scandal, both to the Local Government Authorities and to those who pride themselves as being descendants of these villages. On the other hand, the mountains which were a barrier in the past between the Colony and Protectorate are no longer so. The introduction of the railway and the construction of motor roads has opened up the Protectorate to such an extent that there is nothing to stop the migration of the Protectorate tribes into the Colony villages and the city of Freetown.

Now let us turn our attention to the Protectorate. Here, from the days of the slave trade, Portuguese and English traders concentrated their efforts on the River towns and the Islands. Consequently, the Sherbros who are natives of Bonthe and the neighbouring Islands, were the earliest to benefit from contact with the civilised world. The slave dealers around Turner's Peninsula also kept native women as
concubines by whom they had children. The names Caulker, Tucker, Gomez, suggest contact with European nations. It is therefore not surprising that in addition to the Creole settlers found in the large Protectorate towns, there are a few Protectorate families who have been in contact with western civilisation for more than three or four generations.

A study of the map showing the different tribes of Sierra Leone (appendix 2), will show that in a country of 28,000 square miles whose hinterland covers more than three-fourths of that area, the tribes of the Southern provinces viz. Mendes, Konos, Kissis, Sherbros, Gallinas, Veis and Krim occupy about half the area and those of the Northern province, Temnes, Limbas, Susus, Lokos, Kurankos and Yalunkas, occupy the remaining half.

The Mendes who seem to be the largest tribe found in Sierra Leone and who number not less than a quarter of the country's total population, have their chief centres in four districts: Bo, Moyamba, Kenema and Kailahun. Alldridge speaks of the Mendes as the hardest working and most trust-worthy of the tribes. The Mende man displays uncommon ability to bear strain and can easily adapt himself to all situations. They were originally one people, but today they are divided into nearly sixty chiefdoms and are found in every district in the Southern provinces. As regards the peculiarities of this tribe, the first thing to be stated is that while they appear to be very simple and docile, they have an unoffending way of keeping out of anything they dislike or they feel is contrary to their best interests. For example, a Mende child would readily pretend to be sick just to avoid an unpleasant job rather than openly defying authority. He can also easily win the confidence of strangers by his affability and politeness. "Bise" (thank you) is the most frequently used word in the Mende language.
Another peculiarity is the way the Mende child shows his distress to win the sympathy of strangers. It is often a mistake to believe too readily or too literally such a tale, which is many a time just a clever device to gain some material advantage in the form of money, food or clothing. Requests of this nature are frequent and refusal to grant them even once in a dozen times, may turn this erst-while friend into an enemy. Penitence on the part of one who has been charged with an offence is regarded as a sign of weakness and defeat; and the penitent must never expect leniency from the aggrieved one. Hence wrong-doers are very reluctant, if even they do, to confess or acknowledge their wrong to the offended party.

The versatility of the Mende enables him to live quite happily with any group of people. If he finds himself in a Christian home, he soon becomes a Christian and would readily join in forms of worship which he hardly understands. If on the other hand, a Mende Christian finds himself in a non-Christian group, he conveniently renounces the higher faith for the lower. While Christian Missions have been meeting with great encouragement and appreciable success in education and evangelisation among this tribe, it must be realised that the average Mende convert is neither deep nor very stable. Even ministers and teachers give up the Christian faith at a moment's notice. This is particularly so when political interests are involved. For example, if a Mende Mission worker becomes a Paramount Chief or a member of the Tribal Authority i.e. their local government, he has no scruples about resorting to polygamy in order to become popular with his people. The fact that after twenty or more years as a mission worker, he agrees to become a political leader in a pagan community,
and is even ready to sacrifice his Christian ideals to serve political ends, is an indication of the shallowness of his Christianity. In spite of this defect, the Mende stands the chance of becoming someday the leading tribe in Sierra Leone. His virility, his versatility and his intensely philosophic nature, as revealed in his proverbs, are assets which none of the other local tribes possess to the same degree. Mass education has also been making much progress in Mende-land while no such movement, or very little of it, has yet been started among the other tribes. The Missions and Government have more schools in the Southern provinces than in the North and there is every possibility of Mende ascendancy in Sierra Leone equal to that of the Yorubas in South Western Nigeria or the Ibos in South Eastern Nigeria.

The Vei or Gallina tribe is found in the Pujehun District. Like the Sherbros, the Gallinas had contact with western civilisation as far back as the 16th century. The tribe received its name from the fact that it supplied the Portuguese traders with large quantities of fowls. Gallina is the Portuguese name for a hen. The Gallinas are refined. In the slave trade days and after, their women folk lived with Europeans and had children by them. They are a branch of the Mandingo, a tribe in French Guinea and they are also related to the Konos, a tribe further North. Mr. C. R. Morrison writing about the Gallinas says "The Gallinas chiefs, enjoying unusual wealth, were able to educate their sons and own large gangs of slaves to develop their territory; the general use of a written language has helped them to surpass many other tribes." (4) This reveals the glory of the tribe before domestic slavery was abolished in Sierra Leone. Today these people, like the Sherbros, live on their past reputation and the same signs of decay may be observed in their chiefdoms, where a strong Mohammedan influence has retarded the progress
of Christian Missions both in their educational and evangelistic work.

The Konos and the Kissis, the other important tribes in the Southern provinces, are descended from the Mandingo stock. This probably accounts for the kinship between the Gallinas and the Konos. In the course of their migration southwards, the Kissis and Konos halted in two different areas known as Upper and Lower Kono. The Kissis or Upper Konos are very strong and warlike. They may be likened to the Hausas in Northern Nigeria for their physical strength and bravery. The Konos or Lower Konos are apparently dull and can be easily impressed by strangers. Their sense of unity, however, is proverbial.

In Creole, the phrase "Kono kompin" means "one word". Kono-land is the wealthiest part of the Protectorate because of its diamond mines. It is regrettable to state that, in spite of this, the Konos probably because of their docility enjoy no exclusive economic or social advantages.

Turning to the Northern province we find that the Temnes not only regard themselves as the leading tribe in that area but as the most cultured of all Protectorate tribes. They are also conscious of the fact that they were once the owners of the Freetown peninsula and their dislike of the Creole is largely due to that consciousness. The name TEMNE is derived from OTEM which means "an old man" and NE which means "self" and this probably accounts for the belief among the members of the tribe that they will always exist as a distinct group. They are almost as numerous as the Mendes and they number about a quarter of the population of the Protectorate. They live in five of the six districts in the Northern province and they extend as far north as the Koinadugu District (see Administrative May appendix II). There are at least three branches of Temnes: the Bombali Temne lives round about found in a town called Yele Magburaka and Makeni in the Bambali District; the Konikay Temne is
a town where the Southern provinces end and the Northern provinces begin; and the Port Loko or Sanda Temne lives around Port Loko, otherwise called Baki Loko or the wharf of the Lokos. Port Loko was originally within the Colony area but today it is administered as a part of the Protectorate. As the town is easily accessible by sea, the Port Loko Temne came in contact with the white man long before the Mendes did. This town was one of the first mission stations of the Church Missionary Society in Sierra Leone.

The Temnes are highly conservative. The customs of their forefathers are sacred to them and they are very slow to depart from any of the practices handed down to them by their ancestors. Although this is a trait of primitive tribes, yet it is very marked among the Temnes. Clan relationships are strong and there are definite prohibited degrees of marriage among the various clans. The exogamous rule, members of one clan not intermarrying with members of the same clan, has been modified. Where certain sacrifices are made, members of the same clan may marry but, even so, they should not belong to the same town.

The Mohammedan conception of God and the Universe fit in with the traditional and religious beliefs of the Temnes and account for the large Mohammedan following found in Temne-land. Despite the efforts made by Christian Missions, Christianity has not flourished among the Temnes. Converts are fewer although, unlike the Mende, he is stable after embracing the new faith.

Physically, the Temne is not as strong as the Mende; mentally he is superior in imagination and power of initiative but because of his conservative tendencies, he has not made much progress in Western education; his ambition is to be trained as a cook, a house boy, a motor mechanic or an artisan. Temnes who live in the Bullom area,
the opposite bank of the Sierra Leone river, are good fishermen and farmers. Very few become clerks or teachers. There is no Temne doctor yet and the first Temne who has decided to become a lawyer left quite recently to qualify for his profession. Morally, the Temnes have a tendency for pilfering. This habit they may have acquired from the slave trade days when they played an active part in stealing men and cattle. It is not easy to win his friendship but once that friendship is secured it lasts. He is most dangerous as an enemy. In the Hut Tax war 1898, the Temnes did more havoc than the Mendes to all English speaking peoples. Bai Bureh, the Temne chief, was most unrelenting to his captives.

Of the remaining Northern tribes, the Lokos live in the Karene District. They speak a language which is a corrupt form of the Mende language. They are supposed to be a branch of the Mende tribe who migrated northwards. In the slave trade days, the Lokos were greatly ravaged by the Temnes who took them in large numbers into captivity. As a result of this, the town of Port Loko came into being. In stature the Loko ranks with the Mende. Unlike the Mende however, he is somewhat slow to act or to adapt himself to new ways of life. His great courage has been an asset to him as a warrior. This quality he is supposed to have inherited from his Mende ancestors. Mentally, he is backward and he engages mostly in occupations needing manual strength e.g. farming and load carrying.

The Limbas and Susus live towards the North and West of the Lokos. The Limbas possess great physical strength and supply the ablest carriers in war and peace. They are also useful as domestic servants and very devoted to their employers. They excel in the tapping of palm trees and in all the large towns they have developed a trade in palm wine. Like the Lokos they display very little mental ability.
The Susus are tall and slim. They may be compared with the Gallinas for their physical beauty and culture. They are the most musical of the local tribes and like the Temnes have particular clans and Totems. E.g. the totem of the Conteh clan is the tortoise and that of the Mansaray clan is the lion. From the similarity of clan names and totems it is conceivable that they are related to the Temnes. Langley in his article on "The Temne; their life, land and ways" says "... those (totems) of the Banguras a leopard .... those of the Tures a crocodile" (5). Mamah, a Susu, writing about his tribe in a September issue of the Sierra Leone Weekly News 1932 gives similar totems to the Banguras and the Tures. The favourite musical instrument of the Susus, the Balanji, is one of the most treasured African musical instruments in Sierra Leone. In native arts and crafts and in dancing they are outstanding. It may thus be inferred that if given the opportunity they would profit by Western education. In religion they are among the most devout and intelligent Muslims.

The Korankos and the Yalunkas live in the Koindadugu District and are akin to the Mandingoes, a tribe on the French boundary, in appearance and manners. They are two kindred tribes small in numbers but very pushful. In all probability, they are among the tribes who migrated from French Guinea. They are mostly cattle dealers and live in close association with the Foulahs with whom they share the Muslim faith and its culture. They show very little desire for Western education and being the northernmost of the tribes, they show a stronger inclination towards Islamic education.

From the above account of the tribes, it should be evident that the educational facilities in Sierra Leone up to the present are concentrated in the Colony. Although there is a gradual branching of education
into the Protectorate, the educated class will for some time to come consist largely of Africans born or trained in the Colony. Therefore the largest educated group for some time to come will be the Creole as it is at present. These people will be found mostly in Freetown where opportunities for contact with English ideas and culture are great. Fifty-five per cent. of Colony children are in school.

Largely through the efforts of the Christian Missions, the peoples of the Southern provinces are emerging from primitive life to the semi-literate stage. Tribal customs however militate against a rapid detribalisation of these people and there are not enough Europeans or Africans from the Colony settling among them to accelerate their educational development. The shocking inadequacy of school provision is indicated by the fact that only four per cent. of the children of the Protectorate are in school. The Mendes are nevertheless making a desperate effort to lead educationally and there is every possibility that through their labours the forces of ignorance may be overcome.

It is in the Northern province that educational progress may be longest delayed. As I have said, the Temnes who form the majority of the population are strongly suspicious of anything new and do not readily welcome the infiltration of western ideas. The efforts of Christian Missions have met with most discouraging results and the first Government school is yet to be built. Mohammedan influence is strong and this consequently colours the outlook of even the few who are educated. Presumably the North will develop educationally but the road will be long and the advance will be made with halting steps.

The general picture of Sierra Leone society briefly stated is this: the bush native still clings to the primitive methods of
living and is eagerly waiting for his more fortunate brother to show him how to live a fuller life. The semi-literate finds it preferable to live in the large Protectorate towns orgven in the Colony and he longs for the education that would give him the same advantages as the Creole or the "white-man". This education he feels should turn him "English" in dress, food, social customs and fill him with a complete disregard for native customs and institutions. The educated group who, as I have said, are mostly Creoles longs for some of the privileges of the Protectorate native, his vast lands, his native societies and his political rights but he would not wish to give up the superior educational and social advantages of urban life and his love for western civilisation. These facts reveal that there is a wide social and educational gulf between the Créole and the natives of the Protectorate. Each despises the other.
Chapter II.

Education in the Colony.

1.

In an attempt to assess the type of education given in Freetown and the Colony villages, the standards of life found in African homes must be carefully examined. I have already referred to the great desire among wealthy families for the learned professions. Just as sons of wealthy merchants chose law and medicine in preference to commerce, so also did those whose fathers were clerks and craftsmen who had made their fortune from these occupations. Even children of less well to do parents had similar aspirations. In these days when a number of families are tending less prosperous, the ambition of the average child is to go through a complete primary education followed by at least three years of secondary education, head straight for a clerkship in Government or mercantile employment and, if the money can be found, go in for a profession in law. In other words Creole children go through a Primary school, then attend a Secondary school for varying periods according to the financial ability of their parents. For the majority, education ends in the Secondary school just after the Cambridge Junior School Certificate class. The children of prosperous parents and those on scholarships continue to Cambridge School Certificate standard. About twenty per cent. of those who complete their secondary school course pass on to University work at Fourah Bay College. (1). It must be pointed out that although the emphasis is still on law and medicine, a number of youths now qualify in occupations like engineering, teaching and agriculture.

In dress, common standards are observed and here again English patterns of the latest models are patronised. The average youth after
four or five years in Government service with a salary below £120 p.a.,
prides himself in possessing an evening dress suit for social functions,
two or three other woollen suits and an equal number of tropical suits
and his desire is to appear as well dressed as those in the upper
grades of society on all public occasions. The women have a greater
weakness in this regard and would deprive themselves of food and luxu-
ries to provide themselves with new and fashionable dresses.

In the matter of food, there are African families of the middle
class who aim at three or four meals a day and after the European fash-
on desire several courses in the principal meals. Rice is the staple
food of all classes. In the city and the villages, cassava, prepared as
foofoo, farina, cassava-bread and cassava-pap, is the most useful alter-
native foodstuff. The peasant class have one principal meal a day.
This they supplement with fruits and other light foods. On Sundays
and on Christian or Muslim feast days they indulge in the luxuries
of the rich.

The training given to the early settlers by the philanthropists who came out with them and in the ensuing decades was an import-
ation of the late 18th century English standards of education which
developed along 19th century lines. The many changes which education
has gone through in England in this century as a result of political
and social developments have not touched Sierra Leone. A narrow curri-
culum continues to dominate the primary and secondary schools. Accom-
odation is still inadequate and school equipment poor. The financial
resources of the Colony are most limited and cannot provide the type
of education found in England today even if such a type is desirable.
Adaptation of western educational theories to suit local needs is
viewed with some suspicion and Government and the Christian Missions
are repeatedly criticised by the African community for attempts at reform. The Sierra Leonean was not made to do much for himself in the past and he was encouraged to prefer absolute English standards in everything. After a century of godfathering the philanthropic outburst which was responsible for this English type of training began to abate until now it has practically ceased. The chief problem which now confronts the Creole is how to blend this heritage of English education with the tribal life and customs of the Protectorate natives. In the Freetown schools children are trained in the English way. Those who are Christians follow English forms of worship. In recreational life, English games, sports and other pastimes are patronised. Alongside with this "English" culture, there are daily sights of devil dancing in connection with African Secret Societies of Protectorate and Yoruba (Nigerian) origin; regular displays of juju (native medicine) in the streets and in the courts of law; and public demonstrations against witches and sasswood (Kroo ordeal) victims. Families which encourage English customs including the speaking of standard English in the home are growing fewer. In other words there is at present in Creole society much evidence of a clash of civilised and primitive cultures.

2.

In Sierra Leone as in the other British West African Colonies, the provision of education has been due largely to the work of Christian Missions. According to the 1945 Education Department Report, only 2 of the 67 primary schools in the Colony are Government schools. The primary assisted schools which number 50 are all Mission schools belonging to the different Christian denominations operating in the Colony. Before 1929, these schools were maintained partly by the
Under the Amalgamation Scheme introduced in 1929 by Mr H.S. Keigwin, then Director of Education, two or more schools established by different Christian denominations were amalgamated. By this scheme, a number of infant classes from different schools were put together in a central infant school and the same arrangement was carried out with the standards. As a result, the infant classes in all the Colony assisted schools became separate establishments under trained female head-mistresses. An organiser of infant and female education, a European, assisted by European Women Education Officers and African Women Supervising Teachers was responsible for the administration and supervision of these schools. At a later stage, Miss A.M. MacMath, thenOrganiser of Infant and Female Education, felt it was desirable to have separate junior or standard classes for girls. This led to the formation of girls primary schools wherever additional buildings could be found. Schools which lacked such extra accommodation continued to keep their boys and girls together and depended upon the female members of the staff for the general supervision of the girls.

The Central Government took over the payment of teachers salaries and the supply of school equipment as part of the new scheme. All school fees were collected by the Education Department and paid into Government revenue and the grant-in-aid system was discontinued. The Missions were still to provide and maintain the school buildings but they were allowed to use these buildings for church meetings. Each school had a school committee that was to advise the Director of Education on the appointment, transfer or dismissal of teachers. In other words, this committee was to "manage" the school.

These amalgamated schools provide accommodation for over 60% of the children receiving primary education. The private or unassisted
primary schools, according to the 1946 figures, catered for 2675 children. (2) The question of the moment however is how to provide for 6000 or more children between the ages of five and thirteen years who cannot be accommodated in the existing primary schools. There has been no recent census, but upon the latest figures available, the children under 18 in Freetown are estimated at 21,567. (3) About 15,097 of these are reckoned to be in the 5 to 13 or 14 age group. Of the latter group 10,294 are being educated in the 67 Colony Primary schools. (4) The problem is concentrated in Freetown, despite the efforts of the private schools, the increasing number of Protectorate children and the "difficult" Colony children are developing into a class of juvenile delinquents. Something must be done to save these children. It is therefore disappointing that an attempt by the Freetown Municipal Council to establish three or four Municipal Primary Schools at the expense of the rate-payers did not meet with the latter's approval. Government still finds itself unable to provide compulsory primary education for Colony children as that would mean a capital expenditure of £600,000 (5) and a recurrent expenditure of £72,500 (6), which is about 6% of the total revenue. The Amalgamation scheme is under review and Government would prefer to take over these schools altogether as their present dual control does not make for efficiency.

There are no senior classes for children of 11 plus in the local primary schools. Although children get to the highest class, standard VI, at the age of 13 or even later, their standard of education at that stage corresponds to that of the English primary school leaving stage. The only attempt at providing post-primary classes in one of the primary schools was in 1929 when a three year post-primary department was started in the Government Model School.
The standard of work in this department was up to the Cambridge Junior Certificate standard. The classes were intended for boys and girls whose parents could not afford the fees charged in the Colony Secondary schools. The Model School Post-Primary fees were about 2/6d a month as compared with fees ranging from £7 to £12 per annum charged in the secondary schools. Latin and French were the only subjects not included in the post-primary curriculum. Unfortunately after this department had benefitted children of poor parents from the city and from the villages, it was closed down by the then Director of Education who felt that the scheme encouraged overlapping in secondary education. The provision did not last for more than five years. There is nothing in Freetown corresponding to the Secondary Modern School, the Technical High School, the Trade School or the Junior Technical School.

Like the primary schools, the Colony Secondary schools, which are mostly of the Grammar School type, are, with only two exceptions, of Mission origin. The chief aim of these Mission schools was to train future ministers, teachers and other church workers. Later on, they enlarged their scope by catering for Government and Commercial interests. The girls' schools were to provide educated wives principally for church workers. These future wives first served as teachers in primary and secondary Mission schools. While the religious atmosphere in the Mission secondary schools has helped the moral and spiritual development of the pupils, limited funds have made it well-nigh impossible for these schools to provide a modern type of secondary education. Too much emphasis has been laid on the Ancient Classics to the exclusion of useful subjects like Science, Art, Handwork and Agriculture. More will be said about this later.

Six Assisted Mission schools, one Private Assisted school
and one Government school provide secondary education for nearly two thousand children. Until ten years ago, nearly all secondary schools had junior or primary classes in addition to the preparatory or pre-secondary class. The boys' schools have gradually cut out these primary classes but owing to the poverty of parents there is a fairly large wastage in enrolment from the third year secondary class. In the girls' schools where these junior and preparatory classes still continue, wastage takes place even earlier. The fact is that a number of children leave the primary school after standard four and proceed to a "Secondary" to start in a class equivalent to standard five or six primary. Because these classes are regarded as part of the secondary school, higher fees are charged, so that a number of children, particularly girls, do not begin proper secondary education till about the beginning of their third or fourth year in the secondary school. These factors account for the small size of the fourth and fifth year classes in most of our secondary schools. They are also partly responsible for the small number of entries for the Cambridge Local examinations. In addition to the small size of the classes, the standard of pupils entering for these examination is low. In 1943, seventy one pupils entered for the School Certificate examination in the Colony. Of this number 29 boys and two girls were successful. It should be explained that 35 of the boys who entered for the examination were private candidates, i.e. either boys who were not considered up to standard by their school authorities or boys who had already left school and had to do their preparation under a private "coach". Six of these private candidates are included in the 32 boys who were successful that year. The secondary school roll then was 1,206 (7). Although this roll is now about 2000, the number of entries in and successes in the Cambridge
examinations has not shown a corresponding increase. Excluding supplementary passes i.e. passes in supplementary subjects, the number of successful candidates in 1946 was 43 including 10 from the Protectorate out of an entry of nearly 100 candidates. Only 2 of the successful candidates had a grade I pass and 12 others had a grade II pass. Not all of these grade I and grade II passes necessarily qualify for matriculation exemption. The importance of secondary education cannot be overstressed at a time when so much is being said and written about the possibilities of higher education in West Africa. I shall however discuss this subject in relation to the development of Fourah Bay College at a later stage.

Reference has already been made to the limited scope of work in our secondary schools. A type of education is provided which is almost completely divorced from the modern needs of the community. Very scanty attention is paid to commercial or technical training and none at all to agriculture and handicraft. Employers of labour are consequently obliged to accept untrained clerks and technicians who go through their period of apprenticeship after, instead of before their appointment. As a result of the recommendations of the Inter-University delegates after their visit to West Africa, January, 1947, plans are under way for the establishment of a Regional college which will include in its curriculum "courses in commerce for Government and non-Government employment". Post War development plans also include the opening of a training centre for technicians and artisans. Already there is a four year scheme for technical training "designed to raise the standard of local artisans for which a grant of £68,864 has been made". This training centre however, caters for a very limited number of civilian students. The men in training are
mostly ex-service men ear-marked for Government appointment on the completion of their training.

Apart from this temporary training centre at Wilberforce, one of the Colony villages, there are no institutions like the once existing Church Missionary Society Diocesan Technical School or the S.B. Thomas Agricultural Academy which opened its doors to boys of secondary school age and students who were not being specially trained for Government. The Diocesan Technical School gave instructions in Surveying, Wood-work and Metal-work. This school closed down about ten years ago but it is hoped that under the post war development plan, the institute will resume work on a re-organised basis. With regard to the S.B. Thomas Academy, although the institute is situated in a locality which is under Protectorate administration, it is still intended for the education and maintenance of male natives of the Colony. . . . . . . in the theory and practice of profitable farming and agriculture inclusive of a liberal education and a sound Christian training" (10) The amount left in trust is about £55,000 and the net income of the trust is about £1000. The first principal of the Academy died after a short term of office; the next principal gave up the job after a while and returned to his home in Nigeria; yet another principal was appointed under whom everything seemed to be going well until he too resigned just before the 1939 World War to take up a Government appointment at the Agricultural Department, Njala. Since the academy closed down in 1940, there has been no move to reopen it. The root cause of the failure according to one of the past directors of education is that "the majority of the students (who, it should be noted are to be Colony, not Protectorate boys) have no farms of their own and are more inclined to look for salaried posts than to settle on the land.
Those who tried to settle on the land have not succeeded in making a living. In the meantime Makam Agricultural Academy, which might be the centre of valuable research work, stands useless.

According to present day estimates, the yearly net income of a peasant farmer is not above £30. Even an unskilled labourer today, according to the regulation rates, should earn about £3 a month and no clerk or lower grade technical employee in Government service earns below £5 a month. Consequently boys who have offered for training in Agriculture - and these are mostly Protectorate boys - have sought Government employment as Agricultural Instructors instead of settling down on their own as farmers. Until cooperative farming on a very well organised basis is introduced in Sierra Leone, even crops like rice and palm kernels will not provide as much wealth for farmers as Cacao has done in the Gold Coast or Ground-nut in Northern Nigeria and the Gambia Protectorate. Until then, agriculture as a paying proposition in Sierra Leone will be a far cry. It should also be pointed out that another discouragement is the present low rates of local produce as compared with the steadily rising prices of consumer goods. It is hoped however that with the present desire of the British Government to develop colonial agricultural resources and the recent establishment of a Colonial Development Corporation, expert knowledge and the necessary capital will be put at the disposal of those who would become farmers after receiving primary and secondary education. It is not enough to provide the training and do nothing else after to set the lads on their feet as farmers. On the other hand, higher prices for local produce cannot be expected until better quality crops are raised.
When we turn to the subject of higher education in Sierra Leone, we must begin with the history of Fourah Bay College which, for over a century, has been established by the Church Missionary Society for the training of ministers and teachers. Affiliated with the University of Durham in 1876, Fourah Bay has been the pioneer of higher education throughout West Africa. As stated in the Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, "It was Fourah Bay College which opened the way to higher education for students from all the Colonies in British West Africa. It has produced many of the leading West African figures who have helped to raise the educational standard in each Colony and who have interpreted to the colonial governments the aspirations of their people." (c) It should be observed that while Fourah Bay served as the only institution of university rank in West Africa, the question of supplying her with sufficient students of the right standard has never presented any serious problem. Even after the establishment of Yaba Higher College in Nigeria and Achimota in the Gold Coast, the recruiting of students for Fourah Bay continued quite satisfactorily. Yaba students did not read for degrees and the only degree course at Achimota is the B.Sc (Engineering). Ministerial and Normal students from the four colonies still come to Fourah Bay. The commerce course has also been a great attraction.

The courses originally taken at the college were a pass degree in Arts with a very limited range of subjects and a diploma in Theology. In recent years, modern subjects like Economics, Geography and Mathematics have been included in the lists of subjects for the Arts degree; the diploma in the Theory and Practice of Teaching (now held in abeyance), a degree in commerce and a two-year teacher training course for Primary and Secondary school teachers are courses which have been added to the
curriculum. There was also a pre-medical registration course but this was discontinued at the outbreak of the last war. The Government of Sierra Leone gives financial support to the Normal department of the college but very little support for the degree courses. In 1947, while the Colony estimates provided £4058 for the training of teachers at the college, only £200 was provided as grant and £300 for a Classical Tutor. Consequently the college has been greatly hampered by lack of funds to provide increased staff and a wider range of courses to meet the developing needs of West Africa. The burden of the Church Missionary Society has however been made lighter by the support of other cooperating Missions.

When the Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa visited the college in 1944, it found it working under the most unfavourable conditions. It was war time and the college had been evacuated to Mabang, 40 miles away from Freetown with the railway as the means of communication. Only 17 university students were in residence when the college was visited by the commission. The number of university students began to increase almost immediately after the visit: in 1945-6, the university student roll was 39, in 1946-7, it was 48 and in 1947-8, it has risen to 75.

If a substantial yearly grant is given by Government to maintain both Normal and University courses and the community shows a practical interest by endowing the college, there is every possibility of Fourah Bay continuing to wield as much influence in the future as she has hitherto been doing. A committee of responsible citizens has launched out a scheme to raise £100,000 or more towards the support of Fourah Bay as a university college. It is true that when Achimota and Ibadan
have been established as full university colleges; the student roll at Fourah Bay may lose its Gold Coast and Nigeria quota. It is equally true that by that time secondary education in the Colony and Protectorate will have been so developed that the situation then may still justify the retention of Fourah Bay as a full university college. In any case it will be advisable to deprive Fourah Bay of her degree courses now and the recommendations of the Church Missionary Society to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (14) which he has in effect adopted as his interim policy for the college are in the opinion of the majority the best practical solution.

A very important point which must be discussed about the children in the Colony schools is the age at which they attend these schools. When the Amalgamation Scheme began in 1938, children were admitted in the Infant schools at the age of 4 plus. With the change of infant education organisers there has been a change of policy in this regard. Children now begin infant school at 5 plus although some parents by declaring a higher age than the true one still get their children in at 4 plus. As the infant course is officially a two year course, children begin the standard classes at the age of 7 plus; some spend three years in the infant school and so begin at the age of 8 plus. The period children spend in the standards is 6 years i.e., 2 years more than it ought to be. This is probably due to the fact that our primary schools run six standard classes instead of four. In addition to this fact these schools encourage accelerated promotion only in very rare cases. By 11 plus, children should be ready for secondary school, according to English standards. In exceptional cases this happens here but in such cases the children leave the primary
school before they get to standard six. A Sierra Leonean now in England was admitted into the Government Secondary School after leaving standard four in the primary school. He was found fit for the first year class and reached School Certificate standard in minimum time. Like him a few children begin their secondary school course at 11 plus. Others get into the secondary school after standard five and at the age of 12 plus. Those who do the full primary course enter at 13 plus or even at 14 plus.

The secondary school course up to School Certificate is a five year course. Consequently most of our children take the School Certificate at 18 plus or even 19 plus. Where they have to make a second attempt, they do so at 19 plus or 20 plus. The Junior School Certificate which is the goal for some children especially girls, is done two years before the School Certificate. It is the exception for Colony children to do the School Certificate at 15 plus or 16 plus. Usually such children are outstanding in ability and make a brilliant record even in British Universities afterwards. Davidson Nicol of Cambridge University fame is an example of this type. It is generally argued that African children are two years behind English children in their mental ages i.e. while English children are ready for secondary school work at 11 plus, Sierra Leoneans often begin at 14 plus. I feel however that the difference in ages is due to local educational standards and not to any inherent mental inferiority of African children. According to English standards our standard six primary should be equivalent to the second year class in a secondary grammar or modern school but in actual fact it is about the same as the fourth standard class in an English primary school. Later on I shall suggest what steps should be taken to solve the age problem in our primary and secondary schools.
Dr. Kenneth Little writing on adult education in Sierra Leone states "There is scope too for institutions on lines of the Workers Educational Association in Britain." He states there are literary and social clubs which include lectures, debates, discussions and dramatic performances in their programme of activities. The Young Men's Christian Association, for example, hold literary meetings at least once a month and arrange a literary programme to which the public are invited. Not less than three youth clubs use the Freetown Community Centre for their social and literary meetings. They also receive directions on the running of youth organisations from the officers of the Social and Welfare Department. During Empire Youth Week the different youth clubs came together and organised a programme of discussions, debates and an interesting brains trust consisting of representatives of the different British Empire Dominions with the Director of Education as question master. Unfortunately, none of these clubs have a club building of their own and there is no well-furnished club library. In fact the lack of library facilities in Sierra Leone both for school children and adults is appalling.

Some reference must be made to the unique service which the British Council is rendering to the people of the Colony. Established here in 1943 and situated in a very spacious compound at the southwestern end of Freetown, this Council has been catering for the cultural needs of all sections of the literate community. By providing a weekly programme of documentary films on current international news, life in Britain and on special Nature Study, Geography and other topics, it helps its members to widen their general knowledge. Secondary school boys and girls are associate members of the Council. Although there is an arrangement whereby
weekly cinema shows are held exclusively for school children by
the Public Relations Officer, the older school children prefer the
films at the British Council. The programme of the Council includes
debates, lectures, brains trusts, quizzes and music on gramophone
records. Special art, music and play reading classes are organised
and attended by members of the Council. It is also a centre for
meeting distinguished visitors to Freetown. There is a concert hall
with excellent facilities for stage acting. The library is the most
useful section of the Council's activities. Books on various branches
of knowledge may be found there. Its apartments include a children's
room, a students' room, comfortable chairs in the main hall with
tables on which are found magazines and newspapers from all parts of
the world. The librarians were trained at Achimota and they are most
helpful to all users of the library. Thanks to the munificence of
the British tax-payer, members of the Council pay only a nominal
monthly subscription of 2/- and a library deposit of 5/- a book for
those who wish to use the library. Users of the children's library
pay only six-pence a month.

The large attendance at the various meetings of the Council is
an indication of its popularity and evidence of the great demand for
adult education in the Colony. It may be argued that the Council
caters only for those who have reached a certain standard of education.
Even so, there is no reason why those who enjoy these facilities
cannot serve the rest of the community as social welfare and mass
education leaders.

There is a weekly cinema service organised by a European firm
for the general public. It is felt however that the films shown by
this firm are not as educative as documentary films. They are passed
by a board of censors but they are mostly films on crime and romance.
A number of semi-literate Protectorate natives living in the Colony
go to these pictures and get much fun and excitement from them.
Nearly all the Colony primary school are housed in buildings which are overdue for replacing. To use the words of Mr V.E. King in his pamphlet "The Case for Municipal Schools," "Most of the buildings in which primary schools are housed are in a deplorable condition." Mr W.E. Nicholson, then Director of Education, referring to the 27 assisted primary schools in Freetown in 1944, states "Of the existing primary schools in Freetown, one is quite satisfactory, five can be adapted so that they are fairly satisfactory, one it is hoped to rebuild as a denominational school." Although that was a rather mild way of putting the case then, the position today is even worse. For example, after repeated warnings by the Education Department to the school committee of a primary school whose buildings were in a very deplorable condition, the children had to be moved out by the Director. It was only then the committee was moved to action and very extensive repairs had to be done before the building was accepted by the Department for school use. This refers to the Samaria School which belongs to the West African Methodist Mission. Another assisted school, Holy Trinity School, is also in very urgent need of replacement. Just over a year ago, there was a scheme to acquire temporary military buildings for the school but the church authorities were not prepared to spend the amount asked for by the War Department, which was more than £1000, on buildings which could not be guaranteed to last for more than five years and the scheme was abandoned.

The building referred to as "quite satisfactory" by Mr Nicholson is that of the Government Model School. As the name implies, this school is a Government school, although the staff appointed to it after 1929, the year of the Amalgamation Scheme, are not civil servants as they were formerly.
The building belongs to Government. Its quality and design are good. The five buildings which can be adapted are those designed by the Missions from the beginning as schools and not as church basements. The schools which need immediate replacing are those held in church basements. These basements are dark, damp during the rains and in some cases of very low height. The worst of such buildings is the Ebenezer Primary School.

The position with regard to private schools is even worse. The proprietors of such schools rent the basement and perhaps an additional storey of a dwelling house and crowd therein about 300 or more children. The size of the classes is between 40 and 50 children. It can be easily inferred that such overcrowding in the private schools is due to the inadequacy of the school provision in Freetown. Although according to the present Education Ordinance, the Director of Education has the power to see that they are conducted efficiently or to close them down, yet in actual practice there has been very little interference. These schools have the support of the community because they provide for a number of children who otherwise would have been left without any schooling. Over 2,000 of the children in primary schools are in the private schools. The more flourishing ones are conducted in church buildings like some of the assisted schools.

The buildings used by the secondary schools were originally designed and built after the pattern of English Public schools of the last century: class room, dormitories, staff quarters for boarding masters and principal's apartments are all contained in the same block. The buildings are of a permanent type and are situated in compounds with areas of about two or more acres. The Sierra Leone Grammar School which is the oldest secondary school was housed in a building originally used
as the governor's residence. It was sold in 1845 to the Church Missionary Society who extended and adapted the building for school purposes. After serving the community for more than a hundred years, the building has deteriorated in strength and become rather obsolete in design. The school authorities therefore decided, much against the wish of a section of the old boys, to move the pupils into temporary military buildings at Bishopscourt, about two miles from the old site. These were the very buildings the Holy Trinity School authorities rejected and they seem to be serving the present needs of the Grammar School quite satisfactorily. For one thing they have provided the school with separate class rooms, an administration block and additional buildings for other school purposes. There is also a spacious playing field adjoining the grounds and the Bishop has very kindly put it at the disposal of the pupils. It is contemplated by the school authorities to provide modern school buildings of a permanent type either on the old site or where a more ample site can be found, in a new locality. The old boys feel that the original site and the historic century old building should not be abandoned.

Like the old Grammar School building, those of the other secondary schools are massive three floor buildings of the same 19th century type. The classrooms are small in size and limited. Some have no assembly hall or just a small one meant for not more than 150 pupils. The sizes of our secondary schools at present make additional buildings an immediate necessity. The school authorities have realised this and plans are already on hand to extend or replace some of the existing buildings. In the Freetown town planning scheme, it is proposed that these new schools should be situated on more spacious grounds in the north-western part of the city. In its ten year plan of development,
has provided £12,000 for the Freetown Secondary School for Girls (a proprietary assisted school in charge of an African principal), £10,000 as capital expenditure for the Prince of Wales School, the Government secondary school and £40,000 as capital expenditure for the rebuilding and extension of other secondary schools. The numbers at the Freetown Secondary School for Girls are steadily rising and the school is housed in buildings which are not its own. It will therefore need not less than £20,000 to put up its own buildings. According to the plan of the school authorities, the new school should accommodate 500 pupils which is 100 more than its present roll. Assuming that all the other secondary schools also have plans for expansion, to share £40,000 among them will mean that individual schools will not receive much. If the old boys of the Grammar School agree to the disposal of the building at Regent Square, the old site, that would bring in an additional £5000 or £6000. Even then, the school authorities would need, including Government assistance, some £15,000 more for a new school. The Catholics are forging ahead with their own scheme. Already their boys' secondary school has moved into temporary military buildings on the North Western end of Freetown.

An important point which must be taken into consideration by those who contemplate expansion, is the provision of adequate playing fields. This has been badly lacking in nearly all the existing schools. Children must play and those at school are sometimes tempted to use public thoroughfares because they have no better place. This practice cannot continue much longer in view of the increasing traffic in Freetown. One of the old cemeteries is being converted into a recreation centre and some schools are already using it as a common playing field.
It has already been stated that the secondary schools are thinking of improving or replacing their present buildings and, where possible, transferring to a new site. The provision of laboratories for the teaching of science, playing fields, ample boarding accommodation are all included in their expansion schemes. It should however be pointed out that the Missions have no such schemes for their primary schools. They seem completely unable to do anything in this matter. Members of church congregations are more particular about raising funds for new church organs or for the renovation of church buildings, even though such schemes cost a thousand or more pounds. In spite of the existence of school committees, a sense of responsibility to maintain and improve the existing primary school buildings is unfortunately lacking among the members of the churches. According to popular opinion, Government must do everything for the schools. The present Director of Education may however awaken Mission school authorities to a greater sense of their responsibility.

Before the question of taking over the primary schools came up, Government had recommended £75,000 capital cost for building three primary schools and improving the existing ones. (£7) These new schools were to be maintained by the Freetown Municipality but as was pointed out in a previous section, the scheme did not go through. In the post-war development plan, £14,000 is also recommended for the construction and equipment of primary schools in the Colony rural areas. A grant of £2,100 has actually been received for two years to improve schools in these areas and this amount has already been used to provide two new schools in the western villages.

The position with regard to furniture and equipment is equally unsatisfactory. The funds to provide modern and suitable
equipment are lacking. Government is wholly responsible for furnishing the primary schools with their requirements. The Department is not sufficiently able to cope with the frequent demands for seating accommodation and other school furniture. The schools themselves have no workshops attached to them where minor repairs could be done. As one moves round the primary schools, he will observe that the infant departments are better equipped than the standards. The best schools are furnished with suitable tables and chairs, low cupboards and strong blackboards but even these are not provided in sufficient quantities. In the standards the seats are not merely old-fashioned but they are also rickety and many of them need constant repairs. There is a central woodwork shop run by the Education Department and here all repairs of school furniture should be done. This workshop also serves as a common manual training centre for all the assisted primary schools in Freetown. Until more workshops are provided or contracts for making school materials given out, it will be difficult to provide enough school furniture of the right type.

In the secondary schools the problem of school furniture is less acute. The school authorities provide the pupils with single or dual desks or alternatively with tables and chairs. As may be expected, the quality of equipment and furniture provided in the Government school is better than that found in the other schools but there is still need for improvement. Speaking generally, there is a shortage of other school furniture such as blackboards, globes and other geographical apparatus. Wall pictures are few. There are some schools without a radio, cinema projector or an epidiascope. One thing which all secondary schools have is a good piano. This is due to the important part that singing
plays in our schools.

Now that the teaching of Domestic Science is becoming more and more important, every girl's secondary school provides a Domestic Science room which is well furnished. The Government also provides a Domestic Science centre at the Government Model School for all the assisted primary schools. If the Missions with Government assistance can provide a Science centre for the boys' secondary schools as the Domestic Science is provided for the girls' primary schools, it will increase facilities for science teaching in the assisted secondary schools. At present only the Prince of Wales School is doing science.

Reviewing the whole question of building and equipment, it will be seen that there is urgent need for improved buildings and an adequate supply of modern equipment. The community as a whole does not realise the considerable influence for good such factors play in the educational process of the child. Much can also be done by the school itself. Under the guidance of teachers, boys can do minor repairs to school furniture, make cupboards, hat racks, etc. Older boys can make chairs, tables and blackboards. The girls can also make curtains for the cupboards, blackboard cleaners, etc. The schools can cultivate flower gardens, decorate their class-rooms with pictures and flowers and make their school-rooms look so much brighter and attractive.

The Roman Catholics, probably because they are financially stronger than the other Christian Missions, do not absolutely depend on Government to improve their buildings or provide school equipment. They are steadily increasing their school accommodation. By gradual acquisition of properties in one of their school areas, they now own more than half of a quadrangle of about three acres and in this compound their girls' primary and secondary schools are situated. Lower down
the same street, a compound of about the same area is used for the boys' primary school. Here the secondary classes were also accommodated but as already stated, they have since moved out to the North Western section of the town, the locality proposed for the secondary schools in the Freetown town planning scheme. The Mission compound in the new site is not less than four acres and much can be done by the school authorities to expand the school still further. Plans are under way for the establishment of a science department. The aim of the Catholics is to make their secondary school as fully equipped and as modern as the Government secondary school. If the protestant missions could be as active as the Catholics, they would do more for primary and secondary education, despite their limited financial resources.

4.

The curriculum of the urban and rural primary schools in the Colony is primarily academic, of a type which was usual in England in the early part of this century and quite remote from African life and needs as I shall show. In the infant departments, owing to lack of sufficient floor space, children are not free to move about, go to their cupboards, look for apparatus and engage in the many forms of individual occupations which are so necessary to exercise their initiative. Says Boyce in "Infant School Activities," "This doing which brings so much satisfaction and understanding and which is the beginning of learning and investigation must, however, be chosen by the child himself and not by any adult. The child alone knows the nature and extent of his problem. Therefore he alone can dictate the activity." In English schools children write their own tunes, their own poems and engage in a host of other individual activities. In the infant schools here, children are found sitting close together, quite still, learning the 3R's. In story
telling however, they are encouraged to do free expression such as drawing, modelling and dramatisation even though very limited scope is given for such activities. The emphasis is still on the knowledge to be acquired and the facts to be stored. Orders from the Education Department unfortunately help to enforce this narrow, rigid and unprogressive approach to school work. For instance, an order has recently been given that all children in infant schools must recite every morning:

10 take away 1 leaves 9
10 " 2 " 8
10 " 3 " 7
etc etc etc etc

This recitation must be done whether the children understand the composition of number or not. In reading, children are taught to refer to pet animals by such funny names as "Mr Grumps, Miss Tibs, Mrs Cuddy, Mr Dan and Master Willy." Almost all the children find it difficult to associate the name Dan with a dog, Willy with a pig. These names are always associated with people in this country.

In the standards, the curriculum includes the 3R's, English Language, Religious Knowledge, History of Sierra Leone, Geography of the World in outline and Sierra Leone in detail, Nature Study and Hygiene. Apart from the drawing done in connection with Nature Study lessons, not much is done in this subject. Agriculture, a most necessary subject in a tropical country is not part of the curriculum. Even school gardens are not encouraged and this has its effect on the children in after years. By this omission, boys from the villages are not given the impetus to return to their village gardens and improve them. On the contrary, this attitude of the schools to the teaching of Agriculture makes the children to feel that working on the land is a job
for the illiterate or the old men and women of the village. Handwork has now taken the place that formal drawing once occupied in the primary schools but it is not taught seriously. There is no real understanding of its value as an educational medium. The more successful teachers of this subject are those who are natives of the Protectorate and who have been trained in the Protectorate training colleges. Natives of the Colony have neither the same aptitude nor the training of Protectorate natives in handwork. Although there are specialist teachers who do some weaving and basket making with the children, the work is not done on the same scale and with the same efficiency as in the Protectorate where children start learning these things from their illiterate parents in the village very early.

Another omission in the curriculum is music. Much singing goes on in the schools but very few of the children can read music. Government provides one singing master for all the assisted primary schools. Secondary schools provide their own singing masters.

It is believed that one of the reasons why the curriculum of our schools is so restricted and not adapted to suit local needs is the undue importance attached to public examination requirements. In the primary schools for example, instead of giving the children a good foundation in all the subjects of the curriculum, too much attention is paid to Arithmetic and English Grammar in the upper classes in preparation for the public examinations the pupils take after standard six. An examination known as the First School Leaving Examination is conducted by Government for primary school children. This is something similar to the Special Place examination which English children took in England at the end of the Junior School stage. Although in theory pupils throughout the world have
today been told that they must take examinations in their stride, in practice undue importance has been attached to such examinations and there is the danger of the examination requirements dominating the school curriculum. The First School Leaving Examination serves as a competitive test for awarding scholarships to our secondary schools. The fact that success in this test gives a boy up to four years free education in an approved secondary school has made the examination as popular among primary school children as the Cambridge local examinations have become throughout the world. The progress of the primary school is determined by its results in the school leaving examination. The head teacher himself or some trusted qualified assistant takes the sixth standard where there are just about twenty pupils and concentrates on the requirements of the examination throughout the year.

An examination of equal importance with the First School Leaving examination is the Elementary Domestic Science examination. The importance of this subject has always been emphasised by the Education Department. According to Dr McMath "The real aim of education is to equip boys and girls as efficient citizens. Citizenship for a woman means primarily a home-maker, and those who are responsible for the planning of her education realise that it is their duty to see she is properly trained for this important career. Housecraft is a science involving at every turn processes of inductive and deductive reasoning and if girls are to be trained efficiently for their vocation, then the teaching of this subject must be on purely scientific lines."

Girls in all the primary schools take this examination and the results are usually gratifying. At the Domestic Science at the Government Model School, the girls from the primary schoolsattend on dif
at the Domestic Science centre at the Government Model School. One of the Women Education Officers in Freetown is in charge of the work at this centre and she is assisted by a Domestic Science Supervising Teacher.

Partly due to a narrow curriculum and all the causes contributing to it e.g. influence of public examinations, and more so to faulty methods of teaching, the general knowledge of most children is very poor. They have very little knowledge of important events in their own country and in other lands. For example, more than fifty per cent. of a fifth year primary class of over twenty pupils did not know the name of the present Prime Minister of Great Britain or of the leading Paramount Chiefs of their own country. Not many of them could even tell the names of members of important councils like the City Council or the Legislative Council. When preparing for the school leaving examination, notes on such historical facts are given in the Civics lessons and these the children memorise for the examination but forget soon afterwards. Here again the Protectorate native proves his superiority. He is fully conversant with the history of his chiefdom or his tribe and he is always ready to give information about local events. When the Colony child begins to realise the significance of his African background, he too will take a similar interest in the affairs of his own people.

Writing on the curriculum Raymont says "the curriculum at any stage must be contrived to help the pupil to 'live completely' AT THAT STAGE. The curriculum at each stage of development must be so contrived as to help the pupil to live as a member of the community into which he was born." (9) The way in which examination requirements inhibit useful subjects from the curriculum is amazing but it is an experience which is not limited to Sierra Leone. On this point Stead writes "It is agreed that examinations dominate
and distort the curriculum. This is particularly so in the case of the transfer examination, which normally comes at the end of the primary school course, and the School Certificate examination which comes at the end of the usual Secondary School course. Those subjects or parts of subjects which lend themselves to examination are over-emphasised while the others are neglected." (10) It will therefore be understood why subjects like Art, Music, Handicraft and Agriculture are either not taught at all or not taught seriously.

When we turn to the secondary school, the constant efforts of the Cambridge authorities to widen their syllabus and to adapt it to suit local conditions destroy any argument for narrowing the curriculum to meet examination requirements only. Quite recently, the Secretary of the Cambridge Local Syndicate visited Sierra Leone. He met with the staffs of the secondary schools to receive suggestions as to how the Cambridge syllabus may be adapted to suit local needs. He briefly described how the examination is being conducted in Britain and referred to the probability of the School Certificate examination becoming an internal examination in the English secondary schools. He pointed out that at a later stage the same system may be adopted in West Africa. Until that time, the Cambridge authorities were most anxious to be guided by the suggestions of the local secondary school authorities and to adapt their syllabus accordingly.

The subjects taught in the secondary schools include Latin, French (mostly in girls schools), Elementary Mathematics, History, Geography, Religious Knowledge and in the Government school, Physics, Chemistry and Biology. The Grammar School and the Methodist Boys' High School provide for the teaching of Biology, Book-keeping and Shorthand and the
Albert Academy does Printing and Carpentry. There is a tendency among teachers and pupils to regard the non-academic subjects as optional or less important subjects. In all our secondary schools the goal is to take the School Certificate examination mostly in academic subjects with a view to qualifying for matriculation exemption.

As an alternative for girls who are less gifted in academic subjects, the girls' secondary schools provide a Domestic Science course equivalent in standard to the Cambridge Junior School Certificate examination. This course is even more popular in secondary schools than it is in the primary schools. Girls enter for the Higher Domestic Science examination in the fourth year secondary class. That means the course takes a year less than the School Certificate course. The subjects of the examination are English, Hygiene, Housecraft, Laundry, Cookery and Needlework. A practical test is also taken.

The standard of passes in the Cambridge examinations is low. Latin and English are two of the weakest subjects of most candidates. With regard to English, the low standard may be attributed partly to the fact that this language is practically a foreign language for Africans and partly to the lack of specialist teachers. Some attempt has been made by the examination authorities to give a wide range of subjects for composition in the language paper but even here the comprehension test is sometimes on subjects which are foreign to our environment. Although the English Literature syllabus provides for a wide choice of books, the alternative which limits the candidates to two or three books is preferred. Here the weakness begins in the pre-Cambridge classes where the pupils form the habit of concentrating on one or two uninteresting and unsuitable English Literature books throughout the year. There are those who maintain the Creole i.e. the
vernacular of the Colony, is partly responsible for the English difficulty in the schools. This point will be dealt with in a later chapter.

In the case of Latin, the weakness is partly due to the kind of textbooks used and partly to faulty teaching by teachers who have not specialised in the teaching of Latin and have not reached a sufficiently high academic standard in the subject.

Vocational training is at present undertaken by various Government departments. In departments like the Railway, Public Works or Survey and Lands, the curriculum includes English and Mathematics. As the standard of the trainees is, in the case of artisans and fitters, below the Junior School Certificate standard and just that or a little above it in the case of surveyors, intensive work must be done in the academic subjects if the professional side of the course is to be successful. Even when there were independent bodies like the S.B. Thomas Agricultural Academy at Mabang or the Diocesan Technical School, general education was carried on side by side with vocational teaching. The low standard in academic subjects found in these vocational training centres may be interpreted as a reflection on the secondary schools by those not fully familiar with local conditions. It has already been pointed out that candidates for such training are more or less those whose parents have not been able to give them a full secondary education or who have not secured the Cambridge Junior or School Certificate to qualify for clerical appointments. At the present time, as already stated, there is no institution corresponding to the Technical High School, The Trade School or the Junior Technical School. It is even doubtful whether a poly-technic institute, such as is envisaged in the higher education proposals for Sierra Leone, will serve any useful purpose until the old technical schools are reopened or new ones established.
At Fourah Bay College there are facilities for University courses in Arts and Commerce. The subjects include Latin, English, History, Religious Knowledge, Philosophy and Economics. There is also a teacher-training department offering a two year course in academic and professional subjects in preparation for the Teachers Certificate examination. The standard of the teacher-training students is the Junior School Certificate. As a special alternative, those of School Certificate standard who wish to teach in secondary schools receive training of a higher academic standard for the Advanced Teachers Certificate examination. This examination is of the Intermediate degree standard. There is also a divinity department for ministerial training. The standard of the ministerial students is about London Matriculation and academic subjects like English, Logic and Greek are included in their course.

There is ample scope for the expansion of the courses offered at Fourah Bay. Agriculture and Mining are two new faculties which may be added to the curriculum with much advantage to Sierra Leone. According to the Director of Agriculture, Sierra Leone can grow rice sufficient not only for her own needs but also for export. The peoples of the Protectorate are also asking through their Paramount Chiefs for a nationalisation of the mines. If this request is to be granted, African mining engineers should now be receiving training overseas. The great need for the teaching of Science is also obvious. The degree course in Commerce is becoming increasingly popular and the college can become the Commerce centre for West Africa. A course in Public Administration would also be of advantage to Native Administration clerks and Africans aspiring to higher appointments.
in the Civil Service. Modern languages like French and German may be offered as additional subjects in the Arts course. If these additions to the curriculum are made, Fourah Bay will become a useful institution not only to all sections of Sierra Leone society but also to the other colonies whose higher colleges must take some years to develop to full university standard.

Apart from the academic nature of the curriculum in the Colony schools and the equally limited range of subjects done by teachers in training, there are other problems like the lack of suitable text books especially in the infants and lower standards of the primary schools and the "language" difficulty. African children naturally have an African background and where their text-books are books primarily intended for English children, there must be some difficulty in understanding their contents. References to water-closets in books like Lister's School Hygiene, or skating on the ice in graded readers are two examples of the unsuitability of the existing text-books in the schools.

From all that has been said, it is obvious that there is need for a complete overhauling of the curriculum from the infant school stage to the university and if the aim of education is as defined by Jowitt: "the effective organisation of the African's experiences so that his tendencies and powers may develop in a manner satisfactory to himself and to the community in which he lives by the growth of socially desirable knowledge, attitudes and skills", then the curriculum in the Colony schools should undergo such revision as would fit the child "to live in his environment".
In the desire to make the educational standard in the Protectorate level with that in the Colony, the Government education authorities often lose sight of the difference in historical origin and social background between the Creoles and the aborigines and the great need for the improvement of educational facilities in the Colony. This attitude is most clearly revealed in the inadequate provision made for teacher training and in the present unsatisfactory conditions of service for qualified teachers.

To begin with the primary schools, the academic standard of the average teacher ranges between Junior School Certificate and London Matriculation. Some teachers obtain their training at Government's expense under the teacher training scheme at Fourah Bay College. This is a part of the Amalgamation Scheme started by Mr Keigwin, then Director of Education, in 1928. After receiving two years' training in academic and professional subjects, teacher training students take the Teachers' Certificate examination. This examination is also open to those who have not entered a training college provided they have taught for a period of not less than four years. It is curious that a number of secondary school girls who show little or no aptitude for academic work and who would have little chance of passing their School Certificate examination are appointed as teachers after taking the Higher Domestic Science examination. It can be easily inferred that this certificate is much below the standard of the Teachers' Certificate academically and professionally.

According to rough estimates based on the 1945 school returns,
there are about 190 teachers in the Freetown assisted primary schools and more than a hundred of these teachers are without the Teachers' Certificate. In the Colony villages, the position is even worse. Out of a total of approximately 100 teachers, nearly 70 are uncertificated. The total number of certificated teachers in the urban and rural primary schools is just over a hundred; in nearly every case, such teachers have been trained either at Fourah Bay or The Women Teachers Training College which is now amalgamated with Fourah Bay. A wastage of about 2 trained teachers per annum among the males and 3 trained teachers per annum among the females was usual up to about three years ago.

Mr V.E. King in his pamphlet, "The Case for Municipal Schools" writes, "Since 1928 the first year of the teacher training scheme 51 male teachers have been trained at Fourah Bay College on scholarships awarded by the Sierra Leone Government, of which number only 21 are at present engaged in teaching in the Amalgamated and Government Schools. During the same period, 76 female teachers have been trained in the Wilberforce Training College on similar scholarships. Of these 60 are still teaching in the Amalgamated and Government Schools." It may be added that the number of trained teachers in active service includes about 30 women who are already married and whose services cannot be reckoned upon with much certainty. According to Mr King in the same pamphlet, "There is an acute shortage of teaching staff which is mainly due to the low salaries offered, the discouraging conditions of service and the general unattractiveness of the entire situation."

In the secondary schools where most naturally, higher academic standards are required, the number of qualified teachers is very low. An examination of the numerical returns of the 8 assisted
secondary schools in the Colony in 1945 revealed that there were only 14 graduates that is, holders of university degrees; one of the graduates had also a university diploma in teaching. There were also 29 Teachers' Certificate holders and the remaining 37 were uncertificated. At the Prince of Wales School in the same period, there were 5 graduates, 3 of whom held the Durham Diploma in Teaching; 1 Teachers Certificate holder and 4 uncertificated teachers. The position is much the same today. The Advanced Teachers' Certificate, to which I have already referred, is of very recent origin and no teacher has yet secured the certificate. Two causes may be assigned for the gross inadequacy of qualified teachers in secondary schools; these are low salaries and very limited training facilities. The members of the Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa referring to the latter cause, said "At present there are no facilities for training secondary school staff in West Africa which are in any way comparable with those in the United Kingdom with the exception of the course leading to the Diploma in Education of Durham University (now held in abeyance) which is taken by a very small number of Fourah Bay graduates. It is generally accepted in the United Kingdom that Secondary School staff should be graduates and in addition some kind of professional qualification is increasingly being regarded as advisable if not indispensable." (23)

Under the Colonial Development and Welfare vote, a grant of £1,000 was made to Sierra Leone for scholarships for higher education. There is also a Central Colonial vote of One million pounds to provide similar scholarships throughout the British Colonial
Empire. From these sources and from local revenue youths are granted scholarships to the United Kingdom to read honours degree courses in arts and science and to take a university diploma in education before returning to take up appointment in secondary schools.

From the vote for female education 12 girls have been sent to the United Kingdom for a 2 year teacher training course. These girls have all returned to Sierra Leone. There was some dissatisfaction as to salary scales among the first set of girls who returned from the United Kingdom after training. The matter was investigated by the then Director of Education and the secondary schools concerned from which the girls had been sent and most of them agreed to take up the appointment although the cause of dissatisfaction was not removed. About 6 of these girls after serving for a very short term have resigned their appointments and have returned to the United Kingdom or elsewhere to do teaching under better salary conditions or to take up other professions. This has been a cause for great disappointment and it has probably been responsible for what may be interpreted as a temporary suspension of the training scheme for girls in the United Kingdom.

The main problem in the provision of teachers for both primary and secondary schools is that of poor salary scales. The present Director of Education is convinced that better salary scales must be provided for teachers. It is understood that steps have been taken to prepare a scale of salaries based on qualification and teaching experience. The scale has been prepared
on the same basis as those of the Burnham Committee in England. There is however this problem confronting the Director which may make it difficult for him to provide a scale comparable with those paid to officers engaged in other social services: Government provides a limited vote for education which compares most unfavourably with the votes for departments like the Medical or the Provincial Administration. Here is a comparative statement of revenue and expenditure for a 5 year period, 1943 - 1947, to illustrate the point.  

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<td>1943</td>
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<td>1944</td>
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<td>1946</td>
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<td>1947</td>
<td>£1,898,287</td>
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From the comparative table given above it will be observed that only £78,822 was provided in 1947 for Education in the Colony and Protectorate. It may be added that an additional £17,988 was provided from the Colonial Development and Welfare vote and about £1,000 from the Protectorate Mining Benefits and Native Administration Funds, for the same purpose. Taking into account the revenue of the Colony for that year which was £1,898,287 it will be realised that just over 4% of the revenue was spent on the education of over 27 thousand children. (27) And it must be remembered that these are only 6 out of every 100 children of school age. About a fifth of the education vote goes towards the salaries of the administrative staff leaving Commissioners, Protectorate.
for teachers' salaries, equipment and building grants and personal grants to teachers in assisted secondary schools. Such a limited Government vote and a steadily dwindling grant by the Christian Missions cannot provide adequately for teacher training facilities and satisfactory salary scales.

It may be useful to compare the amount spent on education in Sierra Leone and the number of children on whose behalf the money is spent with similar details in another West African Colony. In 1942, the total number of pupils receiving schooling in Nigeria was about 350 thousand. On those children the Nigerian Government was spending £293,690, the Native Administration, Northern Province £53,263 and the Native Administration, Southern Province £18,030. Excluding what the Missions themselves were spending, the net cost of education was just over £1 per pupil, just a little above what was being spent on native education in places like Southern Rhodesia, Kenya and the High Commission Territories of South Africa. The contribution of the Central Government was 4% of its total expenditure; the Native Administration, Northern Province 6% and the Native Administration, Southern Province 2.8%. (4) That year the Sierra Leone Government spent just over 3.5% of its expenditure on education, excluding an annual grant of over £5 thousand from the Protectorate Mining Benefits Fund, a fund made up of amounts paid by mining companies for leases, mining rents, and diamond rights and which is intended for the exclusive development of the Protectorate. Taking the number then in schools at just over 21 thousand - for it was 21,193 in 1941 - the Central Government was spending about £2.5s per head as compared with £1 per head in Nigeria. It may also be mentioned that according to the figures given in Lord Hailey's "An African Survey," Government
expenditure per head on education in 1935 was Nigeria £1.1.2, Gold Coast £3.10.10, Sierra Leone £2.0.9 and Gambia £2.7.4. The relative position between Sierra Leone and Nigeria is more or less the same today; the present cost per head in Sierra Leone may be roughly estimated at just over £4 as far as Government funds go and in Nigeria, just about £3. (27) Although I have not the United Kingdom figures for corresponding periods, some contrast may be made with Britain where as early as 1937 to 1938, the total net expenditure per child in England and Wales amounted to £15.16.4 and salaries of teachers accounted for as much as £9.14.6 of this. (30) Today the expenditure is about £25 per child. (31)

It should be evident from the above figures that the Director of Education, the educational representative of Government, has very limited funds at his disposal. While the local press has not denied this, it has maintained that less money should be spent on the administrative section of the department and on administrative services generally so that more money will be available for teacher training and teachers' salaries. At the same time it must be pointed out that the present administrative staff of the Department cannot cope with the amount of inspection and supervision work needed in the schools. It will therefore be suicidal to advocate a reduction of an already inadequate staff. More trained teachers and an increase in the administrative or inspectorial staff are equally needed. Both classes of officers could be recruited locally or overseas. Where qualified teachers can be obtained locally in sufficient numbers, the question of recruiting them from Britain will not arise. Until such time however, it is sound policy to staff our secondary schools at least with
qualified European teachers even though it may be more expensive to do so.

An intensive propaganda must be carried out to get the Colony natives interested in the teaching profession. Every help and encouragement must also be given to those who are already in the profession. This should take the form of better facilities for academic and professional training both locally and overseas and improved scales of salaries for teachers. The extra funds may come from a reduced vote in the Provincial Administrative service and from increased local taxation. There should also be more cooperation between Government and the Missions and these two bodies together should plan for the adequate staffing of all Colony schools with qualified teachers and for an equally adequate supervision of the work done in these schools.
6.

I have begun by trying to give a picture of the present educational facilities in the Colony and I am now going to give a more detailed picture of the society for which this education is supposed to cater. In dealing with the Protectorate, I shall approach the situation from the opposite angle. I shall first deal with social conditions and then describe the attempts that are being made to provide modern educational facilities. This plan is necessary because in the Colony, the super-imposed western education has been established for over a hundred years though in some respects it is still "super-imposed"; it still caters for the requirements of the Creole but it is remote from the needs of even the Protectorate element in the Colony. In the Protectorate, there is far more opportunity for an educational system growing out of the needs of the people.

Referring to the West Coast Africans who have had some years of contact with western civilization, Professor Murray writes "There are some natives of Lagos and the West Coast generally who look at the white man's way of life and find it good. It means evening dress, spats, walking stick, motor cars, perhaps also Christianity, perhaps Free-masonry, perhaps both." (33) This statement is particularly true of Freetown where European standards of the 18th century were implanted at the very beginning of the settlement. For nearly a hundred years this westernization of the Colony went on whilst the interior remained in darkness, ignorance and superstition. With the introduction of the railway and the construction of motor roads the Colony has been linked up with the Protectorate and the city of Freetown now harbours Africans of widely different
standards of social and educational development.

The picture which is presented to us of Freetown society at present is a confused one. In this metropolis of Sierra Leone, there are homes where the standards are largely those of Victorian England, and at the other end of the social scale there are illiterates from the Protectorate who still retain many of their tribal customs. These latter live in the overcrowded areas of the city under the most unfavourable conditions. I am told that some of the slum areas in Freetown are worse than the worst English slums today. In between these extremes there are all shades of social class and the result is so chaotic that it is not possible to describe the "average" Freetown home: there are homes which are influenced by tribal customs, homes where such customs are not observed, homes with poverty indescribable and homes that enjoy the luxuries of the rich. Despite these social distinctions, a large number of Sierra Leoneans of today aim at reproducing the English middle class life of the late 19th century.

By way of comparison it may be stated that in the Gold Coast and Nigeria the tribal background is strong even among the educated and it is not easily given up for Western culture. This is the difference that Negro slavery has made to the greater majority of the Colony people of Sierra Leone. The early settlers who were brought to Freetown had lost all trace of their tribal origin and more or less regarded themselves as black 'Englishmen'. Those of them who were sufficiently tribal conscious and desirous to link up with the past left Sierra Leone and settled in Lagos and other parts of Nigeria where they could more easily recover their identity. The first migration of this kind is referred to by Sir William
Geary in his book "Nigeria under British Rule" as "The return of the daddies."

The changes which Western society in England has undergone during the last hundred years have been without a counter-part in Sierra Leone as far as I can judge. On the contrary there has been a steady deterioration of cultural standards here owing to a growing infiltration of Protectorate natives into the Colony. I am well aware of the marked divergencies in class in all large cities but emphasis must be given to it here in order to make the educational problem clear. The Creole still leads the way in society but far by far the largest element in that society are illiterate or semi-literate Protectorate natives who are either co-tenants, wards, employees or relations-in-law of the educated Creoles. It is therefore not surprising to find that although about 55 to 60 per cent. of the children living in the Colony attend school and education of a European type has been available here for over a hundred years, the community is still backward, judged by European standards.

Stead in his book "The Education of a Community" writes "It has been pointed out that the educational system of any community will reflect the values upon which the community is founded. If there is inequality in the community there will be inequality in the educational system which that society provides and maintains. In other words, the educational system acts as a reflection of the society and the good and evil of the latter can be seen in the strong and weak points of the former." In the light of this statement it will be advisable at this stage to assess the type of education given in Freetown and the Colony villages and to determine to what extent it reflects the stage of development of the community and to
examine the possibilities, if any, of an improvement in society consequent upon a reform of the present educational system.

From the early days of the settlement, much attention has been paid to schooling. Adults who were illiterate in those days were taught to read and write in the Sunday Schools. Primary education was also made very cheap and there are still alive today people who boast of having attended 'penny schools' only; i.e. the primary schools of those days where the fee was a penny a month. A well known Sierra Leonean, now dead, who flourished for many years in Nigeria as a business man and wielded considerable influence in church and social circles was a product of the then primary schools of Freetown. I refer to the late Peter J.C. Thomas of Nigeria connected with the African firm of S. Thomas & Co. Among his children there is an African Magistrate and a lady barrister who was also Police Magistrate in Nigeria. In those days a thirst for learning was successfully created and those who lacked the means to pass on to secondary schools, undertook private studies at home even while they were learning their living as clerks or craftsmen.

The early Missionaries were also desirous of providing an educated African ministry and this led to the founding of the Mission secondary schools, the oldest of which was founded over a hundred years ago. Both the Church Missionary Society and the Methodist (then Wesleyan Methodist) Missionary Society started secondary schools for girls not long after they established their boys' secondary schools. By 1880 Freetown had a system of schools up to and including secondary standard for boys and girls and a college affiliated to Durham University.

When it is realised that the early settlers had lost all traces
of their tribal connections and had been brought up before and after their arrival in Freetown in the 'white man's way' and that even the language they spoke was a 'kind of English' known as the English patois; it will not be difficult to understand why in dress, food, schooling, religion and other branches of life the European model was followed. Like their English masters the early African settlers in Freetown soon grew into a community of shop-keepers some of whom did flourishing business, importing their merchandise direct from overseas. Agriculture and useful crafts like tailoring, shoe-making and carpentry became occupations of village residents and when they too came to the city to become clerks or traders, the aborigines stepped into their places. Freetown developed into a town with English educational, political, social and religious institutions and when Mohammedanism i.e. Islam was introduced by Fula and Mandingo traders and Arabic teachers from Futa (French Guinea), it created a stir among the settlers because, as it was alleged, it tended to lower the existing moral and social standards.

In a petition to Colonel Richard Doherty, then Governor of Sierra Leone, by the Free Churchmen i.e. members of the United Methodist Free Church now the West African Methodist Church, a number of 'evil' practices was attributed to the Mohammedans. The petitioners alleged that by Mohammedan law, Muslims could practice polygamy; other complaints against the Muslims were that they believed in witchcraft, in contention and charms ....... making a trade in selling charms and lass-mammy (using a certain pernicious ink to write passages from the Koran, allowing the writing to dry and afterwards adding a little water to the writings and collecting the liquid product into a
bottle). They were also said to "make sacrifices for various purposes either by the killing of bulls, sheep and fowls, etc." They tolerated and allowed the slave trade and they "dedicated the fifth day of the week as their day of Public Worship." (33) Even today, Muslims have a lower social status in the community than the Christians.

It should be noted that besides the Muslim infiltration and the practice of tribal customs by natives from the Protectorate, there has developed among the Creoles, customs and secret societies of Nigerian origin. This tribal background is more marked in the villages where the liberated Africans who claimed kinship with tribes in Nigeria like the Yorubas, the Egbas and the Ibos first settled before spreading into the city. Creole children are given Nigerian names like Modupe (I am thankful), Omotayo (child of joy) and Abiose (born on Sunday), instead of Mende and Temne names. Awujohs i.e. Communal feasts are held in connection with family reunions, marriage and burial ceremonies. In these feasts, the menu consists principally of a kind of beans i.e. "binch" in Creole, prepared in different forms with palm oil. Meat and fowls are also prepared with palm oil and eaten with rice. In all these functions there is the YoK, a ceremonial sacrifice i.e. an appeal to dead relatives for help and guidance followed by an offering of water, kola nuts and other foods already mentioned. There is also the practice of piercing the ears of female infants - a relic of what was done to all adult slaves in the slave trade days - and gold earrings are worn on them when the ears are healed. Creoles prefer to patronise tribal societies of Nigerian origin like the Egungun (Nigerian devil) and Hunting society rather than becoming members of Protectorate secret societies. In exceptional cases where Creoles do patronise Protectorate secret societies, this is done with the utmost secrecy. This tendency of Colony natives to despise the secret societies and the tribal customs of their own hinterland is one of the causes of the social gap and the consequent lack of unity between Creoles and Protectorate natives.
A curious fact in the whole situation is that while descendants of the early settlers and aborigenes have been developing on their respective social levels, the economic standard of each group has not risen to the same extent as that of their 'comperes' in other West African Colonies. The professional man, the trader or the farmer in Nigeria or the Gold Coast is better off economically than those of similar occupations in Sierra Leone. Leaving aside the causes which may be found in the extinction of the African business middle-man e.g. the Boyles, Malamah Thomas, and the Bishop family, the advent of the Syrian, the Creole's inability to acquire freehold property in the Protectorate and other similar causes, the effect of this poverty on education in the Colony is significant.

Reforms of all kinds are needed in the schools; better buildings, more schools, a wider curriculum, adequate library facilities and better qualified teachers. All of these improvements mean money. The children also need to live in better houses, have better food, more clothing, opportunities for listening to the wireless and a better home library. Parents who know that such improvements are needed in the home lack the means to provide them and others who have the means lack the wisdom of knowing what their children need. A few parents - and these belong to the professional class - have the money and the knowledge and they provide adequately for the home needs of their children. A similar description could be made of 19th century society in England where the children of well-to-do parents were few and the many - both adults and children - were poor and ignorant.
The many ways in which parents of average means can increase their income or reduce their expenditure are either unknown or deliberately avoided. For example, there are very few homes with vegetable gardens; nearly everything is bought direct from the market. Even where there are compounds spacious enough to do a thing like poultry rearing, this is not undertaken on any large scale or with any seriousness. On the other hand, there is too much importance attached to expensive birth, marriage and burial ceremonies. There are highly educated men and women who are just as extravagant in things like dress, social pastimes and drink, as those who are less educated. For example, too much money is spent on public dances and socials and on luxuries like whisky and cigarettes. Money that could be spent on very essential things like food and the education of the children, is wasted in what is for merely personal amusement and self-gratification. I am aware of the fact that the same may be said of a large proportion of people in England and America, but my impression is that here the desire for unprofitable pastimes is greater and the incomes are certainly smaller. It may be argued that the cultural amenities found in civilised countries do not exist to any appreciable extent in Sierra Leone and therefore people spend their money on trifles because there are no other means of spending it.

Before salaries for Government officers were revised following the Harragin Commission on the West African Civil Service, the income range for men in Government services in the clerical and technical branches, was from £45 to £500 per annum. About 4% of these men earned up to £500 per annum; about 3\% earned up to £372 per annum; 20\% earned up to £300 per annum and the rest up to £144 per annum. (34) In view of the increased cost of living during the war, a cost of living allowance was given ranging between £13 and £24 per annum for all civil servants save those in the first income group who received about £50 per annum. Under the present conditions of
service, the salary range is from £84 per annum to £1000 per annum. Very few of the 4% Africans in the topmost grades or what is known as The Senior Service, will attain to £1000 for there is a promotion bar at £660. Those who were in the £372 group are now in the £450 group and those in the £200 group convert to £250 and the rest now have a maximum salary of £168. (35) With these new rates of salaries no cost of living allowances are given. The mercantile firms have revised their salaries in view of the increased salaries in the Civil Service. With the increase of salaries there has been a corresponding increase in direct and indirect taxation in addition to the fact that the cost of living is also increasing. In actual fact workers now find themselves worse off than they were before the increase in salaries. In other words the net result has not been to their advantage.

Among the professional class, medical practitioners make an average net income of about £800 a year and legal practitioners almost as much. Traders and craftsmen might be put in the £200 to £300 per annum group. Unfortunately there are no cost of living surveys to show expenditure in these income groups. It should be explained that the traders referred to above are more of the merchant class and that the craftsmen are mostly leading craftsmen in Government service. Petty traders, lower grade craftsmen and head labourers are in the £60 to £100 group. There are no cost of living surveys for this group also. The present rate of pay for unskilled labour is 2/3d a day and according to the Labour Department figures, cost of living in this group is 1/1ld per day. It is therefore very clear that a large proportion of the Colony natives live a hand to mouth existence and although there is a demand for an improved type of education and for more and better schools, the means to provide these things is
not forthcoming from the community. Consequently educational progress is slow and old-fashioned types of school continue to be the only means of education.

A most distressing fact is that amidst so much poverty, there is still a great desire to qualify in one or other of the learned professions and even those who are in occupations with incomes much below that of the professional group aspire to the same social standards. The reason for this may be found in the fact that there are still very few avenues for earning a decent income. In the early days of the Colony, trade was the best means of accumulating wealth. Today with the great influx of Syrian traders in the country, the African business middle-man is unable to make much money out of trade. To qualify in occupations like Agriculture and Engineering is to take professions which at present do not give men as much money as law and medicine do, owing to the present stage of development of the country. So that, for economic reasons, men of ability whose parents cannot send them overseas to qualify in Law or Medicine, enter the Civil Service as clerks and in time gain promotion to a chief clerkship or an even higher appointment with salary scales which afford them a reasonably high standard of living. This explains why those who go overseas on their own resources choose Law or Medicine while those who go on Government scholarships accept professions like Teaching, Agriculture and Engineering more as a means of getting higher education overseas than from a love of those professions. It is now being realised however that if Sierra Leone must develop into a modern and progressive community, many who would otherwise qualify in Law or Medicine should choose what may be considered as less lucrative occupations.
Another reason why Sierra Leoneans show preference for Law and Medicine is the social advantages these professions have. Up to the present, the leading class in Freetown society as in other Colonies in West Africa consists of lawyers and doctors. They are the leading representatives of their people in central and local Government councils and they are the heads of leading organisations in the community. For example, since it became possible for the Colony to elect its own representatives to the Legislative Council, there has been no occasion when a non-professional has been elected to represent Freetown. It is true that this practice ensures that men of learning and sound debating ability are elected but it is also true that equally good or even better representatives can be found among the non-professional class. In the sports organisations, professional men are usually elected as presidents or vice-presidents. In dances and other social functions, there is much clamour for the patronage of the professionals. Even among the women, the ambition of the average educated woman, especially if she has been to England, is to be married to a lawyer or a doctor. Freetown society is however becoming wiser and laymen i.e. non-professionals are being given greater opportunities at the present time to lead in the political and social life of the community. For example, the present political leaders of the Freetown society are not only the Legislative Council representatives, Dr. Reffell and Barrister Otto During, but also laymen like Mr. Wallace Johnson, Organising Secretary of the West African Youth League and Mr. Lamina Sankoh, who is a graduate of Oxford University.

In his book, "The Education of a Community," H.G. Stead writes "Education is an institution through which a community endeavours to implant its values in the rising generation. A 'just and generous edu-
cation' can only emerge from a 'just and generous society'. As we 'clear the weed' from the soil in which the children are to grow so shall we make possible that growth which is possible but not so rarely achieved.' Education in the Colony has not been based on the principle suggested by Stead. On the contrary, right from the early days of the settlement, and English form of education was 'super-imposed' on an African community whose members had just emerged from slavery and most of whom were illiterate. The early settlers were brought up as Englishmen and were governed by English laws, put on English dress, spoke English, worshipped God in English and had an English form of local Government. To maintain such a standard of life, the early philanthropists spent considerable sums of money provided by themselves and so a poor urban community was introduced to standards of living which it could not provide to maintain for itself. For example, the Missionary societies provided all the money needed to build the secondary schools and Fourah Bay College and contributed a substantial share towards the cost of primary schools and church buildings. The African merchants in those days were prosperous though illiterate and they readily contributed their own share towards the building of these schools and churches. Such flourishing merchants have passed out of existence leaving no successors, the days of British philanthropy have ceased to be, wealthy Africans of today are few and not as generous as their predecessors and as a result, old-fashioned, dilapidated school buildings and churches cannot be replaced by modern and up-to-date ones and there is the feeling that the old type buildings are good enough.

Writing on the disintegration which is taking place in African
life as a result of European penetration. Professor Westermann states
"Today, not a single village remains untouched and the process of
transformation is going on not only with unheard of rapidity, but at the
same time with a thoroughness which may be called revolutionary...
We in Europe have gone through these changes but over a period of cen-
turies. We grew up with the changing conditions and have struggled
with them. They arose from a growth of our own culture and thus became
a natural necessity for us. For the African they are something strange
that has come to him from without and therefore can be looked on only
as a disturbing element". (36) This explains why educated Africans
cannot yet measure up to the cultural standards often expected of them
by the European. In fact the African is sometimes expected to produce
results which the European with his background of centuries of civil-
isation is incapable of producing. When it is considered that the
Sierra Leonean has had less than 200 years of real contact with
Western civilisation, credit should be given to him for his educational
achievements within such a comparatively short time. At the same time
he must receive the sympathy and not the condemnation of the 'white
man' for what has not yet been achieved.

A digression is necessary at this point in order to explain how
the present stage of social development in Sierra Leone creates a
variety of problems as far as the upbringing of children is concerned.
One of the differences between English and African society which must
immediately strike anyone who looks at conditions from the sociological
angle is the place of the illegitimate child in these two societies.
Although in England a child born out of wedlock is usually fairly well
cared for either by his mother or his grandparents, or he may be taken
to, an orphanage, nothing must be said or done to give publicity to the
certainties of the child's illegitimacy. Not even the father of the child
would openly acknowledge him as his illegitimate son. Of course, the
child must be supported by the father but he will not usually be
adopted by his wife. Among Colony natives, marriage is looked upon as
a legal bond by both Muslims and Christians. Its obligations are
legally, if not morally, binding. Marriage certificates are treasured,
wedding rings give the women a sense of possession and a feeling of
security and these women know their full rights and turn to the
divorce courts, if they feel they can no longer continue with their
partners. In short, native marriage has no place in Freetown and
any woman who cannot produce a wedding ring or a certificate of
marriage has no legal claim upon any man. It should be explained that
native marriage is the system of marriage by dowry practised in the
Protectorate. Here then comes the problem. The African is a great
lover of children. To men and women alike, to die childless is the
greatest misfortune of life. At the same time, for economic reasons,
educated Africans marry late. Some marry after living in the Protec-
torate or in other parts of West Africa for a number of years during
which time they may have had children with 'foreign' women. Others
marry after they have studied for a profession in the United Kingdom
or in America. During their student days overseas, they may have had
children with 'white' women without marrying them. Or worse than this,
the wife may be childless, or may have children late or may have all
male or all female children.

Now comes the necessity for a compromise: something quite unjusti-
tified according to European standards. The childless wife is often
willing to adopt the husband's illegitimate children or to allow the husband to continue to have children by other women. It does sometimes happen that this concession is made before the lawful wife has her own child and in such cases, the illegitimate children continue to live with the wife. In exceptional cases, men have illegitimate children at the same time that their lawful wives are having theirs; the long period of lactation often observed by African women is pleaded as a justification for this practice. Thus it is quite common to find even educated Christian Africans who have studied in England having their illegitimate children living in their homes with their lawful wives who may also be educated Christian women with children of their own. It will be seen from this that many children lack that sense of security which children so urgently need and the difficulty of training children in sound moral standards according to Western standards is a pronounced one.

It will be wrong to imply from the above description that the African is over-sensual or depraved in nature. Nor can the morality of his actions be questioned when the society in which he lives accepts them. At the same time, if every child must have the best chances in life and if Africa must rise, polygamy of any kind, whether pagan or otherwise, must cease and the ideal must be as in the days of Eden when the "twain were made one flesh." It should be said however that Africans of today are moving towards this ideal.

I have endeavoured to show that the tribal customs of the Creole coupled with those of Protectorate natives living in the Colony are a barrier to progress. Birth, marriage and burial customs are still very expensive; the medicine-man also makes heavy financial demands on all those who need his services; the African household is still very large and expensive to maintain and parents and other relatives make requests for financial aid from time to time.

All these defects must be expected from a people who are still
primitive in many respects and whose educated element are not more than three or four generations removed from either slavery or primitive life. What must be decided before long is whether primitive and Western cultures must develop side by side in the same community or whether the latter must replace the former and at what rate. From the example of India and Nigeria, it must be inferred that native culture should not be despised in the effort to gain the white man's civilisation. The issue in Sierra Leone is not a clear-cut one for the eighty thousand or more Creoles have really been 'Westernised' for over a hundred years and that is the serious problem. The situation can only be clearly understood when it is realised that Sierra Leone is only about the size of Ireland, that the extremes of social development are present within this small community, that Protectorate and Colony were almost completely isolated until fifty years ago and that the 1939 to 1945 war brought an unprecedented opening up of the Protectorate. As a result of all this, social change in Sierra Leone is taking place at an incredibly rapid rate at the moment and pagan custom and Christian living are curiously intermixed. Children in such a society have to face extra-ordinarily difficult problems in their childhood and adolescence.

In a later chapter suggestions to improve education in the Colony will be given. It must however be pointed out that there is an urgent need for a sociological survey of the Colony and Protectorate in order to understand the peculiar problems confronting Creole and Protectorate native children.
Chapter III

Education in the Protectorate.

In writing on education in the Protectorate, I think it is advisable to begin with the tribal background before saying anything about the schools since only about 4 per cent. of a child population of 363,753 are receiving English education. In the family, we have the smallest unit of tribal society but the meaning of the term 'family' varies even between neighbouring tribes. Among the Protectorate tribes, a family, speaking generally consists of all those who claim descent from a common ancestor. It includes both the living and the dead. The latter are regarded as still sharing in the joys and sorrows of the families to which they belong. In some places, it includes members of obscure parentage adopted into a prominent group whereas in other places it is strictly limited to consanguininy ties. For example, among the Temnes where the idea of clan is strong, the 'family' is limited to blood relations only and strangers cannot be adopted into the clan or claim the status of members of the family, no matter how long they may have lived with the group. In other words, adoption has no place in Temne society. Further, if a Temne woman of the Bangura clan (say) is married to a man of the Sisay clan, the former will still claim kinship with her own clan. On the death of her husband, when the husband happens to die first, she is free to go back to the Bangura clan or to be married to a man outside her late husband’s clan.

Among the Mendes, clan customs are not quite the same. For example, once a woman joins her husband’s family by marriage, she is expected to remain in that family even after the death of her husband. *Protectorate Handbook 1947.*
She is not free to return to her people or to be married to an outsider unless she is prepared to return her late husband's dowry. The heir of the deceased, usually the eldest surviving brother, inherits the woman as part of the late brother's estate. Among this tribe, it is also possible for a man from an obscure family to be adopted into a ruling family with the right of becoming a Paramount Chief some-day. One of the most successful Paramount Chiefs of Bo, the largest Protectorate town, was said to be an adopted member of the Bongay family. All that is necessary at election time in such a case is to get some old male or female member of the family to come forward and swear on some native medicine that the aspirant to the chieftainship is a member of that family.

The greatest obstacle to social, political and economic progress in the Protectorate and a handicap to child training, is the general mode of life which is comprehensively referred to as 'native custom'. In many parts of the Protectorate especially in the Northern Province and parts of the Southern Provinces one such custom is polygamy. It is argued by those who practice it that polygamy is an economic necessity and of course paganism sanctions it to an unlimited degree. All that the tribal society is concerned about is that the bride-price must be paid and the woman be taken in accordance with 'native custom'. Although illicit sexual relationship is "taboo" in primitive social life, it is a weakness of most Protectorate tribes and the majority of cases that are tried by Paramount Chiefs are for "woman damage". It may also be stated that one of the peculiarities of polygamous households is the influence they give to mothers over their children.

*ruling family = a family whose ancestors were founders of the central town. (Fenton's Outline of Sierra Leone Native Law).
wives
and that which favourite wives have over their mates. Doctor Raum makes some reference to this in writing about the Chaga (an East African tribe):- "In difficult situations, as in the case of a quarrel between father and son, or difference of opinion with a daughter as to the choice of a suitor, the child falls back upon a mother's advice and on the counsel of a mother's brother." (1)

Grandparents also play a very important part in child training. From the day the child is born until he is fit for admission into a secret society the grandmother influences his life and in many cases the child is petted and allowed to have his own way. The same practice is found among other primitive tribes for Doctor Raum refers to grandparents' influence among the Chaga. Says he "The transfer of children to their grandparents is thus of instructional significance. Besides it involves economic and legal arrangements. The first child can be claimed by its paternal grandfather as a return for assisting the young couple to set up house and for supplying a special diet during the first confinement of his daughter-in-law. The second child is claimed by the maternal grandparents. It is called 'the child of the mother's people'." (2)

Primitive mothers do not practise birth control and a normal, healthy sex life resulting in the getting of as many children as possible is taken as the chief function of a woman. A long period of eighteen months or more is observed however during lactation and in cases where the wife goes to her mother's house, she is not expected to return to her husband before the child is weaned. It is very difficult indeed for a young couple to oppose this practice; as the time for delivery approaches, the young wife is taken off as a matter of
course to her mother's house and frequently she is expected to stay there until her child is two years old. Sometimes the child stays still longer though the wife returns to her husband. No notice is taken of protests by the young husband against this practice. The grandparents are as a rule less civilised than their own children and through this arrangement the grandchildren grow up in an environment which is retrogressive and which is not in the best interest of their physical and intellectual development.

In areas where Muslim influence is strong, a limited polygamy is practised in accordance with the teachings of the Koran which enjoins that a man may marry as many as four wives if he can give the same love and devotion to each of them. The educated or semi-literate Protectorate natives regard Muslim marriage as more binding than "Native" marriage and they would even take to the Mosque for blessing wives whom they had previously married according to native custom. Paramount Chiefs however find it most impracticable to accept the Muslim ideal of marriage and those of them who profess Islam are only nominally so in this respect. Where two wives, one married according to native custom and the other according to Islam, have the same husband, the latter wife enjoys superior status in the family.

Some of the Protectorate tribes, as is common in other countries, have special names for their children either as their firstborn or according to the circumstances under which they were born. For example, in a Mende family the first boy is called Joe and the first girl Boi. The first boy in a Kono or Kissi family is called Sahr and the second is Tamba. Twins are also given special names. Among the Mendes, the names are Sao and Jina and among the Temnes a male or female twin is called Gbese. These names are generic but their exact significance is
unknown. Of names given because of the circumstances under which the child was born, the following may be mentioned: Jibao, a Ilende name meaning 'save this one'. When a mother has lost many children by death, the first surviving child is so named. Although Creoles use names of Nigerian origin, they too give special names to their twins and other children. Taiwo and Kayinde are names given to twins. Taiwo is the name received by the first child, and Kayinde is the name given to the second child. e.g. Esau and Jacob. The child who follows the twins is called Edowu and the next child is Alaba. A child born on a Sunday is named Abiose and one born on Christmas day is Abiodun. These names, like the Protectorate ones, are also generic.

Ignorance, superstition and poverty are more evident in the average Protectorate family than among the Creoles. A peasant farmer whose income, excluding cost of food, is hardly more than £20 or £30 a year may have two or more wives and a number of children both natural and adopted, for whom he is responsible. He may also have unmarried brothers, sisters, nephews or nieces who look up to him as father. Apart from using these dependents as helpers on his farm, he gets hardly any other service from them. On the other hand they are often a liability to him; he may be called upon to pay fines on their behalf. Small as the farmer's income is, he has to pay the yearly tax from it. The head tax is 9/- per annum and the farmer may have to pay not only for himself but also for other male dependents who may be living under his roof. Other items of expenditure are court fines which may be frequent if he is not on friendly terms with the Paramount Chief, bride-price for a new wife and expenses connected with funeral ceremonies. A farmer who cultivates a farm of about 5 or 6 acres may be described as the average and he may have not more than two or three
wives, about five or six children and about four adult relations to help him. Not even with so many helpers is he able to produce enough rice to keep himself and his family in reasonable comfort, chiefly because of the poor results of peasant farming. No child born in such a family can be properly fed, clothed and educated and this accounts for the inability of the many Protectorate fathers to give their children primary education. It is believed that such a state of affairs will continue until, under more regular guidance and supervision of agricultural experts, farmers can increase their production, earn better prices for their crops and so make an income of £200 to £300 per annum.

Even where the labour can be found, present-day farmers have not the incentive for farming on a scale that would put them on the income level suggested above. It is the belief that to become wealthy is to become an enemy of the Paramount Chief who will always devise ways and means of impoverishing any wealthy member of his chiefdom. Not even educated natives are free from this belief and this is one of the reasons why such natives do not return to their chiefdoms.

In addition to the financial limitations of Protectorate parents, there is constant fear of witch-craft and "poisoning". A polygamous husband should not openly show preference for a particular wife or he will cause jealousy among her mates. Such a feeling of jealousy among the wives is extended to their children and that is why a promising child in a polygamous household must be sent away from home early, if his life is to be saved for future usefulness.

Whereas the Egungun and Hunting societies of the Creoles are not institutions which every child must compulsorily attend, it is not so with Protectorate secret societies. The Poro which is the chief male secret society and the Bundu which is the female secret society are an
essential part of tribal education. These secret societies mean much in the lives of tribal people. Pregnant mothers receive ante-natal treatment from members of the Bundu or female secret society and when the time for delivery comes it often takes place in the Bundu bush i.e. the place of meeting. At puberty, boys and girls must go to Poro or the male secret society and Bundu to learn the facts of sex and personal hygiene; if any oath of secrecy is necessary during a political emergency, the men resort to Poro to pledge themselves to secrecy in connection with the particular cause. Initiation into a secret society is an important part of tribal education and even children who receive western education regard their education as incomplete until they join their secret societies.

The Paramount Chief as head of the tribe is patron of all the societies in his chiefdom. It cannot be otherwise for according to Professor Murray "the obedience due to the chief is absolute because he incarnates in himself the authority of the tribe." (3)

It should be pointed out that in the matter of cultural and educational standards, it is not only grandparents who may be primitive but other important adult members of the family also. This however does not affect the child so much as when father and mother are not of the same cultural standard. It must be remembered that at the present time the infiltration of the Creoles into the Protectorate is very considerable and as was mentioned in the previous chapter children are born to them by native women. For example, a Creole father may be the husband or 'friend' of an illiterate or primitive woman. Where the mother is just a 'friend' or concubine, the child may be taken from her and sent to one of the father's educated relatives for training. If however the Creole father and
the illiterate Protectorate mother are husband and wife by native custom, the child remains with them and receives both primitive and western forms of training. In most cases the children do not enjoy the educational facilities which they would enjoy if both parents were educated. Nevertheless it may be stated that children whose fathers are Creoles or educated Protectorate natives naturally show a greater desire for and very often have greater chances of attending school and receiving western training.

There is also the case of Protectorate children who are given to Creoles staying in the Protectorate or to educated native male relations for training. These are the children who form the majority in the primary schools in large towns like Bo, Moyamba, and Makeni. (See administrative map in appendix). The promising ones among them are also given the opportunity of post-primary education in a central school, a teacher training college or a secondary school. But for the educational facilities these children are given by their guardians, they would prefer to be with their own parents for a variety of reasons: guardians are usually stricter than parents; discrimination in food, dress, etc. is shown and it is often not difficult to observe difference of treatment to those who are the real children and others who are just wards. It is also not to the advantage of children who belong to a higher social or cultural group to have these Protectorate children, who come quite primitive from their villages, as playmates. From my experience, if Protectorate children should be 'adopted' under such conditions, they should be taken in between the ages of 3 and 5 years. As many Creoles send their own children to Freetown for schooling, the two different groups of children do not come together as a rule unless during school holidays or on
special occasions and for a short period each time. In Freetown, there is no other alternative than to train the children together.

It would seem to an outsider, especially a European, that Protectorate children who live with Creole guardians literally live in slavery. This is a mistake and is a result of faulty observation. There are extreme cases of ill-treatment of Protectorate children by Creoles but on the whole the children are better fed, clothed and educated and there are many prominent Protectorate men and women today who attribute their greatness to the training they received from Creole guardians. It must be stated that Creole parents observe a stricter discipline than Protectorate parents. Protectorate children living with their own parents, where such parents are illiterate or primitive, are left more or less to themselves except when wanted to share in some communal work: they are allowed to roam at will, eat fruits from trees everywhere, indulge in gossips on current chiefdom events, join in street dances, play native games and only return home in the evening in time for food.

Although Protectorate children who stay with their educated relatives seem to fair better than those just described above, from careful study it would be discovered that educated Protectorate guardians are worse exploiters of their own kith and kin. The evil effects of domestic slavery which was practised in the Protectorate up to nearly 30 years ago, still persists in some parts of the hinterland. Consequently, the wards in Protectorate educated households do most of the manual work as the slaves once did; they receive severer punishment and as a rule they are removed from school earlier than their guardians' children. An interesting contrast is the practice of illiterate parents in the early days of
the Bo Government School to send their physically weak children, their wards and slaves rather than their own best children to school. On the whole, credit must be given to these guardians who are responsible for the majority of children found in Protectorate schools. Illiterates do not readily send their children to school. They naturally prefer tribal education for them and it is the clerk, the shopboy, school teacher, the educated relative and the Creole guardian who must be acknowledged as the emancipators of the past and the hope of the future. Until mass education succeeds in the Protectorate, western training will have practically no meaning to illiterate parents and hence it will be difficult to expect much cooperation from such parents.

In referring to education within the tribe among Africans, Jowitt writes: "millions of African children who have never seen the inside of a school nor received a single lesson from one of these teachers are also being educated as their father's fathers were educated long before the Europeans set foot in Africa." (4) This education has an important effect not only on the 96 per cent. of Protectorate children who have no opportunity of attending school but also among the 4 per cent. privileged ones who are being educated in the Mission, Native Administration and Government Schools found in the different parts of the Protectorate.

In view of the important part Protectorate Secret societies play in tribal education, one may begin with a description of these societies. They affect the lives of Protectorate children from
infancy to adolescence. When the average Protectorate mother is in pregnancy, it is to the Bundu head-woman that she turns for care and attendance throughout the pre-natal period. When it is time for delivery, more than 50 per cent. of such mothers call in or are taken to the head-woman again who acts as mid-wife. In big towns, wives of semi-literate and educated natives prefer going to a hospital but the others go there only when the mid-wife discovers that the patient is at the point of death. The registration of birth by burying the umbilical cord under a kola tree (for a male child) or a banana tree (for a female child) is also done with due ceremony by some member of a secret society. The naming of the child is done in accordance with tribal right by important members of the society. In connection with betrothal and marriage, secret societies play an important part. It is therefore necessary at this stage to say what these societies are and what is their place in tribal education.

The Poro is 'par excellence' the male secret society. Referring to its importance among African tribes Professor Westerman writes: "The Poro Society is the formative element in the community life; by initiation a youth becomes a member of his tribe and this is the greatest event in his life." (5) It is a socio-religious bond which unites all elements of the community and even school boys of Protectorate origin must go for a few weeks into the bush during the school holidays to undergo a rapid initiation before returning to school. Unlike English Secret Societies like the Order of Freemasons or the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes, the Poro is intended for and must be entered by all male members of the tribe. It is believed that the Poro cult was known to the ancients and that the Porrus Campus of Ptolemy refers to the 'Poro Bush' of the Sierra Leone people. (6)
It is difficult to trace the origin of the Poro but it is believed that it came from the Futa Jalon Hills in French West Africa, whence its present possessors, the Mendes also migrated. Although the Mendes claim to be the originators of the cult, it is believed that it was handed down by the Sherbros to the Temne invaders from whom it passed on to its present owners. It is therefore not surprising that although among the southern tribes of the Protectorate, Poro is the most popular male secret society, it is also an institution of the northern tribes, who however use it chiefly for specialising in dancing and handicraft. Circumcision which is an important function of Poro in the southern provinces is done in a separate institution known as the Circumcision Society among the Temnes, Limbas and other tribes of the northern province. In Mende country, the Poro is also a political institution. A Poro council is constituted when there is some political crisis, e.g. the Hut Tax War in 1898. In this sense it may be compared with a native parliament like the Pitso of Basutoland. When formed as a council, it is composed of twenty-five members made up of fifteen of the upper classes who form the inner circle or court of appeal, and usually ten others. Five members of the council act as executive and the head of the council is known as the Grand Tasso. When thus constituted, it mediates between the chief and his people and its deliberations should be kept secret. Within it there is a judicial body known as the "Kameila" to whom very grave matters are referred. The decision of the highest council is final. All Poro members are sworn to the greatest secrecy. The very entrance to the 'Poro Bush' or meeting place is the gateway to mysteries which must not be revealed to a non-member. The pass-word or secret sign used by the society is associated with the place of meeting.
or the purpose of meeting and members are sworn to unity (Ngovaya) in carrying out the decisions of the society. It is believed that to break a pledge taken in the secret bush brings serious illness or immediate death upon the offender.

Despite its limitations, the Poro is of great educational value. It develops physical fitness, moral integrity, respect for authority and unity among its members. Like the training given to Spartan youths of ancient Greece, courage, physical strength, power of endurance and patriotism are the ideals. The time spent in the secret bush varies from a month to three or four months but very much is done within the period and the contacts made are most valuable. The long robe, like the Toga Virilis of the Roman youth, worn by the initiates, the marks on his body, the name given after initiation, the songs, dances, moral and instruction, sex hygiene are some of the valuable possessions of the Poro boy. He is now fully equipped to share in the social and political life of his tribe. He can enter any Poro group within the tribe and claim all the privileges which belong to the members of the cult.

In Temne land, Poro may last for a year or more whereas in Mende country, it never exceeds three or four months. The reason for this difference is that the vocational aspect of the institution is what appeals to the northern tribes and expert rope-dancers, players of African musical instruments and artists, acquire their knowledge and skill during their training in the society.

If the Poro may be compared to a primary school, then the Wonde society (Also a Mende secret society) may be looked upon as the secondary or post-primary institution. Its mysteries are more sacred and to become a member of this society, one must have first become a Poro initiate. It is regarded as the 'Father' of Poro and to show
its superiority, no Poro can function when the Wonde is in session. The literal meaning of the term is "woman-man" and it originated from the central part of Mende country, where the Kpaa-Mendes live. It is in this institution the youth is trained to become a warrior and all the great Mende military leaders of the past went through the society. A Wonde man knows no turning back once he has initiated a movement. It is said that a Poro man may recant under extreme pressure or for some personal gain but not so with a Wonde man. He is very trust-worthy once he has taken the oath of the society and he is trained to face death boldly and without fear. Not even the 'white-man' will dare to pry into the secrets of this society whose practices are shrouded with the greatest mysteries. Because its activities are unknown, it has been labelled as the "Black Hand of the Kpaa country." Its meeting place is usually in the thickest bush on the outskirts of the town and its members meet there on common ground. In Wonde there is no distinction between a Paramount Chief and his subject. On the contrary the chief is subject to a punishment as severe as that given to any other member who fails to uphold the high traditions of the society. It is alleged that the Rev Max Gorvie, a Mende who graduated in Columbia University, U.S.A., jeopardised his life by writing about this society in his booklet "Old and New in Sierra Leone" and he had to leave the country even before the publication came out. It is believed that if Mr Gorvie ever returns to Sierra Leone, he may render himself liable to some serious physical or mental affliction or may even lose his life.

Like all African secret societies, the Wonde and the Poro encourage "spirit" worship which is really a form of animism and the
devils are the dispensers of justice to evil-doers. It is believed that in every great session of these societies, a victim must be sacrificed to ensure their prosperity. Wonde flourishes on a system of "poisoning" which it administers impartially to all its members and it is through this medium, the victim offered to the devil is handed over. When the deed is done, the family of the deceased must be told that "the Wonde devil has claimed him" and the act should be regarded as a tribal honour and it must not be mourned. (7) I must state that this deplorable practice is no longer openly permitted though it is doubtful whether it has been completely stopped. On the other hand the educational and social values of Wonde continue to increase and the sacredness of pledges among members of this society and even of the Poro is something which neither western education nor Christianity has yet been able to inculcate, so effectively, among African tribes.

What Poro and Wonde are to the men, the Bundu is to the women. No Protectorate girl will consider herself fully equipped for life, even if she is privileged to receive western education, without going through the Bundu society. Before referring to the attempts made by educated Africans and Europeans to use the Bundu as a medium of spreading mass education in the Protectorate, it might be useful to give a brief description of this popular female secret society. The Mendes refer to this society as the "Sande" society but the Temnes and Susus use the familiar title "Bundu". The Korankos, a tribe in the extreme north, use the term "Segere". In all parts of the Protectorate, despite differences in name, the main object of the society is to instruct in the tribal qualities of womanhood and of wifehood, in domestic economy, dancing, singing, midwifery, nursing, fishing and
in every tribal religious rite that concerns women". Among uninformed Creole women, the society is regarded as existing only for the performing of purification rites prior to marriage. It is true that clitoridectomy is practised in all Bundu societies but that is just one of the many functions for which the society is established. There is a head-woman, the "Soko", who may be regarded as the head-mistress of the institution. She should be a married woman of considerable experience and an expert midwife. Her assistants should also be married women or widows. Protracted spinsterhood is regarded as an unnatural thing in tribal society and although unmarried women can become members of the society, they cannot be instructors. The cost of training is borne either by the girl's parents or by her future husband. Before money economy was introduced in the Protectorate, the fees were paid in kind. Even today when the fees may be paid in money, the cost of training depends on the current prices of the articles prescribed by native custom for payment. For example, if payment should include a bushel of native clean rice, money paid in lieu of such rice should be fixed according to the price of rice at that time.

Among the Mendes, Bundu is regarded as a secret cult embracing social, political and religious functions. The head-woman here is both mid-wife, woman chief and priestess. In the north among the Susus, for example, the rite of purification is the sole function of the society and Bundu is looked upon as a native society existing only for that purpose. As is true of all primitive people, there are no written records of the work of the organisation. The knowledge is handed down from the head-woman and her assistants to the initiates
and experience is the sole text-book. Whatever a woman should know is taught so that the initiates may be fully equipped for life.

According to tradition the cult was introduced as the result of a dream. Different names are given by different tribes to the first woman instructor who had this dream. She is named Soko, Sema, Yongo, Yeli, or Sande Jo according to her tribe. The head-woman should name her assistants according to their respective ranks. Sowo-Gbra, Kambeh, Majo or Maligba are titles used by the different tribes for assistant instructors. Where mysteries are associated with the cult, the grove becomes a sacred spot and the head-woman as priestess "must lead in the annual tribal religious festivals and prayers for the community." It is believed that the cult is the possessor of a spirit, the Kendui, which is said to be invested with mystic powers; these powers bring down destruction upon all offenders. In these days it was an offence punishable by death for any male person to violate the sanctity of the society by entering the bush or interfering with any of the initiates. Even in these modern days, it is believed that although Kendui inflicts no death penalty, he can cause serious bodily harm like a swollen scrotum or even impotence on male offenders. This made the society and its officials very influential in the early days. Sir H. Luke who was once Colonial Secretary, writing about the society in his book "Bibliography of Sierra Leone" says "The influence enjoyed by the Bundu society is an indication of the position occupied by women in every section of the population of the country."

Because of the wrong ideas Creole women have about Bundu, many of them still despise it. In spite of this however, Bundu is flourishing in many sections of Freetown because of the growing infiltration of Protectorate tribes into the Colony. It is not difficult to select a
meeting place in Freetown for the society as there are still many "bush" areas in the outskirts of the city. The practice of forcing anyone who speaks disparagingly of the institution to become a member of the society still continues. A case occurred quite recently in which the parents of the child who received such compulsory initiation took the Bundu authorities before the Police Magistrate. The magistrate found the head-woman and her assistants guilty, according to English law, of an offence and a fine was inflicted on each of the accused. Although the cult is not openly patronised by Creoles, the head-woman is sometimes called in privately by educated Creole women to give treatment in cases of sterility or pregnancy. Childless Creole women are even willing to become members of the society in some remote locality in order that they may get a child. Some of these women do become happy mothers after patronising the society. We cannot however conclude anything from these results which after all may be just happy coincidences. Even if the getting of a child is due to the work of the Bundu, in my opinion there is no treatment the Bundu head-woman can give which cannot be done infinitely better by English medical specialists. Perhaps such a belief in Bundu treatment is a modern instance of "According to your faith be it done unto you."

As part of a mass education programme, Government has become interested in this society. Before this, European missionaries had been quietly endeavouring to exercise Christian influence in the Bundu and a Methodist missionary at Segbwema in the Kenema District (see administrative map) did very useful work among the Segbwema women when she became a member of their secret society. Although educated Protectorate Africans look upon such associations with suspicion and regard them as undue interference with native customs,
it is my conviction that if secret societies must survive in the modern world, it must become increasingly possible to use these societies as a means of promoting useful scientific knowledge in subjects like Baby-craft, Sewing Hygiene and Needle-work. If the methods of initiation are also modernised, these societies will become popular even among Creoles. Already educated Protectorate girls who join the Bundu put on shoes, use cosmetics and do their hair in an improved style copied from the Creole, when they are nearing the end of their training and can be taken round the town.

Miss Margaret Russell, then Assistant Welfare Officer, Sierra Leone, reporting on welfare work in the Bundu writes: "In 1945 seventeen Bundu camps were held. Each camp was attended by between 20 and 160 girls and lasted about eight weeks. The girls were taught physiology, sanitation, domestic science and child welfare: certain native customs, including singing and dancing were part of the daily programme. The mutual respect shown by the chief Bundu women and the young teachers to each other was good." (v) The young teachers referred to by Miss Russell are educated Protectorate girls who are members of the society and through whom the welfare work is done. To Dr Margai of the Sherbro tribe and Miss MacMath, then Senior Woman Education Officer, credit should be given for starting this welfare work in the Bundu society. Dr Margai organises a mid-wifery section and the Education Department the Domestic Science part of the course. The young instructors previously undergo a short course either in Freetown or at Moyamba (see administrative map) where the doctor resides. In September 1945 twenty-six teachers took a three months course at Bonthe, where Dr Margai then was, before they were sent to work in the camps prepared for them in the Moyamba District and they succeeded through the active support and
co-operation of the educated Paramount Chiefs of the district. The scheme is making a headway and Government is voting a substantial yearly grant towards it.

Another project of mass education is the Mende Literacy Campaign which aims at making all Mende adults literate in the vernacular. Like the welfare work in the Bundu Society, this project is regarded with suspicion by educated Protectorate natives. In a public meeting held under the auspices of a committee that has been formed to raise funds for the maintenance of Fourah Bay College as a full University College, the Rev. S.B. Caulker, a lecturer of Fourah Bay College and a native of the Protectorate is reported to have said that "only about 15,000 out of a school-age child population of about 400,000 in the Protectorate were registered in schools and that he deplored what was tantamount to an unnecessary interference by Government with native secret societies and the wastage of precious money on such interference to the unfortunate neglect of proper school education." (4)

With reference to the economic bases of life in African society Professor Westerman writes that "the Negro is a peasant; he loves the cultivation of the soil and in it finds his real occupation .... Other occupations, such as hunting and fishing, rearing cattle or plying a craft are only subsidiary to the agriculture which nourishes every household and is the foundation of all material life." (3) Again, Professor Murray in his reference to the system of land tenure in primitive society says "In primitive society there can be no such thing as ownership of land outright, any more than there can be ownership of the air or the rain. Land, air and water are the three essentials of life, and they are the property of everybody, at any rate of everybody in the tribe." (4) No description of tribal
education therefore, can be complete which makes no reference to farming activities in the Protectorate. In all tropical countries, agriculture is the economic basis of life and is an important part of the social system. In every town or village there is more than enough land for every man, woman and child in the locality and the family 'bush' is handed down from father to son and no part of it should be sold to an outsider. The story of NaBoth and King Ahab in 1 Kings 21, describes the attitude of the Protectorate native to his land, although through the Paramount Chiefs occupation rights may be granted to individuals outside the family or the tribe and even to foreigners. The land is everything to the Protectorate native and farming is a necessity for every member of the tribe. Every child has ample opportunity to do farming which is an important branch of tribal education. Just as children go to the secret society before becoming full members of the community, so they must know how to cultivate their father's farm before they receive their own 'bush'. After leaving Poro a boy must he given his own portion of land to cultivate. He will still be expected to assist in his father's farm and in the farms of other male members of the community. Labour is just as communal as land is.

The faulty methods of farming, the small size of land cultivated, the absence of modern tools of agriculture, are some of the problems which confront the child and he cannot help becoming a peasant farmer of the same type as his grandparents and his ancestors who lived many years before him. Many of the social evils which primitive methods of farming encourage are also imitated: polygamy is looked upon as an economic necessity, forced labour as a just penalty for adultery, using the children to scare birds, hunt squirrels and tread
palm nuts for the purpose of extracting oil, as a necessary part of successful farming. It is not surprising that with such a primitive system of agriculture, poverty is still general in every part of the country. Husbands can only afford to provide one or two changes of raiment for themselves and their wives and often the children have no clothing at all apart from their loin cloths. It is true that the farmer in Sierra Leone is not adequately paid for his produce. For example in Angola, an African territory under Portuguese possession, the price of palm kernels is £58 per ton approximately while in Sierra Leone, another part of the same continent, the price is between £18 and £19 per ton approximately. (5) Still, if the farmer were able to produce more and better crops, his lot, in spite of poor prices, would have been much happier. This may sound like arguing in a circle for it may be said that given the necessary impetus in better prices, the farmer would produce more. It may also be said that if the farmer must produce more, he should adopt modern methods of agriculture but this would call for a considerable amount of capital expenditure for buying tools and this he simple has not got. This vicious circle must be broken at some point and if that is done by offering better prices for the chief product of the country and at the same time asking for an improved standard of production, the results will be gratifying.

In dealing with secret societies, I refer to the experiments made to use these societies as a means of spreading mass education. It is equally true that the Government has a great opportunity with the farmers, if a clear objective in farming is first of all conceived by Government itself and then every means is used to put the ideas across to the farmers through the Government Agricultural Instructors.
That would mean not only the importation of better seeds and seedlings, but also directing collective farming, organising farmers co-operative societies and even making Government grants or loans to such societies to buy expensive agricultural machines. Mechanised farming can be done with success in Sierra Leone but until it is done, the economic future of Sierra Leone is gloomy. Tribal education in farming by the same old primitive methods will simply perpetuate what has been responsible for much widespread poverty in a country that is full of such vast agricultural potentialities.

Another side of tribal education which can be considerably improved is African art. Says Dr. Raum: "School life would be dull without art. In all tribal life, dam singing and dancing are universal, while wood-carving and the fashioning of metals, clay and fibres are almost everywhere limited to certain families and clans." Dr. Raum's idea is that African art must find a place in the curriculum of African schools if the ideal of African education is the development of African culture. It must be pointed out however that the knowledge of arts and crafts gained in tribal education either in the village, the farm or in the secret society is seldom, if ever, improved upon in the Protectorate or Colony schools. The child who has not the privilege of going to school has nothing to lose in the matter of learning useful arts and crafts. On the contrary, the school child who wishes to know much of such skilled crafts must look to his uneducated tribesmen for instruction in this branch of knowledge. I shall deal later on with this defect in the Protectorate school system. My intention here is to show the place given to arts and crafts in tribal society and to discuss ways and means of improving these skilled
crafts outside the school system.

Up to about two or three decades ago, the average adult native spent his time either out in the farm or in some other useful manual occupation. Says Dr. Westerman "Nearly every man is in his spare time hunter or fisherman; he has bags, baskets and hats to plait; nets to knit; cloth to weave and sew; there are drums, dug-outs and mortars to carve; the house has to be thatched; a few fence round the homestead to be made and a thousand other things have to be done so that work is never lacking." (7) Like other primitive tribes, the highest and best form of art is harnessed to religion. As musician, dancer or carver, the Protectorate man is at his best when engaged in these activities in connection with some religious ceremony. Herbert Read refers to this difference in primitive and modern art when he says "Artistic creation means for primitive man the avoidance of life and its arbitrariness; it means the intuitive establishment of a stable world beyond the world of appearances, in which the arbitrariness and mutability of the latter have been overcome." (8)

The average Protectorate child born of illiterate parents and living in some small isolated village, begins to acquire his knowledge of weaving, pottery and carving as early as five or seven years of age when he can imitate what the parents are doing. To begin with, the child learns how to make the loom; spin the cotton and weave the yarn into long strips of cloth. The women prepare and spin the cotton and the men weave the yarn and sew the strips into country cloths, native gowns and other articles of dress. Among the Gallinas, a tribe in the South-Western Province of the Protectorate, very beautiful designs may be seen on the cloths woven by men who
are illiterate. Referring to country cloth weaving in Sierra Leone, Dr. M.O.F. Easmon writes "They show at its best the artistic sense, the manipulative skill and the mathematical capabilities of the natives as yet illiterate, in evolving and carrying out such pleasing and complicated designs." (19)

In connection with the dying of white manufactured cotton, the native artist plays an important part. Designs are made on the cloths after they have been cut into small lengths for making different kinds of dress. These designs are rubbed with candle and then sewn and tied together with native raffia in order to keep them intact during the dying process. The material is then steeped in a native indigo dye for three or four days after which it is dried out in the sun and the raffia threads removed. The cloths are then washed and pressed in order to give them a smooth and glossy finish. This industry is more advanced in Nigeria, where it is believed to have spread into this country. The Temnes, Susus, and the Mandingoes are the leading dyers in Sierra Leone.

The illiterate Protectorate natives are, through their own initiative, improving their arts and crafts and naturally demanding higher prices for them. A large collection of baskets, mats, clay pots, wooden spoons and country cloths may be found in Freetown where they have a ready market, especially when ships call at the port. The articles are bought from different parts of the country at fairly reasonable prices and brought down to the Colony where there is always a great demand for them. It must be emphasised that handi-craft is largely a spare time occupation in Sierra Leone as is the case generally in primitive African communities.
It is undertaken between the sowing and reaping seasons. Farming work has priority and it is only the aged and weak members of the tribe who undertake handi-craft as a full time occupation. If a visit is paid to a Mende village, for example, between the hours of 9 o'clock in the morning and 3 o'clock in the afternoon, not more than half-a-dozen people will be found. These will consist of very old men and women, enfeebled by age and disease, of whom the men pass their time sitting on a hammock or lying on a floor close to a fire. Some of the men will be found weaving country cloths the cotton for which is spun by the aged female companions. The active and able-bodied men, women and children are out on the farm sowing, weeding or scaring birds. For them all forms of handi-craft must be postponed until there is some leisure from farming.

Much has been done to encourage African arts and crafts. In 1924, there was a British Empire Exhibition in Great Britain when the best products and industries from all parts of the Empire were exhibited at Wembley and representatives were sent from the different Colonies to give any explanation that may be required about the countries they represented. Sierra Leone was represented on that occasion by the then Commissioner of Lands and Forests, Mr. M.T. Dawe. About ten years ago, a committee to encourage and promote native industries in West Africa was formed at Achimota in the Gold Coast. The committee functioned for a while and a grant from the Colonial Welfare and Development Fund was made to encourage Africans to develop particular native industries. Brick making, pottery and the making of beautiful African designs were some of the industries undertaken. The craftsmen were mostly illiterates but they formed an important section of Achimota College at that time. Like other useful projects, this Gold Coast industrial effort
experienced a set-back during the last world war but it is very probable that it will receive a high priority in the Gold Coast development plans.

Boat making is the speciality of the Sherbros and the Temnes who live by the creeks. The boats are needed chiefly for the fishing industry and for trade. The fishing boats are simply hollowed out tree trunks accommodating only a few people at a time. There are however larger boats with sails made out of sawn timber. These are used by traders from Bullom and the river towns to transport native foodstuffs and passengers to Freetown. There was an industrial school at Mobe, Sherbro Islands, run by the Roman Catholics and boat building was one of the crafts in which the pupils specialised. Natives of Bonthe and York Island still make their own boats and build the framework of the launches which travel between Freetown and the Sherbro Islands.

As far as I am aware, nothing on the lines adopted in the Gold Coast has been done by the Government of Sierra Leone or by any other local body to foster the development of arts and crafts among the people. In May 1946 however, an ordinance to provide for assistance in the development of industries was passed and the Development of Industries Board was set up with funds of £10,000 for disposal. From this fund a loan of £600 was made to a building contractor in the Protectorate to assist in the setting up of a building and furniture-making business. This evidently is not the kind of assistance needed by the Protectorate natives. What is really needed is a growing interest in African arts and crafts by all those responsible for African education in Sierra Leone with a view to improving what already exists and to make it possible for children who attend school to build
on the foundation laid by their adult relations and other members of their tribe. For example, African dyes can be studied with a view to improving the colours used in weaving and designs also can be improved. One very serious difficulty experienced by the enthusiastic teacher in the Protectorate who has not previously gained a knowledge of local arts and crafts is that the illiterates are suspicious of sharing their knowledge of these skills with one who has book learning.

We must now refer to the most important part of tribal education and that is, training in the art of government. It must be admitted that when the European came to Africa, he met a form of African Government which was largely of the patriarchal type. In those days tribes migrated from one place to another in the process of raiding for cattle, crops and slaves. For example, the Temnes dispossessed the Sherbros of the Freetown peninsula long before it was acquired as a settlement for freed slaves. The Lokos, whose vernacular bears so much resemblance to that of the Mendes, are also said to have migrated from Mende country to the north where they subsequently became slaves of the Temne warriors. In these migrations, the warriors who led the parties became leaders of the 'ruling' house or principal family in the locality. In cases where the migrating tribe had no cause to fight or dispossess other tribes, the ruling house was the oldest family or the first family to settle on the land. This custom is significant because it explains why, during the election of Paramount Chiefs since the hinterland became a British Protectorate, rival candidates make it a practice to give a history of their family; how their ancestors got the land, the wars they fought and the families or tribes they dispossessed or took as slaves form the substance of their speeches during the electioneering campaign. Although their local history does not exist in written form, the children of the Protectorate gain quite an extensive knowledge of the past from their parents
and elders through oral teaching. All the members of the household sit around the fire in the evening and the oldest male person present tells the audience about the great warriors of the tribe and their achievements. In this way much valuable information is given to children and adults alike.

The curse of native rule before the advent of the European was that there were frequent inter-tribal wars and the most powerful warriors usually commanded the largest territories and owned the largest number of slaves and cattle. During the nineteenth century, many of the chiefs who were not so powerful sought the protection of the British Government against their more powerful tribal neighbours. In other cases, the British Government took the initiative in promoting friendly relationships between hostile chiefs. In each of these cases, treaties were made with the recognised rulers of the tribes. Consequently one strong claim to chieftaincy till today is that the candidate should prove that he descends from a family whose ancestors signed a treaty with the British "protectors".

In the other West African tribal communities, the natives governed themselves on a similar principle. In the Gold Coast and Nigeria, emirates and sultanates i.e. territories ruled by native chiefs were such an integral part of the structure of tribal society, that the wisest course when the British people came into authority was to accept the late Lord Lugard's doctrine of indirect rule. That meant that the few British administrators were to act as friends, advisers and supervisors of the recognised rulers of the people. The highly westernised native however sees in indirect rule a perpetuation of an unprogressive system of government for in the majority of cases the tribal rulers are illiterates. Even those who are educated are mostly of the standard
six level and very few can boast of any higher educational attainments. Beside this, as the Native Administration system in Sierra Leone has not developed to the same extent as in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, educated natives do not find much scope for service in it. It should be pointed out that Nigeria and the Gold Coast have larger chiefdoms and because they are more economically advanced, they control greater revenues. It is felt that the Native Administration system has not proved a satisfactory method of local government and Lord Hailey, the author of *An African Survey*, is at present reviewing the operation of this system of local government in East Africa and he should visit West Africa for the same purpose.

It seems therefore that just as secret societies, farming, arts and crafts are patronised more by illiterate Protectorate natives, so also for some time to come, it is the less educated native or in some cases actual illiterates who will learn the art of tribal government as an essential part of education and who will seek election as the rulers of their people. The educated native has other avenues of power and influence and he can establish himself more successfully by keeping outside tribal society. Lord Hailey, to whom I have already referred, gives an accurate picture of the present stage of Native Administration in Africa when he says: "The system makes little appeal to the growing body of educated, professional or commercial classes whose interests extend outside the tribe, clan or other organisation on which the native authority is based." (20) To the illiterate however, a good village is still a place "where the headman and the elders are respected by all." (21) So that while the educated and semi-literate natives are leaving the village to seek a fuller life in the detribalised parts of the country, the less favoured ones i.e. the illiterates, must still
sit like the early Romans at the feet of their fathers to learn African history, folklore and proverbs and to receive instruction in the art of government in preparation for the responsibility of chieftainship which they hope to assume some day.

A description of the Native Administration system in Sierra Leone will explain why it has less appeal for the educated native. Under the system, a Paramount Chief, educated or illiterate, cannot rule arbitrarily. Court sittings, for example, are regulated and are held not more than once a week; the annual tax of 9/-, which is now to be increased, is the only legitimate tax that may be made on the people by the chief and no Paramount Chief can lawfully call upon his people to pay occasional tributes as in the olden days; the Chief and his assistants are paid a monthly salary, which varies according to the size of the chiefdom and there is no compulsory labour for the chief's farm. Communal labour is allowed only for public purposes like cleaning of chiefdom roads and clearing of swamps. The Native Administration Treasury is under the dual control of the Chief and the District Commissioner, a political officer; the estimates must be approved by the District Commissioner before chiefdom money can be spent. Any Chief who is found guilty of oppression, extortion or any other form of mis-rule must lose his Staff i.e. the symbol of authority given to the Chief by Government as soon as he is elected, either for a temporary period or permanently according to the circumstances of the case. Elections are supervised by political officers and the Tribal Authorities are directed to appoint someone who is acceptable both to themselves and to Government. Where Government disagrees with the people's choice, the elders are asked to go back and think over the matter.

Joyce Carey writing on the Native Administration system says:
"Indirect Rule, like all popular successes, has now become suspect. It is said that it is merely a means of dodging responsibility for real government, that chiefs take advantage of their immunity and officials of their vicarious position." (42) In spite of this suspicion, Indirect Rule is the most successful method of local government which has yet been introduced into the various African dependencies. The Direct Rule of the Germans in Africa was the method of the conqueror and gave the governed no share in its own government. The Rule of Assimilation which is the boast of the French Colonial Administration is a heritage from the ancient Roman Empire. Every African subject according to this system can call himself a Frenchman just as Paul, the Jew of Tarsus, claimed to be a Roman citizen. Indirect Rule has done much to develop the African's faculty for government and if self-government is to be achieved as early as possible in any British Colonial dependency in Africa, the road must be through a development of the Native Administration system. To effect this, a rapid advance of African communities must be made possible through more schooling for children, spread of literacy among adults, development of mass education and social welfare schemes through the various Government departments. In short African educational institutions must increase and methods of tribal education must be improved.

Already, constitutional changes are taking place in Sierra Leone and the other West African Colonies. In the Sierra Leone Protectorate, there is provision for a District Council, giving Paramount Chiefs of the same district and other chiefdom representatives an opportunity to meet together with the District Commissioner. From each District Council, two representatives are appointed to the Protectorate Assembly which speaks for the whole of the Protectorate. In this latter body, 26 Para-
mount Chiefs represent the 13 districts of the Protectorate into which the 205 chiefdoms, 128 of which are under the Native Administration System, have been politically divided. In a recent meeting of this Assembly, Government tabled a draft of a Land Acquisition Bill for its consideration. The object of the bill was to give the central government - not the Native Administration - power to acquire land for public purposes. This bill met with such a storm of opposition from the Paramount Chiefs that Government decided to delay the passage of the bill in the Legislative Council and to send it back to the District Councils for further consideration. In the proposals for a reconstituted Legislative Council, the Protectorate Assembly is to become an electoral body for members who will represent the Protectorate. Nine elected Protectorate representatives should sit in the new council if the proposals are approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Protectorate members of the proposed Legislative Council may be literate in English or Arabic. In other words, illiterates in English may be elected. This, of course, is one of the criticisms of educated Africans against the draft proposals. The general feeling of Colony and Protectorate educated natives is that all African representatives in the council should be educated or at least be literate in English, i.e., they must have attended at least a primary school. Success in this direction will depend, however, on the efforts of all educated Sierra Leoneans and on Government. An improvement of tribal education on the lines already suggested and provision for a wide extension of schooling through central and local governments and the Christian Missions. The Ahmadiyya sect of Muslims are also engaged in education.
al work in the Protectorate and they too should be allowed to play a part in the development of Protectorate education.

In the next section, I shall show what educational facilities are available at present in the Protectorate and how much more should be provided, if the peoples of the Protectorate must make their own contribution to the development of Sierra Leone and the progress of the world in general. Later still, I shall deal with the synthesis that must take place in order that the educated westernised African may realise the importance of pulling his weight in the tribal organisation and that the more limited tribal personnel may accept without suspicion the help of their more fortunate educated brethren.

3.

With the tribal background in the Protectorate, the more westernised form of education has not yet been regarded as a necessity for all. The Protectorate child can keep away from school and yet be usefully employed on the farm, receive a fair amount of knowledge of hygiene and local history, moral instruction through story telling, dancing and singing and come to man's estate without having anything to do with the "white-man's book". Such a training however, carries with it many limitations. In the first place, it narrows the child's world just to his immediate environment. For such a child the world consists of his village, his tribe, his family and himself. Everybody outside this circle is a stranger and must be treated with fear and suspicion. This is not peculiar to Sierra Leone natives. With primitive peoples everywhere, it is not until the trader, the missionary or the political officer arrives that their world begins to expand and tribal relationships widen into inter-tribal or inter-colonial or even inter-national relationships.
It must be pointed out at this stage that the different local tribes have certain peculiarities and customs which make those who are receiving western education subjects of special study. Differences in language, secret societies, arts and crafts also reveal that in each of the principal tribes, there are forces at work which must be taken into account to assess the full value of child training in the Protectorate. For example, as was mentioned in the first chapter, among the Mendes, penitence for wrong-doing is regarded as a sign of weakness and defeat and is usually followed by a heavy penalty in the form of corporal punishment, compulsory labour or a heavy fine and no pity is shown to the guilty party. The Mende man is slow to forgive and his greatest weakness is his vindictiveness and this is one of the traits the Mende child inherits from his parents. Another weakness is the way in which members of this tribe succumb to difficulty. For example, a group of Mendes may pledge themselves to secrecy or to carry out a plot but if a little pressure is put on some member of the group, either in the nature of strong medicine or severe flogging, the plot is soon unearthed and the ring-leaders discovered. Some years ago, the boys of the Bo Government School went on strike. Among the strikers were children of different tribes. Pressure was put on the senior boys to expose the plot and it was through the Mende boys that the authorities succeeded in finding out the causes of the trouble.

The Temnes on the other hand, are not so pliable. Highly conservative in disposition, partly because they live in the remotest parts of the country where they are cut off from civilisation and partly because of Muslim influence, they have a very strong aversion to western civilisation. They show a stronger dislike for the educated members of their tribe than most other tribes do. The effects of
clan relationships are greater in Temne-land than anywhere else in the Protectorate. Consequently there are fewer churches, still fewer schools and tribal customs are the only sanctions recognised among them. For example, while it is comparatively easy to break into a secret society "bush" in Mende-land to convert it into a public thoroughfare, this cannot be attempted in Temne-land without serious consequences.

At school, teachers must take these differences into account in dealing with Mende and Temne children. I have observed that while Temne teachers get on quite easily with Mende children, very few teachers of Mende origin would welcome the idea of teaching in Temne country. In an earlier chapter, I referred to the tribes and their distribution. Speaking generally, it may be mentioned that, from personal observation, the children of the South-Eastern and South-Western Provinces conform more or less to the Mende pattern, while those in the North take after the Temne pattern. This of course takes into account, the differences which geographical and historical factors must bring about in particular chiefdoms and districts of the same province.

The question which may naturally be asked at this stage is why are there such diverse standards in education and social development between the natives of the Colony and those of the Protectorate? For example, how is it that while nearly 60 per cent. of Colony children of school age are in school, there are only 4 per cent. of Protectorate children receiving a westernised form of education? Why should the learned professions, higher appointments in Government and mercantile establishments which are open to Africans be filled largely by Colony natives even in the Protectorate? How is it that even among the aged Creoles, absolute illiteracy is unknown and the few who cannot read or
write can repeat whole passages from the Bible from memory, recite lines from popular hymns and repeat set prayers and part of the Church Catechism? Why, in short, is there so much westernisation in Freetown when many parts of the Protectorate are still undeveloped and backward? The answers to all these questions are to be found in a study of the history of the country.

In the first place, British pioneers had been operating in the Colony for about a hundred years before they turned their attention to the Protectorate. With the many inter-tribal wars of the last century, the British Government did not declare the hinterland a Protectorate till 1896. The earlier years had been spent in entering into treaty relationship with various chiefs. Missionaries had already begun to labour in the Protectorate. Men trained at Fourah Bay College as teachers and catechists had been sent to different parts of the hinterland and Protectorate natives were already attending Colony schools. For all that, when the Hut Tax War took place in 1898, Europeans, Creoles and even educated Protectorate natives were regarded as allies of the Government in "imposing" an unlawful tax on illiterate natives and therefore no one who could speak English, whether white or coloured, missionary, trader or government official, escaped death except for the few who had previous warning and who reached Freetown before the outbreak.

The 1898 War was a set-back to educational development in the Protectorate in that although the missionaries continued to labour there, the parents were most reluctant to send their children to school. Only weaklings and slaves were allowed to attend school. Favourite sons and relations remained at home and received tribal education only. This accounts for the fact that in the few cases
where educated natives wanted to become paramount chiefs, they found it difficult to succeed for they were mostly adopted sons of those whom they claimed as their fathers.

Another reason for the late development of education in the Protectorate was the difficulty of communication until about twenty years ago. The construction of the Sierra Leone Railway began in 1895 "the gauge of which is only two feet six inches since it was considered that the trade of the Colony did not justify the use of heavier rolling stock." (23) The railway reached its present terminus on the main line, Pemba, a town 227½ miles away from Freetown, in 1908. This journey, it is regrettable to say, takes two days still because the trains are slow and passenger trains do not run at night. Motor roads were not started till after the 1914 - 1918 World War. In fact, the road programme in the Protectorate started about 1928, two years after a topographical survey had been conducted. Before the motor roads were constructed, river towns like Bonthe, Sumbuya and Pujehun (see administrative map) were very important commercial centres while the greater part of the Northern Province remained in isolation. This explains why apart from the Church Missionary Society's activities at Port Loko, a creek in the Northern Province, missionary efforts were largely confined to the Southern Provinces.

As in the Colony, the Christian Missions have been largely responsible for the spread of education in the Protectorate. Whereas in the Colony, the City Council and Rural Areas Council, the local government institutions, do not "manage" schools, the Native Administrations in the Protectorate have 19 of the 187 schools. There are 4 Government schools, one of which is the only secondary boys' school in the Protectorate, 3 schools owned by the Ahmadiyya Muslims, 3 private
Unassisted schools, 71 Mission Unassisted schools and 91 Mission Assisted schools. Of these fifteen thousand odd children in these schools, over thirteen thousand are in the Mission schools. The Mission Assisted schools employ about 500 teachers, the majority of whom are uncertificated. Figures for Unassisted schools are not easily obtainable but it may be roughly estimated that in the Unassisted Mission schools, there are an additional hundred or more teachers. Despite low rates of pay, the amount spent in salaries by the Christian Missions in their Assisted schools in 1946 was nearly £17,000.

The two Christian denominations who lead in educational work in the Protectorate are the United Brethren in Christ's Mission and the Roman Catholics. Of these two, the former maintain 29 Assisted schools and the same number of Unassisted schools and the latter are responsible for 17 Assisted and 10 Unassisted schools. These are all based on the 1946 figures as they are the most recent figures available. The United Brethren in Christ's Mission began their work in Sherbro-land along the Bumpe River down to Shenge and Rotifunk and on the main railway line to Moyamba where, at present, they own the only girls' secondary school in the Protectorate; from Moyamba they spread on to Mano, Tiama and right on to the heart of Kono-land where they maintain a flourishing central school with separate boarding departments for boys and girls at Jaiama, a town 77 miles from the nearest railway station. On the railway branch line going into Temne country, this mission has educational centres also. At Bonthe in Sherbro Island, one of their oldest stations, they have a primary school of nearly 300 pupils. They also had a boys' secondary school at Shenge. This school was replaced by the Albert Academy in Freetown which became the secondary school for United Brethren in Christ Mission boys from all parts of the
The achievements of this Mission have been great. They have raised up an African ministry consisting of Protectorate natives and school teachers mostly of Protectorate origin. Consequently, they have less apprehensions about the future of their work. As an American Mission, the education they provide is partly academic and partly industrial and the many literate mechanics and artisans found in different parts of the country are mostly boys of this Mission.

The Roman Catholics and the Anglicans have followed a similar course of expansion. Starting from the Colony, they next went to Bonthe and the river towns, then to towns along the railway line and finally to towns on the motor road. It may be observed however that the Catholics have not established themselves in the Northern Province. Their only station there is in the mining town of Lunsar. The Anglicans have churches and schools in towns where there were flourishing traders from Freetown or Bonthe and their stations are mostly on the railway main line between Bauya and Pendembu. Their evangelistic and educational work is impeded by lack of funds and because about 7/8ths of their pastors are natives of the Colony who cannot speak any of the Protectorate vernaculars and so cannot cooperate effectively with the teachers who are supposed to be under their direct management. The Sierra Leone Missions, the name by which Anglican work in the Protectorate is known, is controlled from Freetown by men who do not know sufficiently of the Protectorate to do effective school or church administration. Two Protectorate natives were ordained into the Anglican Ministry about a year ago. If a few more would find their way thither, the success which is attending the work of the United Brethren in Christ's Mission, would also be experienced by the Anglican Mission. As managers of schools, Mende or Temne pastors should be successful and should exercise
greater influence than Creole pastors on parents and teachers.

The Methodists have gone to the other extreme by staffing their Mende Mission with European Missionaries. Although these Europeans overcome the language difficulty and enter into the life of the people more fully than Creole pastors they are not as a rule as successful as those pastors of the United Brethren in Christ's Mission who are Protectorate natives. In an extensive tour of the Protectorate which the writer did quite recently, he lived with Anglican, Methodist, United Brethren in Christ and American Wesleyan Missionaries. He was able to make a comparative study of the evangelistic and educational work of the Missions and after investigation he came to the conclusion that mission work in the Protectorate would thrive best under trained native leadership. If the Mende, Kono and Temne boys are given a sound Christian education up to university standard and their future partners receive an education of the same standard as Colony girls, Christian Missions in the Protectorate will have a glorious future.

The schools in the Protectorate may be divided into Infant, Standard and Secondary departments. In the big towns such as Bunumbu and Taïama, there are Mission primary schools starting at Standard I or Standard II and ending at Standard VII. These schools are called 'Central' schools and they have boarding departments. Native Administration schools begin with a class of infants whom they take up to Standard II in four years. Each year a new infant class is admitted and those who have already been under instruction are promoted. In this way the school is gradually built up. It is expected that these schools should go as far as Standard IV after which the children should pass on to Government Central Schools. The
Native Administration school at Potoru near Pujehun was one of the earliest schools started and it has reached the Standard IV level and it also runs a boarding department. Three of the Government schools are of primary standard; one of them is used as a practising school by the Njala (Government) Training College students; one is to be taken over by the Native Administration and the third which is a boarding school is to be reorganised as a proper central school starting at Standard V. Bo School (Government) and Harford Mission School are boarding schools. The former is the only secondary school for boys and the latter the only secondary school for girls in the Protectorate.

In referring to Bo School, Mr. A.K. Thula, one of the original pupils says: "One of the most outstanding achievements of the Government of Sierra Leone at the end of the first decade of the establishment of the Protectorate was the founding in 1906 of a school, situated at Bo and intended in the first instance for the sons and nominees of Protectorate Chiefs, the majority of whom had loyally assisted in the consolidation of British rule." (26) Here is a short historical account of the school by Mr. C.P. Ellis, one of its past principals. Says Mr. Ellis "Bo School was established in 1906 during the governorship of Sir Leslie Probyn and with the encouragement of the Secretary of State, the primary aim of the school being to train up a new generation of educated chiefs. The school was run most successfully for many years but it became increasingly apparent that it was not fulfilling the purpose for which it was primarily intended. In 1939 of the 252 Paramount Chiefs in the Protectorate only 20 were ex-pupils of Bo School...... For this reason the curriculum was extended in 1937 to enable boys to take the Junior Cambridge Examination.
"In 1940 it appeared that the time had come when Bo School should take a further forward step in order to fill a growing need in the Protectorate; namely the establishment of a secondary boarding school for boys. The approval of Government was obtained and the school started on its new career in February, 1941. The present aim of the school is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the boys so as to fit them practically as well as intellectually for the work of life." (37)

The fees in Protectorate schools are lower than those charged in Colony schools: the infants in the Mission Assisted schools pay 6d. a month as compared with 1s. in the Colony. Children in the standards pay between 1s. and 1s. 6d. a month as compared with 1s. 3d. and 2s. 6d. a month in the Colony. The fees in the Native Administration schools is 10s. per annum. Government day schools charge the same fee as Native Administration schools. The Government boarding school at Koyeima, a primary school, charges £5 a year including maintenance which is also the fee charged by Mission Central schools with boarding departments. The Secondary school fees are £7. 10s. per annum including maintenance at the Bo School and £10 per annum including maintenance at the Harford School. These fees, that is secondary school fees, compared with those charged in the secondary day schools in the Colony which range from £7 to £12 per annum, reveal that Protectorate boarding schools are giving almost free education. In spite of such low fees in Protectorate schools parents find it most difficult to give their children even a full primary education.

Although the percentage of children of school age in Nigeria who are actually in schools is even lower than it is in Sierra Leone yet
the following figures from the 1946 Nigeria Education Department Report may be of interest. The approximate number of children in primary schools in Nigeria in different provinces was as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Provinces</td>
<td>182,000</td>
<td>46,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Provinces</td>
<td>214,000</td>
<td>49,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Provinces</td>
<td>44,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>440,000</td>
<td>105,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The actual number of children of school age for that year is unknown but it is likely to be more than the 1942 figure which was 7½ millions.

(3) In Sierra Leone during the same period, there were 10,062 children in Colony primary schools and 15,051 in Protectorate primary schools. That was out of an estimated school population of about 100,000 children. The position in Northern Nigeria is just as unsatisfactory as it is in the Northern Province here. Developments in the Southern and Eastern Provinces of Nigeria have however been considerable probably due to the fact that the two main rivers in Nigeria, the Niger and the Benue, are navigable for very long distances whereas most of the rivers in Sierra Leone are not so. There is also a grand network of motor roads linking different parts of Nigeria with the capital and transport facilities are greater. Reference has already been made to the advanced standard of the Nigerian Native Administration. This is an additional reason for the more rapid development of education in Nigeria.

The age problem is more serious in Protectorate than in Colony schools. As most of the children emanate from 'bush' or semi-literate parents, they are not as a rule sent to school in time. In the big towns and in important mission areas the exception may be true. Although Government education authorities insist on having children of a suitable age in all Protectorate schools, the Missions, especially the Catholics...
and the United Brethren in Christ's Mission know from experience that such a restriction will not be practicable for some time to come. All children are therefore encouraged to attend school, including, those who may not be of a suitable age and Education Officers and Supervisors have since realised that the same age standards cannot now be enforced in Colony and Protectorate schools.

Education in the Protectorate has been concentrated in the Southern Provinces. The Northern Province where only about 1 per cent. of the children are in schools has hardly been touched. Speaking generally, there is an educational awakening at the present time throughout the Protectorate. The description given by Professor Westermann of the educational forces influencing the African of today summarises the situation in the Protectorate at the present time. Says Professor Westermann "Today the African youth is no longer moulded exclusively by tribal environment. A wider world is opening for him, a world shaped mainly by European activity. Sooner or later, directly or indirectly, he comes under his influence; in towns, mines, plantations, and other work centres; by every innovation in economic life and in technique; through contact with fellow workers; through direct intercourse with Europeans; and through measures passed by the administration. These are the factors that educate him and shape his life by giving him a new outlook, new standards of value and undreamt of possibilities of developing his faculties. One of these educational factors is the school." (29)
Mention must now be made of the type of school buildings provided by the different education authorities; Missions, Native Administrations and Government. It will be realised that Mission funds are limited and the development of evangelistic work has first claim on such limited financial resources. Still, almost invariably, there is a request by the Paramount Chief for a school immediately after a mission station is started in his chiefdom. In some cases the Chief may even wish the school to precede evangelistic work. In spite of all the restrictions on labour, the school building and the teachers' houses are usually erected at very small cost to the Mission as local building materials and chiefdom labour are provided free. This practice is not peculiar to Sierra Leone; Africans in Nigeria, Belgian Congo and many parts of East Africa have helped Christian Missions in a similar way to provide schools for their children. A school must be on the Government assisted list before it can receive a building grant up to 50 per cent. of its expenditure from Government. As a rule Mission schools do not begin with Government assistance so that unless the people provide local building materials and labour or, alternatively, the necessary funds, Mission authorities will not find it easy to embark on educational work in the Protectorate. Mission funds are used for paying the cost of the lease for the school and church compound, corrugated iron sheets for the roof and perhaps timber for doors and windows.

The type of buildings used by the Missions as schools is the open barri, a rectangular hall, with low walls and possibly a middle partition. This is what is often described in books on African
education as a 'bush' school. There is plenty of fresh air and during the dry season, it is an ideal school-room. During the rains, it is not so comfortable. Tornadoes i.e. strong winds often accompanied by deluging rain which are so common in Africa, cause much discomfort to the pupils. The rain drives into the building in sheets and even after the rain ceases, the class-rooms are very cold and wet. An improved pattern of building was devised by the Education Department for the Native Administration Schools and this is the standard type recommended for all Protectorate primary day schools. Instead of an open barri, the walls are raised to about 11 or 12 feet and there are a number of doors and windows in proportion to the floor space. There is a middle wall partition and each half of the building may be screened into two class-rooms, so that a building of 54½ feet by 21½ feet (external measurement) may provide for four classes. Mission schools which are already on the assisted list should be able to provide further accommodation according to this design, as half of the cost can be recovered from Government.

As a rule, schools are conducted in single-storey buildings made of mud blocks raised on cement foundations. The roof may be of 'bush' sticks or sawn timber covered with corrugated iron. In the writer's tour of the Protectorate already referred to, he visited the Native Administration and the Methodist Mission schools at Tikonko, seven miles from Bo on the motor road. The contrast between the two schools was most striking: the site chosen for the Native Administration school was on a raised ground in a central part of the town and near the main motor road; the building was larger and of a superior quality; the compound was spacious and the teacher's house was a
was a building of four rooms, something bigger than what Mission teachers have; the equipment and furniture in the chiefdom school were adequate and the children were looking very smart in their school uniform. No Mission will be able to maintain its primary schools on such a scale and yet the Tikonko Native Administration school provided what may be regarded as minimum requirements for running a good infant department of only two classes.

This difference in quality of building and equipment will continue unless Government provides greater financial assistance to Mission primary schools. The Missions are already spending their utmost on education whereas Native Administrations can still vote a little more from their revenue. With the rising costs in running primary and secondary schools, Mission institutions must give way sooner or later to those run by the Native Administrations and this will only be repeating what has happened in England in the 19th and 20th centuries. (cf. New Education Act 1944). Education is the responsibility of the state. Local Governments are a part of the state and they should rightly play a leading part in the maintenance and control of education.

5.

We must now ascertain whether the Protectorate schools are repeating the mistake of the Colony schools in the matter of curriculum: whether the type of education given in what is essentially a rural community is as academic as what the city and Colony village schools provide. In the Nigeria Ten Year Educational Plan, reference is made to a "Memorandum on Education policy for Elementary Rural Schools and New Middle and Secondary Schools" prepared by Mr. C.R. Butler, O.B.E., then Acting Director of Education of that
dependency. Writing on the type of education suited to the needs of the country, Mr. Butler states "In order to prevent the drift of semi-literates to the towns, the first consideration is to provide elementary education in the villages with a strong rural bias suited to the environment and local needs of the neighbourhood. The aim will be to provide the village child with such an education as will enable him to become a more useful member of the village whether as a farmer or a craftsman." (31) This relation of the curriculum to the needs of the community is always advocated in theory by educationists in West Africa but the practice is to provide a type of primary and secondary education more suitable for the clerical service and the learned professions: the type of education which in the past in India or in Britain turned university graduates into newspaper sellers when they could not be absorbed by the Civil Service.

With the tendency in British West African Colonies to make conditions of service in Government and commercial firms more satisfactory for clerks than for technical workers, the aim of the average schoolboy even in a 'bush' school is to go from one institution to another until he obtains the Cambridge School Certificate or some similar paper qualification that will fit him for a clerkship in the Civil Service. In the Nigeria Ten Year Educational Plan already referred to, it is stated that "unfortunately secondary education is regarded primarily as a means of entering Government service and principally the clerical service. Unless the secondary schoolboy is willing to take up other types of employment, and the syllabus of these schools is modified to meet the needs for expanding
secondary education, disillusionment and unemployment will result." This also describes the danger for the average Protectorate boy in a secondary school. In Sierra Leone there are numbers of cases where men who have been trained as teachers or agriculturists give up these professions afterwards in favour of a clerkship. Going to a teacher training or an agricultural training college is regarded by some Protectorate boys as a means of getting free post-primary education which will eventually enable them to qualify as clerks.

Apart from the industrial type of education given by the United Brethren in Christ's Mission in their schools at Taiama and at Jaiama, the curriculum in Protectorate primary and secondary schools follows largely the Colony model. To refer again to my educational visit, I saw the two centres of industrial education named above and I found that the training in agriculture, tailoring, building, carpentry and weaving was given is such a way that the boys made them their vocation after school days. At Jaiama, I saw carpenters who received all their training in carpentry in the Jaiama Central School. I also met a tailor at Taiama, who after receiving his foundation in that school went down to Freetown to complete his training and returned to the school as the master in charge of tailoring. As part of the school routine in these two schools, a class spends every other day out of doors doing industrial work so that at least two full days are devoted to such work by each class. I discovered however that when the pupils got to standard VI, they spent less time on industrial work because they needed more time to prepare for the First School Leaving Examination, the same examination as is given in Colony schools, the subjects for which are
Arithmetic, English, Geography, History and Nature Study. This I regard as a defect in the school system. The school authorities should ask the Education Department to provide a public examination of an industrial kind in the special activities in which the pupils have been trained. Certificates given to successful candidates would serve as professional certificates or diplomas and they would give pupils a greater love for their special crafts. To spend five years in industrial work and attempt to switch over to a more academic type of work in the sixth year will give pupils neither the First School Leaving Certificate nor that high level of attainment in industrial subjects in their final year.

In the other primary schools I visited, the usual school subjects were taught daily. The time table provided for Arithmetic, English, History, Geography, Nature Study, Hygiene, Religious Knowledge and Physical Training. Singing, Drawing and Handwork, where taught, were not given as much attention or taught with as much efficiency as the 'public examination' subjects. This is a deplorable state of affairs in a country which is so dependent on its crafts and which loves to spend its leisure time in singing.

However much schools in the Protectorate wish to follow an academic type of education, heads of boarding schools must demand some manual labour from their pupils as it will be most difficult to maintain them otherwise; it will be realised that the fees charged for maintenance are much below the present cost of living. This will therefore explain why although on the whole, pupils in Protectorate schools must engage in manual occupations, those who are not doing this as part of an industrial or vocational training, quickly forget all about it as soon as the necessity for such a kind of work no longer exists. Something must be
done to correct this defect so that the average educated
Protectorate child will teach others by example the 'dignity of
labour', however high he may climb up the professional or social
ladder. Manual training which is entirely determined by limited
finance is apt to be far too much of the routine type and it
fails to give opportunities for initiative for creative expression
such as would enrich the whole community when its educational
administrators recognise these values. I do not want to decry
the value which accrues from the fact that, when children are
responsible to a certain extent for the running of the school,
they feel especially that it is their own valued possession.

Apart from producing misfits in a fundamentally agricultural
community, an academic curriculum is making Protectorate education
more expensive than it might otherwise be; it is widening the
gulf between the parents and their children; it is failing to
provide a training which will best fit the majority of children
for their adult life and it is also not adequately providing for
the few who will eventually need higher education. Where greater
emphasis is laid on agriculture and industrial training, the
pupils can be taught to grow and make things on a scale that by
increasing the revenue of the school will make up for any reduction
in fees. The average Protectorate parent is a peasant farmer whose
income as I have said before is not more than £20 or £30 a year.
The most that such a parent can give his child is primary education.
The children who attend Mission Central schools or primary day
schools which are far removed from their home towns do not get much
help from parents just because the parents are poor. Apart from
going home for the weekly supply of food every Saturday, children
have to depend on guardians or on their small earnings for odd jobs done after school hours, for the cost of their education. I knew a boy who went to the bush every day after school to get fire-wood which he sold to provide himself with school fees, food and clothing.

A former Director of Education, Sierra Leone, in framing a policy of education for the Protectorate wrote: "There will be, I think, no dispute that the objects of Government should be firstly the dissemination of elementary instruction as widely as possible and secondly the provision of facilities for secondary education for those who are likely to profit therefrom. In both cases practical subjects and particularly agriculture should form essential parts of curriculum." (32) Until the economic condition of the Protectorate improves, schools of the Penn School type, St. Helena Island, U.S.A., would be the most suitable. In addition to the usual school subjects, agriculture and industry play a very important part in the Penn School curriculum; there is a programme of community development where what is learnt at school is demonstrated in the community and teachers actually go home with their pupils to carry out this community service. The school is so run that apart from the 5 dollars paid as entrance fee, no fees are charged.

The Bo Government School and the Harford(Girls)School at Moyamba are, as I have said, the only secondary schools in the Protectorate but as these schools were in reality primary schools until a few years ago, they very largely continued to teach subjects which they had been teaching before. For example, at the Harford School no foreign language is taught and no science subject
besides Domestic Science. At Bo School, Algebra, Geometry and Biology are the only new subjects taught in the secondary classes. I understand that General Science is to be introduced shortly in addition to or as an alternative to Biology. These two schools still have primary classes and there are members on their staff who are not qualified for secondary school work. Bo School has university graduates including the Principal. Although these two schools prepare their pupils for Cambridge examinations, yet because of this defect in the curriculum the pupils cannot be selected straight from the Protectorate for further education.

To show the serious effect of a defective and limited curriculum in Protectorate secondary schools, here are some examples of what has been taking place. Two boys offered for teaching in 1944 after passing the Cambridge School Certificate examination. Both of them had a grade III pass and one of the two had exemption from London Matriculation without a foreign language. A third boy wanted to do engineering but he had done no science just as the two had done no language. The engineering student was sent to the Prince of Wales School for a preliminary course in science. This he did for nearly two years before, unfortunately, he had a mental breakdown and he had to go home. One of the two students who wanted to teach was also sent to the Prince of Wales School to do Latin for two years after which he matriculated and entered Fourah Bay College. The second student who wanted to teach is only now beginning a science course at the same school as the other two and he is preparing for the Higher School Certificate examination.

The Port Loko district Chiefs awarded a scholarship just over
a year ago to a pupil of Bo School. This student could not proceed straight to a medical school in the United Kingdom even though he had passed the Cambridge School Certificate examination. Science again was the difficulty. He too is only now beginning a science course at the Prince of Wales School as a preliminary to his medical studies. The most recent case is that of a pupil who was the only grade I candidate in Sierra Leone in the 1946 Cambridge examinations. He too is studying Latin privately to enter Fomrah Bay College for an Arts degree. The Paramount Chiefs are very worried over this difficulty of a restricted curriculum but Government can do nothing until qualified specialist masters can be found to teach the necessary subjects. A science master has recently been posted to Bo School and a master for classics will be appointed as soon as one is available. The Harford school hopes to improve its staff in a similar way.

In both Colony and Protectorate secondary schools, oral and written French should be a subject of the curriculum. The British and French possessions in West Africa are contiguous and it is necessary for residents in either group to learn the language of its neighbour. There is the possibility of greater commercial and political activity between English and French subjects and a knowledge of French will enable Sierra Leoneans to be of service to their fellow Africans in French Guinea and Senegal.

If only these weaknesses in curriculum in the primary and secondary schools could be eliminated, the Protectorate children could compete with Colony children for appointments in Government or mercantile clerical service, they could be successful artisans and could also be trained successfully as primary school teachers.
Added to this, if only Protectorate children were given a systematic training in practical agriculture the schools would produce educated natives who would return to the land, live among their own people and thus enlighten them. With the development of local government in the Protectorate, there is scope for educated natives in the chiefdoms. Even if these natives serve as chiefdom clerks, teachers in Native Administration schools, medical attendants or agricultural instructors, they will improve their chiefdoms by applying to their home conditions the improved methods of living they have learnt at school. This, of course, assumes that they will enjoy the confidence and cooperation of the Paramount Chiefs, the Tribal Authorities and the other adult members of their society.

I should also state that Sierra Leone is primarily an agricultural country and the products from the land can be of more economic value if secondary industries are started. The children who will play an important part in this economic development are now in school and in the language of the late Doctor Aggrey of Africa, I would say, Protectorate children like those in other parts of West Africa must have "not less classes but more science," not science in the limited sense of Cambridge School Certificate Chemistry and Physics but the science that will give Sierra Leone expert technicians, industrialists and farmers.

With regard to the curriculum in the girls' schools, the subjects taught should be both practical and of a high academic standard. For example, some research should be made on local foodstuffs and their preparation in connection with the teaching of Domestic Science. Hygiene and Needle-work should be more generally taught than at present. The future usefulness of the educated Protectorate woman
will depend on the type of training she receives and if she is to take her rightful place in Protectorate society, a curriculum related to modern needs should also be designed for her.

6.

According to the 1946 figures, the number of teachers employed in Mission schools in the Protectorate was 480; Native Administrations employed 22 teachers in their 13 schools and the 4 Government schools had about 30 teachers. If this total of about 540 teachers represents the number of teachers responsible for the teaching of over 15 thousand children, the average approximately will be 1 teacher for every 30 pupils. From this one may be tempted to conclude that the Protectorate schools are adequately staffed. When other factors like the uneven distribution of pupils in the classes and the qualification of the present teachers are taken into consideration, it becomes clear that the position is far from satisfactory. The Director of Education has said in his educational development proposals that even to increase the school population up to 20 thousand and to replace unqualified and unsatisfactory teachers, the training colleges and Fourah Bay Training Department must send out at least 50 trained teachers every year for the Protectorate alone.

The Mission schools have many teachers without paper qualifications. The present head teachers of two leading 'central' schools in the Protectorate are uncertificated. At least 75 per cent. of the Mission schools, especially those belonging to the Roman Catholics and the United Brethren in Christ, are in charge of teachers who are not holders of the Government Teachers' certificate. Training colleges in the Protectorate are creations of less than
two decades ago and the awarding of a lower grade certificate known as the Elementary Teachers' certificate to Protectorate training college students began less than ten years ago. Many of the older teachers had to prepare privately in their own spare time for the Teachers' Certificate examination and in the absence of regular refresher courses until two years ago when the Sierra Leone Protectorate Teachers' Union started such a course, those offering for that examination did their preparation with much difficulty. With the increase of certificated teachers in the schools, which is largely due to the successful work of the teacher training colleges, unqualified head teachers and assistant teachers are doing their utmost to get a professional qualification.

Certificated teachers in Assisted schools up to 1945 were given an annual grant of £20 by Government in addition to whatever salaries the Missions paid. These conditions improved in 1946 when Government paid up to 75% of the salaries of all certificated teachers in Assisted primary schools on a salary scale which was the same as the Government teachers' scale. The Board of Education has recommended that Government should pay 100% of the salaries of certificated teachers in primary schools and 75% of those in secondary schools. The aim of the Director of Education and the heads of Missions is to staff all their schools with trained and certificated teachers who at least hold the Elementary Certificate.

The provision made in the Protectorate for the realisation of this aim and the steps which are being taken for the development of teacher training may now be examined. In 1928, an elaborate scheme for the development of Protectorate education was drawn up by the Director of Education, Mr H.S. Keigwin. The scheme was originally estimated to cost £27,000 in 1929 rising to £40,000
1933. It was to include a central Protectorate college with a department for the training of teachers. Referring to this scheme in Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1937: Educational Policy in the Protectorate, Mr W.E.Nicholson then Director of Education writes: "The complete scheme was too expensive for the financial resources of the country and the only part of it to be implemented was the establishment of the Protectorate College at Koyeima (only 22 miles from Bo) in 1929. Njala College was closed down in consequence and unfortunately Koyeima came to grief in 1930 and was itself closed too." Before the Koyeima College experiment was made, the only teacher training centre in the Protectorate was at Njala, where attempts had been made to train teachers. From 1919 to 1925 the college produced only eight teachers who were used to staff six Government rural schools. The syllabus and scope of the college were improved in 1925 but when Koyeima was established in 1929, Njala had to close down as stated above. Ten years later, Government reopened Njala as a training college for Native Administration school teachers and Government Agricultural instructors. The college has been running successfully for eight years but Government is hoping to expand the scope and size of it. Njala on a new site, Magburaka, is to become the Government College in the Protectorate for teachers, agricultural instructors, forest rangers and other technical students and its establishment is contemplated under the Sierra Leone ten year development plan.

The limitation of the Njala trained teacher is that his academic standard of education is low. He is admitted to the college at standard six level, trained for two years in academic and professional subjects and then sent out to teach in infant classes and the lower standards of primary school. Courses are provided in English Language
including phonetics, Arithmetic including practical work, Nature Study including school gardening, Hygiene including first aid and physical training, Handwork including drawing, History and Geography, Methods and Principles of Education. At the end of the course, successful students are awarded the Government Elementary Certificate.

The course in the other Protectorate teacher training colleges is the same in standard as that of Njala save that the training at Bunumbu lasts three years and Religious Knowledge is a subject of the curriculum. The Bunumbu Union College was established in 1933 to train teachers and catechists for the cooperating Missions running the institution. In 1937, the then Director of Education in his attempt to withhold financial support from the Bunumbu Union College stated: "It is a matter for consideration whether Government may properly give financial assistance to a scheme for proselytisation in combination with educational development. Even were it to do so, it is improbable that the institution would appeal to Catholic or Mohammedan candidates." (33) This attitude of the Director could not be reconciled with the liberal support which other West African Governments were giving to Mission teacher training colleges. The claim of Christian religious bodies to train the teachers who are to teach in their schools and to have a hand in the training of teachers generally is explained in the History of English Elementary Education by Frank Smith. The opposition to the establishment of a state "Normal" school in the 19th century in England was "so great and so heated that the Government withdrew the scheme within less than two months after its publication by the Committee," and concentrated entirely on supporting institutions with a sectarian bias. (34) In Nigeria, the Missions have flourishing teacher training colleges at centres like Oyo, Uzuakoli, Ibadan and Awka. Not long after,
the Director's attitude to Bunumbu changed probably because the Roman Catholics also came into the field. When the Roman Catholics began their own college, they got Government to support the institution financially from the very first year of its foundation in 1942. This college is situated at Bo and its scope of work is the same as that of Bunumbu and Njala with the exception of the great importance attached to Religious Instruction.

The three training colleges are now working for a common Government certificate, the Elementary Certificate to which I have already referred. Each college is made to draw up its own syllabus and to submit it to the Educational Department for approval. With a view to qualifying for a higher salary, a few students from these training colleges prepare privately for two or three years after leaving college for the Teachers' Certificate examination. The subjects required for this examination are the same as those taken at college but the standard is considerably higher. A few have obtained the Teachers' Certificate in this way. Together, these three colleges are turning out on an average about 40 teachers annually. The efficiency of Bunumbu and Bo Catholic Colleges has been increased.

A grant of £26,000 for six years has been obtained for the former and £15,000 for the same period for the later from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Bunumbu serves all the leading protestant Missions in the Protectorate and it therefore has a considerably larger student roll than the Bo Catholic College. The American Wesleyan Mission had a training college at Gbendembu (22 miles west of Makeni on the motor road) but they have decided to transfer their students to Bunumbu as they feel the work can be more efficiently and more economically done there. The Church of England Mission recently seconded a female missionary to Bunumbu so that female...
teachers for Mission schools might also be trained there.

I had the opportunity of spending a week-end with the Principal of Bunumbu College, Rev W. E. Prickett, and I was able to see this institution at work. My impressions were most favourable. The lay-out of the compound is beautiful and three sides of the quadrangle, east, west and north, contain well-built houses which are used as lecture rooms, chapel, student dormitories and masters' quarters. Each cooperating Mission provides a "white" Missionary on the staff or pays £450 per annum in lieu of this provision. Other members of the staff are paid from the revenue of the college which includes the yearly grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund on the basis of £45 per annum per student and £7 per annum per student from each cooperating Mission. The college has an agricultural section under the management of an African trained in America. A section for training teachers in designing and erecting buildings and in furniture making would increase the usefulness of the college course. I should state that none of the training colleges provides such a section.

If the position with regard to qualified male teachers has been unsatisfactory, that with regard to female teachers has been more so. To begin with, the percentage of girls in Protectorate schools is low. Referring to the small number of girls in these schools, the Director of Education says "Unless within the next few years, we can materially improve the position regarding the number of girls in our schools, we shall merely be building up a very lop-sided and inefficient system of education. " (55) To account for this defect in Protectorate education, we must remember that in primitive society, women are given a lower status than men. In the West African Coast towns, African women are demanding equality with men by proving that intellectually,
at least, they are not inferior to men. Still the complete emancipation of women such as is known in civilised countries is yet a far cry in tribal African communities. It should therefore not be surprising that it was only in 1942 that a teacher training scheme for Protectorate girls started. The scheme is a one year course taken in Freetown. The girls are housed in a hostel on the Fourah Bay College compound but they are under the exclusive management of the Education Department. Although they live in the college compound, they do not share in the lecture programme of the college or in the social activities of the students; in fact, all contacts with the University College and even its teacher training department are discouraged. A course in Infant Method, Domestic Science and in the teaching of the lower standards in primary schools is arranged by the Department. Most of the students are selected from Harford School, Moyamba. In several cases where the girls are too young for training, they are given scholarships to secondary schools in Freetown prior to training.

An experiment was made a few years ago to admit a girl who had reached the highest form at Harford into the then Women Teachers' Training College, now amalgamated with the Teacher Training Department at Fourah Bay, where the standard of entrance was Junior Cambridge certificate. This girl naturally found difficulty with her academic work, although she did very well in her practical teaching. The result was that she left college without a teachers' certificate.* Until Protectorate girls with at least Junior Cambridge Certificate for which Harford girls now prepare, offer for teaching, this special one year course which could be successfully lengthened to two years and the course for girls at Bumumbu which is just being started

* Since writing this, six Protectorate girls who had just taken the Junior Cambridge have been admitted to the Fourah Bay College Teacher Training Department.
are about the best training present recruits can receive. The existence of a Lady Education Officer in Bo is also of considerable advantage to female teachers in the Protectorate. This officer makes frequent visits to the schools and she gives expert guidance to both trained and untrained teachers. As far as I am aware, there are no certificated female teachers in Protectorate primary schools. At Bonthe and Moyamba, the United Brethren in Christ and the Roman Catholic Central Schools have one or two girls who have taken the Fourah Bay College Teacher Training course, but they have not succeeded in passing the Certificate Examination.

The demand for education in the Protectorate is already becoming as great as it is in the Colony and the sum-total of what the Paramount Chiefs said in their 1947 Protectorate Assembly meeting regarding education was "Give us more schools and better qualified teachers."

The plan of educational development in the Protectorate makes provision for these two essentials but, quite naturally, lays the emphasis on teacher training. The Magburaka Training College scheme to which I have already referred should include a teacher training department which will train teachers to teach up to the highest classes in primary and central schools. Magburaka will cater for the two types of teachers now being trained at Njala and Fourah Bay. To avoid duplication of work, Njala will close down as soon as Magburaka is started and all teacher training for Government and Native Administration schools in the Protectorate will be done in this new college. Such, at least, is the scheme!

There is a feeling among educated Africans that teacher training for both the Colony and the Protectorate should be done at Fourah Bay College. Although the claims of such people have a precedent in the United Kingdom where it is maintained that teacher training colleges
colleges should be associated with universities or actually be departments of such universities, it is doubtful whether even for the Colony primary schools, Fourah Bay will be the teacher training centre. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. A. Creech Jones, has approved of the establishment of regional colleges in Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Nigeria. According to his despatch "the functions of these regional colleges would include the training of non-graduate teachers for secondary schools" (36) From the remarks of the Director of Education in the Protectorate Assembly meeting referred to above, the work of the normal department at Fourah Bay may be taken over by the regional college when the later is established. Sierra Leoneans are against the establishment of a regional college except as a technical college and they are strongly opposed to the idea of teacher training being one of its functions. It is maintained that while Fourah Bay lasts as a full university college, the normal department must be kept within her walls.

Anyway all this relates to the future. At present, teacher training for both primary and secondary schools in the Colony and Protectorate is being successfully done at Fourah Bay. Both in the university and normal departments, there are students in training for Protectorate schools and the University Diploma course which has been in abeyance during the war years is to be re-started in October 1948.

As I said in the section on teacher training in the Colony, until conditions of service for teachers improve, recruits of the right standard will not be forthcoming. Even now there is a disparity in salary scales between agricultural and teaching students of similar academic and professional standards of qualification, trained at Njala. Their educational standard on admission is
standard six (primary school); the teacher-training student receives two years' training and the agricultural student three years; at the end of the training, the latter student is appointed at an initial salary of £84 per annum while the former student is given a start of £54 per annum. Further the agricultural student gets a pensionable job in Government service after training and he can rise steadily without further academic or professional qualification to £480 per annum; the teaching student is appointed to a Native Administration school without any rights of pension.

It is true that teaching is still the "Cinderella" of the professions in many parts of the world but in a community like Sierra Leone with such a high percentage of illiterates, estimated roughly at over 50% in the Colony and over 90% in the Protectorate, everything should be speedily done to give teachers all the encouragement they deserve.

A revision of teachers salaries is receiving the consideration of Government at the present time. The details of the scheme are unknown to teachers but it is hoped that they will have some relief from the present very serious economic strain and be given adequate financial means to maintain their rightful place in society. If the scales are satisfactory, teachers will measure up to the qualification requirements laid down and the response to applications for teacher training will be more satisfactory than it is at present.
Chapter IV.

The Administration of Education.

In the Colony, there is a system of dual control in the Assisted primary schools as provided for in the Amalgamation Scheme to which I have already referred. In theory, the schools should be "managed" through local school boards by the various Missions owning the school buildings and only equipment and teachers' salaries should be provided by Government. "In practice, however, the amalgamated schools are controlled and run by Government; the school boards being pretty well 'dead letters' ")

(i) Government not only appoints the staff, pays their salaries and provides all equipment, but also receives the school fees (about one-seventh of the cost of running the schools) which are paid into Government revenue. With very few exceptions, the Missions have neither improved their buildings nor kept them in good repair. They maintain that Government pays no rent for the buildings, that school boards have little or no revenue and that real control of the schools rests with Government. None of these excuses can bear close scrutiny. The intention of Mr. Keigwin in 1929 was that Government and Missions should share the burden of administering primary education. The school buildings are still being used for church meetings and it is unreasonable to expect rents from Government for buildings many of which are in such a deplorable condition.

There are no Municipal or Rural Area schools. The Kroos are the only tribe in Freetown who provide and maintain their own primary school. The Protectorate children in Freetown attend the amalgamated and private schools. Government is willing to build schools if the Municipal Council is prepared to maintain them. Until such schools are provided, the problem of lack of accommodation in the Colony primary schools will
not be satisfactorily solved. There is no reason also why the Mende, Temne and Foulah tribal communities should not follow the example set by the Kroos by providing schools which could later receive Government assistance.

The secondary schools are mostly Mission Assisted schools conducted by the Missions themselves through school boards or committees. Some school boards have executive powers whereas others serve in an advisory capacity. The members of the board are mostly influential church members or past pupils with no experience in the administration of education. The principals are usually ordained minister or lay missionaries appointed by the Missionary society in Britain or America or by the local church. Their chief problem is how to be allowed complete freedom in the administration of their schools and at the same time get the fullest cooperation of their committees. For example, no heavy expenditure can be made or new policy introduced without the committees approval. There is only one Government secondary school i.e. the Prince of Wales School which is under the control of the Director of Education to whom the principal is directly responsible.

When we turn to the Protectorate, we find a system of administration which is carried out by Government, Missions and the Native Administration. From the fact that there are three different bodies owning schools in the Protectorate, excluding the Ahmadiyya Mission, it must be expected that these bodies should assume a fair share in the burden of administration. All Mission schools, for example, are administered by their respective heads of Missions who delegate some of their authority to their local pastors and ministers as managers. The teachers are under the direct control of these managers and their appointments, transfers and receiving of increments are arranged by them with the assistance of advisory
school committees. All communications with the Education Department must be done by these managers who are officially known as "correspondents".

Ministers in charge of large churches and districts are unable to do effective supervision of schools and one Mission at least, the United Brethren in Christ's Mission, has supervising teachers for that purpose. Even this arrangement is not quite satisfactory as their schools are scattered all over the Protectorate and to visit them all regularly entails much travelling. The Methodist Mission is also anxious to have its own supervisors, especially for the schools around Bunumbu, where the Training College is situated. In the Church of England and the other Missions who have fewer schools, the heads of the Missions make regular visits to their schools and help the managers with building programmes or in providing equipment. It has been accepted in principle by all the Missions represented on the United Christian Council that there is an urgent need for paid educational secretaries and supervising teachers for Mission Protectorate schools. This need has been felt all the more because with the acute shortage of staff in the Education Department, inspection or supervision visits from the Department are very few and far between. It will also be in keeping with Mission educational practice in the Gold Coast and Nigeria to make such appointments.

Just as the Mission schools are "managed" by the heads of Missions or their representatives, so are the Native Administration schools under Paramount Chiefs and their Tribal Authorities. These Chiefs acting under the direction of the District Commissioners are the official managers and they are expected to undertake responsibilities similar to those assumed by the managers of Mission schools. In practice, however, the
schools are run by the Senior Education Officer, Protectorate, and the District Commissioners. The Chief who may be an illiterate is referred to when new school buildings are to be put up or some repairs to be done and chiefdom labour is required. He is also responsible for seeing that the children of his chiefdom are given priority during the admission of new pupils as overcrowding is not encouraged. Although Native Administration schools are Assisted schools, they receive as much supervision from Government as if they were Government schools. Perhaps this cannot be helped while local government in Sierra Leone Protectorate is still in its infancy. Up to the present, only 128 out of 205 chiefdoms are under the Native Administration and only 19 of these chiefdoms have schools. As in other parts of West Africa, it is felt that Native Administration schools are the hope of the future.

As has happened in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, it is felt that as local government develops in Sierra Leone, the Municipal and Rural Areas Councils in the Colony and the Native Administrations in the Protectorate, must assume a correspondingly increasing responsibility in education.

Government schools are directly under the control of the Director of Education. The teachers are civil servants and the school buildings are the property of Government. In the Colony, the teachers in the two Government primary schools are under a different arrangement and they are not civil servants but merely "employees" of Government. The Director is assisted by Senior Education Officers in the Colony and the Protectorate in the running of the Government primary schools. The secondary schools and the Training College at Njala however have specially appointed Principals who exercise authority on behalf of the Director. However no member of staff can be appointed to a Govern-
ment secondary school by the principal. The appointment must be
made by the Director of Education and with the approval of Government.

Something must now be said about the decentralisation of
education in the Colony and Protectorate. Before 1936, there was no
decentralisation in the administration of Protectorate education.
The Director and his administrative staff which then consisted of
1 Superintendent of Education, 1 Supervisor of Infant and Female
Education, 1 African Assistant Director of Education and 2 Inspectors
of Schools, supervised and controlled all education from Freetown. (2)

There were then 15 Assisted and 14 Unassisted schools in the Northern
Province, 55 Assisted and 75 Unassisted schools in the Southern
Province, 3 Government schools and no Native Administration schools.

(3) Mr. W.E. Nicholson who was then Director of Education realised
that a start in decentralisation was overdue, at least in the Southern
Province. Today there is a Protectorate Education office at Bo, at
the head of which is the Senior Education Officer, Protectorate. This
officer advises the Director on all matters relating to education in
the Protectorate. He is in charge of the Government primary and
central schools, he exercises general supervision over the Native
Administration schools and he should inspect all Mission Assisted and
Unassisted schools. He is assisted by a Lady Education Officer who
in all purely professional matters relating to Infant and female
education refers to the Senior Lady Education Officer in Freetown, and
2 Inspectors of Schools (one of whom is at present seconded to Njala
Training College). In the Colony, a similar system was introduced
in 1947 by the establishment of a Colony Education office at the head
of which is the Senior Education Officer, Colony. He is assisted by
an Education Officer, 2 Lady Education Officers and 2 Lady Supervising
Teachers. This arrangement leaves the Director free to deal with matters of major educational policy at headquarters where he is assisted by a Principal Education Officer, a Senior Lady Education Officer and an Assistant Director of Education.

Reference has already been made to the fees charged in Colony and Protectorate schools. With the present fees, none of the Mission schools can do without a Government grant-in-aid. Under the Capitation grant system which was in operation until 1944, Government based its grants to Assisted schools on the "payment by result" system. According to the 1934 Education Department Report, the following rates were paid: an infant school graded "fair" received 7s. 6d. per pupil, "very fair" 10s. per pupil and "good" 15s. per pupil; in the primary standards the corresponding rates were 12s. 6d., 17s. 6d. and 22s. 6d. respectively. In secondary schools a school graded "good" received 50s. per pupil for the first and second year classes and 70s. per pupil for the third and fourth year classes; "very good" in the third and fourth year classes was 80s. per pupil. The third year class was then supposed to be the Cambridge Junior class and the fourth year the School Certificate class. In industrial schools, the rates varied from 30s. per pupil in the first year to 80s. per pupil in the fourth year. Qualified teachers also received annual personal grants varying from £20 per annum for a the Government Teachers' Certificate to £60 per annum for a University degree and Teaching diploma.

School grants are now made on the "block" grant system where the school receives from Government a certain percentage of its annual expenditure, the percentage being determined by the Education Department's grading after inspection. This system which is so
recent in Sierra Leone is quite old and familiar in Nigeria. In 1946, Government paid up to 75 per cent. of school expenditure to primary schools and 50 per cent. to secondary schools. As I have already stated, it is now being proposed that in both Colony and Protectorate Assisted schools, Government should pay up to 100 per cent. of teachers' salary in primary schools where such teachers are qualified and up to 75 per cent. in secondary schools. The Director also feels that the salary scales in Government and Assisted schools should be the same for teachers with similar qualifications holding posts of comparable responsibility. Building and equipment grants are still being awarded on a percentage basis which is 50 per cent. of the cost.

With the amount of financial aid given by Government to Colony and Protectorate Assisted schools it is reasonable to expect a very great measure of supervision from the Department. Steps are already being taken to increase the administrative staff and to carry the principle of decentralisation a stage further by starting an education office in the Northern Province. As yet there are practically no educational facilities in that province and the establishment of such an office might be a prelude to the expansion of education there. There may also be a second education office at Kenema in the Southern Province.

There is a Board of Education on which heads of Missions, the Freetown Municipal Council, the Native Administration and other bodies interested in education are represented. This Board advises the Director on matters of general policy and there is also a Colony Education Committee for matters specifically relating to the Colony. There is also a Protectorate Education Committee to advise the
Director through the Senior Education Officer, Protectorate, on Protectorate education.

It cannot be denied that there is some justification for the prevalent feeling among educated Sierra Leoneans that the administration is over-weighted when it is compared with the number of children in schools. At the same time, as I have already pointed out, the present administrative staff of the Education Department is unable to cope with the amount of inspection needed in existing schools. The only way therefore in which an adequate administrative staff can be maintained and more school buildings and qualified teachers be provided is by increasing the number of trained African personnel in the Education Department as they become available. Otherwise, whilst the administrative costs are so high, the chances of expanding education will be very remote indeed.

A system of education administered jointly by Government and Local Education Authorities as is the practice in Britain will, in the long run, be the best plan for Sierra Leone. The Director of Education will control such a system through regular inspection and supervision visits to the schools by members of his department. Such inspectors will correspond with His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools in Britain and Local Education Authorities must also provide their own supervisors and visiting teachers. Education under such a system should be financed by central and local government funds in almost equal proportions. Until such a stage is reached, however, the efforts of voluntary agencies e.g. Missions and private individuals, should be encouraged by Government and there should be the
fullest co-operation and understanding between Government and these bodies. The Municipal and Rural Areas Councils will ultimately become the Local Education Authorities in the Colony and the Native Administrations should act in a similar capacity in the Protectorate. Christian Missions may also be allowed to run as many schools as they can efficiently administer.
Chapter IV
Problems of Child Training.

1.

I have already referred rather generally to some of the problems of child training. I shall now discuss in detail the problems which arise out of the religion, language and other peculiarities of local society. In dealing with religion it must be realised that taking Sierra Leone as a whole, Islam or Mohammedanism is the religion with the greatest number of followers. The Islamic faith has been firmly laid in the Northern Province among the Temnes, Mandingoes and Kurankos. The Susus, being so near French Guinea have also embraced this religion through influence of the Guinea traders. In the Southern Provinces the Gallinas are the only devout followers of the faith. In the Colony, Islam has also gained a footing among those who claim Yoruba descent; the Foulahs who have also become an important section of the Freetown community are now the largest Muslim group in the city. No one in Sierra Leone today would acknowledge that he is a pagan, though many pagan practices persist.

In the early days of the history of Freetown the Muslims suffered much persecution and they were treated as aliens even by their own kith and kin who were of the Christian faith. Today they form a very powerful social and religious group in the community; they have at least three primary schools Assisted schools and a "Middle" school which was started about a year ago and which is under the head-mastership of an Oxford University graduate. The doors of all the other primary and secondary schools are open to them and many of their children are making brilliant school records. A number of important appointments in Government service are now held by Muslims.

At the same time it should be realised that Islam in Sierra Leone is in many ways debased; to a large extent it has taken to itself
pagan practices as its own and rumours are rife which suggest that even Christian Ministers of Religion visit the Muslims to obtain charms, amulets and talismans. To what extent this is true it is almost impossible to prove but one fact is clear, and that is that it is very difficult to discriminate between the "Juju" practices and superstitions of the Muslims and the pagans. A very large proportion of the Muslims are uneducated and many pagans who have practically no knowledge of true Muslim beliefs and practices assert that they are Muslims. In other words, many so called Muslims in Sierra Leone are only nominally so.

Faith in the murri-man (Muslim doctor) is considerable and no amount of money is too much to pay him for his services. Candidates for the Paramount Chieftaincy pay between £50 and £100 to the "Alfa" (Muslim priest) to help them to succeed in an election. Special powers of helping others to succeed and of healing those who are sick are claimed by these priests who have made a detailed study of the Koran. Faith healing, it is true, is found in other religions but that which the Muslims practise is debased and is strongly denounced by the Ahmadiyya sect of Muslims, whose missionaries from India have been doing very good work in pagan areas of the Protectorate. Although the Ahmadiyya movement has not yet had a large following in Sierra Leone, its promoters are actively engaged in educating and converting Colony and Protectorate natives to the faith.

Unless Christian missionaries become more active in the Colony and in the Protectorate, there is every possibility of Islam becoming the religion throughout the country. Muslims show more brotherliness to one another and their religion imposes fewer restrictions on its followers; its allows a limited polygamy, it does not stress the equality of the sexes; it encourages a form of dress which has been
long used in Africa from the days of the Arab Slave Trade and is particularly acceptable to Africans. Even Christian converts often prefer to retain the Eastern dress after their conversion. The Koran can be assimilated by those who lack a high standard of intelligence and even children can be made to recite whole verses from it after a few hours teaching. However, the merits of the religion as compared with those of Christianity are very adequately expressed by Edwin Smith. Says he "Is it to be a Mohammedan civilisation or a Christian civilisation to which we look? Islam may suffice in some of its outward forms and manifestations to raise those primitive races to a higher point, but it is Christianity alone which can purify the inner life and it is after all the inner life which is the real life of man, it is the inner life which is the working power. Islam may teach the African to wash his clothes and keep himself clean. Christianity alone it is which gives him the secret of the clean heart and the good will and the love of all things that are pure and beautiful and just and of good report." (1)

While we must agree with Edwin Smith, we must also admit that in an empire whose members belong to the Christian, Jewish, Muslim and other religions, it is difficult for the state to be very pronounced in its attitude to a particular creed. A policy which ensures peace and safety must be one which enables every man to enjoy the full rights of British citizenship irrespective of his religion. It is interesting however to mention that when Government established the Model School in Freetown and the School for the Sons of Chiefs (Bo School) at Bo, the religious bias was definitely towards Islam. In both schools, an Arabic master was an essential member of staff for many years and Muslim boys were instructed not only in the Koran but also in the fundamentals of the religion.
fundamentals of the Muslim faith. This may have been due to the conviction which still prevails in some quarters that the African is by the very nature of his being prone towards Islam. In the Northern provinces of Nigeria, the same conviction prevailed for many years and Christian Missions had to force their way amidst strong persecution and discouragement to establish churches and schools in places like Zaria, Kaduna and Kano. One of the conditions of appointment to a Government school was that no attempt should be made to proselytise or convert Muslims to the Christian faith. Today the Sierra Leone Government's attitude against proselytisation in its own schools is not so pronounced. On the other hand, arrangements are made whereby all Christian pupils group together for daily devotion and the Muslim pupils assemble in some other place for a similar purpose.

As a rule Religious Knowledge or the Koran is not provided on the time table of Government schools. Even in the Assisted primary schools in the Colony, one of the effects of Government control under the Amalgamation Scheme is the creeping in of a laissez-faire attitude towards the teaching of Religious Knowledge. Although the subject is provided on the time-table, teachers are very indifferent about it. The United Christian Council has just introduced a new Scripture syllabus into the schools. The Teacher Training Department of Fourah Bay College was asked by the United Christian Council to run a three day course of lectures and demonstrations to introduce the syllabus and it is suggested that they run another parallel course for the Protectorate teachers.

As in Britain and other countries, State aid has not made the Roman Catholics to ignore the spiritual needs of the children who attend their schools. The priests and the nuns are on the staffs of
the Catholic schools and the teaching of the Scriptures, Catechism and the doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith are very carefully supervised and in the senior classes actually done by them. While the Catholics are careful to receive every penny they can get from Government for the development of education, they do not allow the teaching of secular subjects to over-ride the spiritual needs of their children. Like the Muslims, they lay great emphasis on religious instruction in their schools. It is the Protestant Christian Missions who seem to be drawing the line between education and religion and who are prepared to hand over the former, if need be, to Government. It is true that the development of education calls for the spending of large sums of money and that the Missions cannot do this without Government support. At the same time it must be realised that the attitude of Government towards religion in Assisted schools is impartial to the extent of ignoring the children's spiritual needs. This attitude to religious teaching follows the British tradition which is reflected in the famous Cowper-Temple clause: "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination, shall be taught in the school." (2) It must be admitted however that the new Education Act (1944) has improved the status of religious education in Britain.

Religion must play a prominent part in child training and particularly in African child training. The African is prone to accept spiritual values. He relates everything to religion. There are no real atheists among them. From his infancy spiritual influences surround the African child. As early as three years of age, the child is taught to fear the spirits and to abstain from doing anything that will offend them. Although many of the fearful things parents tell
their children may be condemned on psychological grounds, they seem to leave a lasting impression in the minds of the children. They help them to be honest and truthful until the old sanctions are no longer binding and it is discovered that falsehood and dishonesty can go unpunished by the spirits. For example a mother would tell her child not to sing or whistle in the night lest evil spirits would visit him just as in England some fifty years ago it was common to frighten children by suggesting that the bogey man would fetch them. A child who goes about picking and stealing is told that he will be punished with a swollen stomach by the spirits; if he delights in striking chairs and tables that come in his way the spirits will visit him at night and inflict corporal punishment on him for his cruelty to lifeless objects; a child who kills a spider is told that the spirits cause him to wet his bed at night and be ashamed of himself in the morning.

I am fully aware of the attitude to bed-wetting and the research on this type of behaviour which has been carried out by the Child Guidance Clinics in England but we have nothing in Sierra Leone at the moment to help the people to interpret child behaviour in the modern scientific spirit.

While the old sanctions have such a strong grip on the community as a whole, it is impossible to eliminate this characteristic of primitive child training and intelligent parents and adults must make a special effort to substitute sound education in the knowledge of a God of love, truth and goodness in such a way that this is accepted by the child and becomes a part of his natural way of thinking. Thus the old sanctions will inevitably lose their power in the light of the more intelligent presentation of spiritual truths with some knowledge of modern theological thought. The modern
educator must find some way of leading the child to see that the spirits of his ancestors are a part of the great spiritual community of whom God is the head. He must think out how he can best replace in the child's mind communication with the spirits of the dead by prayer to God. As the child comes to have an understanding of a God of love who is prepared to make the Complete Sacrifice, he can be led to see that the habit of giving or sharing his possessions with God and for God's purposes should replace the family sacrifices to the ancestors. The use of the Bible by many so-called Christians is little removed from pagan superstitions and beliefs. The so-called Christian parent will place the Bible under the child's pillow to protect him against evil spirits. If something is stolen in the home and the parents wish to find out the culprit, a ring is tied on to a piece of string which is tied once or twice round a Bible. Certain words are uttered and although the Bible is held by a string it is believed that it will revolve when the name of the culprit is called. Only sound teaching of God's love and care will result in the Bible becoming a true guide book of life for the child in place of the debased use to which it is put in many Sierra Leone homes today.

There is so much in the early ideas of Sierra Leone children on which a sound religious training can be built that it will be most unwise to cater only for secular learning. Primitive people can be most ungovernable and reckless if left without religion. If the Sierra Leone child is to be fit to face up to all the conflicting ideas of the modern world, his spiritual foundation must be strong. As I said earlier, there are many who maintain that there are no atheists among Africans for as the late Doctor Aggrey expressed it "The heathen in his HUNGER bows down to wood and stone." In other words
if he is not taught about the true God, like all people his very nature demands that he will find something to worship.

2.

Another problem of education in Sierra Leone is that the language of the home is one of the local native languages whereas that of the school is for the most part English which is a foreign language to Colony and Protectorate natives. English is the medium for all teaching in the Colony schools except in the Convent school (Roman Catholic) where some patois (Creole) is used during the child's first year in school. In the Protectorate, children are taught in the vernacular until they reach standard I but during their second year in the infant school they have two or three lessons in English each week when English is taught as a foreign language. From standard I or II English is the medium for all teaching in the Protectorate schools.

There are not less than twelve native language groups in this small country of just over two million people. To begin with, there are at least three native languages each of which may claim the place of a lingua franca on the ground that it is spoken widely throughout the country. I refer to Mende, Temne and Creole. In the southern provinces, Mende has gradually killed lesser dialects like Sherbro, Gallinas, Krim and it may even do the same eventually with Kono and Kissi. The Mendes are a very adaptable tribe and they have settled all over the country taking with them as they go, their language, native societies and philosophy of life. They have settled in the Colony for many years and some have made the seaside, aq: Hamilton and York mountain villages around the peninsula, their home. The Mende man
therefore believes that it is not yet so, but will some day become the leading tribe in Sierra Leone and naturally his vernacular should take pride of place as the leading local language. The Temne claims to be the master of the land and that about five centuries ago his ancestors entered the country from the north-east sweeping before them all the tribes who questioned their authority. The Capez of Bullom had to be pushed into the creek and the great Temne kings ruled the peninsula for almost 300 years, before they sold portions of their land to the King of England. The Temnes may not be as adventurous and adaptable as the Mendes but they too have settled in all parts of the country and their language could vie with any other for its utility and popularity.

The Creole on the other hand regards his vernacular as the most suitable for purposes of commercial language in the country. It is the medium of expression among European, Asiatic and African traders both in the Colony and Protectorate. It has extended outside Sierra Leone to the other West African coast towns and as far south as the Belgian Congo. This of course is due to the fact that the Creole's lot for many years was that of a pioneer of western civilization to Africa's remotest lands. The Sierra Leonean is often referred to as the "school master of West Africa". If therefore any tribe in Sierra Leone should be looked upon as the leading tribe, the Creole feels he should enjoy such a distinction and that his vernacular should be the lingua franca.

Europeans who work in the Protectorate acquire a knowledge of Creole in addition to the vernacular of the area in which they are stationed. There are those who regard Creole as a corruption of English. To such people Creole is looked upon as English patois or Pidgeon-English. There is however a vast difference between Creole and Pidgeon-English.
For example there is a difference between the expression "A de go for up" and "A de go up" or between "you massa i de for offis" and "you masta de na offis". The first expression in each case is the form of speech employed by Europeans to their African cooks and house boys. It is the Pidgeon-English. The second form of expression is what for want of a better name has been called Creole and which today is widespread in the country. Creole therefore with its many borrowings from local and foreign languages, has a great future. e.g. monɛ (Mende)=trouble, wɛra (Tenne)=remnant, kata (Limba)=a head pad for carrying loads, kongosa (Fanti)=a tale-bearer, wa-ala (Hausa)=worry, mna (Ibo)=you (plural), pickin (Spanish)=a little child and buku (French beau-coup)=plentiful are a few of the borrowings found in Creole. On the other hand some people are of the opinion that West Africa's urgent need to take a place alongside other self-governing nations will force her to adopt English to such an extent that Creole will not now be given the chance to develop into a cultivated language.

Europeans missionaries realise the value of Creole as one of the leading local languages. In a report on Fourah Bay College, Bishop J.L.C. Horstead, then Principal of the College, referring to the patois as Creole was then called, writes "We here are convinced that only by a more intelligent understanding of the patois can we hope to improve the quality of English. It will be admitted by all that there is need for the improvement in English; it will be admitted equally generally, I think, that patois is firmly rooted in this and other parts of West Africa. It has its own vocabulary, grammar and idioms; it is rich in picturesque expressions, it is full of local colour. To recognise these characteristics is to see
its fundamental difference from English." (3) Rev. H. A. E. Sawyerr, a Creole who has worked on the lines suggested by Bishop Horstead and has conducted some research on the Patois, maintains that "the Patois is a language independent of English in actual structure and now indigenous to its users." (4) It will therefore be unwise for anyone to treat Creole as an unimportant local language for, as Professor Westermann says "If you feel respect for the racial personality of the African, if you know what the possession of a racial heritage and the allegiance to your own people mean, do not neglect or speak lightly of the African's language." (5)

At present Government and the Christian Missions are concentrating on the development of Mende as a written language and if at this stage, representatives of these two bodies were asked to vote for a lingua franca for Sierra Leone, I think they would vote for Mende. Through the work of the United Christian Council a fair amount of Mende literature has already been printed and many adults are becoming literate in this vernacular through the key-word method of Dr Laubach. If any of the native languages is to become a part of our school curriculum, Mende will be the first to be chosen. Even before the move to build up a Mende literature began, one of the boys' secondary schools in Freetown had this local language in its curriculum. The Freetown Secondary School for Girls not only teaches its pupils the language but also encourages them to learn Mende songs and dances. In the Protectorate primary schools, adult literacy books in the form of primers are in use and while many people are critical of this, they are at least providing some reading material for Mende speaking children.

Temne literature is still scanty. This is largely due to the
limited nature of Mission work in the Northern province. In places where Christian Missions operate, schools are established and efforts are made to popularise vernacular teaching. For example, the American Wesleyan Mission with the help received from educated natives has translated the whole Bible into Temne and has compiled a fair number of Temne songs. Through the United Christian Council Bureau at Bo, the possibilities of increasing publications in Temne are being examined. Very soon the people of the Northern province will have many useful publications in their vernacular and their children will then show as much interest in the language as the children of the Southern provinces have in Mende.

To combat the language difficulty in Sierra Leone schools, there must be a rapid increase of literature in the leading vernaculars, combined with an intensive training in English including speech training and an interest in the study of English Literature that will continue after school days. Educated Sierra Leoneans must help in producing books in their own vernaculars and in standard English with an accurate African background. English-men who have specialised in the teaching of their own language should also be employed in our teacher training colleges and schools to teach English. If the confidence and cooperation of educated natives is secured, printed literature in the principal local languages will be more rapidly produced. There is no reason why Mende and Temne, at least, cannot have as much literature as Nigerian languages like Yoruba, Hausa and Ibo. Yoruba, for instance, has been developed as a written language to such a high standard that it is offered by Nigerians in public examinations like the Cambridge School Certificate and the London Matriculation examinations.
We should aim at nothing less for our own native languages in order that this aspect of our culture may be preserved.

The Sierra Leonean has grown suspicious of the attempts which are being made to introduce "Basic" and other simplified forms of English in the schools. He cannot readily appreciate the fact that the difficulties he experiences in learning the English language are not of the same type as the ones which confront English children. For example, it is often a wonder why English grammar which is so much emphasised in the local schools is not treated with the same importance in English schools. I would therefore suggest that alongside the development of vernacular literature suitable for all ages from the infant school to the adult, books be written in good standard English about the Sierra Leonean child and adult, his environment, his customs, and his culture. In other words, we want books written in good English which are within the comprehension of the Sierra Leonean because they are about his own life and activities. Many of the simplified editions of great authors are dull prosaic writings which cannot be appreciated by anyone and which give no opportunity for the reader to obtain a love of the sheer beauty and quality of the English language.

In Sierra Leone schools, good order is often mistaken for discipline. This largely follows from the fact that a good child in African society is one who obeys uncomplainingly the commands of his elders. Consequently when visitors go to our schools and observe the very quiet way in which the children are seated during lessons
very complimentary remarks are made about their discipline. English visitors go to the extent of saying that Sierra Leone children give their teachers less trouble and are more docile than English children. To see the same set of children in class in the absence of a master or under any circumstances where they are free from the presence of authority is to discover that our children are not as disciplined as they appear to be. The stage of evolutionary development that Sierra Leoneans have reached accounts for the standard of discipline of their children. In the homes or in public gatherings, not much law and order is observed. Life in tribal society is unrestrained and the desires and impulses must have as much free play as possible. For example, when a boy in the village wakes up in the morning, if his first impulse is to warm himself near the fire or to get some food or do some rat hunting, he will resent any instructions from his mother to do something else. If the mother insists the child may feign illness or disappear to some other part of the village until the work he is asked to do has been done by others. Occasionally boys get wood and water for their mothers but as a rule the female members of the family do the greater part of all household duties.

Another consideration is that the Sierra Leone child has a different home background from that of an English child. The environment is less educative: there are very few pictures in the home; there are no toys of a suitable kind nor picture books nor other playthings that would make for a development comparable with that of the average English child. Another difference is that from infancy, the English child is under the control of "Daddy" and "Mummy" and these two people cooperate in every to train their
child. Among Sierra Leoneans the child spends most of his early years away from his parents. Some grandmother or grandaunt may be asked to look after the child while the mother is expecting her next baby. As a rule so many people are partially responsible for looking after the child in his early years that he recognises no specific control and often he becomes very difficult.

On the other hand, once the child reaches school age corporal punishment is given too important a place both in the home and in the school. The attitude is very much like that of England in the 19th century. It is the same attitude that prompted Dr. Keate, when he was preaching in the College Chapel at Eton on the Beatitudes to conclude with these words "Now boys, be pure in heart and if you are not I'll beat you till you are." It is the same attitude which prompted the philanthropists who built the church schools in England to write over the door of the school "Spare the rod and spoil the child." The instinct of fear is employed in a very large measure in maintaining discipline. The child is made to have great fear of the rod. Up to about twenty years ago there were schools which won a high reputation for inflicting corporal punishment and parents who had children with poor ability or unsatisfactory behaviour preferred to send their children to such schools. The result was that the children resorted to truancy and were always planning to outwit their parents and the school authorities.

As is true of children everywhere, there are those to whom disciplinary methods like "shaming the child" or "appealing to the child's honour" have no effect. With such children there must be some loss of highly valued privileges. Other acts like demotion to a lower class, suspension, a poor testimonial may sometimes prove effective. Before
such punishments are inflicted, care must be taken to ensure that the motives of the child's action are fully understood. A special study must be made of the background of "difficult" children and parents and teachers must have good guidance in the treatment of such children. If extreme punishments are too often or injudiciously used, the children become callous and un-responsive. No opportunity must also be lost to praise children who behave satisfactorily and there must be rewards and prizes for children of good conduct whose efforts are praiseworthy, even though they may not be intellectually brilliant. In other words, we still have to learn the truth of those psychological principles which govern the treatment of children in the more progressive homes and schools in England.

A very important aspect of discipline is the Sierra Leone child's attitude to sex. Whereas the Protectorate child is taught the significance of sex in his secret societies, the Creole child is not given frank instruction in this important subject. Many Creole parents who still have Victorian ideas about the relationship of the sexes refrain from giving sex teaching to their children altogether. Innocent questions from children on the birth of a baby or the functions of the sex organs are either hushed or ignored. The children thus seek such knowledge outside the home. Unless there is a wise direction of sex interest and ample scope for the mixing of boys and girls so that they may understand each other, faulty ideas of sex and sex relations will lead the adolescents into difficulties. Creole parents need to be properly educated in the subject and to maintain a high moral standard of truth, purity and honesty in the home. This is evidenced by Dr. Kenneth Little's article on "The Changing Position of Women in the Sierra Leone Protectorate." He refers to the 'husband-less women' among the Mendes but it should be realised that their demoralisation has largely resulted from the example of the "civilised" Protectorate native women living in the Colony who are often mistakingly regarded as Creoles.

Repression in the home and in the school must give way to freedom. This does not mean that children must be allowed to do as they like. There must be law and order in every progressive society and there must also be those who are set at the head of such a society to see that the
rules of the society are obeyed. It is from their school days that Sierra Leone children must be trained to respect authority even among themselves and in this regard the opportunities a boarding school offers are especially valuable. The children must be trained to obey and respect their prefects, captains and other pupils in authority. They should learn to work by themselves in the class-room or to play by themselves as satisfactorily as when a teacher is present. As Sir John Adams puts it: "Children are not being prepared for a world in which they will be allowed to live their lives without restrictions. They will not only experience in their future the general restraint that comes from living in a society at all, but in almost every case they will have to take account of the authority of some person or persons placed over them in a position of definite superiority". (6)

4.

Something must now be said about the inadequate provision of recreational and medical facilities. In the past, too much emphasis was put on class-room activities and a successful pupil was one who had made a good record in his studies. What mattered most was book-knowledge in Sierra Leone. Teachers, too, were respected more for their learning than for their proficiency in games, swimming, scouting and such like activities. The description of "The Village Schoolmaster" in Goldsmith's "The Deserted Village," gives a true picture of what pupils and teachers were expected to be. Of them too it should be said:

"The village all declar'd how much he knew; 'Twas certain he could write and cypher too; Lands he could measure, terms and tides presage, And e'en the story ran that he could gaige."

In our primary schools much of this description is still true.
With the popularity of public examinations, the emphasis on book-learning increased and the truth of the saying "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy" was all too easily forgotten.

Today it is realised, in some secondary schools at least, that for the all-round development of Sierra Leone children, games and social activities should have an equally important place as the teaching of the usual school subjects. The organisation of Scout and Guide movements, annual athletic sports, football and cricket leagues have helped to emphasise the importance of recreational activities. The advantages children derive from the organised English games taught them in school are many. Apart from internal football and cricket matches, outside competitions as in England are arranged. Special teachers are in charge of special games and through definite coaching every encouragement is given to pupils to become interested in these games.

Now that the importance of games is realised, the need for playing-fields is greatly felt. Even where games materials can be adequately provided, no school in the Colony has playing-fields where two or three football or cricket games can go on at the same time. The most secondary schools have a full size field for a game of football at a time. The same field is also used for cricket. Primary schools are even worse off. This difficulty can be met by the provision of playing fields at various centres. Vacant lands can be bought and the children can help in the laying out of the fields. At the Bo Government School where there are three spacious playing fields, the boys helped in the laying out of these fields and in making the cricket pitches.

The problem of recreation is not as serious in the Protectorate as it is in the Colony. To begin with, there are spacious playing fields
near most schools. The children also have native games which they play mostly on moonlight nights. A popular game among these children is one in which a number of children, between ten and twenty, play at naming animals. Each child calls himself by the name of an animal. When the names of all the animals have been announced, each player is expected to repeat all the names and as soon as he makes an omission, he drops out. This game evidently develops the mind rather than the body. In another native game known as "The Leopard has caught a Goat", whoever represents the goat is put in a ring and the leopard stands outside the ring. The remaining children form the ring. The goat leaves the ring when the players sing a song, and when the song is changed he should run back into the ring. If the goat is caught by the leopard before the former returns to the ring, the round ends and two other players are appointed. It must be stated that Creole children play similar games but unlike Protectorate children, they tend to give up these games at school in favour of English games.

While the boys in Colony schools play only football, cricket, and hockey which has been recently introduced at the Prince of Wales School, the girls play some native games, English "singing" games and netball. I may here give a description of the most popular native game among Creole girls. This game is known as "Akra". It is played by two teams who are called "German" and "English". There is no limit to the size of a team but as a rule, each side never exceeds ten. The leader of the challenging side usually begins. The game consists of clapping and rhythmic jumping on alternate feet and a leg is raised on every third jump. Two girls of opposite teams face each other during play and if a girl from the German side, for example, is regarded as the opponent, she should aim at raising the opposite leg of the girl on the challenging side. If this is done
successfully three consecutive times, the challenging team i.e. the English team is out and the German team becomes the challenging side.
If however no girl on the German side succeeds in getting the player on the English side out, the latter scores a point for her side and a new round begins. Although netball has been introduced in nearly all the girls' schools in the Colony, the same difficulty of insufficient playing-fields is experienced.

I should now describe the position in the Colony and Protectorate with regard to Physical Training and the provision of medical facilities. The fact that the Education Department has been without an organiser of Physical Training for nearly ten years is an indication that even if this subject is being done in the schools, the teachers have no official expert to check up their work and give them advice. When there was such an organiser, teachers in training and those who attended vacation courses received regular lectures followed by demonstration lessons which they thoroughly enjoyed. There was also a separate training class for secondary school teachers. So great was the interest aroused in the subject that in 1936 there was a grand Physical Training display in Freetown in which primary and secondary schools took part. There is urgent need for the appointment of qualified Physical Training organisers to remedy this defect in Colony education. Practically nothing has been done on modern lines for the development of physical education in the Protectorate. Neither Njala Training College nor Bunumbu has even a partially qualified Physical Training instructor. This too must be speedily put right.

In the matter of a school medical service, the 1945 Education Department Report makes the following pertinent reference: "Medical inspection of school children is a regular service in Freetown; the
staff employed is one Lady Medical Officer and one trained nurse. Dental facilities are also provided free. St Joseph's Clinic is now housed in a suitable building and is doing excellent work for school children as the following figures testify:-

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In the Protectorate, short courses of instruction in the treatment of minor ailments and injuries were arranged for teachers and simple medical supplies were distributed to schools in localities where there were no dispensaries. It must be admitted however, that the schools at present need more than one Lady Medical Officer, one trained nurse and one dentist. Protectorate school children still have to depend on the scanty medical facilities provided for the general public and in many cases have to travel long distances to avail themselves of such facilities. I should here mention that there are only 6 Government hospitals and 5 Mission hospitals in the whole of the Protectorate. (see map of Schools and Hospitals). It is estimated that 50% of the children under two years of age die every year from preventable diseases.

In Protectorate schools, it is a common experience to find a number of children with ulcers and skin diseases who are practically left to take care of themselves. In some schools, as part of the Hygiene lessons, teachers supervise the extraction of the children's jiggers and attend to such minor ailments as their medical supplies can cope with. Until the Central Government or the Native Administrations improve medical facilities including the provision of separate medical officers and nurses for school children, the health of the children will still be neglected. A Senior Education Officer once visited a school in the
Kono District (see Administrative map) and after trekking for a day to get to the school, he found so many children there needing medical attention that he had to devote his whole time to treating ulcers and other minor diseases on the spot. More serious cases were despatched to the nearest hospital which was more than a day's journey from where the school was situated.

Writing on the value of the School Medical Service in Britain Lowndes says: "Whereas 555 children aged between 5 and 15 in every 100,000 died in 1907 from all causes (125 from tuberculosis), the number had by 1934 been reduced to 385 (43 from tuberculosis). In other words, at least 30,500 children died between these ages in 1907 (nearly 7000 from tuberculosis) as compared with 21,175 in 1934 (2365 from tuberculosis). Contemplating these figures one wonders if any nation has ever spent £2,000,000 to better advantage."

Although Sierra Leone cannot provide such a standard of medical service for school children, the health of such children should receive greater attention and school medical facilities must be considerably increased. Provision should also be made whereby children may have better food. According to present day standards of nutrition, our children are under-fed and under-nourished. Some also suffer from malaria and other tropical diseases. Many of the parents are poor and cannot provide their children with adequate food and clothing. It is therefore the responsibility of the State (I mean our central and local governments) to introduce in our schools things like a mid-day meal, free supply of God Liver Oil and Milk, to provide more school clinics and to give regular health talks to children and their parents. These improvements are so necessary to ensure the physical fitness of our children that something must be done to provide the funds, even allowing for the present economic condition of the country.
Chapter VI.

The Future in Education.

In suggesting a scheme of education for the Sierra Leone child, it is necessary in the first place to state what should be his ideal of life. When men seek a philosophy of life, they are prone to lay the emphasis on the development of the individual or on that of the state. For example, Nazi Germany laid the emphasis on the absolute value of the state and not on the freedom of the individual. It was an extreme form of socialism. In Ancient Greece, the Spartans had a similar view of life. Exaggerated individualism on the other hand maintains that the individual life is everything and that it is not only self-contained but self-sufficient. This was the doctrine of the thinkers of Post-Reformation Europe until Hegel, the German philosopher revised it. A philosophy of life which pays due regard to both the claims of the individual and those of society is, in my opinion, the best for our modern age. Says Sir Percy Nunn: "Individuality develops only in a social atmosphere where it can feed on common interests and common activities. All we demand is that it shall have free scope, within the common life, to grow in its own way and that it shall not be warped from its ideal bent by forces ' heavy as frost and deep almost as life' " (1) This, in short, is the view of the Western democracies and it is the goal to which Colonial peoples in the British Empire are moving.

It will now be helpful to state briefly the present educational position in Sierra Leone before considering how best to attain the ideal. We are faced at the moment by an almost illiterate Protectorate in which there are all the problems which are associated with a
primitive community and a small Colony area which has a "super-imposed" Western education of a 19th century type. It is obvious that in the Colony the greatest need is for a wholesale educational revolution. Certain principles must be kept in mind in planning: the education that is given must be one which is intimately related to the need of the community; it must also be realised that people who are such a short distance from Britain and have looked to Britain for inspiration for over a hundred years expect every facility for reaching up to the highest educational standards which are possible in the Western world today. What is required by the Colony must also be available for the whole country since the area is comparatively small and Colony and Protectorate can no longer be kept apart. Any suggestion that the general intelligence of Africans is lower than that of other races and that therefore they cannot benefit from Western standard of education is unjustified unless it is based on extensive mental testing carried out on sound psychological lines. Such testing has not even begun in Sierra Leone and in view of the fact that Sierra Leoneans who study in English Universities have proved themselves able to compete very successfully with their British fellow students, the only justifiable hypothesis at the moment is that there is no outstanding difference in the range of intelligence. At the same time, it is obvious from such successful experiments as the Cambridgeshire Village Colleges that an educational system which makes the school a centre of community activity has much to commend it. Again, it is becoming increasingly accepted in England and America that education should be thought of in terms of activity and experience. How can our educational revolution in the Colony bring about a breaking away from a routine teaching of the 3 Rs and put into effect some of these principles so that education is related to the African background and an integral part of it?

In outlining some of the problems confronting the Colonies today, Mr. Oliver Stanley (former Secretary of State for the Colonies) said: "People here (Britain) and in the Colonies were apt to think of social services in terms of the standards of social service which we enjoy in this country ....... They should remember that in this country, they have been built up on a basis of a hundred years of the richest economic life that, up till then, any country in the world had ever experienced ........ It is idle for these people (Colonial people) to sit down and think that some miracle will bring the same standards of social services that we have been able to build up here." (2)

Statements of these kind are a challenge to the thinking and enlightened African of today. The educated Sierra Leonean knows full well that his country is one of the wealthiest corners of the globe. If he controlled its resources, he could have the finest social services in the world today, including an educational system of which he might well be proud.
Sierra Leone does not want money from England. She simply wants to receive the benefits from that wealth which is her God-given possession.

It is therefore the prime responsibility of Government to provide adequately at least for the primary education of every child of school age both in the Colony and in the Protectorate. As in Britain, the local governments must be expected to share in the educational burden but the Central Government must lead the way. Out of an estimated cost of £172,000,000 for education in Britain in 1947, the Central Government was to provide £105,000,000 and the local governments £67,000,000. This was for the education of about 7,500,000 children which put the cost per head at more than £20. (3) It is a most distressing comparison to find that in one of Britain's oldest Colonies whose people were introduced to European standards of life over 150 years ago, the Government in 1947 spent about £79,000 with an additional £1,000 from the Protectorate Native Administrations and £18,000 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for the education of over 27,000 children i.e. at a cost of about £4 per child. (4) Although it may be argued that Britain is able to spend such a large amount on education because its economic resources are greater and the central and local governments can produce the money and, as stated in Mr Oliver Stanley's article to which I have already referred, that Sierra Leone should not expect the same standard of social services which Britain has been able to build up, the educational situation here calls for serious attention. Unless the educational service is improved and the education vote substantially increased, the dangers of illiteracy will become a menace to both Government and governed.

It is obvious that the dream of the educated African to provide social services of the same standards in Sierra Leone as are found in
Britain, though sound in theory, will be impracticable for some years to come. Those who think that a reconstitution of our central and local legislatures with African unofficial majorities will be a panacea for our social and economic ills are over-estimating the importance of a country's political development. As a matter of fact there are many thinkers who hold the view today that economic and social development must precede political advancement, or at least must march side by side with it. Until Sierra Leone has the money and a sufficient number of technical experts to develop its agricultural and industrial resources, it is idle to hope for the standards of the educational service which have been reached in England. Furthermore, the same time it must be admitted that the social services cannot be developed adequately until education advances, for staff are not forthcoming. At the same time, the African community is exasperated by the lack of facilities offered to them compared with what is seen on every side by those who study in Britain. It is a vicious circle and a cause of a very intense feeling of frustration. In any case it will be a mistake even from the standpoint of expense to introduce in Sierra Leone the lower standards of African education found in other parts of Africa, which have not had as close contact with Britain.

The following summary of the lines on which African education can be best tackled is given in the pamphlet "Mass Education in African Society":

1. The wide extension of schooling for children with the goal of universal school within a measurable time.
2. The spread of literacy among adults, together with a widespread development of literature and libraries without which there is little hope of making literacy permanent.
3. The planning of mass education of the community as a movement of the community itself, involving the active support of the local community from the start.
4. The
effective co-ordination of welfare plans and mass education plans so that they form a comprehensive and balanced whole." (5) This is also the broad basis of official schemes for the development of education in Sierra Leone. As early as 1938, Mahatma Gandhi of India had also suggested the following scheme of basic education for his country: (1) that mass education should be free, universal and compulsory (2) that mass education should not be perfunctory, cut short at the end of four or five years when the children have barely achieved literacy and the chances of acquiring any useful knowledge of social training are negligible. The minimum duration should be seven years i.e. from 7 to 14 years of age (3) education should be given through the mother tongue (4) mass education should be given through village crafts such as spinning and weaving and not primarily through books; that children should actually produce articles that are marketable and these should be sold to make education self-supporting (5) that the state should primarily concentrate on the education of the masses. (6)

Gandhi's scheme aroused much controversy in India and would arouse even greater controversy if proposed in Sierra Leone. Very few educated Africans in Sierra Leone would vote for mass education in the vernacular, for making education self-supporting or that the state should not devote part of its resources, at least, to secondary and higher education. The scheme was however tried out in India with successful results. The children in these 'Basic' schools were said to be "mentally more alert, more happy and more co-operative than children in corresponding primary schools." (7) If Sierra Leone must have a school system which is community centred—and this applies particularly to the Protectorate—it must be based on the same
of the broad principles of Mr. Gandhi's scheme: the children must stay in school sufficiently long if the school is to influence their whole personality; they must learn useful crafts and trades and education must release the best powers in them for the service of their country. It must also promote in them a feeling for humanity and a kinship with their fellow Sierra Leoneans. An education that would encourage class or tribal distinctions must delay the attaining of the goal to which Sierra Leone is moving and prevent the Sierra Leone child from taking his true place in the community.

My first recommendation therefore is a rapid increase in the number of primary and secondary schools in the Colony and Protectorate, particularly in those areas which have already felt the impact of western education to a certain extent. It was estimated in 1944 that if every child of school age should be in school in Freetown, 27 primary school buildings and 600 teachers would be needed for 15,000 children. On this basis about 800 primary and central schools and about 16,000 teachers will be needed for the present child population which is estimated at about 22,000 in the Colony and about 370,000 in the Protectorate. This is worked on the assumption that there would be about 500 children to a school and 25 children to a teacher. There are just over 190 primary schools in the Protectorate and, including private schools, about 70 in the Colony. In 1946, 502 teachers, mostly uncertificated, were teaching in the Protectorate. Assisted primary schools and about 300 in the Colony. Assisted primary schools, about 50% of whom had no academic or professional qualifications. Taking into account that very few of the existing buildings which are either too small or in a dilapidated condition or both, can be adapted to suit modern requirements, the needs of primary education in Sierra Leone may be summarised as follows:
A. Colony ... 40 school buildings
   600 teachers

B. Protectorate ... 760 school buildings
   15,000 teachers

Those who think in terms of the present limited financial resources of the country will doubt the practicability of providing so many school buildings and teachers for primary education only, during the next 50 years. If, however, there is a genuine desire on the part of Government and the people to reach the goal and if it is appreciated by all that a primary education, at least, is the right of every Sierra Leone child of school age, the goal can be reached in the Colony in about 10 years and in the Protectorate in about 20 years. In the Colony, Government should co-operate with the Municipal Council and the Rural Areas Council, our local government institutions, to see what can be done yearly within the 10 year period and the same should be done in the Protectorate through the District Council and the Protectorate Native Assembly. The people of the Protectorate are willing to pay 6d. per head per annum as a specific education tax. They are also asking Government to "nationalise" the mines so that more revenue may be obtained from them. The people in the Colony who already feel that they are heavily taxed may not readily welcome additional taxation but they too will reconcile themselves to such a burden eventually since it is for the education of their children.

According to Miss A. E. Hirst, lecturer, Fourah Bay College, 12 per cent. of the children in primary schools should be ready at 11 plus for secondary education (9). In an estimated school population of 400,000, about 40,000 should be in the 11 plus group and 12 per cent. of these i.e. 4,800 should go into the secondary school each year. Working on a four year secondary school basis, nearly 20,000
children should be provided for in our secondary schools. The 16 Colony secondary schools, improved or rebuilt to accommodate 500 pupils each should provide for 5,000 children. The Protectorate would then have to provide for the remaining 15,000. This could be done within the 20 year period by improving and extending the 2 existing schools, Bo and Harford, and building 28 new ones. There are also about 100 teachers in the Colony secondary schools, about 20 per cent. of whom are graduates. In the Protectorate, there are 4 graduates at Bo Government school. The needs of secondary education, including technical education, briefly stated therefore are:

A. Colony ... ... 4 new school buildings
   6 buildings to be improved & extended
   150 teachers

B. Protectorate ... 28 new school buildings
   2 buildings to be improved & extended
   530 teachers

It is obvious that if such a provision is made for primary and secondary education, Sierra Leone will quickly reveal its need for its own University college. One of the reasons given by the Secretary of State for the Colonies for refusing Fourah Bay College substantial help from Imperial funds, is that the present needs of Sierra Leone can be met by the University colleges to be established in Nigeria and the Gold Coast and by the proposed local Regional College. We must admit that Sierra Leone in its present stage of educational development cannot maintain a University college, if the quota of students from the other West African colonies should suddenly cease. While Achimota and Ibadan are in the making, Fourah Bay must serve as a full University college for all West Africa. At the same time it must be realised that by the time these other colleges are working at full strength on post-intermediate work, Sierra Leone will also
need such a large annual supply of graduate teachers, scientists, officers trained in Public Administration, agriculturists and economists that there will be every justification for still keeping Fourah Bay at University level for the 400 or more students (calculating one per cent. of each year group of 40,000 individuals) who will enter the College every year for degree and diploma courses. But there is another important value to be obtained from the retention of Fourah Bay and the development of extensive research work. Sierra Leone, "the white man's grave" of the past, has not been subjected to the detailed and thorough research work which is needed for its social and economic progress. Such research is best carried out in a University College and the crying need for such research is obvious to any one who looks at the problems of Sierra Leone with eyes that see. Educational and psychological research would no doubt reveal the needs of the various tribes and the best ways of providing them with education; careful investigations would no doubt reveal new ways of using the tribal institutions effectively. The need for agricultural research can only be described as pathetic: this is an agricultural country, and yet its methods of farming are those which have been practised from time immemorial; there is practically no farm machinery in the country, not enough rice is grown to feed its own population although it is generally accepted that it might have a large export trade if agriculture were improved; poultry keeping, cattle rearing and pig keeping are almost unknown except in a few scattered areas because of the prevalence of disease and the need for research to eliminate these diseases and to improve stock. The possibility of growing fruit for export is also practically unexplored; social and economic research are perhaps the most crying needs of which one becomes painfully aware in considering child training in Sierra Leone for children are under-nourished, diseased, and at an early age they get a sense of frustration because of the widespread poverty and lack of opportunity.

The rate at which new buildings can be put up and teachers of the right kind recruited largely depends upon the African community and the good-will of the Government. In the past Paramount Chiefs got men to build schools and teachers' houses almost free of cost for the Christian Missions. All that the Missions supplied in those days were imported building materials like boards, cement, and corrugated iron sheets. We still need builders who even while working for pay, will be ready to put in long hours of work, give of their best in knowledge and skill and be inspired by the highest and best motives of service, and Government must be prepared to agree to the provision of schools by these methods. We need a similar spirit of service among those who will also offer themselves for teaching. The very best must come forward and be fully equipped during their period of training. While I advocate an immediate improvement of the conditions of service for teachers, I would also stress that such teachers must "clearly set to the community an example of: honesty of purpose, of hard work and of service." (10) With such teachers, the school will become both community centred and community conscious. For example, the teachers of the future should have a fair knowledge of Agriculture, Building Construction, Weaving and other industries needed for the development of the locality where the school is situated. The teacher and his pupils should be interested in community projects and should direct
such projects, where necessary. The school compound should be a model in every way. The teacher must also take school standards of agriculture, hygiene, sanitation and building construction into the town and village. The formation of farmers' co-operatives, building societies or weavers' clubs should be stimulated by him. Teachers trained in America receive such a type of training and the students at the Bunumbu Training College are receiving training in community service under the direction of these American trained members of the staff. The tutors are, however, seriously handicapped by the fact that their students are only of standard VI level at the most and many are less well qualified.

The academic and professional standards of teachers in both Colony and Protectorate must be raised. For primary school teachers, the minimum qualification should be Cambridge School Certificate plus two years' college training and for secondary school teachers, a University degree and a teachers' diploma. Both groups of teachers must be trained in such a way that they face their work with the principles that I have outlined clearly in their minds. The graduate with a diploma must view his work in its relation to community needs and conditions just as much as the primary school teacher who knows that at any rate a large number of his pupils will be agriculturists and manual workers. The graduate teacher will also be responsible for the right outlook of those who will teach in the primary schools and he must inculcate a true appreciation of the dignity of work with the hands. The only school that is doing this effectively at present is the Albert Academy (United Brethren in Christ's Mission). Only those who have an adequate educational standard, can see how to apply generally accepted educational principles in an intelligent way in the community in which they are working.

In the Nigerian Education Department Report for 1948, the following
The following statement is made: "The last report discussed a subject which exercises the minds of many, namely, the drift from the countryside. It is a many-sided problem, common to every country in the world and one which provides scope for endless argumentation. At bottom it is social and economic rather than educational. Make the countryside remunerative: provide the amenities, and so provide the psychological background whereby the teacher has a reasonable chance of making his pupils like and desire what they ought. The African is not alone in being moved by self interest rather than by pious exhortations.

Here in Sierra Leone, this is also one of the big problems of education. Worse than the unremunerative conditions of the Sierra Leone bush, there is the psychological barrier between illiterate and semi-literate parents and their educated children. The solution to this problem, in my opinion, is to give the right type of education to both children and parents. I have already referred to the need for teachers who should set the standard in the community not only in beautifying the school compound, the repairing of school buildings and furniture, but also in directing agriculture, weaving and other industries that will promote the economic and social development of the community. If teachers must exert such an influence outside the school, they must exert an even greater influence on such lines within the school. The solution here lies in the curriculum and in the methods of teaching.

It is admitted as a sound educational theory that the curriculum should be correlated with the needs of the community. Jowitt in his book "Principles of Education for African Teachers" talks of a "child-centred curriculum" but he also states "the response of the African child to the training he has received will not demonstrate the all-round efficiency of which we have spoken, unless it includes the
application of SOCIALLY DESIRABLE knowledge, attitudes and skills. In other words, his educational achievements must reflect achievement in the service of the community." While the schools must still teach History, Geography and Literature, new text-books with a Sierra Leone background must be written in these subjects. It is good to know about the geography and the history of other lands but it is essential to begin with the geography of one's own country and the history of one's own people. The schools are still waiting for the first book on the geography of Sierra Leone showing present means of communication, systems of government, climate, agricultural products and mineral resources. They are also waiting for a text-book on the lives of the great Protectorate warriors, distinguished Creole personalities of the past and leading historical events up to the present time.

As I have already pointed out, while developing vernacular literature, it is equally important to have graded readers and literature books written in standard English but with a Sierra Leone background. A start should be made along such lines now and although it is preferable that the writers of such books should be Sierra Leoneans, Europeans with rich local experience could give considerable help. It is also time that French should be taught in all our secondary schools either as an alternative to in addition to Latin. Sierra Leone is surrounded by French-speaking neighbours and French is very widely spoken throughout the civilised world.

The value of Science has also been stressed. At present, the Government secondary schools i.e. Bo School in the Protectorate and the Prince of Wales School in Freetown are the leading Science centres in Sierra Leone. There are Science masters in training for the Mission secondary schools and it is absolutely necessary that
all our secondary schools should teach Physics, Chemistry and Biology up to, at least, Cambridge School Certificate standard so that not only our future engineers, agriculturists and doctors may have the necessary foundation in Science subjects but also that teachers of the future may be prepared to give effective sex-teaching. This is an important preparation which should be made for those future developments which must inevitably come sooner or later when there will be a tendency towards de-tribalisation with the advance into the Protectorate of Western culture and a danger of that temporary lowering of moral standards which so often accompanies the relaxation of tribal sanctions.

Music, Handicraft, Art and Agriculture should also be taught by specialist teachers who are of a sufficiently high academic standard to do some research locally in these subjects. For example, in Weaving some experiment may be made to increase the width of the loom which at present is the 10" loom. In Art, specialist teachers should be trained overseas in the technique of painting and on their return they should try to develop the Art of Sierra Leone of which there is at present practically nothing in the country. In Music, teachers should specialise in African Music and develop in the children a love of such Music and an ability not only to preserve it but also to write their own. This will begin some training of the African child's imagination and his creative powers will be developed. On the creative side at present he is starved.

As regards English Language, standard English must be taught in all our schools. When the local languages have been developed to a sufficiently high standard and a fair amount of literature has been produced in them, they may also be included in the school curriculum. Until then, the use of the vernacular will have to be limited to the teaching of young children and to literacy and mass education schemes
Religious Knowledge and the Koran should be included in the curricula of Christian and Muslim schools. They should however be taught by men who have the right attitude to these subjects. Religious Knowledge must be taught by men "whose interest in the subject and desire to teach it proceed from religious faith." The teaching of the Koran must be done by teachers with similar qualifications. Government and Native Administration schools might include these two subjects as optional subjects in their curricula. It is essential, however, in all our schools that there should be a daily religious service. In schools conducted by religious bodies the service should follow a particular form of worship, either Christian or Muslim. In other schools i.e. Government and Native Administration schools, Christian and Muslim forms of worship should be provided for in order that all pupils may participate in their own religious service. Education without religion, in Sierra Leone as in other parts of Africa, can become the greatest danger of civilisation to children who emanate from a primitive society or are only now going through a period of transition in their cultural development.

Connected with the school curriculum is the subject of internal and external examinations. The tendency hitherto has been to allow the requirements of external examinations to dominate the school curriculum. Such a practice has been encouraged not only in Sierra Leone but even in English schools. The attitude to examinations is now changing in England and it is essential that a similar change should take place in Sierra Leone. In the first place, the children must not be subject to too many external examinations.
during their school life. One examination at the end of the primary school course and one at the end of the secondary school course should be quite enough. I feel compelled to recommend that these two examinations should be continued for a time because the teachers are in many cases so badly equipped for their work that they need direction and a definite purpose but the sooner this very defect is put right the better and then it will be possible and desirable to abolish the Standard VI examination at least. Pupils hoping to receive further education would, of course, continue to do two years post School Certificate work in preparation for the Higher School Certificate Examination. This is actually being done at the Prince of Wales School at the present time.

There should be a wide choice of subjects and it should be possible for pupils to have an opportunity of taking in the external examination, the different subjects they do at school. For example, Handicraft, Music, Art, Domestic Science, Surveying, Shorthand and Book-Keeping should be offered for the Cambridge Examinations by a large number of Sierra Leone candidates.

In connection with the internal examinations, there must be less variation in standards from school to school. This defect can be remedied if the schools co-operate with one another. Formal examinations at the end of each term or at the end of each half-year must be discouraged. One examination a year is enough. If careful form records are kept throughout the year, all the knowledge needed about the progress of the pupils could be got from the form teacher and this, coupled with the pupils' performance at the annual examinations, should be enough for classification and other purposes.

Some suggestion must now be made about the school-leaving age
and the payment of school fees. With regard to the former, Colony schools should insist on receiving children of a suitable age. Colony children should attend nursery classes at the age of 3 plus and begin the infant classes at 5 plus. At 7 plus they should be in the "standards" and by 11 plus they should be ready for secondary school.

If children must complete their primary education by 11 plus, Standards V and VI should not be retained in the primary schools. They should be either the first and second year classes in Middle or Central school or the "preparatory" forms in the secondary schools. It would also be preferable to do the School Certificate examination in the fourth year instead of the fifth year secondary school class. This however will depend chiefly on the improvement of the educational and professional standards of the teaching personnel. Similar classifications should be adopted in Protectorate schools but school authorities should allow for the admission of children who may not be of a suitable age. In the Infant schools, such children should be classed as "beginners". As educational facilities increase, the age requirement could be made to approximate and ultimately to be the same as in Colony schools.

With regard to fees, I would suggest that both in the Colony and the Protectorate, free places in primary and secondary schools should increase in proportion to the amount of financial responsibility assumed by the Central and local governments. As more money becomes available for education from Government and Native Administration funds (I am assuming that steps will be taken to divert far more of the profits from the mineral wealth of the country to the social services than is available at present), school fees should first of all be lowered and at a later stage primary education should be made
free. Increased taxation at this stage will be a burden on an already over-taxed people. When considerable developments have taken place in the economic field and the income of the average wage-earner, the farmer and the private craftsman has been increased, rates and taxes can be stepped up both in the Colony and the Protectorate and schemes for a system of free and compulsory education for every child of school age should be considered.

Where a successful adaptation of the curriculum takes place, much can be done in the way of creative education, developing objective standards of judgment and in training the children to become useful citizens among their own people. An education which, because of the low social and economic standards in the villages, drives the child away from his parents, should not be encouraged. The child who looks down on his parents, his tribal customs and secret societies after he has been educated has been wrongly educated. The rush into the big towns and to the Colony to become Government and mercantile clerks can only be successfully checked, if children receive an education which will foster in them a love for their village and create in them a burning desire to return even at week-ends only, and help towards its improvement. This applies also to natives of the Colony villages who have migrated to Freetown and have left their inheritance to be inhabited by Protectorate natives who once served them as garden assistants. In short, children must be trained to carry out the Pauline teaching "when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren."

Before making recommendations on adult education, some suggestions must be made on the development of female education. If our women-folk must be fully emancipated, they must be given the same chances of
primary, secondary and higher education as the men. In the Colony, this view has been accepted and girls are to be found in large numbers in the primary and secondary schools and in the Teacher Training Department at Fourah Bay College. Eight women are also doing University courses at Fourah Bay. In the Protectorate the position is different and polygamy, even among educated Protectorate men, and its concomitant evils e.g. inequality of the sexes, inadequate facilities for child training, must be checked if the women of the Protectorate are to progress. Only through Christian family life, where monogamy can be seen at its best, can Protectorate girls hope for equal chances of education with Protectorate boys.

In view of the present stage of development of Protectorate society, I would suggest separate girls' schools of the same standard as those of the boys, at all stages. Such schools should be established in the large towns and should preferably be boarding schools. The existing mixed primary schools should also be continued, but in such schools there must be qualified female assistants and if possible, a senior female assistant teacher who should be responsible for the physical and moral welfare of the girls. Subjects like Hygiene, Handwork and Domestic Science in the Bundu camps could be taught by Protectorate women teachers from schools in the neighbourhood. In this way the school and the Bundu institution would get to know each other and that might create a thirst for school education among girls who would not otherwise be interested.

Up to the present, few Protectorate girls go beyond standard IV. There are quite a number whose only opportunity for training is the Bundu society. Social welfare work through this society must therefore be made to include some literacy teaching in the vernacular.
I would suggest that both Government and Missions should plan out a useful three to six months course for Bundu girls in training as a project in which Government technical experts, school teachers and missionaries could co-operate. The position of women in the Protectorate is undergoing a change and as Dr. Kenneth Little says "The general effect has been to place more value on the services of the women, both as workers and in their relationship with men, and is leading to a breakdown in the polygamous structure upon which the patriarchal control of native society formerly rested." (12)

The success of child training in Sierra Leone will depend to a large extent on the development of literacy, mass education and social welfare schemes for the adult community. Much stress must therefore be laid on the importance of adult education for only when the parents are convinced of the value of education will they be ready in the first place to send their children to school and then to leave them there after they reach an age when they are potential sources of income.

It is an accepted principle today that in any progressive community the school and the outside world must move together. Says Stead "In former days it was common for the school and the surroundings to be separated from the outside world by a wall which was usually six feet or more in height ... Nowadays there is much more free movement between the school and the rest of the community than there was a decade or so ago." (13) If the school must reflect the ideals of the community, it is obvious that we cannot have first class schools unless we have a first class community. We cannot educate the children and leave out the parents. If parent-teachers organisations are to be successful and if a greater measure of intelligent
cooperation is to be expected from parents and guardians by the school authorities, we must have an enlightened and progressive adult community.

Rapid economic, political and social changes are taking place in Sierra Leone. To understand the significance of these changes, mass education schemes for adults must be carried out as an urgent necessity. The 1939 World War gave Sierra Leoneans who were serving in the fighting services an opportunity of seeing life in other communities including "other methods of farming which may prove valuable in Sierra Leone". After experiencing something of the comparatively higher standards of life in parts of India and Burma, the Protectorate native would like to enjoy similar standards in his own country. I would therefore suggest that there should be some co-ordination of the different schemes for educating adults. The Literacy Campaign in Mende which is being done by the United Christian Council with assistance from Government funds should be extended to other language areas. I would propose that there should be vernacular literature in at least eight local languages: Creole, Kroo, Mende, Temne, Limba, Susu, Kono and Kisi. As soon as a fair standard of literacy has been achieved, the promoters of the Literacy Campaign or some other body should be prepared to develop the work further on a simplified Workers Educational Association basis. The lectures should take the form of simple demonstrations or giving short and simple talks on various aspects of native life and showing how conditions can be improved.

Government technical departments e.g. Agriculture, Forestry, Medical and Education, should cooperate with the United Christian Council Literacy Bureau at Bo in the production of vernacular literature.
Simple booklets on Agriculture, Hygiene, Conservation of Forests, and Geography of the Village could be written by technical experts in these Government departments. Provincial Administration officers could also write books on local government for the benefit of Native Administrations. Notices could be printed in the vernacular and in large Protectorate towns, weekly or daily newspapers could be started. Unless such cooperation takes place, the bureau will tend "to be a rather isolated experiment of literacy, ... not yet sufficiently related to the generally needs of the Protectorate." (15) As many educated Africans as can come forward should take a share in this mass education movement so that Sierra Leone may experience similar results to those of countries like China and Russia.

I have tried to suggest how schools might become alive and vital forces in the areas in which they already exist. But there are vast areas in the Northern Province and parts of the Southeastern Province where there are no schools at all. The strong community sense however is there, and I suggest that education in these areas should start with this in view and thus avoid the adjustment which we now feel is so necessary in the more developed areas. In these back-ward areas, it will be a mistake to provide schools before some mass education has been given. In all detribalised parts of the country, a wide extension of schooling and the spread of adult education must be carried on simultaneously but with an increasingly strong emphasis on a community-centred curriculum, and, in the case of adult education, instruction which arises from the felt need of the people themselves. The school should arise out of the needs of the community and should not be "super-imposed" on an undeveloped tribal society. A back-ward, primitive community must first be provided with a health
centre where young and old can be taught how to take care of their bodies and to prevent disease. They should know the advantages of living in well-ventilated houses, having a good water supply and a good sewage system. They should have special clinics for men, women and children and reasonable medical facilities should be available on the spot. Next, there must be improvement of agriculture. The people should be taught how to grow more and better crops, and collective farming should be introduced. Both by oral instruction and through films, improved methods of cultivation should be taught. There should be a weekly film service on a variety of mass educational topics. Thus local industries like weaving, pottery, dye-ing can be developed and housecraft and needle-work taught in connection with welfare work in the Bundu society. African art and music can also be improved.

Literacy campaigns based on such mass education "projects" should be organised and as they developed, the people would feel the need for a wider means of communication and the opportunity that information for themselves which can only be acquired from books. Thus the need for the tools of education, namely the 3 R's, would be felt by the people and to begin with, at least, this would be provided through the vernacular. As the people saw the value of a widening field of knowledge, they would also see that a thorough child educational system was essential and an enthusiasm for education as a part of this community living would thus be engendered. To achieve this, Sierra Leoneans with a sound knowledge both of their own country and of modern educational principles should set to work forthwith to write books in the two chief vernaculars at least (Mende and Temne) in such a way that they would meet the people's needs in matters of Hygiene,
Agriculture and Local Government.

When the school building was erected, the feeling should be given from the moment of opening that this was a centre to which young and old alike could come for help, advice and information. The children should feel that the knowledge they collected outside the school, the knowledge of soils and rocks and of living and growing things, could here be discussed, amplified and recorded. Adults equally should feel that this is a place to which they come as a matter of course for the knowledge they need to help them in their work, for companionship and for advice. In this centre, cooperatives would be developed. When work on the farms was heavy, children and teachers would go and help; when work was light, adults would be provided with an increasing number of opportunities for study and discussion in the school and for learning how their more primitive methods of carrying out such crafts as spinning and weaving might be improved. Gradually the need for library provision for adults and suitable rooms for the adult activities would become obvious. Thus children and adults alike will think of their advancing education as a means of serving their community and young and old alike will appreciate the dignity of labour. Knowledge, which is the heritage of all, would gradually become available for all and I hope that by the development of such a system it might be possible to avoid both the detribalising effect of the impact of Western culture and the estrangement of the younger generation from their more primitive elders.

If the education of adults proceeds on the lines I have suggested, it will be easy for parents to follow the developments which are taking place in the schools and their interest will be further
stimulated by special Parents' Days, Prize-giving functions and Exhibitions when not only the children's work is shown but the results of the adults' work as well. But the education of the Sierra Leone child is the responsibility of the home, the tribe, the State and the general community. The State, including the local government must, provide the bulk of the funds and must direct policy; the home must look after the child and ensure him a healthy physical, moral and spiritual development and the general community must cooperate with the home and the State in developing the individuality of the child so that he can take his rightful place in society. This involves an appreciation on the part of adults, both Government and the general community, of the difficulties which beset the Sierra Leone child because of the rigidity of attitude which is often taken towards his upbringing. If through our education we are to develop a generation which is prepared to take the initiative, to shoulder responsibility and to behave as self-respecting members of the community who at the same time recognise the rights of others, we must lead the adults who come in contact with children to respect the child's need for independence, for a reasonable measure of freedom and his desire to make decisions for himself. At the same time, parents must come to realise that the child finds a security in his home and in his tribe which he needs and the community will never be served by sending children away from their homes to live with "guardians".

"The greatest need in Africa today" writes Edwin Smith, "is a great corps of intelligent, god-fearing men and women, with eyes open to the future of their race and with reverence for the past, who shall go out to uplift their fellows." (16) This, in my opinion,
should be the ultimate goal of child training in Sierra Leone.
Continues Edwin Smith "To be the trainers of such leaders—Africa
has no more useful and attractive task to offer to the Christian
men and women of England." (17)
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(16) Assisted school means a school other than a Government School, to which, under the provision of Education Ordinance No. 16 of 1938, a grant is made from public funds, or at which the salaries of any of the school staff are paid either wholly or in part from such funds.
(17) Amalgamated school is a school in which instruction is given to infants and standards and which has been formed as the result of the amalgamation of two or more schools established by different religious organisations.
Appendix I.
Genealogical Trees of Creole Families partly of European Descent.

1. The Smith Family.

WILLIAM SMITH (Yorkshire)
Chief Justice, Gold Coast
Then Judge, Mixed Commission's Court, Sierra Leone

WILLIAM SMITH (Junior), Born Gold Coast 1816
Registrar Mixed Commission's Court
(Married) (i) Miss Zachary Macauley - 2 children
(ii) Miss Spilsbury - 6 children
(iii) A European Lady - no issue

Descendants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dr. R. Smith, F. Smith</th>
<th>Dr. J. Smith, E. Smith, A. Smith, H. Smith, A. Smith</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st West African doctor</td>
<td>1st West African doctor of barrister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African medicine</td>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Justice Renner
Gold Coast

Dr. E.A. Renner (S. Leone) Miss G. Hayford
m. lady of Scottish descent.

Children attending school in England at present.

2. The Wright Family.

WILLIAM WRIGHT, Barrister
m. A European Lady

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dr. E. Jenner Wright</th>
<th>C. E. Wright, barrister</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Sophia Wright</td>
<td>C. Wright, Dental Surgeon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix III.

I visited one of the largest primary schools in Freetown a few days ago. It is a wooden building with a corrugated iron roof and it consists of a single room in which 14 classes are taught. Altogether there are between 300 and 400 children attending the school. The noise, as can be imagined, is deafening. In many places the sky can be seen through cracks in the roof and the Head Master told me that during the rains the school is completely flooded. The patchy remains of a distemper that was put on the walls many years ago increases the general feeling of poverty. Many of the desks are the long ones which have a backless seat attached and which provide for 6 or 7 children. Some of the desks are roughly constructed and unpolished; obviously they have been made locally by someone whose craftsmanship does not go beyond a limited knowledge of carpentry. Some have evidently been broken and still more roughly repaired. The school compound, where all physical training and games both for this school and for the Infant School hard by have to take place, is a sandy stretch of ground of about 40 yards square. In the middle is a single palm tree. There is no shade whatsoever except that provided in the early morning by the shadow of the church which is on one side of the compound. The Head Master told me that plans had been made 10 years ago to repair the school and to purchase an adjoining piece of land on which are standing some burnt-out houses but the war has held up the plans and now no financial assistance is available from Government until the new Director of Education is able to make comprehensive plans for the Colony schools. The people in the parish have raised £1,000 for the improvement of their school although it is
attended by a large number of Muslims and children of other denominations. They are naturally dissatisfied about the continued delay.
NATIVE ADMINISTRATION SCHOOL
STANDARD PLAN OF BUILDING.

ELEVATION

SECTION

PLAN OF SCHOOL

R.C. = REINFORCED CONCRETE
Mission School, Tikonko.
"Open barri" type of building.

Mission School, Yong Bana.
Native Administration School model.

Mission Central School, Taiama.
Standard Department.

Methodist Central School, Bunumbu.

Union College, Bunumbu.
College Chapel.

Union College, Bunumbu.
Lay-out of compound.
A Teacher
Mission School, Yengema.

American Wesleyan Mission School,
Makwia.

Methodist Boys' High School,
Freetown.
Public demonstration by Bundu girls.
Children join in communal labour.

Among the Susus, young and old love music. 'Balany' player marked 'X'.