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THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOVERNMENT POLICY
FOR EDUCATION IN SIERRA LEONE
1882 TO 1961

by
Eugene Christian Anderson

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Michigan
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PREFACE

Many persons and organizations have contributed in some way to this work. For guidance, encouragement and assistance I am indebted to the United States Government which afforded me a three year National Defense Education Act Fellowship, to the many government officials and private citizens of Sierra Leone and England who responded so well to requests for information or other aid, to the missionary organizations active in Sierra Leone, particularly the United Bretheren Church whose staff at Mattru, Jong shared not only information and views but generous hospitality, and to my family who accompanied and aided me throughout the course of my studies, go my deepest appreciation.

I wish also to acknowledge the counsel of the members of my committee as well as others on the faculty of the University of Michigan who helped me in the preparation for as well as the completion of this work. The patient and helpful guidance of Dr. Robert Leestma, my chairman, is indelibly stamped on every page of this study and also in a grateful consciousness that I have learned while I have labored.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE PURPOSE AND PLAN OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The emerging nations of the world face many basic problems in common. Economic, social, and political stability are usually less certain in the early stages of independence. Growth and development are difficult to plan and assure. The exigencies of modernization require that traditional beliefs and practices be reappraised in accordance with contemporary needs. Of fundamental importance is the development of a system of education realistically suited to the needs and resources of the country concerned.

Former colonial areas emerging into independence now must answer for themselves the question, "Where do we go from here in educational development?" The answer to this question is difficult, but the solution has been facilitated in recent years because improved communication and transportation have resulted in more extensive interaction among educational leaders around the world. Government officials in the new nations are thus increasingly aware of a wider range of educational alternatives. Tradition and the heritage of colonial policy inevitably condition educational thinking to some extent, but with independence comes a greater degree of freedom to make the decisions that will affect further educational development.

But the future cannot be determined without reference to the past. Implicit in any concern with "Where do we go from here?" is consideration of the related questions, "Where have we been and why?" Through an historical perspective decision makers may approach present problems with more valid assumptions, more pertinent questions, and a better understanding of the complex relationships between education and society.

Sierra Leone is one of the emerging nations that faces the full range of problems involved in modernization. There is a clear desire on the part of many of this nation's leaders for improvement and expansion of their educational system. A meaningful analysis of the problems of the present and the challenge of the future necessarily includes consideration of the historical development of education in Sierra Leone.

Purpose of the Study

This study traces the development of formal educational policy by the Government of Sierra Leone during the years 1882 to 1961, the period from the first significant education ordinance instituted by the Government until the granting of independence. Educational policy is the outgrowth of fundamental social, economic, and political forces. These forces generate political activity among a variety of interested groups and individuals with varying ranges of influence. This activity affects and produces the formal and legal expressions of policy which represent a consensus of the values and choices of the more influential of those who participated in the process. This study is primarily concerned with the end product — the formal and legal expressions of educational policy and the resulting actions and reactions. The study necessarily involves Great Britain to some extent because the mother country was the principal source of authority and guidance for the colonial government.

Policy is defined for the purpose of the study as a course of action as expressed in:

1. Legislative acts relevant to education.
2. Rules and regulatory functions of the government in conformity with those acts.
3. Application and adjudication of acts, rules, and regulatory functions by those officials and agencies with authority and responsibility for them.

4. Direct statements of a policy nature by government officials with responsibility for items one, two, and three.
5. Appropriation of resources by the government to education, and the proportions of allotment to the various kinds of education.
6. Specific requirements or preferences regarding levels of educational qualification for positions over which the government had employment control.

To the extent data are available the study will also attempt to identify and analyze forces affecting educational policy development and reactions to policy among the populace of Sierra Leone and among non-governmental agencies active in educational programs in Sierra Leone, particularly to the extent that such groups further influenced government educational policy development.

The terms "education" and "educational system" are used here in the sense of the formal, socially sanctioned, and legally constituted institutions and programs wherein responsibility for training and development of particular skills and understandings is allocated by the government to a specific authority and its agents. It may be government-controlled and supported public education, or private and secular, or private and ecclesiastical, or any combination of these. Education in this sense is a part rather than the total instrument of socialization and for the purpose of this study it is used in reference to schools of the Western type established in Sierra Leone by colonial authority or with approval of that authority. This study is not directly concerned with the indigenous systems of education or enculturation except where they affect the development of policy for the formal schools modeled along Western lines, the principal type of educational institution in the modern sense extant in Sierra Leone.

The focus of this study is on the development of ed-

ucational policy for the following basic aspects of the formal educational structure:

1. General academic:
   a. Elementary "three-r" schools.
   b. Post-elementary academically oriented schools.
   c. Higher academic schools of the college or university type.
2. Technical and agricultural:
   a. Elementary level schools.
   b. Post-elementary level schools.
3. Teacher training:
   a. In elementary level schools.
   b. Post-elementary level schools.
   c. Higher level certificate and degree courses.

Government guidance, control, and financing of education will be dealt with as they relate to provision for these items. The kinds of direction exercised by the government and the relative proportions of government expenditure on various aspects of education are all concrete evidences of policy. Other facets of education in Sierra Leone such as curricular details, language policy, teaching methods and practices, and the role of voluntary agencies will be examined only to the extent they are related to development of basic policy for the aspects of education outlined above.

Sources

Whenever possible primary sources have been consulted regarding official government policy for education and the forces affecting the development and reception of that policy and its implementation. Information on determinants of policy is often not available or is less accessible than are official statements or quantitative records. A variety of sources has been utilized to get at this less tangible aspect, but the conclusions concerning determinants necessarily represent a more speculative portion of this study.

The development of education in Britain is the subject of an exhaustive literature. For this aspect of the study

as well as for anthropological, economic, political, and general historical matters, data has been utilized from various sources of both primary and secondary nature, but with the latter predominating. While there are some dissenting opinions regarding the development of education in Britain, it is the most widely accepted viewpoint that is utilized here for interpretations relevant to the development of educational policy in Sierra Leone.

Relatively little information and data on education in Sierra Leone are available in the United States. The writer is fortunate to have had direct experience as principal of a Sierra Leone secondary school from February to October of 1962. Through teaching, administering, planning, and observing within the system, and through interviews and discussions with many teachers, pupils, missionaries, civil servants, businessmen, and people from other walks of life, much material was collected and many insights were gained which added to the understanding of documentary sources which were studied in Sierra Leone and in London.

Methodology

This study relies principally on written records. Some information was obtained through interviews with people whose personal experience with education in Sierra Leone renders them competent to interpret events covered in the study. However, primary reliance has been placed on evidence from documentary sources. As might be expected, there is considerable variation in the kind, extent, and adequacy of documentation for the different periods covered. While fewer reliable sources exist for earlier periods, it is fortunate that a wide variety of written records of these years remain extant and accessible. For example, a wealth of information exists in the collected correspondence of the Church Missionary Society at Salisbury Square, London, but these archives are closed for publication purposes for the fifty years preceding the present date. Consequently mate-

rial from the archives has been used extensively for the years up to 1912, but not for the period thereafter.

Government records and publications are relied upon to a great extent. The development of more sophisticated means of data collection and better organization for government reports renders these official documents increasingly useful for the last few decades covered by the study. Early reports are sometimes ambiguous, difficult to interpret, and of questionable validity.

The chance discovery in the London Public Record Office of the minutes of the Sierra Leone Board of Education meetings is but one illustration of a further problem — difficulty in locating materials known or believed to exist.

All the sources used have been analyzed for accuracy of fact and interpretation. The primary sources cited are not necessarily all that are extant; they are, however, available and are sufficient for the purpose employed. The secondary sources used are likewise not exhaustive, but they are believed adequate and reliable. As documented in the succeeding chapter, a thorough search of the literature was conducted and all available material was considered for relevance. Those materials necessary to the purpose of this study have been utilized according to standard principles of historiography.

Every effort has been made to seek independent proofs. Where such confirmation was not possible, any conclusions drawn are necessarily tentative. Objectivity has been a constant goal.

None of the foregoing is intended as a disclaimer of responsibility for error. The paucity of reliable information on the subject required careful scrutiny of the authenticity and adequacy of all available data. Despite constant concern, the possibility of error remains and for any such flaws the writer is solely responsible.

Several researchers in the social sciences have noted the difficulties of methodology often inherent in dealing

with African problems.[1] The non-Western nature of most African cultures can pose serious problems to a Western student. The standard of the researcher must be diligent avoidance of culture-bound deterrents to objectivity. The dangers of approaching Africa from an exclusively Western perspective have been delineated elsewhere,[2] and it is not our purpose here to do more than acknowledge the problem and indicate the extent to which objective methods have been employed.

Fortunately the problem is not serious in this case because the primary subject under consideration (government development of formal educational policy) is of Western origin and nature. The influence of indigenous culture is considered where appropriate, but its effect in policy development was, inevitably, to a large extent a matter of European interpretation. The study is intercultural insofar as it involves causal relationships relevant to policy decisions and reactions to those decisions among the non-Western peoples of Sierra Leone, but it does not attempt analysis of non-Western phenomena by Western values. In cases where fundamentally African phenomena are significant to the study, reliance is placed on the work of social scientists experienced in African matters.

Assumptions derived from one culture should not be imposed upon different cultural structures without careful consideration of their relevance. As Sahlins and Service point out:

"By definition the things compared are not identical; hence, conclusions drawn about one are not necessarily relevant to the other. But if they are homologous it follows that insofar as similarities are observed in the things studied, the probability is that these similarities can be explained in similar terms. To explain two things in similar terms is not the same as explaining one in terms of the other. Therefore there is no reductionism."[3]

1. Cf. Henry Bretton, Power and Stability in Nigeria (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), Appendix.
2. Cf. Colin Turnbull, The Lonely African (New York: Anchor Books, 1963).
3. M. D. Sahlins and E. R. Service, Evolution and Culture (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), p. 16.

It is tenable to employ a Western framework for analysis in this study because the development of policy for education of a Western type was initiated and implemented by Western or Westernized people prior to the independence of Sierra Leone. This framework is a standard historical approach based on a multilateral analysis of social development; that is, social, economic, and political factors are considered inter-related and integral to the process of historical analysis.

Significance of the Study

This study attempts to foster an understanding of the development of the educational policies upon which the present system of education in Sierra Leone is building. This foundation should be of value to those responsible for the future development of education in Sierra Leone. It explains how and why basic policy questions have been dealt with in the past and provides a useful basis for helping to determine the relevance of present assumptions to contemporary needs.

The study provides an analysis of policy which may be of value to future studies dealing with other aspects of educational development in Sierra Leone. Because of the relationship between educational policy and social forces, the study may also be of value to future research efforts whose primary emphases lie in fields other than professional education.

Viewed as a case study, the present work has potential utility for comparative purposes. It helps provide a basis for studies concerned with the development of government policy for education in other British colonies in Africa and elsewhere, as well as for studies of the development of government policy for education in the colonies of other nations in or out of Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

RELATED STUDIES

There have been a number of studies, analyses, surveys, and a variety of other works which relate directly or indirectly to the development of educational policy in Sierra Leone. None of them deals in a comprehensive way with such development, but each makes some contribution to understandind of the subject by providing either background, material for analysis and comparison, or theoretical approaches.

Two doctoral dissertations and two master's theses have dealt directly with Sierra Leonean education and provide useful insights into specific aspects of education in that country. Two of these studies are the work of Baker: " A History of Education in Sierra Leone, British West Africa"[1] and "The Development of Secondary Education in Sierra Leone."[2] The former is a general survey of education in Sierra Leone written prior to the author's extensive experience in that country. It traces historical development and outlines government concerns in education. The latter details the growth of Sierra Leonean secondary education with emphasis on analysis of the strong grammar school tradition and its relationship to needs and conditions. Baker's personal involvement in the educational system of the country for a period of ten years during the era of expansion following World War II contributes beneficially to his analysis. He briefly treats some applications of policy relative to secondary education and occasionally indicates some possible rationale for policy, but his studies do not deal comprehensively with policy development per se.

1. Earl DeWitt Baker, " A History of Education in Sierra Leone, British West Africa," (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Michigan, 1949).

2. Earl DeWitt Baker, "The Development of Secondary Education in Sierra Leone," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1963).

Coleson, in his dissertation "Educational Change in Sierra Leone,"[1] made a determination of the educational needs of contemporary Sierra Leone and found the UNESCO program of fundamental education provided a plan consistent with meeting those needs.

American United Bretheren Mission endeavors in education in Sierra Leone are treated in some detail by Rosselot's thesis, "The Origin, Growth, and Development of the United Bretheren in Christ Mission Schools in Sierra Leone, West Africa."[2] The work documents the educational aims of the Mission. It treats such topics as vacillation of mission policies, problems of distance and communication, and the failure of implementation of some mission policies. Rosselot examined the relationship between the Government and missions during the period up to 1936 and pointed out some areas of agreement and differences on educational policy.

In his book *Sierra Leone*,[3] Lewis provides background for a general study of the country. He devotes one brief but succinct chapter to some current criticisms and problems of education. Although journalistic and occasionally superficial, the book provides a useful overview of Sierra Leone and raises many pertinent questions concerning the future progress of the nation.

A History of Education in British West Africa[4] by Wise and *A Short History of Education in British West Africa*[5] by Hilliard are both historical surveys which indicate the direction of policy and outline major policy developments in education, but do not deal comprehensively with this problem

1. Edward P. Coleson (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1956).
2. Glen Taylor Rosselot (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1936).
3. Roy Lewis (London: H.M.S.O., 1954).
4. Colin Wise (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956).
5. F. H. Hilliard (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1957).

in relation to Sierra Leone. Both focus much more on developments in Ghana and Nigeria.

Fyfe's exhaustive chronological study, A History of Sierra Leone,[1] is invaluable for materials prior to 1900. Its thorough documentation and close attention to detail render it indispensible in any study of Sierra Leonean history.

Two broad surveys of education in Africa relate directly to any consideration of educational policy. The Phelps-Stokes reports of 1920-21 and of 1924[2] are the results of a commission established under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to inquire into the state of education then prevalent in Africa, the total needs of the African communities for education and the degree to which these needs were being met. The commission critically examined government and mission work in education and developed an extensive set of recommendations for change. The reports were subsequently utilized by a British government commission appointed in 1923 to consider education in the colonies and possible future policy directions.

In 1953 the Nuffield Foundation and the British Colonial Office jointly sponsored research by two teams, one of which covered West Africa and the other East Africa. The reports of the two groups were published as: African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa.[3] The report of the West Africa study group indicated an awareness of the cultural problems involved in contact between colonial and colonized peoples. It dealt in detail with the development of educational systems in the context of colonial Africa and came to grips with numerous criticisms of educational policy and practice. Its recommendations varied from the specific to the general, but it did propose a course of action for educational development in West Africa and seemed to recognize the importance of the socio-economic relationships involved in the development of education.

1. Christopher Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

2. Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa, Abridged and with an introduction by L. J. Lewis, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

3. (Oxford: Nuffield Foundation and Colonial Office, 1953).

L. J. Lewis, in Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas,[1] offers a cogent, sweeping view of educational policy since 1925 in the colonies of Britain. He outlines the establishment and purpose of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies in 1923 and discusses its major reports:

Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, 1925
Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, 1935
Mass Education in African Societies, 1943
Education for Citizenship in Africa, 1946.

Lewis then deals in turn with general policy relating to secondary education, technical and vocational training, higher education, and financial policy. He suggests that it is still premature to determine if policy has achieved its goals, but proceeds to examine policy implementation by looking into the aspects indicated by his major section headings:

1. "Governments and Voluntary Agencies;"
2. "Principles of Adaptation," dealing with needs of different areas and citing several relevant experiments;
3. "Curricula and Textbooks," noting development of texts designed specifically for use in Africa;
4. "Vernacular Studies," referring to considerable failure to comply with the recommendations of the Advisory Committee;
5. "Religious Education," pointing out that before 1925 governments had remained neutral but that after that date had developed a more sympathetic concern;
6. "Teacher Training;"
7. "Technical and Vocational Training," indicating the lack of consistency and direction in this area;
8. "Community Development," dealing with such aspects as mass literacy programs;
9. "Higher Education;"
10. "Future Development," essentially a set of suggestions and recommendations.

1. L. J. Lewis, (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1954).

Africa Advancing by Davis, Campbell, and Wrong[1] offers a comparison of policies relating to rural and agricultural education in West Africa and in the Belgian Congo and outlines conditions and planning in those fields as they existed in 1945.

A brief comparison of pre-World War II educational policies in German, French, Dutch, and British dependencies is available in Mumford's A Comparative Survey of Native Education in Various Dependencies.[2]

Wilson's Education and Changing West African Culture[3] is an account of educational development in British West Africa which focuses primarily on Ghana in the period since 1923. It deals with numerous questions regarding the importance of economic, social, and political phenomena in relation to educational development and also suggests some criteria for appraisal of the work of the British Advisory Committee on Education in Africa.

Education for a Developing Region by Hunter[4] briefly surveys British colonial educational policy and then considers contemporary educational needs in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. Hunter deals particularly with problems of finance, standards, and types of education as he perceives their importance on the modern educational scene in these countries.

Read focuses an anthropological orientation on problems of educational planning in Education and Social Change in Tropical Areas[5] as does Herskovits in one chapter of his book, The Human Factor in Changing Africa.[6]

1. J. Davis, T. Campbell, and M. Wrong, (New York: The Friendship Press, 1945).
2. William B. Mumford, (London: Evans Brothers, 1937).
3. John Wilson, (New York: Columbia University, 1963).
4. Guy Hunter, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963).
5. Margaret Read, (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1956).
6. Melville J. Herskovits, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962).

Educating Young Nations[1] by Ward presents a broad overview of educational needs and consequent implications for planning in which the author draws from considerable personal experience in Ghana.

Mason's British Education in Africa[2] devotes one chapter to a historical examination of educational policy in general.

Surveys of education in two other British-influenced African territories were examined. George's Education for Africans in Tanganyika[3] deals implicitly with policy in the very recent development of that country's contemporary educational structure. African Development and Education in Southern Rhodesia[4] by Parker relates the very different circumstances surrounding the development of educational policy in a territory widely populated by Europeans.

In addition to the references cited above, the following serial publications were searched for relevant studies and information: Africa, journal of the International African Institute (1928-1962); African Affairs (1901-1962; Africa Report (1958-1964); African Studies Bulletin, publication of the African Studies Association (1958-1964); The Colonial Review (1939-1941); Colonial Research (1944-1945); Corona, the Journal of Her Majesty's Colonial Service (1949-1962); International Review of Missions (1912-1936); Journal of African Administration (1949-1961); Journal of West African Education (1957-1964); Phi Delta Kappan (Vol. XLI, January 1960); Sierra Leone Studies (Old Series, 1918-1939 - New Series, December 1959-December 1961); West Africa (1917-1964); West African Review (1931-1964). Also the following newspapers published in Freetown, Sierra Leone were examined: The Colonial and Provincial Reporter (January 3, 1914-December

1. W. E. F. Ward (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1959).
2. R. J. Mason (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).
3. Betty George (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1960).
4. Franklin Parker (Columbus, Ohio: Kappa Delta Pi, 1960).

25, 1915); The Daily Guardian (January 2, 1933-June 30, 1933); The Freetown Daily Mail (1961-1962); The Sierra Leone Gazette (random issues); The Sierra Leonean (1961-1962); The Sierra Leone Weekly News (January 3, 1920-December 25, 1920).

As the bibliography of this study indicates, the references described above are not the only published works relevant to the development of educational policy in Sierra Leone. They are, however, the principal related studies for the purpose of this work.

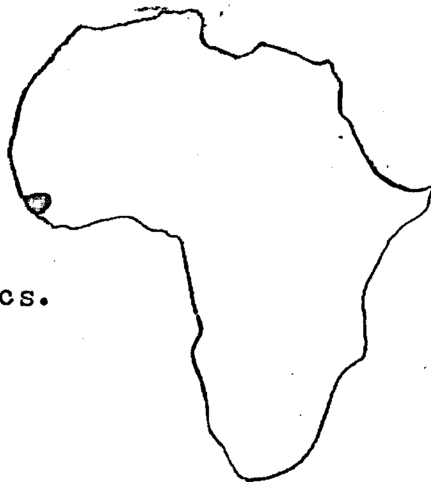
Of special value are the numerous reports, minutes, ordinances, and other records of the various government agencies responsible for policy development and implementation. These primary sources have not been delineated here, but are treated in appropriate detail in the pertinent portions of the chapters which follow.

CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY: THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF SIERRA LEONE

The development of any nation is inevitably affected by its environment, its people, and its past. An understanding of these elements is necessary for a meaningful analysis of educational development. This chapter surveys the relevant historical, cultural, political, and economic background which is essential for the present study.

Sierra Leone is a small country on the western coast of Africa. It has an area of 27,925 square miles, about the size of the State of Maine. Situated between the seventh and tenth parallels of north latitude and approximately bisected by the meridian at twelve degrees west longitude, Sierra Leone lies well within the tropics.



Safe anchorages are few and far between on the West African coast. One distinctive feature which made Sierra Leone more accessible in the early years of exploration was the natural harbor at the mouth of the Sierra Leone River which proved inviting to the ships of the early explorers investigating the little known continent from the sea.

Historical Summary to 1882

European interest in West Africa began in earnest in the fifteenth century with the exploratory voyages of the Portuguese and Spanish.[1] Indeed it was Portuguese sailors who first anchored in the broad natural harbor at Sierra Leone about 1450 and, so the generally accepted account goes, heard thunder rolling in the hills behind what is today the capital city, Freetown. They likened the noise to the roaring of lions and gave the area the name it still bears: Sierra Leone, the land of the lion mountains.

After initial explorations had demonstrated the accessibility of the West African coast, the commercial potential of the area was quickly realized by Europeans. Traders came, first for gold and spices but later also for other items of trade, not the least of which were slaves. British businessmen, slave traders, and explorers were attracted to sections which were becoming known for their most significant products as the Gold Coast, Slave Coast, Ivory Coast, and Grain Coast.

But official British dominion was slow in following to any great extent. A rapidly growing British empire demanded more government attention elsewhere. West Africa was considered at best a second-rate investment by many in a watchful and wary government in London. The value of a broad marketplace for expanding British industry was an important consideration in the development of colonies, but seemingly less so for West Africa than for other areas of the globe. It was probably more humanitarian than economic interests which first brought a firm government commitment to Sierra Leone.

The Mansfield Decision of 1772 which proclaimed the unlawfulness of slavery in England, the abolition of the slave trade by England in 1807, and the ultimate abolition of slavery itself in 1833 had direct bearing upon the estab-

1. J. D. Fage, An Introduction to the History of West Africa (Cambridge: The University Press, 1957), p. 39.

lishment of the British colony at Sierra Leone. Several English philanthropists and humanitarians organized a group called the Sierra Leone Company and provided for the resettlement of a number of destitute ex-slaves from England.[1] In 1787 these freed slaves arrived at what was to become Freetown in a move that seemed to their benefactors a return to their homeland. Many in fact were far from their ancestral homes and had become so thoroughly exposed to Western ways that it must have seemed a strange prospect to return to a continent with which they had few, if any, ties. Most did not, in fact, leave their English learnings behind them. They brought with them an English heritage of religious and educational values which were clearly to affect institutional development in the region.

The first settlers experienced some serious difficulties in their new environment and the venture was on the verge of complete collapse when the pioneer group was joined in 1792 by Negroes who had been granted their freedom as a reward for having fought on the side of Britain in the American Revolutionary War. This group had first been resettled in Nova Scotia. Finding conditions there not to their liking, the Nova Scotian settlers were removed to Sierra Leone where they added a resourceful element to a tenuous experiment and the enterprise managed to survive. A third early group of still different origin was the Maroons, 500 ex-slaves who had revolted in the West Indies and who were offered amnesty if they would resettle in Sierra Leone. They helped to establish order by presenting a countervailing force against the large number of settlers from Nova Scotia. After 1807, recaptured slaves taken off slave-ships by the British were also sent to Sierra Leone, adding a further element to a growing community of former slaves who were now freedmen.

In 1808 the patronage of the Sierra Leone Company was replaced and official status as Crown Colony was declared for the settlement.

From the beginning the people of the Colony found it desirable to establish the geographical boundaries between themselves and the indigenous peoples of the area. (See Maps 1 and 2, Appendix) The tribes of the interior and of the coastal areas outside the colonial peninsula were numerous and varied. The two largest and most significant tribes were the Mende and the Temne. Some of these tribes were themselves relative newcomers to the country. Kup, in his History of Sierra Leone 1400-1787,[1] relates the evidence and speculates on the probable arrival times and immigration routes of the peoples who inhabited the country at the end of the eighteenth century. No distinction among indigenous tribes regarding their length of tenure or origins will be made here because they were all fairly permanently settled in the region before the time of this study's concern. Many of the tribal peoples were to become much aware of the course of development of their repatriated neighbors and were to be much influenced by events in Freetown.

There were few others in addition to the resettled Africans and the indigenous tribespeople, but these few government officials, businessmen, and missionaries were to become a vital force in the progression of the Colony. The country was originally not considered suitable for European settlement. It was less attractive and poorer in resources than other places under British control and was so unhealthy that it was to earn the designation, "white man's grave." But there were those Englishmen, and later Americans and others, who found reason to spend their lives in Sierra Leone. In addition to representatives of economic interests and of the Crown, there came a seemingly endless and self-sacrificing stream of Christian missionaries to minister to the minds, the bodies, and the souls of the Creoles. At a later date they turned their attention also to the indigenous peoples.

1. Peter Kup, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1961), passim.

The prevalence of churches and schools in Freetown today is evidence of the extent of their efforts.

The civil servant, businessman, and missionary played significant roles in the fashioning of an African elite which became a prototype of the detribalized and Westernized black man. The original four kinds of African immigrants early began to coalesce into a "Creole" society which was one of the results of the nineteenth century experiments in the elevation of the African.

While a detailed history of the settlement and Colony to 1882, the beginning of the period with which this study is concerned, would be out of place, a brief chronology of significant events is included here to provide general background and historical perspective.

1787	First settlers arrived at Freetown peninsula, Sierra Leone.
1788	Treaties enacted with local Temne chiefs for land on the peninsula.
1789	Freetown destroyed by Temne King Jimmy and settlers dispersed.
1791	Sierra Leone Company began efforts to re-form the settlement.
1792	1,190 settlers arrived from Nova Scotia; John Clarkson became first English governor; friction between first settlers from England, Nova Scotians, and Government; Nova Scotians claimed they were not given what had been promised them.
1800	500 Maroons arrived from Jamaica and helped counterbalance the previously dominant Nova Scotians.
1801	War broke out between the settlement and the Temne.
1806	Temne War ended.
1807	Entire northern part of peninsula came under control of settlers; slave trade abolished by Britain.

1808 Sierra Leone declared Crown Colony; few settlers returned to farms after Temne War of 1801-06, instead turned more to trade, government clerical positions, crafts in the city; Freetown becoming a more metropolitan center; Admiralty Court in Freetown began release of freed slaves from captured ships to the Colony.

1811 Methodist Rev. Warren arrived in Freetown, one of first missionaries to establish successful mission.

1814 Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) of the Church of England began extensive work in the Colony; the Christian Institution founded by C.M.S. to train recaptive Africans as teachers and missionaries.

1816 C.M.S. founded Regent Church in a flourishing but smaller community in the hills near Freetown; division of the Colony into parishes began; timber trade began in interior; Temne introduced to money economy by payment of wages and rents; MacCarthy, British Army officer, appointed Governor, encouraged missionary activity; Rev. Johnson, C.M.S. missionary at Regent 1816-1823, used appeal of Christianity to unite and Westernize Colony peoples of that region; schools and hospitals begun in Colony villages with government support.

1819 Court of Mixed Commission established in Freetown with judges from those European countries which had abolished slave trade; thousands of freed slaves from captured ships began to be settled in Colony; treaty with Temne chiefs made more of peninsula available; Governor MacCarthy attempted to stimulate trade with interior.

1821 All British West African colonies administratively united with Freetown as capital, this arrangement ended 1827.

1824 Turner succeeded MacCarthy as Governor; Turner annexed by treaty parts of the coastal area in Sherbro and Gallinas to the south of Colony, but was forced by British government to return it to the dominion of chiefs because London wanted no further West African territory.

1825 Governor Turner prevented war of succession in Port Loko (outside Colony) by military intervention and established precedent for Colony government approval of future chiefs.

1827	The Christian Institution reorganized at Fourah Bay (the name Fourah Bay College was not officially used until later in the century but at the time with which this study begins it was so called); Recaptive freed slaves began to flourish in trade and business; conversions to Christianity increased rapidly.
1839	Government formally recognized rights of Muslims in Colony.
1841	American missionaries established "Mendi Mission" in interior.
1843	Crowther, recaptive and later first African Bishop, ordained a clergyman of Anglican Church.
1845	C.M.S. Grammar School began in Freetown, first secondary school in Colony.
1849	C.M.S. opened secondary school for girls in Freetown.
1850	Majority of recaptives now nominally Christian.
1852	Regular shipping schedules between Europe and West Africa established, improves transport and communication.
1853	Trade associations and local newspapers began reflecting the climate of the African community which was as yet without a voice in Colony government.
1855	American United Bretheren in Christ missionaries began work in interior.
1861	Native Pastorate (Anglican) Church established in Colony.
1864	First successful Roman Catholic mission established and began schools.
1868	Government survey found most Colony schools in poor condition with few materials and untrained teachers, annual grants began but in small and undependable amounts; many educated Creoles began going to England for higher education and professional training; Mende tribe extended influence and dominated a large part of interior; tribal Africans from interior began to migrate to Colony towns where they formed a source of low cost labor, but encountered friction with Creoles who looked down on them as inferiors; communities of tribal immigrants began to form in Freetown.

1870 The name "Creole" came to be applied to all descendents of original settlers and recaptives in the Colony and distinctions between them became less and less important.

1874 Methodist mission established boys' high school; customs treaties extended British economic sphere down the coast from Freetown without expanding the area of colonial administration and cost of government.

1876 Fourah Bay College affiliated with Durham University.

1877 Government and missions disagreed on content of education and grants to church-related schools were withdrawn.

1882 Education Ordinance of 1882, first significant step in aid and direction of Colony education.

By 1882 the Colony had become a firmly established and flourishing community. The Creoles in Freetown formed a metropolitan trading community and were establishing themselves in the professions and government. Trade and cultural links were growing with the peoples of the interior and the Creoles were agitating for expansion of the Colony by annexation of interior areas. Freetown had numerous schools, a university affiliated college, a large Christian community, and a people who looked to Britain for their cultural ties.

But the Colony was not without problems. Agriculture was poorly developed; few Creoles thought work on the land a suitable endeavor for men of their station. Those Creoles who did engage in farming knew little of the techniques commensurate with the demands of European markets and found agriculture unprofitable. The prosperity of trade depended heavily upon economic conditions in Europe. The Colony was not the self-supporting and independent entity which had been envisioned by its founders, but leaned hard on Mother Britannia both culturally and economically.

The People and Religions of Sierra Leone

The Creole

The term "creole" has various meanings in different parts of the world. As used here it denotes only those people of the Sierra Leone Colony who form the community made up of the original settlers from England, the repatriated Negroes from Nova Scotia and the West Indies, the liberated slaves, and the descendents of these groups. Some Creoles in Sierra Leone prefer the local spelling "Krio" to refer to what is both a cultural division and an ethnic distinction, but because "Creole" is the more widely used, it is the spelling that will be employed in this study.

Creole society in Sierra Leone developed over a period of many years. By 1882 the original settlers and liberated Africans had so intermingled that the class and status boundaries which previously existed had dissolved. The Creole community that emerged is still clearly recognizable today. While the views of its members are sometimes tempered by African ideas and forms, in its most articulate and ideal expression Creoledom represents adherence to Western ideology, principally British in form. This allegiance is most obvious in surface matters, such as hyphenated surnames, mode of dress (often impractical for the tropical climate), and social protocol — the trappings of the British society which they sought to emulate. It is also clearly evident in the extent to which they sought English education and considered "learning book" (book learning) essential in the rearing of children.[1]

Among the Creoles, as in all societies, levels of attainment cover a broad range depending upon individual abilities and motivations, but ideally the Creole is a Westernized man,

1. E. M. Richardson and G. R. Collins, "Economic and Social Survey of the Rural Areas of the Colony of Sierra Leone" (London: Colonial Office, Research Department, Unpublished mimeograph copy, 1952), pp. 430-31.

however short of that ideal some may fall. This is not to deny the influence of an African ancestry and association nor to maintain that the Creole society was or is identical with British culture.

It is important to recognize that Creole society has been heavily influenced by nineteenth century Victorian values to which, in the opinion of many observers, Creoles still subscribe today. While the degree of actual commitment to Victorian values and Western ideology is difficult to determine, a deep faith in the redeeming qualities of the church and education, a desire to become good businessmen, and aspiration for their children in the professions are common characteristics of most Creoles. To be sure there are contrary examples. Some of the liberated Africans who were resettled in Sierra Leone repudiated European influences and made a determined and somewhat successful effort to remain purely African.[1] For the most part, however, the leaders of Creole society have throughout the years represented themselves as products of a Western-type milieu. Their language (a patois based on English) and many of their customs are clearly more Western than African.

The tribal peoples of the interior thought of the Creoles as "black Englishmen" and killed them just as readily as if they had been white in the uprising of 1898.[2] Evidence of recent years seems to suggest that the Creole clings so

1. Arthur Porter, Creoledom (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 12. Porter refers to a number of liberated Yoruba (a Nigerian tribe) who grouped together and retained their tribal language. They also adopted Islam.

2. Tribal Africans who became Christian and adopted Western ways were similarly categorized and called "poto" or "pothono" which was a term of opprobrium which was applied to all whites. It derives from the name "Portuguese," the first whites known to the Temne. Cf. John and Rena Karefa Smart, The Halting Kingdom (New York: The Friendship Press, 1959), p. 19.

assiduously to his Victorian attitudes that in the face of modern values and pressures he retreats and retires to a sort of mental nineteenth century drawing room to reminisce of bygone days when he occupied a more privileged station. The Creole is still an important element in the structure of Sierra Leone, but he is declining in influence, affluence, and number. It seems unlikely that he will ever regain the power-elite status he had achieved prior to the turn of the century.

The Tribal Peoples

About fifteen different tribal groups make up the indigenous population of the country outside the boundaries of the Colony (which after 1896 was officially termed the Protectorate, see pages 45-46 and Map 2, Appendix). The tribal census of 1921 listed the following tribes and their populations:

Tribe	Population
Mende	557,674
Temne	311,418
Konno	112,215
Limba	112,010
Sherbro	93,756
Susu	53,753
Kissi	46,506
Lokko	45,052
Koranko	30,100
Vai	24,541
Krim	23,741
Yalunka	12,400

Plus some Fullah, Mandingo, Gola and others too minor to be of note.[1]

The dubious accuracy of statistics is a recurring problem in Africa. One reason is the shifting nature of certain portions of the population. Sierra Leone is bounded on the south by Liberia and on the east and north by Guinea. The statistics for tribes which occupy a region on both sides of

1. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1926-27. (Freetown: The Government Printer), p. 55. No subsequent census has listed tribal populations.

a border or which are semi-nomadic or migratory in the border regions are always highly questionable.

While the figures quoted above are likely to be inaccurate, they do provide useful approximations of the relative proportions of different tribal groups in Sierra Leone. All statistics subsequently employed or quoted in this study must also be viewed with caution. They are used because they are the best available data.

It is readily seen from the above figures that the Mende, Temne, Konno, and Limba represent approximately 85 percent of the country's tribal population. Of these the Mende early held a numerical superiority and inhabit the largest area. This study will deal with this tribe more than any other because more is known about them and they do represent the largest tribal organization in Sierra Leone. The Mende were also among the first to be exposed to extensive missionary activity. American missionaries began to work among them in 1841 and have maintained an expanding program of education and conversion to the present day. The Mende seem to have attracted the goodwill of many observers and visitors, perhaps because of the long tenure of mission activity in their land. With a directness revealing what may have been a common missionary perception of the group, a bias toward a quasi-Rousseauian view, Vivian, a missionary to Sierra Leone around the turn of the century, wrote:

> "Though the Mendiman belongs to a backward race, he is neither mentally stagnant nor hopelessly depraved. In some respects a rank savage, but in other regards he is a true Negro — a child of Nature, a simple, kindly, melody-loving being, with an uncomplaining and valorous heart in his breast."[1]

Vivian goes on to refer to the courtly procedure of the Mende chiefs as their "august make-believe."[2] One wonders if he had ever witnessed the changing of the guard at

1. William Vivian, Mendiland Memories (London: Henry Hooks. United Methodist Publishing House, no date), p. 17.
2. Ibid., p. 18.

Buckingham Palace or a British coronation. Such ethnocentric views as Vivian's have characterized many observations on foreign cultures.

Each tribe in the hinterland of Sierra Leone has characteristics which distinguish it from the others. There is, however, a degree of common cultural orientation. A detailed description or analysis of tribal structures or ideologies is not germane to this study. Our concern here is for those elements of tribal structure sufficiently strong to represent potential causative factors in policy determination or which may have had some direct effect on receptivity to proposed educational change. A brief summary of relevant facets follows.

Ottenberg has identified a number of criteria for receptivity to change among African tribes.[1] Using some of these criteria as a guide, certain basic characteristics of the tribal peoples of Sierra Leone will be identified and their potential for receptivity to change indicated.

Sierra Leone is rather densely populated in comparison with the whole of the African continent. With approximately seventy-five persons per square mile the different tribes are in fairly close proximity. Tribal areas are usually homogeneously populated, but often overlap. Over the past fifty years mobility has been stimulated by the development of broader internal and external trade, industry, and mining, plus government suppression of tendencies to recurrent tribal wars. This mobility has increased both within and between tribal areas, and it is not uncommon to find in trading and transportation centers quite a heterogeneously populated community. These changes resulted in increased communication among tribes and produced a situation wherein change affecting

1. Simon Ottenberg, "Ibo Receptivity to Change" in <u>Continuity and Change in African Cultures</u>. W. R. Bascom and M. J. Herskovits, editors. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 130-143.

one tribe was more likely to be known and perhaps adopted or adapted by other tribes.

Tribal people were also often attracted to urban areas where they were exposed to alien ways. Growth of urban and semi-urban areas which attracted tribal people seeking employment is best evidenced by the growth of the tribal population in Freetown. Banton estimates that the non-Creole population of Freetown increased from approximately 33,000 in 1931 to 65,000 in 1953.[1]

All the major tribal groups of Sierra Leone have had traditional leadership patterns with groups of elders or familial associations exercising responsibility for government by selection and support of chiefs and sub-chiefs. However, neither within nor between tribes has there been any strong centralized authority, but rather dispersed leadership. Consequently there existed no strong organized resistance to change. As many as 221 separate and autonomous local political units have been recognized in the Sierra Leone interior.[2]

Traditional tribal controls have been weakened by European intervention, and there has been a division of loyalties resulting from mission influences and changes in the economic structure. The introduction of economic production for export, acquisition of new items of material culture, and new standards of value and prestige further increased resistance to the conservative elements which have existed in traditional society.

In most African societies considerable stress is placed on group identity and achievement; the tribal groups of Sierra Leone are no exception. Among the Mende, however, individual integrity is also valued. Changes which might enhance either individual or group status were sometimes sought rather than

1. Michael Banton, West African City (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 100.
2. Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, Cmd. 6655 (London: H.M.S.O., 1945), p. 8.

resisted. In the traditional social structure roles were ascribed and vertical mobility was low. With the changes in economy and administration wrought by the colonial government it soon became clear that additional avenues for role achievement were opening.

Traditional religious forms were structured so that there existed the possibility of alternative choices and a degree of freedom. Christianity and Islam were far from being in accord with traditional religions but offered some possibilities attractive enough to enable at least nominal conversion for many tribal peoples.

Exposure to Western technology and ideology is an important factor also, and this had been provided by European and Creole interests for a considerable length of time. The economic and political controls which developed over the tribal peoples enforced this exposure and sometimes compelled acceptance of Western ways. Even if change was perceived as seriously divergent from traditional ways, it was often unavoidable. When change was not viewed as a dangerous departure the fundamental structure and ideology of tribal society did not necessarily preclude at least toleration of, if not strong commitment to, change.

Within the framework outlined above there was considerable potential for the kind of change which might be represented in educational policy. Tribal reactions to specific educational policy and its implementation will be discussed in the course of the detailed analysis in subsequent chapters. There are, however, two aspects of tribal life which are better dealt with in detail in advance of their specific relationship to educational policy in order that a protracted treatment may not detract later from the central issue then being considered. These aspects are (1) the role of traditional tribal educational institutions, and (2) the problem of non-scientific mentality as expressed in such forms as superstitions and belief in magic.

The indigenous institutions for education assume a variety of forms and names from tribe to tribe. As was noted earlier, we are not specifically concerned with them except as they may bear directly upon the development of official educational policy. They are best exemplified by the secret societies (secret in the sense that their processes and methods are not revealed to the uninitiated; their membership is not secret). These secret societies are known among the Mende as the Poro (for males) and the Sande (often called Bundu, for females). These societies are instruments of enculturation and training grounds for the youth of the tribe. They are designed to promote group loyalties and pass on those elements of the culture necessary for continued tribal safety and function. They are usually accompanied by ritualistic religious ceremony involving circumcision, clitoridectomy, and cicatricization.

Watkins offers a cogent summary of the effectiveness of these institutions in "The West African Bush School"[1]:

> "These institutions, considered in relation to the culture of which they are a part, are more genuinely educative and efficient than many of the formal schools of occidental culture. There are no cultural lags and 'useless knowledge' stored in symbols remote from the contemporary social order. Some of the activities and subject matter of the 'bush' school may be rejected on the basis of the standards of modern civilization, but the system should be considered with sympathetic appreciation before missionary or other efforts are made to modify it fundamentally; for no criticism so severe as that which has been made of the French educational system of the recent past (and which seems largely applicable to many of our present-day schools) can readily be made of the native youth trained in the poro or of this institution in relation to its cultural milieu."

As Watkins indicates, the status of the teacher or

1. Mark Hanna Watkins, "The West African Bush School" in Education and Culture, George Spindler, ed., (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), pp. 426-443.

educational leader in the _Poro_ is high:

> ". . .endowed with wisdom and mystic power in a superlative degree. He has a majestic status in the society, is respected by the chief and elders of the tribe, and is honored with intense devotion by the youth of the land. In personal characteristics he must be chivalrous, courteous, public-spirited, law-abiding, and fearless. He must have full knowledge of all the native lore, arts, and crafts, must be well versed in the history and traditions of his people and an authentic judge of all matters affecting their welfare. Other men of good repute who are specialists in various fields of activity serve as his assistants and as teachers of the novices."[1]

The _Poro_ was so effective and valued that many Mende parents could not understand why modern schools should take any longer than the eight to ten months usually devoted to the _Poro_ to achieve what seemed to many the same or at least similar ends.[2]

The _Sande_ (or _Bundu_), the corresponding society for Mende girls, functions in a way similar to the _Poro_, but with subject matter and method directed toward the role of women in the tribe. The late Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, Sir Milton Margai, himself of tribal origin, continued to perceive a value in perpetuating these institutions. To be sure, there was a political advantage to be gained in supporting traditional institutions. Sir Milton, who was for many years a practicing physician in the country, encouraged the work of the _Sande_ while suggesting certain hygienic changes in the practices of the society. In recent years cooperation between the Medical Department of the Government

1. _Ibid._, p. 431.
2. R. F. Honter, "Notes on the Psychology of the Negro Child and on Adaptation of Primitive Customs, Laws, Manners, and Traditions in a System of Education" Paper presented by His Excellency the Governor of Sierra Leone to the Imperial Education Conference and published in _Report of the Imperial Education Conference_ (London: H.M.S.O., 1911), p. 231.

and the women's secret societies has fostered health education and child welfare work in some parts of the country.[1]

The value and esteem of the Poro and Sande among the Mende may partly contribute to a condition observed in 1924 by Macauley, then Senior Inspector of Schools, when he noted that:

> "The Mendes . . . are keenest in the desire for educational advantages. The Temnes and Susus are not at all keen on education and this accounts for the comparatively small number of schools in the Northern Province . . . the Limbas are moderately keen and the Konos and Lokkos are now rapidly showing unusual interest in the acquisition of useful knowledge."2

Many modern Sierra Leoneans, whether Creole or Mende, nominally renounce what they have been taught are primitive vestiges of a "backward race" and deny the vigor of the secret societies, but these institutions ignore such renunciation and continue nonetheless. The writer questioned numerous secondary school students about pressures from the communities for them to join secret societies and they admitted that these pressures exist, although schooling or employment may curtail the amount of time that could be devoted to them. The Poro remains a significant force in the country, even in the selection and success of candidates for political office since some elected officials must depend upon tribal leadership for support.

The incompatibility of superstition with modern scientific thought seems obvious, but traditions are difficult to cast aside and respect for magic, fetishism, and the power of occult "medicine" is in evidence in the heart of Freetown as well as in the most distant bush areas. That Western education was not entirely successful in combating this influence in the lives of the people is illustrated in an article on the Caulker lineage from which the chiefs of the Shenge area are

1. Whayne Simmons, et. al., Global Epidemiology, Vol. II, (New York: J. B. Lippincot Co., 1951), p. 460.

2. Sierra Leone Department of Education, Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1924 (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1924), p. 13.

traditionally chosen. The account refers to one member of the family who, after obtaining his education at the prestigious and highly selective C.M.S. Grammar School, went off to a secret place:

> ". . . believed . . . to be entirely peopled by women, and superstitious people go there to procure the best of African mysteries by which they may be able to do supernatural things and exercise predominant influence wherever they live."[1]

The example of a Freetown resident who sold his home and gave up his life savings to appease "evil spirits" and "monsters" offers further illustration of the extremes to which even a city dweller still will go to protect himself from black magic.[2]

The recent accusation against R. G. O. King, Minister of Development in the Government Cabinet, that he threatened his entire constituency with a very powerful and much feared "thunder medicine" if they failed to vote for him is but one illustration that magic and superstition enter the modern political realm as well.[3]

Numerous other examples abound of the continued strength of magic and superstition from the many amulets fabricated and sold by "medicine men" to protective fetishes on farms. Perhaps for some who retain these devices they are of no more significance than the respect for the number "13" and black cats among many Americans, but there is little doubt that for many Africans such things are a vital part of their lives. In fact for many Africans, formal education has become a new and potent magic which is highly esteemed.

1. Sierra Leone Studies (Old Series), (Freetown: Government Printing Office, November 1922), p. 7.
2. "Fire, Madness Threats from Secret Society" Daily Mail (Freetown, September 7, 1962), p. 1.
3. "Election Petition: Witness: King Threatened Us With 'Thunder Death'" Daily Mail (Freetown, July 21, 1962), p. 1.

Non-Africans in Sierra Leone

While the Creole and the indigenous Africans constitute the citizenry of Sierra Leone there are small groups of expatriates whose effect cannot be measured in terms of numbers of people but rather by degrees of influence. They are the civil servants, businessmen, certain immigrants from the Middle East, and the missionaries.

As a consequence of the political relationship between Sierra Leone and Great Britain there were the usual civil servants who went out to perform governmental tasks. Their work sometimes resulted in great contributions, but was more often merely perfunctory. Sierra Leone was hardly considered a prized post in the colonial service. As shall be detailed later in this study, the quality of effort and policy development often depended upon the individual personalities and perceptions of the leaders sent out from London.

The "white man's burden" philosophy, inadequate knowledge and training, and a lack of continuity engendered by the tour of duty system seriously hampered the efficiency of civil service operation. Such a comment as this by a former colonial civil service officer may have affected educational planning as adversely as other more tangible obstacles:

> "Education has been supplied on a generous scale, and the present day [1926] Creole, the descendent of three generations of literate people, has in all probability reached the highest point to which the African blackman can attain."1

Beginning at the end of the nineteenth century and continuing to the present day, significant numbers of Middle Easterners, notably Syrians and Lebanese, have gone to the West African coast where they established themselves as traders. Most began on a small scale, but many have prospered considerably over the years. By their initiative and prudent efforts they have sometimes taken over positions relinquished

1. F. W. H. Migeod, A View of Sierra Leone (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1926), p. 8.

by the Creoles as middle-class traders, although more often they have filled a need where no other persons would or could. Today it is estimated that these Middle Easterners control approximately 10 percent of the retail trade of Sierra Leone.[1] They serve an important function in the interior towns and villages as middle-men for exportable commodities. They are resented by Africans, who feel thay are being exploited by these Levantine traders and there has been opposition to the granting of food contracts to Syrians who, it is charged, "take advantage of innocent and ignorant Africans."[2] They have no voice in government but nonetheless many seem interested in the welfare of the community, although they have little or no influence in the determination of policy.

Of primary significance to educational development are the missionaries, primarily British and American. By 1882 there were at least seven religious groups working in the Colony and the hinterland and many had trained a native pastorate who also did missionary work. Rosenbush notes that in 1871 there were eighty-nine churches and seventy-nine schools in the Colony, which then had a population of about 55,000.[3] There are few communities of comparable size in the United States today which can boast of so many churches and schools although, of course, numbers alone are not a reliable indication of the quality or effect of missionary activity. Although paganism is still widespread and Islam has great appeal for Africans, many of the modern leaders are products of mission education and are at least nominal Christians. The former (1962) ambassador to the United States from Sierra Leone, R. S. Kelfa-Caulker, in a speech

1. Interview with Dr. Martin Kilson in Freetown, August 1962. Kilson, a political scientist from Harvard University, has been conducting research related to political development in Sierra Leone.

2. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1943-44. (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 45.

3. Colin Rosenbush, Sierra Leone: Its Commercial Position and Prospects (London: Wm. Colmer, 1881), p. 9.

in January of 1962 said of his homeland: "We consider ourselves a Christian nation." Caulker is himself a former principal of a mission school and an enthusiastic friend of the missions, but his view can hardly be supported by statistics. The Christian population of Sierra Leone has been estimated at only about 70,000 while the total population of the country is somewhere between 2,000,000 and 2,500,000 persons.

There is little doubt that much is owed to the work of Christian missionaries in Africa. Without them educational development in most areas would be virtually non-existent. In Sierra Leone the Christian missionaries provided almost the total energy and resources which went into education from earliest times until well into the twentieth century. They still constitute a major force in the majority of schools as they remain a primary source for trained teachers and administrators. To be sure, the purpose of the missions has been primarily evangelical, but consistent with that aim have been educational and health facilities which have had a secular value and contributed measurably to the non-sectarian welfare of the country. Fourah Bay College, now the University College of Sierra Leone, was founded in 1827 and developed primarily as an institution for the training of personnel for the ministry, mission field, and schools of the Anglican Church.[1] This did not, however, preclude its development into an institution of higher learning offering work in non-religious fields. Indeed, Fourah Bay became the earliest center of higher education in British West Africa, serving students from several countries.

The authors of the History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1922 called Freetown one of the strongest Methodist cities in the world. In a total population of about 35,000 in 1900 the Wesleyan Methodists claimed a mem-

1. J. Denton, "Memorandum upon the Present Position and the Coming Problems of Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone" (Unpublished typescript, 1912).

bership of over 4,000 in thirteen churches with fifteen ministers.[1] Other denominations have also been conspicuous, notably the Anglican, United Bretheren, Roman Catholic, and American Wesleyan Methodist Churches.

However, many have been critical of missionary work, believing that the churches fostered more an aura of imposition rather than free acceptance of Western ways. Such critics do not agree, for example, with missionary Keable that education without conversion is useless because "the civilized but non-converted blackman has the vices of black and white but the virtues of neither."[2] These critics have pointed to a tendency among missionaries to regard everything African as ipso-facto anti-Christian and feel the missionaries try to cut off the people from what is worth retaining in traditional society and thus create spiritless automatons, mimics of what is learned in school and church but lacking any real spiritual or intellectual commitment. It is charged that converts were forced into an essentially false and hypocritical role which militated against personal integrity rather than fostered it. Thus becoming a Christian became a negative thing — giving up and denying much of a firmly rooted heritage. Many tribal people thus became Christians in name only in order to benefit from the supposed material gains of education and association with the white man.

Such problems created by the activities of the missions were not unnoticed. In 1938 the National Congress of British West Africa, an early nationalist organization, urged a committee appointed by the Governor of Sierra Leone to examine a proposed education bill to consider the fitness of missionaries as educators.[3]

1. G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, (London: The Epworth Press, 1922), p. 113.

2. Robert Keable, "The Worth of the African" International Review of Missions, VII, (July 1918), p. 326.

3. Report of the Committee Appointed by His Excellency the Governor to Consider the Education Bill, Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1938, (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 10, Appendix B.

Missionaries have been unable to reach a firm agreement among themselves regarding the scope and purpose of education. Cooperation was limited. Sectarian rivalry was frequently at the root of the difficulty. The annual report of the Education Department as early as 1886 had called " . . . sectarian jealousy . . . one of the worst and greatest barriers to educational progress on this coast."[1] Denton, a Church Missionary Society officer of the Church of England,[2] reported to the home office of the Society that sectarian rivalry was retarding educational efforts in Sierra Leone. He wrote that "attempts to secure formal cooperation with Wesleyans failed on grounds partly denominational (prejudice and suspicion) but more largely personal and local."[3] Another report to C.M.S. authorities in London contains the notation that "cooperation with the Roman Catholics is impossible."[4] As late as 1948 a survey of education in the Protectorate suggested that mutual distrust between government and missions and among the various missions themselves had led to a "disastrous division" and pointed to a need for a general stock-taking and objective reorganization.[5]

1. Sierra Leone Education Department. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro: 1886, (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 14.

2. The Church Missionary Society is the evangelical arm of the Church of England and has been active in missionary work in the colonies of Britain for many years. While it had no official franchise it was often the privileged group and most active in many areas. It is commonly referred to as the C.M.S. in Britain and Sierra Leone and will be cited by these initials in this study.

3. J. Denton, op. cit., p. 3.

4. "Report of the Group Three Committee," (London, C.M.S. Archives: Unpublished manuscript, 1908).

5. L. B. Greaves, A Survey of Education in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1948), passim.

Another aspect of missionary activity also came under attack. Murray wrote in 1938 of the fact that many fundamentalist denominations are more actively disposed to mission work and he questioned the value of their contributions when he suggested:

"The Fundamentalist is living under a perpetual state of martial law. The conflict between his theological position and present day thought is a conflict which never ceases . . . nor can he rest content with an inconsistency . . . accepting the world outside and yet affirming a doctrine which is at variance with that acceptance. He recognizes, however, the real significance of present day thought, and having no system of his own, he is continually at war. This does not create a habit of mind best calculated to benefit the native races."[1]

Murray contrasted the primary aims of both fundamentalists and Roman Catholics with general Protestant missionary endeavors and concluded that the former two are concerned first and foremost with producing fundamentalists and Catholics respectively.[2] Generally Protestant mission efforts were directed toward a more gradual cultural change with the ultimate goal of producing a Christian people.

Nonetheless, missionaries have been in Sierra Leone for a long time and are likely to be there for some time to come. They have founded and maintained many schools and provided resources and teachers for them. They have been responsible for turning out large numbers of students of varying degrees of literacy, all at least minimally exposed to Western education. At its best, missionary education has produced several highly competent, well-educated leaders and professional people who otherwise might never have had access to books, to say nothing of formal schooling. It might be said of the missionaries what Sir Christopher Cox said of the more general contribution of British education in colonial areas:

"The verdict of history on our colonial educational work cannot yet be given. We may perhaps feel that our work as

1. A. Victor Murray, <u>The School in the Bush</u> (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1938), p. 254.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 251.

colonial educators is finished when we have offered to the colonial peoples the best that we know and helped them to assimilate or to adopt such of it as they may wish to have."[1]

Such a permissive attitude was certainly not the character of most mission educational effort in practice, but whatever their respective successes or failures missionaries did attack educational problems with noble motives and did the best they could during long periods of time when no one else was willing or able to engage in formal educational development activities.

Islam in Sierra Leone

While the Christian mission efforts were progressing slowly in Sierra Leone, a missionary influence of a different nature was penetrating the country — the tide of Islam. Throughout the nineteenth century as European expansion came from the sea militant Islam was spreading from the interior.

European rule brought peace and the beginnings of enormous social change. New ways of government, Western educational attitudes, and a more complex economic structure eroded older tribal ways. As the younger people among the tribes were exposed to the inadequacies of traditional systems they became more receptive to newer ways which offered the means to cope with change. The brand of Islam propagated in West Africa seemed desirable because it provided a more sophisticated system. European rulers even favored Islam for a time, attracted by what seemed a more civilized system than paganism.[2] Table 1 illustrates increases in the number of Muslims[3] in

1. "The Impact of British Education on the Indigenous Peoples of Overseas Territories," The Advancement of Science, No. 50, (September 1956), p. 136.

2. J. Spencer Trimingham, A History of Islam in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 225.

3. The spelling "Muslim" is becoming the preferred usage because it more closely approximates the actual pronunciation of the Arabic than does the spelling "Moslem." It is the spelling which will be used throughout this study except of course when the other form appears in quotation.

the Colony between 1891 and 1931. Unfortunately statistics are not available to determine the ratio of converts to immigrant Muslims.

Table 1. Growth of Islam in Sierra Leone Colony by Percent of Population: 1891-1931[a]

Year	Percent
1891	10
1901	12
1911	14
1921	19.5
1931	26.2

a. Trimingham, _op_. _cit_., p. 226.

Islam seems to have appeal to Africans for a variety of reasons. One reason often advanced is that Islam is not a religion of the white man and, at least in West Africa, was introduced by people not unlike the Africans themselves. It might come through an itinerant trader or perhaps via a teacher from a neighboring tribe or even by conquest, but nonetheless from Africans and was not imposed by whites.[1]

There are other compelling reasons for the popularity of Islam, however, not the least of which may be its allowance of polygamy, a cherished institution among many African tribes. Islam has proved more adaptable, sometimes incorporating honored traditional customs in a more satisfying way than missionaries would permit for Christian ritual.[2] Furthermore, in practice Islam evokes a feeling of brotherhood

1. The significance of this point of origin argument might be interpreted in quite another way. For many Africans the white man's magic was so impressive and powerful that he was immediately convinced of the superiority of all the white man's ways and consequently of the inferiority of his own. Thus it seems likely that, for some Africans at least, Islam may not have quite the drawing power that has been previously supposed. The question needs considerable further investigation.

2. J. Spencer Trimingham, _The Christian Church and Islam in West Africa_ (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1955), pp. 32-33.

and equality in simple and practical terms understandable to the unsophisticated. There is no preacher crying of sins and damnation from a pulpit not only physically but figuratively above the congregation.

The government and community leadership have not been unaware of the Muslim populace and its potential. In 1899 Sir Samuel Lewis, a very successful Creole lawyer, prominent Freetown Christian, first African knighted by the British Crown, and a member of the Sierra Leone Board of Education, looked with favor on the desire of some Muslims for Western education and suggested that they deserved government support inasmuch as they had no foreign aid as did the Christians.[1] The Sierra Leone Colonial Report for 1908 noted considerable prosyletizing by itinerant Muslims and a large increase in the number of Muslims in the Protectorate.[2] In 1910 the Colonial Report noted that "it is an interesting fact that the Mohammedans in this Colony are desirous that their women should be educated."[3] In 1911 the Report mentioned that "the advance and spreading of Islam still remains a salient feature of many Protectorate tribes; and in districts where that influence is strong a high degree of sobriety and of amenability to good order prevails."[4]

There has developed in West Africa a particular brand of Islam retaining much of the spirit of the faith of Mohammed but adopting newer and more liberal forms, sometimes by design and sometimes by ignorance or forgetfulness. A sect of Islam known as the Ahmadiyya (founded in India in the nineteenth century and first brought to West Africa in 1916) which utilizes Christian missionary techniques and forms has achieved

1. Minutes of the Sierra Leone Board of Education, 1889-1900, (Unpublished manuscript, September 14, 1899).

2. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1908. Cd. 4428-20, (London: H.M.S.O., 1909), p. 52.

3. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1910. Cd. 5467-30, (London: H.M.S.O., 1911), p. 29.

4. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1911. Cd. 6007-24, (London: H.M.S.O., 1912-13), p. 32.

some success in Sierra Leone.[1] Much more liberal and modern than traditional Islam, it is viewed by many orthodox Muslims as heresy, but this break with the old ways seems to have appeal among the more educated and Westernized.[2] The Ahmadiyya have built schools in a number of important towns in Sierra Leone and favor the education of women as well as men.[3]

In 1939 a Muslim leader in Sierra Leone spoke for at least some of his people:

> "The Muslims of Sierra Leone are staunch supporters of Western culture and I make bold to state that Islam as a religion can never be practised herein freely without this culture. Western education has succeeded in materially contributing to our well being. Our guiding principles are the same as its own. . . ."[4]

By 1931 of a total population in the Sierra Leone Colony and Protectorate of 1,667,790 nearly 12 percent (193,650) were avowed Muslims.[5] In 1955 the total population of the country was estimated at 2,200,000, among which were about 1,790,000 pagans, 350,000 Muslims, and 60,000 Christians.[6]

Islam in Sierra Leone has clearly been a factor to be considered in the development of educational policy.

Government and Politics

In the mid-nineteenth century British policy for West Africa did not allow for territorial expansion. An objective had been established which called for general preparation for eventual self-government of British controlled territories.

1. J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 230.
2. Ibid., p. 232.
3. Ibid., p. 231.
4. M. Saif'ud Deen Alharazim, "The Origin and Progress of Islam in Sierra Leone," Sierra Leone Studies (Old Series), (Freetown, January 1939), p. 26.
5. Trimingham, A History of Islam in West Africa, p. 229.
6. __________, The Christian Church and Islam in West Africa, p. 54.

In the Colony of Sierra Leone, educated Creoles were being attracted to government service and by 1890 many had achieved important positions in the civil service and in legislative and executive councils. In the interior the colonial government had no official power and did not seek it.

About 1890 the harbor at Freetown became important as a coaling station and the British began to take a more active interest in the area.[1] French activity in the interior spurred the government in London to protect its interests by encouraging treaties with interior peoples and British policy took a new turn in Sierra Leone. A Frontier Policy Force was established and Colony influence in the interior increased.[2]

In 1896 a British Protectorate was declared over the interior, essentially the territory reaching to the present boundaries with Liberia and Guinea. The area was divided into five districts with a European District Commissioner stationed in each as administrative and judicial officer. Traditional tribal rule was continued with some slight modification, but the legislative council of the Colony had power to make laws. However, the District Commissioners administered primarily according to personal conceptions, and under the leadership of the Governor of the Colony the Protectorate was maintained as a separate unit.[3]

The tribes of the new Protectorate accepted this arrangement fairly well until 1898 when, in an effort to make the Protectorate pay its own way, Governor Cardew proclaimed a tax on houses in the interior. The tribal leaders reacted with violence to what they could neither understand nor accept and the consequence was the Hut Tax War of 1898. British forces put down the rebellion and the tribal leaders were compelled to accept British dominion whereas before 1898 they

1. Christopher Fyfe, _A Short History of Sierra Leone_ (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1962), p. 127.
2. _Ibid._, pp. 128-129.
3. _Ibid._, pp. 136-137.

had felt more like partners in the territory. The house tax was retained. Administration was expanded and government officials became more involved in tribal rule.

"Each chiefdom was ruled by its Tribal Authority - that is, by the Paramount Chief[1] and his sub-chiefs - but under control of District Commissioners and Court Messengers [a powerful and efficient policing agency attached to each District Commissioner]. Chiefs convicted of oppression or misgovernment were deposed and replaced by successors the government approved of."[2]

The government wished to maintain the Protectorate with as little change as possible, and made it difficult for anyone to disrupt the established order.[3]

By 1900 improved conditions and reliable assurances of better methods to combat hazards to health plus a changing attitude among people in England regarding the acceptability of colonial responsibility made available a larger number of colonial officers. Prior to this it had been difficult to recruit and maintain a sufficient staff of civil servants because of Sierra Leone's reputation as a "hardship" post. Britain became firmly committed to colonialism in Africa and the nineteenth century policy of preparing for self-government became more and more ignored. The Colony Creoles, formerly on the way to becoming a powerful leadership group, were now pushed to the background and from that time until the present day they have gradually declined in power. In recent years, leadership in government has tended to come from tribal peoples, notably the numerically superior Mende.

The evolution of government in Sierra Leone since 1900 has followed a general pattern similar to that in most other British colonial areas in Africa. The first phase of colonial government involved some definition of legal status, usually

1. A concept introduced by the British. The powerful chiefs in each area were so designated and affirmed as the recognized leaders, superior to lesser chiefs and elders.
2. Fyfe, _A Short History of Sierra Leone,_ pp. 151-152.
3. _Ibid._

in the form of a constitution. An executive council, composed entirely of appointed official members at first, advised the governor who was the final authority and answered only to the Colonial Office in London. Then an appointed legislative council with advisory powers was formed. It was increased in number and gradually permitted to develop an opposition side, but still had only advisory functions. Traditional tribal structures were changed or incorporated into government. Elections were introduced and the legislative body elevated to a place of self-government. Ministerial powers were expanded and finally the governor retained only the veto. In the next to the last stage the veto power was withheld. The final remaining stage was formal declaration of independence by the colonial power.

Economic Development

Adverse balance of payments, low per capita income, limited resources, regulatory difficulties connected with the diamond industry, and problems of agricultural development have conspired to render Sierra Leone among the poorer of the developing nations.

The economic structure of Sierra Leone presents four basic areas of consideration: (1) transportation and communication; (2) land tenure and use; (3) capital development and production; and (4) taxation and government revenue. Political choices in these areas and their social implications have affected the development of educational policy. Agricultural, mineral, and industrial development plus the ancillary services which normally accompany these aspects of an economy are for the most part still in their beginning stages in Sierra Leone.

Transportation and Communication

Fundamental to economic development are adequate systems of communication and transportation. Both facets remain in need of much development in Sierra Leone. A postal and telegraph service patterned after the British system operates

with some effectiveness between the major towns of the country, but without reaching the level of daily urban mail delivery or rural delivery from postal stations. Some firms employ their own privately operated systems of radio communication. Hard-surfaced roads are rare outside Freetown and the Colony. In recent years an all-weather highway has been extended from Freetown toward Bo in the interior and constitute the major arterial route.. Most motorable roads are dangerous single-lane laterite tracks which become treacherously slippery and often impassable in the rainy season. A common theme in secondary school English essays is a lorry[1] accident where students were either witnesses or victims.

A narrow-gauge railroad approximately 230 miles long was begun around the turn of the century to stimulate the development of exportable commodities; but it did not extend far enough to tap interior trade with the French territories as had been hoped by those who urged its construction. It has expanded Protectorate commerce and facilitated colonial administration, but has consistently lost money and was in such condition in 1954 that it would require an estimated six million pounds to modernize it.[2] While some improvements have been made since that time, the railroad remains slow and costly.

Land Tenure and Use

The climate of Sierra Leone is alternately determined by the trade winds which blow from November until about April and bring the dessicating breezes, the Harmattan, from the regions of the Sahara and the monsoon winds which control the climate the rest of the year. The monsoons bring the torrential rains which amount in some areas to over 150 inches per year and around which agricultural activity is scheduled.

1. British word for truck. Lorries are one of the principal means of transportation for both goods and passengers.

2. Roy Lewis, Sierra Leone (London: H.M.S.O., 1954), pp. 52-60.

The mean annual temperature is approximately 80° F. Topographic features and land use are indicated by maps in the Appendix.

The land is typical of the West African seaboard. Coastal swamps gradually give way to the area where formerly the great tropical rainforests stood, but where primitive methods of agriculture have destroyed much forest land and heavy secondary growth and palm trees now stand. Further inland the elevation rises, the heavy bush thins out and finally, in the regions of the Guinea border, there is the semi-woodland and savannah.

Except for a narrow band of alluvial soils deposited by the many streams and rivers which drain the heavy rainfall from the interior, the soils of Sierra Leone are almost entirely lateritic and cover a base of granite and gneisses. Mineral deposits include diamonds, gold, iron, corundum, cassiterite, platinum, columbite, tantalite, chromite, salt, ilmenite, ilmenorutile, bauxite, molybdenite, lignite, wulfenite, and rutile. Diamonds and iron ore have been mined in large quantities and have constituted a significant source of wealth and government revenue. Recently a system has been developed for the extraction and export of bauxite.

Agricultural products of greatest importance are palm oil, rice, kola, ginger, groundnuts (peanuts), piassava, and some cattle, coffee, and pepper.

There is a fundamental anomaly in the statement so often heard that the soils of the tropical rainforest region are poor. The term "poor" would seem to denote an inability to support vegetation, but this is far from true.[1] What is poor about the soil is that it is not suited for much of what has been tried to date by individuals attempting to transplant intact a system of agriculture based on a temperate climate, and European and American food preferences. This problem is

1. Marston Bates. Where Winter Never Comes: A Study of Man and Nature in the Tropics (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963) p. 243.

increasingly recognized. The soils of Sierra Leone are lacking in certain elements necessary to growth of many temperate zone food crops, and in some places they are toxic. Throughout the country the soils are subject to leaching during the rains. Recent advances in agricultural science and research on tropical soil conditions are beginning to make possible more practical and efficient exploitation of tropical soils.

The peoples of Sierra Leone have engaged in subsistence farming for generations. They employ the same bush-fallow and "slash-and-burn" systems that long have been in use in much of Africa. The farmer uses a plot of ground perhaps once in seven years by getting the most he can out of it while it is under cultivation and then allowing it to return to its natural state to renew its fertility. This simple method requires considerable acreage and is not suited to large scale production of marketable commodities, but it has provided food on a subsistence basis. Rice has been one of the most important staple food crops, but the upland varieties have not provided a sufficient harvest to meet the demand. The balance has had to be imported. Intensive research and experimentation have been underway to develop higher yielding strains in the upland areas, and to extend the total area under cultivation through swamp reclamation.

One deterrent to agricultural development stems from the traditional system of land tenure. Communal holdings with control vested in the chiefs and elders have prevented private acquisition of land and thus discouraged free-enterprise agricultural ventures.

Between 1820 and 1900 the annual rate of West African exports increased by over 1300 percent. This growth was due in large part to the greatly increased demand for palm oil,[1] which has become an extremely important crop for Sierra Leone.

1. Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. Cmd. 6655, (London: H.M.S.O., 1945), p. 3.

Palm oil production was an important part of the Childs Plan of 1949 for economic development. Named for its originator, a Chief Commissioner of the Protectorate who formulated it after much study of local conditions and potential, the plan proposed a great increase in the number of roads to give greater access to areas of palm fruit production, and mechanization of the extraction process, hitherto done by slow primitive methods, to increase yield. High export duty on palm products was expected to return an ever increasing revenue to the government.[1] The plan further called for broad scale agricultural development, increased soil fertility through fertilizer and crop rotation, greater food production, broader stimulus of a money economy, some diversification of exportable commodities, and industrialization of processing techniques. While the plan did not completely detail methods it did set useful goals and began a coordinated effort toward a common purpose.[2] An important feature of extensive agricultural development is that it would involve the 95 percent of the population to whom paid employment had not previously been available.[3]

In 1953, revenues from mining interests accounted for one-fifth of all state income, with diamond and iron production providing the great majority.[4] Of the mineral resources of Sierra Leone diamonds have offered the most lucrative and spectacular investment. A major problem peculiar to the diamond industry, however, is that the deposits are spread over a large area which is difficult to control and considerable illegal mining and smuggling results in a considerable loss of revenue.

Increased dependence upon revenue from mining, a poten-

1. Roy Lewis, op. cit., p. 205.
2. Education and Economic Development in Sierra Leone: An Interim Report of the Education Planning Group (Freetown: Government Printing Office, August 1961), p. 44.
3. Ibid., p. 36.
4. Roy Lewis, op. cit., p. 197.

tially depleting source, has caused some concern among economists, particularly because of the extent to which the economy is undiversified. Other sources of revenue are being sought and developed, notably increased import duties on consumer goods, but at this point none seem to offer the potential of mining.

The contribution of the mining industry goes far beyond the generation of government revenue and foreign exchange. Mining has stimulated a cash economy, brought improvements in transportation, created a need for understanding of machines and complex processes, and helped form the foundations for an industrial society. The mining companies have founded or contributed to the establishment of schools and hospitals and fostered other social welfare functions.

Capital Development and Production

Industrial development has been slow in tropical Africa, largely by colonial design. As in most other dependent areas, the colonial powers of Europe "used their political, financial, and economic power to prevent or at least slow down as far as possible, the spread of industrialism to the less advanced countries under their political control because they were primarily interested in markets and sources of raw materials and not in creating manufacturing competitors."[1] There are other reasons for the lack of industrialization, however. The growth of industries for processing and distribution are impeded by high investment risk. Overhead costs, inadequate transportation, a reluctant labor force with low motivation and qualifications, and shortages of power and raw materials are some of the problems facing any industrial investment in Sierra Leone.

Furthermore, local capital development has been slow.

1. M. D. Sahlins and E. R. Service, Evolution and Culture (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1961), p. 89.

There are structures for institutionalized saving, but per capita income is yet too low and wage earning insufficiently widespread to produce highly significant capital development from this source.

Health and Welfare

Another important factor in national development is health. The relatively low level of physiological well-being has been a chronic problem in Sierra Leone. Malnutrition and disease have militated against progress for centuries and continue to present obstacles, although less formidably than before because of the increasing availability of modern medicine. The expansion of medical facilities, modern medicines, and newer mass treatment methods have achieved dramatic results with some of the widespread endemic and epidemic diseases. Yaws (framboesia), for example, responds so well to a single injection of penicilin that complete elimination of the disease is clearly possible. Yet despite advances in quality and availability of medical aid, ignorance and superstition remain the greatest barriers to control or eradication of some of the more common health problems.[1]

The debilitating effects of constant ill health seriously affect educational development. The individuals who survive to reach school age (infant mortality in some parts of the country ranges as high as 50 percent) have quite often lived a good part of their lives suffering from diseases like malaria, kwashiorkor, and a variety of parasitic infestations. The 1932 annual report of the Education Department noted an incidence of malarial infection ranging from 72 to 100 percent in a select group of schools.[2] Recent medical advance has made possible greater control of this disease, but in fact

1. Report on the Medical and Health Services, 1957, (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1957), passim.
2. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1932, (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1933), p. 25.

malaria has been so much a part of the African's life that he is inclined to accept it as a normal condition. To the extent malaria remains untreated it continues to sap the African's energy. Kwashiorkor, the result of acute protein deficiency, stems from ignorance of proper diet as well as from a lack of readily available sources of protein. Recent studies suggest that even after the protein deficiency in the diet is corrected, kwashiorkor may leave effects from which the victims might never recover, effects such as marked apathy, irritability, and mental retardation.[1] One district medical officer in Sierra Leone indicated that in numerous schools the results of tests show helminthic infestations in up to 100 percent of the children and malaria parasites in as many as 60 percent.[2]

Little research has been conducted on mental health problems in Sierra Leone and the present state of knowledge is very limited. Several theories have been advanced regarding the psychological effects of colonialism, among the more recent of which is that by Hagen.[3] Hagen's analysis suggests the need for several studies of the psychological effects of colonialism. He indicates that some patterns of colonial rule produce retreatist personalities and thwart normal development — that a fundamental conflict rages in an individual torn between his native culture and the fear of the power of colonial masters.

"The conflict had caused intense anxiety, as well as rage which it was necessary to repress. Children observing this anxiety and humiliation in adults had learned to repress their values, as a defense against pain, but the process

1. R. Gilbey, "Psychological Effects of Kwashiorkor on Children," Press: World Health Organization Newsletter, May 22, 1962, p. 1.
2. Interview with Dr. H. O. McIntire, Senior Medical Officer for the Southwest Province, at Mattru, Sierra Leone, May 10, 1962.
3. Everett Hagen, On the Theory of Social Change (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1962).

generated rage, none the less intense because it was unconscious. From generation to generation the effect had deepened; retreatism became more complete."[1]

Certainly a great deal more data and research is needed on this problem.

1. Ibid., p. 415.

CHAPTER FOUR
POLICY DEVELOPMENT
THE YEARS OF INITIATION
1882 - 1900

The latter years of the nineteenth century saw a growing awareness among Western nations of the necessary relationship between government and social development. The responsibility of government for the welfare of its citizens extended to the area of education as schooling became more and more perceived as important to the continued success of a nation. Such an atmosphere in Britain influenced thinking in the colonies. In Sierra Leone, the idea of government involvement in education was initiated and developed in the late 1800's. Legislation was enacted providing for financial aid and the Government of Sierra Leone began to take a clear hand in policy decisions affecting the direction of education. The start was meager and affected few of the people directly, but it was a beginning. The foundation for the educational system of today had begun.

British Colonial Policy

The latter part of the nineteenth century also saw a marked change in the imperial designs of Britain. British industry had realized the value of a broad international market and the "scramble for Africa" was on. Britain took up "the white man's burden" with a seeming reluctance beneath which were more practical motives.

In Sierra Leone, Creole businessmen had long felt that political controls over the hinterland would benefit the economic situation of the Colony. Furthermore, French designs in the interior were threatening to engulf the whole of the western portion of the continent and thus circumvent British expansion. In 1896, with the help of the Manchester and

Liverpool[1] Chambers of Commerce who brought the matter to the attention of the Colonial Office on the home front, a British Protectorate was established over all of the interior not already taken by France or included in Liberia.

The new Protectorate was administered separately but under the Governor of the Colony, Sir Frederic Cardew. Cardew made it his personal mission to see that the interior chiefs understood the terms of the Protectorate and went on an extensive overland journey to talk with the leaders of the various tribes. He was particularly anxious that the tribal Africans be exposed as little as possible to the effects of the different social and economic structure of the Colony.[2] He instituted a system of indirect rule which he hoped would enable the people of the interior to maintain their traditional ways (with some alteration of practices unacceptable to Western ideology)[3] and yet elevate their standard of living through trade. In practice, however, many chiefs did not understand the Protectorate concept at all, and it proved impossible to isolate the Colony from the Protectorate.

Determined that the Protectorate should pay for itself Cardew promulgated a tax of five shillings (approximately $1.25)[4] on every house in the interior, a levy commonly referred to as the "hut-tax." This was clearly beyond the partnership which many chiefs had perceived to be the nature

1. Both cities were important manufacturing centers, particularly for textiles. The successful introduction of sewing, indeed the requirement of needlework in the schools of Sierra Leone probably would stimulate increased demands for textiles from England. Manufacturers were anxious to expand this market. Cf. T. O. Elias, _Ghana and Sierra Leone: The Development of Their Laws and Constitutions_ (London: Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1962), p. 243.

2. T. O. Elias, _op. cit._, p. 244.

3. However, it is interesting to note that domestic slavery was not suppressed for at least three decades.

4. The value of British sterling in United States dollars fluctuated considerably during the period 1882-1961. The rate of exchange employed in this study is $4.80 to the pound for the period from 1882 to 1948 and $2.80 to the pound thereafter.

of the Protectorate. Coupled with increased interference from Cardew's Frontier Police Force the "hut-tax" proved more than tribal peoples would tolerate.

Furthermore, the United Bretheren in Christ (U.B.C.) missionaries, an American group, had the most active mission in the interior at that time. The U.B.C. had a doctrinaire aversion to secret organization and were under suspicion of the chiefs as a threat to their power. When in 1897 the United Bretheren missionaries preached in favor of the hut-tax the chiefs were convinced that all outsiders were in league against the tribal peoples.[1] In 1898 the burnt palm leaf, a call to arms, was passed. Through the offices of the Poro, the strongest unifying political force in the traditional structures of the tribal peoples, a full scale war was launched to drive all foreigners from the land. Many missionaries, both black and white, were killed and considerable mission property was destroyed. After the British put down the rebellion, the interior missions had virtually to begin anew.

An investigating commission after the war concluded that it had indeed been the hut-tax which precipitated the war and recommended its abrogation. But Cardew was adamant in insisting that backing down was not a wise policy and the tax was retained. The interior peoples were convinced of the strength and persistance of the British Government and acquiesced to British rule.

With peace restored the British policy of definite commitment in Sierra Leone continued. The railway was begun to open up the interior for trade. Cardew's concern for the indigenous peoples continued, undiminished by the vicissitudes of war, and non-tribal peoples were discouraged from developing commercial ventures in the interior. Traditional

1. Christopher Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 555.

systems of land tenure were permitted to continue thus precluding development of plantation agriculture by outsiders, a practice which had proved successful in other colonies. Attempts were made to discourage development of Western education for fear of dissatisfaction it might foster for traditional ways.[1] However, as shall be discussed in the next chapter, these efforts were not successful and mission schools continued to develop in the Protectorate.

The number of successful Creoles in the professions, business, and government service in the late nineteenth century — the doctors, lawyers, clergy, traders, and government clerks — were testament to the extent of educational opportunity early available in the Colony and of Creole receptivity to education.[2] There seemed little reason to doubt that here was a people ultimately capable of assuming responsibility for their own government, in keeping with British plans for West Africa formulated at mid-nineteenth century.

The Constitution of 1863 for Sierra Leone, drawn when Britain was following the policy of gradual withdrawal from West Africa, had provided for both a Legislative and an Executive Council, with a minority of nominated members in the Legislative Council chosen from the community. At that time it was suggested by the Colonial Office that the government of the Colony whould encourage political activity of the "more intelligent portion of the community" — the educated Creoles.[3] But below that "portion of the community" there was hardly a firm base for representative government. While the percentage of literacy was relatively high and schools turned out quite a few students who could function in

1. Fyfe, A Short History of Sierra Leone, pp. 154-155.

2. It should be noted that advanced professional education such as medicine and law training were not available in Sierra Leone. Students went from secondary schools in Freetown to England for advanced studies in these professions.

3. T. O. Elias, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

the metropolitan atmosphere of Freetown, there was little political consciousness among most of the people.

> "In the absence of organized political parties and of conscious political ideas about the individual in relation to the state, it is probably true to say that, in the last quarter of the 19th century, the aim of the Sierra Leone Legislative Council was parliamentary constitutionalism rather than political democarcy. Under the leadership of lawyers of Samuel Lewis's stamp and merchants imbued with the spirit of Victorian economic laisser-faire, it could hardly have been otherwise."1

In any case, the extension of representative government which might have been anticipated from the 1863 Constitution was forgotten in the sway of a new policy emerging at the end of the century which stressed continued British dominion in Sierra Leone. Creole aspirations for leadership in the Colony and Protectorate were swept aside, not to be seriously revived.

British Influence in Sierra Leone

Nineteenth century England presented a scene of broad social and technological change. The transitions of the period — the industrial revolution, an expanding economy, a growing awareness of the needs of a nation in a position of international prominence, increasing understanding of scientific phenomena, and a changing social and political structure — all served to focus the attention of the people and their leaders on a developing need for public education. Gradually the idea evolved that a state must share in the responsibility for the education of its citizens. This evolution can be traced throughout the Victorian era by an examination of legislation and investigations by the government relating to schools. This gradual extension of government commitment to the educational needs of a people in an increasingly complex world was to culminate in the British

1. Ibid., p. 245.

Education Act of 1944 which finally provided "education for all."

The reports of various committees formed to examine education in England and the legislative acts governing the establishment of English schools inevitably affected the thinking of officials responsible for colonial government and evoked a concern for the state of education in the colonies. In Sierra Leone the government, because of the obligation it felt to the recaptives, had aided educational endeavors by monetary grants. These grants were sporadic and undependable, however, and in practice education was left almost entirely to the missions. In 1868 the growing concern at home for the role of government in education reached out to West Africa when J. S. Laurie, an English school inspector who had had experience in education in Australia, was sent out to examine the Sierra Leone Colony's systems of education. Laurie's report clearly reflected educational thought prevalent in England at that time and his recommendations, although quite general, suggested the attitude that policies and methods for education which were developed for England were also applicable to Sierra Leone. These recommendations involved the appointment of a part-time Director of Public Instruction, the initiation of grants-in-aid based upon capitation and examination results (as in England), and the establishment of an elementary Government Model School to assist in a program of teacher training.[1] The suggestions he made for improvement of the system were adopted, and the Colony government thereby took a definite step in the direction of significant involvement in public education. The first Director of Public Instruction, T. H. Popplestone, was appointed in 1869.

Although the government had officially accepted a responsible role in educational development, the success or failure

1. E. H. Hilliard, A Short History of Education in British West Africa (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1957) pp. 25-26.

of any such venture had to depend largely upon the the availability and interest of qualified personnel to aid the formation and implementation of policy. Macauley, a successful European trader in the Colony, had noted as early as 1827 that "the Colony has been grievously injured by the want of a systematic plan or rule for its government,"[1] and that each governor followed his own program without regard for continuity or precedent. This situation continued throughout the century. The official report on education in the Colony for 1885 pointed out that work often depended on the efforts of an individual and that if he left or died everything stopped.[2] Popplestone's successor in 1873 died in his first year of office and between that time and 1882 there were four Directors, three of them holding acting appointments, and continuity was particularly difficult to maintain.[3]

To those who assumed responsibility for educational development or had it thrust upon them, the experience of England inevitably provided a model. Guidance from the Colonial Office, when it existed at all, was largely general and permissive and government officers were left to their own devices. Missionaries who had the supposed benefit of considerable experience with education in Sierra Leone were themselves dependent upon the examples of their homeland. There were few educational leaders at the time who had studied or understood well enough the complex relationships between sociological, economic, and political phenomena and public education suited to local needs.

Wise summarizes what occured in the colonies until well into the twentieth century:

"In all the colonies once government had assumed responsibility for educational policy, the old practice of simply

1. Quoted by A. Porter in Creoledom, p. 36.

2. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1885), p. 20.

3. Colin Wise, A History of Education in British West Africa (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956) p. 33.

transplanting English education to Africa showed itself in all sorts of ways and was applied to all assisted schools. The methods of paying grants-in-aid, the treatment of pupil-teachers, the annual examination of pupils, the examination syllabus for teachers, the method of granting teachers certificates, can all be related to similar developments in England, though sometimes an English innovation did not reach the Coast till some years later."[1]

This state of affairs is not surprising. England was still viewed as the Mother Country and her experience was all the colonies had to guide them.

By 1870 the Director of Public Instruction in Sierra Leone had designed a system for government aid to schools. The program was inaugurated but was implemented only by mutual consent; it had no force of law.[2] A number of the missions chose not to participate. By 1877 the arrangement had lapsed and no grants or inspections were made. However, the stage had been set for subsequent enactment of legally constituted provisions for government aid and control in public education. The managers of many schools had perceived the value of government funds even if they did not fully appreciate the demands of state inspections.[3] In 1882 the first significant legally formed educational structure directly involving the government was provided by the Education Ordinance of that year and was put into practice.

The Education Ordinance of 1882

The Sierra Leone Education Ordinance of 1882 clearly echoed the thinking of England. Each provision of the law corresponded to some practice prevailing at home. An important provision of the Ordinance was for a Board of Education consisting of the Governor, the Executive Council, and four

1. Ibid., pp. 21-22.
2. M. J. Marke, "The System of Education in Sierra Leone," in Board of Education Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. XIII (London: H.M.S.O., 1905), pp. 81-82.
3. Ibid., p. 82.

others appointed by the Governor. This body had rule-making authority for education provided or aided by the government. The English Education Act of 1870 had similarly provided for local boards of education. In Sierra Leone, the agent of the Board was the Education Department, which was composed of a director, an administrative staff, and the inspectors. The Education Department was charged with the responsibility of carrying out educational policy.

The Ordinance of 1882 included provision for schools which were to be the sole responsibility of the government. The intent of this provision is comparable to that of the English Act of 1870 whereby schools were to be made available where they were not already in existence through efforts of voluntary agencies.

Under the Ordinance of 1882 the government was also to provide financial assistance to elementary schools of the voluntary agencies according to a specified program of requirements involving teacher qualifications, attendance, payment of tuition by students, physical conditions of the schools, and examination results in certain required subjects.

In England a number of efforts had been made to provide some sort of manual training and instruction in simple industrial techniques for elementary school children, particularly of the poorer classes. This philosophy was also embodied in the Sierra Leone Ordinance of 1882. Schools called "Industrial Schools" were to be those:

> " . . . in which all pupils devote not less than two hours of every day to manual labor on a regular and approved system . . . and in any such school the payment of fees shall not be required as a condition of receiving a grant-in-aid. Manual labor shall be understood to mean any kind of handicraft, manufacturing process or agricultural work."[1]

Such schools were to be encouraged by a 50 percent addition to the usual financial grant stipulated by the Ordinance.

1. The Education Ordinance, 1882, p. 3.

The government hoped to alleviate the shortage of qualified teachers by including a program to stimulate teacher training in Sierra Leone. The provision was so constructed, however, to leave control over the amount of aid to the discretion of the Board of Education. It further stipulated that any teacher trained through the government aid plan must complete at least two years of approved instruction and then qualify for a certificate of competency by an examination set up by the Board. The plan demanded that each teacher graduated from any such training school agree to accept an assignment for five years in a government school or in an assisted school.

Finally, the Ordinance required regular inspection of schools by an official appointed by the government.

The first inspection report under the new education rules prompted Sunter, an Acting Inspector, to recommend several proposals to remedy what seemed to him a poor educational situation. He suggested decreasing the number of schools but raising academic standards, separating the religious and educational responsibilities of teachers, raising salaries for teachers, limiting the system which used upper-grade elementary pupils as teachers, and consolidating schools in outlying districts to overcome the tendency to spread facilities and resources too thin because of denominational rivalry. He also recommended the adoption of compulsory elementary education.[1]

Sunter's suggestions may have been warranted by the prevailing conditions as they contrasted with his perceptions of an ideal educational situation, but they were not considered realistic in view of the resources and potentialities of the times. A continuing financial crisis constantly menaced any proposals involving the increase of the governments monetary commitment to public education. This problem was compounded by an economic depression in Britain and by

1. General Report of Inspection of Elementary Schools in the Colony of Sierra Leone, 1882, (Freetown: Government Printing Office, December 1882) pp. 7-9.

the repeal of property taxes in the Colony. Government revenues diminished.

The repeal of property taxes owed its occurence more to religious rivalry than to the economic crisis at home. The superintendent of the Wesleyan mission, Tregaskis, was seemingly bitter because government funds had been used to support an Anglican enterprise, the Native Pastorate Church, and he was somehow able to convince the governor that he should repeal the Colony's property taxes.[1] Consequently the flame of factionalism was fanned to a new intensity while the revenues of the Colony were reduced.

The situation was rendered even more precarious in 1873 when Governor Hennessy unwisely increased the import duty on many items which had the effect of discouraging interior trade and reducing revenues still further.[2] Sierra Leone's trade depended upon European demands, and exports and imports which flowed through the port of Freetown were subject to the Colony's customs duty. As duties were lower in nearby French territories, trade tended to move in that direction or to avoid Freetown by smuggling and shipping from outside the limits of the small Colony area. Thus government revenue was decreased and it became difficult to meet even administrative costs, let alone educational grants. Colonial governments were expected by the Colonial Office to be somewhat self-supporting and London could not be depended upon to come the the rescue with subsidies for ventures a colony's government had-assumed but could not pay for. Parliamentary grants from London did provide some financial assistance to the Colony, but the grants were usually earmarked, particularly as military grants, in the later years of the nineteenth century.

Although the economic situation did not permit the full and immediate implementation of the spirit of the Education Ordinance of 1882, the law did provide a basis for action.

1. J. D. Hargreaves, A Life of Sir Samuel Lewis (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 18.
2. Ibid., p. 22.

A precedent was established upon which further study and expansion of government roles in public education could be built.

Educational Policy and Progress

Elementary Education

Although practices have varied somewhat with the proliferation of mission schools, elementary education before 1882 was generally divided into two categories: infants and standards (grades).[1] The infants class was often attached to a regular elementary school and was to provide basic instruction for children between ages four and seven. In some schools a practice developed for organizing infants classes into two sub-standards, "A" and "B," thus making two praparatory years. After age seven the normal course of elementary instruction developed through seven standards. The curriculum was designed to present cumulative courses in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, English history, and geography, plus sewing for girls.

The Education Ordinance of 1882 built upon this system and provided for a central agency for appraisal and guidance of elementary education in the Colony (the interior was at this time still outside the purview of colonial administration). Inadequacies of the schools came clearly to light when the results of the first examinations were made public. As required by the new rules, examinations had been given in 1882-83 in sewing (for girls only), reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, history, and geography. Of a total number of 8803 passes possible in that first year, only 4828 students, just over 50 percent, were successful.[2] In the years following, the examination results were little better, and at best disappointing to a number of observers.

1. In Sierra Leone the term "standard" has been used to designate grade level in the elementary school and is so used in this study. The term has been dropped in recent years in favor of the word "class."

2. General Report of Inspection of Elementary Schools in the Colony of Sierra Leone, 1882, p. 26.

Among the reasons suggested for the high rate of failure during the early period were:

1. The lack of an English reading book appropriate to the milieu of Sierra Leone. The books used were based on "English local scenes and colloquial pieces."[1]

2. The complete lack of textbooks in some subjects. The Board of Education proposed in 1891 that history and geography be omitted from the following year's examinations because no books existed for the study of Sierra Leone, which they felt should be the primary focus of these subjects.[2] Some years later Sir Samuel Lewis, while a member of the Board, suggested that a history of Sierra Leone be commissioned for use in a course in history to be taught in the elementary schools.[3]

3. The use of "pidgin" English by students and sometimes even teachers, which added to the difficulties of communication.[4]

4. Concentration of efforts and resources on the standards (grades) to the detriment of the infants classes since infants' results were not considered in figuring the grant-in-aid.[5]

5. The tendency to preserve the existing organization and methods and thus the absence of any disposition toward freedom for experimentation such as was sometimes found in the secondary schools.[6]

6. Inefficiency and disorganization in school routines as exemplified in the comments of Inspector Marke in his 1897

1. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1884 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 7.

2. Sierra Leone Board of Education Minutes, 1889-1900, Unpublished manuscript, September 12, 1891.

3. Ibid., May 11, 1899.

4. Ibid.

5. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1894 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 11.

6. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1896 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 9.

report: "For instance the opening time is so often irregular, the bell ringing alone occupying so much time, and the recess about midday is protracted so long that it is impossible in these cases for the full time to be obtained."[1]

7. The low qualifications of teachers in general and the widespread use of minimally educated pupil-teachers in the upper standards was so common that the higher standards made a much poorer showing than the lower ones.[2]

The annual inspection report on elementary schools in 1897 was critical of teaching methods and achievement levels in all subjects except needlework.[3] School buildings were in poor condition, ill-equipped, and understaffed. There was little coordination among the various missions and each went its separate way without benefit of mutual aid or understanding. A pooling of ideas and resources might have enabled a more effective if not more unified approach to the problems of education, but such cooperation was seemingly not possible at that time. The consequences of sectarian differences were serious because virtually all elementary schools were mission schools.

In 1881 there seven Christian religious groups active in the Colony. They supported about ninety churches and eighty schools.[4] The great majority were Protestant. The number and proportion changed little throughout the period. The number and religious affiliation of denominational schools operated in the Colony and Protectorate by 1900 are shown in Table 2. Only Colony elementary schools were government-aided in 1900. Table 3 shows the numbers of students actually on the rolls for the years 1892 to 1895. The average attendance would be somewhat less.

1. _General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1897_ (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 7.
2. _Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1899_ (London: H.M.S.O.), p. 33.
3. _General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1897_, pp. 12-15.
4. Colin Rosenbush, _op. cit._, p. 9.

TABLE 2. Number and Religious Affiliation of Elementary and Secondary Schools in Sierra Leone Colony and Protectorate: 1900[a]

Denomination	Colony	Protectorate
Elementary		
Church of England	41	10
Wesleyan Methodist	20	2
United Methodist Free Church	8	1
Countess of Huntingdon Connexion	4	-
Roman Catholic	2	1
United Bretheren	1	11
Totals	76	25
Secondary		
Church of England	2	-
Wesleyan Methodist	2	-
Roman Catholic	1	-
Undenominational	1	-
Totals	6	0

a. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1899-1900 (London: H.M.S.O.), pp. 32-34.

TABLE 3. Elementary Student Enrollment in Government Aided Schools: 1892 - 1895[a]

Denomination	1892	1893	1894	1895
Church of England	4097	3857	3804	3887
Wesleyan Methodist	2090	2039	2364	2311
United Methodist Free Church	1016	975	997	950
Countess of Huntingdon Connexion	401	400	374	422
Roman Catholic	412	432	465	458
Maroon Methodist	212	91	101	(closed)
Total Enrollment	8228	7794	8105	8028

a. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1894 (Freetown, 1895), p. 1.

The total grant-in-aid from the government in 1882 was £ 313/9/3 ($1504.80).[1] By 1900 the amount had risen to £ 1533/10/0 ($7360.80).[2] Most schools systematically received aid, although on occasion some of them could not manage to collect the two-thirds of school fees du e from students to be eligible for the grant, as specified by the Education Ordinance.[3] Increased grants from the government sometimes resulted in a corresponding decrease in mission contributions to the school budgets. Mission schools evidently viewed government aid as a means of decreasing their costs rather than raising teachers' salaries or improving conditions. In 1894 the Inspector of Schools suggested an increase in government control to combat this trend.[4]

Metcalfe Sunter, an Inspector of Schools in this period, was often particularly critical of mission education. Among his objections were the use of school buildings for religious services, the padding of rolls by many schools to remain eligible for government grants, the emphasis on quantity rather than quality, strong sectarian jealousies — "simply one of the worst and greatest bars to educational progress. . . ."[5] — and the absence of good moral training in the schools as evidenced by the numerous obvious examples of dishonesty among pupils.[6]

1. The British method of writing monetary amounts often utilizes the solidus (/) to separate pounds, shillings, and pence. Thus £ 1/3/6 means one pound, three shillings, six pence; 17/6 means seventeen shillings six pence. There are twelve pence to the shilling and twenty shillings to the pound.

2. _General Report of Inspection of Elementary Schools in the Colony of Sierra Leone, 1882_, p. 4. M. J. Marke, _op. cit._, p. 90.

3. The annual report of the Education Department for 1894 notes six such schools.

4. _General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1894_, p. 4.

5. _General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1886_, p. 14.

6. _General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1884_, pp. 3-10.

Although they were not eligible for government aid until after the declaration of the Protectorate in 1896 because their work was almost entirely outside the jurisdiction of the Colony, the American mission schools in the interior were attracting notice. The United Bretheren in Christ efforts were particularly effective and their schools were better-equipped. In 1892 this group opened a station at Rotifunk and included such varied offerings as anatomy, astronomy, and brick-making in the curriculum of their school.[1] The American Board of Missions' school near Falaba was noted for using industrial methods and the emphasis seemed to tend toward American practical training rather than the academic bias of English-oriented schools.[2] A government aid program for schools in the Protectorate was not implemented until 1909. This is discussed in the following chapter.

Muslim Elementary Education

In the 1880's it may have been true, as Fyfe reports, that there was "little hostility between Creole Muslims and Christians (who even subscribed funds to aid in the building of a mosque) . . . nevertheless Muslims were cut off from the community, if only because they feared to send their children to Colony schools lest they be converted."[3] However, many missionaries did not share this feeling of brotherly love and were alarmed when in 1890 the Colonial Office directed the Sierra Leone Government to urge Muslims to apply for government aid to education. Muslims became eligible for aid on the same basis as any other voluntary agency with the exception that an additional amount was added to the basic remuneration with the proviso that such schools had to teach English.

A Muslim school was established under these provisions. The government provided a building, funds toward teachers'

1. Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, p. 532.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 498.

salaries, and placed the school on the list of those regularly inspected.[1]

Members of the Board of Education who were affiliated with Christian missions immediately protested that the government was supporting Islam by such a grant and complained that, in fact, no inspection or requirement other than the teaching of English was demanded. Anglican Pastor Moore noted that "in fact they get the grant and do as they please," and that the government even repaired the school since, as it was loaned by the government, it remained government property.[2]

Although several hundred students enrolled in the first government assisted Muslim school the project did not progress rapidly, perhaps because of the lack of Muslims trained for teaching in other than the traditional Koranic schools. Interest in Muslim education was mounting, however, and in 1899 Sir Samuel Lewis suggested that the Board of Education give serious consideration to extension of educational opportunities for Muslims and called attention to the disparity of resources available to Muslim and Christian enterprises. Lewis maintained that inasmuch as Muslims had no sources of foreign aid they were all the more deserving of government help.[3]

One mission reaction to Lewis' argument was that educational opportunity existed for Muslims within the regular mission school program. Rev. Elwin of the C.M.S. reported to the Board that the school for Muslims operated by the C.M.S. had an enrollment of over 200 and asserted that although the parents knew the purpose of the school was to convert they did not object.[4] There were evidently some Muslim parents who were either not convinced of the persuasive powers of the Christian missionaries or not concerned.

1. M. J. Marke, op. cit., p. 87.
2. Sierra Leone Board of Education Minutes 1889-1900, Unpublished manuscript, December 1, 1898.
3. Ibid., September 14, 1899.
4. Ibid.

Islam, like Christianity, seems to have been a superficial rather than a consuming force in the lives of its converts in the Colony. In characteristic Victorian fashion, religious attachments were then primarily a personal or family concern. The friction caused by factionalism among the missionaries did not seem to infect the local converts. Freetown society was so fluid that, as Trimingham indicates, religion was "ancillary to other claims of life — politics, money-making, and above all the family."[1]

Secondary Education

None of the six secondary schools in the Colony during the period from 1882 to 1900 received government aid or direction.[2] Five of the six were supported and controlled by religious groups, although they admitted students without reference to their denominational backgrounds.[3] Both the C.M.S. and the Wesleyan Missionary Society maintained separate secondary schools for boys and girls. The Roman Catholic mission operated a convent school for girls. While the general curriculum was that of the traditional grammar school, some effort was made to advance such subjects as languages and music, as well as domestic science and needlework in the girls' schools.[4]

Technical and Agricultural Education

The provision made for industrial education in the Ordinance of 1882 was received with enthusiasm, for there were people who felt that this was the most pressing educational need of the Colony. The Education Department noted in 1887 its continuing sympathy with the idea of industrial

1. J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 223.
2. See Table 1 for sponsorship of these secondary schools.
3. M. J. Marke, op. cit., p. 88.
4. E. M. C. [Colbeck], Annie Walsh Memorial School Freetown 1849-1948 (London: C.M.S., n.d. [1949?]), p. 8.

education and hoped that with government aid agricultural training could also develop. The Department report indicated a belief that many students would be willing to embark on agricultural studies.[1]

The provisions of the Ordinance of 1882 for industrial training had stimulated an interest in practical subjects and in 1889 the C.M.S. opened a technical school in Freetown. The Legislative Council voted a contribution to aid the effort and the local Bishop himself raised £ 500 in England. A teacher of carpentry and an architect were brought from England. The architect stayed on to serve as first principal of the school. Courses in building, plumbing, and carpentry were offered.[2]

It should be noted that the American United Bretheren in Christ mission down the coast at Shenge had offered some practical training since 1877, but this was primarily to help defray expenses by production of agricultural commodities for market.[3]

Yet the entire industrial education program for the Colony proved to be slow in attracting students in any number. By 1890 only fourteen pupils were presented at the annual school inspection in the category of elementary-level industrial education. These fourteen students were examined in "washing, starching, and ironing."[4]

Industrial education enrollments fluctuated in these early years. By 1893 the number presented for the industrial examination at the elementary level had risen to 220,[5] but in 1897 it dropped to sixty-two.[6] The rise and fall was in part

1. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1897, p. 5.
2. Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, p. 527.
3. Rosselot, op. cit., p. 17
4. Sierra Leone Board of Education Minutes 1889-1900, Unpublished manuscript, August 6, 1890.
5. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1893 (Freetown: Government Printing Office) p. 13.
6. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1897, p. 12.

the result of schools offering industrial instruction and then dropping it when they decided they could not cope with the demands of such a program. Two C.M.S. schools continued to offer carpentry and tailoring, but owing to the lack of equipment and a shortage of trained teachers these subjects were poorly taught.[1] Needlework, one of the courses required as a condition of the government grant, was more successful; in 1896 there were 3,208 girls inrolled in sewing and the total grant was made for 2,121 students who were successful in examinations.[2]

Table 4 shows the specific amounts of grants-in-aid for industrial schools by categories for three peak years. As approximately 50 percent of the grant in standard subjects (see table) and sewing was based on the sewing results and as this subject required less equipment and training to teach, it became more popular in schools than the more purely industrial subjects.

TABLE 4. Sierra Leone Government Grants-in-aid (in £) to Elementary Industrial Schools: 1893-1895[a]

Category	1893	1894	1895
Average attendance	297/ 3/0	297/16/0	301/13/0
Industrial passes	52/ 0/0	52/15/0	50/10/0
Standard subjects and sewing	290/19/6	325/ 9/0	316/ 8/0
Organization and discipline	34/ 0/0	54/13/0	53/ 1/0
Merit grant	176/16/6	258/ 3/0	210/15/0
Total grant	850/19/0	988/16/0	932/ 7/0

a. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1894, p. 7.

1. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1895 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 12. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1896, p. 10.

2. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1896, p. 15.

The problems of industrial training were summed up in the reports of the Education Department for these years:

"This branch is evidently not thriving, for the good reason that the schools cannot manage it, and they feel so, so as to produce any results worth paying for. On their part, that it may be done well would require some considerable outlay; and the Government grant is not generally considered to be sufficiently inducing. But even if the grant were larger the results would scarcely be better, if it were to depend upon individual schools. One difficulty would be to find continuous employment for pupils."[1]

"This subject is still taken in an irregular and unsympathetic way by the majority of schools that take it up at all; and most that is seen of it at inspection is just enough to shake confidence in its reality and to leave an impression that there is not enough to justify the payment of a grant. Except in one solitary instance there are no arrangements for laundry work yet in a number of schools this is the favourite subject. . . ."[2]

"The schools do not appear to be capable of dealing with this branch individually."[3]

It was further noted in the reports that many schools were not allotting as much time to industrial education as the Ordinance called for, and that basic fundamentals were not understood by the pupils.[4]

On August 23, 1889, the attention of the Board of Education focused on a despatch from the Colonial Secretary in London suggesting that the institution of a technical school be considered.[5] The Board appointed a special committee to investigate the proposal and the possibilities for such a venture.[6] This committee held a public meeting and announced the following decisions:

1. The Secretary of State had in mind a special school

1. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1893, p. 18.
2. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1894, p. 9.
3. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1897, p. 12.
4. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1894, p. 10.
5. Sierra Leone Board of Education Minutes 1889-1900, Unpublished manuscript, September 7, 1889.
6. Ibid.

devoted to the industrial training of older boys.

2. The government of the Colony could undertake little risk and could contribute, at most, one-third of the initial cost and recurrent expense.

3. Evening courses might be a possible means of meeting the need.

4. Beyond inspection and audit, "the governor was anxious that the scheme be left in the hands of the leading native citizens as he felt sure that in any undertaking tending to the welfare of the colony there was no lack of gentlemen capable and willing to manage their own affairs."[1]

Nothing immediately developed from this proposal and by 1894 the inspection report on the schools was to note that there was still "little chance for a school-boy to receive a technical instruction worthy of the name."[2] However, in the following year a Diocesan Technical School was opened by the C.M.S. with government aid of £ 120 per year. It concentrated on drawing and construction trades but was poorly attended.[3] It continued in operation for many years, finally closing in 1940 four years after government aid was withdrawn.

There were those who continued to seek the means of promoting practical education in the Colony and in 1895 the Inspector of Schools suggested in vain that perhaps certificate examinations might lend the program some stature and motivate greater interest in manual training.[4]

The inauspicious beginnings and slow progress of industrial training in the Colony may be attributed to three basic causes: money, teacher qualifications, and pupil apathy. First, there was a dearth of resources available to inaugurate undertakings as expensive as this, particularly with the high initial cost

1. Ibid., May 14, 1890.
2. General Report on the Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1894, p. 10.
3. M. J. Marke, op. cit., p. 89.
4. General Report on the Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1895, p. 13.

necessary to supply the proper equipment. Neither missions nor government were willing or able to underwrite the expense. Second, there were few teachers who were competent to teach such subjects. Third, and perhaps most important, the students could see no immediate or realistic gain to be achieved through such training. Simple handiwork was of minimal value. That which the market needed did not require formal schooling and was readily available from the village craftsmen. Agriculture was not only unprofitable compared with other opportunities open to someone with a little education, but was also unappealing to students aspiring to the better life which was supposed to result from formal education. Thus there was little incentive for students to flock to any large scale system of education of this nature. That sewing and needlework were introduced successfully — and in fact were legally required as a condition of grant-in-aid — was related to the motives of British textile industries being expressed through the government.[1] Tables 5, 6, 7, and 8 suggest the importance of the textile trade both to British manufacturers and to the government of the Colony whose revenue depended heavily on import duties. Many missionaries perhaps unwittingly also contributed to this economic objective by virtue of their zeal for the moral values they expected would accrue from covering the nakedness of the indigenes. It need hardly be pointed out that in the tropics clothing is often an unnecessary encumbrance except for those whose skin is ill-suited to withstand the effects of the direct tropical sun.

1. See pages 56-57, on the establishment of the Protectorate and the role of British industrial interests in promoting it. In 1890, even before the Protectorate was declared, Elder Dempster, a prosperous Liverpool based British shipping line which handled a large share of the West African trade, offered five prizes of £ 25 a year to the leading secondary schools of the Colony and assisted passages to England for youths wishing to complete their education in the fields of surveying and engineering. It is not clear to what extent this may have represented an incipient need for trained people in these fields. Sierra Leone Board of Education Minutes 1889-1900, February 20, 1890.

TABLE 5. Kind and Values of Principal Commercial Imports into Sierra Leone: 1913[a]

Item	Value in £
Cotton goods	425,033
Food	146,357
Wines and spirits	101,537
Tobacco	72,277
Iron goods	50,890
Fuels	48,854
Clothing	41,300
Boats	33,628
Hardware, glass, cutlery	30,587
Telegraphic materials	22,643
Lumber	22,355
Bags	21,397
Woolen goods	19,983
Miscellaneous	252,141
Total	1,291,982

a. Partition of Africa: British Possessions: Sierra Leone (London: H.M.S.O., 1920) pp. 55-56.

TABLE 6. Countries of Origin and Values[a] of Principal Imports into Sierra Leone: 1912-1916[b]

Country	1912	1913	1915	1916
United Kingdom	912,014	1,138,683	870,901	941,899
British West Africa	130,247	163,158	73,167	88,584
Other British Possessions	123	60	4,286	692
France	13,811	18,139	21,994	24,181
Germany	166,671	174,191	13,210[c]	2,008[c]
Holland	81,262	89,634	55,333	37,517
United States	28,463	54,055	102,435	135,603
Foreign West Africa	32,685	31,756	96,932	47,657
Other European Countries	3,716	7,842	1,509	1,933

a. In £.
b. Partition of Africa: British Possessions: Sierra Leone, pp. 55-56.
c. Prize cargo.

Textile imports into Sierra Leone continued to increase in the decade following 1913 with the most significant rise occuring with the resumption of normal trade after World War I. Table 7 shows the growth of the textile trade during this period in one commodity, cotton piece goods.

TABLE 7. Value[a] of Cotton Piece Goods Imported into Sierra Leone: 1913 and 1920-1923[b]

1913	1920	1921	1922	1923
267,000	576,000	222,000	356,000	394,000

a. In £.
b. Survey of Overseas Markets (London: H.M.S.O., 1926), p. 265.

While precise data on the amount of textile goods imported into Sierra Leone specifically from Britain were not located it seems likely that a very high percentage was produced in British industries. Table 8 illustrates the proportion of manufactured goods imported into Sierra Leone from other countries. Textiles represent a significant portion of this category.

TABLE 8. Values[a] of Manufactured Articles Imported into Sierra by Country of Origin: 1923[b]

Country	Value
Great Britain (U.K.)	996,755
Nigeria	6,933
United States	13,477
Germany	44,503
France	23,481
Holland	31,049
Total	1,136,110[c]

a. In £.
b. Survey of Overseas Markets, p. 264.
c. Total imports into Sierra Leone in 1923 = £1,949,981.

Teacher Training

In 1869, following the recommendation of J. S. Laurie, the government had opened what was to be a model practicing school to aid in teacher training for the Colony, but the school never functioned in that capacity. It continued as an elementary school under direct government support and control for a time, but was finally closed in 1899.[1]

The Ordinance of 1882 had provided for aid to teachers' salaries through the grants system, and offered further inducements in the form of additional aid to voluntary agencies which would undertake specific programs of teacher education. The Wesleyan Methodist Mission developed a teacher training section attached to their high school and received the government grant for this work, as provided by the Ordinance.[2] After 1889, a few teachers were also trained at Fourah Bay College under the same system of government aid.[3] The number of teachers thus trained was small. In 1893 only six were presented for examination, two from Fourah Bay College and four from the Wesleyan institution. The government examiner noted that the examinees from the Wesleyan school produced better results on the examination than did the candidates from Fourah Bay College.[4] There was little coordination between the two schools and methods varied considerably. Fourah Bay, with its emphasis on the classics and theology, provided little more than a course of lectures.[5]

In 1893 there were only 41 teachers certified by the government, 1 first class, 10 second class, 24 third class, and 6 fourth class. These four categories were determined by government examinations and represented two years of formal teacher training for a first class certificate, one year for

1. M. J. Marke, _op. cit._, p. 82.
2. E. H. Hilliard, _op. cit._, p. 28
3. _Ibid._
4. _General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1893_, p. 21.
5. _General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1897_, p. 9.

a second class, and three years of satisfactory work as a pupil-teacher for a third class. The fourth class certificate was added simply to formally certify unqualified teachers in compliance with the Ordinance of 1882 by an examination less strenuous than that for the first three classifications.[1] In schools having an enrollment of more than sixty pupils, the Ordinance required that at least one teacher have a government certificate. This fourth class certificate thus maintained the letter of the law while ignoring the spirit.

The Board of Education exercised authority as a certification agency for teachers and a source of aid to teacher training programs. Responsibility for placement of teachers, salaries, and other conditions of service remained with the managers of the schools with the exception that teachers trained under the government plan of aid in the Wesleyan High School and Fourah Bay College were expected to contract for a period of five years to teach in a government or an assisted school. As noted earlier, the number of teachers trained at these two institutions was negligible.[2]

The program which evolved for teacher training proved inadequate to meet the shortage of qualified teachers. The status of the teaching profession left much to be desired because of low pay and the higher prestige of government jobs. One interesting inducement considered by the Board was a plan to send boys to England for one or two years of teacher trainin normal colleges.[3]

Higher Education

Higher education was rare in colonial Africa in this era, but there was in Sierra Leone one institution at the post-secondary level, Fourah Bay College. Fourah Bay was founded

1. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1893, p. 15.
2. Sierra Leone Board of Education Minutes 1889-1900, November 12, 1891.
3. Ibid., June 25, 1896.

in 1827 and was maintained as a school for the training of clergymen, teachers, and missionaries for the local Anglican Church. In 1876 the College was affiliated with Durham University in England, a move which strengthened its position and broadened its curriculum.[1] Among the offerings were Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, history, geography, comparative philology, moral philosophy, political economy, logic, mathematics, music, French, German, and some natural science.[2] In 1891 the C.M.S. sought government aid for the formation of a science and agriculture department at the College, but the Board of Education offered no assistance and recommended that the local secretary of the C.M.S. refer the plan to his parent finance committee in London. After some months it was decided by the C.M.S. home authorities that agriculture was out of the question but that perhaps at some future date "theoretical" science might be undertaken.[3]

As with secondary education, the government had no official role in higher education throughout this period. The government's only tangible interest in Fourah Bay College was in its potential position as a teacher training institution. Avoidance of government participation in higher education was a characteristic British attitude at this time. The colleges and universities of England were considered the concern of private or religious agencies.

Changes in Educational Legislation and Regulations 1895-1899

Experience since 1882 had suggested a need for revision of the Education Ordinance of that year and it was repealed by a newer enactment, the Education Ordinance of 1895, which was designed to clarify rather than substantially alter the

1. J. Denton, op. cit., p. 8.
2. The University College of Sierra Leone (London: H.M.S.O., 1962) p. 8.
3. Sierra Leone Board of Education Minutes 1889-1900, June 4, 1891, November 12, 1891, February 12, 1892.

older law. A new set of Education Rules based on the 1895 law were drawn up by the Board of Education.[1] By 1897 the new Rules were sufficiently organized for official use. In a speech to the Board of Education on April 1, 1897, Governor Cardew discussed the introduction of the new Rules for the elementary schools and suggested that a primary objective would be the provision of better salaries to induce more teachers into the schools plus a system to assure that teachers developed better qualifications. Cardew reviewed the question of teacher training and suggested that the government would be willing to subsidize one training college.[2]

The new Rules were barely formulated, however, when they were withdrawn because of financial conditions wrought by the uprising in the Protectorate.[3] In 1899, following the end of the hut-tax rebellion, the Rules were revived and subjected to further revision to incorporate the suggestions made by the Governor in 1897.[4]

The 1899 version of the Rules was finally adopted and put into effect in 1900. These Rules provided for:

1. Classification of teachers as:
   a. Probationers. Students who had passed the Standard IV or V Examination, had a certificate of good conduct, "punctuality, diligence, obedience, and attention to their duties," and who were approved by the Inspector became eligible for this rank and were considered candidates for pupil-teacher rank. They were required to be at least fourteen years of age and were permitted to teach not more than half-time.
   b. Pupil-teachers. This rank required a successful com-

1. M. J. Marke, op. cit., p. 84.
2. Sierra Leone Board of Education Minutes 1889-1900, April 1, 1897.
3. Ibid., June 7, 1898.
4. Ibid., October 26, 1899.

pletion of the Standard VI or VII Examination, and successful completion of government examinations at the end of each year for three years. They were required to be at least fifteen years of age and to produce the same kind of certificate of character required of Probationers. From this stage teachers might go on to a recognized training college, become Assistant Teachers or become Provisionally Certificated Teachers.

c. Assistant Teachers. Teachers who upon completion of pupil-teacher programs held a third class certificate by virtue of a Government Scholarship Examination were recognized for this classification.

d. Provisionally Certificated Teachers. The Rules provided that in the event of a shortage of regularly certificated teachers the Inspector might recommend pupil-teachers who had obtained first class passes on the Government Scholarship Examination or persons who had passed their first examination (see below) for certification to this classification. Certificates thus issued were temporary and subject to withdrawal upon recommendation of the Inspector.

e. Certified Teachers. This classification was granted to all teachers who had successfully passed the second year examinations at a recognized training college. After two consecutive years of service in the same school a certified teacher became eligible for a "parchment certificate" which increased by 50 percent the amount of the government grant for aid to the teacher's salary.

2. A minimum school staff whereby each school with an average attendance of sixty or more must have at least one certified teacher. For each increment in average attendance beyond sixty the minimum staff requirement was:

a. For the first additional sixty students, another

certified teacher.

b. For the second additional sixty students, an assistant teacher or provisionally certified teacher.

c. For each additional forty students, a pupil-teacher.

d. For each additional twenty students, a probationer.

3. Supplementary grants-in-aid to encourage training of pupil-teachers and certified teachers, and for the salaries of teachers.

4. Grants-in-aid based upon:

   a. "Healthy and properly constructed premises."
   b. Satisfactory audit of Manager's accounts.
   c. 380 meetings (half-days) per year.
   d. Passes in examinations of 40 percent of those students presented for the examinations.
   e. Number in average attendance.
   f. Results of individual examinations (an additional sixpence for each pass classified as good).
   g. Organization and discipline.
   h. Percentage of passes on examinations above the minimum.
   i. Mandatory sewing classes for girls.
   j. Passes in optional subjects (geography, history, grammar, and drawing).

5. Grants to infants schools of one shilling sixpence per capita with the additional provision that if the infants' classes were arranged so as to prevent interference with the work of the standards level the grant might be increased to as much as two shillings sixpence.

6. The utilization of grants funds only for buildings, furniture, teaching equipment, and teachers' salaries and that no grant could exceed the amount of one-half the school's annual income from all sources.

7. Grants for new buildings or additions to existing ones not to exceed one-tenth the cost as estimated and submitted prior to the beginning of construction.
8. Aid to any approved college or school for the training of teachers with approximately the same provisions of the Ordinance of 1882, but specifying the amount of aid (£ 50 for each resident student and £ 20 for each day student).[1]

The new Rules also set up specific achievement levels and standards for each elementary grade level. This was the beginning of the syllabus system which was to be so criticised in later years.[2]

Furthermore, for the first time the government made a step toward aid to secondary education by providing for three competitive scholarships open to any student who had successfully completed the elementary course at a Colony elementary school and who, if accepted, would attend a secondary school approved by the Board of Education.[3]

Government Involvement in Education at the Turn of the Century

The most important development of the period was the firm government commitment to a responsible role in public education. As Governor Cardew clearly indicated, "education is one of the first essentials of a Community and . . . the Government should make it a serious part of their duty to institute a System of Sound Education."[4] However, his attitude was not always shared by others in the government. The

1. The Education Ordinance of 1895, published as an appendix in M. J. Marke, op. cit.; The Education Rules of 1895; General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1899 (Freetown: Government Printing Office).

2. Education Rules for Sierra Leone, 1899, Schedule A.

3. Ibid. An example of curriculum modification being considered during this period is found in the deliberations over music in the curriculum. In 1899 the Board of Education reviewed but voted down a proposal that a grant be made for the teaching of singing in the elementary schools.

4. Sierra Leone Board of Education Minutes 1889-1900, January 25, 1896.

educability of the African was not completely accepted outside the government either. Some Europeans were contemptuous of academically qualified Africans and even regarded Africans with university degrees as a subject for derision.[1]

The system of providing grants-in-aid on the basis of examination results was questioned during this period, but no better method was forthcoming and the question was to remain for many decades.[2] The schools continued to be primarily denominational and under the control of the various Christian missions. They were only assisted by the government, hence government regulation was limited.

The question of compulsory education was raised periodically between 1882 and 1900. In 1895 the Sierra Leone Schoolmasters Association suggested a compulsory education program modeled on the English system.[3] The Education Department had considered the idea at various times but concluded that such a plan would be impractical because of difficulties of enforcement, finance, and the voluntary agency management of most schools. It was even proposed that education be made fee-free to encourage attendance, but the obvious barriers were insufficient facilities and funds as well as lack of personnel to manage a more extensive system.[4]

1. Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, p. 447.
2. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1893, p. 20.
3. Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, p. 526.
4. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1887 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 5; General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, p. 6.

CHAPTER FIVE
POLICY DEVELOPMENT
THE YEARS OF EXPERIMENTATION
1900 - 1924

While the principle of government responsibility for education in Sierra Leone had been established, it was far from clear what the extent of that responsibility would be. With the decision of the British to retain and expand control of the region and with the establishment of peace in the interior, the government turned to questions of development and redefinition of its role in the Colony and Protectorate. The attentions of government officials, missionaries, traditional leaders, and others were directed increasingly to the search for an appropriate educational system. The first quarter of the twentieth century was a time of experimentation.

Changes in British Colonial Policy: Implications for Education

With the change in policy that committed Britain to remain in Sierra Leone, after 1900 the attentions of the colonial government naturally turned more seriously to problems of administration for development. With the assumption of greater responsibility in the interior and acceptance of a larger and more enduring role in the country as a whole the needs of the government expanded. Revenue and personnel had to be secured and maintained. Bureaucracy was inevitable and required increasing numbers of expatriates in the civil service.

In Crown Colonies the Colonial Office did not normally directly interfere with internal matters of government and governors played a nearly autocratic role. But governors could not maintain an expanding administration without proper personnel and it was difficult to get anyone to go out to some of the colonies for more than short terms. In Sierra Leone it was sometimes necessary to be less discrimi-

nating in selection of people for civil service positions than job requirements might normally have demanded.

The undesirability of civil service posts in Sierra Leone was relieved somewhat during this period by the discoveries of Manson and Ross concerning the prevention and control of certain endemic tropical diseases, particularly yellow fever and malaria.

With the possibility of control over the more serious health problems, foreign service in West Africa became more attractive to young men in England. The hills behind Freetown offered a convenient escape from the yellow fever and malaria carrying mosquito, and the government moved an expanding European community of civil servants to the spacious, healthy, well-appointed and segregated Hill Station built on a suburban mountain-top.

Furthermore, as regular transportation links were established and improved by such means as steamship service between West Africa and the United Kingdom, more European firms were attracted to Sierra Leone by the increased demand for palm oil which fostered the opening of trade in the interior. These new firms invested in outlets for European manufactures in the Colony and presented a more competitive atmosphere in Freetown business.

The Creole could not meet this challenge in both government and commerce. The gulf between expatriate and African was widened by the influx of Europeans in government and business and the white men kept more to themselves in the privacy and safety of communities like Hill Station. The position of the Creole became less certain. Once the Creoles had thought of themselves as the heirs of the British; now they were being disinherited. Creoles came to be thought of more as Africans and as such they were relegated to an inferior position. There was a decreasing tendency to employ them in government service than there had been in the nine-

teenth century.[1] In 1892, Creoles held eighteen of forty senior posts in government. In 1912 they held fifteen of ninety-two, and within five years five of those posts were abolished.[2] Policy began to dictate that even Africans with equal qualifications could not achieve job status equal to Europeans in government service.

Such conditions understandably did nothing to encourage educational development among the Africans, particularly education at higher levels. In 1913 this situation was improved somewhat by the organization of the African Clerical Service with a specific grading system and requisite civil service examinations. One aspect of this development helped to bolster a waning faith in the desirability of higher education; Africans with Oxford or Cambridge School Certificates, London University matriculations, or British university degrees were not required to take the civil service examination and were often placed higher on the salary scales than Africans without these qualifications, although usually in positions inferior to those held by Europeans who were sometimes less qualified.[3]

In the Protectorate, although interests and loyalties tended to remain at the regional, tribal, or village level for sometime, social patterns were beginning a process of change which is still in progress today. The government found itself called upon for leadership necessary to manage conditions wrought by its new role in Protectorate administration following the quelling of the rebellion of 1898. Judges were sent to aid the District Commissioners of the Protectorate by establishing circuit courts. The police force was reorganized and made into a disciplined military arm of the government, and was enjoined from arbitrary mis-

1. Elias, op. cit., p. 256.
2. Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, p. 615.
3. Elias, op. cit., p. 256.

treatment of interior peoples. The Court Messengers carried on as both administrative aides and police in the service of the District Commissioners. The functions of management in the Protectorate were expanded by the government between 1900 and 1925 and the distinction between Colony and the Protectorate became less clear by the end of the period.[1]

The new railroad facilitated administration in the Protectorate and further increased trade potential. By 1914 the main and branch lines had opened up the interior as far as Pendembu and Makeni (see Map 1, Appendix). Exports from the Protectorate increased to as much as 300 percent per year over any previous annual level between 1896 and 1914.[2]

Although the total volume of trade was increasing after 1900, Sierra Leone was still far from prosperous. Increased cost of administration offset the increases in government revenues and the problems of finance for large scale educational development remained.

In 1893, property taxes, on a different basis from those abolished in 1872, had been restored in Freetown, thereby establishing a greater degree of economic stability in municipal government but providing little relief to the total Colony and Protectorate financial picture.[3]

Measures such as a unified and stabilized monetary system convertible on a par with British sterling were a further step toward economic stability, but economic development was in early and uncertain stages and provided little surplus to divert to education.[4]

What funds were available continued to be distributed according to the provisions of the Education Ordinance of 1895. Missions were becoming more receptive to the idea of government aid in both Colony and Protectorate. The immediate

1. Fyfe, A Short History of Sierra Leone, pp. 150-151.
2. Ibid., p. 154.
3. N. A. Cox-George, Finance and Development in West Africa: The Sierra Leone Experience (London: Dennis Dobson, 1961), p. 68.
4. Ibid., p. 94

problem, in addition to securing stable financial sources, was how to allocate the relative proportions of aid to the various levels of the educational structure.

The aura of change in Sierra Leone was noted by the Education Department. In 1906 the Department reported that the government was more receptive to assumption of responsibility for education in the Colony and suggested that government aid to education be increased.[1]

As a result of recommendations made by the Director of Education of the Gold Coast, who had been ordered to inspect the Sierra Leone educational system by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a full-time Director of Education for Sierra Leone was appointed and educational reorganization considered. The possible consolidation of many mission primary schools was suggested, along with plans for teacher training, salary increases for teachers, introduction of manual training, grants-in-aid to secondary schools, and the organization of a system of technical education.[2]

However, as there were still few people in Sierra Leone who had the experience, training, or position to develop and administer a unified policy and because mission rivalries and differences with the government continued, little educational progress was possible. It was difficult to achieve agreement about what the educational needs of the country really were,[3] but ideas were rife and the period became one of experimentation.

This change-oriented attitude continued throughout the period and by 1923 the Director of Education, F. C. Marriot, was moved to remark:

"To a newcomer the surprising feature of elementary education is the apparent absence of a definite system and indeed of any policy upon which a system could be based. It appears to have become a land of educational experiment."[4]

1. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1906 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 12.
2. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1909, p. 28
3. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1923 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 6.
4. Ibid., p. 5.

Educational Change in Britain

The English Education Act of 1902, among other things, extended the responsibility of government educational agencies to include education beyond the elementary level. In 1904 there began in England the methodical and standardized regulation of curriculums by the Board of Education, although in the grammar school tradition. From 1911 to 1913, schools catering to the needs of students destined for work in the shops and factories were developed in London and Manchester, and technical schools were started for students just beyond the elementary school age combining general and industrial education.

The Education Act of 1918 in England gave to local education authorities the responsibility for providing post-elementary education of both academic and vocational nature. In Sierra Leone the feature of local responsibility was not imitated until after 1925 and is dealt with in the next chapter of this study. The concern for education other than academic received notable attention during the period 1900 to 1925 in Sierra Leone and is treated in the pages that follow.

The Education Ordinance of 1911

In 1911 new thinking in education in Sierra Leone was expressed in the Education Ordinance of that year. Although short-lived, the new law was a clear indication of changes in attitude. It called for:

1. Changing the system of payment of grants by examination results to capitation grants.

2. The reorganization of the Education Department under a newly appointed full-time Director of Education, who would also be chairman of a Committee on Education and of a Committee on Mohammedan Education which were to be substituted for the extant Board of Education and Board of Mohammedan Education and thereby insure more direct cooperation between these bodies.

4. The introduction of handicrafts and manufacturing processes or agricultural work plus domestic science for girls as compulsory subjects in elementary schools.[1]

The new education regulations developed under the Ordinance of 1911 also provided for lowering of government rquirements to ensure wider spread eligibility for grant-in-aid funds among the schools.[2]

The Education Ordinance of 1916

In 1916 the law was again revised in order to clarify the position of the Protectorate schools. The Education Ordinance of 1916 included provisions for:

1. Standardization of the educational programs offered in both government and aided schools and coordination of the curriculums at both elementary and secondary levels.

2. Increases in grants-in-aid.

3. Direct grants to increase the salaries of qualified teachers.

4. Abolition of the elementary school certificate examinations which were contributing to a syllabus-bound instructional program.

5. Abolition of intermediate schools (higher elementary).

6. Continued encouragement of handiwork and practical instruction.

7. More adequate staffing of schools.

8. Treatment of industrial and other aided schools on a basis that was comparable with that afforded academic schools.[3]

It was left to the Education Department and its Committees for Education to work out the details of implementation of the general provisions of the Ordinance. During the difficult

1. Report on the Education Department of the Colony of Sierra Leone for the Years 1909, 1910, 1911 (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1915), p. 1.
2. Ibid., p. 2.
3. Report of the Education Department for the Years 1914-1922 (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1923), p. 10.

period of World War I it was not possible to focus as much effort on education because of the channeling of resources into war efforts and the demands upon the government for British Empire defense.

It was not until well after the War that a more deliberate and methodical law and regulatory process was worked out by the government. The Ordinances of 1911 and 1916 reflected the degree of change in attitude and a desire for better ways to meet the educational needs of a changing community, but because of the difficulties of implementation caused by wartime conditions the Ordinances represented more change in attitude than in practice.

Educational Policy and Progress in the Colony

Elementary Education

The problems of shortage of staff and funds noted in the preceding chapter continued to exist in elementary education between 1900 and 1925. The shortage of teachers was a major obstacle.[1] The extension of government required more administrative aides, and many students who might otherwise have gone into teaching were attracted to government clerkships.[2] The quality of teaching was not improved and emphasis continued to be on rote learning in most schools.[3]

In a predominately mission system students were still exposed primarily to religious training and academic subjects in a British framework. The history and geography of Europe were more familiar to them than that of their own country.[4]

In 1907 Governor Probyn suggested that the government

1. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, Group 3, No. 98, January 29, 1901, Bishop J. Johnson. All C.M.S. Correspondence is in the nature of unpublished manuscripts filed in the C.M.S. Archives, Salisbury Square, London. Citations in this study are C.M.S. referrents.

2. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1902, quoted in M. J. Marke, op. cit., p. 90.

3. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1907 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 12.

4. Report on the Education Department of the Colony of Sierra Leone for the Years 1909, 1910, 1911, p. 5.

assume control over all elementary education in the Colony in order to improve what he called the "serious state of elementary education" in Sierra Leone.[1] Such a proposal faced numerous obstacles: mission objections, problems of finance, lack of organization and personnel. The following year the government proposed that a more practical move would be reorganization of the Education Department to improve efficiency in utilizing the existing mission system of elementary education.[2]

The remainder of this chapter illustrates the attempts to achieve this goal in subsequent years.

During this period the question of legislation for compulsory education was again considered by the government,[3] but the barriers to such a program were no more surmountable than they had been when last the question had been raised.

The defunct Government Model School was revived in 1913 as an effort to improve Colony elementary education by providing instructional standards as a guide for other schools. A European "Instructress" was added to the staff with responsibility for the infants department and for training assistant teachers for infants schools. She continued at this work until the position was discontinued in 1922 because of government cutbacks which resulted from economizing efforts motivated by financial problems,[4] a factor which continually menaced government involvement in education throughout the war years and after. The Government Model School itself was threatened with extinction briefly when it was closed for several months during the early part of World War I so the building could be used for interned enemy subjects, but it soon reopened.[5]

1. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1907, p. 21.
2. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1908, p. 32.
3. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1907, p. 4.
4. Sierra Leone Education Department Triennial Survey: 1955-1957 (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1958), p. 6. Hereinafter quoted as Triennial Survey: 1955-1957.
5. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1914, p. 21.

R. W. Cole, a student at the Government Model School during these years (he began his elementary schooling in 1914), writes his impressions of the school:

"The Government was very proud of the Model School. It was intended as an example to the other primary schools in the Colony. The substantive principal was always a European. But as for us, the pupils, the miracle of our having been educated at all, to the stage when we could soon present ourselves for admission to a secondary school, was due to certain causes despite ourselves.

"Regular attendance at school and the meticulous work of our teachers every day, in simple direct language, was bound to have some effect even on the least promising minds.

. . . .

". . . with excitement . . . we received the news that we were to start Latin that year. It was not part of the normal syllabus, but as luck would have it, that year the Rev. W. T. Thomas, M.A., was acting principal, and he felt it would be a great asset to the boys in our class who were due to go to a secondary school.

"Mr. Thomas also introduced algebra in our group. These two subjects were retained while he remained at the school. . . . As a result, during these years, boys moving from the Model School to the Grammar School were usually upgraded one class higher than their predecessors."[1]

The Government Model School was popular among Freetown residents. Another student at the school in 1915 wrote: "At the time . . . the Government Model School ranked as the best elementary school in the country."[2] It is perhaps further testament to the success of the school that the C.M.S viewed the reopening with some concern and fear of increased competition.[3]

After World War I when resources and attention could once again be turned to increasing educational opportunity, it was suggested that the Model School be enlarged, particularly to meet what was perceived by the government as an increasing

1. Robert Wellesley Cole, Kossoh Town Boy (London: Cambridge University Press, 1960), pp. 146-148.

2. Victor S. King, "The Story of My School Education," The Daily Guardian (Freetown) January 3, 1933. King later became an officer in the Sierra Leone Ministry of Education.

3. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 24, March 29, 1911, J. Denton.

demand for non-denominational instruction and schools.[1]

The inefficient utilization of resources, exemplified in the plethora of mission elementary schools competing in many areas of the Colony, came under attack again by government education officials in the post-war period. A plan for consolidation was developed in 1922 and a few schools were amalgamated, but the difficulties of cooperation among the missions proved too extreme and the plan was abandoned in 1923.[2] The idea was revived in somewhat different form in later years, as will be discussed later in this study. In 1924 the major Protestant missions **resolved their differences somewhat** and organized a United Christian Council to aid in coördination of missionary efforts.[3] This agency took satisfactory root and continues to function efficiently as a representative of the member missions in dealing with the government.[4]

Mission duplication of facilities at the elementary level is evidenced in part by the increase in the number of mission schools in the Colony between 1900 and 1923 in comparison with increases in enrollment. Table 9 shows the number, enrollment, and average attendance of assisted elementary schools in the Colony for selected years in the first quarter of the present century.

Between 1900 and 1907 the total annual government grant

1. Report of the Education Department for the Years 1914-1922, p. 19.
2. Ibid., p. 23; Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1923, p. 8.
3. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1924-25 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 47.
4. As principal of a school which cooperated in the United Christian Council administrative program, the writer had numerous occasions to observe and assess the work of this organization. Several conversations with the Executive Secretary, Rev. S. L. Warratie, and with the Education Secretary, Dr. J. G. Sleight, as well as with other members of the staff of the United Christian Council helped considerably in understanding the work and value of this group.

TABLE 9. Number, Enrollments, and Average Attendance of Assisted Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone Colony: 1900, 1912, 1914, 1923[a]

Year	Number of Schools	Enrollment	Average Attendance
1900	77	7,870	5,661
1912	92	8,320	5,180
1914	102	7,404	4,867
1923	98	8,108	6,048

a. M. J. Marke, op. cit., p. 89; Sierra Leone Colonial Report 1912 and 1914; Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1923-24, p. 53.

to all Colony elementary schools was at a fairly steady rate of about £ 1550 ($7440.00) per year.[1] After that time the total annual amount increased steadily and in 1923 amounted to £ 6,496 ($31,180.80).[2]

The increase in amount of grant money represented a significant increase in real aid rather than a proportionate rise due to increases in enrollment. Although the number of aided schools increased, the total number of students, on which grants were primarily based, did not increase in the same proportion. The average number of students per school in 1900 was 73.5; in 1923 it was only 61.7. The total average attendance increased by approximately 7 percent, while grants increased by over 400 percent.

The immediate effect of wartime conditions on enrollment is observable in the drop in enrollment in 1914 in spite of increases in the number of aided schools, although the decrease in enrollment was not great.

1. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1907, p. 12.
2. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1923-24, p. 53.

Muslim Elementary Education

In 1901 the Sierra Leone Colonial Secretary clearly expressed his view of the importance of the Muslim population to the government in these words:

"The Mohammedan question is regarded by the Government as one of the most important in the future of West and Central Africa. If Islam is properly understood, if its youth, inoculated with British civilization and British ideas, are utilised by British administrators and merchants, it will give to England a wider and more permanent influence upon the millions of the Soudan than can possibly be wielded by any other agency."[1]

In 1901, in Freetown four government-supported Muslim schools provided elementary education to that segment of the population. The most serious obstacle to continued development of this type of education was the shortage of Muslim teachers, which precluded the extension of such activity to the Protectorate as well. Christian teachers were being utilized in the four Madrassas, as the schools were called, but the government did not approve continuing such an obviously conflicting arrangement any longer than necessary.[2] Proposals were sought on methods for training Muslim teachers for these schools. By 1909 twelve teachers were in training at the office of the Secretary to the Board of Mohammedan Education.[3]

In 1908 the total attendance for all the Freetown Muslim schools averaged about 483. The Muslim population was estimated to be about 10,000 at that time, but considerable proselytizing among the people by itinerant Muslims was increasing the number of Muslims in both Colony and Protectorate.[4] The government expenditure for Muslim education was proportionately much less than that provided for the Christian mission schools.

1. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1901, p. 19.
2. Ibid., pp. 18-19.
3. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1909, p. 29.
4. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1908, pp. 34, 52.

Between 1903 and 1922 the total government grant to Muslim schools rose from £ 306 ($1468.80) to £ 847 ($4065.60) per year. In 1922 the teaching of Arabic was discontinued because of the increased expense.[1] In 1923 it was suggested that the government stop the system of paying grants to the Muslim schools unconditionally and thus spur elevation of standards in the Madrassas.[2] This idea was adopted by the Governor and the method of assistance was changed from a direct grant to a capitation grant based on the results of inspections as in other aided schools. As a consequence of this change three of the Muslim schools were forced to close.[3] Government provision for Muslim education continued on a reduced basis for a while, but the belief of the Colonial Secretary who in 1901 had placed so much faith in the value of cultivating the Muslim populace was evidently forgotten and in the years following 1924 provision for specifically Muslim education was negligible.

It seems likely that a variety of factors contributed to the collapse of a government plan for Muslim education — uncertainty about the value of the schools as they were then operated, the increasing cost of maintaining them, and constant agitation from the Christian missionaries who were opposed in principle to government support of Islam.

Secondary Education

The continued development of government aid programs for elementary schools prompted at least one early instance of mission consideration of applying the principle to the secondary level. In 1900 the C.M.S. requested its home authority for permission to consider placing the C.M.S. Grammar School

1. _Report of the Education Department for the Years 1914-1922_, p. 22.
2. _Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1923_, p. 7.
3. _Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates_, No. I of Session 1924-25, p. 55.

under the government's Board of Education, hoping for a government grant.[1] This particular suggestion was ultimately dropped. It was left for the government to initiate a plan for aid to secondary education some eleven years later.

In 1911 grants-in-aid to secondary schools were sanctioned in principle by the government,[2] but preliminary negotiations for implementation of the plan were not begun until 1915. The first secondary schools received aid in 1916, but by 1923 only four of the eleven secondary schools in Sierra Leone were receiving government assistance.

One apparent result of the proposed government plan to aid secondary education was the sudden rise in the number of proprietary non-denominational schools opened in Freetown. However, when it became evident that government aid to secondary education was not to be in the form of indiscriminate dole several of the proprietary schools closed. Table 10 shows the number of private schools which opened and closed between 1911 and 1918 as well as the secondary schools in the Colony and the number receiving government aid.

TABLE 10. Mission and Private Secondary Schools in Sierra Leone Colony and Number Government Aided: 1911, 1913, 1915 1916, 1918[a]

Year	Mission	Private	Government Aided
1911	8	6[b]	0
1913	8	5	0
1915	8	5	0
1916	8	5	3[c]
1918	7	4	3[c]

a. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1911, 1913, 1915, 1916, 1918.

b. While the number of private schools approached the number of mission schools there was a marked disparity in enrollment in favor of the mission schools. In 1911, for example, the total enrollment in the eight mission schools was 820, while the total in the six private schools was only 180.

c. All were mission schools.

1. C.M.S. Correspondence, Group 3, No. 80, September 25, 1900, E. Elwin.

2. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1910, p. 29

In 1918 the first direct government acitivty in providing secondary education in the Colony began with the opening of secondary classes at the Government Model School in Freetown.[1] Instruction began in cramped quarters on the Model School grounds. This meager beginning did not protend that the school would one day become one of the finest secondary institutions in the country. One of its first students was critical of the early provisions. R. W. Cole believed:

"This project for a secondary school could have started differently had the Government wished. As had been done in other parts of West Africa, they could have built a proper school, equipped it, brought out teachers from England, and thrown it open to boys and girls from all schools in Freetown and the Peninsula villages."[2]

Cole went on to speculate on the reasons for the decision to start a government secondary school by simply continuing the students from the elementary Model School into advanced levels. He suggested the possibility that the government might have felt that only "boys trained in its Model Primary School were good enough to found a model secondary school under its aegis."[3] Cole also considered the possibility of a growing government awareness of the reluctance of the Creole families to entrust their children to schools not proven by time and tradition. He convincingly demonstrates the conservative attitude and feeling of great attachment among the Creoles for the traditional grammar schools of Freetown.[4]

The first years of the Government Secondary School were difficult for the students. Cole tells of the feeling about the project and towards the teachers which he shared with his classmates. He suggests that in the first years of its existence teachers viewed the school as a stepping stone to better positions, and he mentions that they had seven different and often indifferent or unqualified teachers in the first three

1. _Report of the Education Department for the Years 1914-1922_, p. 18.
2. R. W. Cole, _op. cit._, p. 156.
3. _Ibid._
4. _Ibid._

years.[1] Such a situation was hardly conducive to continuity in the studies of the pupils and Cole reported that he learned very little from his first years at the school. A more superficial but nonetheless strongly felt problem at the Government Secondary School was the frustration of the students over the lack of tradition and internal organization such as existed at the other Freetown secondary schools.[2] Cole specifically lamented the lack of school uniforms and other features imitative of the English grammar school that were common to other Freetown secondary schools.

In 1925 a definite improvement in the school took place when it was transfered to new quarters and reopened as the Prince of Wales Secondary School. Since that time it has developed into a particularly fine institution and has earned a reputation for excellent teaching, especially in science.[3]

With government aid to secondary education came increased criticism of the system. In 1912 it was noted in a government report that "a strong conservatism compels the retention of a system of instruction whose average product is certainly inferior to the average boy or girl in the Higher Grade Elementary Schools in England."[4] The traditional emphasis on grammar school academic subjects also came under attack, although some schools were beginning to offer more diversified and practical courses. The C.M.S. Grammar School provided courses in shorthand, bookkeeping, and drawing along with the usual English, religious knowledge, history, geography, arithmetic, Latin, and Greek during this period.[5]

1. Ibid., p. 163.
2. Ibid.
3. Interview with Mr. W. Conton, former principal of the school, Freetown, June 15, 1962. Mr. Conton is now Director of Education in the Sierra Leone Ministry of Education. He is also former principal of Bo Government School and author of The African (New York: Signet Books, 1961) and of the two volume West Africa in History (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963), a secondary school history textbook.
4. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1912, p. 16.
5. Victor S. King, "The Story of My School Education: At the C.M.S. Grammar School," The Daily Guardian (Freetown) January 18, 1933.

American influences began to be felt in some of the schools, particularly through the presence of Albert Academy. The Academy had been established in Freetown in 1904 by the United Bretheren mission to provide at the secondary level both practical courses and the usual academic offerings for graduates of the United Bretheren mission elementary schools in the Protectorate.[1] Some mission secondary schools felt competition from Albert Academy because the latter offered more commercial and scientific courses and charged lower tuition.[2] Albert Academy probably also influenced education through use of American textbooks.

American books had begun to appear in other schools. Cole compared American texts with the British books he was accustomed to and concluded that "unlike the British text-books they concentrated on the essentials and were admirably suited to us, out in Africa, who were dependent on textbooks for so much of our education. In England the textbook is an

1. Rosselot, op. cit., p. 77. An interesting controversy was generated at the time of the school's opening. Governor Probyn, who delivered a formal address at the official opening of the school on January 16, 1905, aroused the sentiments of both government officials and Freetown society against the Mission by his expression of regret that the school had been developed in Freetown rather than in the Protectorate. Probyn reiterated his view that the removal of students from the interior and their homes would further alienate them from tribal society. Public opinion in support of the Governor's attitude prompted the Conference Superintendent of the United Bretheren Mission to issue a public statement outlining the reasons for locating the school in Freetown. Dr. J. R. King, the Conference Superintendent, pointed out that the great loss of property in the 1898 war, the dearth of transportation and communication facilities in the interior, the fact that three tribes were being accomodated by the school, and the value of cultural contacts available in Freetown had contributed to the decision to locate the school there. In spite of the initial objections to its location and without Creole support, the school continued to develop secondary education for tribal peoples. A number of high level government officials are graduates of the school, including the late Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai.

2. C.M.S. correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 41, February 25, 1908, J. Denton.

adjunct to the lecture. In Africa the textbook was everything."[1] Cole's high opinion of American texts did not, however, indicate a purely practical bias in education, for he also insisted that "a knowledge of Greek is the crowning mark of a liberal education."[2]

The system of external examinations for secondary schools was adopted during the period 1900 to 1924. In 1900 a directive from the C.M.S. in London had suggested to Fourah Bay College that it propose the use of its facilities in the development of junior and senior secondary certificates.[3] By 1914, however, the government decided that English standard examinations would be better suited to the needs and purposes of the secondary schools of Sierra Leone and in December of that year the first Cambridge examinations were held.[4]

In 1922 after eight years of experience with the Cambridge examination the Education Department expressed the view that the Cambridge tests were too difficult for the African and dealt with matters which were foreign to him. A movement was begun to eliminate the examinations. The Creole populace reacted with alarm to this attempt to remove a new but cherished link with British culture. The schools saw to it that only the best students — those most likely to pass — were officially submitted for the examinations that year. The result was a good showing and the retention of the examination system.[5] The emphasis on examinations did not escape criticism from local educators.[6]

Technical and Agricultural Education

In 1910 an experiment testing the capability and interest of boys in woodwork and clay modelling was conducted by a

1. Cole, op. cit., p. 168.
2. Ibid., p. 169.
3. C.M.S. Correspondence, London, iii, February 1900.
4. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1915, p. 18.
5. Cole, op. cit., pp. 185-187.
6. King, op. cit., January 30, 1933, February 2, 1933.

government appointed examiner. The examiner was so impressed by the success of the experiment that he remarked that "manual training from being regarded with some degree of contempt is now looked upon as a ladder to intellectual development and commercial success."[1] The report on the Colony for that year noted that "the experiment has shown clearly the necessity for the introduction of manual training into the school curriculum at the earliest opportunity."[2] It is difficult to see how the conclusions drawn as a result of the test can be justified on the basis of a simple demonstration of basic ability and interest on the part of a few students. (Further, the experiment was conducted in the Albert Academy and at the Roman Catholic school at Mobe and thus could not have been a representative sample for the country.)

Such manual training was developed at the Government Model School. Cole related his experience in the program:

"This was the year [about 1916] in which I started manual training. This addition to the curriculum was introduced when boys reached Class III. This was the only colony primary school in which it was provided. None of the mission schools did. On a certain morning each week the boys of our class spent the whole morning in the manual training department, while the girls went to have lessons in sewing and domestic science.

"The manual training was in a separate building on the south side of the compound, and we looked forward immensely to this new variation from book work. We soon mastered the use of hammer, plane, saw, chisel, T-square, and we were set on to make simple things. Our instructors were Mr Sylvanus Bull and Mr Reginald King. It is to this period of training that I owe what little I am able to understand about simple jobs in the home. Without it I should have remained a bookworm, clumsy in anything which called for the use of the hands."[3]

In 1911 an Educational and Industrial Institute was opened at Sherbro but it did not long survive and closed in 1913. In 1914 the United Bretheren Mission established a small

1. Report on the Education Department of the Colony of Sierra Leone for the Years 1909,1910,1911, p. 22.
2. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1910, p. 28.
3. Cole, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

industrial school there when it was assured that the Educational and Industrial Institute was permanently closed.[1] The United Bretheren group did not wish to compete with an existing school in such a small area as Sherbro.

Even closer to Freetown, the Seventh Day Adventist Mission operated an industrial school at Waterloo in 1916, but without government support.[2]

The Diocesan Technical School in Freetown offered courses in the theory of carpentry, bricklaying, joinery, masonry, plastering, plumbing, rudimentary surveying, architecture, and civil engineering in addition to a higher course involving drawing, plane and solid geometry, elementary trigonometry, mensuration, and theoretical and applied mechanics.[3]

The breadth of the list of offerings of the Diocesan Technical School gives the impression of a much more extensive operation than actually existed. In 1902 there were only fourteen pupils enrolled and the government grant was £ 120 ($576.00).[4] Although the curriculum of the school involved practical subjects the teaching tended to be done by lecture rather than by laboratory techniques. Teachers of drawing, for example, might be certified by attending a series of forty lectures over a period of five months and then passing an examination.[5]

The school continued to operate for some time. In 1903 it was moved into a new building. Between 1900 and 1911 the peak enrollment was thirty, but by 1912 it had dropped to seventeen.[6] In view of enrollment figures, it may well have

1. Colonial and Provincial Reporter (Freetown), April 18, 1914, p. 3.
2. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1913, p. 18.
3. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1902, p. 14.
4. Ibid.
5. Marke, op. cit., p. 89.
6. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1912, p. 17.

been proprietary pride which moved Bishop Johnson to remark in 1900 that the Technical School was influencing the architecture of Sierra Leone and that as a consequence better houses were being built.[1]

In 1920 a trade school was opened in Freetown which was designed to offer practical vocational courses suited to local needs. The school originated through a bequest of Sir Alfred Jones, a British shipping magnate, who had specified that the money should go toward aiding technical education. A school named for its benefactor was opened by the Education Department in the quarters of the Government Model School.[2] The Sir Alfred Jones School continued to offer technical instruction until 1942 when the building was required for military operations and the school closed.

In 1901 a Creole businessman, S. B. Thomas, died and left the sum of £ 60,000 ($288,000.00) for the establishment of an agricultural college in Sierra Leone. The institution was to be under the control of the government and administered by trustees "who realize that the future of Sierra Leone lies in successful agriculture." It was not until 1908 that the school was formally established at Mabang,[3] and not until 1915 that the college was pronounced officially open. The entrance requirements set by the government were completion of Standard Six or Seven of the elementary school. Training was to be in both theoretical and practical agriculture under the direction of an experienced teacher from the United States.[4] There are conflicting accounts of the actual opening of the school, for the Education Department reported in later years that the school did not receive students until

1. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, Group 3, No. 98, January 29, 1901.

2. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1923, p. 20. When the will of Sir Alfred was first made public in 1911 and it was made clear that only schools with technical branches would be eligible for bequests, the C.M.S. considered establishing a technical branch at Fourah Bay College. The government decision to utilize the funds for a separate school preculded further consideration along these lines.

3. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1908, p. 37.

4. Colonial and Provincial Reporter, September 4, 1915, p. 3.

1928 when a Sierra Leonean trained in agriculture in the United States assumed the responsibility for administration of the school.[1]

A verse from the senior class song of 1932 indicates the aims of the school:

"To train youths as Agriculturalists,
To show that Colony boys could farm,
That West Africa can hold Her own,
Are the aims of the institution."[2]

The American United Bretheren Mission efforts in industrial education at Shenge were noted in the preceeding chapter, but by 1920 the practical course had evidently dwindled to almost nothing. An observer who visited both Shenge and Albert Academy in 1920 reported practically no evidence of real industrial training.[3]

Teacher Training

Under the Education Rules of 1899, which came into force in 1900, direct grants on a per-capita basis were made to approved schools which undertook the training of teachers. Under this program in 1900 twelve applicants were accepted for training at Fourah Bay College.[4] Requirements for admission were three years experience as pupil-teachers or approval by the Board of Education. The course of study was to be for a minimum of two years.

The difficulty of finding elementary students willing to spend three years as pupil-teachers prior to entering the training college motivated a suggestion to consider altering the program. No better plan was advanced, however, and no changes were made.[5]

1. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1928; Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1950, p. 7; Triennial Survey: 1955-1957, p. 5.
2. The Daily Guardian (Freetown), January 3, 1933, p. 3.
3. Rosselot, op. cit., pp. 54-55.
4. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, Group 3, No. 14, February 27, 1900.
5. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1901, p. 18.

Only eight teachers' certificates were issued in the first four years of the Fourah Bay teacher training program. Poor inducements to prospective teachers was the ascribed cause and the system once again was re-evaluated. Termination of government assistance followed in 1906.[1]

It is not clear to what extent the termination of the teacher training program at Fourah Bay College was based on mutual dissatisfaction of the government and the C.M.S., on a unilateral decision of the government, or on sectarian differences. In 1906 the College administration requested permission from the C.M.S. in London to end the agreement for teacher training, contending that such a change was in the best interest of the College. It was proposed as an alternative to apply to the Board of Education for aid in the establishment of a teacher training college at the C.M.S. Grammar School.[2] This latter suggestion was motivated by the fact that the Wesleyan mission operated a grant-aided training college at their secondary school in Freetown.[3] The C.M.S. home authority replied that there was no wish to alter the existing arrangement unless the government initiated action.[4]

The official reason given by the government for discontinuing aid to Fourah Bay was that £ 500 ($2400.00) per year was not warranted by the results of the College's teacher training program[5] — too few teachers were being trained. However, Denton, writing some years later, placed the blame for the failure of the plan on sectarian differences and asserted that "Wesleyans and other complained that the scheme was unfair to them and by aloofness and hostility ultimately wrecked it."[6] It is quite possible that all three factors were involved.

1. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1904, p. 22.
2. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 65, May 22, 1906, W. H. Hewitt.
3. Ibid.
4. C.M.S.Correspondence, London, xviii, May 22, 1906.
5. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1907, p. 23.
6. Denton, op. cit., p. 16.

The shortage of qualified teachers continued to present a serious obstacle to education development. Between 1909 and 1911 the Director of Education himself conducted a short course for teacher training, but illness prevented him from continuing the course in subsequent years.[1]

In an effort to upgrade teacher qualifications the recognition of the pupil-teacher classification was withdrawn in 1907.[2] Between 1909 and 1911 special salary supplements were awarded to teachers who displayed evidence of superior work.[3]

The financial estimates for 1914 contained approval of funds to provide a government teacher training college, but World War I intervened and the plan was dropped.[4]

A government institution was apparently founded in 1917 to train teachers primarily for secondary schools.[5] The school closed the following year, however. This attempt reportedly failed because of (1) low standards for admission, (2) lack of any obligation for students to enter teaching upon completion of the course, (3) absence of suitable accomodations, and (4) the acceptance of students who were immature and unqualified for advanced training of this nature.[6] In 1922 the government proposed reorganizing the school along stronger lines and reopening it, but no provision was made for such action and it remained another casualty of the experimental years.[7]

1. Report on the Education Department of the Colony of Sierra Leone for the Years 1909, 1910, 1911, p. 22.
2. General Report on Elementary Schools in Sierra Leone and Sherbro, 1907, p. 11.
3. Report on the Education Department of the Colony of Sierra Leone for the Years 1909, 1910, 1911, p. 2.
4. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1922-23, pp. 62-63.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. Report of the Education Department for the Years 1914-1922, p. 8.
7. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1922-23, pp. 62-63.

Low salaries continued to discourage prospective teachers. By 1922 there were still only ten fully certified teachers in the entire country.[1] In 1922 a plan was advanced to set up a minimum salary scale for teachers.[2] This plan was incorporated in the new education ordinance in 1924 and is discussed later in this study.

Higher Education

Early in the century, the economy of continuing Fourah Bay College as an institution primarily for the training of the ministry was questioned by the C.M.S. Rev. Rowan, of the C.M.S. in Sierra Leone, proposed the incorporation of the College as a nondenominational university with a separate school of theology and courses leading to locally valid diplomas in medicine, law, and engineering.[3] Governor Probyn entered the discussion and suggested to C.M.S. authorities in London that the College be transferred to a corporate body, perhaps with equal representation among the various denominations in Sierra Leone.[4] In May of 1905 the Anglican Bishop of Sierra Leone, after some discussion with Governor Probyn on the issue, reported his fears that the Governor would not agree to any guarantee that Fourah Bay, if so reconstituted, would be continued as a specifically Christian institution. The Bishop indicated his disapproval of any plan to turn the administration of the College over to a secular body.[5]

Governor Probyn then informed the C.M.S. in London that

1. Report of the Education Department for the Years 1914-1922, p. 9.
2. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1922, p. 21.
3. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 38, March 28, 1905.
4. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 39, March 28, 1905, L. Probyn.
5. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 60, May 23, 1905, Bishop of Sierra Leone.

he could not agree to a charter for the proposed Fourah Bay "University" which would give the preponderance of control to the Church of England. The Governor suggested that if the C.M.S. could not continue financial support of the College they consider transfer of the property to form the nucleus of a new university. The Governor proposed that such an institution would receive immediate enthusiastic support from the residents of the West African coast who would probably endow it. Governor Probyn specifically opposed the possibility of full government support for the ailing school, and urged consideration of alternatives such as the one he had suggested.[1]

The C.M.S. authorities would not accept such changes in the organization and control of the school and in fact shortly thereafter began extensive repairs to Fourah Bay College in efforts to maintain the instutition themselves.[2] There was no further exchange of views between the government and the C.M.S. on this issue at that time. For the time being the question was considered closed.

The operation of the school remained a financial burden to the C.M.S. In 1906 a plan for possible cooperation between the C.M.S. and the Wesleyans was suggested by the Bishop of Sierra Leone, if tensions between the two groups could be overcome.[3] A provisional plan was worked out by representatives of both churches for joint support and control of Fourah Bay College, but it was rejected by both parent organizations.[4]

In 1907 the C.M.S. home authorities decided they had an obligation to continue the College as long as possible, but

1. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 63, May 23, 1905, Governor Probyn.

2. C.M.S. Correspondence, London, xxvii, May 23, 1905.

3. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 155, September 25, 1906, Bishop of Sierra Leone.

4. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 20, February 26, 1907.

demanded evidence that the school was really needed in the country.[1]

Throughout 1907 economy measures such as staff reductions and the closing of the senior elementary school of the College were approved.[2] An attempt was made by a special C.M.S. committee to obtain independent opinion on the worth of the College in West African life, but the C.M.S. was not satisfied with their report and considered it an open question whether the continued maintainance of the College was advisable.[3]

In 1908 a conference on Fourah Bay College was held by church leaders in Sierra Leone and resulted in the recommendation that the C.M.S. defer action for five years on its decision to close the College.[4] The C.M.S. responded by suggesting further consideration of some form of joint interdenominational or government support for the College as the C.M.S. could not continue full support much longer. It was resolved to continue the school on a reduced basis for a period of three years while other means of support were sought.[5]

The situation remained precarious until the end of the three year period. In 1911 an endowment of ₤ 3000 ($14400.00) was approved by the C.M.S. for the College which was restored thereby to a more stable economic position.[6] The C.M.S. further approved use of Church trust funds to provide financial assistance to the school.[7]

1. C.M.S. Correspondence, London, liii, No. 119, October 22, 1907.
2. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, Nos. 84-87, June 25, 1907, Rev. H. Hewitt.
3. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 94, June 25, 1907, Education Committee Memorandum.
4. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 84, June 23, 1908, Report of Conference Regarding Fourah Bay College.
5. C.M.S. Correspondence, London, xxxviii, No. 93, June 1908.
6. _Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1912_, p. 17. C.M.S. Correspondence, London, vi, April 24, 1912.
7. C.M.S. Correspondence, London, xi, April 24, 1912, svii, July 24, 1912.

An increase in the number of tuition students between 1908 and 1912 further assured continuation of the College and the crisis was past. Although the College had weathered the more severe part of the storm and could continue independent of joint controls, the C.M.S. and the Wesleyans continued for some years to give consideration to the idea of cooperative support for Fourah Bay College.

Development of an Educational Policy for the Protectorate

General Policy

In keeping with Governor Cardew's policy of isolating the Protectorate, the kind of educational change introduced in the Colony was not at first considered for the interior. Missionaries working in the Protectorate tended to reinforce Cardew's attitude somewhat, with the obvious exception of the particular religious dogma they were themselves attempting to instill in the people. The missionaries did not want their converts exposed to attitudes contrary to those which were taught in the mission schools and churches.

There was a vacillation of government policy on language. M. Sunter, former principal of Fourah Bay College and an Inspector of Schools in the West African settlements, noted in an 1884 report on the schools of Sierra Leone that, in his opinion, only English was of any value to British interests. In his characteristically outspoken manner, Sunter said: "The natives must and will know English in spite of . . . well-meaning but diseased notions; it is the language of commerce and the only education worth a moment's consideration or attainable."[1] A government note on the report concurred.[2] The diseased notions to which Sunter referred were the attitudes of the missionaries who preferred the vernacular languages in their schools and churches. Translations of Bibles

1. Quoted in Wise, op. cit, p. 22.
2. Ibid.

and hymn books were done, but little of other literature.[1] Nonetheless, by 1910, it was noted that in many schools in the Protectorate the medium of instruction had become "pidgin" English[2] and, Sunter's attitude notwithstanding, in 1919 the government operated two vernacular schools at Baima and Gbangbama, utilizing native languages for instruction.

Missionaries, who had been at work in the Protectorate since 1851 and who had concentrated particularly on the Mende, returned after the 1898 uprising to rebuild and expand their efforts. Problems of distance and transportation continued to present obstacles to coordination and development, but new programs were beginning to provide schools to more and more of the interior peoples. The railroad stimulated activities of the missions and schools sprang up along its course. As transportation and commerce combined to develop the interior trade the missions followed with increasing success.

With the expansion of mission activity the tribal leaders began to share the concern expressed by Governor Cardew over the dangers of Western civilization and education. Schooling was often perceived as a threat to traditional rights. There were few among the tribal leadership who easily forgot that the United Bretheren missionaries had frowned upon the Poro and had supported the government on the hut-tax issue. However, after their defeat the tribal peoples were forced to accept the presence of the missions as well as the British controls.

The government sought to combat the dangers of cultural alienation and at the same time promote agricultural development by encouraging strictly practical education in the interior. A Colonial Report stated that:

"The aim is twofold — partly to encourage such practical teaching as will benefit the people materially, and partly to

1. Cf. Kayema Baibui (London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1957), The complete Bible in Mende.
2. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1910, p. 31.

retain in the minds of the pupils respect for their own country, people, and institutions. . . . Agriculture, for example, is to be taught so as to inculcate the idea of the dignity of labour as well as to show ways to improve the present wasteful and innefficient methods of farming. It is an almost universal complaint, made by chiefs and others concerned with the welfare of the people, that education, as now carried on, raises in the pupils contempt for farm labour."[1]

The leaders dreaded the results of purely theoretical education as spoiling the children for useful work. The government hoped to make it quite clear that schools would not be eligible for grants unless "an intelligent understanding of, and respect for, tribal law and authority have been features of the school work."[2] It seems to have been overlooked that the Poro and Sande were already equipped to do this latter job with much greater efficiency than missionary teachers. While these tribal institutions continued to operate concurrently with Western schools students no longer were exposed to the Poro or Sande to the extent that the original purpose of these institutions required. As formal schools pre-empted much of the available time, the period devoted to the "bush" school diminished until it was squeezed into a convenient vacation. Today the detribalized African who would study his tribal culture and its heritage and traditions must often turn to the work of Western scholars and thus to a European language and interpretation. This kind of problem has contributed to a situation wherein the only body of literary knowledge that many Africans have with which to study themselves comes from the West.

In addition to the distaste the schools promoted for menial tasks, the older people in the tribal villages had another reason for disliking Western schools. These older people were illiterate and uneducated themselves and sought

1. Ibid., p. 31.
2. Ibid., p. 32. Cf. Laye Camara, The African Child (London: Fontana Books, 1961).

to resist the separation from their children which inevitably resulted from the education of youth in alien ways. It was summed up poignantly by a Sherbro native who told a British government official: "When they sabby book too much they can lef their daddy and their mammy; they no go look em again. They get big eye."[1]

As educational opportunities expanded in the Protectorate there arose another very practical objection to sending the children to school. During the growing and harvesting season in rice farming areas the children were needed to stay in the fields and drive away the birds who would otherwise strip the rice from the stalks. As recently as 1952 it was noted in the Legislative Council, by a member advocating compulsory education in the Protectorate, that some of the objections advanced by the government were that there would not then be enough children to work on the rice farms and that they would become ". . . disinterested in that kind of vocation."[2] During the early decades of the present century missionaries sometimes offered money or school fee reductions to parents as compensation for the loss of their children's services in order to get the children into schools.[3]

It was largely through the missions that the government had to implement its educational plans for the Protectorate. In 1911 the United Bretheren mission reported to its home office on government proposals to aid Protectorate schools. This report noted that conditions of aid required that school programs include "practical and industrial training" and insisted upon the teaching of "loyalty to the local and general (British) government."[4]

1. Quoted in T. J. Aldridge, The Sherbro and its Hinterland (London: Macmillan Co., 1901), p. 43. Aldridge was the District Commissioner of Sherbro.

2. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, Vol. I of Session 1952-53, p. 142.

3. Interview with Dr. Lloyd Eby, General Superintendent of the United Bretheren in Christ mission to Sierra Leone and long-time missionary in that country, in Freetown, March, 1962.

4. Quoted in Rosselot, op. cit., pp. 68-71.

In 1912 the Minutes of the West Africa Conference of the United Bretheren in Christ reported that thirteen schools were inspected by the government. The report indicated, however, that no clear understanding of the specific requirements for government grants existed.[1]

Although missions appreciated that government aid fostered standardization and made possible better schools, three negative aspects of government aid were noted. Rosselot called them, "(1) the personal equation, (2) the curriculum, and (3) finance."[2]

The problems of the "personal equation" stemmed from a feeling among many missionaries that although in theory the government was generally sympathetic to mission purposes in practice individual officers were not.[3]

The difficulties in curriculums arose from the attitude that increased government aid would also mean increased government control of mission schools and might subvert the "Christian purpose" in education.[4]

As for the financial aspect, it was sometimes felt among missionaries that the government favored government-founded schools and thus did not maintain an equitable program of aid for all schools.[5]

Bo Government School

In 1904 Sir Leslie Probyn succeeded Sir Frederic Cardew as Governor of Sierra Leone. Probyn tempered Cardew's policy of isolation for the Protectorate, perhaps because it was becoming more obvious that such a plan was not realistic and quite likely also because of Probyn's enthusiasm for the development of the peoples of the Protectorate. Probyn was determined to provide educational advantages for the interior

1. Rosselot, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-71.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*

tribes and to demonstrate that the Protectorate was to realize some advantage from the hut-tax, which now paid 90 percent of Protectorate administrative costs.[1] In 1905 a school for the sons of chiefs was established at Bo.[2]

When the school opened in 1906 only the sons and nominees of chiefs were eligible. However, at first many chiefs were uncertain about the school and sent slaves instead of their sons.[3]

The original purpose of the school was to provide an elementary non-academic type of training by observation and practice. Physics, chemistry, plant-life, agriculture, physiology, hygiene, geography, arithmetic, nature study, drawing, pottery, and woodwork were to be offered, all at the practical level. The students came from several tribes and because of the resulting language problem no books were used. Conversational English was promoted.

The school began in a secular spirit. Chiefs had been reported ready to refuse to send any students unless the government guaranteed that there would be no interference with traditional religions, tribal or Islam. However, as the school was viewed by many tribal people who were converts to Islam as an opportunity to avoid the proselytizing Christian mission schools, five leading Muslims were appointed to inspect the school and insure that teaching was not aimed at altering religious beliefs. It was hoped by the government that the students would live no differently than they did at home and that the school would not alienate them from their cultural heritage.[4] By 1908 the school enrolled 102 students.[5]

1. Herbert Gibbons, The New Map of Africa (New York: Century Co., 1918), p. 278.
2. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1905, p. 12.
3. F. W. H. Migeod, A View of Sierra Leone (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1926), p. 177.
4. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908.
5. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1908, p. 35.

The government desire that Bo School should not create a new Westernized tribal African was reinforced by numerous provisions. Creoles were prohibited from teaching at the school, European dress was not permitted, and students were to be ineligible for government service after completion of the course of study. Tribal patriotism was to be encouraged.[1]

Governor Probyn also hoped to increase respect for women among the Protectorate peoples and directed that special lessons on the "lives of good and great and notable women" be given.[2] Lantern slides and pictures were to be used in these lessons and a protest was immediately received from a Muslim leader in the community. He objected on religious grounds to such use of pictures as a violation of the government guarantee of non-interference with religious belief, as the Koran clearly forbids pictorial representations. Through the Colonial Office the question was referred to Muslim authorities in Constantinople, Cairo, and India, but the issue was finally settled by the Muslim group originally appointed to inspect the school on such matters. It seems that the objection really was an expression of solitary zeal on the part of one individual whose orthodoxy was more extreme than that of most Muslims in Sierra Leone. There was no strong objection on the part of the inspection committee or the Muslim community and the issue was closed.[3]

In 1915 the facilities of Bo School were used to provide a three week vacation course for teachers in Protectorate schools. Lectures and practical demonstrations were held in an effort to make some provision for upgrading the quality of teachers in the interior schools. This was the first government effort for improving the quality of Protectorate teachers in service.[4]

1. A. J. Aldridge, _A Transformed Colony: Sierra Leone_ (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1910), p. 139.
2. _Ibid._, p. 141.
3. _Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1908_, p. 36.
4. _Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1915_, p. 19.

The intention of the government to maintain Bo School with as little interference as possible to the traditional culture did not long survive. In 1911 the Muslim Inspection Board was disolved as a result of protests from Christian missions that this was inequitable and preferential to Muslims inasmuch as Christian mission schools enjoyed no such privilege when receiving government aid.[1] In the same year the school adopted the prefect system of student government popular in Freetown schools and which was copied from English traditions.[2] In 1914 the regulation prohibiting eligibility for government service of graduates was cancelled in order to "popularize" the school.[3] By 1925 the school was being conducted "largely on the lines of an English Public School."[4] Bo School students were on their way to becoming the "Creolized" products feared by Cardew and the chiefs.

The development at Bo School caused tribal leaders much concern at first. Their own sons were becoming like the despised pothono but they were powerless to stem the tide of change.[5] It has even been suggested that the traditional animosity between Creole and indigene was sometimes encouraged by the government in a "divide and rule" approach.[6]

Today Bo School has little about it to suggest its beginnings and has become a very popular and successful school of the secondary grammar type.

1. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 24, March 29, 1911, J. Denton.

2. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1911, p. 22.

3. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1914, p. 23.

4. T. N. Goddard, The Handbook of Sierra Leone (London: Grant Richards Ltd., 1925), p. 81. Compiled and published by authority of the Sierra Leone Government.

5. Pothono was a derogatory term applied to whites and Westernized Africans alike. See note page 25.

6. Max Gorvie, Old and New in Sierra Leone (London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1945), pp. 75-77.

Agricultural Education in the Protectorate

The governors who succeeded Probyn, Sir Edward Mereweather in 1911 and R. J. Wilkinson in 1916, continued the policy of developing the Protectorate. In 1918 Governor Wilkinson said in an appendix to his financial estimates for 1919:

"The ultimate wealth of Sierra Leone is the fertility of its soil and the industry and intelligence of its people. Progress is impossible while that intelligence remains undeveloped. It is for this reason that I am anxious to see more attention paid to education — especially agricultural education — in the Protectorate, and to the development of its resources by roads, railways, and waterways."[1]

The barriers to agricultural development in Sierra Leone were discussed in an earlier chapter: the unprofitable nature of agriculture to the individual farmer, the instability of land tenure, the general laissez-faire economic attitude which tended to favor the European entrepeneur who could better control prices to his own advantage, and the difficulties of securing the cooperation of missions among themselves and with the government to promote secularization of portions of the educational structure.

Lack of understanding of fundamental aspects of the problem of agricultural development was indicated in a report on the Colony of 1902 which stated: "The soil is fertile, and there are millions of acres of land that might be made productive, but the natural indolence of the people is an almost insuperable bar to the extension of agriculture."[2]

In 1920 a proposed agricultural and industrial exhibit for Sierra Leone prompted a statement from a local citizen in a Freetown newspaper:

"It is becoming more and more evident . . . that future existence of the Colony and Protectorate hinges on the determination . . . of the people to adopt as a fixed motto the cry 'Back to the Land.'"[3]

While such enthusiasm was not generally shared, the need

1. Quoted in Cox-George, op. cit., pp. 208-209.
2. Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1902, pp. 10-11.
3. Letter signed S. D. Turner, The Sierra Leone Weekly News (Freetown), March 27, 1920, p. 9.

it expressed was being more and more felt by the government and in 1911 a Department of Agriculture was formed with a full-time director.[1] An Agricultural Society was founded in 1922 to promote scientific agriculture. The Governor was the first president and membership consisted mostly of government officials.[2] In 1923 a plea for greater emphasis on agriculture in the schools was made by the Legislative Council,[3] but agricultural education proceeded slowly.

After 1907 the government secured the cooperation of some Protectorate chiefs to obtain several large plots of land for agricultural experimentation,[4] and in 1912 an agricultural station was established at Njala near Bo.[5] In 1919 the Njala Agricultural College was founded and attached to the station. The school was to provide training for vernacular school teachers and to instruct them in sound knowledge of agriculture.[6] By 1923 the government was able to establish six vernacular elementary schools staffed with the first graduates of Njala.[7]

In 1924 the Njala plan to provide teachers for interior schools came under attack by the Director of Education who maintained that it was too expensive in proportion to results, that there was no guarantee that graduates would go into teaching, and that the school did not function in the service of other teachers already at work in the Protectorate. The Director asserted that the school had not, in fact, grown beyond the level of a "well-managed rural school" and was not efficient enough to warrant the expense.[8]

1. Cox-George, _op. cit._, p. 140.
2. Sierra Leone Agricultural Society, _Rules and Constitution_ (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1922).
3. _Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates_, No. I of Session 1923-24, pp. 50-51.
4. Cox-George, _op. cit._, p. 161.
5. _Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1915_, p. 11.
6. _Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1919_, passim.
7. _Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1923_, p. 21.
8. _Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates_, No. I of Session 1924-25, p. 52.

As shall be discussed in the following chapter, the Njala Agricultural College continued for a few more years and, although some efforts were made to enlarge it and more permanently establish it, it closed in 1929 not to be revived until some years later.

Technical Education in the Protectorate

Prior to the advent of administrative and financial problems caused by World War I, the government instituted a new program of aid to technical and industrial education in both the Colony and Protectorate. The government expressed a willingness to assist any voluntary agency in undertaking development of technical education to the extent of as much as one-half the cost of buildings, seven shillings sixpence capitation grants (about $2.00), and three-fourths the cost of equipment.[1]

The intervention of war prevented the immediate implementation of these plans and between 1914 and 1920 the only operator of industrial schools in the Protectorate was the Roman Catholic mission.[2] By 1923, however, the program was sufficiently revived so that seven Protectorate elementary schools were classified as industrial and receiving government subsidies.[3] It should be noted that these schools were limited in scope and offered no real vocational instruction, but provided simple basic programs in handiwork.[4]

The C.M.S. had traditionally concerned itself primarily with affairs in the Colony, but during this period the possibility was proposed of opening interior missions by utilizing graduates of the Diocesan Technical School as teachers

1. Rules and Schedules for Industrial Schools (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1912). Manual Training Rules (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1913).
2. Report of the Education Department for the Years 1914-1922, p. 15.
3. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1923, p. 6.
4. Ibid.

in industrial missions. The C.M.S. home authority did not, however, encourage such an undertaking.[1] There was doubt about the effectiveness of technical schools in appealing to people who looked with contempt on manual labor among an educated class.[2] In any case, it would have been extremely difficult to find students who would be willing to go into the Protectorate after completion of the course at the Technical School.[3] In 1900 the government offered an annual stipend of £ 100 ($480.00) to any European who would go to the interior as an industrial teacher, but none could be found who would accept the offer.[4]

The Roman Catholic school at Mobe in the Southern Province of the Protectorate was the one effort noted for somewhat successful vocational education. With some government support the school offered carpentry, metalwork, baking, farming, and boatbuilding.[5]

World War I and Its Effect on Education in Sierra Leone

From 1912 to 1922 there were no annual reports from the Education Department. The economy, complicated by the war, did not permit the extension of educational provisions which had been planned prior to 1914. Personnel and resources were diverted to other areas.

During 1917 thousands of young men were recruited from agricultural occupations in the Protectorate for transport duty in other parts of Africa and in the Middle East. A shortage of agricultural commodities was created and an inflationary wage-price spiral began.[6]

1. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 9, January 26, 1904, J. M. Booth.
2. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, Nos. 66-67, September 25, 1900.
3. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, Group 3, No. 12/5, February 27, 1900, Minutes of Finance Committee.
4. C.M.S. Correspondence, Sierra Leone, No. 46, June 26, 1900, E. H. Elwin.
5. _Sierra Leone Colonial Report, 1913_, p. 18.
6. Cox-George, _op. cit._, pp. 182-183.

Price controls in the Colony were not applied in the Protectorate until after 1917; consequently the cost of imported goods to interior peoples increased considerably, while prices of agricultural commodities fell. Peasant farmers suffered most and diverted their attentions to the most profitable area — rice production — in the hope of compensating for cost increases. Thus the balance of agricultural production was upset, and further contributed to the inflation and general disruption of the economy.[1]

The influence of the war on the economy had the effect of focusing attention on the need for development of a better revenue system for future economic stability.[2] Until the period of World War I when they ended, the government of the Colony was partly dependent upon grants from Britain which tended to fluctuate unpredictably to the detriment of long term economic planning.[3] Although in the early years of the war the Colony operated at a deficit, this trend was substantially altered by the end of the war and a surplus of over £ 90,000 ($432,000.00) was accumulated by the government from the war years alone.[4] Turned to its own devices, the government had restructured sources of revenue to assure the beginning of greater stability and render long term planning more effective. This was accomplished primarily by re-establishment and clarification of customs regulations to help assure dependable government revenues. Government revenues seemed headed for greater stability but past uncertainties were not forgotten and a conservatism in government spending was characteristic policy in the post war period.

Table 11 illustrates the course of government revenues and expenditures as well as total government expenditure on education for twenty of the years during the period 1900-1925.

1. Ibid., pp. 188-189.
2. Ibid., p. 210.
3. Ibid., p. 164.
4. Ibid., p. 209.

TABLE 11. Total Government Revenue and Expenditure and Total Expenditure on Education for Selected Years: 1900-1925[a]

Year	Revenue[b]	Expenditure[b]	Surplus(+) or Deficit(-)	Education Expenditure[b]
1900	169,370	157,525	+ 11,845	2,946
1901	192,138	173,457	+ 18,681	3,247
1907	359,104	345,567	+ 13,537	c
1908	320,999	341,871	- 20,872	c
1909	361,326	336,746	+ 24,580	c
1910	424,215	361,222	+ 62,993	c
1911	457,759	432,448	+ 25,311	8,521
1912	559,855	524,417	+ 35,438	11,926
1913	618,383	622,439	- 4,056	13,295
1914	675,689	680,146	- 4,457	13,741
1915	504,425	546,771	- 42,346	11,012
1916	551,106	532,940	+ 18,166	10,364
1917	546,449	512,844	+ 33,605	11,829
1918	583,159	544,011	+ 39,148	11,529
1919	748,779	740,383	+ 8,396	10,335
1921	638,315	982,032	-343,717[d]	c
1922	786,540	816,977	- 30,437	c
1923	845,319	727,661	+117,658	26,000
1924	868,319	777,790	+ 90,529	27,562
1925	928,911	846,247	+ 82,664	c

a. Compiled from the official reports on the Colony for the pertinent years.

b. In Ł. During the war years the rate of exchange was quite stable at about $4.76 to the pound. In 1921 it had dropped to $3.73, but by 1925 had risen to $4.86.

c. Data not available for these years.

d. Net reserves in 1918 were Ł 319,476, thus the deficits of 1921 and 1922 were more than covered. The estimated surplus balance on reserve in 1925 was Ł 400,640.

By 1923 it was possible for the Governor to say with some assurance that:

"A state can spend something or nothing on the education of its citizens. It would be possible to leave education entirely to private enterprise without stopping the Government machine, but except for this consideration education is now usually regarded as one of the primary functions of Government"[1]

In 1923 Ł 26,000 ($124,800.00) was voted for education, an increase of more than 850 percent over 1900.

1. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1922-23, p. 20.

In 1922, for reasons of economy, it was decided not to immediately replace the departing Director of Education. However, by 1923, it was clear that the economy would permit the continued operation of the Education Department under a regular full time head and a new Director was appointed. Educational development was still far from satisfactory and disagreement on method and direction continued, but it was becoming possible from an economic standpoint to do something about planning for a better system.

The problems of educational development in the colonies was receiving greater attention in the Colonial Office as well. The Phelps-Stokes reports on education in Africa had indicated a need for appraisal of educational policies and criticized the lack of coordination in education. Armed with this report and requests from mission groups, the Colonial Office undertook to establish criteria for future development of education in the colonies.

The Advisory Committee on Education in British Tropical Africa

In 1923 the Colonial Office established a committee to advise on questions pertaining to native education in the colonies and to aid in formation of future policies for educational development.[1] Its membership included representatives of the various churches active in mission education, several persons experienced in education in both Africa and England, and was chaired by the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. One prominent name on the original committee was that of Lord Lugard, whose valuable work in colonial administration it was hoped would lend further significance to the work of the committee.

The committee assumed the task of surveying the problems of education in British Africa and undertook first to prepare

1. Memorandum on the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa (London: H.M.S.O., 1923.)

a general policy statement to guide further work by the Colonial Office. It was felt that the essential initial step was to "formulate the broad principles which . . . should form the basis of sound educational policy."[1] By 1925 it had prepared such a statement and submitted it to the Colonial Secretary. This statement is considered in detail in the next chapter.

The Education Ordinance of 1924

By 1924 conditions had stabilized enough for the government to consider incorporating into law the new attitudes, policies, and practices which had been developing since 1900. A new Education Ordinance was passed in that year, which spelled out an extensive role for the government in public education and established a firm base for further aid to education in Sierra Leone.

The law was to be translated into practice through a set of Education Rules. These Rules were established by the Director of Education and a new Board of Education, which consisted of the Director and thirteen or more others appointed by the Governor.

The new Rules provided for:[2]

1. The school managers to be responsible to the Director of Education for the operation of schools according to the Rules.
2. Specific standards of size, space, and construction for schools and equipment fundamental to health and sanitation. In rural schools a space for a garden was required.
3. The keeping of records of admission, attendance, and progress.

1. Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa (London: H.M.S.O., 1925), p. 3.
2. The following summary of the Rules is from Education Rules of 1924 established by the Board of Education of Sierra Leone.

4. Admission and transfer procedures, including the provision that no student might be denied admission on account of creed or race.
5. Specific regulation of corporal punishment.
6. Organization of the elementary school into seven standards (grades) plus an infants department where local need required it.
7. Specific courses of instruction as established by the Rules. Rural schools might alter course work to suit local needs with the permission of the Director.
8. Approval of textbooks by the Director.
9. Teachers' examinations to be held annually and to provide for certification and salary standards. The Rules stipulated the syllabus for each level of the examinations according to the following plan:
   a. Preliminary Examination Part I. The subject matter of the elementary school.
   b. Preliminary Examination Part II. The theory and practice of teaching, plus advanced subject matter.
   c. Teachers Certificate Examination. Advanced teaching theory; English; arithmetic; geography; hygiene and sanitation; nature study for men; needlework for women; plus three optional subjects from a prescribed list which included handicrafts, history, mathematics, drawing, music, religious knowledge, agricultural science, chemistry, physics, electricity and magnetism, and kindergarten methods.
10. Registration and classification of teachers as:
   a. Principals or Head-teachers. Qualification to consist of passing Part I and Part II of the Preliminary Examination, medical certificate of health, registration with the Education Department, and attainment of at least nineteen years of age.
   b. Assistant Teachers. Qualifications to consist of requirements identical to those for principals with the exception that only Part I of the Preliminary Examination was required.

c. Pupil-teachers. Students of at least fourteen years who had passed Standard V and were hired under written contracts to serve for at least two but not more than five years in preparation for the Preliminary Examinations for certification. They were to be prepared by instruction for at least five hours a week outside regular school hours in classes taught by the principal or other qualified and government approved teacher. Principals were to receive a bonus of thirty shillings ($7.20) for each pupil-teacher taught who was approved by the Director.

d. Supplementary Teachers. Teachers hired with approval of the Director to instruct in handiwork, music, physical education, and agriculture. Salaries of these teachers were arbitrarily determined by school managers according to local conditions.

11. Minimum salaries for teachers according to the following schedule:[1]

a. Head-teachers:

Qualification	Salary	Government Grant	Total
Uncertified:			
Preliminary Part II	45-60	15	60-75
Certified:			
Certificate	65-85	20	80-105
Teaching Diploma	90-105	25	115-130

b. Assistant Teachers:

Qualification	Salary	Government Grant	Total
Uncertified:			
Preliminary Part I	25-35	10	35-45
Preliminary Part II	45-55	15	60-70
Certified:			
Certificate	60-80	20	80-100
Teaching Diploma	85-100	25	110-125

1. Annual salaries, minimums and maximums in £. The teaching diploma referred to in the schedule was granted to certified teachers who had served at least ten years without unfavorable inspection reports. Women teachers were paid £ 5 less than men at each level of the scale.

12. Minimum school staff according to the following schedule:
    a. In schools with an average attendance of over 100, the principal or head-teacher must be certified, except that with the Director's approval vernacular schools which did not advance beyond Standard I might be excepted.
    b. Assistant teachers might be utilized according to the following:
        (1) for an average attendance of forty: a certified teacher.
        (2) for an average attendance of thirty: a teacher who had passed Parts I and II of the Preliminary Examination.
        (3) for an average attendance of twenty: a teacher who had passed Part I of the Preliminary Examination.
        (4) pupil-teachers or supplementary teachers could not be placed in classes of over twenty students.
13. Capitation grants according to the following schedule:[1]
    a. Elementary schools:

Class	Grant
Infant Department	
Excellent	20/0
Very good	17/6
Good	15/0
Very fair	10/0
Fair	7/6
Poor	5/0
Standards I - VII	
Excellent	30/0
Very good	25/0
Good	22/6
Very fair	17/6
Fair	12/6
Poor	5/6

1. Amounts in shillings and pence (one shilling = $.24). A bonus of 17/6 was added for each pupil who earned the Standard VII school leaving certificate.

b. Preparatory pupils in secondary schools: same as elementary schedule.

c. Secondary schools in which the preliminary level Cambridge Examination was the minimum standard:

Excellent	60/0
Very good	52/6
Good	45/0
Very fair	37/6
Fair	30/0
Poor	10/0

d. Industrial schools: up to Standard III the same as elementary grants: beyond that according to the following schedule:

First year	30/0
Second year	40/0
Third year	60/0
Fourth and fifth year	80/0

e. Teacher training schools: the grant was £ 7/10/0 for each student who after one year of training had passed the Preliminary Examination Part II and agreed to continue for another year of training and then teach in a government or assisted school for five consecutive years.

14. Building grants to elementary, secondary, and industrial schools not above one-half of the total cost but in any case not more than £ 500 ($ 2,400.00) unless the Governor-in-Council made exception.

15. Equipment grants to industrial schools not above three-fourths of the total cost, but not more than £ 100 ($480.00). Grants for materials to teach handiwork in elementary schools were not to exceed one-half of the total cost.

16. Merit scholarships of £ 10 ($48.00) per year for attendance at an approved secondary school. (Ten scholarships for boys and six for girls).

17. Schools were to be ready for inspection without notice by the Education Department or the Medical Department. Examinations of pupil proficiency were also to be held without notice.
18. Specific syllabus for work in elementary schools.
19. General syllabus for work in secondary schools.
20. General syllabus for work in industrial schools.
21. Standards of admission, general course outline, and examination levels for teacher training institutions. Demonstration schools were to be established and attached to training schools.

The Education Ordinance of 1924 certainly did not solve all of the educational problems of Sierra Leone, but it did help to clarify and codify the position of the government. This was becoming more important as the government was increasingly looked to for guidance and support by various people, both those responsible for and those seeking education. The Ordinance of 1924 established a firm foundation for future activity by a government which was moving closer to full responsibility for public education. The years that followed were also years of seeking a better design, but the quest was made easier by a clearer understanding of some of the questions which had to be answered, questions such as the appropriate division of responsibility for finance and control of education and the degree of emphasis to be given to the various levels and kinds of education to be made available.

CHAPTER SIX
POLICY DEVELOPMENT
THE YEARS OF AFFIRMATION
1925 - 1945

Between 1925 and 1945 government policy for education in Sierra Leone continued to emerge in clearer and expanding patterns of involvement and responsibility. Guidance from Britain was more distinct in the form of a policy statement for education in the colonies.

In Sierra Leone the period began optimistically with a new constitution, a clear and workable education code, and greater economic stability combining to provide incentive, direction, and the hope of more rapid and efficient development. Further planning and testing were necessary, but the way ahead seemed reasonably clear. The hope for rapid progress was subdued by the economic depression and the war which followed. Despite the obstacles to implementation, the commitment to an expanding government responsibility for education was affirmed. Some basic foundations were established for substantial educational growth in the post-war era.

Political Development

In 1924, for the first time since 1863, a new constitution was approved for Sierra Leone, and its influence began to be felt in 1925. It enlarged the Legislative Council, introduced the elective principle, and extended the purview of the Legislative and Executive Councils to the Protectorate. Commensurate with this latter change was the provision that three of the seven new members in the twenty-two member Legislative Council be Protectorate Paramount Chiefs. While there was some distinction between the two administrative units of Colony and Protectorate, in practice the distinction

became less and less significant in subsequent years in terms of the orientation of political aspirants to the power structure of the country. The new constitution specified that literacy was a prerequisite for voting eligibility.[1]

With the opening of avenues for a more united country and the new value placed on literacy, a more unified educational policy became both desirable and feasible. In the discussion of educational development from this point on, the Colony and the Protectorate will increasingly be treated as a whole rather than always separately, as was appropriate in the preceding chapters.

Economic Development

With unexpected candor it was suggested by a missionary in 1925 that it was time for honest reappraisal of the effects of the missionary movement in Africa. He said that quite probably the "most massive educational influence at work in Tropical Africa is Western commerce and industry" and not, as was commonly believed, the missionary.[2] While such a thesis may be tenable from a broad historical perspective, there was little in the period prior to World War II to justify an interpretation that commerce and industry had made a major contribution to education in Sierra Leone.

While it was true that the country was becoming more closely united by economic interdependence and political amalgamation, from 1929 throughout the depression years the economy slumped in every sector.[3] In fact, reports from the

1. Sierra Leone: The Making of a Nation (London: H.M.S.O., 1961), pp. 25-26. Sierra Leone's Constitutional Story (Freetown: Department of Information, 1961), pp. 14-15. A. T. Porter, "The Social Background of Political Decision Makers in Sierra Leone," Sierra Leone Studies (Freetown), June 1960, pp. 7-9.
2. Garfield Williams, "Relations with Government in Education: British Colonies in Tropical Africa," International Review of Missions, Vol. XIV, 1925, p. 11.
3. Cox-George, op. cit., p. 265.

interior provinces between 1934 and 1939 were so occupied with economic problems that virtually no educational concerns were expressed.[1] Although the volume of agricultural exports increased between 1929 and 1936, prices fell with a resultant decrease in buying power and thus a decrease in the imports upon which the government revenue structure depended. Table 12 illustrates this phenomenon.

TABLE 12. Value Index of Imports into Sierra Leone 1929-1936[a]

Year	Index	Year	Index
1929	100	1933	46.1
1930	80.7	1934	45.0
1931	63.2	1935	67.7
1932	69.7	1936	75.2

a. Cox-George, op. cit., pp. 265-268.

Peasant farmers suffered most from the economic decline and agriculture became even less popular than it had been in previous years as an occupational choice. As the economy began a gradual recovery (see Table 12) beginning in the middle thirties the war intervened with a resultant inflationary trend which further complicated the economic problems of development.

In 1939 a Trade Union Ordinance was passed which permitted the development of registered unions. Organized groups acted in concert in their approach to common problems and between 1940 and 1945 there were thirty-two strikes, primarily for wage increases. Wages did not increase as rapidly as living costs, however, and most workers went into debt.[2]

1. Cf. Annual Report of the Provincial Administration for each of these years.

2. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1943-44, p. 26.

Economic difficulties in the colonies had not gone unnoticed in Britain, particularly because these problems had serious effects on her own employment and business structure. In 1929 an effort was made to stimulate colonial economies by providing direct grants through the Colonial Development Act.[1]

The Colonial Development Act proved unequal to the task of alleviating the continuing economic decline wrought by the world depression and in 1940 the British Government enlarged the plan under the terms of the 1940 Colonial Development and Welfare Act.[2] The addition of the welfare concept to the program was to have significant impact on education in the colonies. Because of the war the 1940 Act did not have an immediate effect on the conditions caused by the depression. However, as shall be discussed in the next chapter, the revival of the program and its tangible application in the post-war period was to provide considerable stimulus to educational as well as other welfare programs and economic progress.

Just as the economy was recovering from the early setbacks noted above and proposals promising greater educational progress were being adopted, the war forced a cessation of activity to carry out programs for progress. Teachers and pupils were lured from the schools by employment in the war-stimulated economy. Inflation disrupted the total economy. Teachers' salaries were increased to offset rising living costs and school fees reduced to increase the holding and drawing power of the schools, but the educational scene was severely upset by the war, not to recover until the post-war period when a new era of expansion and development began.[3]

While it forced the postponement of much educational development, the war had the effect of drawing the country together

1. Barbu Niculescu, Colonial Planning: A Comparative Study (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1958), pp. 58-60.
2. Ibid., pp. 60-61.
3. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1950 (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 7.

in a common purpose, stimulating national awareness, and speeding up processes of modernization. Such changes fostered a greater concern for the importance of education.

The British 1925 White Paper on Educational Policy

In 1925 the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa issued a memorandum which marked the beginning of a continuous and integrated policy for educational development in the African dependencies.

The 1925 policy memorandum presented several principles which it was suggested should govern educational development in African colonies such as Sierra Leone. The major recommendations were:

1. That governments in the colonies assume clear responsibility for educational policy development. While it encouraged continuation of voluntary agency efforts in education, the memorandum stipulated that supervision and direction should be controlled by the government.

2. That advisory boards of education be set up in each dependency. These boards would afford representation to all educational agencies as well as to the government departments concerned with social welfare.

3. That a program of education be developed that contained provision for the needs of both tribal and modern cultures as well as training for both leadership and the character and needs of the masses.

4. That there be an equitable place in the curriculum for religious and moral instruction.

5. That the educational staff in each country be composed of individuals with training and experience suited to developing an educational system appropriate to local conditions.

6. That grant-in-aid plans be continued and extended, provided that the system of payment on examination results be ultimately abandoned.

7. That the vernacular languages be used in teaching. (Although not spelled out in detail the intent seems to have been partly to encourage the study and use of native languages in the schools.)

8. That development of a native teaching staff which would include women be encouraged, and that native teachers be chosen from and for conditions in which they would work.

9. That programs be instituted for the training and utilization of a staff of itinerant teachers who, because of superior ability and training, would be able to assist in an in-service program of teacher training.

10. That thorough and efficient government supervision of all schools be incorporated into existing systems.

11. That technical and industrial training be undertaken by apprenticeship programs in government departments. Under this program the foundation courses in English and arithmetic would be provided in the normal elementary course and be prerequisite to admission to apprenticeship.

12. That vocational training be given in the same manner as the industrial, by programs of apprenticeship in government departments. As in the industrial plan, students would be expected to have received their fundamental training in literacy and arithmetic in the elementary schools prior to intry into the apprenticeship.

13. That education for females be encouraged, while recognizing that territorial cultural differences may require considerable variation in approach.

14. That school systems be organized according to local needs and conditions, but generally should aim toward a structure providing for basic elementary education; a varied secondary program determined by regional needs and possilities; technical and vocational schools (as this provision is not elaborated, it is not clear to what extent it represents a position inconsistent with the apprenticeship program

mentioned above); schools at the higher level offering teacher training, medical, and agricultural courses; and the beginning of experimental programs in adult education.[1]

It will be remembered that the purpose of the Committee was to provide general guidelines for educational policies. Committee recommendations had no immediate force of law, and in fact the various colonies had discretionary powers to utilize the advice of the Committee as they saw fit.

While the Committee's recommendations were not legally binding, it may be said that the 1925 report provided an important step toward a unified approach to the problems of educational development. It focused the attentions of experienced and trained persons on common needs and offered ideas for an integrated program to guide future development. The Committee moved slowly and deliberately in its consideration of educational needs and it may be that it is yet too soon to judge its full effectiveness. However, it is not unfair to say that much of the educational work now under way in many parts of former British Africa can be viewed as an outcome of these seminal labors.[2]

The acceptance of the Committee's recommendations on training for leadership are of particular significance. These recommendations provided the impetus for the Africanization of the Education Department. By 1935 there were several Sierra Leoneans in posts of administrative responsibility, including the office of Assistant Director of Education, three supervising teachers with responsibility for recommendations on government grants amounting to £ 6000 ($28,800.00), one acting principal, and three headmasters.[3] As shall be seen in the following chapter, the policy continued to encourage African participation in positions of leadership and

1. Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa (London: H.M.S.O., 1925), pp. 1-8.
2. L. J. Lewis, op. cit., pp. 20-21.
3. "Notes," Oversea Education, Vol. VI, No. 2, (London), January 1935, p. 78.

and decision-making. Progress was hampered only by the persistent shortage of qualified people.

Although some of the recommendations of the Advisory Committee were based on a fundamental faith in the soundness of that which experience and tradition had proved successful for Britain, there was clearly an understanding that the exigencies of educational development in Africa required an approach more uniquely suited to the special needs and conditions of each country. The door was open for meaningful development and innovation rather than sheer imitation.

Educational Policy and Progress

Elementary Education: Colony

In 1925 the lack of trained teachers, the unsuitability of curriculums to the needs of the people, duplication of efforts by rival missions, and inadequately equipped schools continued to be major items of criticism of elementary education in Sierra Leone.[1] Among proposed government remedies for the situation were: (1) an offer of financial aid to any institution willing to undertake an approved plan of teacher training, (2) the more rigid enforcement of the Education Ordinance of 1924 requirements for handiwork, (3) special encouragement to schools offering domestic science or maintaining school gardens, (4) the revival of a consolidation plan to reduce the number of competing elementary schools, and (5) the publication by the Education Department of lists of approved textbooks and advice on design of school equipment.[2]

The issue of mission rivalry has repeatedly occured as a barrier to efficient operation of elementary education in

1. Goddard, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 77.
2. <u>Ibid</u>.

Sierra Leone. It will be recalled that a previous plan to deal with the problem had failed. In 1927, perhaps encouraged by the spirit of the Advisory Committee's recommendations on educational policy which stated the principle of government responsibility and initiative, and with the cooperation of the United Christian Council, the government proposed a plan for consolidation of elementary schools by a system of building loans designed as an incentive to popularize the plan; many of the old buildings in the fragmented mission system were in extremely poor condition. The program was approved by the Colonial Secretary and immediately placed into operation.[1] In 1927 the successful amalgamation of numerous Colony elementary schools was begun.[2] Mission rivalries continued to exist, and indeed still do today, but the effect of sectarian differences on Colony education began to be somewhat mitigated. Under the new consolidation plan the abolition of capitation grants was facilitated and grants were based on amounts paid as teachers' salaries.[3] The way was becoming clear for a more unified and coordinated system.

The structure of elementary education in the Colony, although aided by the consolidation plan, was still frought with the basic difficulties of staff and facilities. In 1943 an amendment to the Freetown Municipality Ordinance enabled the use of city funds to aid education, a change applauded by the Director of Education as a further means of alleviating abysmal conditions in mission schools which continually lacked funds for adequate building mainenance and equipment.[4] Throughout the period from 1925 to 1945,

1. Education in the Colony, Sierra Leone Government Sessional Paper No. 8 of 1927 (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1927).

2. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1927 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 4.

3. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1929 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 1.

4. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1943-44. "An Ordinance to Amend the Freetown Municipality Ordinance of 1927," p. 98.

the Board of Education reconsidered the possibility of making elementary education compulsory, but decided once again that this was not yet practical.[1]

Elementary Education: Protectorate

Between 1925 and 1945 the Sierra Leone Government sought to clarify policy for educational development in the area of the Protectorate. The marked disparity (see Table 17) between the Colony and the Protectorate in educational facilities spurred consideration of improving education in the interior as a major aim of the government, while stabilizing educational expenditure in the Colony.[2]

The increasing demand for education among Protectorate peoples focused on the need for a clear and useful policy with regard to language. The Advisory Committee had encouraged the utilization of local languages, but attempts at literacy in the vernacular and use of native languages as media of instruction in the schools were resisted by those who saw English as the only means to real educational advancement. In 1927 it was noted in the Legislative Council that it was unlikely that any of the Sierra Leonean languages would ever serve as a lingua-franca, and that the people were "clamouring for . . . English."[3] Enrollment at the Government Vernacular School at Baiama was dropping off until, at the request of the local chief, English was added to the curriculum.[4]

The school established for the sons and nominees of chiefs at Bo continued to thrive as a primary boarding school supported by the government. The net cost of the school's opera-

1. Report of the Education Department for the Years 1943-1944 (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1945), p. 7.
2. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1937 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 6.
3. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1926-27, p. 56.
4. Ibid., p. 57

tion in 1926 amounted to over £ 5000 ($ 24,000.00). This was provided from central government funds and the cost was not charged against the education budget of the Protectorate. Tables 13 and 14 illustrate the tribal enrollment of the school and the occupations of its graduates.

TABLE 13. Bo School Enrollment by Tribe: 1926[a]

Tribe[b]	Enrollment	Tribe	Enrollment
Mende	75	Limba	6
Temne	32	Krim	3
Kono	8	Mandingo	1
Yalunka	6	Sherbro	4
Susu	5	Loko	1
Koranko	4	Bullom	2
Kissi	3	Gallinas	2
Fula	3		
Total: 155			

a. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1926 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 31.

b. It will be noted that spellings of tribal names vary from those previously quoted. This is a common occurence in the literature.

TABLE 14. Occupations of Ex-Pupils of Bo School: 1906-1926[a]

Total admitted 1906 to 1926	402
In school 1926	155
Total ex-pupils	247
Occupations:	
Paramount chiefs	5
In service of paramount chiefs	60
In government service	95
Independent traders	8
In mercantile firms	14
Unaccounted for	43
Deceased	22
Total	247

a. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1926, p. 31.

It is readily seen from the data in Tables 13 and 14 that the school contributed considerably to the advantage of the already more numerous Mende by providing avenues for ascendency into the power structure of the country.

By 1936 the influence of British administration in the Protectorate had effected changes in the machinery of government. A system of local responsibility for certain aspects of civil administration was instituted by the establishment of Native Administrations (N.A.) in each district as the government felt they were ready for them. Traditional revenue structures were altered and all local taxes went into a treasury from which salaries were paid to paramount chiefs and other local officials. This treasury was also to provide funds for civic improvements such as public utilities and schools. The Native Administration plan created some problems because of the dual allegiances to traditional and newer forms of government which it fostered.

If Native Administrations could successfully take over some responsibility for the development of elementary education it was felt that the principle of local initiative, control, and support such as that developing in England could be implemented and relieve the central government of a part of the burden of educational development in the Protectorate. By 1939 the central government's contribution to schools in the Protectorate amounted to 25 percent of the country's total educational expenditure.[1] There was some reluctance among the newly constituted units of local government to accept this responsibility, however, and in 1939 only one Native Administration school was opened.[2] Only ten more were added during the war years.[3]

1. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1939 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 2.
2. Ibid., p. 3.
3. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1950, p. 7.

The early significance to education of the Native Administration plan was that it opened avenues for educated tribal people to share in government in both elected and appointed capacities. The system in fact required educated personnel to operate, and the traditional leaders were faced with the alternatives of becoming educated or taking back seats to the products of Western education. There was a functional premium on literacy — only those who could read could become clerks and administrators.[1]

The Native Administration plan grew as the government saw fit to extend it to qualified local areas. By 1950 there were 137 such administrative units operating in the interior. By providing both incentive and responsibility in the development of education the government was actually providing the means for self-determination of educational needs and allocation of resources to meet felt needs.

Consistent with the aim of improving education in the interior was the detailed policy proposal for education in the Protectorate drawn up in 1937 by the Director of Education. The substance of the proposal was presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and approved for immediate implementation. The following elements constituted the major aspects of educational policy adopted for the Protectorate:

1. The primary aim of government should be provision of elementary education to as many and as soon as possible. A subsidiary aim was increase in educational opportunity at the secondary level for those most likely to profit from it.

2. Agriculture and other practical subjects were to be considered as essential in the work of the schools.

3. Educational administration was to be decentralized, with two European and one African Education Officers to be

1. Kenneth Little, The Mende of Sierra Leone (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1951), pp. 208-209.

stationed in each province as soon as the school populations had increased enough to make such a change practical. Native Administrations were to be encouraged to develop and assume responsibility for primary schools in the various administrative areas.

4. A government secondary school was to be developed for each province.

5. Native Administration schools were to receive government aid on the same bases as mission and central government schools. Mission efforts were to continue to be encouraged. (Aid to N.A. schools was compared to the similar program existent in England whereby municipal schools received aid from boards of education.)

6. In determining aid for mission schools emphasis was to be on territorial rather than denominational considerations.

7. Capitation grants were to be abolished and the system then extant in the Colony was to be adopted wherein grants were based on and rendered in the form of teachers' salaries.

Child labor continued to be a deterring factor in development of Protectorate elementary education but there were indications of a changing attitude, especially concerning education for girls. A major reason for resistance to Western education for girls was the fear that they might become difficult to control and marry outside tribal law, thus losing the customary "bride-wealth" presented to the family by a suitor. An exception to this began to develop among the more affluent tribal people who considered having girls educated in Western schools in the hope that they might thus attract prestige and marry someone of affluence.[1]

Between 1938 and 1943 a successful attempt was made through the Bundu to introduce Western attitudes concerning education for girls. Six Mende women were trained in nutrition, child care, and mid-wifery, as well as the making of clothes for small children. These women introduced

1. Little, op. cit, pp. 115-116.

instruction in these practical subjects as part of the *Bundu* training in several of the districts. No attempt was made to alter traditional ceremonies. The cooperation of the chiefs was secured and the program conducted under the supervision of a medical officer and a woman education officer. (An organizer of infant and female education had been appointed in 1927.) The *Bundu* leaders watched with some concern lest the new ways interfere with the old, but were won over by the careful manner in which the experiment was conducted so as not to subvert their authority. The work thus initiated has continued to provide some practical education to girls in matters relevant to their everyday lives and traditional roles in society.[1]

For the most part, however, elementary schools in both the Colony and Protectorate continued to provide a course of study aimed primarily at the three "R's," the basis for clerical work. Poor teaching and rigid emphasis on examination syllabi resulted in narrow rote learning. In 1945 a commission investigating education in West Africa suggested that the place to effect change in this pattern was the teachers college. The commission reported its concern that "something like a revolution [would] have to take place . . . if the schools are to make their proper contribution to the future development of these peasant communities."[2]

Secondary Education: Colony and Protectorate

During the period from 1925 to 1945 the government became more thoroughly committed to assistance in the development of secondary education and by 1937 only the C.M.S. Grammar School was not receiving direct government aid.[3]

1. L. J. Lewis, op. cit., pp. 57-58. *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1938* (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 7.
2. *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa* (London: H.M.S.O., 1945), p. 21.
3. *Sierra Leone Blue Book 1937* (London: H.M.S.O.), p. 173.

The strong academic flavor of secondary education continued to be obvious during the period 1925-1945 also. The great majority of students, both boys and girls, preferred courses leading to the Junior and Senior Cambridge Exams.[1]

The secondary schools persisted in their efforts to emulate the English Public School tradition, and with great success imitated the formal aspects of that tradition. The major difference between the Sierra Leone secondary schools and the English Public Schools was in emphasis. The Sierra Leone institutions tended to place greater weight on the class work side and less on the social aspects of secondary education so stressed at Eton and Harrow.[2]

Traditional subjects of the classical curriculum continued to be the major focus of the schools, although some attempts at introduction of science and more practical courses met with minimal success. In 1930 the Governor of Sierra Leone expressed the hope that biology would be introduced as a subject in the secondary schools.[3] Efforts were initiated toward more practical and scientific courses, but a major obstacle continued to be that of finance. Equipment for such work was considerably more expensive than that for other academic subjects. By 1945 some students were able to elect science subjects for the Cambridge Examinations, but in those schools which even attempted to provide for such studies the laboratories were ill-equipped, if indeed any apparatus at all was available. Teachers tried to follow rigidly the examination syllabus and ignored experimentation and demonstration techniques.[4]

1. A. M. McMath, "Development in Female Education in Sierra Leone," Oversea Education, October 1939, p. 30. Miss McMath was the coordinator of infant and female education in the Sierra Leone Department of Education.

2. Murray, op. cit., p. 228.

3. A. E. Toboku-Metzger, A Historical Sketch of the Sierra Leone Grammar School 1845-1935 (Freetown: Daily Guardian Printing Office, 1935), p. 44.

4. Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, p. 24.

In 1943 elementary school leaving examinations were begun at the Standard VI level. On the basis of results of these examinations, scholarships to secondary schools were awarded to students from both the Colony and Protectorate. In the same year a higher school certificate program in science was approved for the Prince of Wales Secondary School.[1]

In 1934 the course at Bo School had been elevated to the level of the Junior Cambridge Examination, a response to an increasing tendency for paramount chiefs to send their sons to Freetown for post-elementary schooling.[2] It was announced in 1942 that the school was to be transformed into a secondary school in keeping with the government policy of developing secondary education in the Protectorate.

Another specific government program to develop secondary education in the Protectorate was announced in 1937. It was proposed that a middle school (Standard V to Junior Cambridge level) be established in each province under the supervision of a superintendent of education for that province. These schools were to be non-sectarian, but to provide for religious instruction in the particular faith of each pupil. It was suggested that these schools could be ultimately partially supported by the Native Administrations.[3] Again, however, the lack of funds prevented the immediate implementation of such plans. The principle of government aid and guidance for secondary education was clearly established, but it was not until after World War II that widespread tangible application of this principle was possible.

1. Report of the Education Department for the Years 1943-44, pp. 2, 7, 8.

2. Educational Policy in the Protectorate, Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1937 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 16.

3. Ibid., p. 3.

Technical and Agricultural Education

The recommendations of the Advisory Committe in 1925 that technical and industrial education be undertaken as apprenticeship programs within the various departments of government altered the approach to this type of education in Sierra Leone. Many critics who point to meager government provision for formal technical instruction in schools seem to have overlooked the fact that after 1925 many technicians and semi-skilled workers began to be trained by the departmental apprenticeship programs.

In fact, the evidence is not clear that there was any shortage of semi-trained and skilled people for positions available at the time, regardless of source of training. Migeod, a reliable historian, asserted in 1926 that the supply of personnel with minimal educational qualifications for most jobs was actually excessive to real needs.[1] The absence of statistical data renders this conclusion unverifiable.

By 1927, with the possible exception of the Sir Alfred Jones School and the Roman Catholic school at Mobe, there was no systematic scientific preparation for trades or engineering available in the schools.[2] The work of the Jones School and the one at Mobe was limited by shortages of qualified personnel and equipment. It is interesting to note that the Mobe school furnished practically all of the operators and mechanics for motor boats in the Freetown area, owing to the efforts of the Father in charge of the school to provide training in marine engineering, a field with which he himself was evidently familiar.[3]

1. Migeod, op. cit., p. 14.
2. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1927, p. 6. The Sir Alfred Jones School closed in 1942.
3. Ibid., p. 7.

In 1936 an attempt was made from Sierra Leone to answer the critics of British educational endeavors in the colonies who voiced the view that the African was being exposed to literary education unsuited to his real needs. Rev. Braidwood of Fourah Bay College pointed out that (1) the African could not be coerced to confine his educational pursuits to the exclusively vocational when he desired the broader range of possibilities offered by Western education, (2) that inasmuch as the people of West Africa had to be prepared for mature membership in the British Commonwealth it was essential to provide them with geographical and historical perspectives and to develop an educational system which was capable of producing and promoting leadership and an intelligent and perceptive people who could respond to that leadership.[1] Braidwood went on to suggest that critics were evidently unaware of the training in local crafts, weaving, and basket making that was available in many of the elementary schools of Sierra Leone. He suggested the critics also look at the carpentry and blacksmith training becoming more available in the larger schools. Braidwood blamed the depression and the traditional systems of land tenure for the failure of progress in agricultural training.[2] It is interesting that he made no mention of the in-service training programs being organized within the government departments.

In 1939 a government proposal was made for the training of Africans to replace retiring European skilled technicians. The plan outlined a thorough on-the-job training program covering six years, with the course exclusively oriented to technical needs. Also in 1939 a Government Manual Training Center was opened which offered instruction in elementary carpentry.[3]

1. M. Braidwood, "Vocational Education Problems in Sierra Leone and West Africa," Oversea Education, Vol. VII, No. 4 (London), July 1936, pp. 202-204.

2. Ibid.

3. Proposals for the Selection, Training, Employment, Salaries, Increments and Promotion of the African Technical Staff of the Public Works Department (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1939), passim.

But as had happened twenty-five years earlier, a major war intervened to force postponement of such plans for educational development and to divert resources to more immediate efforts for defense. It is of interest to note that when their building was required for war purposes, the first subjects to be dropped by the Prince of Wales School were practical science and manual training.[1]

It was noted previously that agricultural education lagged far behind other practical education programs and that the economic difficulties of the depression years and the continuation of traditional land tenure systems presented serious obstacles. In 1927 the Education Department was itself critical of efforts at Njala to provide training for teachers who could also teach agriculture. It was noted that the school gardens and elementary nature study offered at Njala were not "agriculture" and that the school was not fulfilling its purpose.[2] In 1929 it, too, was closed. By 1939, however, the need for some kind of agricultural training revived interest in the school and it was reopened, this time to be financed by the newly founded Protectorate Mining Benefits Fund, a source being enriched by the development of mineral resources in the interior.[3] The reorganized school maintained three departments offering instruction in basic agriculture, forestry, and education. The major emphasis was on practical work.[4] The continued operation of the school seemed secure, although in 1946 the Director of Agriculture indicated his opinion that the site was not suited for agricultural experiment work and suggested removal of the school to Bo.[5] Nothing was done to

1. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1939, p. 4.

2. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1927, p. 8.

3. Report of the Education Department for the Years 1943-1944, p. 23. This fund was administered by the Governor, under whose discretion the money could be used to establish and maintain schools for industry and agriculture in the Protectorate.

4. "Agricultural Training in the Sierra Leone Protectorate," Oversea Education (London), July 1944, passim.

5. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1945-47, p. 42.

implement this proposal and the school continued at the Njala location. After the country achieved independence in 1961, the school at Njala began to develop into a land grant college type of multi-purpose institution, with assistance from the United States Government.

The only other institution in Sierra Leone to offer agricultural training beyond the elementary level was the Mabang Academy which opened in 1928. One observor of the period remarked that the school was of little value since graduates could not get aid to purchase tools and, even if they were interested in pursuing agricultural careers, could not secure land of their own because of the traditional communal ownership. He claimed there was no real opportunity for anyone so educated in Sierra Leone and that the graduate consequently became more a "pen-pusher than . . . an agriculturalist."[1]

In 1938 it was proposed that perhaps such problems as lack of opportunity in agriculture and insufficient training for technical work were really secondary matters. Murray, in a widely read publication of the time, held that the introduction of principles of cause and effect to primitive peoples, the fostering of self-conscious knowledge, were the real primary aims and the form of education was of less importance.[2] It was clear, however, that especially in the case of agriculture the practical realization that it was not possible to raise one's standard of living by the soil precluded the possibility of successful introduction of widespread training of that sort.[3] The long-standing attachment of the educated African to the academic tradition further limited the possibilities. Therefore the consideration of curricular form was indeed relevant in Sierra Leone as pressures for a particular type of education affected the success of educational offerings.

1. Gorvie, op. cit., p. 64.
2. Murray, op. cit., p. 231.
3. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1939, p. 3.

A ray of hope for increased resources to aid in the development of agriculture appeared in 1940. In a response to a speech by the Colonial Secretary, Lord Lloyd proposed to the British Parliament that the primary focus of the proposed development and welfare bill be provision for agricultural progress, as the attainment of other objectives is conditional upon it.[1]

The following year, however, a report from the Labor Advisor to the Colonial Secretary maintained that in spite of serious efforts of education departments to give the general curriculum a definite agricultural bias and to provide trade and technical instruction, there had been a failure to influence students and their parents in matters of career choice. The report indicated that although educated opinion theoretically supported efforts toward more practical subjects and courses of study, the individuals who were the products of the schools generally preferred white-collar careers and that even students trained in agriculture or technology sought employment with government departments.[2]

By 1945 the situation in regard to technical and agricultural education was such that the commission appointed to investigate higher education in West Africa devoted a significant portion of its report to a detailed plan recommending substantial increases in the development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, and technical education.[3]

The relationships between educational choice and opportunity and social aspiration and mobility became more apparent during this period. The kind of education desired by many Sierra Leoneans was that which would enable the social elevation of the individual. Therefore academic schooling which

1. "Colonial Development and Welfare Bill," _The Colonial Review_, Vol. I, No. 7, December 1940, pp. 241-242.

2. G. Browne, _Report on Labour Conditions in West Africa_, Cmd. 6277, (London: H.M.S.O., 1941), _passim_.

3. _Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa_, pp. 99-120.

was associated with success was the more popular. The civil servants and businessmen known to the Sierra Leonean were largely the products of an academic education, which type of education was thus deemed prerequisite to success in the minds of the people of Sierra Leone.

In England at this time a rapidly growing secondary education system also focused on this problem. Secondary grammar schools were much more preferred by English parents because of the earnest belief that greater possibilities for job improvement and social advancement would accrue through a grammar school education.[1]

The Creole culture had been fostering a similar attitude for many years. Few, if any, Creole parents would have chosen any educational plan other than that offered by a grammar school education. Thus it was not only the absence of opportunity in technical or agricultural endeavor which hindered the development of appropriate education in these areas, but social class values as well. A rapidly changing world outside Sierra Leone was reflecting a variety of experiment and innovation in social, economic, and political realms. The trend in Sierra Leone was, by comparison, much more conservative. Increasing educational needs were being felt and efforts made to meet them, but because of the strength of tradition and the shortage of funds there was less fertile ground for rapid change.

Teacher Training

In 1926 the government provided thirty scholarships with subsistence grants for teacher training, but only four candidates were available; there was little incentive for young students to go into teaching. Both government and mission leadership agreed the reason was primarily low salaries.[2]

1. J. E. Floud (ed.), Social Class and Educational Opportunity (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1958), p. xv.

2. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1926-27, p. 52.

The United Christian Council made an effort to provide in-service training for teachers under its aegis. One approach was the use of itinerant teachers to go about the country doing demonstration lessons and advising on teaching materials and audio-visual aids.[1] However helpful and welcome such a measure may have been, it did not solve the basic problem — education could not be expanded without an increase in the number of qualified teachers.

In 1927 two proposals were forwarded for approval to the Colonial Secretary which it was hoped would initiate the kind of action necessary to relieve the problem. The Sierra Leone Government suggested that it assume responsibility for improving prospects for elementary teachers in the Colony by taking over all responsibility for salaries, grading, and control of teachers. It was further proposed that a teacher training program be re-established at Fourah Bay College, for men, and that another institution be developed in connection with the Wesleyan Girls High School at Wilberforce, for women.[2]

Both plans were approved and in 1928 the government began paying elementary teachers' salaries on a fixed incremental scale and the training institutions began accepting teacher candidates.[3] In 1930 the Women's Teacher Training College had graduated twelve fully certified infant school teachers. The school concentrated at this level until after 1935 when a course was begun for elementary teachers as well.[4]

At Fourah Bay College the normal course, as it came to be called, averaged about eleven students per year. Government scholarships were granted at the rate of five per year. A teacher training department was re-established and utilized both its own staff and regular College personnel when they

1. Ibid., p. 51.
2. Education in the Colony, passim.
3. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1928, pp. 5, 6, 18.
4. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, Session 1930-31, p. 23. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1935 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 12.

were available. Total expenditure on the teacher training department for the first ten years amounted to over £ 12,000 ($57,600.00).[1]

In 1939 a complete appraisal was made by the Sierra Leone Director of Education of the work of both colleges and a report published which showed a considerable difference in approach between the department at Fourah Bay College and the Wilberforce school. The report was critical but somewhat more hopeful about the work done at Wilberforce than at Fourah Bay. It was indicated that at Wilberforce qualification standards were often overlooked in order to find enough applicants, but that a diligent effort was often in evidence to provide training commensurate with the needs of teachers.[2]

The appraisal of the work at Fourah Bay was much less optimistic. It was noted that the curriculum had become unrelated to the needs of the schools in which teachers would be instructing and that in fact the teacher training department had "tended to become an indifferent junior section of the Durham University arts course."[3] In 1933 the course had been extended from two to three years for the reason that the government had found the cost of increasing teachers' salaries so burdensome that it was decided to "slow down the rate of supply of trained teachers."[4] The Sierra Leone Director of Education made specific mention in the inspection report of attempts of the College to impose itself upon the normal course and to integrate it with the College.[5]

Other points of criticism included in the report were:

1. That courses to be taught were often determined solely by the skills and availability of instructors.

1. Inspection Report on the Women's Teacher Training College, Wilberforce, and on the Men's Teacher Training College, Fourah Bay, Sessional Paper No. 6 of 1939, (Freetown: Government Printing Office), pp. 1, 5, 10.
2. Ibid., p. 2.
3. Ibid., p. 6.
4. Ibid., p. 9.
5. Ibid., p. 2.

2. That practical work in science, mathematics, geography, and history were neglected.

3. That total emphasis in history was on Europe and the British Empire.

4. That English instruction was poor, and books for study were chosen in imitation of the requirements for the Durham University arts course.

5. That the entire course was largely examination- and syllabus-bound.[1]

Although students at both schools were receiving work in teaching methods and some practice teaching, Fourah Bay was instructed to provide more practical work and more actual teaching practice for teacher candidates.[2]

As a consequence of this critical inspection report, the Director of Education recommended that inspection of the two schools be made every three years. He suggested that the fact that this had been the first appraisal since the re-establishment of the training programs at the two schools may have permitted unwise developments which could have been prevented by a closer watch.

The United Christian Council sponsored a program for teacher training in the Protectorate in 1933 at Bunumbu, but did not receive government assistance until 1941.[3] Aid for the school had been proposed earlier, but the Director of Education questioned the advisability of government aid for a school combining the aims of teacher training and religious proselytization.[4] In 1942 the Roman Catholic mission opened a teacher training college at Bo, but it was not granted government aid until after World War II.[5]

1. _Ibid_., pp. 2, 14.
2. _Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1939_, p. 4.
3. _Report of the Education Department for the Years 1943-1944_, p. 11.
4. _Educational Policy in the Protectorate_, p. 5.
5. _Report of the Education Department for the Years 1943-1944_. _Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1950_, p. 36.

As was mentioned in connection with agricultural training, the teacher training institution at Njala was revived in 1939. The new program of teacher training at the school was to provide instruction for teachers who would be employed in government and N.A. schools. Also, refresher courses for teachers in service, whether in government or mission schools, were added as well as a program for agricultural apprentices.[1] The principal difference from the earlier effort was that there was to be a distinction between teacher candidates and agricultural apprentices in the newer plan.

The proposed program envisioned classes of fifteen teacher candidates in a course lasting two years; admission of two or three teachers at a time for a refresher course lasting one year; a class of ten agricultural apprentices in a course lasting two years; and the establishment of a government day school for practice teachers which would eventually be turned over to the local Native Administration for support. The staff at Njala was to consist of one agricultural officer, one superintendent of education, and one teacher for the practicing school.[2] As was noted previously, the plan was to be supported by an increasing source of revenue — mining. The school received funds from the Protectorate Mining and Benefits Fund for both initial and recurrent expenditure. By 1944 the school had produced twenty-two instructors and twelve elementary teachers qualified for simple agricultural teaching.[3]

The missions reacted with disapproval to the proposed refresher course for teachers in their service. They were reluctant to have their teachers exposed to non-sectarian education for so long a time. Consequently this aspect of the program was not successful.[4]

1. Njala Training Scheme: Outline of an Approved Scheme for the Training of Teachers and Agricultural Apprentices at Njala. Sessional Paper No. 6 of 1937, (Freetown: Government Printing Office), pp. 3-4.

2. Ibid.

3. "Agricultural Training in the Sierra Leone Protectorate," Oversea Education, July 1944, passim.

4. Njala Training Scheme, p. 2.

One C.M.S. educator working in the country, R. R. Young, expressed his ideas on the best kind of education for teachers in a small book containing his criticisms and suggestions for change. Young proposed altering the program to a design which would foster more individual initiative and critical thinking and not the mere memorization which had characterized the schools for so long. He developed an outline in which he detailed an approach in subject matter and method more suitable to the context of Sierra Leone.[1] However much Young's approach may have been justified and appreciated by the educational authorities, in actual practice most students and teachers had little educational background upon which such a program could be built. They were so often uncertain or unable to recognize alternatives or discriminate among them that they felt more secure in continuing to operate within the traditional system of memorization.

Although the war interferred with plans to upgrade teacher training and status, in 1944 another advance was achieved by the government. A superannuation bill was passed in the legislature providing retirement payments for elementary teachers in government service.[2] The fact that a financial obligation of such a size was undertaken without much debate indicated strong support for expanded educational services.

There was another significant development in 1944. The regulations for teacher certification were altered by the Education Department, providing for:

1. An Elementary Certificate to graduates of Bunumbu, Bo, and Njala Training Colleges.

2. Teachers Certificates to graduates of Freetown Training Colleges and to in-service teachers who had passed an appropriate examination set by the Department.

1. R. R. Young, _Suggestions for Training Teachers in Africa_ (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1937), _passim_.

2. _Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates_, No. II of Session 1943-44.

3. Advanced Certificates to regularly certified teachers who passed another examination after three years of satisfactory service.[1]

In the first year of the new certification rules, sixty-six Elementary and ten Teachers Certificates were issued to graduates.[2] The new schools were beginning to supply a teaching force in significant numbers.

Higher Education

In 1938 the government was contributing the sum of £ 200 ($960.00) annually to Fourah Bay College proper and over £ 1000 ($4800.00) yearly for the normal course. In 1939 the Education Department took the position that the government could not undertake further financial aid and, indeed, could not reasonably be expected to do more than it was doing. It was suggested by the Education Department that it would be more economical to send students abroad to complete their education than to attempt development of a university in Freetown.[3]

The issue was by no means closed, however, and a very significant development in higher education in Sierra Leone and all of British West Africa was the subsequent serious examination by a commission appointed by the government of the status, prospects, and potential needs for higher education in these colonies with an eye toward the role of government in its development.

In 1939 a report on Fourah Bay College by a special commission appointed by the Colonial Secretary was published. The report was particularly critical of the quality of courses offered. It was noted that too often courses required for

1. *Report of the Education Department for the Years 1943-1944*, p. 12.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1939*, p. 4.

the arts degree were taught by instructors who were only minimally qualified or not suitable at all, and that equipment in most areas of study was seriously lacking. The Commission concurred with the Sierra Leone Government's policy at that time of not considering the Fourah Bay/Durham degree as special qualification for government employment except in the Education Department.[1]

During the war years another Commission investigated the entire British West African higher educational spectrum including Fourah Bay College. In 1943 and 1944 when the inspection team was in the course of its investigations in Freetown, the local people became concerned over the future of higher educational opportunity. It was suspected that the Commission would recommend the development of local universities which local people feared would not be accorded full recognition. In the Legislative Council pleas were entered for more opportunity for Sierra Leoneans to study abroad and for retention of the affiliation of Fourah Bay College with Durham University. The member pleading the latter cause remarked in the Council that "we do not want local degrees; nor grace for Colonial degrees but British degrees."[2] Such fears proved justified by the Commission's recommendations, which included the establishment of three institutions to provide for higher education in the West African territories, in Nigeria, Ghana (then the Gold Coast), and Sierra Leone. The Sierra Leonean institution would be effected by reorganization of Fourah Bay College wnd would be expected to serve Gambia as well.[3] The Commission's report was published in 1945 and was comprehensive in its suggestions for educational change at all levels and areas. The report is considered in appropriate detail in the following chapter.

1. Fourah Bay College: Report of the Commission Appointed in 1938 by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Report on Fourah Bay College, Freetown (London: H.M.S.O., 1939), passim.

2. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1943-44, pp. 46, 57.

3. Summary of the Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1945), passim.

Educational Legislation

The Ordinance of 1929

Two revisions of the Education Ordinance occured in Sierra Leone between 1925 and 1945, one in 1929 and another in 1939. The 1929 revision did not significantly alter the existing structure, but rather added to it by provisions for:

1. Grants to qualified teachers in assisted secondary schools.

2. Direct payment to government of all fees collected in assisted elementary schools.

3. Two sub-committees to the Board of Education, one for the Protectorate and another for the Colony, both with only advisory powers.

4. Clarification of rules regarding the hiring, firing, and transfer of teachers in assisted schools.

5. Prohibition of teachers in unassisted schools from taking the certification examination.[1]

The last provision listed above was changed in 1934 and teachers of five years experience in schools open to government inspection were permitted to take the examination.[2]

The Ordinance of 1938

An important change was embodied in the 1938 revision of the Education Ordinance. The effect of this change was to extend government control of education to include unassisted schools. It was specifically stated that ultimate power and prerogative for all education rested with the Governor, under advice of the Board of Education. The specific duties of managers regarding routine procedures and specifications on school buildings and equipment were spelled out in detail.[3]

1. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1929, p. 4.

2. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1934 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 1.

3. "Education Rules," Cap. 68, Sec. 5, in Laws of Sierra Leone (London: Waterlow and Sons Ltd., for the Government of Sierra Leone, 1946), passim.

One significant addition in the Ordinance of 1938 was the incremental salary scale for teachers in government-assisted elementary schools. The differences in scale between the Colony and Protectorate illustrate one of the major difficulties in securing teachers for the interior. (See Table 15.)

TABLE 15. Salary Scales for Teachers in Government Assisted Elementary Schools: Colony and Protectorate: 1938[a]

Colony		
Category:	Male	Female
Head Teacher	170-10-220[b]	136- 8-160
Teacher Grade I	136- 8-160	104- 8-128
Teacher Grade II	104- 8-128	80- 8- 96
Teacher Grade III	80- 8- 96	54- 6- 72
Teacher Grade IV	54- 6- 72	42- 3- 57

Protectorate		
Category:	Scale	Government Grant
Head Teacher, Diploma	55-75[c]	25
Head Teacher, Certificate	40-55	20
Head Teacher, Part II[d]	35-40	15
Head Teacher, Part I	30-35	10
Assistant Teacher, Certificate	30-35	20
Assistant Teacher, Part II	20-30	15
Assistant Teacher, Part I	15-25	10
Uncertified Assistant Teacher	15-25	-

a."Education Rules," op. cit., pp. 454, 477.

b. Denotes minimum (in £) and maximum annual salary plus size of annual increment.

c. Denotes minimum (in £) and maximum annual salary.

d. Refers to portion of certification examination completed.

Note: These were minimum salaries and could be increased on individual bases where possible.

Educational Growth 1925-1945

Tables 16-19 illustrate the growth of government revenues, total expenditures, expenditure on education, numbers of schools by type and district, and average attendance for the period from 1925 to 1945.

While it is clear that a budget surplus was accumulated during the war years, the proportion of the total government expenditure devoted to education seems to have decreased, for reasons such as the economic crises brought on by the depression and the war. Uncertainties of both periods were clearly reflected in government unwillingness to take on large scale projects.

Table 18 clearly points out the great disparity between the Colony and Protectorate and further illustrates the educational advantages accruing to the Mende who constituted the majority of the population of the Southern Province of the Protectorate. Regional disparities are even more clearly indicated by the data in Table 19.

Increases in the number of schools at both elementary and secondary level (Table 19) illustrate both increasing demand for formal education and a growing ability to meet that demand. Between 1921 and 1936 the total number of schools increased by more than 100 percent; during the same period the government contribution to education in Sierra Leone increased by over 300 percent.

Although the period from 1925 to 1945 was marked by progress in government willingness to accept a clearer and greater responsibility for the extension of educational opportunity, the economic depression of the thirties and World War II prevented much tangible application of that spirit. Tables 16-19 illustrate some growth in financial aid and enrollments, but they also indicate that the pace of progress was not commensurate with the broadening educational program envisioned by government proposals. It remained for the post-war period to provide funds, more adequate plans, and more widespread implementation.

TABLE 16. Total Government Revenue and Expenditure and Total Expenditure on Education for the Years: 1926-1944[a]

Year	Revenue[b]	Expenditure[b]	Surplus(+) or Deficit(-)	Education Expenditure[b]
1926	855,440	926,926	- 69,486	c
1927	719,638	699,022	+ 20,616	38,505
1928	826,318	794,493	+ 31,825	46,259
1929	740,646	871,087	-130,441	50,033
1930	742,972	805,725	- 62,753	c
1931	884,153	884,008	+ 145	40,068
1932	872,469	831,922	+ 40,547	c
1933	655,529	691,686	- 36,157	c
1934	598,839	603,208	- 4,369	c
1935	678,978	585,574	+ 93,404	38,518
1936	969,668	879,370	+ 90,298	38,385
1937	c	c	c	40,750
1938	886,000	910,000	- 24,000	41,214
1939	1,131,357	1,165,062	- 33,705	41,905
1940	1,139,131	951,999	+187,132	43,733
1941	1,291,666	1,109,258	+172,408	c
1942	1,478,163	1,340,418	+137,745	c
1943	1,747,818	1,588,008	+159,375	51,772
1944	1,885,090	1,684,310	+200,780	63,500

a. _Sierra Leone Blue Books_, _1927_, _1928_, _1929_, _1931_, _1935_, _1936_, The _Blue Books_ were statistical compilations published for each of the colonies of Britain. _Sierra Leone Colonial Reports_, _1926_, _1930_, _1932_, _1933_, _1934_, _1937_, _1938_, _1939_, _1940_, _1941_, _1942_, _1943_, _1944_.

b. In £. The value of the pound fluctuated considerably throughout the period covered by the Table. It fell to a low of $3.00 between 1931 and 1933 and rose to $5.00 during 1934-35. Throughout the war years it fell to $4.03 and never recovered. In 1948 it was devaluated to the present $2.80.

c. Data were not located for these items in these years.

Note: It is apparent that the percentage of the total government expenditure devoted to education rose gradually from 4.7 percent in 1927 to 6.7 percent in 1935 and that after 1935 a general decline was evident and the percentage was only 3.2 in 1943 and 3.8 in 1944. In spite of increased government revenues the proportion allotted to education decreased during the depression and war years.

TABLE 17. Composition of Gross Government Educational Expenditure: 1936, 1937, 1939, 1940[ab]

	1936	1937	1939	1940
Administration	5,290	5,419	6,380	8,655
Colony:				
Primary	17,898	20,022	15,793	15,605
Secondary/Industrial	2,958	3,038	7,005	6,200
Post secondary	200	200	335	428
Teacher training	2,344	2,221	1,824	2,339
Protectorate:				
Primary	9,566	9,760	10,449	10,321
Secondary/Industrial	129	90	119	175
Totals	38,387	40,750	41,905	43,733

a. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1937, p. 11. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1940 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 1.

b. In £

Note: It should be pointed out that the financing of the Njala Training College was met from the Protectorate Mining Benefits Fund and does not appear in the Table.

TABLE 18. Population and Percentage of Children in Schools by Areas: 1937[a]

Region:	b	c	d	e	f
Northern Province	782,341	155,500	26	1,500	0.97
Southern Province	885,449	175,500	143	8,328	4.75
Total Protectorate	1,667,790	331,000	169	9,828	2.97
Colony	96,422	19,500	86	11,197	54.40

a. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1937, p. 5.

b. Total population.

c. Population aged 5 to 16.

d. Number of schools.

e. Total enrollment.

f. Percent of school age children in school.

TABLE 19. Number of Schools and Average Attendance by Region and Type of School: 1921/22, 1927, 1931, 1936.[a]

Region and Type	1921/22		1927		1931		1936	
	No.[b]	A.A.[c]	No.	A.A.	No.	A.A.	No.	A.A.
Colony:								
Primary								
Government	4	662	4	569	1	291	2	409
Amalgamated[d]			5	316	39	3518	39	4139
Protestant	50	3623	41	3594				
Roman Catholic	4	724	5	1009	5	910	4	617
Private or Unassisted							25	1820
Secondary								
Government	1	42	1	78	1	78	1	132
Protestant	7	711	7	955	7	724	6	407
Roman Catholic			2	198	2	251	2	213
Private	1	70					1	165
Vocational								
Government	1	e	1	e	1	e		
Assisted	2	95	2	88	2	83	2	68
Unassisted	1	90					1	21
Total Colony	71	6017	68	6807	53	5855	83	7991
Protectorate								
Primary								
Government	6	352	9	401	10	365	3	250
Protestant	41	1478	56	2693	72	3454	147	5256
Roman Catholic	3	105	11	635	15	1048	33	1783
Vocational								
Government			1	112				
Assisted	6	219	1	44	1	73	1	81
Total Protectorate	56	2154	78	3885	98	4940	184	7360

a. <u>Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1937</u>.
b. Number of schools.
c. Average attendance.
d. After 1927 all Colony primary schools were amalgamated.
e. Data not available.

CHAPTER SEVEN

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

THE YEARS OF EXPANSION

1945 - 1961

A significant aspect of the change which has occurred in the world since World War II has been the widespread concern for increased development of public education. Sierra Leone was no exception to this trend and an important portion of the energies of the Sierra Leone Government were devoted to educational progress.

British social attitudes toward education which were eventually to produce the British Education Act of 1944 were not without effect in Sierra Leone. They helped develop an atmosphere of acceptance for a more comprehensive government role in education. Since 1945 a firm government commitment to broader provision of public education at all levels has clearly emerged in Sierra Leone.

Effects of World War II on Sierra Leone

Greater growth occurred in education in Sierra Leone between 1945 and 1961 than in any previous period. But the war and its after-effects also affected social and economic development on a scale unknown in the country's previous history. The presence of the large natural harbor at Freetown gave Sierra Leone a strategic importance for British campaigns in Africa. Warships were sheltered and provisioned in Sierra Leone, troops were recruited and stationed there, and the country was called upon to provide tangible aid in the war effort. Iron ore extraction, for example, was stepped up to meet increasing demands of the war machine.

The volume and value of some exports declined during the war, but military demands in the area produced a significant increase in non-agricultural jobs throughout the country

and stimulated the retail economy.[1] Increases in buying power spurred a marked rise in the value of imports to the end of the war. Table 20 illustrates this rise in volume and value of imports.

TABLE 20 . Value and Value Index of Imports into Sierra Leone: 1938-1946[a]

Year	Value of Imports[b]	Value Index[c]
1938	1,500,342	100.0
1939	1,386,082	92.3
1940	2,263,408	150.8
1941	3,230,170	215.2
1942	3,737,504	248.1
1943	5,585,201	372.2
1944	5,274,203	351.5
1945	3,608,334	240.5
1946	3,911,336	260.6

a. Cox-George, op. cit., p. 215.
b. In £.
c. Indicates percent of increase or decrease in relation to value of imports in 1938.

Accompanying the increased retail trade was an inflationary trend clearly noticable in the cost of living index which rose to 233.7 (1939=100) by 1945.[2] Although the high level of employment declined following the war, the cost of living continued to increase, attaining an index of 416 by 1954.[3]

The reduction in export trade during the war was more than offset by the increase in import trade and higher employment so far as the local economy and government revenue were concerned. Public savings made possible by greater personal income provided more funds for capital formation than were previously available from this source. By the end of the war rises in import duties and the institution of

1. Cox-George, op. cit., pp. 211-224.
2. Ibid., p. 228.
3. Banton, op. cit., p. 35.

income taxes produced greater and more diversified sources of government revenue (see Table 16). Table 25 shows the increase in government revenue and expenditure for the post-war period.

During World War II, as in World War I, many Protectorate people were attracted to Freetown, but in much greater numbers than before. The tribal population of the city increased approximately 30,000 between 1939 and 1942 alone.[1] This rapid influx was a stimulus to retail trade, although it also fostered many slum areas throughout Freetown and its suburbs.

A further effect of the increased population mobility brought on by the war was a shortage of rice owing to the abandonment of farms by many rural people. However, as increased demands for agricultural produce were stimulated by expansion of the retail economy, greater specialization of the labor force, and the requirements of troops, the total production of locally grown foodstuffs had shown a significant increase by the end of the war. The government sought to encourage and continue this progress in agriculture through experimental programs in new techniques, by seed distribution, and by the establishment of produce marketing boards to assure the continuation of stable prices through guaranteed rates on important commodities. Through such boards profits were appropriated to the Colony and the laissez-faire export economy ended.[2] From this source and more stable revenue the government found the means for a general increase in social service expenditure.[3]

Another important consequence of the war was exposure to differing ideologies and ways of life of Sierra Leoneans recruited for military service, particularly those who served in foreign countries. Upon return to civilian life such individuals often took with them a changed outlook and in

1. Ibid., p. 34.
2. Cox-George, op. cit., p. 299.
3. Ibid., p. 259

turn influenced social thinking in their families and communities. By 1945 in Sierra Leone about 20,000 men were in uniform. Cox-George cites evidence that during the war approximately 25 percent of the adult manpower of Sierra Leone was recruited either directly into military service or in ancillary services.[1] It can reasonably be assumed that many of these individuals returned to civilian life with altered socio-economic perspectives, and that a desire for more modern education probably was included in the altered frames of reference.

Economic Development 1945-1961

To analyze the modern economic development of Sierra Leone with the degree of sophistication it merits is beyond the scope of the present study. It is necessary, however, to clarify the major aspects of that development because unusual and unexpected changes occurred in the economy which in turn affected social development. These changes were introduced briefly in the third chapter of this study. They relate principally to the growth of agriculture and mining industries. Agriculture represents the major foundation of the total economy in Sierra Leone because subsistence farming is still the characteristic occupation of the majority of the people. The discovery of more extensive deposits of mineral resources promised the beginning of a measure of diversification and represented a potentially significant source of revenue and capital investment. Iron ore and diamonds had been mined in the interior since the 1930's but it was not until after 1950 that the great boom occurred in the diamond industry. The attentions of many people in both private and public capacities were attracted to the potential of mineral development. By the late fifties large scale diamond finds in the Kono region of the interior (see Map 4, Appendix A), higher prices for diamonds, and increases

1. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

in iron ore production offered tremendously increased revenue. Table 21 illustrates this general rise in combined value of these two commodities in the post-war period.

TABLE 21. Annual Production and Combined Value of Diamonds and Iron Ore: 1945-1961[a]

Year	Diamonds[b]	Iron Ore[c]	Combined Value[d]
1945	503,999	827,332	1,368,925
1946	559,232	728,398	1,514,309
1947	605,554	840,636	2,080,447
1948	465,698	952,599	1,901,718
1949	494,199	1,089,036	2,256,261
1950	655,485	1,165,969	3,270,597
1951	474,821	1,140,325	3,027,027
1952	452,618	1,152,159	3,759,496
1953	481,691	1,200,240	6,063,717
1954	400,604	877,306	4,456,685
1955	420,056	1,331,573	5,158,710
1956	647,797	1,311,059	7,686,771
1957	863,202	1,324,000	10,654,907
1958	1,490,037	1,299,937	12,770,083
1959	1,290,964	1,426,325	13,674,041
1960	1,909,180	1,446,312	20,508,367
1961	2,295,279	1,668,316	21,985,677

a. Annual Report of the Mines Department (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1956). Annual Report of the Mines Department, 1961.
b. In carats.
c. In tons.
d. In £.

It is clear from the data in Table 21 that since 1945 mining has been a significant source of wealth for Sierra Leone. The allocation of energies to mining produced a demand for a more specialized labor force, provided wage earning occupations, and thus was an incentive to increases in exchange economy. As the consumer demands of wage earners increased, imports rose in value and the distributive trades and services which normally accompany a retail economy were fostered.

A Labor Department was formed by the government to handle problems resulting from this expanding working force. Unions were organized and workers cooperated to foster mutual benefit. Several strikes for higher wages during the war years demonstrated the power of informed and cooperative efforts to Africans who previously had been at a bargaining disadvantage.

Developments in Britain Affecting Sierra Leone

The ascendency to power of the Labor Party in Britain in 1945 brought a change in colonial policy. There was a return to the promotion of self-government for the colonies. The policy of indirect-rule was considered in the new policy only as a useful form for local government to use in constructing programs for gradual introduction of democratic processes of government.

The Labor Government had spelled out a policy for education in the colonies in a statement issued in 1943.[1] The new policy called for accessible and compulsory elementary education in both vocational and non-vocational areas as soon as possible, and for the provision of selection processes for secondary and higher education.[2] It further called for:

1. Greater extension of secondary, technical, and higher education of both a vocational and a non-vocational nature.

2. The establishment of training schools attached to hospitals, railways, public-works departments, and other government agencies.

3. Opportunities for qualified Africans in all fields of employment.

4. An African majority on education councils wherever possible.

5. Adult and community education.

1. The Labour Party, The Colonies (London: Labour Party of Great Britain, 1943), pp. 3-18.
2. Ibid., pp. 13-14

6. Increases in the numbers of trained teachers and facilities for teacher training, with the suggestion that short-term teachers be recruited from Britain to meet local needs in the colonies until training programs were able to provide more teachers.

7. Modification of the policy on vernacular language usage in the direction of promoting wider use of English unless a significant portion of the local community favored some other language.

8. Greater stress on agricultural development based on nutritional needs.[1]

In keeping with this policy for education in the colonies the Labor Government proposed extension of the Colonial Development and Welfare plan over a ten year period with aid to be provided on the basis of resource and requirement surveys from each colonial administration.[2] This proposal and its ultimate implementation was to prove a most important source of aid for educational development in Sierra Leone. A ten-year plan for development was drawn up in Sierra Leone and presented in 1946. The plan involved considerable expenditure for economic and social improvement,[3] the educational portion of which is discussed later in this chapter.

Consistent with the change in British policy which reinstituted the aim of eventual self-government was the policy of greater Africanization of the civil service at all levels. As capable Sierra Leoneans became available they were increasingly eligible for posts in government and able to share more fully in administrative and legislative decisions. The older discriminative policy did not disappear overnight, but was clearly on the wane.

Important changes in educational policy for England also

1. Ibid., pp. 9-14.
2. Ibid., pp. 16-17.
3. An Outline of the Ten Year Plan for Development of Sierra Leone (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1946).

became clear in the post-war period. The now-famous Butler Act of 1944 which provided for a complete educational program in England for the first time, represented a thorough commitment of government to educational responsibility for all its citizenry. Once again a ready model was suggested for educational development in the colonies. By 1947 three major studies had been conducted which examined the educational status of Sierra Leone and recommended significant changes. These reports are discussed later in this chapter.

Political Development

The Africanization of the Government of Sierra Leone was facilitated by establishment of the elements of representative government. By 1951 a new constitution was approved which extended the unofficial elected side of the Legislative Council, introduced the principle of an unofficial majority in the legislature, and afforded the Protectorate elected representation in the central legislature.[1]

The 1951 constitution further removed the distinction between the Colony and the Protectorate and united them as a single political entity with a central government.[2] With this latter change came renewed antagonisms between the Creole populace of the Colony and the indigenous peoples in the interior who represented the great majority of the population of the country. The fears of the Creoles that the government might be controlled by the tribal peoples were fully justified with the victory of the Sierra Leone Peoples Party (SLPP), a political organization founded and supported largely by tribal peoples, in the elections which followed the introduction of the 1951 constitution. Since that time the SLPP has held a majority in the legislature. The leader of the

1. Elias, op. cit., p. 247.
2. As the terms "Colony" and "Protectorate" are useful referrents, they shall continue to be employed in this study in referring to geographic areas of the country.

SLPP, Sir Milton Margai (who served as the nation's first Prime Minister from 1953 until his death in 1964), was called upon to approve the Governor's selections for the Executive Council. Except for the Governor and four senior officials who continued on the Council, all the new members were chosen from the ranks of the SLPP. By 1953 the unofficial members of the Council were tendered ministerial status and assumed leadership of government departments.[1]

Further consititutional changes in 1957 and 1958 transformed the Legislative Council into a wholly African elected House of Representatives and removed all Europeans except the Governor from the Executive Council.[2] In 1960 the veto power reserved to the Governor was not utilized and the Governor relinquished his position on the Executive Council. The Council was reconstituted as the Cabinet of the official government.

After 1957 a younger, more militant elite began to enter the political sphere and to agitate against the old guard of original members of the new government. The extended franchise made it more possible than before for these politically oriented young men to appeal to wider areas of influence.[3] This new political opposition which developed was soon assimilated, however, by an agreement to merge dissident factions with the SLPP and thus present a united political movement toward complete independence. The Government of Sierra Leone has largely operated with a one-party system. That party has been the SLPP since the inception of the movement toward self-government.

In 1960 a conference was called in London to consider further constitutional development in Sierra Leone. At this conference it was decided to grant the Colony status as an

1. Fyfe, A Short History of Sierra Leone, pp. 174-175
2. Elias, op. cit., p. 249.
3. Porter, "Social Backgrounds of Political Decision Makers in Sierra Leone," p. 10.

independent nation within the British Commonwealth. Sierra Leone became independent on April 27, 1961.[1]

At the time of independence, political consciousness in Sierra Leone was still largely confined to a leadership elite, but it continued to grow with increased educational opportunity and the widening of horizons afforded by economic progress and by the participation of the nation in international activities. The loyalties of many rural people are still focused at the regional and tribal level, but the government is becoming aware of the need for development of a sense of national unity, and various devices to instill national rather than tribal patriotism are encouraged.[2]

The Education Ordinance of 1953

In 1953 a new education law was enacted. The major changes instituted by the Education Ordinance of 1953 were the clarification of the relationship between the new Minister of Education and Welfare, the Board of Education, and the Director of Education. The principle difference was that under the new system the government delegated authority for policy making to a Minister who then instructed the Education Department through its Director. The Minister was to make policy with the advice of the Board and the Director implemented the policy.

A further important provision of the Ordinance of 1953 was for the establishment of fourteen Local Education Authorities whose responsibilities were to be the maintainance and development of elementary education in their respective areas. The Local Education Authorities were to assume responsibility for 40 percent of the salaries of the element-

1. Report of the Sierra Leone Constitutional Conference (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 8.

2. Cf. Elizabeth Hirst, Benga (London: University of London Press, 1958). The Foreword by Albert Margai, brother to Sir Milton, Minister in the Cabinet, and present Prime Minister, points out that this is the first story adaptable for secondary school use which is set in the interior and lionizes a national hero of significance to tribal people.

ary teachers in their districts.[1] This establishment of agencies for the specific purpose of administering and supporting local education was parallel to developments in England during this period.

Studies of Education in Sierra Leone 1945-1954

Between 1945 and 1954 five important surveys were conducted on the educational status and need of Sierra Leone. These were:

1. The Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, 1945.[2]

2. A Survey of Education in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, 1949.[3]

3. The Report on the Development of Education in Sierra Leone, 1949.[4]

4. The Survey of Technical and Further Education, 1949.[5]

5. The Report of the Sierra Leone Education Commission, 1954.[6]

These efforts were indicative of the spirit of change and the movement towards development in the post-war period of Sierra Leone. The reports illustrate the degree of commitment to educational advancement that was in evidence during the period 1945-1954.

Those of the reports which deal exclusively with specific aspects of educational development are discussed later in this chapter under appropriate headings. However, two of the reports, the 1949 report on development and the 1954 report, are so broad that a detailed discussion in advance will be more useful.

1. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1954 (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 5.

2. (London, H.M.S.O.). Sometimes referred to as the Elliot Commission Report.

3. L. B. Greaves (Freetown: Government Printing Office).

4. Sessional Paper No. 11 of 1949 (Freetown: Government Printing Office).

5. (Freetown: Government Printing Office).

6. (Freetown: Government Printing Office). Sometimes referred to as the Fulton Commission Report.

The Report on the Development of Education in Sierra Leone

In 1949 the Sierra Leone Government initiated a development proposal outlining the official policy for all levels of education in the country. These proposals may be summarized as follows:

1. To increase the number of education officers and supervising teachers.

2. In Colony elementary education: to encourage development of local authority for primary education through the offices of the city and rural area councils; to gradually eliminate the amalgamated (consolidated) schools; to aid private schools by grants for teachers' salaries, providing that such schools be non-profit organizations and meet the standards set by the Education Department; to de-emphasize specifically vocational education at the primary level.

3. In Protectorate elementary education: to expand the assisted school system to parity with that in the Colony by full payment of teachers' salaries; to encourage local authority and responsibility for construction of new schools; to increase enrollments as quickly as teachers could be made available; and to postpone institution of compulsory attendance until the community reflected a greater degree of willingness to accept such a move.

4. To establish ten or more centrally located schools at the intermediate level (roughly equivalent to the U.S. junior high school) providing for pre-vocational education in practical subjects to be determined by local needs and conditions. This plan also provided that means be provided for students in these schools to gain admission to regular secondary schools should that seem advisable in individual cases.

5. To increase capital grants to Colony secondary schools for the improvement of facilities and the encouragement of the teaching of science.

6. To gradually expand opportunity for full secondary education in the Protectorate as resources permitted.

7. To consider further provision of technical and commercial education at the secondary level.

8. To continue development of facilities for teacher training in both the Colony and Protectorate.

9. To increase funds for scholarships for higher education overseas.

10. To develop a higher educational facility in the form of a regional college offering courses of study other than for the university degrees or intermediate to degree levels. Such a school was to provide a central institution for trainin vocations requiring advanced work, but not a university education. It was suggested that such a college could more effectively take over responsibility for much training being done in various government departments and also provide for post-secondary teacher training, welfare personnel, technicians, and other general skilled vocational workers. As it was envisioned it would also involve courses of study in fields such as art and music. The secondary school certificate was to be required for admission. (The proposed school was similar to polytechnic institutes offering such work in England.)

The development plan as outlined above was viewed by the government as subject to continual revision as changing circumstances demanded. It was an ambitious plan, but seemingly within the range of resources which might reasonably be expected from an expanding economy and a government increasingly interested in expanding educational opportunity.[1]

The Report of the Sierra Leone Education Commission

By 1954 a need was felt for a comprehensive reappraisal of the educational requirements of Sierra Leone. The economic, social and political climate was changing rapidly. With the rapid approach of self-government came a need for mobili-

1. <u>Report on the Development of Education in Sierra Leone</u>, passim.

zation of human resources for self-sufficiency. Consequently means were sought to provide more education at all levels. This situation plus a controversy generated by the postponement of university college status for Fourah Bay College prompted the Governor to appoint a commission to survey the educational needs of the country in relation to its resources. The Commission's assignment included the preparation of recommendations for a long-term policy for the development of Fourah Bay College. The Chairman of the Commission was J. S. Fulton, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Wales. The Commission included members from both Sierra Leone and England.

The extensive recommendations of the Commission included:

1. Reaffirmation of the need for greater facilities for technical education in light of the academic nature of most education provided throughout the country.

2. Expansion of secondary education in general, particularly because of the potential of secondary schools as a source of better qualified teachers.

3. Abolition of the Teachers Elementary Certificate course which accepted students directly from primary schools into teacher training schools.

4. Reduction in the drop-out rate in elementary schools and encouragement of more elementary graduates to proceed to secondary schools.

5. The development of textbooks more closely related to a West African milieu.

6. Improvement of existing elementary schools before increasing their number, particularly because the supply of qualified teachers was far below the number needed to open new schools and at the same time maintain quality.

7. Disapproval of junior secondary schools as not in the best interest of sound development of secondary education. The establishment of only full secondary schools was recommended.

8. Development of sixth form work in existing secondary schools and not in Advanced Studies Centers as the government was proposing.

9. Development of secondary schools in the Protectorate which would offer both academic and technical streams, from either of which students could advance to higher education. Such a structure should also be considered for some Freetown secondary schools.

10. Provision of secondary education to the school certificate level for all capable students after which emphasis whould be upon development of secondary modern schools patterned after contemporary developments in England and inclusion in these modern schools of trades courses below the school certificate level.

11. Government provision of aid toward boarding expenses of students in secondary schools.

12. Termination of an agreement restricting courses at Fourah Bay College and encouragement for Fourah Bay to develop into a full university college.

13. Application for increased financial aid from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds and the Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board.

Although the Commission's report served as a useful basis from which to formulate government educational policy, its recommendations were not entirely accepted. The departure from the suggestions of the Commission is discussed under the appropriate sections of this chapter dealing with specific developments at various levels of education.

Educational Policy and Progress

Elementary Education

Inasmuch as all educational planning must begin with the elementary school the Education Department began seeking ways to reduce the drop-out rates and provide more schools at that level. As a goal of most elementary school students was

eventual entry into secondary schools it was felt that earlier access to secondary schools might provide incentives to remain in the primary course to completion. Consequently in 1950 a structural change was initiated which it was hoped would facilitate earlier selection for secondary education. Prior to this time the system had operated on the basis of two years in infants' classes, six years in the elementary standards, and five years in the secondary schools leading to the Cambridge School Certificate Examinations. In 1950 the progression was altered to a 2-4-6 plan.[1] By 1953, however, this change had still not been effected in all the schools and students attempted a Selective Entrance Examination for admission to secondary schools from the IVth, Vth, and VIth Standards.[2] Table 22 shows the numbers of students successfully completing the test in 1950 and in 1953.

TABLE 22. Selective Entrance Examination Results by Standard: 1950, 1953[a]

Standard	1950		1953	
	Entered	Accepted	Entered	Accepted
IV	336	28	648	137
V	471	37	568	161
VI	455	90	448	213

a. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1953 (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1955), p. 6.

It should be noted that success on the Selective Entrance Examination is determined by two factors, (1) the quality of the students examination performance itself, and (2) the number of available spaces in secondary schools. Thus if 300 places are available in a given year the top 300 applicants on the Selective Entrance Examination results are normally

1. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1950, p. 11.
2. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1953, p. 6.

considered to have been successful. There has been a clear tendency to avoid the use of the word "passed" for this reason, inasmuch as applicants below the cut-off point determined by available spaces might also be capable of secondary school work and their examinations otherwise acceptable.

It is clear from Table 22 that by 1953 the number of applicants for secondary schools had increased and that the rise in applications from Standard IV anticipated by the change had indeed been achieved. Experience between 1953 and 1957, however, indicated that students who entered secondary schools from the higher grade levels were more mature and better able to cope with the demands of secondary schools and it was decided to extend the elementary school to include Standard V.[1] Although policy stipulated five years in the elementary school in fact many schools were unable to provide the additional year and continued with only four.[2] As late as 1961 many elementary schools operated with less than the full complement of grades. Table 23 shows the number of actual classes available in all elementary schools in Sierra Leone during the school year 1960/61.

TABLE 23. Numbers of Classes[a] in Sierra Leone Elementary Schools by Level: 1960/61[b]

Class	Number	Class	Number
I	687	V	403
II	603	VI	300
III	564	VII	197
IV	487		

a. In 1958 the names of grade levels were officially changed and all elementary levels designated "Classes."
b. Report on Education, 1960/61 (Freetown: Ministry of Education, 1962), p. 14.

1. Triennial Survey: 1955-1957, p. 26.
2. Ibid.

TABLE 24. Enrollment in Elementary Schools in Selected School Years: 1950-1961[a]

	1950	1953	1955	1957	1960/61[b]
Colony	10,628	12,654	c	c	c
Protectorate	19,192	24,899	c	c	c
Total	29,820	37,553	48,934	57,200	80,767

a. Annual Reports of the Education Department, 1950, 1953, 1955, 1957, 1960/61.

b. In 1960 a change was effected to make the school year run from September to July rather than from February to December which had required that students be in school during the long rainy season.

c. Data not available.

Table 24 indicates a significant rise in enrollments in the elementary schools between 1950 and 1961, but the early grades contained the great majority of students in 1961 as Table 23 clearly shows.

A survey of elementary education in the interior by Greaves was mentioned previously in this chapter. This survey focused on thegreat disparity between mission and Native Administration schools. Greaves was of the opinion that the Native Administration schools had become more popular because of reactions to what he believed were lower standards in the mission schools. He suggested that the Native Administration schools were generally quite good, particularly since they received greater local support. Greaves' report called for more uniformity of instructional standards, better qualified teachers, and higher salaries for teachers in all Protectorate elementary schools. He further recommended that there be more cooperative planning by the various agencies undertaking elementary education in the interior.[1]

1. Greaves, op. cit., passim.

In 1955 the government provided for more uniform administrative responsibility in elementary education with the delegation of authority to the fourteen newly constituted Local Education Authorities, a direct imitation of the administrative system extant in England. Under this plan the L.E.A.'s were to operate as initiating forces in the development of elementary education in their respective areas. The plan proved too ambitious for already strained budgets, however, and the L.E.A.'s functioned in the first years of their existence primarily in maintaining those schools already in operation.

In 1958 the Ministry of Education and Welfare published a clear Policy statement of the intentions of the Sierra Leone Government for education, The White Paper on Educational Development. Admittedly an ambitious proposal, the White Paper was designed to outline general goals for educational development and recommend specific steps toward attainment of the general goals.

The White Paper clearly stated the objective for Sierra Leone of eventual free, universal, and compulsory elementary education. As a realistic step toward that goal a plan for development of a more efficient elementary system was given immediate priority. It was proposed that aid allocations for capital expenditure be raised for elementary schools from 50 to 75 percent of the initial cost. The ratio of central government contribution to that of the L.E.A. was to be increased by removal of the requirement that the L.E.A. contribute 40 percent of teachers' salaries. The Ministry was to assume total responsibility for payment of teachers, thereby encouraging greater cooperation of Local Authorities in development of elementary schools. Expansion of existing elementary schools by 1,000 new classrooms as soon as possible was also proposed.

The Ministry of Education recognized the tremendous cost of its proposal (which also called for extensive aid and development at the secondary level, an aspect which is dis-

cussed later in this chapter) and stipulated that should funds not be forthcoming through general government revenues and Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, the immediate priority in all educational development would remain in expansion of elementary education and in training of teachers for elementary schools.[1]

The total program (including advances in other levels of education) was expected to cost approximately £ 2.6 million ($7.3 million) in capital expenditure and about £ .63 million ($1.8 million) in recurrent expenditure. Table 25 indicates that government funds were indeed made available in increasing amounts during the period 1945-1961. Table 26 illustrates the growth of Colonial Development and Welfare contributions to educational development in Sierra Leone and shows a steady rise in grants from 1956 to 1961.

TABLE 25. Total Government Revenue and Expenditure and Total Expenditure on Education for the Years: 1945-1961[a]

Year	Revenue[b]	Expenditure[b]	Education Expenditure[b]	Percent on Education
1945	1,841,960	1,911,958	89,500	4.0
1946	c	1,833,500	68,000	3.7
1947	c	2,119,823	78,147	4.9
1948	2,649,000	2,172,000	102,570	6.1
1949	2,730,000	2,458,000	137,005	7.3
1950	3,269,000	2,979,000	185,500	8.9
1951	3,851,000	3,904,000	222,252	8.0
1952	5,214,000	5,402,000	319,721	8.7
1953	5,418,000	5,269,000	404,274	10.5
1954	7,621,000	6,863,000	566,540	12.8
1955	7,546,000	7,397,000	767,372	14.2
1956	9,586,000	9,846,000	1,285,000	12.1
1957	10,358,000	9,938,000	1,541,000	14.2
1958	13,660,000	16,033,000	2,420,000	15.0
1959/60	c	13,162,000	2,153,000	16.4
1960/61	c	15,116,000	2,162,000	14.3

a. Sierra Leone Annual Report for each year 1945-1959. Annual Report of the Education Department, 1949.

b. In £

c. Data not located.

1. White Paper on Educational Development (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1958), passim.

TABLE 26. Colonial Development and Welfare Fund Grants for Education to Sierra Leone: 1950-1961[a]

Year	Grant[b]	Year	Grant[b]
1950	117,967	1956	156,000
1951	134,835	1957	239,000
1952	92,265	1958/59	268,000
1953	126,290	1959/60	328,000
1954	141,256	1960,61	361,416
1955	128,543		

a. Sierra Leone: The Making of a Nation (London: H.M.S.O., 1962). p. 36.

Secondary Education

The major emphasis of government policy for secondary education in the years from 1945 to independence was on expansion of existing facilities and the building of new schools appropriately located throughout the country. It was also proposed that the quality of teachers in secondary institutions be improved by higher standards of education and qualification.

While it was accepted in principle that bi-lateral secondary schools (schools offering both academic and technical courses) as proposed in the Fulton Commission Report be developed, the expense involved and the lack of qualified staff for widespread technical training would not permit the serious implementation of this principle. The government recognized the need for and proposed the eventual development of "modern" and technical schools, but could do little more than plan for them at this point.

The government dissented from the view of the Fulton Commission that junior secondary schools were ill-advised and after 1958 opened them as resources permitted. It was supposed that they would all ultimately develop into full secondary schools.

It was recognized that as the number of secondary schools increased a means to coordinate their efforts would be needed.

In 1953 a Secondary Education Advisory Committee was established consisting of all the secondary school principals. The Committee's task was to adise the Minister of Education on matters relating to secondary education. Inasmuch as nearly half the secondary schools in existence by 1961 had been founded since 1953, such a body was useful in providing a cooperative approach to secondary school development. Table 27 shows the growth in number and enrollment of secondary schools during the period 1945-1961.

TABLE 27. Total Number and Enrollment of Secondary Schools: Selected Years: 1945-1961[a]

Year	Number	Enrollment	Year	Number	Enrollment
1945	11	2,064	1957	24	5,924[b]
1950	18	3,041	1958	26	5,904[b]
1955	22	5,247	1959/60	28	6,808
1956	23	5,776	1960/61	37	7,512

a. Baker, op. cit., p. 148.
b. For some unknown reason, the enrollment figures for this year included preparatory classes.

In the Colony, a particular problem facing efficient secondary development continued to be denominational pluralism. Of the nine Freetown secondary schools in operation in 1957 (five for boys and four for girls) eight were directly affiliated with one of four different religious groups. The Prince of Wales Secondary School remained the only secondary grammar school in Freetown operated by the government. The efficient use of staff and equipment requires an optimum size for secondary schools. In view of the dearth of resources and qualified teachers the consolidation of some of the secondary schools in the city might have resulted in greater efficiency. It would have been impossible, however, to enforce a consolidation of the disparately controlled institutions and the government was committed to an aid program based on standards equally applied without regard to the religious sponsorship of the schools.

In the Protectorate the problem of religious rivalry was of less consequence in secondary education. The growth of secondary schools was planned to provide facilities on the basis of local need and potential, thus avoiding duplication. It is true that in 1962 in the town of Bo, with a population of between 12,000 and 15,000, there were three secondary schools, but each served a different purpose. One was oriented to vocational training for girls, another to teacher training, and the third offered general secondary academic courses.

The problem of wastage[1] between primary and secondary school levels became more noticable with the expansion of opportunities for elementary and secondary education. As early as 1951 it had been suggested that a significant reason for the increasing wastage rate was the academic nature of the secondary schools. The Director of Education had indicated that, as in England, not more than about 15 percent of students were suited for a secondary grammar type of education and that other kinds of secondary education should be made available on the basis of students' abilities.[2] However, as was pointed out previously, lack of resources did not permit implementation of plans for "modern" type schools.[3] The next section of this chapter deals with attempts to provide secondary education of a technical nature.

Although the White Paper on Educational Development of 1958 had placed heavy emphasis on elementary education it did not ignore secondary schools. The government proposed to expand existing facilities and develop new facilities for

1. This term carries the implication of less than full realization of potential. Many students who did not qualify for entry into secondary schools were presumed to be interested and able to benefit from further education, but since it was not available their preparatory years were in a sense "wasted." In this usage it is more apt than the American term, "dropout."

2. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1950-51, p. 111.

3. This term corresponds to the British secondary modern school usage. These schools offer a general curriculum and are invariably terminal in nature.

academic, technical, and "modern" secondary education. It was suggested that in order to accomplish this goal it might be feasible to develop a streaming system whereby all three types of secondary education were offered in one school (a proposal embodied in the Fulton Commission Report of 1954). The proposal was not implemented, however, and most secondary schools continued to offer academic courses only.

The development of the sixth form courses in the existing secondary schools was also proposed. Progress was made in that direction and by 1961 the number of students enrolled in sixth forms had risen to 146, an increase of nearly ten times the 1950 enrollment of 16.

Toward the middle of the period from 1945 to 1961 a further development began for secondary education. In 1952 the West African Examinations Council was organized to provide for local school certificate examinations more suitable to West African needs and conditions. The Council membership consists of the Chairman; two representatives from the Universities of Cambridge and London; four members nominated by the Nigerian Government; four nominated by the Ghanaian Government; three by the Sierra Leone Government; two by the Gambian Government; and fifteen members representing the interests of the secondary schools. These fifteen members were elected by local committees. The local committees represented the various ministeries of education, institutions of higher learning, schools, training colleges, teachers' organizations, and commercial interests. These local committees, seven in number, advise the Council on general policy, as does the School Examinations Committee, another arm of the Council.[1]

The principal change from the previously used Cambridge Examination was that exams would thereafter be locally drawn and graded and would involve subject matter permitting the inclusion of West African languages, history, geography, and other relevant local areas of study.

1. Regulations and Syllabuses for the School Certificate Examination in Ghana and Sierra Leone for 1962 and 1963 (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 4.

Technical and Agricultural Education

Technical and agricultural education continued to progress at a much slower pace than the more academic kinds. However, the government was not unaware of increasing needs for skilled sraftsmen, technicians, and commercial workers and in 1946 proposed to provide a technical school and a commercial college in Freetwon for the training of secretarial and business personnel.[1]

By 1949 a handicraft center was in operation in Freetown providing extra-curricular instruction in carpentry for upper level elementary school boys. An expatriate education officer was training three students at the Prince of Wales School for ultimate service as manual arts instructors, but the program was dropped when the officer resigned his post and left the country.[2] Availability of qualified personnel was an important criterion in determining whether any kind of specialized training could be offered at any school. The various government departments continued to rely on their own devices to prepare trained people according to their needs.

Also in 1949, government attention to and concern for this area brought about the Survey of Technical and Further Education mentioned earlier in this chapter. This survey was in reality two separate reports published as one. R. C. Weston of the British Ministry of Education undertook to examine general technical training, and F. J. Harlow, Principal of Chelsea Polytechnic, London, analyzed the professional level of technical education as an aspect of higher education. The two reports were advisory in nature and prepared for the use of the Sierra Leone Government in planning future developments in these fields.

The essence of Weston's report was a recommendation for

1. An Outline of the Ten Year Plan for the Development of Sierra Leone, p. 19.

2. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1950, p. 30.

widespread extension of technical education at the secondary level under the supervision of a qualified education officer, preferably one who had had experience with this field in England. Weston also proposed that an advisory committee for technical and further education be organized to regularly survey the needs of the country.

Harlow's recommendations included the establishment of technical and commercial courses at Fourah Bay College as well as at institutes to be built. These programs were to provide facilities for both full-time study and part-time work in conjunction with employment.

Both reports recognized that development of higher level technical and professional education depended heavily upon general improvement of provision for secondary education.

Action on the recommendations of Weston and Harlow was slow to follow. By 1951 the Director of Education called attention to the nearly total absence of technical education as a serious failure of the educational structure of Sierra Leone.[1]

The Director's concern and the Weston-Harlow reports finally provoked action. In 1953 the first institution sufficiently equipped and structured to warrant the name, the Freetown Technical Institute, was opened under government auspices. The school offered both full and part-time courses in technical and commercial subjects leading to the City and Guilds Certificate Examination (a certification system for artisans and craftsmen which was developed in England). These examinations were successfully passed by twenty-eight government employees in 1954. In addition, evening courses were offered in commercial subjects leading to the Royal Society of Arts Examination and in general subjects preparatory to the London General Certificate of Education Examinations. The Freetown Technical Institute

1. Sierra Leone Legislative Council Debates, No. I of Session 1950-51, p. 113.

was outfitted with modern shops and facilities and was staffed by expatriate teachers skilled in their areas of instruction. Initial enrollment in the school was over 500 and its popularity was partly evidenced by a fairly stable enrollment in following years.[1]

The success of the school prompted the government to consider the development of a branch at Kenema in the interior. A school was opened there in 1957, but as a separate Government Technical Institute, not as a branch of the Institute in Freetown.[2] The Kenema school served an additional function as a training center for Native Administration clerks. In 1960, fifty-nine prospective clerks attended the course, fifty-three of whom passed the proficiency examination at the end. Of ninety-seven clerks in service who tried the same examination, only seven were successful.[3]

The government supported the new Technical Institutes with not only initial capital grants and recurrent expenses, but also by providing scholarships for students attending the schools. Further aid to the program came through the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, and from the United States which contributed grants through the International Cooperation Administration.[4]

In 1957 a coeducational secondary technical school was opened in connection with the Freetown Technical Institute. It offered instruction in a five year course leading to the West African School Certificate Examinations.[5] This develop-

1. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1954, p. 15.
2. Triennial Survey: 1955-1957, p. 32.
3. Review of Government Departments During 1960 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), pp. 2-3.
4. Education in Sierra Leone, 1961 (Freetown: Ministry of Education), p. 13.
5. Triennial Survey: 1955-1957, p. 32.

ment represented not only the introduction of a technical secondary school, but also a trend toward more support for the idea of coeducational secondary schools. Coeducation at the secondary level was still uncommon in Sierra Leone at that time. The first coeducational secondary boarding school had been established only two years before.

A further dimension was added to the program of the Freetown Technical Institute in 1959 by provision of a pre-apprenticeship course consisting of a year of training and testing to determine suitabilities for particular trades.[1]

In 1960 a Technical Education Advisory Committee was formed to advise the Minister of Education on technical, commercial, and vocational education. Members of the Committee were chosen from various government departments particularly concerned with this area of education.

By 1961 government planning involved consideration of developing the Freetown Technical Institute into a full technical college and the construction of a separate trade school. This latter proposal was expected to involve also the utilization of funds from the Sir Alfred Jones bequest, which had been laying dormant since the demise of the original Sir Alfred Jones School in 1942.[2]

Training in handicrafts and other non-academic skills proceeded slowly outside the institutions mentioned above, particularly in schools for boys. The Albert Academy in Freetown offered handicrafts and printing instruction. The Prince of Wales School and the Bo Government School had a few candidates for the secondary school certificate examination in woodworking as long as instructors were available. More progress was evident in schools for girls. By 1957 domestic arts were offered in all girls secondary schools, some carrying the program to the level of the school certificate.

1. Report of the Labour Department, 1959 (Freetown: Government Printing Office), p. 6.
2. Education in Sierra Leone, 1961, p. 13.

Development of agricultural continued to be much slower than progress in technical instruction between 1945 and 1961. The school at Njala continued to provide the program described in Chapter Six of this study and by 1957 a course for instructors in agricultural was also added. The enrollment of the school averaged about twenty students until after 1955 when a gradual increase brought the number to seventy-two by 1961.[1] In recent years the school has focused more on the training of regular elementary teachers than on other aspects, although agricultural courses are still included in the curriculum and some students concentrate in that area.

The government was beginning to offer overseas scholarships for higher level education in agricultural sciences, but by 1957 only seven of 1,010 Sierra Leonean students studying overseas were enrolled in agriculturally related programs.[2] The previously noted deterrents to student interest in agriculture continued, but the problem was compounded by the growth of mining and the rise of other industries which brought about a concentration of student interest in technical rather than agricultural non-academic education.

In 1959 government restrictions were imposed on the entry of non-residents into the Kono District (the most significant diamond mining area) which contributed slightly to the stabilization of the farming population in the rest of the country as men who might otherwise have cast their fortunes in search of diamonds were forced to turn to the only other interprise available to the unskilled — agriculture.[3]

Teacher Training

In 1945, immediately after the war, the Women's Teacher Training College at Wilberforce was closed and the program integrated with the course for teacher training at Fourah

1. _Education in Sierra Leone, 1961_, p. 11.
2. _1958 Report of the Education Department_ (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1959), p. 18.
3. _Report of the Labour Department, 1959_, p. 3.

Bay College, thus making that insitiution the principal source of trained teachers in the Colony. In the interior the Njala College, the United Christian Council College at Bunumbu, and the Roman Catholic Christ the King College at Bo represented the only sources for trained teachers in 1945.

The realization that educational development required a larger staff of qualified instructional personnel led the Education Department to seek ways to attract more people into that field and to provide for their training. A step toward the promotion of a larger and better qualified teaching force was taken in 1948 with the publication of a revised salary scale for teachers.[1] The following year the Governor of Sierra Leone appointed A. L. Binns (a member of the Burnham Committee, the agency responsible for teachers' salaries in England) to review the conditions of service for teachers in Sierra Leone. Binns recommended further salary increases and the establishment of a body such as the Burnham Committee for Sierra Leone. His suggestions were approved and a committee was formed which undertook the continual appraisal of the teachers' contractual position.[2] The effect of these revisions was to bring teachers' salaries more in line with those in other fields requiring similar or equal educational qualifications.

As conditions improved for teachers so did requirements for entry into the field. By 1950 in the Colony the standard for admission to the teacher training course was a minimum of the Junior Cambridge Certificate. The course was for two years and at the end candidates took a two-part examination for the Teachers Certificate. Students holding the full Cambridge School Certificate were not required to take the

1. _Revision of Teachers' Salaries_ (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1948).

2. Cf. _Kingsley Revision: Revised Conditions of Service and Revised Salary Scales for Teachers in Government and Assisted Schools_ (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1956).

first part of the Teachers Certificate Examination and could choose instead to include in their training programs additional subjects, the satisfactory completion of which made the students eligible for the Teachers Advanced Certificate.[1]

Applicants for teacher training in the Protectorate were accepted on the basis of lower standards. They were required to have completed only the elementary school course. Program length varied from two years at Njala to three years at Bo and Bunumbu. The Teachers Elementary Certificate was awarded upon successful completion of the two-part examination at the end of the course.[2]

The Teachers Elementary Certificate qualified teachers to instruct up to Standard IV. The Teachers Certificate was qualification to teach up to Standard VI. A Teachers Advanced Certificate was required to teach in the lower forms of the secondary schools.[3]

By 1953 a new training college at Magburaka had been opened by the Department of Education and was producing candidates for the Teachers Elementary Certificate.[4] In 1955 the Roman Catholic mission, with government support, opened a teacher training instutution for girls at Kenema.[5] By 1957 the teacher training program in the interior was more closely coordinated with the length of the course established as three years at all training schools.

In Freetown in 1958 a government appointed commission to review the development of Fourah Bay College maintained that events had fostered unforeseen progress and that accomodations at the College were severely limited because of the space and facilities taken up by the teacher training course. It was

1. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1950, p. 35.
2. Ibid., p. 36.
3. Ibid.
4. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1953, p. 17.
5. Triennial Survey: 1955-1957, p. 36.

recommended that the Training College be removed from Fourah Bay College and re-established as a separate institution. The recommendation was accepted and the school moved to other quarters in Freetown where it continued in operation as the Freetown Teacher Training College.

As indicated by Table 28, enrollments in teacher training schools nearly doubled between 1950 and 1961. However, the quality of instruction may be open to question as the number of successful passes on certification examinations did not increase proportionately, as the data in Table 29 illustrates.

TABLE 28. Enrollments in Teacher Training Institutions: 1950-1961[a]

Year	Enrollment	Year	Enrollment
1950	316	1956	570
1953	430	1957	620
1954	447	1958	604
1955	498	1960/61	629

a. Annual report of Education Department for each of the relevant years.

TABLE 29. Teacher Certification Examination Results: 1950-1961[a]

Year	Number of Passes		
	Teachers Elementary Certificate	Teachers Certificate	Teachers Advanced Certificate
1950	63	b	b
1953	72	23	3
1954	75	36	8
1955	90	49	6
1956	79	48	7
1957	88	30	11
1958	96	29	4
1960/61	101	10	10

a. Annual report of the Education Department for each of the relevant years.

b. Fourteen students entered for the Teachers Certificate in 1950 but results could not be located.

In 1960 a Board of Teacher Training was established with membership from the administrative staffs of all Sierra Leone teacher training institutions. This body was to function in an advisory capacity to the Minister of Education on matters regarding the education of teachers and would hopefully permit greater coordination of efforts in that area.

Higher Education

The Commission on Higher Education in West Africa was mentioned earlier in this chapter. The major recommendation of the Commission was for the establishment of three university colleges and several regional colleges in the British West African territories. Only portions of their report pertaining to educational developments in Sierra Leone will be dealt with here. It was proposed that a college be established in Sierra Leone by reorganization of Fourah Bay College as an intermediate level institution which would eventually develop into a full university college. The school, it was suggested, would place major emphasis on the development of intermediate courses in arts and sciences and provide a teacher training course and an arts course for theological students. It was hoped that such a college would endeavor to develop as a research center in cooperation with other agencies in West Africa with research interests and responsibilities. The degree examinations to be offered were to be of equal standard with those of British universities.

The estimated cost of the reorganization would amount to an immediate capital expenditure of approximately £ 100,000 ($280,000.00) and a recurrent expenditure of about £ 14,000 ($39,200.00). The Commission recommended that this cost be met through the joint efforts of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and the Sierra Leone Government, with the share borne by Sierra Leone gradually increasing until it ultimately carried the entire burden of expense.[1]

1. *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa*, *passim*.

However, there was some disagreement among the members of the Commission and a minority opinion was also published in the final report. The minority opinion also dealt with the entire area of British West Africa, but only the effect of this report on Sierra Leonean education will be considered here. The significance of the minority recommendations was in the proposal that Fourah Bay College be developed as a regional college and not as a university college. As a regional college it was expected that it would never be elevated to university college status. These regional, or territorial colleges were to offer intermediate courses and students would proceed from them to a single West African University College to be established elsewhere in West Africa.[1] It was this minority opinion which was accepted as the plan for development of higher education in Sierra Leone. The immediate reaction to this proposal and its acceptance by the government was one of general alarm among those in Sierra Leone who had hoped to see Fourah Bay College take what they considered her rightful place in the development of higher education in Africa — as a university college.

It should be noted that the local supporters of the full development of Fourah Bay College were more than a little ambitious. Prior to 1947 Fourah Bay had averaged only slightly more than thirty students in enrollment. Of these, from one-third to one-half were often from other West African territories.[2] With the proposed development of regional and university colleges in these other territories, it seemed likely that enrollment at Fourah Bay might decrease.

In 1947 the policy stated in the minority report was reaffirmed by the British Colonial Office which witheld any recommendation that Colonial Development and Welfare aid be utilized to develop Fourah Bay College into a university

1. <u>Summary of the Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa</u>, pp. 16-17.
2. <u>Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa</u>, p. 49.

college. The reasons given for this view were (1) that it was doubtful that Sierra Leone could afford the recurrent expenditure necessary to maintain a university college of desirable quality, (2) that requisite staff for a university college would have to be recruited from Britain and it was unlikely that sufficient personnel could be found to meet the needs of more than one university college in West Africa, and (3) that inasmuch as Colonial Development and Welfare Funds were being committed for the proposed university colleges in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, the expense involved precluded the possibility for further expenditure on a university college for Sierra Leone.[1]

Sierra Leoneans continued to protest this policy. By 1948 this reaction had been sufficiently brought to the attention of the British Colonial Office that the matter was reconsidered. Although the policy was reiterated that Colonial Development and Welfare Fund money could not be extended for development of a university college in Sierra Leone, it was pointed out that either autonomous development in that direction or such development under the auspices of the Sierra Leone Government would be within the realm of possibility. The Colonial Office again affirmed its view that development of the general system of education should have first call on government expenditure. It was made clear that the regional college proposed by the Elliott Commission in 1945 would be a government institution with a principal appointed by the Governor and that Fourah Bay might choose to withdraw from being considered as a regional college at its own discretion.[2]

1. Despatch No. 197 (33599/12) from A. Creech Jones, Colonial Office, August 16, 1947, to Governor Sir Hubert Stevenson of Sierra Leone, in Higher Education in the British West African Colonies (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1947).

2. Despatch No. 305 from A. Creech Jones, Colonial Office, to Governor Sir George Beresford-Stooke, Sierra Leone, October 20, 1948. Published as Higher Education in Sierra Leone (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1948).

A compromise **solution** was finally jointly arrived at by the Colonial Office, the Council of the proposed regional college, and the authorities of Fourah Bay College. In 1948 it was agreed that Fourah Bay should continue to offer those courses already in existence and to undertake no further development of curriculums for a period of five years, and that Colonial Development and Welfare and government support would be extended for that purpose.[1]

In 1950 a Fourah Bay College Ordinance was effected by mutual consent of the C.M.S. and the Government of Sierra Leone. The principal provision of the Ordinance was the transfer of the College to the government which established, according to the terms of the Ordinance, a governing Council to assume responsibility for further operation of the College. The Council was to be constituted by representatives of the political and religious groups of importance in the country in proportion to their number and degree of association with the College.

The Council was to consist of twenty-six members of whom four would be appointed by the Governor in Council, four by the College itself, three by the C.M.S., one by the Methodist Missionary Society, one by the Evangelical United Bretheren Church, one by the Sierra Leone Muslim Congress, one by the alumni organization, one by the Freetown City Council, three by the Protectorate Assembly, four from the teaching staff of the College, plus the Principal of the College and the Sierra Leone Director of Education.[2]

1. Despatch No. 245 from Governor G. Beresfor-Stooke, Sierra Leone, December 28, 1948 to A. Creech Jones, Colonial Office, and replying telegram from Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor of Sierra Leone, published as Further Correspondence on Fourah Bay College (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1949).

2. Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1950, Appendix A, p. 46.

The Ordinance further enjoined the Council to "endeavour to preserve the Christian traditions of the College and . . . provide facilities for . . . the teaching of Christian theology with particular regard to the preparation of candidates for the Christian ministry."[1] It was also stipulated by the Ordinance that for as long as the College received financial aid from the British government the Principal would be appointed by the Governor (with approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies) and that when the College was no longer receiving such aid the Council would assume this responsibility.[2]

At the end of the five year moratorium in 1954, and with the completion of the general survey of education in Sierra Leone by the Fulton Commission (see pages 187-189) it was recommended that the restrictions on further development of Fourah Bay College be dropped.[3] With the acceptance of this proposal and removal of the barriers to development of university college status for Fourah Bay, it became possible for the College to improve its position. Enrollment increased to 286 (including 137 students from other West African countries) by 1958[4] and government expenditures on the College were over £ 250,000 ($600,000.00).[5] Total aid to the College from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund has amounted to nearly £ 1.5 million.

In 1958 another investigatory commission for the College was appointed by the Governor of Sierra Leone. Headed by C. Wilson, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leicester in England, this Fourah Bay College Commission was to evaluate the progress of the College since 1954 and to make recommendations on future growth potential of the institution. The Commission viewed favorably the progress of the College in providing increases in degree courses, enrollments, qualified staff, and diversification of offerings. The Commission

1. Ibid., p. 45.
2. Ibid., p. 47.
3. Report of the Sierra Leone Education Commission, p. 34.
4. 1958 Report of the Education Department, p. 5.
5. Ibid., p. 16.

noted the successful relocation of the College in newer facilities on Mount Aureol, overlooking Freetown, and recommended that College be elevated to full university college status.[1] This long sought goal of the College was finally achieved in January, 1960, through a Royal Charter.

The University College of Sierra Leone developed after that time as an autonomous institution governed by its own Council, but in receipt of government aid grants. It continued progress toward development of faculties of arts, economics, theology, education (offering a course leading to the post-graduate Diploma in Education and to the Master of Education Degree of Durham University), science, applied science, and a Department of Extra-Mural Studies. Students from other countries were accepted only after all qualified Sierra Leonean applicants had secured places. Admission standards and degrees were commensurate with those of Durham University.[2]

Educational Growth 1945-1961

Table 25 illustrates the generally increasing rate at which it has become possible for the Sierra Leone Government to provide for educational progress. Between 1945 and 1961 the proportion of government expenditure devoted to education increased by more than 300 percent. However, there is still much to be done toward achieving universal educational opportunity. In 1961 only 21 percent of the children of primary school age were enrolled in schools and less than 3 percent of post-primary aged children were in post-primary schools.[3]

At the time of independence Sierra Leone had an expanding

1. Fourah Bay College Visitation Report (Freetown: Government Printing Office, 1959), passim.

2. Fourah Bay: The University College of Sierra Leone (London: Brown Knight & Truscott, Ltd., n.d.). Brochure.

3. Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa (Paris: U.N.E.S.C.O., 1916).

system of public elementary education. Thirty-six secondary schools were in recipt of government aid, most of them having been built largely by government subscription, and plans existed for an even more varied secondary program as soon as sufficient financial resources became available. A well-equipped and potentially successful vocational-technical education program was in its beginning stages and research in agricultural improvement was in process and being encouraged. A university college was expanding opportunity for higher education. Teacher training was receiving increased emphasis and provision, and the improvement of the status of teachers was attracting greater numbers of more able people into that profession. There seemed to be a firm commitment to devote as great a measure of energies and resources as the economy and reasonable pace would permit to continued progress toward development of an educational system which would better enable Sierra Leone to cope with the demands of modernization.

CHAPTER EIGHT
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The evolution of formal education in Sierra Leone from the meager provisions of 1882 to the broad-spectrum program of 1961 was stimulated and molded by a variety of dynamic social, economic, and political forces. These forces influenced and determined policies for education as well as the success or failure of the implementation of those policies.

British colonial attitudes in the mid-nineteenth century fostered political activity aimed at eventual self-government for the West African colonies. In this atmosphere education was viewed as a necessary aspect of social and political development. As an outgrowth of this colonial policy, the Government of Sierra Leone passed its first significant education law in 1882. The main concern of the Ordinance of 1882 was aid and direction for elementary education in the Colony. While the Ordinance had little effect in practice, it did herald the beginning of direct government responsibility for public education.

By the end of the century the imperial designs of Britain had changed and clearly pointed toward expansion of territorial control and continued tenure in West Africa. The establishment of the Protectorate of Sierra Leone in 1896 was evidence of this change in colonial policy. The people of Sierra Leone were no longer encouraged to participate in the higher levels of government. Western influences were not considered good for the interior peoples, and though Christian missionaries established schools in the Protectorate they were not aided by the government until well after the turn of the century.

A changing socio-economic structure in Britain was promoting increased public education. As education developed in Sierra Leone those responsible for the schools began to look to the model which was being provided in England. Aid and direction to the schools imitated the English system.

Widespread expansion of elementary education under government auspices which was suggested by the Ordinance of 1882 was deterred by the paucity of resources available to the government. Sierra Leone was a poor country with an unstable economic base. Government revenues were often barely sufficient for the administrative costs of the total government in the early years of government involvement in educational aid. However, some changes were effected. An examination system was developed, curriculums were expanded to include some "industrial" training in addition to the usual academic course, an elementary school for Muslim children in Freetown was opened, and a Department of Education was firmly established. The government took no direct steps toward aid or guidance for secondary or higher education prior to 1900.

Numerous problems confronted educational development in Sierra Leone. Religious pluralism led to mission rivalry, disagreement on educational objectives, and duplication of efforts. Teachers were few and poorly trained. Appropriate textbooks and other materials were often lacking. Students and their families were unreceptive to any kind of schooling except the academic course of the traditional grammar school, consequently the "industrial" training begun in 1882 was not very significant, although sewing for girls was successfully introduced under government subsidy. The total annual government grant to schools rose from £ 313 ($1502.00) in 1882 to £ 1533 ($7358.00) in 1900, but the sum was still far from sufficient to meet the demands of extensive educational progress.

The problem of the teacher shortage was attacked early by the government. In 1882 the Education Ordinance provided funds for teachers' salaries and for incentives to mission schools to develop teacher training programs. With government aid the Wesleyan Mission began a teacher training course at its high school for girls in Freetown. The Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) developed a training program at Fourah Bay College.

Few teachers were produced by these institutions, however, and the teacher shortage remained a major problem. Low salaries and poor conditions of service did not attract qualified students to careers in teaching. An attempt was made to increase the quality of what few teachers there were by a system of government certification, but even this was subverted by low standards of qualification.

By the end of the century it was clear that the Education Ordinance of 1882 was unequal to the task of improving public education in Sierra Leone. In 1895 a new Education Ordinance was passed and by 1900 a set of Education Rules were devised and implemented. The new government plans called for a clearer and more meaningful system of teacher certification, specific standards for aid grants to schools, and minimum achievement levels in subjects of instruction. The government also took the first step toward including secondary education in its program by providing a few scholarships for study in approved secondary schools.

As it became clear by the turn of the century that the colonial government intended to remain and expand its role in Sierra Leone, those persons responsible for educational development in the country began to search for better ways and means of educational progress. An experimental atmosphere developed after 1900 and continued for nearly twenty-five years. Expanding government at the turn of the century brought increasing demands for civil servants. While the upper echelon posts were invariably held by expatriates during the early decades of the twentieth century, an African Clerical Service was begun which increased incentives for education among the local peoples.

Administration of the Protectorate was also requiring more personnel. Because of Britain's policy of indirect-rule in territories such as the Protectorate, local people found avenues for active participation in the machinery of government. A trend toward modernization of the traditional systems of rule fostered a demand for literate leadership and thus increased the need for and appeal of formal schooling.

The construction of a railroad into the Protectorate opened up interior trade and contributed to economic progress. Government revenues were still uncertain, but the restoration of property taxes in the Colony and increased customs revenues from the growth of trade promised alleviation of the problem.

Educational change in Britain continued to be felt in Sierra Leone. The English developments included extension of government responsibility for education beyond the elementary level, regulation of curriculums, and development of schools for other than academic training. Such changes were also considered for Sierra Leone.

The Sierra Leone Education Ordinance of 1911 and the Education Ordinance of 1916 reflected the changing educational climate. Under these Ordinances the grants system was restructured to include aid to a greater number and variety of schools; the Education Department was reorganized and a full-time Director appointed; handicrafts, domestic science, and agriculture were made compulsory subjects in aided elementary schools; curriculum coordination in the schools was prescribed; teachers' salaries were raised; and more adequate staffing of schools was stipulated.

Shortage of funds and personnel, disagreements between different religious missions, and uncertainties about the best direction for education in Sierra Leone continued to present problems, but in this experimental period several tangible advances were made. A Government Model School at the elementary level was opened in Freetown. The cooperation of missions with the government and with each other was facilitated through the formation of the United Christian Council which functioned to coordinate the efforts of the Protestant groups. Between 1900 and 1923 government aid to education increased by over 350 percent. Some innovations were found ineffective and discarded. Muslim education sponsored by the government was abandoned, and the attempt to consolidate mission elementary schools proved unworkable at this time.

Of considerable significance during the first quarter of the twentieth century was the extension of government responsibility to secondary education. This development did not occur rapidly. In 1918 the government opened a secondary school of its own and by 1925 the school was firmly established and promising a successful future. By 1923 four mission secondary schools were grant aided. The traditional academic orientation demanded by local people and supported by the missions began to be tempered by the introduction of some practical courses such as bookkeeping and shorthand in a few of the schools as a growing commercial community produced demands for such skills. External leaving examinations equivalent to those used by British secondary schools were successfully introduced.

Progress was much slower in technical and agricultural education, but discussions, investigations, and the establishment of a few schools indicated an increasing willingness to try to develop more practical education. The government took the lead in developing manual training at the Freetown Government Model School in about 1915. In 1920 a trades school was begun with an endowment from a British industrialist. In 1915 an agricultural academy was provided for by funds from the estate of a Creole businessman, although instruction was not begun until 1928.

Teacher training continued to receive emphasis, but it developed with great difficulty. In 1906 the Fourah Bay College program was discontinued because of poor results, the feeling of C.M.S. authorities that teacher training was not in the best interests of the College, and the reluctance of other missions to cooperate in the venture. The government proposed to open its own teacher training college, but World War I prevented actual implementation of this plan until 1917 when a training school was opened. This school closed the following year because of low standards, poor facilities, and the continued low incentives to students to enter the teaching profession.

Higher education was still outside the government role in public education, but some direct guidance was offered between 1900 and 1910. Fourah Bay College was having serious difficulties maintaining a stable financial position and the possible closing of the College was contemplated by the C.M.S. The Governor of Sierra Leone was concerned about finding a way to continue higher education in the country and suggested the development of a publicly endowed university college to to be created by transferring Fourah Bay to a public body. However, the government made it clear that it could not accept responsibility for the school. The C.M.S. would not entertain the possibility of giving up the College to secular control and managed to restore the institution to a stable financial position without government aid.

The assumption of control over the interior in 1896 led the government to seek appropriate means to provide education for the peoples of the Protectorate. After 1900 the original policy of the government to isolate the Protectorate from Western influence was gradually altered. Missions continued to develop schools, aided by increased transportation such as the new railroad. The government suggested that education for Protectorate peoples should be practical in nature and designed to prevent alienation from traditional cultures.

In 1904 a school for the sons and nominees of chiefs was established by the government at Bo in the interior. Even though the school began with a program conducive to maintaining tribal loyalty and opened with a course of study clearly practical in nature, it gradually developed into an academically oriented school like those in Freetown. The people in the interior reacted with initial alarm to Western schools which they saw as subverting traditional systems. In later years the people of the Protectorate came to perceive the schools as a useful means for tribal leaders to maintain and increase their privileged positions as well as a means for others to improve their chances for social mobility.

A hope to foster agricultural development in the interior through education was not realized for several reasons. Agriculture was generally unprofitable. Peoples of Sierra Leone were not attracted to manual work if it could be avoided. Land tenure systems of the traditional cultures were continued by the colonial government, which had the effect of preventing persons trained in agriculture from obtaining secure land on which to develop their skills profitably. Outside the predominately subsistence-level farming, those export crops that were produced were marketed through Europeans in a laissez-faire economic system in which the African producer was at a disadvantage. One notable government effort in agriculture was the development of an agricultural experiment station at Njala in 1912. In 1919 an Agricultural College was attached to the station to provide training for elementary teachers with an agricultural bias. The school operated with little success. As noted previously neither agriculture nor teaching attracted students in significant numbers.

The search for an appropriate educational system for Sierra Leone was curtailed by World War I. The diversion of personnel and financial resources to the war effort upset the domestic economy. People were attracted away from the farms to war-associated activities and the resulting decrease in agricultural commodities caused a wage-price inflationary spiral. A positive outcome of the economic dilemma which resulted was that the government was forced to restructure revenue sources for greater stability. This was accomplished by development of a better system of customs duties which provided increased funds to the government in the post-war era. By 1923 the economy had recovered sufficiently to enable a government outlay of £ 26,000 ($124,800.00) to be made for education during that year.

Increased economic stability and the experience of the experimental years between 1900 and 1924 made the new Education Ordinance of 1924 more realistic and workable. The Ordinance provided a clear and extensive perspective for government in-

volvement in education. The Ordinance established more extensive government authority for the continued development of elementary and secondary education in Sierra Leone and provided direction for standards, curriculums, teacher certification and training, and finance in an increasingly government-aided and controlled school system.

Consistent with the Education Ordinance of 1924 and produced by the same changing social climate which began to emphasize development of human as well as material resources was the new constitution also approved in 1924. The 1924 constitution provided a greater measure of representative government and fostered educational incentives by extending the franchise to all literate citizens

A significant educational development occurred in 1925 with the publication of a White Paper on educational policy by the British Government. This document represented the substance of the deliberations of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa which had been established in 1923. The report called for extensive educational development under government aid and supervision. Policy was to include the Africanization of government educational systems, and to stimulate all levels and kinds of education. A total educational program consistent with the needs of the various colonies was to be developed.

Despite the increases in economic stability and the clearer policy directions laid out in the Ordinance of 1924 and the White Paper of 1925, educational progress during the next two decades was greatly hampered by the depression of the thirties and World War II. From 1925 to 1945, educational development in Sierra Leone was characterized more by affirmation of commitments, directions, and goals than by significant growth in operating programs.

Yet some progress was made in spite of the depression and war. In 1927 a program for consolidation of mission elementary schools was initiated and served to reduce duplication in the years thereafter. Local agencies of government

were established under a Native Administration system and were encouraged to participate in the development of elementary schools, a change which increased the opportunities of educated tribal peoples for active participation in government. Government planning for education in the Protectorate included a proposal for widespread extension of elementary education as a primary goal, and subsequent development of secondary schools. Secondary education received increasing government support during this period. By 1937 all but one of the secondary schools in the country received grants from the government.

As in previous periods technical and agricultural education moved slowly. The school at Njala proved disappointing and in 1929 it was closed. It was opened again in 1939 on a reorganized basis with funds from the Protectorate Mining Benefits Fund. The reorganized school was to provide basic instruction in agriculture, forestry, and teacher training. The preference of the people for academic education, a lack of opportunity for successful employment in technical specialties, and the traditional land tenure systems continued to pose major obstacles for the development of technical and agricultural education. The number of students in technical or agricultural courses at schools such as Njala and the Sir Alfred Jones Trade School remained small. The government made available some technical instruction through an apprenticeship system in its various departments in order to meet government agency needs for semi-skilled workers.

Teacher training programs were re-established at the Wesleyan Girls High School and at Fourah Bay College in 1928. These teacher training programs were supervised by the government more closely than the were the programs of the first decade of the century. In the Protectorate two teacher training schools were opened by missions, but they were not aided by the government until after World War II. In 1938 incremental salary scales were introduced to make teaching more

attractive. In 1944 certification requirements were upgraded and a teacher retirement plan was approved by the government.

Although annual government expenditure increased by more than £ 20,000 ($96,000.00) between 1926 and 1944, the growth amounted to a rise of only about 165 percent and was thus not as great a rise as the 850 percent of 1900-1925. Educational aid from the government was more effective in stimulating more education at the secondary and other post-elementary levels rather than in expanding enrollments at the elementary level.

While World War II held back educational development, it had the positive effect of speeding up economic progress and social change. Mineral resources were exploited to meet increasing world demands. An exchange economy was stimulated by an increase in wage-earning positions. Exports and imports rose in value, agricultural growth was fostered, population mobility increased, and social attitudes altered. Growth in diamond and iron ore production in the post-war period made increasingly larger sums of money available to the government.

Immediately after the war the Labor Party came to power in Britain and instituted a basic change in colonial policy. Self-government became a more immediate goal for Sierra Leone than it had been since before the turn of the century. The educational provisions proposed by the Labor Party for the colonies were in keeping with this policy. These provisions were designed to extend educational opportunity to as many persons as quickly and in as many fields as possible. Consistent with these goals was the implementation of the plan for Colonial Development and Welfare Funds to provide financial aid for social and economic development in the British overseas territories.

Political change in Sierra Leone also affected educational planning and progress. In 1951 a new constitution established broader representative government and united the

Colony and Protectorate into one political entity. Local political activity promoted the development of indigenous political parties in which the educated were better able to exert influence and exercise leadership. By 1957 a cabinet system of government in which all ministerial posts were held by Sierra Leoneans was functioning in the country. In 1961 Sierra Leone attained full independence within the British Commonwealth.

Change and expansion in education was extensive in the sixteen years from the end of World War II to independence. In 1953 a Minister of Education was appointed. His policy making authority was clarified by a new Education Ordinance of 1953 which also established a clear hierarchy of responsibility for educational decisions within the administrative power structure of the country. Fourteen Local Education Authorities, a development modeled on English experience, were established throughout the country and were charged with initiative for promotion of local elementary schools.

The British and local government undertook extensive surveys to aid in the planning of an appropriate educational system for Sierra Leone in the post-war period. Higher education, technical education, elementary education in the Protectorate, and the total educational picture of the country were examined by various commissions and individuals for the purpose of determining a coherent plan for education. By 1954 a clear policy began to emerge which called for considerable expansion of educational facilities.

Elementary education received great emphasis in the growing system. In 1958 a White Paper on Educational Policy enunciated the goal of eventual free, universal, compulsory elementary education for Sierra Leone. The White Paper stipulated that expansion of elementary education was to be the first priority for the government program in education. Between 1950 and 1961, elementary school enrollment increased over 250 percent.

In secondary education, government assistance enabled the opening of twenty-six new schools between 1945 and 1961. Enrollments increased by over 300 percent during the period. Plans were begun to diversify secondary education into, academic, technical, and "modern" types. In 1952 the West African Examinations Council was formed to develop secondary school leaving examinations appropriate to regional needs and interests.

Progress in technical and agricultural education continued to lag behind academic elementary and secondary school development. However, an important step forward occurred in 1953 with the opening of the Freetown Technical Institute which offered a broad program of technical training. The Institute functioned as a general school for instruction in trades and technical skills and was successful in attracting students in greater numbers than had previous attempts at technical training. In 1957 a secondary technical school offering broader programs to the level of the school certificate was attached to the Freetown Technical Institute. Also in 1957 a second Technical Institute was opened by the government at Kenema in the interior. By 1961 a full technical college was in the planning stages. Apart from these schools, non-academic training was not usually available except in domestic arts courses which were offered in all girls' secondary schools.

Agricultural education received the least attention in the expansion of educational facilities between 1945 and 1961. Njala continued in operation, but few students were trained as agriculturalists. Farming remained an unprofitable enterprise for most people.

Improvement of teacher quality and status received considerable attention in the post-war period as a necessary part of the plan to improve the total educational structure. Salary scales were increased in 1948. In 1949 a government-appointed commission recommended further salary increases, and a continual appraisal of teachers' conditions of service.

When salaries were again raised, teaching became more competitive with other fields of employment. Training and certification standards were elevated. Three teacher training institutions were operated by missions with government aid in the interior. In Freetown the teacher training program at Fourah Bay College was terminated and an autonomous new Government Teacher Training College was opened. Teacher training school enrollments doubled between 1950 and 1961, but the number of certificates issued did not increase proportionately because of higher certification standards.

British plans for higher education in West Africa after World War II called for the development of a regional college in Sierra Leone offering intermediate level work. It was assumed that this might be accomplished by the reorganization of Fourah Bay College. Sierra Leoneans were entirely unsympathetic with this view and raised considerable protest. Subsequent reanalysis of the situation by government authorities resulted in a decision to provide government aid and guidance for the development of Fourah Bay into a full university college for Sierra Leone, which was accomplished by early 1960.

Christian missionaries, principally from England, were responsible for the beginnings of education in Sierra Leone. Although the missions were concerned primarily with evangelical objectives, in the Protestant tradition literacy was held in high esteem. Mission provision for secondary and higher education was usually oriented toward training for the ministry and other church related work. In providing for these objectives the missions also left a more secular legacy. They were responsible for the first elementary education to be provided in Sierra Leone, they originated the system of academic secondary and higher education, and built a framework upon which a modern educational system could be constructed. They provided a continuity in their educational work which was not typical of government administration for many years in the history of the Colony. Through their per-

severance and devotion they prevailed in an effort where less dedicated men might easily have failed. Although the influence of the missionaries was still significant in 1961 the trend of educational development throughout the period studied has clearly been toward the emergence of a secular educational system under official and direct auspices of the Government of Sierra Leone.

At the time of independence, education in Sierra Leone was a predominately British system, American and other influences having been minimized by the direction and preferences of a British-oriented leadership and British social values. Guidance from Britain was often indirect but nonetheless significant. The model provided by a developing educational system in England was itself new and untried, but it existed where no other was accessible. When direct guidance came, as in the work of the Advisory Committee on Education and the various commissions which surveyed and made recommendations on education in Sierra Leone, it was clear, yet sufficiently flexible to provide direction and unifying purpose to educational efforts.

The meager provision of funds and facilities by the government in the early years was directly related to the prevailing British model as well as to the poverty of Sierra Leone. British attitudes regarding the place of institutionalized education in the society and the relationship between government and various other social institutions in providing for education fostered a rather slow evolution of government acceptance of total responsibility for public education. Prior to the British Education Act of 1944 which affirmed government responsibility for broad public education, educational development in England was in many ways as uncertain as it was in Sierra Leone. The attitude that a government is responsible for the education of its citizens had little precedent in British social ideology and was a relatively recent development. As the attitude took concrete form it provided a clearer model for the colonies.

The relatively slow pace of development is readily understandable. It was virtually impossible to formulate long-range educational plans without clear long-range economic and political objectives. Numerous unpredictable forces affected the economic and political structure of Sierra Leone and needs and conditions altered more rapidly than could have been anticipated in the early years of government involvement in public education. A vacillating colonial policy, two major wars, a severe economic depression, uncertain sources of wealth, and changes brought about by a shrinking world involved in social revolution created a situation wherein it was difficult to keep pace with new and different needs. Policy makers responded to newer demands only to find that further changes were requiring reappraisal and additional alteration of policy. In view of the lack of information regarding the economic potential of Sierra Leone, the uncertain knowledge of how best to develop that which was known, the need to rely on diverse voluntary agencies, the often hesitant government leadership and difficulties caused by a lack of continuity in that leadership, and the uncertainties of political and economic development, the progress of the educational system to the level achieved in 1961 may be appreciated in appropriate perspective.

Most of the schools which developed during the period studied were conceived and operated in the traditional academic mold. Government aid was extended to such schools in far greater measure than to non-academic types. The emphasis on academic education was natural. The traditional academic curriculum was the prevailing mode in the British world throughout most of the period under consideration.

Sierra Leoneans who went through the academic schools were exposed to Western values and institutions and constituted the logical source of a loyal and functional leadership elite in a colonial system where local people were encouraged to participate. The grammar schools of Sierra Leone opened avenues for higher education both at home and abroad

and provided some training in the thought processes necessary for success in the modern technological world. The persistance of the academic tradition was understandable. Many Sierra Leoneans imitated British social class values and in fact demanded an academic education which they believed would place them on a par with British upper classes. Government officials responsible for educational development often had only their own academic experience to guide them in curricular decisions and the standard academic curriculum was the only one most of them were familiar with.

An additional stimulus to academic education was caused by the expansion of government and commerce. As the movement toward self-government took root after 1925, and as a modern economic system began to develop a need was created for literate officials and clerks who could function in a more metropolitan atmosphere than existed at the village level. A changing political power structure stimulated incentives to modern education. Changing social patterns made skills which were unavailable in the tribal systems of education more desirable. Traditional and conservative forces began to decay under the influence of an increasing demand for a modern political system equipped to cope with change in economy and society, the emergence of newer values, both material and ideological, and by the clearer realization that it was possible to alter a difficult environment through knowledge and skills which could be acquired through formal education.

The relatively slow growth of technical and agricultural education in spite of early efforts to develop these fields is easily explained. There were few incentives to technical training because no local industry produced large scale demands for such skills. Agriculture was largely unprofitable and undesirable as a vocation. Traditional land tenure systems, unproductive techniques, a general disinclination toward manual work among even the minimally educated, and other social class values seriously retarded the development

of a more skillful agrarian group through formal education. The voluntary agencies were typically not disposed to any secularization of the curriculum. Technical programs often require expensive equipment and highly specialized teachers and already strained budgets could not adequately meet such demands. The successful introduction of sewing in the early years may be attributed to a combination of factors: sewing was easy to teach, required little costly equipment, and was well subsidized by the government. The economic value of the British textile trade was probably also a strong stimulus to encourage needlework in the schools.

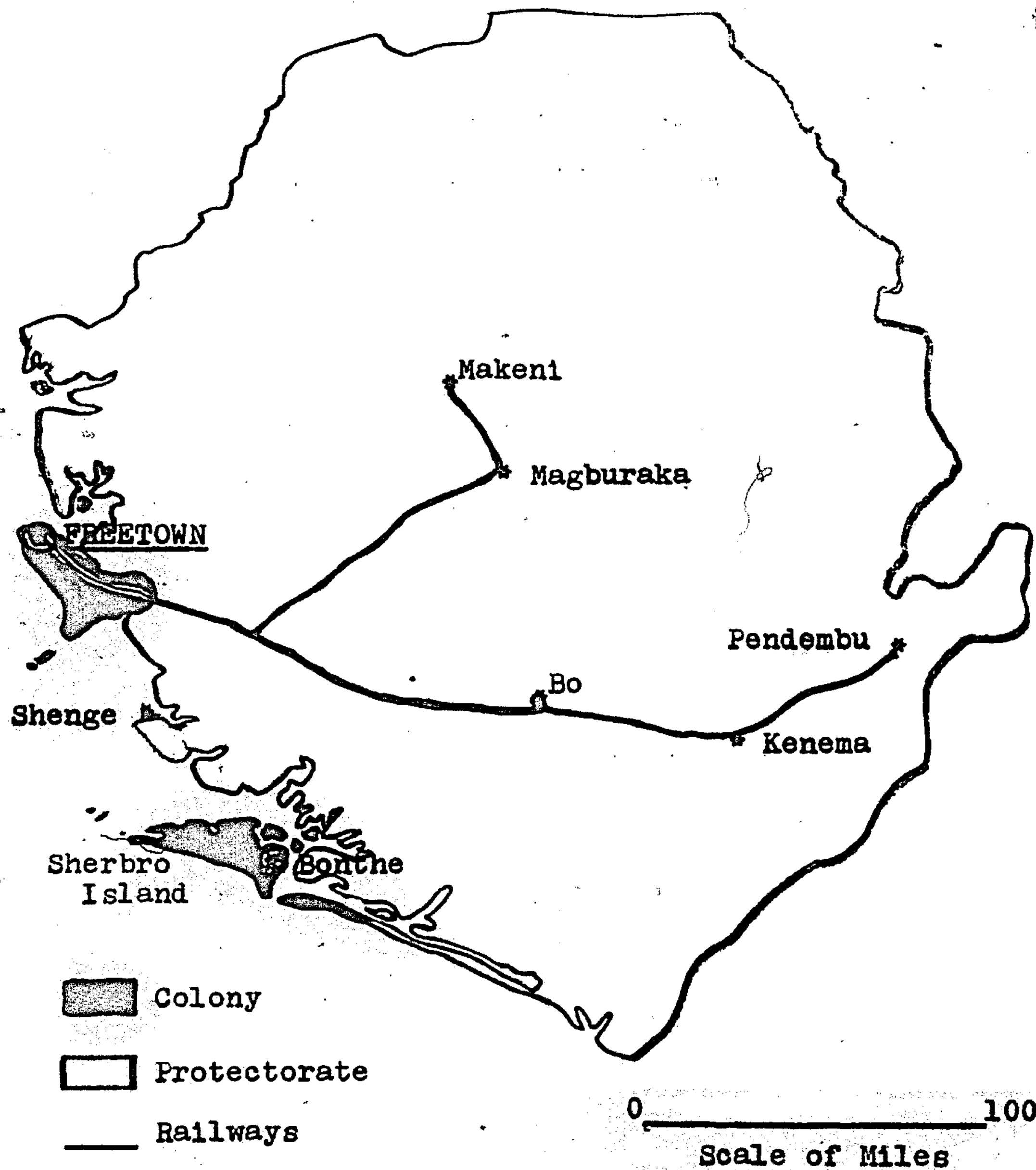
It was not until the rapid technological and economic changes of the period after World War II that sufficient incentive and resources became available for the development of newer educational structures appropriate to a society requiring a corps of skilled technical workers.

The growth of government involvement in public education from 1882 to 1961 is evidenced by the general increase in government expenditure throughout the period. With expanded financial commitment came greater government control of the direction and content of education. Mission leadership and traditions going back to the origins of the Colony inevitably influenced schools and possibilities for educational development. A necessarily conservative economic system limited educational expansion. Socio-cultural values affected the success and pace of curricular development. By 1961 the system of education which had emerged in Sierra Leone was a government-directed enterprise which seemed headed toward a high degree of centralization.

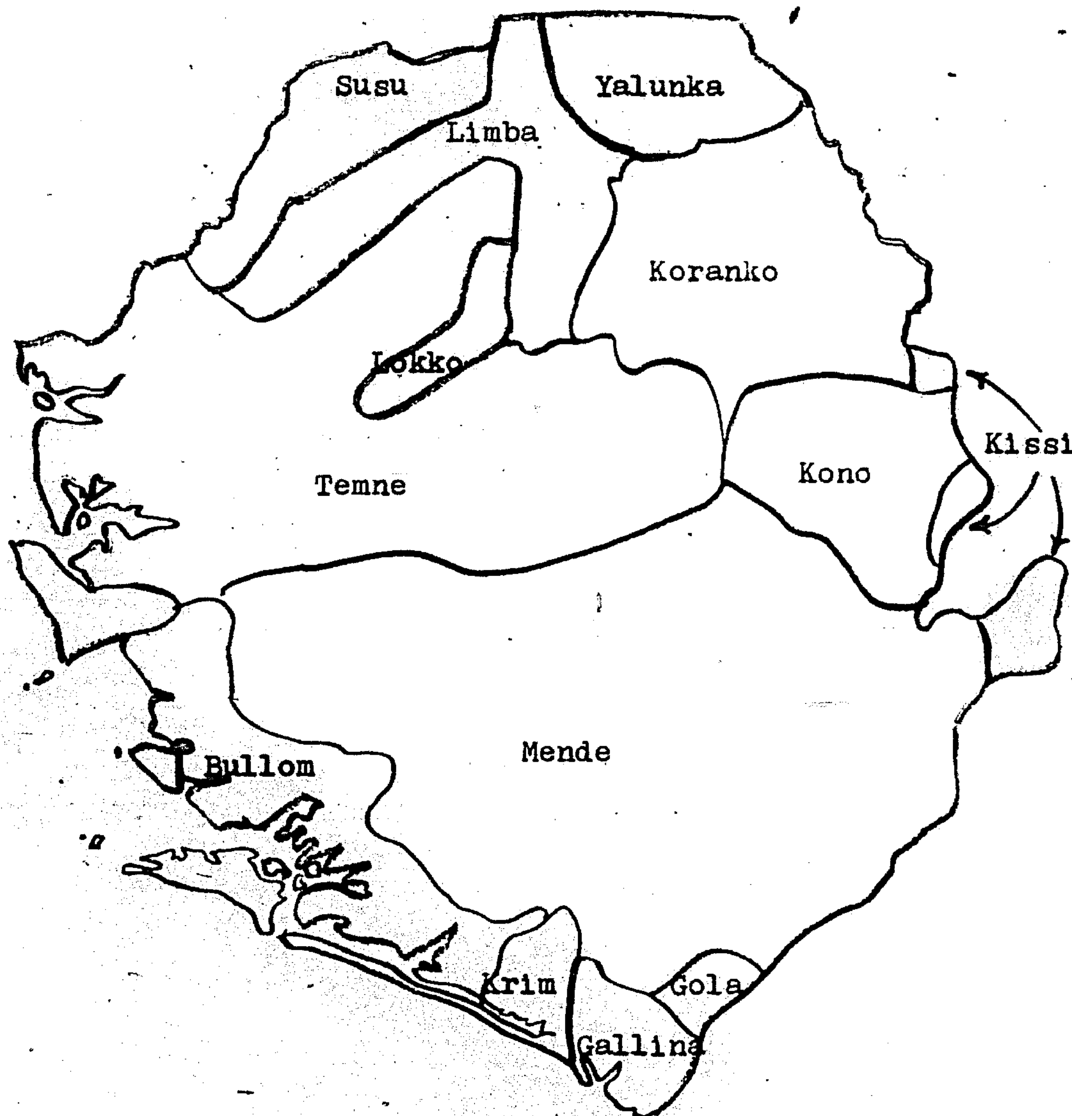
Between 1882 and 1961 the extensive role of government in public education in Sierra Leone has developed no less rapidly than in many countries. By the time of independence government policy for education in Sierra Leone clearly included commitment to continuing responsibility and progress in all areas of education. The role of modern formal education in economic and social development was increasingly being recognized.

APPENDIX A

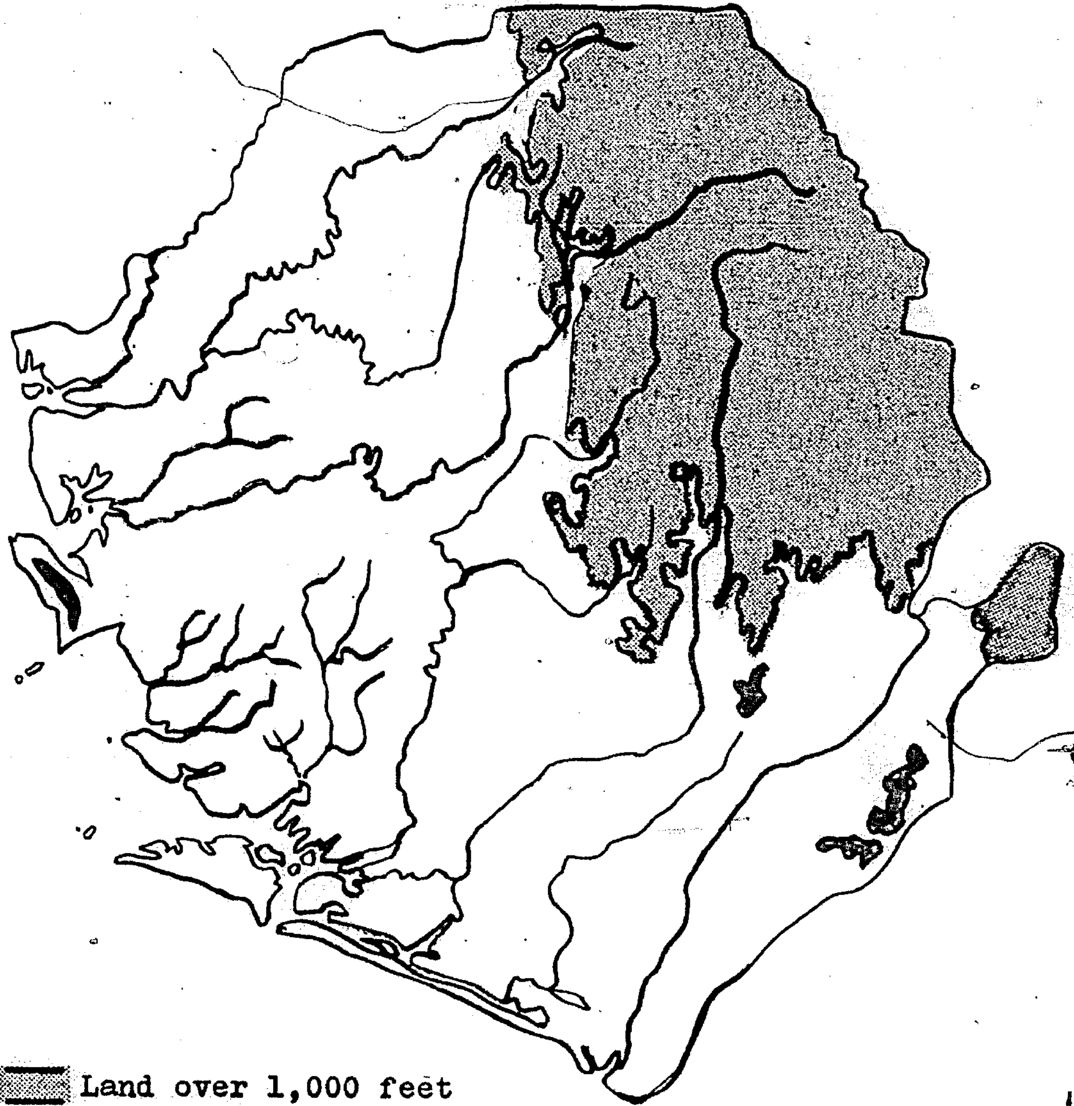
MAPS OF SIERRA LEONE



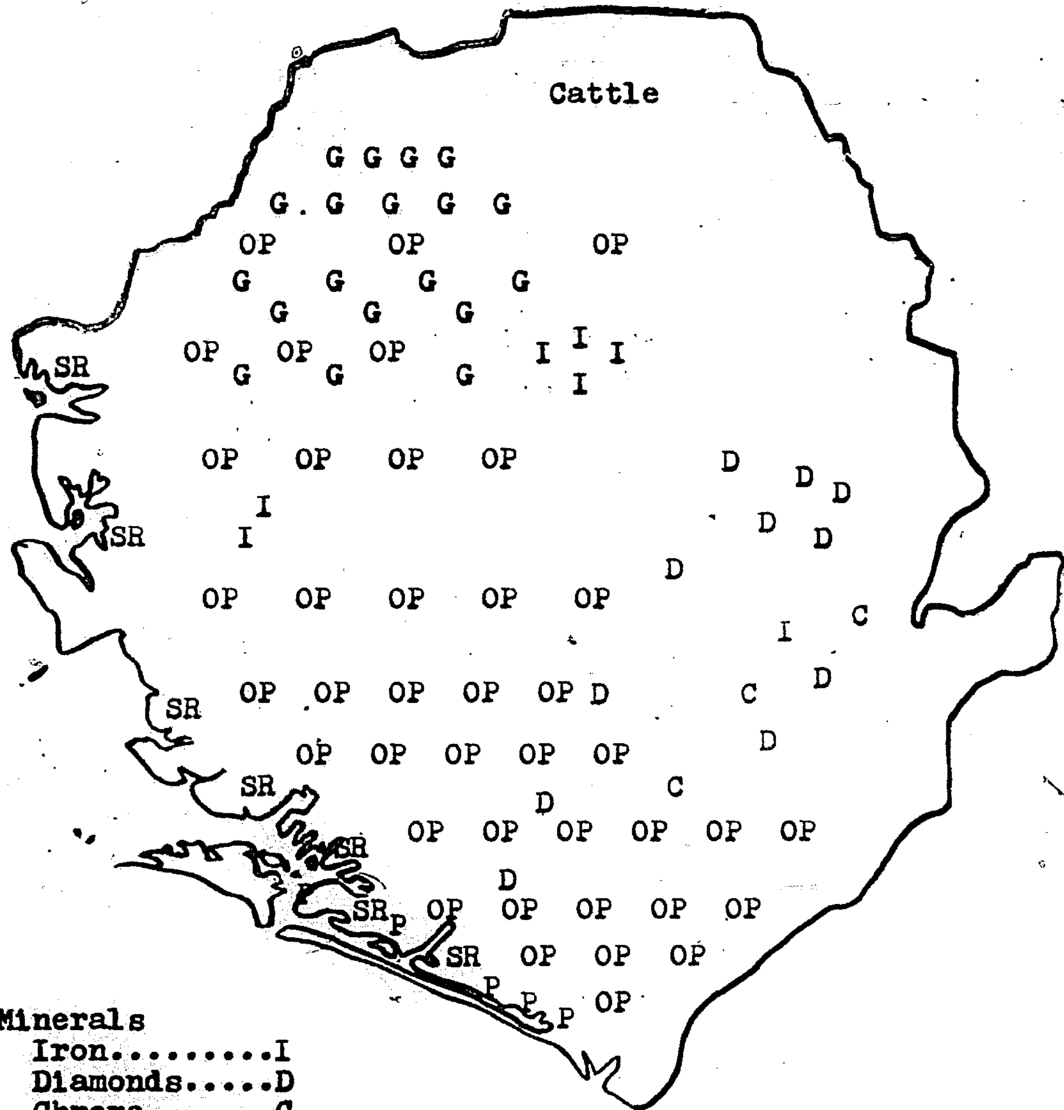
Map 1. Colony-Protectorate Boundaries



Map 2. Tribal Areas of Sierra Leone Protectorate



Map 3. Elevation and Drainage



Minerals
- Iron.........I
- Diamonds.....D
- Chrome.......C

Agriculture
- Swamp Rice...SR
- Piassava.....P
- Groundnuts...G
- Oil Palm.....OP

Map 4. Major Areas of Principal Mineral and Agricultural Resources

APPENDIX B

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study provides background and perspective for further analyses of education in Sierra Leone. One study for which the present work could serve as a basis would be the development of government policy for education in the period since independence. Among the new social and economic forces that would merit careful study since 1961 would be the patterns and effects of American influence through the United States foreign aid program. Other historical aspects of educational development might also be undertaken. For example, the evolution and rationale of the educational policies of voluntary agencies in Sierra Leone would be a very useful contribution to the understanding of educational development in that country.

Comparative studies of educational policy development in other African nations would shed additional light on the nature of government provisions for education. Careful comparisons are needed between the development of government policies for education in different territories controlled by the same colonial power (for example, Sierra Leone and Kenya, both former colonies of Britain) as well as in territories controlled by different colonial powers (for example, former colonies of Britain and France) and in a historically independent country such as Ethiopia. Such comparisons might reveal patterns of similarity as well as elements of uniqueness in individual countries. Case studies of individual countries and comparisons between countries and colonial patterns are needed for adequate understanding of the development of education in Africa.

A useful study might be made of the extent to which government educational policy met social and economic needs of a country at various stages in its development. Such an undertaking would be difficult and would necessarily involve much speculative judgment, but the results could conceivably contribute to the theory and practice of educational planning as well as the history of development.

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