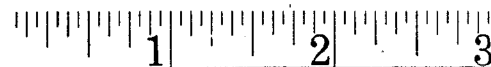
DOCTORAL DISSERTATION SERIES

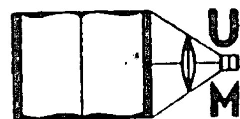
TITLE History Of Education In Nigeria 1842-1942

AUTHOR Nnodu T. Okongwu DATE 1946

UNIVERSITY New York University

DEGREE Ph.D. PUBLICATION NO. 822





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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Education of New York University, 1946

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN NIGERIA
(1842-1942)

By Nnodu J. Okongwu

The Problem and Its Significance

The problem was to trace the history of Nigerian education in a threefold treatment, embracing: (1) A review of the political and economic changes resulting from the British occupation of Nigeria during the nineteenth century, as one of the major factors conditioning educational development in Nigeria; (2) a description of the evolution of Nigerian education from 1842 to 1942; and (3) recording of its major defects and suggesting certain measures for its improvement.

The importance of this study was dictated by a desire to provide a basis for an intelligent and constructive solution of certain basic problems now facing Nigerian education, such as mission versus government support of education, formulation of educational ideals and curricula better suited to the needs of the country and its people.

Procedure

The annual reports of the various government departments in Nigeria, especially the Education Department; and the memoranda of the British Government on colonial education, particularly those issued by the Colonial Office, have been used as the basis for a historical study of the evolution of Nigerian education. This historical study, was followed by a critical analysis of the data presented and suggestions for improving the current educational practices in Nigeria.

Findings

The foundation of Nigerian education was laid by British Christian missionaries. The Wesleyan Mission and the Church Missionary Society led the way by the establishment of their respective missions

at Badagry and Abeokuta between 1842 and 1846. They were later followed by other missions among which were: the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1847; the South Baptist Convention of America, 1853; the Roman Catholic Mission, 1868; the Primitive Methodist, 1894. These missions now operate elementary, secondary, and normal schools. The mission schools total over 4,000; or more than 80 per cent of all the schools in Nigeria.

Except for the maintenance of 31 elementary schools, 13 secondary secondary schools, 7 teacher training institutions, and one vocational "Higher College;" and granting of an annual subsidy to a few qualified private schools, the educational role of the British Government in Nigeria has been mainly supervisory. The main burden of establishing and financing schools is borne by the missions and the Nigerian people.

Conclusion and Suggestions

1. Educational development of Nigeria has been retarded because of (a) imposition of British educational ideals and practices, especially the tradition of Cambridge School Certificate external examination, which has made local adaptation impossible; and (b) inefficient and cheap method of providing public education through government subsidy of missionary schools.

2. The British Government in Nigeria has done very little towards the country's educational development, with the result that 2,650,000, out of an estimated 3,000,000 children of school age have no facilities for any kind of formal education.

3. The missions are financially incapable of undertaking any further

substantial educational expansion, and therefore cannot provide education adequate to present demands. Were funds available, however, it would be inadvisable to entrust education on a national scale to the missions, because of their religious preoccupation and the social effects of their inter-denominational jealousy.

4. For better educational development of Nigeria, the British Government in Nigeria should enact a compulsory school attendance law, and, in cooperation with the local governments, inaugurate a free public school system, at least on the elementary level.

5. Nigerian education should be freed from all external controls, especially foreign examinations, in order to facilitate adaptation of the school curriculum to the actual needs of the country and its people.

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1946

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My indebtedness is gratefully expressed to the members of my Sponsoring Committee, Dr. Adolph E. Meyer, Chairman; Dr. Emil Lengyel, and Dr. Abraham I. Katsh, for their helpful advice and constructive criticisms which have made the completion of this study possible. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Meyer who, as my professor and special adviser, has been very encouraging and inspiring.

Special thanks are due to my friends and colleagues, Mr. H. A. B. Jones-Quartey, for editing the manuscript; and Miss Jeanette R. Nielsen, for drawing the charts and tables used in this study.

Nnodu J. Okongwu

International House
500 Riverside Drive, New York City
April 1946

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INTRODUCTION

The Country and Its People

Nigeria is a British Colony and Protectorate located in West Africa. It is the largest and most populous of the British West African dependencies.[1] It covers a land area of 373,000 square miles, or four times the size of Great Britain, or as extensive as the Atlantic Seaboard of the United States, from New York to Florida; and has an estimated population of 21,000,000.

Prior to British occupation, Nigeria consisted of over 100 independent self-governing kingdoms or states.[2] Each state is now governed by a Nigerian king under close supervision of British administrative officers. The administration of each state constitutes a local government, commonly called "Native Administration." The local authority in each state is made up of the "King-in-Council" and the officers of the central government. The states are administered centrally by a British-appointed Governor who is assisted by the Executive and Legislative Councils in which Nigerians have minority representation.

The country is inhabited by many tribes with different and sometimes obscure historical origins. Chief among the tribal groups are the Hausa of the North, the Yoruba of the South, and the Ibo of the East. The latter, with a population of 4,000,000, is the largest single tribal group in the whole of Africa. The country is composed of three religious sects--Animists, Chris-

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[1]See Map on p. 5.
[2]Lady Lugard, A Tropical Dependency, 1905, pp. 6-7.

tians, and Moslems. The Moslems predominate in the North and are less in number than the Animists, who form about 60 per cent of the population.

The strongest and most effective tribal educational institution was, and still is, the family. With the exception of the Moslem or Koran Schools of the North, in no tribal group are there evidences of institutionalized education with schools, teachers, and pupils. But the family performs most of the educational services. Family education stresses morality, filial piety, obedience and reverence for the gods and the constituted authority. Other educational agencies include secret societies, clan and age-group organizations, and labor guilds. The content of education in each particular community reflects the nature of its local industry, such as agriculture, trade, hunting, fishing, weaving, carving, or pottery. No instruction was given in the three "R's."

Significance and Problem of the Study

At the present time, the educational system of Nigeria is undergoing a tremendous change.[3] As postwar plans indicate, Nigeria is entering a new era of educational development, especially in the realm of mass and higher education. There is a definite trend towards relating the work of the school to the actual needs of the people and the community. Informal education is constantly being displaced by institutionalized educa-

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[3] Ten-Year Education Plan, Government Printer, Lagos, Nigeria, 1945.

tion.

Before the advent of Christian missionaries from England in 1842, there were, with the exception of the Koran schools (except for religious instruction, these schools have very little value and cannot be considered schools in the strict sense of the word), no organized and institutionalized schools in Nigeria. Today there are about 5,000 schools with an enrollment of over 350,000.[4] Women who had been neglected and treated as social inferiors, are also being educated in large numbers and are receiving added social recognition. Today education is a costly commodity in Nigeria, because no school in the country is tuition free. Despite its cost, education is eagerly sought after by people of all classes and sexes. The recognition of its economic and cultural value has increased its demand. The government recognizes this rising demand for education and is trying to meet it.

Even the people of Nigeria are becoming more aware of the educational needs of their country and have acted to meet some of these needs. In 1938, for example, the Ibibio Union, one of the tribal union, sent out six students for higher education in England and the United States. Since 1944, the Nigerian Union of Students has been campaigning for $48,000 in the interest of public education. The Ibo Union (Lagos Branch) is also campaigning for $200,000 of which $120,000 has been pledged, for the establishment of six secondary schools in the Iboland. The Ekiti District, in the Western Provinces, is also campaign-

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[4] *Loc. cit.*

ing for $22,000. Several adult and mass education classes have been organized by the people in a campaign against mass illiteracy, the outstanding examples being at Uyo and Okirika, in the Eastern Provinces.[5]

Amidst this evolving educational scene, certain persistent questions have arisen, such as: (a) Who should support a national system of education, the church or the state? (b) What should be considered a defensible government spending on education? (c) Can Nigeria pay the cost of a minimum program of free elementary education? (d) What should be the guiding policy of Nigerian education--preservation of the indigenous culture, or its displacement with Western culture, or a synthesis of the best adaptable aspects of the two? The future of Nigerian education will be determined by the answers given to these questions.

Purpose of the Study

To answer these questions intelligently and constructively, however, requires a knowledge of the origin of Nigerian educational system. It is the aim of this study to present this background by

1. Tracing briefly the political and economic changes which took place in Nigeria during the nineteenth century as a result of British colonial expansion, as one of the major factors conditioning educational development in Nigeria.

2. Describing the evolution of Nigerian education from 1842, the year in which the first formal school was established

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[5] "Nigerians Use Own Initiative in Struggle for Education," The New Africa Council on African Affairs, Vol. 4, No. 2, Feb. 1945.

by British missionaries, to 1942, which marked the end of a hundred years of educational development; showing (a) the respective contributions of the missions and the government; (b) the nature of educational offering and its underlying philosophy; and (c) the trend towards which this education is moving.

3. With (1) and (2) as its frame of reference, this study will finally attempt to record some of the major deficiencies of the present system of education in Nigeria, and suggest certain measures worthy of consideration for the educational development of the country and its people.

Method of Procedure

In the present study the historical method will be used. Specifically, this seeks "to produce a faithful record of unique events that happened in the past, or to suggest through a survey of these events fruitful generalization from the past experience that may act as controls for behavior in the present or future."[6] Of these two alternatives, the latter will be adhered to in this study. Specific procedure involves (a) collection and organization of data, (b) presentation of data, and (c) critical analysis of data presented. Except for major suggestions which will come at the end of the study, critical analysis of data will be followed, when and wherever necessary, by suggestions for the solution of the problem discussed.

The main body of this study will be organized into three

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[6] Good, Carter; Carr, A.S.; Scates, Douglas, Methodology of Educational Research, p. 239.

sections. Section one will deal with a brief review of the political structure out of which Nigerian education grew and now operates. Section two will describe the evolution of this education, its character, and trends. The third and final section will consist of an over-all analysis of Nigerian educational system, listing of its major deficiencies, and suggestive measures of improvement.

Definition of Terms

For the sake of clarity the following terms which will be used often in this study are defined as follows:

1. British Government means the Government of Great Britain.

2. Colonial Government means the government of a colony or territory ruled by an imperial power.

3. British Government in Nigeria means the Government of Nigeria or Nigerian Government, operating under a Governor appointed by the British Crown. It will be referred to in this study also as the Central Government, or simply as the Government.

4. Native Administration means local government under a limited jurisdiction of a Nigerian local state king. The terms native administration and local government will be used interchangeably.

5. Assisted School is the term used in Nigeria to designate a school that is partially supported by government grants-in-aid. A school not so subsidized is referred to as an Un-Assisted School.

6. Mission School means a school owned and operated by a

missionary organization. It may be assisted or un-assisted.

7. Private School means a school owned and operated by private citizens of Nigeria. It is usually non-sectarian and may be assisted or un-assisted.

8. Government School means a school owned and operated by the central government. Schools under the ownership and support of the local governments are known as the Native Administration Schools.

SECTION I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER I

BRITISH OCCUPATION OF NIGERIA, 1851-1914.

Before the turn of the fifteenth century, little was known of Africa south of the Sahara Desert in the European World. Even when the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British explorers began to cruise on the West Coast of Africa, the interior of Africa remained still unknown to them, because the ascent to the interior was barred by the regularity of the coast line. A glance at the map will show that Africa is a big plateau and looks like a saucer turned upside-down. It produces a marked contrast, when compared with America and Europe, with their numerous natural harbors, gulfs, and fjords. Thus inaccessible by land or sea, the interior of Africa remained unknown to Europeans even as late as the early part of the nineteenth century.

1. Contact With the Western World

The Portuguese

The European penetration into Africa began in the fifteenth century, with the Portuguese leading the way. Encouraged by their prince, Henry the Navigator, in their quest for the mythical kingdom of Prester John and a sea route to India, the Portuguese explorers explored nearly the whole coast of Africa. In 1482, they built a trading fort at Elmina on the Gold Coast, known as Elmina Castle, and laid claim to the whole country. In 1493, the Papal Bull, which divided the then known world between Spain and Portugal (the then commercial countries of

the world), more than confirmed the Portuguese claim by giving them a full mandate over all the known lands east of the Azores. This, of course, placed Africa within the Portuguese "sphere of influence."

In 1485 John Alfonso d'Aveiro led a Portuguese envoy to the royal palace of the Oba of Benin in Nigeria, and, as a result of this mission, commercial treaties were consummated and a lucrative trade started in ivory and pepper, which were exchanged for European goods. Following this successful mission, a missionary enterprise was undertaken. Owing to a friendly understanding between King John II of Portugal and the Oba of Benin, missionaries were received in Benin. Churches and monasteries were established, but these were doomed to brief existence.

British Intervention

If the Portuguese missionary influence died out in Nigeria, the trade continued, for we are told, according to Burns, a former British administrative officer, that "as early as 1481 the King of Portugal had found it necessary to send an embassy to Edward IV of England asking him to restrain his subjects from trading to the coast of Guinea, and particularly to prevent a fleet which was then being prepared, from sailing to Africa."[1] The request was a little too late, for the challenge of Portuguese commercial monopoly of West Africa had begun, and England was destined to lead it.

In 1530, William Hawkins, an English merchant, reached

[1] Burns, A.C., History of Nigeria, 1942, p. 74.

Liberia in quest of elephants' teeth.[2] In 1553 the first English ships under the command of Captain Windham anchored off river Benin to mark the beginning of British contact with Nigeria.[3] The English merchants aboard the ships went to Benin and were very cordially received. They returned to England with a great loss of lives and large quantities of cargo. In 1588 Captain Welsh repeated the Benin voyage, this time to ratify the trade treaties already initiated by his predecessor. He was richly rewarded, as evidenced by his heavy cargo of "pepper and elephants' teeth, cycle of palme cloth made of cotton wool very curiously woven, and cloth made of the barks of palme trees."[4] Welsh's second trip in 1591 was equally beneficial.

The discovery of America, the establishment of Spanish colonies in South America, and the development of sugar plantations in the West Indies and North America, opened a new era of Western penetration into Africa. The Spaniards needed black slaves for work in their sugar plantations, and as the Papal Bull impeded their direct access to West African slave markets, they were forced to use the Portuguese as middlemen. After the Reformation (1483-1546), the Papal Bull practically lost its significance with the decline of papal authority. This broke Portuguese monopoly of the slave trade and paved the way for the active participation of other European powers.

Again the British were the first to challenge the Portuguese, and the venture was led by John Hawkins who, in 1562,

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[3] *Loc. cit.*
[4] Haklyt, quoted by Burns, A.C., *History of Nigeria*, 1942, p. 75.

dispatched 300 slaves from Sierra Leone to Haiti. His success and profit were so phenomenal that in 1563 he was placed in charge of a squadron of seven ships destined to transport slaves from Africa to the West Indies.[5] John Hawkins' success led to the formation, in 1618, of a chartered company, "The Company of the Adventurers of London Trading in Africa."[6] In 1631 a similar company was formed for the express purpose of supplying the West Indies with slaves.[7] The two companies built many ports along West Africa, thus establishing British dominance which has persisted until today.[8]

2. The British in Nigeria

In 1808, slavery was made illegal by an Act of Parliament, but other nations, especially Spain and Portugal, still continued in the lucrative enterprise of the slave trade. To combat this illegal-trade, the British stationed a naval squadron along the coast of West Africa. In 1834, the naval establishment was discontinued. At the request of British merchants, however, a British representative, Mr. Beecroft was stationed, as a Consul, at Fernanda Po, a little island off the western shores of Nigeria, to regulate the legal trade between British merchants and the ports of Benin, Brass, New and Old Calabar, Bonny, Bimbia, and the Cameroons, and the ports in the terri-

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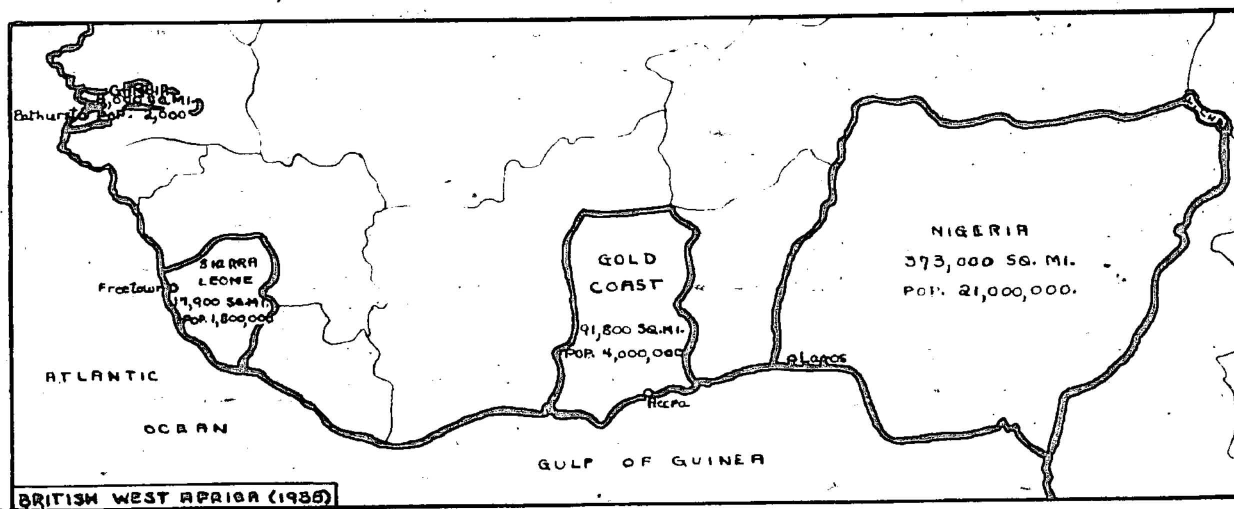
[5] Burns, op.cit., p. 76.
[6] Loc.cit.
[7] Ibid., p. 77.
[8] See Map on p. 5.


Bathurst
Freetown
SIERRA
LEONE
17,900 SQ.MI.
POP. 1,800,000
GOLD
COAST
91,800 SQ.MI.
POP. 4,000,000
Accra
Lagos
NIGERIA
373,000 SQ. MI.
POP. 21,000,000.
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
GULF OF GUINEA
BRITISH WEST AFRICA (1935)

tories of the king of Dahomey.[9]

Besides the expressed purpose of suppressing the slave trade and establishing legal trade with the people of Nigeria, there is another and more economic factor which motivated British occupation of Nigeria. During the middle of the nineteenth century, European nations were producing more goods than they needed, and no country was in a position to buy from another. "This situation," says Professor Moon of Columbia University, "meant cut-throat competition. Each of the great industrial nations was making more cloth, more iron and steel, or more of some other manufacture, than its own inhabitants could possibly consume."[10]

Europe had at this time, not only surplus manufactured goods which called for foreign markets, but also surplus capital which needed re-investment in a territory where better profits could be assured.[11] Of all other countries, England was hardest hit, because of the keen competition offered her by the rising industries of Germany, France, and the United States.[12] The answer which Europe devised for its economic situation was the procurement of foreign markets which were later turned into colonial possessions. The period between 1850 to 1903 saw the expansion of European overseas possessions in Africa. This process of securing foreign possessions through trade treaties and later political annexation, resulted

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[9]Burns, op.cit., p. 120.
[10]Moon, Parker, Imperialism and World Politics, 1927, p. 27.
[11]Ibid., pp. 27-32.
[12]Ibid., p. 25.

in British occupation of vast independent self-governing states in West Africa, now collectively called Nigeria.

Assault on Lagos 1851

The formal British occupation of Nigeria began in 1851, when a British armed squadron attacked Lagos, the capital and chief seaport of Nigeria, on the plea of suppressing the slave trade.[13] The first attack was beaten off by the armed forces of Kosoko, the King of Lagos. After an elaborate preparation, a second attack was launched by the British on December 25, 1851. The mighty strength of the British navy was arrayed against Lagos, and after a three-day gallant resistance, Kosoko abandoned the city in flight.

On January 1, 1852, a British sponsored monarch, Akitoye, was installed as the King of Lagos, in place of Kosoko. Akitoye and the British concluded a treaty which provided, among other things, for the abolition of the slave trade, and granted trade concessions to the British merchants.[14]

The new king failed to win public confidence, and on August 13, 1852, Kosoko reappeared in Lagos to head a revolt against the British-Akitoye regime. Akitoye's death three weeks later and the immediate installation of his son, Dosumu, on the throne did not stem the tide of revolution then brewing within all the political factions in Lagos. Finally, the British effected a compromise with the deposed Kosoko by offering him the kingdoms of Palma and Lekki, with the proviso that he would

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[13] Burns, A.C., History of Nigeria, 1929, pp. 122-130.
[14] Ibid., p. 134.

no more interfere in the affairs of Lagos.[15]

Reign of Dosumu and Ceding of Lagos, 1862

This arrangement left Dosumu as the undisputed ruler of Lagos. It was soon reported that he had neither the necessary power for keeping the slave dealers under control, nor for maintaining a good government.[16] The existence of a bad and inefficient government in Lagos was calculated to be against the best interests of British merchants. Hence, in 1860, the British Consul in Lagos wrote to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs recommending British occupation of Lagos "either as a possession or by way of Protectorate."[17] In June, 1861, the Foreign Secretary replied, and "with reluctance" accepted the Consul's recommendation, but warned that such an occupation should not be effected "with any injustice to Dosumu..."[18]

On July 30, 1861, the acting Consul in Lagos, McCosky, and the senior naval officer, Bedinfield, summoned Dosumu to a secret meeting, and confronted him with the British proposal for the occupation of Lagos. Startled and bewildered, he told them that he must first of all consult his ministers and advisers. Two days later McCosky and Bedinfield called on Dosumu to receive his answer to their proposal. The answer arrived at by the King-in-Council was an unequivocal No.

The angered British envoys left him, but not without a

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15 Ibid., p. 135.
16 Loc. cit.
17 Loc. cit.
18 Ibid., p. 136.

warning that "unless he could make up his mind by the 6th of August, formal possession would be taken of the island in the name of the Queen of England."[19] Burns further tells us that "threats against the British and the avowed intention of opposing any occupation by force were met by the necessary dispositions, and that the presence of H.M.S. Promethius within gunshow of the town had a sobering effect on the malcontents."[20]

At a second meeting, the frightened and awe-stricken Dosumu yielded to British demands, and, by a treaty signed at the British Consulate in Lagos, the formal British occupation of Lagos was consummated on August 6, 1861. The occasion was celebrated with a twenty-one gun salute, and a state dinner on board the Promethius. Still registering a feeble protest against the unlawful wresting of his rightful territory from him, Dosumu declined an invitation to the dinner.[21]

The occupation of Lagos was viewed with mixed feelings. The British Government justified it on the ground that it meant complete abolition of the slave trade and the restoration of legitimate trade and good government. The British merchants were at first jubilant because of the protection and security the new regime would offer, but later regretted the whole affair because of the slump in trade brought about by rioting among the indignant people of Lagos, who were lamenting the humiliation of their sovereign by the British. Even though the new government provided for their protection, the missionaries could not recon-

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19 Ibid., p. 137.
20 Loc. cit.
21 Loc. cit.

cile this material benefit to the lack of moral principles and justice on the part of the British, who had, as it were, robbed Naboth of his rich vineyard.

But even more pathetic was the reaction of Dosumu and his subordinates. They complained bitterly that they did not understand the terms of the treaty which was forced upon them, and that in acquiescing to the occupation of Lagos, they were acting under duress.[22] Dosumu and his people petitioned Queen Victoria against the terms imposed upon them. Nothing was done to redress the injustices against which they complained, except that a rather generous annual stipend of £1,030 ($4,120 at the present rate of exchange) was granted to Dosumu and practically silenced his protests. The educated Africans from Sierra Leone, many of whom were ex-slaves, were even more alarmed because they could read and understand the treaty and what it embodied. Their attempt to explain its implications to Dosumu and his people was branded by British officials as an intrigue against the British Government.[23]

In 1862, the British hold on Lagos was more firmly secured by the proclamation of Lagos as a "Colony." Between 1863 and 1895 the same tactics employed in subduing Lagos were unscrupulously applied in annexing adjacent towns like Palma, Lekki, Badagry, Ado, Appa, and so on, as a part of the Lagos territory. Abeokuta was also occupied after a series of difficulties and negotiations.

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[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.
[23] *Loc. cit.*

The history of the occupation of Lagos is typical through and through of the whole history of the British occupation of Nigeria. The account so far warrants the conclusion that the British political and economic control of Nigeria was effected against the wishes of the Nigerian people through a combination of diplomacy, threats, and open warfare. Abeokuta, which was formerly friendly to the British, refused to accept a British consul in 1843, because "the establishment of a Consulate in Lagos had been the first step towards occupation."[24] This conclusion is further attested by the history of British occupation of other parts of Nigeria, such as the Oil Rivers and Northern Nigeria, which will be dealt with very briefly here.

3. Protectorate of the Oil Rivers, 1885

When Beecroft was appointed Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra in 1849,[25] his jurisdiction extended from Dahomey in the west to Cameroon in the east of Nigeria. His pre-occupation with diplomatic and commercial negotiations in Lagos and Dahomey made it impossible for his influence to be felt on the Eastern Nigeria coast, then known as the Oil Rivers.[25a]

Courts of Equity

Around 1854, the British commercial companies established "Courts of Equity" in the Oil Rivers which were designed to settle disputes, fine the defaulters, and boycott or taboo all

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[24] Ibid., pp. 140-141.
[25] See p. 4.
[25a] The Oil Rivers received their name as a result of many tons of palm oil that are exported through them.

those unwilling to conform to their decisions.[26] According to Burns, these courts worked so well that they received the sanction of both the Consul and naval officers, and in 1870 spread over many parts of the Oil Rivers.[27]

Each Court of Equity was composed of the agents of various foreign commercial firms trading in the area where the court was located. The presidency of the court rotated among its members "in order that no one should obtain, as President, undue influence among the inhabitants to the detriment of his rivals in trade, or should incur the displeasure of the powerful chiefs by being the regular mouthpiece of the court which did not always decide in favor of African litigate.[28]

It is necessary to note that these courts were an imposition on the people of the Oil Rivers. They had neither social nor religious sanction. They were dominated by foreign interests, and the indigenous inhabitants were not represented in them even though they were judged there. They were a device employed to boost trade and to ensure the permanency of foreign commercial establishments. Their establishment was one of the series of events which later culminated in British occupation of the Oil Rivers.

Establishment of a Protectorate

In 1872 these courts were legalized and in effect initiated company rule, which found its full flowering in the government of Northern Nigeria. Seven years later, the threat of

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[26] Burns, A.C., History of Nigeria, 1942, p. 147.
[27] Loc.cit.
[28] Loc.cit.

foreign competition forced the English companies trading on the Niger to form one combine known as the United African Company under the leadership of Goldie Taubman. In 1882 the company was incorporated as the National African Company, Limited, and in 1886 it was chartered as the Royal Niger Company.[29]

Complaints of bad government and impediment of trade soon started pouring into the Foreign Office from the company and other commercial agents. These complaints were levelled against the kings of the Oil Rivers--particularly King Jaja of Opobo. In 1885 the territory of the Oil Rivers was proclaimed a British Protectorate in spite of the resentment of the people of the Oil Rivers.[30] King Jaja was exiled by the British authorities to St. Vincent in the West Indies. With his removal, and that of other men whose influence was considered inimical to the British, the Protectorate of the Oil Rivers became a reality. In 1893, by an Order-in-Council, the Protectorate was extended into the hinterland and renamed the Niger Coast Protectorate. In 1906 the administration of the Colony of Lagos and the Niger Coast Protectorate was unified and became known as the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria.[31]

4. The Conquest of Northern Nigeria, 1901-1903

In 1899, the Royal Niger Company surrendered its charger, and the British Government took over the administration of the

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[29] Ibid., pp. 154-164.
[30] Ibid., pp. 155-162.
[31] Ibid., p. 222.

company's settlement at Lokoja and proclaimed the whole of Northern Nigeria a Protectorate, with Frederick Lugard as its High Commissioner.[32] With the British occupation of this area, the whole cycle of "friendship," "trade treaties," establishment of a consulate, occupation, and finally annexation, that was characteristic of the British penetration into Lagos and the Oil Rivers, started all over again. With the avowed intent of suppressing the slave trade, Lugard attacked the states of Bida and Kontagora, conquered them, and deposed their Emirs. In 1901 he addressed the following communication to the Sultan of Sokoto:

> I desire to inform you who are head of the Mohammedans and to whom Fulani rulers in this country look for advice and guidance that the Emirs of Bida and Kontagora have during many years acted as oppressors of the people and shown themselves unfit to rule. More especially in these latter days they have raided the towns and villages in the districts close to their own cities, and have depopulated vast areas so that the fields are lying uncultivated and the people are destroyed or fled. Moreover, they have gratuitously attacked my men when proceeding with mails or canoes, and have seized the mails and stolen or destroyed goods in the canoes. I have therefore found it necessary to depose both these Emirs, and to place troops near their respective cities to keep peace and protect the people....[33]

To this letter the Sultan made no reply. His silence was indicative of things to come.

Having consolidated the occupation of Bida and Kontagora, Lugard next turned his attention to the state of Bornu. Meanwhile, he addressed another letter to the Sultan informing him of British intervention in Bauchi. "I have heard that you sent

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[32]Ibid., p. 188.

[33]Lugard, F.D., Report on Northern Nigeria, 1903, as quoted by Burns, A.C., History of Nigeria, 1942, p. 190.

a letter to the Emir of Bautshi," wrote Lugard, "warning him to desist from oppressing his people, but he does not obey your instruction nor listen to your words of wisdom. I have, therefore, been compelled to send my troops to compel him to act properly. I do not know whether he will oppose them and fight. If he does so, he will probably lose his place. But I do not wish to drive out the Fulani and the Mohammedans. I only wish they should rule wisely and with humanity."[34]

The reply from the Sultan was precise and sharp:

> I have to inform you that we do not invite your administration in the province of Bautshi, and if you have interfered we do not want support from any one except God. You have your religion, and we have ours. We seek help from God, the Best Supporter, and there is no power except in him, the Mighty and the Exalted. Peace.[35]

Declaration of War

The continued British interference in the affairs of the Hausa States drew even a sharper note, which amounted to a declaration of war, from the Sultan to the British Government through Lugard. The note read as follows:

> From us to you, I do not consent that anyone from you should ever dwell with us. I will never agree with you. I will have nothing ever to do with you. Between us and you there are no dealings except as between Mussulmans and Unbelievers, War, as God Almighty has enjoined on us. There is no power or strength save in God on high. This with salutations.[36]

The die was cast. The mouse had played into the cat's

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[34] Orr, C.W.J., Making of Northern Nigeria, 1911, p. 291.
[35] Ibid., p. 292.
[36] Burns, A.C., History of Nigeria, 1942, p. 195.

paws. The Sultan had declared war and "the time had now come when the relative strength of the Government (British) and the Fulani Empire had to be settled."[37]

In a blitzkrieg fashion befitting those days, the British conquering might was let loose successively: first on Zaria; then Kano, the most strongly fortified of the Hausa States; and finally on Sokoto, the citadel and shrine of Fulani power. With the fall of Kano and Sokoto, the entire Moslem world of Northern Nigeria came under British rule. Other subordinate states which had not yet been approached by the British voluntarily tendered their submission to the inevitable, in the belief that once "mili sili nisi gbalm na ododo ya ga-afia aru."[38]

In spite of the surrender of Kano and Sokoto, the ex-Sultan of Sokoto, the Magaji of Keffi, who fled the city at the approach of British troops, and the dissenting Emirs of Kano and Bida still refused to recognize British occupation of their territories. The ex-Sultan climaxed his protests with a sudden announcement of a pilgrimage to Mecca and summoned the people to follow him. The reply was overwhelming and came from people in all walks of life.

Fearful of the consequences of such a pilgrimage, the British immediately dispatched a strongly fortified pursuit army which overtook the ex-Sultan and his party at the town of

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[37] *Ibid.*, p. 194.
[38] This is an Ibo proverb expressing the idea that once the captain of an army is captured it is difficult to reorganize that army for a successful combat. The best translation is as follows: "Once a stream is polluted from its source it is difficult to purify it."

Burmi. Fighting was resumed, during which the ex-Sultan and his chief leaders were killed. This victory gave the British a temporary supremacy in Northern Nigeria.

In 1906, however, another war, or the "Satiru incident,"[39] broke out between the British and the people of Satiru, in the state of Sokoto, who rose in arms against the British rule. The incident summoned all the available British reserves in all parts of Nigeria and lasted for three months. It cost many British officers and men and hundreds of Nigerians killed and wounded. The town of Satiru, the scene of the incident, was blotted out and left desolate and a curse was proclaimed on "anyone who should rebuild or till it."[40] With the liquidation of Satiru the unchallenged supremacy of the British in Northern Nigeria was firmly and securely established, and since then attention has been centered on administrative reconstruction and organization.

Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, 1914

Between 1885, which marked the intensification of British commercial interest in Nigeria, and 1900, which saw the end of the rule of the Chartered Company, Nigeria was divided into three separate administrations: The Lagos Colony was under the Colonial Office; the Niger Coast Protectorate under the Foreign Office; and the Northern hinterland under the Royal Niger Company. In 1906 these administrations were reduced to two by the amalgamation of the Colony and the Niger Coast Protectorate into

[39]Burns, op.cit., p. 202.
[40]Ibid., p. 204.

one administration designated as the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria.[41] It was left to Lugard to effect a sound amalgamation which placed the whole of Nigeria under one central government on January 1, 1914.

In his Report on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria and Administration, 1912-1919,[42] Lugard gave two reasons which necessitated the amalgamation.

1. Financial Dilemma. By the amalgamation of the southern administrations in 1906, Southern Nigeria was on its way towards manifesting a characteristic which has distinguished it from the North ever since. Unlike the latter, the South is very rich. In 1913, the duty on imported liquor amounted to £1,138,000 ($4,552,000), and this was only a part of the annual revenue. This meant that the South was self-supporting and could balance its budget every year.

Unlike the South, the North depended on the annual grant from the imperial government for its administration. This grant was barely sufficient for imperative expenditures, let alone employing a large enough staff for internal development. The tax collected from direct taxes was just a drop in the bucket as compared with the annual budget. Meanwhile the South was not only balancing its budget but had a surplus as well. It was evident, therefore, that the most logical and economical way to use this surplus in helping the North was through a united Nigeria. It was evident also that a united Nigeria would have

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[41] See page 13.
[42] Cmd. 468. His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1919.

"an aggregate revenue practically equal to its needs,"[43] thereby relieving the British taxpayer the burden of supporting Northern Nigeria through an annual imperial handout. The argument was both forceful and convincing, and was further augmented by the second reason.

2. Railways. The nearest sea-outlet for the North is 250 miles away. This militated against trade development. Thus, in 1906, the construction of a railway from Baro, a port on the Niger, to Kano, the commercial and industrial center of the North, was begun with an aim to alleviating the trade difficulties of the North. To this the South replied by extending the Lagos Railway to the northern frontier and, with the permission of the Secretary of State, crossing the southern frontier to join the Baro-Kano line at Minna. Because of lack of one common policy, the line from the South went through a cirsuitous path in its northward extension and involved a great financial waste. In the meantime, a very keen competition ensued between the two systems of railways. One Major Wayborn was sent from England to report on the competing railways and "to propose some system of joint use and control."[44] Having seen the huge amount expended in the construction of the Southern railway and the financial difficulties that beset the operation of the two systems of railways, Wayborn recommended "immediate unification of control with a view to checking extravagance."[45]

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[43]Lugard, op.cit., p. 7.
[44]Loc.cit.
[45]Loc.cit.

To effect this recommendation and similar changes that were necessary for better and more effective administration of the whole country, one central government was considered necessary. In 1905, Lugard, as High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, submitted a memorandum endorsed by both the High Commissioner of Southern Nigeria and the Governor of Lagos advocating the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria. Not until 1911 was Lugard called upon to effect the plan which he had envisioned, and on January 1, 1914, the "Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria" became a fait accompli.

Thus ends the history of the British occupation of Nigeria. C. W. J. Orr, a former British administrative officer in the civil service of Northern Nigeria, firmly convinced that British rule was the best thing for Nigeria, admitted, however, that "it may be assumed that the inhabitants of the Protectorate as a whole resented domination by a white race."[46] The protests, revolts, and armed opposition against British rule as recorded here more than attest Orr's assumption.

It is extremely difficult to prove with a fair amount of objectivity whether or not British rule in Nigeria has been to the best advantage of the country and its people. It is a question that is fraught with emotional bias. No Britisher can discuss it without an attempt to rationalize the imperial position, nor a Nigerian without an attempt to make a case in favor of his country. But "there are many profound observers of human nature," as Orr well observed, "who maintain that a

[46]Orr, op.cit., p. 275.

nation prefers submitting to the worst government by members of its own race than to the most perfect government that can be conceived by an alien race, even if the latter be archangels from heaven."[47] This view is tacitly held today by the leaders of political opinion in Nigeria, who regard British rule as an imposition.[48]

[47] Ibid., pp. 275-276.
[48] Orizu, A.A., *Without Bitterness*, 1944, pp. 241-253.

CHAPTER II

NIGERIA AND ITS GOVERNMENT

In the last chapter an account of the British occupation of Nigeria was given. This chapter will describe the emergence of Nigeria as a political unit and its present form of government. Prior to the occupation, Nigeria existed as independent, self-governing kingdoms or states. These states are by far larger than some European countries. For example, the state of Bornu is as large as Scotland and Wales, and Belgium put together; Sokoto is as large as the combined areas of Ireland and the Netherlands; Adamawa is about the size of Hungary; and Ilorin larger than Switzerland.[1]

As now constituted, Nigeria is an amalgamation of these former independent states. The word "Nigeria" was invented by Flora Shaw, who became the wife of Lord Frederick Lugard, one of the foremost British empire-builders and for many years governor of Nigeria.[2] Writing in 1905, Lady Lugard said: "Nigeria... is not properly a name. It cannot be found in a map that is ten years old. It is only an English expression which has been made to comprehend a number of... states covering about 500,000 square miles in that part of the world which we call the Western Soudan."[3]

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[1]Nigerian Handbook, X, p. 20.
[2]See p. 14.
[3]Lady Lugard, A Tropical Dependency, 1905, pp. 6-7.

Politically Nigeria is a subject nation, because it is controlled by a foreign power. Its foreign and domestic affairs are under the jurisdiction of the British Government, acting through the Colonial Office. The country is governed under two systems of government--the direct government, or the British Government in Nigeria (to which I shall also refer as the central government or the government), and the Native Administration, or the local government. The latter is subordinate to the former and is an outgrowth of a political philosophy known as "indirect rule."[3a]

1. The Central Government

When Lagos was proclaimed a "British Settlement" in 1862, it was administered under a Governor of its own. In 1866 it became a part of the "West African Settlements" under a Governor-in-Chief stationed at Sierra Leone. It maintained, however, a separate Legislative Council and an administrator directly in charge of its government. In 1874 it came under the jurisdiction of the Governor of the Gold Coast, and was administered locally by an officer called a Lieutenant-Governor, or a Deputy Governor. In 1886 it became again a full-fledged colony with its own Governor.[4]

Between 1886 and 1900 there were three separate British administrations in Nigeria, each responsible to the British Crown. The Colony proper was administered by the Colonial Office; the Niger Coast Protectorate, which was later renamed the

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[3a]This phrase is defined and discussed on pp. 34-35.
[4]Burns, Allen C., History of Nigeria, 1942, pp. 134-145.

Southern Nigeria Protectorate in 1900, by the Foreign Office; and some part of Northern Nigeria by the Board of Directors of the Royal Niger Company. In 1899 the Foreign Office deeded the Niger Coast Protectorate over to the Colonial Office, and in 1906 the Lagos Colony and the Coast Protectorate were united under one administration, and became known as the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, with Lagos as the capital.[5]

In 1900 the charter of the Royal Niger Company was revoked, and with that its administrative power. From then on Northern Nigeria also came under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office. In 1912 Frederick Lugard was appointed Governor of the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, as well as Northern Nigeria. He was charged with the task of uniting the two administrations. On January 1, 1914, Lugard consummated his task by setting up what has been known since then as the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria.[6]

For purposes of administration Nigeria was now divided into three regions--the Colony proper, which includes Lagos and its vicinity; the Northern and Southern Provinces, which together form the Protectorate. On April 1, 1939, the Southern Provinces were subdivided into the Western and Eastern Provinces. There is an administrator immediately in charge of the Colony, and a Chief Commissioner in charge of each of the provincial regional divisions, and all are responsible to the Governor whose headquarters is at Lagos, the capital and seat of government.

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[5]See p. 13.
[6]See p. 20.

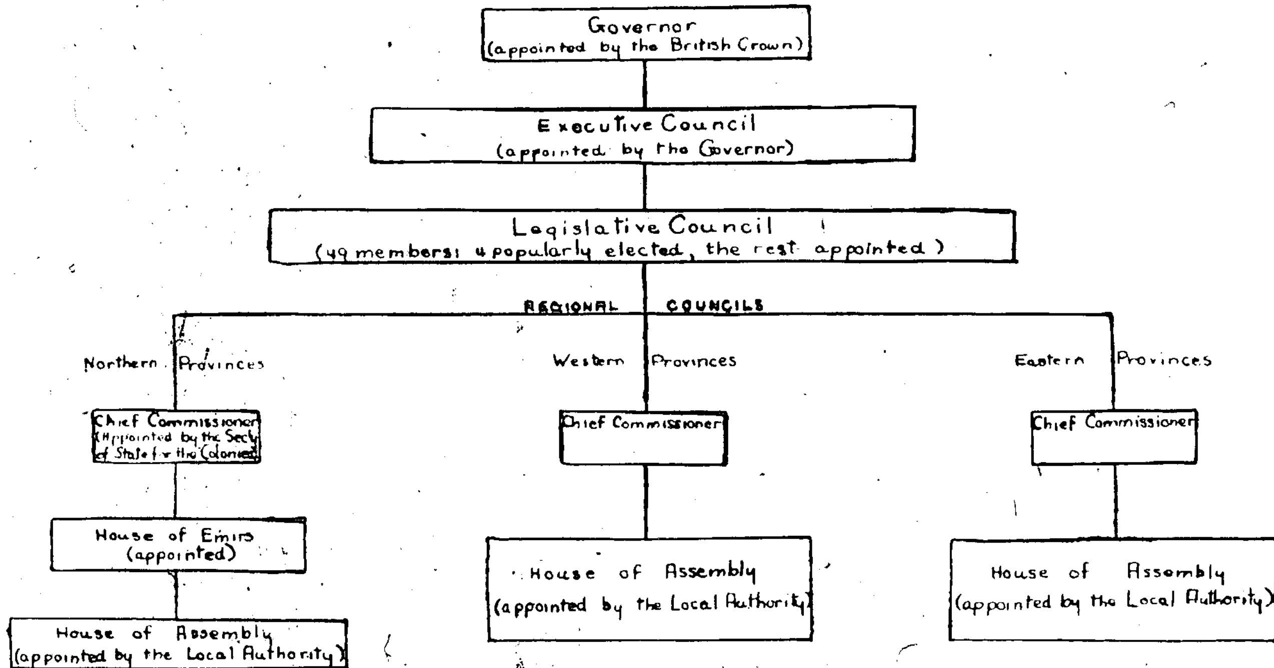
After the union of Northern and Southern Nigeria, there was an Executive Council made up of high ranking government officials acting in an advisory capacity to the Governor. There was also another "advisory and deliberative body" known as the Nigerian Council which included the Governor, members of the Executive Council, Senior Residents, and some nominated members. This Council was devised to afford an opportunity for the expression of public opinion, but it possessed no power over the legislation or the finances of the country, and merely afforded an opportunity for the Governor, in his address at the annual meeting, "to give a summary of matters of interest during the past year, to review and forecast the position of trade and finance, and to emphasize and explain any questions of policy and legislation of importance."[7] Along with the Nigerian Council, there was also "a small legislative Council for the Colony," composed of the Governor, officials and four Governor-nominated unofficial members, two of whom were, as a rule, Nigerians.[8]

Executive Council

In 1922 both the Nigerian Council and the Legislative Council were abolished. The Nigerian Council "was considered a failure, as its members would not take seriously their position on what they regarded as little more than a debating society."[9] During the administration of Sir Hugh Clifford, a more elaborate Legislative Council was formed, and, for the first time, a few

[7] Burns, *op.cit.*, pp. 226-227.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 227.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA



insignificant, popularly elected members were seated in the Council.

Up to and until April, 1945, the British Government in Nigeria was represented by an official entitled Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Nigeria.[10] He was assisted in his administration by an Executive and a Legislative Council (formed in 1923). The Executive Council may be considered the Cabinet, and its membership is made up as follows:

1. The Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Nigeria, President
2. Chief Secretary to the Government
3. Chief Commissioners of the Northern, Western, and Eastern Provinces
4. Attorney-General
5. Financial Secretary
6. Commandant of the Nigerian Regiment
7. Director of Medical Services
8. Director of Education
9. Director of Transport
10. Two Nigerian unofficial members appointed by the Governor.[11]

Legislative Council

The Legislative Council was composed of three types of members: (a) thirty official members, whose office entitles them to sit in the Council; (b) fifteen unofficial members nominated by the Governor; (c) four unofficial elected members (usually Nigerians, three representing the municipality of Lagos, and one of Calabar.[12]

The official members were all British, and heads of various Government departments. They constituted the majority bloc, and their votes were rigidly controlled by the Governor, who, as

[10] See Chart on p. 26.
[11] *Nigerian Handbook*, 1938.
[12] *Loc.cit.*

President of the Council, had an original vote, as well as veto power. Under this setup, the administration was always assured of a majority in any issue. Furthermore, the nominated members, the preponderance of whom were also British, usually voted for the administration. Sir Alison Russell, K.C., once the Chief Justice of the British Colony of Tanganyika, said of colonial rule in a letter to the London *Times*: "Rarely does an official venture to differ from the Governor. In the Executive Council, the Governor follows his opinion. In the Legislative Council the official majority vote as the Governor instructs them."[13]

2. The New Constitution[14]

Today Nigeria is being governed under a new constitution promulgated by its present Governor, Sir Arthur Richards. The new constitution is outside the period to be covered by this study, but for the sake of clarity, I shall present a brief summary of the provisions of this constitution.

Main Features

The outstanding feature of the new constitutional reform is that for the first time in the history of Nigeria one assembly will legislate for the whole country. Prior to the adoption of the new constitution, the Legislative Council of Nigeria legislated only for the Colony and the Protectorate of the Southern Provinces. The Northern Provinces were governed by "Proclama-

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[13] Quoted by George Padmore, *How Britain Rules Africa*, 1936, p. 313.
[14] *Proposals for the Revision of the Constitution of Nigeria*, Cmd. 6599, March, 1945.

tions" of the Governor. A second major feature of the constitution is the creation of three Regional Councils for the Northern, Western, and Eastern Provinces.[15]

Another important feature of the constitution is the elimination of the official majority. The Legislative Council, as now constituted, will have twenty official members (all British) and twenty-nine unofficial members. Of the latter, four are British nominees of the Governor, representing the banking, shipping, commerce, and mining interests. As past experience has indicated, these members usually vote on the side of the government.[16] The real composition of the Legislative Council is, therefore, twenty-five Nigerians to twenty-four officials, or British representatives. And besides, of the twenty-five Nigerians in the Legislative Council, only four are popularily elected by the people--three in Lagos municipality and one in the township of Calabar. The rest are either appointed or nominated by the Governor or his representatives.[17] The composition of the Executive Council, as already described, remains unchanged.[18]

Reactions to the New Constitution

Since its inception, the constitution has drawn comments from various circles. The London Times of March 13, 1945, greeted it as "so far-reaching in character that the substitution of an official for an unofficial majority in the Legisla-

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[15] Cmd., 6599, op.cit., pp. 5-6. See Chart on p. 26.
[16] See p. 28
[17] Cmd., 6599, op.cit., pp. 10-11.
[18] See pp. 25-27.

tive Council is no longer its most prominent feature; yet this is precisely the change which under the British system of colonial rule marks the point of transition to responsible government...." "To the constitutional students," The Times concludes, the new constitution "offers a fresh example of the vitality of British institutions and of their power of adaptation to every variety of local circumstances."

In Nigeria itself the constitution failed to obtain a warm reception, in spite of the fact that all Nigerian unofficial members of the Legislative Council voted for it, and that it received the blessing of many local state kings. For instance, Omo N'Oba N'Edo Akenzua II, the Oba of Benin, one of the most important rulers in Southern Nigeria, declared:

> I believe the Richards political and constitutional reform for Nigeria is, without mincing words, the best that Nigeria can have at the present moment. While foreseeing the danger in placing power, as in Germany, in the hands of political fanatics, the new Richards Constitution has prepared the way for the gradual and natural growth of the people in the art of democratic self-government. Although it is generally admitted that democracy is the best form of government, one may say that democracy based more or less on the tradition of a people is the best form of government; a careful, critical, and scientific study of the governments of the democracy-loving nations of the world may reveal that their democracies are built more or less on their own traditions and customs.[19]

From other circles in Nigeria adverse criticisms were advanced against what has become popularly known as the "Richards Constitution." One Agwuna, a columnist, terms the new constitution "an imposture in which democracy is stultified," and de-

[19] The Daily Service, April 25, 1945.

plores the requirement of property qualifications which restrict the franchise; the composition of the Governor's Executive Council, where the three Nigerian representatives have no means whatsoever of influencing any decision; and the veto power which the Governor exercises in the Legislative Council.[20]

H. O. Davis, once the General Secretary of the Nigerian Youth Movement, writing in The West African Review of May, 1945, singles out two principles of the constitution for critical analysis. (a) He deplores paragraph 3 of the constitution, which states that the constitution was designed "to secure greater participation by Africans in the discussion of their own affairs." "The word 'discussion'," says Davis, "seems to be the crux of the principle. There is neither intention nor the pretension to secure greater participation by the Africans in the direction, management, or control of their own affairs."[21] He goes on to say that nothing is done to affect the main structure of the administrative setup. "Bureaucracy," continues Davis, "is the means by which the country is administered, and there the African has no say... No attempt is made to democratize that bureaucratic rule or make it sensitive to public opinion. The public has no say in the selection, mediately or immediately, of the head of Department or his deputy. Yet the latter is the technical expert, the legislator, and the executive... He formulates policy, he legislates it, and afterwards administers it."[22]

[20] The West African Pilot, March 17, 1945.
[21] H. O. Davis, "Nigeria's New Constitution," The West African Review, Vol. 16, No. 202, May 1945, p. 15.
[22] Loc. cit.

Under the new constitution, both the local state kings (Chiefs) and the Nigerian representatives in the Regional Assembly, as well as in the Legislative Council, constitute an "Opposition Party" against the officials of the British Government in Nigeria. This arrangement, according to Davis, is "a clumsy effort to camouflage the continuance of the official majority."[23] He further states that the local state kings are the rulers of the people, and by virtue of that fact constitute the government. "To group them with an Opposition to an exotic band of officials," contends Davis, "is to divest them of their authority. Such a step... will leave them and the people dissatisfied, the former because they are humiliated, the latter because of the artificiality of the constitution."[24]

Many groups disagree very strongly with Governor Richards on the methods of selecting the people's representatives. Richards contends that "the system of election by ballot is not, in my view, a suitable method in Nigerian conditions for securing the proper representation of the people, nor would it be understood by the mass of the population."[25] According to the present constitution all the Nigerian members of each Regional Assembly are either selected or nominated by the Local Authorities, or directly by the Governor himself. The West African Students Union (WASU) of Great Britain and Ireland, considers this method of representation "a denial of the ele-

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[23] Ibid., p. 15.
[24] Loc. cit.
[25] Cmd. 6599, op. cit., p. 12.

ments of democratic procedure," for "there is no section of people in Nigeria today who are incapable of selecting people who can best represent their interests in different councils."[26]

In a memorandum submitted to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Trades Union Congress of Nigeria states that "experience has taught the people of Nigeria to be apprehensive of the activities of government-nominated members of the Legislative Council who very rarely reflect popular views and are therefore classed as semi-official legislators."[27] A more popular and concerted reaction to the new constitution was revealed when all the labor unions, political parties, professional organizations, and tribal unions unanimously demanded immediate resignation of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, because of their approval of the constitution.[28]

Today there is a tremendous demand for the institution of democracy in Nigeria. By democracy I mean what has been aptly described by Abraham Lincoln as "the government of the people, by the people, and for the people." The force behind this demand is the Nigerian people, expressed in their political parties and aggressive labor unions.

The new constitution should be judged, therefore, in the light of this democratic trend. By forbidding election by ballot, suppressing adult suffrage, and resorting to selection or nomination as a method of securing the people's representa-

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[26] See African Transcripts, University of Pennsylvania, No. 4, p. 109.
[27] Ibid., p. 110.
[28] Loc. cit.

tives,[29] the constitution has failed to advance the growth of democratic procedure and popular government, and has made the people the vassals of the government under the supreme authority of the Governor.

3. Native Administration

Subordinate to the central government is the "Native Administration," or the local government, which is presided over by the local state king. This is a form of government in which the Nigerian people are governed by their own natural rulers under the supervision of British officials. This kind of administration is generally referred to as "indirect rule" as opposed to direct rule by British officials.

Indirect Rule

The phrase "indirect rule" was first used by Lord Lugard during his administration of Northern Nigeria, and the rules of its application are carefully delineated in his book entitled, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa.[30] The village or a locality occupied by families of the same or different clans but possessing the same ethnic origin and speaking the same dialect, is usually the administrative unit. But a native administration may comprise of many villages and even federated states, like the Emirates of Northern Nigeria.[31] The chief executive of each native administration exercises such powers that are dele-

29Cmd. 6599, op.cit., pp. 6-7, 16.
30Lugard, F.D., The Dual Mandate, 1922.
31Ibid., pp. 200-204.

gated to him by the central government acting through the British Governor. The Governor reserves to himself the following exclusive powers: (a) the right to raise and control armed forces, (b) the right to impose any kind of tax, (c) the right to legislation, (d) the right to appropriate lands for public use, and (e) the right to conform or to elect and to depose any ruler.[32] Subject to these reservations, native administration is "based on the administrative organization which existed under native rule prior to the British occupation."[33]

Native Administration Treasury

The most important phase of indirect rule is the establishment and administration of the Native Treasury. It is important because it is its character and structure that determine the political strength of a state, and also because of the responsibility and sense of social obligation it confers on the state rulers. The history of the evolution of the treasury, which I am now about to review, is briefly told by a British research scholar, Margery Perham.[34]

When the British took over Northern Nigeria in 1901 by right of conquest, that right automatically entitled them to levy and collect taxes. Before British occupation the state authorities were collecting taxes on the following items: agricultural products, cattle, crafts and professions, entertainers and dancers, luxury goods like tobacco, onions, and

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[32] Ibid., pp. 205-207.
[33] Meek, C.K., The Northern Tribes of Niberia, Vol.1, 1925, p. 5.
[34] Perham, Margery, Native Administration in Nigeria, 1937, pp. 70-72.

cane sugar. Tolls were also collected on caravan routes, and duties on deaths. In addition to these, the subordinate kings paid an annual tribute to the king of the premier state, the Emir of Sokoto.[35] The British Government, then in Northern Nigeria, was entitled to all these taxes, but wanted to collect them in a way that would not antagonize the local state kings. Thus in 1904 a compromise was reached in the Land Revenue Ordinance, which allowed the kings a certain percentage of the taxes collected, while the rest went to the central government.[35a]

During the revolt in Satiru,[36] the British were faced by one of their grimest moments in Nigeria. The Resident, a British high-ranking political officer, asked one Emir after another to construct a fort as soon as possible. For reasons unknown, none of the Emirs was disposed to help him. Finally, "a certain District Head" volunteered his services, and sent thousands of laborers to construct the fort. For his price he demanded to be acclaimed the Emir of the district. His request was granted. He was persuaded, however, to forego the "spoils system," by which he would have replaced the relatives and officials of his predecessor with his own. The Resident who engineered him to power helped him to work out a system whereby, for the first time, the Emir, as the political head of the state, would concern himself with some kind of social responsibility on a wide

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[35] *Loc.cit.*

[35a] The amount retained by the state usually varies from 50% to 75%, with the Emir of Sokoto as the highest recipient.

[36] See page 14.

scale. The Resident worked out an allocation of the Emir's revenue for that year. A sum of £3,000 out of £14,000 was set aside for the Emir's personal expenditures; a certain amount of the rest was allocated into fixed salaries attached to the various state posts; and the remainder was deposited in the Native Administration Treasury to be used for public welfare. This successful experiment was repeated in several states, and in 1911 the existence of the Native Administration Treasury was officially reported in the Annual Reports. With the establishment of the treasury, the portion of the general tax which formerly went to each individual state king, after the central government had taken its own share, was now deposited in the treasury; and the king, as well as his officials, received a fixed salary.

While the local state king is theoretically in charge of his own treasury, appropriations, and so on, the treasury is usually "supervised" by an appropriate British official (usually a District Officer) under the terms specified in the "Native Authority Ordinance." Since most of the state kings know practically nothing about public finance, and still less about budgeting, it means, in practice, that the British official is directly in charge of the treasury and has the last word as to how much should be spent on every item.

Through the operation of the treasury, each Native Administration maintains its own courts, police force, public works, post office, and dispensaries.[37] It also maintains schools

[37] Perham, Margery, Native Administration in Nigeria, 1927, passim.

generally known as the "Native Administration Schools." The importance of these schools in the educational development of Nigeria is enormous, and a detailed discussion of them is given elsewhere in this study.[38]

[38]See Chapter V.

SECTION II. EDUCATION--ITS EVOLUTION AND TRENDS

CHAPTER III

FOUNDATION OF NIGERIAN EDUCATION

The last section has given an account of the most significant political and economic changes that took place in Nigeria between 1851 and 1914, as a result of its occupation by the British. This second section will describe the evolution of Nigerian educational system which came as a result of the impacts of British political and economic influence; and this chapter, in particular, will deal with the work of British Christian missionaries who laid the foundation of Nigerian education.

The penetration of Africa by European explorers and merchants which began in the fifteenth and continued into the nineteenth century, opened the continent to all the impacts of western civilization.[1] In Nigeria one of the most profound innovations brought about by this Western contact, was the introduction of formal education, with schools and professional teachers, by British missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, and the Church Missionary Society.[2]

Until the turn of the present century, Nigerian education was completely under mission control. More than three quarters of all the schools in the country are still owned and operated

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[1]See Chapter I.
[2]Walker, F.D., A Hundred Years in Nigeria, 1942, pp. 19-23.

by missionary organizations, and about 75 per cent of the children actively engaged in school are registered in the mission schools.[3]

1. Advent of the Missions

In 1841, the British Government, under the auspices of the "Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa," sponsored an expedition to Nigeria. It was the aim of this expedition, as the name of the above society suggests, to stamp out the slave trade in Nigeria and to regenerate the country through "the Bible and the plough," by establishing a church and a model farm.[4] Among the members of this expedition, were two representatives of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), the Reverend J. F. Schon and Samuel Adjai Crowther, a freed slave of Nigerian birth.[5]

The intended colonists for the model firm succombed to the inclement tropical weather and marred the high hopes that had animated the venture. But while the expedition failed, the representatives of the C.M.S. gave such a glorious account of their experiences, that the Society vowed to undertake the task of spreading the gospel in Nigeria.[6]

While the resolution of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) was still in the theoretical stage, events took a different turn. The abolition of the slave trade by the Act of

[3] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937.
[4] Walker, F.D., The Romance of the Black River, 1930, pp. 14-25.
[5] Ibid., p. 18.
[6] Ibid., p. 30.

Parliament in 1807, and the Emancipation Act of 1834, had made Freetown, Sierra Leone, a colony of freed slaves under the jurisdiction of the British Government. There were settled ex-slaves who were either liberated in England by the Emancipation Act, or rescued from the Spanish and Portuguese slave ships by the British naval squadron which paraded the West Coast of Africa.[7]

Most of the settlers of Freetown came originally from Yorubaland in Nigeria, 1500 miles east of Sierra Leone.[8] Their newly won liberty gave them an educational opportunity and assured them freedom of movement. Some of the most ambitious among them bought and equipped merchant ships which cruised down the coast as far as the present sight of Lagos, or Eko, as it was called in those days. These repatriated slaves from Sierra Leone, or the Akus, were surprisingly thrilled to recognize Eko as the very place from which they were sold into slavery many years ago. At Eko they were told that some of their tribesmen had moved into a new city, Abeokuta. There they proceeded and were gladly received by their kindreds. The happy news went spreading in Sierra Leone and started a mass emigration of the freed slaves back to their homeland. Some settled in Lagos and others went to Abeokuta. F. D. Walker, a missionary of many years' experience, estimated that between 1839 and 1842 not fewer than 500 Sierra Leoneans left Freetown for Nigeria.[9]

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[7]Walker, F.D., A Hundred Years in Nigeria, 1942, pp. 10-11.
[8]Ibid., p. 12.
[9]Ibid., pp. 13-14.

The erstwhile slaves were indeed very happy to enjoy freedom on their own hearth. But no sooner did the excitement of a happy reunion subside than they began to realize that they were "different" from the rest of their countrymen. Unlike the latter, they were educated; they could read and write; they had not only bodily raiment but shoes on their feet; their world outlook was on the whole more enlightened. What made the difference was the education given to them by the missionaries in Sierra Leone. If education could do so much for them, the former reasoned, what would prevent it from doing the same thing for their fellow countrymen? So the cry went out to Sierra Leone: "Come over and help us."[10] Each group of immigrants appealed to its own religious denomination.

The Wesleyan Mission, 1842

In response to the call from Nigeria, the Wesleyan Mission sent Thomas Birch Freeman with instructions to found a mission at Badagry and to visit Abeokuta on an investigative mission.[11] Freeman was accompanied by William De Graft and his wife as his assistants.[11a] The party arrived at Badagry on September 23, 1842, and after much trouble successfully fulfilled their mission. In December of the same year Freeman paid a visit to Abeokuta and was gladly received by the people. With the completion of the establishment at Badagry, steps were immediately

[10] Ibid., p. 16.
[11] Ibid., p. 18.
[11a] It is a remarkable fact that these three missionaries were of African descent. Freeman was the son of an African father and an English mother. The DeGrafts were of the Fanti tribe of the Gold Coast.

taken to extend the mission to Abeokuta.

With the founding of these two stations, the work of the Wesleyan Mission has continued to expand. The establishment of Bible and elementary schools went hand in hand with the erection of churches. In 1878 the Mission was in a position to enter the realm of secondary education, which it did with the opening of the Wesleyan Boys' High School in Lagos, the capital of Nigeria. In 1879 a boarding school for girls was opened also in Lagos. A teacher training program was started in 1905 with the opening of Wesley College at Ibadan. By 1941, the Wesleyan Mission was educating 9.715 students and employing 542 teachers.[12]

The Church Missionary Society, 1842

Close on the heels of the Wesleyans came the Church Missionary Society, in response to a similar call that the former were attending. The Wesleyans preceded the C.M.S. by three months, but the formal establishment of the latter at Abeokuta was not made until 1846. Henry Townsend was first sent by the C.M.S. to investigate and report on the possibilities of establishing a mission at Badagry and Abeokuta respectively.[13]

As a result of Townsend's report, the C.M.S. dispatched a group of missionaries to found a mission at Abeokuta. Among these were Townsend himself, and the Reverend Samuel Adjai Crowther, a Nigerian who participated in the ill-fated expedi-

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[12] Ibid., p. 133.
[13] Ibid., p. 33.

tion of 1841.[14] The party arrived at Badagry in 1845, but not until 1846 was the mission fully established.

Once the initial difficulties were over, the new mission started an expansion which has surpassed that of its predecessor, the Wesleyans. Within seven weeks and one day of their landing, the C.M.S. opened a day school at Abeokuta.[15] The missionaries, especially Crowther, undertook to work on the native language, and to translate the Bible into it.

In 1859 the C.M.S. started instruction on the secondary level with the opening of the C.M.S. Grammar School, Lagos, whose enrollment in 1930 stood at 450. In 1869 a girls' school, which enrolled 300 students in 1930, was also opened by the C.M.S. In 1896 the Oyo College was opened for the training of teachers, and in 1904 a similar institution was founded at Awka in South-Eastern Nigeria. In 1930 the C.M.S. was operating a total of 567 schools and colleges,[15a] and was educating 34,140 students.[16] The other colleges were being maintained under the joint auspices of the C.M.S. and the Wesleyans for the training of teachers at Igbobi and Ibadan respectively.[17]

Other Missions

With the Wesleyans and the Church Missionary Society leading the way, other missions followed suit. In 1847 the United

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[14] See page 2.
[15] Walker, F.D., The Romance of the Black River, 1930, p. 46.
[15a] College here does not mean a liberal arts college, but a name loosely and commonly given to secondary and normal schools in Nigeria.
[16] Ibid., pp. 221-223.
[17] Annual Report of the Education Department of Nigeria, 1937, pp. 3-4.

Presbyterian Church of Scotland started work at Calabar, and in 1895 opened the Hope Wadell Institute.[18] Hope Wadell is a combined normal, vocational, and secondary school. Since its inception it has been the leading educational institution in Nigeria. Another of the most outstanding schools owned by the Presbyterian Mission is the Duke Town School, Calabar, which employs a teaching staff of more than fifty and enrolls over 1200 students.[19] It maintains also Edgerly Memorial as an exclusive school for girls.

Next in order of arrival was the South Baptist Convention of the United States of America, which established its mission in Nigeria in 1853. Chief among its educational institutions are the Baptist Academy, Lagos, and a teacher training center at Ogbomosho.

The Roman Catholic Mission began work in Nigeria in 1868. In addition to many elementary schools, it now offers secondary education at St. Gregory's College, Lagos, and at Christ-the-King College, Onitsha. Its teacher training institutions include St. Charles College, Onitsha, and Igbuzo College. In 1933 St. Agnes' College, Yaba, was opened for the training of women teachers.[20]

The Primitive Methodists arrived in 1894. Besides a boarding school at Oron, its most outstanding educational center is the Uzuakoli Institute, where secondary and normal courses are

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[18] *Loc. cit.*
[19] *Loc. cit.*
[20] *Loc. cit.*

being offered. Most of the students are boarders. The Methodists also maintain girls' boarding schools at Oron and Ovim, respectively.[21]

Mention must be made of the work of the Qua Iboe Mission, the Basil Mission, the Salvation Army, the Seventh Day Adventists, and other missions still in their pioneering stage. The scope of this study does not call for a detailed commentary on the specific work of these missions, but it must be said and acknowledged that they are contributing in relative measures to the dissemination of education in Nigeria.

Numerical Strength of Mission Schools

As I indicated before, missionary organizations were in control of Nigerian education until the beginning of the present century. Government active participation has not made any significant change in this picture. The trend now is towards more and more government control of educational policies, but the numerical superiority of mission schools still stands unchallenged. The Colonial Annual Report on Nigeria, 1926, makes this significant remark:

> In the Southern Provinces elementary education is given in forty-eight Government schools and Native Administration Schools, all of which are in the Cameroon Province, but the vast majority of elementary schools have been established by the missions. Of the latter, 216 have attained a standard which entitles them to financial assistance from Government funds. The remaining schools, over 3000 in number, are not assisted and until the enactment of the Ordinance (No. 15 of 1926) they were not subject to Government inspection.[22]

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[21]Loc. cit.
[22]Ref., p. 23.

At the end of 1930, the number of government and native administration schools was reported as 191, with an enrollment of 15,500. The number of non-government schools, about 98 per cent of which are mission-owned, receiving government grants-in-aid stood at 280, with an enrollment of 55,500; and those without government aid were 2666, with an enrollment of 128,000.[23] Four years later, the figures stood at 203 government schools, with an enrollment of 16,500; assisted schools 315, with an enrollment of 60,000; unassisted schools 2750 with an enrollment of 120,000.[24]

An estimate from partial returns submitted by various missionary organizations indicates that in 1935-36 the Protestant Missions in Nigeria were operating 2480 elementary schools, with an enrollment of 130,137; 15 high or middle schools, with an enrollment of 1760; 12 kindergartens with an enrollment of 254; 5 teacher training centers with an enrollment of 231.[25] The corresponding estimate for the Roman Catholic Church stood at 822 elementary schools with an enrollment of 51,601; 25 secondary schools with an enrollment of 752; 7 teacher training institutions with an enrollment of 241.[26]

Information is lacking on the number of government schools during the time covered by this survey. But the preceding figures warrant the conclusion that the bulk of the schools in

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23 Colonial Annual Report, 1931, No. 1569, Sec. 151, pp. 41-42.
24 Colonial Annual Report, 1934, Section 186, p. 64.
25 Parker, Joseph I. Interpretative Statistical Survey of the World Mission of the Christian Church. New York, International Missionary Council, 1938, pp. 24-26.
26 Ibid., p. 34.

Nigeria are maintained by the missions. The ratio between the assisted and the un-assisted schools also warrants a second conclusion, namely that the major cost of education is still borne by private organizations, and not the government. Since neither the government nor mission schools are free of tuition, it can also be said that whatever educational opportunities are available in Nigeria are open only to those with a good financial background.

In view of the necessity for developing a free public school system, the increasing demand for education of all kinds, and the limited financial resources of the missions, it is becoming increasingly doubtful as to whether or not the missions can and should retain the leadership which they had maintained since 1842. A detailed discussion of this all-important problem will be presented after a review of the guiding principles of mission education, which will throw some light on the kind of future that awaits its educational leadership.

2. The Policy of Mission Education

The mission educational policy in Nigeria was outlined in a report made to the Christian Council of Nigeria in 1932, by Victor Murray, one of the foremost British authorities on mission education.[27] The Council is composed of the following mission organizations: The Church Missionary Society (Niger and

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[27]Murray, Albert Victor. "A Missionary Educational Policy for Southern Nigeria," The International Review of Missions. October, 1932, pp. 516-531.

Lagos Dioceses), the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the Salvation Army, the Nigerian Baptist Convention, the Niger Delta Pastorate, the Basil Mission, and the Qua Ibo Mission.

It should be pointed out that all these missions are Protestant, and that the Roman Catholic Mission, which has the largest following of all the missions in Nigeria, is not represented in the Council. Another important observation is that the policy contained in this report was specifically set for Southern Nigeria. The difference that lies between the policy of the Protestant missions and the Catholics is only a matter of degree. Perhaps the Catholics are more strict, more exacting, and less tolerant than other missions, but they are all animated by the same spirit of evangelism. Their educational policies are the same and should be considered as such. The policy of mission education in the South differs from that of the North, in that the South has to reckon with Mohammedan culture, which regards all non-Moslems as infidels and which the government is committed, by treaties, to respect and preserve.[28] Because of the resistance which Mohammedanism is offering Christianity, mission penetration of the North is making slow though steady progress. In the North the missions may be more cautious, less assertive, more shrewd perhaps, but in matters religious and educational, their policy is the same as in the South. Furthermore, most of the missions stationed in the North are only branches of those in the South. They draw their inspiration from one source, and their directives usually emanate from

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[28] Bittinger, D.W., An Educational Experiment in the Soudan, 1941, p. 145.

one central bishopric.

There is no grave error, therefore, in referring to Murray's report as a fairly good statement on what the missions in Nigeria are trying to do in matters of education. Murray was requested by the Christian Council of Nigeria to come from England to make a tour of all the schools under the jurisdiction of the above named missionary organizations. The aim of this study, as officially stated, was "to discover what was the educational policy of each mission and the extent to which it was being carried out, and to see how far these different policies might be blended into one."[29] The result was published with the authorization and endorsement of the Council.

According to the report, the chief concern of mission education in Nigeria is with the villages, and this education touches village life at three points:

1. Customs and Institutions

Nigerian society is undergoing a cultural transition, with an accompanying process of detribalization. The emergence of towns and cities; new means of transportation--motor roads, bus services, railways, and air lines; and changes in political and economic life, are bringing the villages into constant touch with modern life. New ideas are in vogue, accepted beliefs and modes of conduct are being transmogrified. In the dislocation of community life which all these necessarily entail,

> the Christian mission with its church and school has, or ought to have, a stabilizing influence. It exists to be of service to primitive people in the throes of this transition, and to help to retain for them a social and spiritual society

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[29]Murray, op.cit., p. 516.

> in which the best in the new and the best in the old can harmonize.[30]

2. Economic

The missions, in relative measures, are facing an economic problem, necessitated by the fact that "the great bulk of the funds for churches and schools comes not from abroad (as is often erroneously supposed by outside people) but from the local Africans themselves."[31] Hence the necessity for developing a healthy economic life in the village. In the absence of any free school system in Nigeria, parents often consider, and rightly so, the educational expenditure on their children an investment which must yield concrete dividends.

Faced by these realities, the mission

> has to be practical in its aims, and to give an education which, if it does not directly contribute to the ability of its scholars to improve their means of livelihood, at any rate does not make them unable or unwilling to earn their living in their own locality, where other conditions make that possible.[32]

As a Christian school, however, the mission school is primarily interested in teaching the "Christian way of life,"[32a] because the Christian missionaries in Nigeria, as elsewhere, are first of all disciples of Christ, and their chief concern is to preach the gospel of Christ--crucified as a means whereby people would attain a full and richer life. It is the spiritual problem which comes first. The fact that the Nigerian people are

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[30] *Ibid.*, p. 518.
[31] *Loc. cit.*
[32] Murray, Albert V., "A Missionary Educational Policy for Southern Nigeria," *The International Review of Missions*, October 1932, p. 518.
[32a] Italics mine.

now in a state of transition makes this all the more important. The attainment of a better standard of living on the part of the people is a secondary problem with the missions.[33]

3. Native Church and Native Leadership

The mission school and the mission church are one and inseparable thing. Without the church there would be no school. The mission school is, therefore, confronted with the problem of training leaders with "Christian character." The mission school recognizes also the increasing political responsibility of Nigerians, and the needed trained leaders which it must help produce from within the ranks of the people, but "it is recognized that this must be a slow process, and as far as missionary educational policy is concerned the educational facilities provided will necessarily be limited by the mission's own spiritual and cultural effectiveness."[34]

Scope of Operation

The mission recognizes as being within its proper sphere of influence the provision of elementary schools in the villages. At the same time it believes in the maintenance of other educational institutions which would make the operation of elementary schools possible. For example, the mission will and does maintain a normal college for teachers. In such a college "there need be no feverishness and fret to get into the curriculum everything which a teacher can never require." The mechanics of teaching will be left to be learned on the job, while the

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[33] Ibid., p. 519.
[34] Loc. cit.

college inculcates upon its students such qualities as "unselfish cooperation, the dignity of labor, training in meditation and worship, the right regulation of sex life, the sharpening of the mind and the deepening of sympathy."[35]

While stating that its main concern is with the elementary school, the mission also considers the question of secondary education very important, in view of the growing need and opportunity in the country for men and women with cultivated intelligence. To prove this awareness on the part of the missions, Murray points out that there are a number of mission secondary schools already in existence. But the limitations of the missions in this aspect of education is acknowledged with a reminder that

> their primary task, as has already been explained, is to win men for Jesus Christ, and to enable them in Him to become their best selves. Apart from this they would not be in Nigeria at all. Education is a necessary part of that task, but that education is necessarily conditioned by the major purpose.[36]

Hence the mission secondary schools, while offering their students the best possible preparation for life, seek at the same time to do so in "a Christian atmosphere and to attract scholars to Christ." The missions desire to continue in the work of secondary schools but to give it a Christian coloring. Thus, while the mission school welcomes the teaching of science, it wants to teach it from the point of view of Christian humanism. This kind of science teaching, it is maintained, depends

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[35] *Ibid.*, p. 523.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 528.

on the teacher rather than on the subject matter.[37]

The hush-hush policy of the government on women's education, especially in the Moslem North, has not dissuaded the missions from making some provisions for the education of women. The effort of the mission in this respect ranges from the maintenance of maternity homes and Bible and training centers for Christian wives-to-be, to the operation of girls' boarding schools. Elementary schools are usually co-educational, while secondary schools, wherever they exist, are strictly separate. The expressed educational aim is "to teach girls their own real value, and to make them able to stand up for themselves in all the temptations of sex into which they are thrown in their towns and villages...."[38]

3. Problems of Mission Education

The limitations imposed on mission education by its policy just discussed, in addition to the effort of the missions to give their education a religious coloring and to play a leading role in Nigerian educational system, constitute the problems of mission education in Nigeria, and further poses the question: who should sponsor a national system of education--the church or the government? This question has been partially answered by the Colonial Office which, in its memorandum of 1925, endorsed the view of the missions that African education must be

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[37] *Loc. cit.*
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 526.

"based on religion."[39]

In welcoming this Colonial Office position, a missionary conference which met at Le Zonte in 1926, adopted a resolution which accepts education as the due function of the government, but, since African education would be of no value without religion, "it should be left to a large extent in the hands of missionaries, aided by government subsidy and organized under government direction."[40] The resolution further states that the missions would limit their educational activities to the field of primary and secondary education, while the higher and technical instruction should be conducted by the government through a board of trustees on which the missions would be represented. The missions also reserve to themselves the right to operate institutions of higher education in conformity with government regulations.[41]

The policy of subsidizing mission schools through grants-in-aid, and maintaining such external controls as are deemed necessary for the maintenance of an orderly school system, has been rigidly followed by the British Government in Nigeria.[42] The application of this policy by the government, has offered it an excuse for not maintaining an adequate school system for the Nigerian people. It has also intensified some of the problems created by the presence of the missionaries, thereby leaving both the people and the missionaries unsatisfied. Charles

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[39] Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, Cmd.2374, 1925.
[40] Hailey, Lord, An African Survey, 1938, p. 1236.
[41] Loc.cit.
[42] Perham, Margery, Native Administration in Nigeria, 1927, p.280.

E. Maddry, of the Southern Baptist Convention of the United States, one of the missionary organizations in Nigeria, made this interesting observation:

> It is disappointing to note that after three-quarters of a century of British occupation, there is still no adequate and comprehensive plan in sight for the education and enlightenment of the masses. With the exception of one or more institutions of higher grade for the training of government officials and special workers, the 20,000,000 inhabitants of Nigeria are dependent for education upon the church schools of the several mission societies working in Nigeria. The provincial government cooperates in a splendid and helpful way with the church mission schools, but Nigeria will never be set free from... ignorance until the government establishes and maintains a system of universal and compulsory education.[43]

Denominational Jealousies

The presence of mission schools and churches does not always exert wholesome influence on the society. The avowed intent of the missions on making converts constitutes a special social problem in itself. The activities of different mission groups with their conflicting doctrines and dogmas disturb the welfare of the society.[44] It is not uncommon to see two children engaged in a duel because one is a Catholic and the other a member of the Church Missionary Society. Some of the responsible mission authorities spare no pains in fermenting such jealousies, especially in matters affecting inter-school sports. That the people are unpleasantly sensitive to such religious antagonisms is revealed in the following comment by A. J. Udo

[43] Day Dawn in Yoruba Land, 1939, p. 25.
[44] Perham, op. cit., pp. 279-280.

Ema, a newspaper columnist:

> What beat the imagination of us all is that when these various missionaries meet, they meet on the most cordial terms, and will go the extent of taking tea or meals together--Catholics and Protestants. But we (Nigerian converts) must hate our brothers and sisters because their religious ideology and ours are different; they must not marry us so that they may not lose their souls.[45]

The Doctrine of Calvinism

A second problem raised by mission education in Nigeria is the doctrine of Calvinism, which expresses itself in a holier-than-thou attitude of some missionaries, in particular, and of Europeans in general. The Europeans are the successful ones, the saved souls, the Christians and the missionaries. The Nigerians, on the other hand, are the backward ones, the primitive pagans. It is for the express purpose of rescuing this "unhappy breed of men" that the missionaries have come to Nigeria. In accepting Christianity, therefore, a Nigerian must forfeit all his traditional ways of life, because new wine can not be poured into an old bottle.[46]

Such a notion is becoming increasingly objectionable to Nigerian intelligentsia who now feel that Nigerian education should bring "the youth face to face with his own culture and nature around him," before introducing him to "foreign languages, foreign history, foreign religion... and foreign standards of moral values."[47]

[45]"Beware of the Narrow-Minded Missionaries," The Nigerian Eastern Mail, November 26, 1942.
[46]Perham, op.cit., p. 280.
[47]Orizu, A.A., Without Bitterness, 1944, p. 140.

Conflicting Theory and Practice of Christianity

It is very difficult for Nigerians to understand the callous indifference of the church towards political injustice and economic exploitation, which victimize its members and make life in this world intolerable for them, and which, according to Christian ethics, should be condemned. This kind of attitude on the part of the missionaries has, from time to time, invited violent attacks against them, as the handmaids of imperialism and authors of Africa's political and economic subordination, as witness the following quotation from the influential and nationalistic West African Pilot, a Nigerian daily paper:

> They taught the African to be meek so as to enjoy the earth and the bounties thereof, and warned him not to think of the accumulation of wealth because danger lurked in its path. If the African suffered any disabilities, be they political, social, economic, or otherwise, he should forget them and prepare himself for life in Paradise.[48]

The African has come to the bitter realization, the article states further, that "while he was trusting to have a good time in heaven and not laying any treasures here on earth," others, including the kith and kin of the missionaries, "had been accumulating wealth and his poverty was transforming him into an economic pariah and a dependent race."[49] No group of people in Nigeria has been sold to the idea of the futility of life in this world. In the days that lie ahead the missions will be called upon to face life as it is in this world, and

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[48] "Inside Stuff," West African Pilot, Friday, Sept. 20, 1940.
[49] Loc.cit.

what effect that will have on the mission work remains to be seen.

Finance

At present the mission schools are of inferior equipment, both in staff and physical setup, as compared with government schools. In the recommendations submitted to and approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1933, on the administration of the government's grants-in-aid to private schools, the Advisory Committee on Colonial Education stipulates that one of the conditions for receiving a government grant is that a school must maintain an efficient staff with the same qualifications and the same base salary schedule as those employed in government schools.[50] To date the missions have not been able to meet this requirement, but by devious arrangements they have been receiving the grants just the same.[51]

Today the effort of the government to aid the missions by annual grants is minimized by a large number of unassisted schools and maintained by them. In 1937 there were 3086 of these as against 339 assisted in Southern Nigeria; and 344 against 22 assisted in the North.[52] Instead of using the government grant in improving the particular school for which the allotment is made, the mission authorities usually split it between the assisted and the unassisted schools. Thus by trying to make both ends meet they rob Peter to pay Paul. It will take

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[50] Colonial No.84, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London. 1933.
[51] Hailey, Lord, An African Survey, 1938, p. 1237.
[52] Annual Report of the Education Department, Nigeria, 1937, pp. 58-88.

a great financial outlay which the missions can hardly afford to remedy this situation. It has also been pointed out that the missions cannot make any more substantial educational advance for lack of finance.[53]

In view of the difficulties and problems thus presented, it is self-evident that the future of mission education is fraught with many handicaps. Yet the missions have played and are still playing a very important role in the educational development of Nigeria. For them to continue means that a new approach has to be made, both in the philosophy and in the practical performance of their educational services. First, it would be necessary for the missionaries to look more sympathetically on Nigerian culture and its contribution to sound educational development of Nigerian youths. They should also abandon their holier-than-thou attitude, and look upon the Nigerian people, especially their own converts, as a fellow band of Christian workers who, in the words of Hewlet Johnson, are trying to promote, through the church and mission school, the maintenance of "justice, freedom, a creative abundant life, and an ever-widening fellowship for each human soul."[54]

Secondly, the missionaries should seek and maintain for their schools a status of private institution, both in theory and practice. Instead of maintaining many poorly equipped schools with ill-prepared and underpaid teachers, the mission

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[53] Report of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa, Col. 142, 1937. pp. 43-44.
[54] The Soviet Power, 1941, p. 41.

bodies should maintain only such schools as their finances would allow them to place at par with the existing government schools. It should be the aim of the missionary organizations to make their schools as exemplary as possible in terms of equipment, staffing, and course of studies. They should not seek or be encouraged to supplant the the government in establishing elementary, secondary, or post-secondary schools. It should be the function of the government to sponsor a national system of education in which the mission schools will be operated as private institutions.

CHAPTER IV

BRITISH POLICY ON COLONIAL EDUCATION

The foundation of Nigerian education as laid by the missionaries, has been discussed in the last chapter, and some of the major achievements of the missions recorded. This chapter will examine the policy of the British Government towards the education of its colonial empire, as a major factor conditioning the contributions which the Nigerian Government has made and is making towards educational development in Nigeria.

With the exception of the Privy Council Memorandum of 1847,[1] which is out-dated for this study, nothing existed in writing, before 1925, that could be referred to as a statement of an official British policy on the education of its colonial possessions. Between 1835 and 1846, the British Government entrusted the sole responsibility of the education of its tropical dependencies to missionary organizations, chief among which were the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, and the Foreign Missionary Society.[2] This expedient, which receives strong acceptance among British official circles, left the government free to develop trade.

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[1] H.S.Scott, "The Development of the Education of the African in Relation to Western Culture," The Yearbook of Education, 1938, pp. 704-711.

[2] Loc.cit.

Besides giving an annual subsidy to approved mission schools in the form of grants-in-aid, the British Government did nothing to effect educational development in the colonies.

1. Advisory Committee on Colonial Education, 1923

Several factors, however, combined to interest the official British in colonial education. After the first World War, three major forces, all acting independently, called the attention of the British Government to their responsibility for the educational development of their colonial empire. By the Treaty of Versailles, Great Britain acquired new territories as mandates from the League of Nations, and was charged with the duty of accounting for the development of the people in those areas. Secondly, the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, out of sympathy perhaps, or moral obligation, petitioned the Colonial Office urging the establishment of an Advisory Committee on Native Education in Africa. Thirdly, and perhaps the most important of all, between 1921 and 1923 the Phelps-Stokes Fund of the United States of America conducted an intensive survey of the existing educational institutions in East and West Africa, respectively, exposing, among other things, the hiatus between what the few available schools were teaching and the actual needs of the people.[3]

The report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, and the chal-

[3]Jones, Thomas Jesse, Education in East Africa, Education in Africa, 1922.

lenging recommendations embodied therein, placed the British Government on the spot. The latter replied by appointing, in 1923, an Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies.[4] The function of the Committee was:

> To advise the Secretary of State on any matters of Native Education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa which he may from time to time refer to them; and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in those Colonies and Protectorates.[5]

Since 1929 the scope of the Committee has been enlarged to include the whole of the British dependencies, with the exception of India and the Dominions. The Committee works by submitting its recommendations to its appointee, the Secretary of the State for the Colonies. The recommendations of the Committee usually submitted in the form of a memorandum, become the official policy of the Colonial Office when approved by the Secretary of State.

Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, 1925

The first official statement of the Committee which was endorsed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies came in 1925.[6] It embodies recommendations on nearly all phases of education, and considers of extreme importance the necessity of finding ways to conserve and improve what is sound in indigenous culture. Specific statement of policies includes the fol-

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[4]Mayhew, Arthur, Education in the Colonial Empire, 1938, p. 40.
[5]Yearbook of Education, 1937, p. 413.
[6]Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, Cmd. 2374, 1925.

lowing: (a) The government welcomes any voluntary educational agency which conforms to the general policy, but reserves the right of control and supervision. (b) The government also welcomes cooperation with these voluntary agencies. To effect such a cooperation, the Committee recommends the appointment of Advisory Boards of Education which should include senior officials of the Medical, Agricultural and Public Works Departments, missionaries, traders, and representatives of African communities. (c) As far as possible, education should be adapted to the local environment and should seek to conserve all the desirable elements in traditional beliefs and customs. (d) It should aim to develop efficiency in an individual in whatever position of life he is situated, and should endeavor to promote the general welfare of the community through the improvement of health, agriculture, and other local industries. (e) Education should also aim at training the people in the management of their own affairs, and of particular individuals who should occupy positions of unusual responsibility.[7]

The most significant statement of the Committee which has from time to time been quoted as The Policy of British Colonial Education states that:

> The first task of education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people, but provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services, as well as those who as chiefs will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility. As resources permit, the door of advancement, through higher education in Africa, must be increasingly opened for those who by

[7] Cmd. 2374, op.cit., pp. 1-4.

character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education.[8]

Other major recommendations of the Committee include: (1) laying great stress on religious teaching and moral instruction in both schools and teachers colleges, as a basis of character formation; (2) increase of educational expenditure; (3) continuance of government subsidy for those private institutions deserving of it; (4) the study of vernaculars and the adaptation of text books, especially history and geography texts, to the African background; (5) employment of a good number of local teachers with necessary qualifications; (6) good supervision; and (7) education of girls as a means of avoiding a breach between the new and old generations.[9]

As of date, most of these recommendations are nothing but paper theories. Their application has been meager, and in some sections wholly lacking.

Medium of Instruction

A second statement of policy came in 1927, and embodies recommendations on the place of English and the vernacular as media of instruction.[10] In this, one of the most controversial problems of African education, the Committee recommends that: (a) In the early stages of the elementary school, the vernacular should be used. (b) Vernaculars spoken by a limited group of peoples should be displaced by more dominant or union languages.

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[8] Ibid., p. 4.
[9] Ibid., pp. 4-8.
[10] The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education, African 1110, 1927.

(c) In the middle or secondary schools and technical schools, English must, of necessity, be used. (d) To effect the latter, the teaching of English in the upper classes of the elementary schools is advisable, wherever necessary.

This policy has gained wide acceptance in many parts of Africa. And it might be added that there is hardly anything new in these recommendations, because the missions, particularly those of the Church Missionary Society, have been operating on that scheme since their advent in African education. The codification and orthographication of African languages was pioneered by Christian missionaries. An Editorial Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, issued in 1938, gave the number of publications in African languages as: Bible, 33; New Testament, 70; Portions, 173; total 276.[11] With the exception of the Roman Catholic Missions, the language policy of the missions has been consistently progressive. The vernacular is a part and parcel of their work both in the school and in the church, as witness vernacular Bibles, hymn and prayer books.

Grants-in-Aid

Another major statement of policy came in 1933, and was aimed at justifying and laying down rules for the distribution of government grants-in-aid to mission and other private schools.[12] The Committee justifies the scheme of government subsidy on the following grounds: (1) It is economical and gives a better spread of the funds available for education. (2) Private management of

[11] Hailey, Lord, An African Survey, 1938, p. 68.
[12] Memorandum on Educational Grants-in-Aid, Colonial 84, 1933.

schools ensures variety and individual initiative, both of which are conducive to proper educational development. (3) Grants to mission schools more than repay themselves, in that mission schools offer religious instruction which stabilizes African life and forestalls the baneful effects of Western culture.

It was provided, however, that no private school might receive government grants until and unless it had a staff with the same educational qualifications as those employed in the government schools.[13] Furthermore, it was stipulated that the amount of government grant would be calculated on the basis of expenditure on staff and that the scale of teachers' salaries on the assisted or grant-receiving schools should be the same as in government schools.[14]

This latter important proviso has not been adhered to in many territories. In Nigeria, for example, it has not been possible for the missions to maintain fully equipped schools or qualified teachers or to pay those under their employ the same amount of salary they would have received if they had been employed by the government.[15] This disparity of salary between government and mission teachers has been a constant source of dissatisfaction on the part of the latter, and hundreds of them resign their positions every year for more lucrative jobs.

Even though the Committee did not say so in so many words, the emphasis laid on the necessity of cooperation between missionary bodies and colonial governments has led to the belief

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[15] See pp. 61-62.

that the establishment of government-supported schools is unnecessary. Again, this policy is rigidly adhered to in Nigeria, where some of the government schools are constantly being turned over to private ownership. In 1935 the Agbede Government School was transferred to the Roman Catholic Mission, the Arochukun to a private proprietor, Mr. Ikokwu; and the Azumini and Omoka to the Niger Delta Pastorate.[16]

Community Education

In 1935 the Advisory Committee issued a _Memorandum on the Education of African Communities_,[17] which calls attention to the necessity of relating education to community life. This memorandum demands a new education which shall embrace all the social forces in the community. It maintains that the best a school can do in promoting the good life lies in the extent to which it sifts and cooperates with the moral and social forces in a community and builds on them as its foundation. Character is formed, the memorandum asserts, less by deliberate instruction and more by the unconscious give and take which exists between the child and the influences that surround him--his parents, the ideas, habits, customs, and aspirations of the community of which he is a part.[18]

The Committee prefaced this memorandum with the quotation of the educational policy formerly enunciated by it in 1925.[19]

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[16] _Annual Report on the Education Department_, 1935, p. 51.
[17] _Colonial_, No. 103, 1935.
[18] _Ibid._, p. 8.
[19] _Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa_, Cmd., 2374, 1925, p. 4.

Having emphasized again the need of dissemination of education among the masses, the Committee addresses itself specifically to the education of rural communities with the following observation: "Experience of the education of rural communities in different countries tends to show that efforts to educate the young are often largely wasted unless a simultaneous effort is made to improve the life of the community as a whole."[20]

With the belief that there is a direct connection between the educational policy and the economic development of a given community, the Committee recommends that the educator should have an idea of the kind of economic future that awaits the children he is educating. Towards an over-all improvement of the community life, the Committee recommends the blending of all social agencies--the health and agricultural departments, the religious and other group organizations in planning a school program.[21]

As a policy of rural education the Committee states:

> ...the village school will have as its central aim to create in the minds of its pupils an inherent interest in their environment, for only so will they enjoy living in it; to enable them to understand it, in order that they may be able successfully to cope with it; and to inspire them with the desire to improve it. The teacher will attempt to awaken an intelligent interest in the process of nature by which the pupils are surrounded in the work of the farm; to promote an understanding of the social environment and of the customs and laws of the tribe; to make as large a use as possible of local folklore, stories, songs, arts, and crafts, and to strengthen the loyalties and social bonds of native

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[20] Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, Colonial No. 103, 1935, p. 6.
[21] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

> society. At the same time it will be his task to interpret the new world into which the African is being introduced and to communicate the understanding and skill which will make him at home in it.[22]

The Committee states further that for the promulgation of the type of community education proposed, teachers with "new attitudes" towards the subjects they have studied and are about to teach have to be trained. The rural school organization should include: (a) village school and (b) "a rural community middle school," where the education given should be "both cultural and at the same time local in its outlook." To implement and quicken the process of community development, adults should be educated along with the young ones.[23]

Secondary and University Education

Statement of policy on secondary and higher education has come from two different sources. In 1936 a Commission was appointed to consider the question of higher education in East Africa.[24]

In the field of secondary education, the Commission points out that, like elementary schools, all the existing secondary schools in East Africa, with the exception of Makerere College in Uganda, are under mission control. Relative to the needs

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22 Ibid., pp. 9-10.

23 Ibid., pp. 12-14.

24 Report on the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa, Colonial 142, 1937.
A policy adopted for any part of British Tropical Africa is commonly applied in other parts as well. Hence the necessity for discussing this report here.

of secondary education these schools are found wholly inadequate. The Commission, therefore, recommends that the government should continue to work through the missions in providing the desired additional facilities. It points out, however, that "the value of the work done by the missions will be apparent but it is clear that the missions cannot afford from their resources to improve and extend their present vast network of schools to supply the unsatisfied needs... any substantial advance such as is needed must be at the expense of the Government, central or local."[25]

In its recommendations for higher education, the Commission feels that the shaky foundations of both elementary and secondary education would make the establishment of an institution of higher education a hazardous risk. "Nevertheless," says the Commission, "we are convinced that the material needs of the country and the intellectual needs of its people require that such risks as there may be should be undertaken."[26]

Hence it recommends the development of Makerere in Uganda, a government secondary school, as a Higher College of East Africa. The college should offer post-secondary education in the following departments: Arts, Science, Agriculture, Medicine, Education, Veterinary Science, and Engineering.[27] For the certification of the candidates for either of these courses, the Commission recommends the establishment of an East African

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[25] Report of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa, Col. 142, 1937, pp. 43-44.
[26] Ibid., p. 119.
[27] Ibid., p. 79.

diploma to be awarded by a carefully selected Board of Examiners. In addition, external examinations to be taken at British universities, especially London University, are recommended. The future visualized by the Commission for this college is a gradual development from a higher college to a university college to be affiliated with possibly London University, and finally to a full autonomous university empowered by a charter from the Privy Council to confer its own degrees.[28]

That the policy of higher education in East Africa presages the trend to be followed in other parts of the British Colonial empire is indicated by the reports of two recent commissions appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on July 13, 1943. The Commission on Higher Education in West Africa was charged

> To report on the organization and facilities of the existing centres of higher education in British West Africa, and to make recommendations regarding future university developments in that area.[29]

The Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies was instructed

> To consider the principles which should guide the promotion of higher education, learning and research and the development of universities in the Colonies; and to explore means whereby universities and other appropriate bodies in the United Kingdom may be able to cooperate with institutions of higher education in the Colonies in order to give effect to these principles.[30]

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[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 79-87.

[29] *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa*, Cmd., 6655, 1945.

[30] *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies*, Cmd., 6647, 1945.

While a detailed discussion of these reports will be omitted because the reports fall outside the period prescribed by this study, it is interesting to note that the two Commissions, respectively, recommend the establishment of university colleges as a means of meeting the need of higher education in the colonies. These university colleges, according to the reports, should be affiliated with London University. From the status of a university college they should work up to full independent universities. The West African Commission recommends specifically the establishment of three university colleges--one in Sierra Leone; one in the Gold Coast; and another in Nigeria, to be located at Ibadan.[31]

Another common feature of both reports is the recognition of the great need for educational expansion on both the primary and secondary levels. They both agree, however, that this need is not incompatible with the provision of institutions of higher education, and that the latter need not be delayed at the expense of the former. They point out that the returns of higher education in terms of better qualified teachers will accelerate the rate of expansion on the primary and secondary levels.

2. Lag Between Educational Policy and Its Practice

It has been estimated that the lag between educational theory and practice is approximately thirty years.[32] But this phe-

[31] Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, Cmd. 6655, 1945, p. 59. - A minority report recommends the establishment of only one university college to be known as the "West African University College." (Ref. p. 146)

[32] Myers, Alonzo F., Classroom lecture, October 19, 1945.

nomena can in no way explain the deep gulf between the policies of colonial education as enunciated by the British Government and the effort to implement them in practice.

The aims of African education as viewed by the British Government are noble and grand. As educational theories they are sound. From the standpoint of recognizing the needs of African peoples, nobody could have been a better student of African society than the formulators of these aims. Even an African could not have stated his needs more forcefully and convincingly.

The problem arises, however, not in formulating or stating the goals of education, but in putting into practice the stated aims. It is one thing to formulate a scheme, another to put it into operation. Education in the British African dependencies suffers because its practice contradicts its theory. This contradiction is apparent in almost all the ideals of African education as stated in the official and semi-official documents cited above.

Adaptation

The ideal of adapting education to local environment is contradicted by the octopus of British-sponsored external examinations. In every part of British controlled Africa, and other parts of the world for that matter, secondary school children are required to take the Cambridge School Certificate examination as a prerequisite for graduation from high school. The contents of this examination are of English background and have practically no bearing on African life. The syllabus of this

examination determines the curriculum of all the secondary schools, and, in relative measures, that of the elementary schools.

That the British Government is not opposed to this kind of setup is indicated by its official policy relative to higher education. To meet the acknowledged need of higher education in British controlled tropical Africa, the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa,[33] the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa,[34] and the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies,[35] respectively, recommended the establishment of university colleges to be affiliated with London University.

The Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies defines a university college as "an institution of a higher education at a university level which is not empowered to grant degrees."[36] Since the university colleges cannot grant degrees themselves, it is recommended that the students in these colleges, at the completion of their courses, receive their degrees from London University.[37] In practice, this means that the colonial higher education will be controlled, with slight modifications, by the requirements of London University.

It is difficult to reconcile the ideal of adapting educational services to the actual needs of the people and the commun-

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[33] Report of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa, Colonial 142, 1937.

[34] Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, Cmd. 6655, 1945.

[35] Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, Cmd. 6647, 1945.

[36] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

[37] Ibid., p. 41.

ities in which they live, with the practice of establishing a London University in Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria respectively. As long as the students are engrossed in memorizing the syllabi of London University courses, they will have neither the interest nor the time to reflect on their immediate localities, let alone learning to live in them or to improve them.

Mass Education

Secondly, the ideal of disseminating education among the masses and raising the status of the peasantry, is obviated by the unwillingness of the colonial governments to establish schools and vocational institutes. It is an indisputable fact that, without the missionaries, the material condition of the Africans would have been ten times worse than it is today. Where the educational activities of the missions are limited, as in Northern Nigeria, the inevitable result is retardation of educational development.

It is true that these missions are subsidized by the government, but the need is far in excess of the aid. Furthermore, the missions are only scratching the surface of the immense educational work that needs to be done. According to the testimony of such an eminent authority as Lord Hailey, a research scholar,

> It has been pointed out, for instance, that at the present rate of expansion the Gold Coast, assuming that the number of children of school age remains as at present, universal education will not be achieved for 600 years.[38]

What is said of the Gold Coast is equally true of other

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[38] An African Survey, 1938, p. 1235.

parts of British Africa. To this might be added the fact that the Gold Coast, with about 16 per cent of its available number of children of school age in school,[39] is one of the countries in Africa where government spending on education is "very high."

Higher Education

Thirdly, the ideal of training technical workers and people who will hold positions of special trust and responsibility[40] is thwarted by the absence of technical colleges and universities. Efforts that have been made to meet these needs through the establishment of "Higher Colleges" are anything but satisfactory. Mekerere College in East Africa had an enrollment of 138 in 1943. The three West African post-secondary institutions apparently about to be converted into university colleges fare no better. In 1944, the Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, had a total number of 16 students pursuing post-secondary education; in 1943, Achimota College, Gold Coast, had 98; and the Yaba Higher College, Nigeria, 100.[41]

Health

Finally, the ideal of improving community health stands waiting the training of a sufficient number of doctors, dentists, surgeons, pharmacists, and nurses, and the establishment of adequate number of hospitals, dispensaries, and research laboratories. In Nigeria, at present, there is one medical doctor for every 81,000 people and one dentist for every 2,750,000 inhabi-

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[39] Report of the Commission of Higher Education in West Africa, Cmd., 6655, 1945, p. 30.
[40] Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, op.cit., p.4.
[41] Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, 1945, p. 9.

tants! The entire population of over 25,000,000 is served by 271 physicians and 8 dentists![42]

At present the bulk of the people in the British colonial dependencies are underfed and undernourished. Ignorance among the peasantry and low wages aggravate the already serious phenomena of malnutrition. The Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire states,

> There is no doubt in our minds that over a large part of the Colonial Empire one of the most important causes of malnutrition is the low standard of living of many of its inhabitants. The foodstuffs which they themselves produce, supplemented by money obtained from the sale of produce, wages or some other source is very often insufficient to provide adequate nutrition in addition to their needs.[43]

According to the testimony of the same Committee, the diet of the inhabitants of the British colonies--the preponderance of whom are located in Africa--is, with few exceptions, lacking in the basic essentials for normal growth and development.[44] By and large, the Colonial inhabitants are vegetarians. Their typical staple foods include yams, cocco-yam, corn, rice, beans, cassava, potatoes, plantain, and bananas. Other accessories entering the daily diet may include groundnuts (peanuts), palm oil, and innumerable fruits and green vegetables. These food items indicate a preponderance of carbohydrates and almost complete absence of animal proteins, fats, and oil. With the exception of such places as Northern Nigeria, Kenya and Tanganyika in East Africa, where cattle rearing is one of the primary

[42] New Africa, Vol. 4, No. 4, April 1945, p. 4. Council on African Affairs, 23 West 26th Street, New York City.

[43] Report of the Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire, Cmd., 6050, 1939, pp. 13-14.

[44] Ibid., pp. 29-33.

occupations of the people, meat is a luxury in Africa. In Southern Nigeria, for example, meat is often heard of but not seen, and very few people have a clear conception of milk.

The ideal of improving community health has not yet found expression in the development of adequate local supply of water in Nigeria. The city dwellers of Lagos, Ibadan, Kano, Enugu, Port-Harcourt, and other municipal areas are fortunate enough to be supplied by four-spouted water pumps located in the market places, squares, and streets. Millions of suburban and country dwellers still depend for their water supply on the brooks and ponds where they collect, with their earthen pot or calabash, water, as well as mud and myriads of microscopic, disease-infested animals.

The expressed ideals of the British Government on the education of its African dependencies have been, on the whole, noble and sound. They have also been very consistent. The declarations of 1847 were as progressive and forward-looking as those of 1925, 1933, 1937, and even 1945. But the practical application of the principles embodied in these ideals have been most disappointing and sometimes demoralizing. The policies and principles enunciated either by the Parliament itself of the Colonial Office, mean nothing to Nigerians and the rest of Africans now under British rule until they are translated into schools, teachers, libraries and museums, improved health, and better standards of living.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The British policy on colonial education as outlined in the last chapter, finds its practical application in the contributions of the central government towards Nigerian education. It is the aim of this chapter to examine the nature and scope of these contributions.

1. Educational Legislations, 1882-1942

Education Ordinance 1882

Government intervention in Nigerian education dates from 1882, when a single inspector of schools, Popplestone, was appointed for the whole of British West Africa--the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria.[1] In that same year the first Education Ordinance in Nigeria came into being and "provided amongst other things for the constitution of a Board of Education."[2]

Education Departments and 1926 Ordinance

In 1903 an Education Department for the Southern Provinces was created. This was followed ten years later by the creation of a similar Department for the Northern Provinces, with Hanns Vischer as its first Director. Besides these two moves, the

[1] Year Book of Education, 1938, pp. 704-711.
[2] Annual Colonial Reports, No. 1335, 1926, p. 23.

attitude of the government towards education continued to be "laissez-faire" until 1926, when another Education Ordinance came into being, with greater provisions than that of 1882. In consonance with the former Ordinance, it provides for the establishment of a Board of Education with wide advisory functions; the inspection of all schools by the government; the closing of all schools whose standards are unsatisfactory, and the registration of all teachers.[3]

With the passing of this Ordinance, the influence of the government began to be felt, through its inspectors, in all schools, denominational or otherwise. While the principle of inspection was agreed to in theory, in practice many schools were, and still are, uninspected for lack of personnel.

Single Department of Education

In 1929, the Education Department of the Southern Provinces and that of the Northern Provinces were united under one central administration, with a single Director of Education whose seat is in Lagos, the political capital of Nigeria.[4] The Director is assisted by a Deputy-Director and two Assistant Directors--one for the Southern and the other for the Northern Provinces. In 1932, two Boards of Education were appointed for the Southern and Northern Provinces respectively, for the express purpose of maintaining "a unified system in which the Education Department, Native Administration and Missions may work in close association."[5]

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[3] Loc.cit.
[4] Annual Colonial Reports, No. 1625, 1932, p. 51.
[5] Loc.cit.

Education Ordinance, 1942

In spite of the amalgamation of 1929, the Northern and the Southern Provinces continued to be governed, as before, by separate Education Ordinances. The Annual Report of the Education Department of 1941 reports that the stage is set for the unification of these Ordinances and the issuing of the same regulations for the whole of Nigeria.[6] In 1942, a new Education Ordinance was passed, which aims at "consolidating into one code the existing separate Northern and Southern Provinces Ordinances."[7]

The new Ordinance marks the apogee of the trend which has been growing since 1926, namely government control of education policy. Under a unified legislation the Governor, acting through the Director of Education, is now in a better position to know precisely what is going in the North as well as the South. The discrepancies arising from separate codes and regulations are now eliminated.

It is too early to predict with any certainty what this control will amount to. At present it has not been very oppressive. Even though syllabuses on different grades are prescribed and enforced by the government, the schools do still enjoy a great deal of freedom in the construction of their curriculum. The exercising of the power of closing unsatisfactory schools has not been too rigorous. Perhaps the very fact that the government has not effectively undertaken the responsibility of establishing schools conceals the real danger of central control

[6] Ref., p. 1.
[7] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1942, p. 1.

of education.

2. Government Schools--Southern Nigeria

Besides supervision and provision of grants-in-aid to approved mission and private schools, the actual share of the central government in education is negligible. The numerical superiority of the mission over governmental schools is overwhelming. By the end of 1930, the ratio of government to non-government schools, most of them mission, was approximately 1 to 15. If we include among government schools the government assisted schools or those schools partially supported by government grant, the ratio will be 1 to 7.[8]

The paucity of government schools is further illustrated by the following figures on elementary school enrollment in Southern Nigeria.

Number of Pupils in Elementary Schools[9]

Schools	Year	
	1933	1942
Government	8,000	7,000
Native Administration or Local Government	1,000	8,000
Private (Assisted and	51,000	82,000
Mission (Un-Assisted	88,000	179,000

[8] Colonial Annual Reports, 1931, pp. 41-42.

[9] Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, Cmd., 6655, 1945, p. 20.

The first active government interest in education came in 1909 with the opening of King's College, Lagos.[10] Since then an addition of 31 elementary schools, 13 secondary schools, 7 teacher training institutions, and 1 "Higher College" has been made.[11a]

Elementary Schools

The Annual Report of the Education Department for the year 1938 placed the number of government schools at 31. This number marks a decrease of five as compared with the figures for the preceding year.[11] The same report states what amounts to government attitude toward the provision of elementary education.

> The average cost of a Government elementary school is approximately Ł1,000 ($4,000) per annum. To spend Ł1,000 on an elementary school is preposterous when it is realized that there are mission schools with secondary classes passing pupils out annually with matriculation exemptions, the grants to which in one case amount to only Ł350 ($1,400) per annum; in another to less than Ł300 ($1,200) per annum. An annual grant of Ł1,000 to a mission would place fully twenty elementary schools on a sound financial basis.[12]

In other words, the government is coming to a realization that running of elementary schools is a waste of money. To effect this realization, it has adopted the policy of not establishing any more elementary schools, and of handing over to other agencies the ownership and management of those it had already established.[13] In pursuance of this policy the Educa-

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10 *Annual Report of the Education Department*, 1937, p. 3.

11 *Ref.* p.9.

11a See Chart on p. 88

12 *Loc.cit.*

13 See p. 71.

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS, SOUTHERN PROVINCES, 1937
ENROLLMENT AND AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE[1]

PROVINCE	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	ENROLLMENT			AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE†		
		BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Colony	4	474	235	709	448	217	665
Abeokuta	..	....	...	...	....	...	....
Benin	10	1,877	198	2,075	1,775	194	1,969
Calabar	4	845	135	980	779	128	907
Cameroons	5	857	171	1,028	831	169	1,000
Ijebu	..	....	...	....	....	...	....
Ogoja	1	227	33	260	220	29	249
Ondo	1	217	45	262	206	43	249
Onitsha	2	543	111	654	532	111	643
Owerri	5	1,092	181	1,273	994	167	1,161
Oyo	2	137	...	137	135	...	135
Warri	2	528	88	616	478	83	561
Total	36	6,617	1,193	7,810	6,176	1,115	7,291

* Include elementary, secondary, and middle schools.

[1] *Annual Report of the Education Department*, 1937, p. 71.

† To the nearest integer

tion Department Report of 1941 states that "arrangements have been made to reduce the excessive number of government schools in Benin Province by handing over Ekpoma and Issele-Uku to missions." The protests of the people against this action of the government was dismissed by the official retort that the protests "have been moved by considerations of prestige rather than that of devotion."[14]

In view of the increasing need of educational facilities, the advisability of the government abandoning the field of elementary education is highly questionable. In 1937 the Education Department reports as follows on Northern Nigeria: "In a great many quarters there is a definite demand for Elementary Education, in fact in one Province at least there are not only waiting lists at various elementary schools, but also a waiting list of villages and small towns which have asked that schools may be opened in their areas."[15]

In Southern Nigeria the Report indicates that "the number of new schools for which application[15a] is open has been received during the year is phenomenal. In one Province, Ijebu, this amounts to 25 per cent of the number of unassisted schools existing in 1936. In Owerri Province nearly one hundred applications were received."[16]

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[14] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1941, p. 3.
[15] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937, p. 21.
[15a] The application is usually from missions and other private proprietors.
[16] Ibid., p. 20.

Secondary Schools

All that has been said about the elementary schools holds good also for the secondary, except that the latter are fewer in number and that no attempt has been made to transfer those under government to private ownership. The Education Department report of 1938 indicates that there are 33 secondary schools in Southern Nigeria, only three of which are government owned. Out of these only 15 (one government) offer full secondary courses; the rest run up to Class IV. Of the non-government secondary schools, 14 are listed as being assisted by the government.[17]

As in the case of elementary schools, there is a general demand from all parts of the country for more and more secondary schools. The official reaction to the ever-increasing demand for secondary education is stated as follows:

> This insistent demand appears to rise not from an appreciation of the value of secondary education in itself, but from (i) the desire for local facilities for qualifying for employment under Government in the clerical and similar services, the standard for which has now been raised to the holding of a Middle IV pass; (ii) the impression that school fees in these Government Middle Schools will remain as or be little higher than the fees of Government Elementary Schools, and considerably lower than the fees in the Mission Secondary Schools.[18]

Girls' Education

Like most of the mission schools, government elementary schools are co-educational. On the secondary level the only

[17] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1938, p. 15.
[18] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937, p. 22.

government school in existence is the Queens College, Lagos, founded in 1927.[19] It is a boarding school. Attached to it is a Domestic Science Center, which provides domestic science courses for its students as well as for girls from other schools in Lagos. Many other secondary schools for girls are operated by the missions. On the whole, the education of girls lags behind that of boys. On the elementary school level the ratio of the number of girls to the total number of school population is one-to-five; on the secondary school level it is one-to-eight in the South, and one-to-sixteen in the North.[20]

The blame for the disproportionate number of boys and girls that are being educated cannot be placed wholly on the government. There is no doubt that more girls would be attending school if schools were established for them. But there are still many parents who are reluctant to spend the same amount of money on the education of girls as they ordinarily would for boys. The reason for this lies in the social and economic structure of the society.

To many parents education is still an investment which is expected to yield some returns, and rightly so, since they have to pay school fees for their children from infant school up to college. After a girl is educated, she usually gets married to another family, and to all intents and purposes she is then an economic loss to the family of her birth. Whatever benefit accrues from her education goes, not to her parents, but to her

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[19] Ibid., p. 4.

[20] Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, Cmd. 6655, 1945, pp. 22, 27.

husband. Nor is this loss made up by the dowry which the husband pays before the marriage. In no instance will the dowry fairly approximate what has been expended on her education, and part of it anyway is usually returned to the husband in the form of gifts to the bride from her parents.

On the other hand, when you educate a boy, he stays with the family. His income helps to bolster the economic status of the family. He helps to educate not only his younger brothers and sisters, but near relatives as well. In addition, he is, for his father and mother, an old-age insurance personified. In times of extreme emergency, he is the bank to borrow from. In short, he ensures the stability and continuity of the family.

In view of these considerations, parents make no apologies in giving the boys the first, as well as the best, chance to education. One may argue that this view is too narrow, and perhaps too materialistic, but as long as the social and economic conditions remain as they are today, parents have practically little or no alternative. This does not imply that they are blind to the fact that giving boys and girls equal educational opportunity will accelerate social progress. It remains, however, for a universal and compulsory education, sponsored by the state, to convert these parents to the idea of the maxim: that when you educate a boy you educate a man, but when you educate a girl you educate a whole community.

Higher College

The crowning point of government educational enterprise

came in 1934, with the formal opening of a post-secondary institution known as the Higher College, Yoba. More shall be said about this college later.[21] Suffice it at present to say that it is the only institution of its kind in Nigeria. It offers professional courses in medicine, pharmacy, civil engineering, agriculture, commerce, and education. Entrance to it is controlled and conditioned by the prospective vacancies in the civil service.

3. Government Schools--Northern Nigeria

So far I have been discussing government schools in Southern Nigeria. I shall now turn attention to Northern Nigeria, which deserves special treatment because of its peculiar conditions. Northern Nigeria occupies about three-quarters of the land area of Nigeria and holds more than half of its population. From the standpoint of political and social organization and of culture in general, the North has witnessed a high level of civilization. Before the advent of the British the North had its own codified legal and judicial system, written language and literature. The North is the only section of Nigeria that had a written history before the Europeans came to Nigeria, and the only organized education (Koran schools) that antedate western influence to be found in Nigeria exists in the North.[22]

And yet, today, the North is politically and educationally more backward than the South. Whereas 17.7 per cent of the

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[21]See Chapter VI.
[22]Perham, Margery, Native Administration in Nigeria, 1927, pp.44-50.

estimated number of children of school age in Southern Nigeria are in school, Northern Nigeria, with a greater population, has only 1.7 per cent of its children in school.[23] Of the 30 secondary schools reported in Nigeria by the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, only one is located in the North.[24] Whereas the South has about 1000 graduates of either American or European universities, the North has only one.

As I go into a brief review of the conditions that made the North what it is and of the educational scene in the North, it is of interest to note that the educational gap between the North and the South is widening more and more by the increasing tempo of Southern progress, and the corresponding slow pace of Northern development. For example, of over 200 Nigerians now studying in America and Europe only one is a Northerner.[25]

Christianity and Islam

When the British came to Northern Nigeria in 1901, they were confronted not only with the highly developed culture of the Hausa States, but also with Islam, which is the religion of most of these states. As John S. Baden, Dean of the American University in Cairo, states, "Islam has always been more than a religious belief; it is a legal code, a social order, and a cultural mould as well."[26] With the Hausa of Northern Nigeria, Mohammedanism is the cultural cement of the society. Any encroachment upon it, therefore, will inevitably invite the ill

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[23] Cmd. 6655, 1945, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 186.
[26] "The Importance of the Moslem Bloc," *New World Facts*, 1943-44, p. 18.

will of the Emirs, as well as their subjects; and, at its worst, incur the enmity of the entire Moslem World.

Christian missionaries have always exerted a settling effect on the indigenous inhabitants whenever a colonizing power moved in, much to the appreciation of the imperial power concerned. But with the British in Northern Nigeria, there lay a choice between Christianity and Islam. They found it politically expedient to choose the latter, and promised the Emirs that they would respect their religion. At the installation of an Emir, the oath of office is sworn "in the name of Allah and of Mohammed, his prophet;" and in another clause the Emir pledges loyalty to the British, provided that the loyalties demanded of him do not in any way prejudice his religion.[27] All this meant that the missionaries would stay out of the Moslem North.

When a controversy arose between the British Government and the missionaries on the question of introducing Christianity into Northern Nigeria, the British were ready to live up to their word. "The government maintained that to allow mission education in Northern Nigeria would be a denial of their promise to the Moslems; that it would have an 'unsettling' effect upon the country; and would 'degrade' the European in the eyes of the natives."[28] Thus with a diplomatic stroke the British slammed the doors of Northern Nigeria to the missionaries, leaving them to operate only in the so-called pagan areas.

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27 Lady Lugard, A Tropical Dependency, 1906, p. 457f.
28 Bittinger, D. W., Educational Experiment in the Sudan, 1942, p. 203.

Koran Schools

The repercussions were very significant for the British Government in Nigeria. The absence of the missionaries immediately devolved the work of education on it. In undertaking this task the government was prepared to preserve the cultural patterns of the North. Preservation of indigenous culture lent itself to many interpretations. For some it means that the North has no use for Western education.[29] It means the restriction of missionaries to non-Moslem regions of the North. It means keeping the North "sheltered as far as possible from contact" with the outside world, including the "restless and undignified" Southern Nigeria.[30] It means in the educational program of the North, that nothing foreign should be introduced, not even barbed wire for fencing the school compound at Omu.[31] It means, in short, that the Northerners should be educated to like the North and to stay in the North as peasant farmers or clerks and technicians of the feudalistic emirates.

For some time it was thought that the Koran schools would serve the educational needs of the North. These schools, which usually meet in the hall of a mosque, with the children squatting on the floor, or in private homes, courtyards, or under the tree-shade, offer lessons in the Moslem religion. Children are drilled, frequently with the application of a cane, to memorize texts from the Koran. There is practically no worthwhile

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[29] Perham, Margery, Native Administration in Nigeria, 1937, p.285.
[30] Ibid., pp. 330-332.
[31] Clark, J.D. Omu, An Experiment in African Education, 1937, passim.

educational value in them. They teach neither arts nor science, let alone economics or social studies.

Education Department, 1910

Soon the government realized that the Koran schools could not produce intelligent rulers nor technicians and clerical workers needed for indirect rule. Hence it was forced to initiate education on Western lines. In 1905 a "Mallani School" was established at Nassavawa for the training of teachers. Following the graduation of students from this school, elementary vernacular schools were established in different sections of the North. In 1910 an Education Department was established with Hanns Vischer as its first Director.[32]

Further educational expansion came in the form of primary and middle schools. Since 1930 the school system of the North has been reorganized as follows: (a) elementary schools of four years' instruction; (b) middle schools of five years' instruction; and (c) a professional college of two to three years' instruction.[33]

From the very first it was the intention of the government to play an upper-hand in the education of the North, and further to correct some of the abuses of the educational system of the South, whose "predominant character," according to E. D. Morel, a former British administrative officer, is "denationalization."[34] "The object of Northern Nigerian Administration," explains Morel, is to set on foot an educational system throughout the country

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[32] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937, pp. 6-7.
[33] Loc. cit.
[34] Nigeria, 1911, p. 160.

which shall save the Protectorate" from the follies of the South, "while at the same time affording the rising generation the intellectual postulum we are bound to provide, and ultimately laying the basis for a native civil service."[35] A national system of education controlled by the government was forecast for the North. But the proposed national system of education was only halfway carried out because, while the central government controls the schools on behalf of the Native Administrations or the local governments, the latter pay the cost of building and maintaining a chain of schools known as the Native Administration Schools. The government's share in financing these schools is limited to the payment of the salary of the European personnel and the cost of operating the Kaduna College.[36]

As already indicated, the attitude of the government towards the missions was, in the beginning, not very hospitable. The only mission school allowed in Moslem North was that of the Church Missionary Society at Zaria, which antedated British occupation. After fierce government and Mohammedan opposition, missions are gradually penetrating the North, but are still confined to non-Moslem areas.

Among the missions now represented in the North are the Church Missionary Society, 1900, the Sudan Interior 1902, the Sudan United 1904, the Dutch Reformed Church 1916, the Church of the Brethren 1922, the Primitive Methodist 1924, and the Roman

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[35] Ibid., pp. 160-161.
[36] Annual Report on the Education Department, 1932, p. 4.

Catholic Mission.[37]

Schools in the North

In 1938 there were 216 elementary schools controlled by the government for the Native Administration. The number of mission schools was 383. The former enrolled 10,923 pupils and the latter 14,204. These enrollments account for only .26 per cent of the available total population of the Northern Provinces.[38] The elementary schools of the North have a very strong vocational bias. The future visualized for its graduates is agricultural life or civil service in the nature of clerks and technicians.

The only two elementary schools that tend to offer more general curricula are those maintained by the government at Jos and Zaria. The syllabii of these schools are modeled after that of the South in order to enable their graduates to enroll in the Southern secondary schools--an opportunity which does not exist anywhere else. The fact that the children of the North are in need of other kinds of education besides vocational, is indicated by the high waiting lists in these schools.[39]

The Annual Report of the Education Department of 1938 indicates that there are ten native administration and one mission middle schools in the North. The former conduct classes up to Middle IV (the highest standard attained so far) and the latter to Middle III. The only institution offering full secondary

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37 Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937, pp. 2-3.
38 Annual Report of the Education Department, 1938, p. 13.
39 Ibid., p. 15.

courses is the Kaduna College, the highest educational institution in the North. Centers for the training of elementary teachers are located at Katsina, Bauchi, and Toro. The latter trains teachers for non-Moslem and the former two for Moslem schools.[40] Teachers for the middle schools are trained at Kaduna College.

The history of girls' education in the North dates from 1930. In that year two girls' schools were opened at Kano and Katsina. In 1931, the former had an enrollment of 28 and the latter 56.[41] By 1935 two more additional schools were opened at Sokoto and Bernin Kebbi. The Annual Report of the Education Department of 1937 reports that "there are now just over 1,000 girls at Native Administration Schools in the Northern Provinces. Of these 216 are in the Girls' Schools at Kano, Katsina, Sokoto, Bernin Kebbi and Argungu, and some 800 are in elementary schools.[42]

The Chief Inspector of Schools for the Northern Provinces reports that the number of schools admitting girls is on the increase and that some of the Emirs had authorized admission of girls into the elementary schools in their districts.[43] This would indicate a rather interesting trend towards co-education in the elementary schools, as obtains in the South. This trend, if it continues, would enhance better cultural development of the North by exposing both men and women to the influence of modern education. Furthermore, it will eliminate an additional expense of maintaining two separate schools for boys and girls.

As in the South, there is a very strong demand for education

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[40] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937, p. 8.
[41] Annual Report on the Northern Provinces, 1931, p. 41.
[42] Ref., p. 35.
[43] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1935, p. 29.

of all kinds in the North.[44] This demand is indicated by the rapid increase in the number of schools and pupils:

Number of Schools and Total Enrollment 1935-38[45]

Year	Number of Schools		Total Enrollment	
	N. Provinces	S. Provinces	N. Provinces	S. Provinces
1935	407	3,127	19,310	188,818
1936	426	3,115	20,756	196,054
1937	502	3,286	23,172	224,788
1938	538	3,533	24,404	267,788

These figures indicate that the South, with a lower population, has more schools and more pupils than the North. This difference is brought about by (a) the reluctance of the central government to open schools, and (b) the limited activities of the missions in the North. Even in the North itself, as in the South, the numerical superiority of schools is in favor of the missions.[46] But mission schools are not enough to meet the demands of the North or to balance the difference between the North and the South.

4. Native Administration Schools

The institution known as the Native Administration School is an outgrowth of the political philosophy of indirect rule.[47] The native administration schools are owned by the local govern-

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[44]See p. 90.
[45]Annual Colonial Reports, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938.
[46]Annual Report of the Education Department, 1934, pp. 26, 29.
[47]See pp. 34-35.

ments, and the cost of their maintenance is paid from that portion of the general tax which is retained by the state, after a designated percentage has been paid to the central government.[48]

In 1937 there were over 180 of these schools in the North and 72 in the South.[49] At present a strong liaison exists between the local and the central governments in the management of these schools. Without the authorization of the central government none of them would be established, and in matters of finance, staffing, and over-all administration, the central government exercises very close supervision. In Northern Nigeria, for example, it undertakes the sole responsibility of the appointment and payment of European directors, principals, and other technical assistants.[50]

The native administration schools are still suffering from the hardship of pioneering work. They are now in the process of trial and error, but their ultimate success is certain. They have the financial backing of the state treasury and ample means of raising additional funds. Their present weakness lies in the fact that they lack educated and intelligent native leadership, both politically and educationally.

The European administrative officers who are, as a matter of fact, at present in charge of these schools regard themselves as political appointees of the central government, rather than leaders of community thought. They are slaves of the directives from headquarters. Thus preoccupied, they seldom, if ever, re-

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[48]See p. 34.
[49]See Chart on p. 103.
[50]Annual Report of the Education Department, 1932, p. 5.

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION SCHOOLS, SOUTHERN PROVINCES, 1937.
ENROLLMENT AND AVERAGE ATTENDANCE[1] *

PROVINCE	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	ENROLLMENT			AVERAGE ATTENDANCE †		
		BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Colony	1	60	3	63	49	4	53
Abeokuta	1	75	...	75	71	...	71
Benin	1	72	...	72	70	...	70
Calabar	17	973	132	1,105	924	122	1,046
Cameroons	19	1,408	99	1,507	1,338	106	1,444
Ijebu	..	....	...	....	....	...	....
Ogoja	2	30	...	30	27	...	27
Ondo	1	80	19	99	72	16	88
Onitsha	..	....	...	....	....	...	....
Owerri	5	259	15	274	229	13	242
Oyo	7	635	57	692	617	34	651
Warri	18	1,027	88	1,115	872	80	952
Total	72	4,639	393	5,032	4,269	375	4,644

Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937, p. 75.
Corresponding figures for the Northern Provinces are unavailable.
To the nearest integer.

flect on the nature of the needs of the people they serve.

The central government will devolve greater responsibility on the states in the administration of the native administration schools, once the states can produce intelligent and efficient native leadership. In addition, it should be the aim of the local and central governments to produce such a leadership where it does not exist. Once this need is met, the native administration schools will assume a beneficial prominence in the educational system of Nigeria.

CHAPTER VI

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION

~~The evolution of Nigerian education, and the contributions~~ which the missionary organizations and the government have made towards its development, were discussed in the last four chapters. The present chapter will describe its administration and organizational structure.

1. Administration

I have shown that Nigeria is a subject-nation and that its affairs are administered by an alien power.[1] Likewise, its educational system is administered by a body of foreigners represented by the Education Department of the central government. The machinery of educational administration is closely tied up with that of political administration.

Administrative Structure

In 1929, a central Department of Education for the whole of Nigeria was created. Its chief executive is a Director of Education whose headquarters are at Lagos, the seat of the central government. He is directly responsible to the Governor, and is a member of the Executive Council, or the Governor's

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[1]See p. 23.
[2]Nigerian Handbook, 1936, p. 105.

Cabinet.[3] Other members of the Council are the high-ranking administrative officers of the British Government in Nigeria. The Governor presides over the Executive Council as well as the Legislative Council, of which the Director of Education is also a member.

Theoretically, the Director of Education reports to the Legislative Council on matters affecting education. He cannot promulgate any scheme until it has been approved by the Legislative Council. In practice, however, the matters which he refers to the Council are only those which have been approved by the Governor, and which are sure to win the support of the official majority in the Council.

The Director of Education is assisted by a Deputy and two Assistant Directors, who are strategically located at the headquarters of the Chief Commissioners of the Northern and Southern Provinces. Each Assistant Director has a Deputy, and Provincial Superintendents located at the Resident's[3a] headquarters in each Province. Serving under the Superintendents are inspectors, traveling teachers, principals, and teachers. "This organization, with a Director of the department's chief representative at the seat of Government and Assistant Directors at the local headquarters of the Chief Commissioners, reflects the spirit of cooperation that exists between the administrative and educational services."[4]

The Provincial Superintendents are responsible for the

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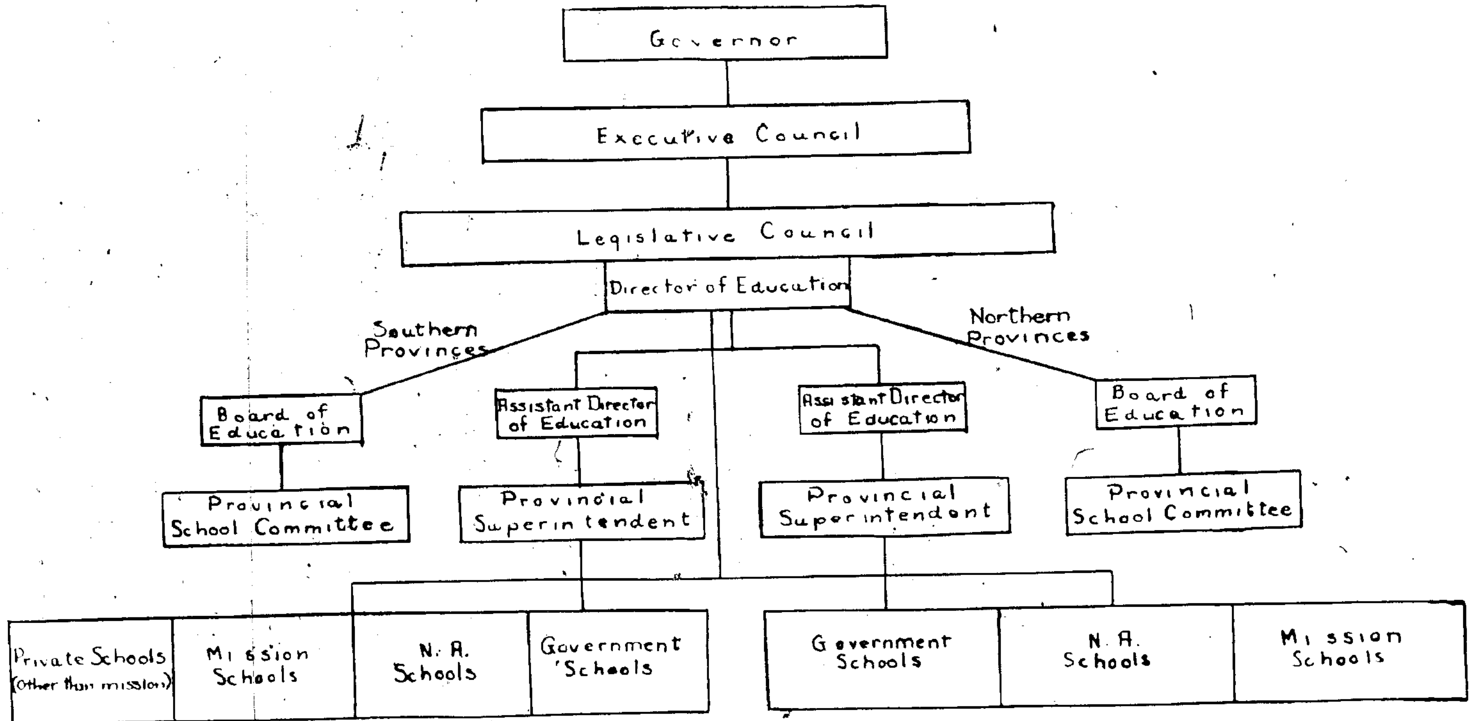
[3]See Chart on p. 107.
[3a]A "Resident" is a provincial chief political officer.
[4]The Nigerian Handbook, op. cit., p. 195.

ADMINISTRATION OF SCHOOLS



supervision of all schools within their province, government, mission, native administration, or others under private ownership. With the exception of Nigerians employed as clerical helpers, the employees of the Education Department are, as a rule, British, whose sole responsibility is to serve as administrators. A large staff of Nigerians is maintained for the actual fulfillment of the educational program, teaching especially.

A practice which has proved very effective in political administration is hereby reproduced. All the key positions, usually designated as "Senior or European posts," are filled with a handful of British officials who issue the directives which are carried out by hundreds of Nigerians in subordinate positions. In the departmental bureaucracy which controls education there is no Nigerian representation, and very little effort is made to enlist local or public opinion.

In principle education in Nigeria is under the control of the government. The Education Ordinance of 1926 made all schools, government and non-government, assisted and non-assisted, subject to government inspection. The government certifies all teachers, prescribes the syllabus and textbooks, and exercises the right of closing any school that fails to measure up to its requirements.[5] Murray maintains that the principle underlying government control of education in the British African territories is the fact that it is the due function of the

[5] Education (Colony and Southern Province) Regulations, 1926, Government Printer, Lagos, 1926.

state to educate its citizens and to prepare them for good citizenship."[6] In practice, however, government control of education has been limited mainly to the making and enforcing of educational policies, while the main burden of establishing schools is borne by the missionary organizations and the Nigerian people.[7]

Board of Education

In 1932 further steps were taken to implement the instruments of government control of education by the appointment of two Boards of Education, one for the Northern and the other for the Southern Provinces. The Boards were appointed with an aim to coordinating the activities of the central and local governments and the missions, toward a better unification of the educational system of Nigeria. Each Board meets at least once a year.[8]

The Board of Education is an advisory body. It has neither administrative nor legislative power. The supreme authority rests with the Governor, acting through the Director of Education. According to the Education Regulations of 1927,

> It shall be the duty of the Board to consider reports of the proceedings of school committees and advise the Governor thereon; to recommend to the Governor any changes in the regulations or any modifications thereof in particular districts; to submit to the Governor the names of such managers of schools, influential chiefs, or other persons, as it may consider well qualified to serve for appointment to a committee; to report to the Governor on such matters of importance affecting education as it may from time

[6] Murray, Victor A., The School in the Bush, 1929, p. 118.
[7] See pp. 48-50.
[8] Annual Colonial Reports, No. 1625, 1932, p. 51.

> to time consider desirable; and generally to perform such duties as the Governor may direct."[9]

As a collateral to the two Boards of Education, there is, in each Province, a school committee presided over by the Resident, and whose function is also advisory. The Regulations of 1927 specify the following duties for the school committee:[9a]

> 1. The functions of a school committee shall be to advise on the best methods of promoting and raising standards of education in the area for which it is appointed; to suggest to the Director and to the Board any variation in the curriculum or in the conduct of schools which may, in its opinion, be suitable to conditions in such area; and to advise on the best methods of housing, and on sanitation and on the general welfare of the pupils in schools, including the provision of adequate play grounds.
>
> 2. The functions of a school committee shall be purely advisory and it shall have no executive powers. It shall not alter or disturb the orders given and the arrangements made by the Director or his representatives.[10]

The Board of the Northern Provinces has nine members, distributed as follows: (a) Three education officers--the Director of Education and Chairman of the Board, the Assistant Director of Education, Northern Provinces, and the Lady Superintendent of Education, Northern Provinces; (b) three high ranking government officials; (c) three mission representatives. The native inhabitants of the North are not represented.

In the Southern Provinces the Board is made up of twenty-five members, distributed as follows: (a) Four education officers--the Director of Education and Chairman of the Board; the

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[9] Education (Colony and Southern Provinces) Regulation, 1927, p.21.
[9a] Most of the school committees are now defunct.
[10] Ibid., pp. 21-22.

Deputy Director of Education; the Assistant Director of Education, Colony and the Southern Provinces; and the Lady Superintendent of Education, Colony and Southern Provinces; (b) two government officials--the Commissioner of the Colony and the Assistant Director of Health Services; (c) thirteen mission representatives; (d) six Nigerian representatives.[11]

Lack of Local Representations

The close relationship between political and educational administration is indicated by the meager representation given to the Nigerian people whose education is being administered. On the Governor's Executive Council there are two Nigerian representatives as against eight British officials.[12] In 1936 there were in the Northern Board of Education nine British and no Nigerian representatives. On the Southern Board there were six Nigerians as against nineteen Britishers. Likewise the high administrative offices of the Education Department, from the directorship down to the superintendency, are usually reserved for Britishers. There is no Nigerian representation in any of the key positions where educational policies are formulated.

Most of the lag in the educational development of Nigeria can be attributed to a lack of people's participation in their own educational planning. While a British administrator may have all the academic qualifications adequate to his task, he still lacks that sense of touch with the people which will make him an

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[11] Nigerian Handbook, 1936, p. 341.
[12] See p. 27.

educator instead of a business executive. His foreign culture and sense of values, as well as his inability to speak the language of the group among whom he works, completely alienate him from the people. Hence he is unfit either to interpret their sentiments or understand their problems.

Evils of Centralization

Equally inimical to rapid educational development is the effects of centralized government control of education. Centralization has estranged education from the people. The people have had no occasion to feel that they are a part of the school system and that they are needed in the fulfillment of education functions. Even the administration of those schools built and maintained by the local governments is in the hands of the Education Department.[13]

Centralization further militates against local adaptation. Orders issued from the headquarters are carried out by subordinate officers with little or no regard for their effects on the daily lives of local communities. Centralization fosters a uniformity which is often very unwholesome. For example, the imposition of external examinations in Southern Nigeria stands in the way of development of a functional curriculum which would have served better the needs of many hundreds of students who would not continue their education beyond secondary school, as well as a handful of others who are destined to complete their education in college. Equally harmful is the practice in the North. Be-

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[13]Annual Report of the Education Department, 1932, p. 26.

cause the North is mainly an agricultural country, it has been taken for granted that the only kind of education suitable for Northern youth is vocational, as opposed to liberal.

Perhaps the only ground on which centralized administration could be justified is that in a young country like Nigeria, where the educational system is still in the process of evolution, control by a central authority is desirable. This is necessary in order to assure the maintenance of adequate standards and to protect the people from fraud.[14] The truth of this expediency cannot be denied. But sound as it may be, it does not offset the evils of centralization.

> Neither the contribution of centralized control to building up systems of education nor the efficiency up to a certain point can be denied, but the defects of centralization outweigh the advantages, for while it secures uniformity, it breeds inertia and destroys that spirit of initiative which keeps education alive; while it presents superficially clean-cut and tidily organized schemes of administration, it prevents the development of that adaptation to local differences which contributes to the progress and advancement of national culture; and although all schools are treated alike, the result is monotony unrelieved by the color which comes from variety.[15]

Mission and Private Schools

Within the general framework of the central administration, the mission and the private schools have an independent existence. But this independence does not in any way absolve them from government inspection.[16]

A great deal has been said already about mission schools,[17]

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14 Murray, op.cit., p. 124.
15 Kandel, I.L., Comparative Education, 1933, p. 210.
16 See p. 84.
17 See pp. 41-63.

and here I shall refer to them only from the administrative standpoint. Most of the mission schools are centrally located, organized, and administered. Among typical missions, like the Church Missionary Society, the central authority is the Bishop, who acts through the General Manager of the Schools.[18] The latter is in charge of all the schools. His duties include the payment, appointment, and location of teachers. He receives the returns of all the schools and makes an account to the Bishop. He pays occasional visits to as many schools as possible, not necessarily as a point of duty, because his assignment at the headquarters is usually a heavy one. Next to the General Manager, in rank, is the Supervisor of Schools, a position which is often unfilled either because of lack of personnel or of financial inability to employ one. Quite recently, and at the insistence of the government, some of the missions have begun to appoint "Visiting Teachers," who act as sub-Supervisors of Schools. After the supervisors and visiting teachers come the principals of secondary schools and normal colleges, and the headmasters of the elementary schools.

The administrative policy of the missions differs radically from that of the Education Department. The missions, especially the Church Missionary Society, not only give Nigerians more representation in all school boards and committees, but also appoint those with necessary qualifications to high administrative posts. The reason for this is that, unlike the government schools, the mission schools are a part of the people. In many instances

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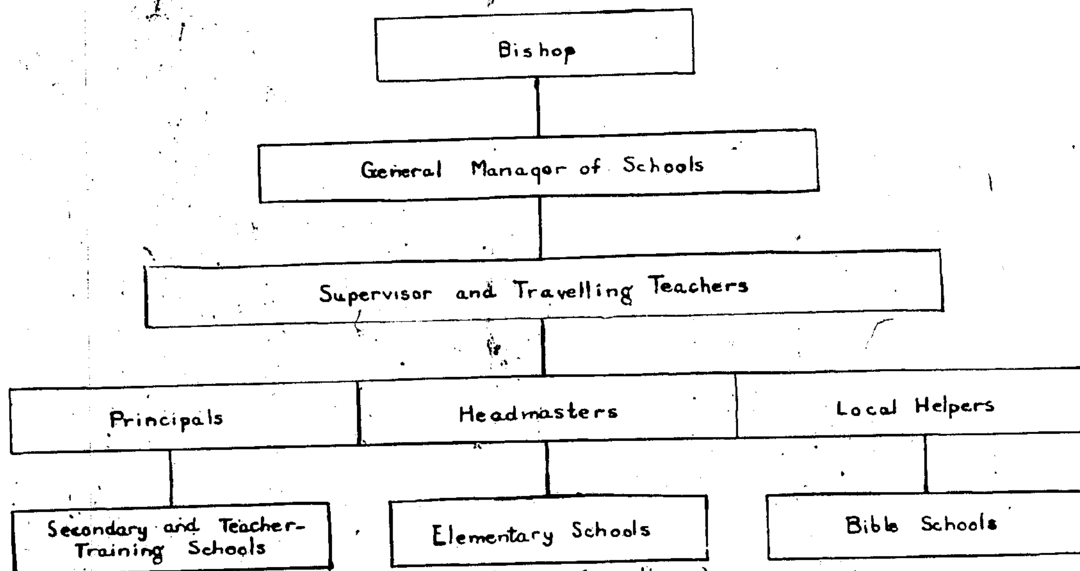
[18]See Chart on p. 115

ADMINISTRATION OF MISSION SCHOOLS*



* Typical of the Church Missionary Society (Anglican).
The office of the supervisor is unfilled most of the time, and travelling teachers are few where they exist at all.

they are built and maintained with contributions from the people. To run them, therefore, necessitates the cooperation of the people. There are many localities in which the people can point to a mission school and say with enthusiasm, "This is our school!" I do not mean to give the impression, however, that the people know all the workings of a mission school system, or that local representation and participation are as adequate as they should be.

Besides the mission schools, there are other private schools founded by citizens of Nigeria. From the standpoint of administration, they are under the immediate control of their proprietors or boards of trustees. Of all the schools in Nigeria, they are the smallest in number.[18a] The private schools are a result of private enterprise. They are also an expression of Nigerian nationalism, in that most of them were founded by men who are out of sympathy with either the mission or government educational bureaucracy, or with the philosophical platitudes on which the country's educational system is based.

Two of the most outstanding of these schools are the Aggrey Memorial College, Arochukwu, founded by Mr. Ikeoku; and the West African People's Institute, Calabar, founded by Mr. Eyo Ita. Ikeoku was practically "kicked out" of the missionary normal college at Awka, where he was an instructor for many years before he left the mission to found the college of which he is now the principal. Ita is a graduate of Teachers College, Columbia University, where he came under the personal influence of such educational authorities as John Dewey and William Kilpatrick. Before

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[18a]No official estimate on the number of these schools is available.

coming to America, he had already graduated with the B.A. (honors) from London University, and after he had completed his M.A. course at Columbia, he went back to London for an additional period of study.

These trips back and forth across the Atlantic more than convinced Ita that the European system of education, which is now making its last stand in Nigeria, has outstayed its welcome, and that the time has come for devising a "New Education for a New Africa." According to him:

> The Nigerian culture must grow upon its native soil, must strike its roots deep down into the foundation sources of its being, but like a tree it must draw also from the environing atmosphere with its leaves and branches. It can be nothing if it is not truly a Nigerian culture growing out of the Nigerian civilization: Call it yam civilization, palm civilization, cotton civilization, or what you wish; from the roots of our grass shall we grow and from the spirit of our fathers must we spring and yield fruits that will feed humanity. The wisdom of the centuries gathered by our fathers, their songs and musings, their poetry and art, these must be the basis of our cultural development, and the education of the youth should give it the greatest emphasis. The Nigerian religion and morals must be truly Nigerian. The "Superstitions" of the people must be re-interpreted in terms of modern life, modern science and philosophy, and the spiritual heritage of the tribes must be revived and intelligently applied to solve problems of the day.[19]

All Ita's convictions found their embodiment in the philosophy of the People's Institute. There he has induced his students not only to cast their buckets where they are, but is also engaged in creating new men from an old society. His difficulties have been many and trying. But his zeal and singleness of purpose have triumphed over all obstacles.

[19] Ita, Eyo, Education and Society in Nigeria, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933, p.98.

The difficulties that face Ita are the same as those of all the other private schools in Nigeria. Without exception, the private schools are financially poor. As of date, the country has not produced great philanthropists who could endow private institutions or give substantial money for their operation. Most of the private schools depend on the returns from the school fees for their maintenance, and in times of economic depression they are among the first to be affected. Their future lies in the keen resourcefulness of their founders, and in the willingness of Nigerian financiers to aid them by subsidies.

2. Organization

From 1842-1930, the school system of Nigeria was operating under a plan of eight years of elementary and four years of secondary education. This was superseded in 1930 by a new reorganization of six years of elementary and six years of secondary or middle school.[20]

The 8-4 Plan, 1842-1930

In 1916, two levels of school organization; primary and secondary were recognized by the Education Department.[21] A full primary school consisted of (a) Infant Department, Classes I and II; (b) Lower Primary, Standards I-III; and (c) Upper Primary, Standards IV-V. The length of the course was eight years. The Regulations of 1916 defined an Infant School as "a school or department of a school" in which the following sub-

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[20] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937, p. 4.
[21] Education Regulations, 1916, pp. 3-4.

jects are taught: (1) reading (vernacular or English, or both); (2) colloquial English; (3) writing; (4) arithmetic; (5) object lessons (drawing and nature study); (6) physical exercises; and (7) moral instruction.[22]

Primary school was defined as "a school or department of a school" in which the following subjects are taught:

1. Reading with translation to and from the vernacular.
2. Writing and dictation.
3. Arithmetic.
4. Moral instruction.
5. Domestic economy (for girls).
6. Colloquial English.
7. Hygiene and sanitation (for girls separately in relation to home and children).
8. Manual or Agricultural training.
9. Physical exercises.
10. Grammar and composition.
11. History and geography.
12. Drawing.
13. Singing.[23]

Primary schools which did not attain Standard VI held that as their ultimate aim, since it was the first school leaving examination. And furthermore, a Standard VI certificate entitled its bearer to clerical employment in government services and commercial establishments, and was also the required qualification for employment as a teacher. Hence the eagerness with which many schools sought to attain a full-primary grading.

The secondary school consisted of a four-year course, graded into forms I-IV. It was defined as "a school or department of a school" in which instruction is given in the following subjects:

1. Reading and recitation and colloquial English
2. Writing and dictation
3. Grammar, literature and composition

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[22] *Loc. cit.*
[23] *Loc. cit.*

4. Arithmetic and Mensuration
5. Hygiene and sanitation (for girls in relation to home and children)
6. Moral instruction
7. Domestic economy (for girls)
8. Agriculture
9. Geography and history
10. Algebra
11. Geometry
12. Elementary science
13. Drawing
14. Typewriting and shorthand
15. Drill and exercises[24]

Two other classifications of schools recognized by the Regulations of 1916 include: (a) Industrial School, defined as "a school or department of a school in which all the pupils are systematically and practically taught a trade or industry (which may be agriculture), and are given elementary instruction in reading (English or Vernacular), writing, arithmetic, and moral instruction. (b) Normal classes, defined as "a class for the training of teachers." For these classes a continuation of the subjects prescribed for the secondary schools was recommended, in addition to "School Method and the art of teaching, especially of imparting Moral Instruction;" and "Drawing and Nature Study in relation to Industrial Teaching (especially agriculture)."[25]

From the subjects as thus listed, it would seem that the children of all grades had a wide variety of educational experiences. But the contrary was true. The curriculum was narrow. The regulations even stated that it was not necessary for any one particular school to offer all the subjects recommended for it.[26] In addition, a minimum offering below which no school

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[24] Loc. cit.
[25] Ibid., pp. 1-5.
[26] Ibid., p. 4.

would be entitled to government grants-in-aid was set. For primary schools efficiency was required in the first four subjects, namely reading, writing and dictation, arithmetic, and moral instruction, in addition to domestic economy for girls. In the secondary school the minimum was the first six subjects, reading and recitation and colloquial English; writing and dictation; grammar, literature, and composition; arithmetic and mensuration; hygiene and sanitation; and moral instruction; in addition to domestic economy for girls.[27]

Most of the primary schools contented themselves with this bare minimum, in addition to history and geography and games. Because of the requirements of the Cambridge local examinations, mathematics--arithmetic, algebra, geometry and trigonometry--became a special feature of the secondary school program. Notably lacking in the curriculum of all schools were agriculture and commercial subjects. In the normal schools an effort to implement secondary education, or to provide it in cases where it did not exist at all, overshadowed instruction in school methods and the arts of teaching.

The 8-4 plan was a special feature of Southern Nigeria. In the North, with its different background and different educational policy,[28] organization was much simpler. Prior to 1930, the schools in the North fell into the following classifications: (a) Normal Schools, (b) Schools for the sons of chiefs (which were later abandoned), (c) elementary, vernacular schools,

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[27] _Loc.cit._
[28] _See pp._ 93-101.

located in the villages; (d) primary schools, located in Provincial and District Headquarters; and (e) Crafts Schools, existing side by side with the primary schools but distinct and separate from them.[29]

There was no school in the North, prior to 1930, that could be considered "secondary." In the elementary schools, instruction was given in Hausa, which is the lingua franca of the North. In the primary schools English was taught as a subject. Subjects of instruction included farming, industrial arts, and religion. The crafts school in particular taught carpentry and metal work.

In the general conduct of the schools great stress was laid on conformity to the existing social pattern. The Education Department report of 1937 states:

> From the start the greatest care was exercised that the schools should fit harmoniously with the existing social system... In matters of dress, correct practice in the form of salutations and courtesies to chiefs and those in authority,[29a] and in general behavior and mode of life, the school boys were required to conform to the best traditions of local society.[30]

The 6-6 Plan, 1930

Under the new reorganization of 1930, the school system of Nigeria now falls into three main divisions: elementary, secondary, and higher. According to the Annual Report of the Education Department of 1937, these three divisions are intended

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[29] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937, pp. 6-7.

[29a] In the government schools of the North the pupils are requested to prostrate before their masters and government officials.

[30] Ibid., p. 7.

to "correspond in ideal" and to "approximate in standard, to the three divisions of school life in Great Britain--Primary Schools, Secondary Schools and Universities."[31]

One of the important features of the new organization is the substitution of the old Standard VI examinations with a "First School Leaving Examination," designed for those who wish to continue their education beyond the elementary stage but with no prospects of attending a secondary school. These students would be cared for in a special "Higher Elementary School." The syllabus for this school is designed to be practical and to prepare its students for living. School activities play a very conspicuous part in such a program. No school will enter candidates for the First School Leaving Examination unless approved by the Education Department. The following are listed as the conditions to be met by the schools before approval by the Department:

A. Efficiency.

B. Following an approved curriculum prescribed for the special Higher Elementary Schools.

C. Practical activities to include at least three of the following:

1. Music--choral singing, concerts, plays.
2. Physical training and games.
3. Craft work.

either a. Carpentry
or b. Simple tin and metal work.
c. Leather work.
d. Wood carving.
e. Any other craft approved by the Department, e.g., glazed pottery work.[32]

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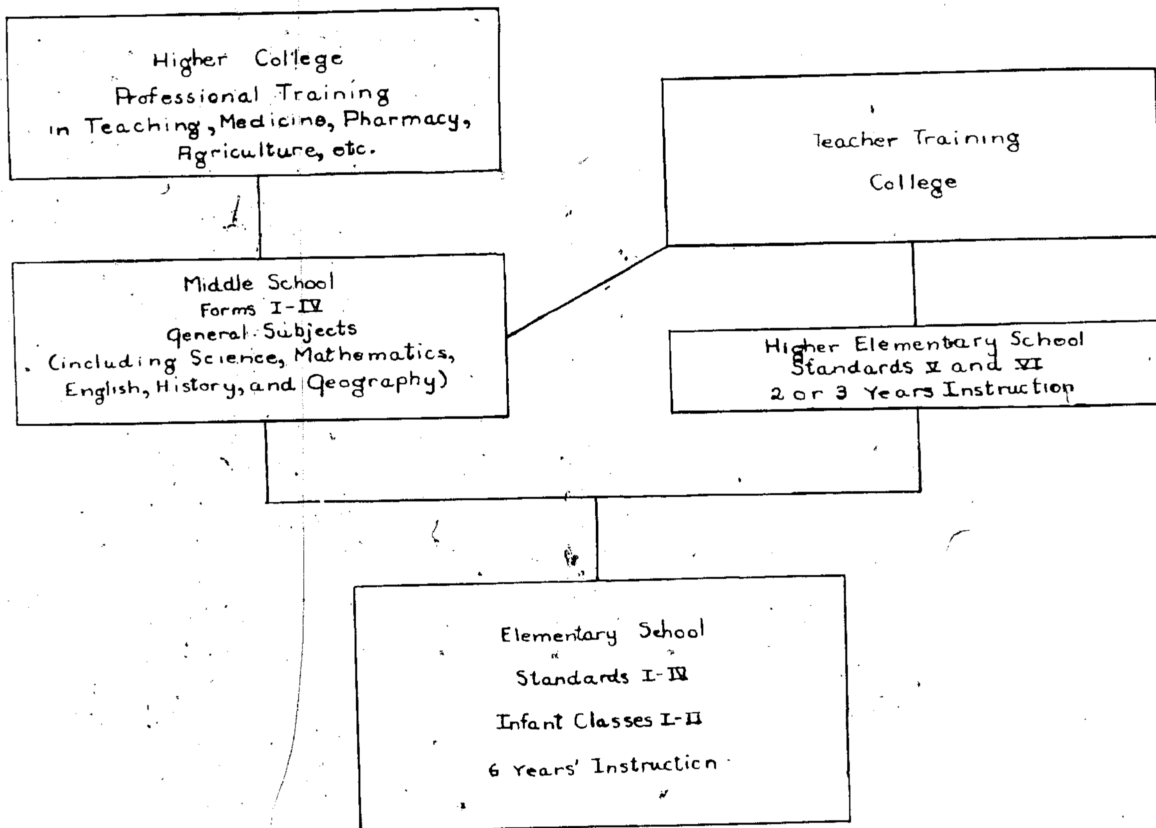
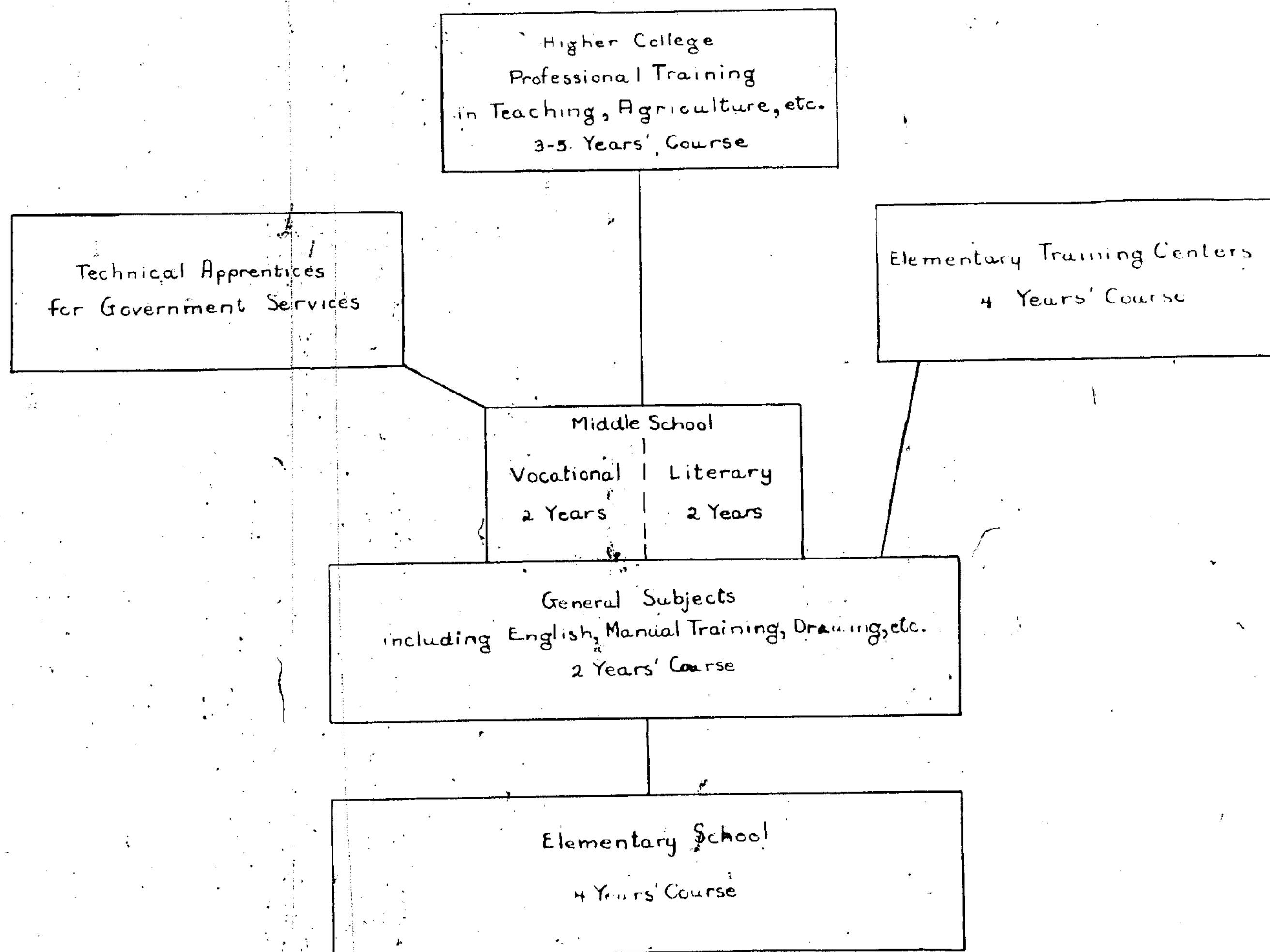
[31] Ibid., p. 9; see Charts on pp. 124-125.
[32] Ibid., p. 4.

SCHOOL SYSTEM, SOUTHERN PROVINCES



SCHOOL SYSTEM, NORTHERN PROVINCES



Another important feature of the reorganization is the establishment of semi-secondary schools for the North, and broadening of the curriculum of the elementary schools. The existing elementary schools were reorganized to work on a four-year program and the former primary and crafts schools were amalgamated to form middle schools. At the time of the amalgamation, the number of middle schools was 11, and the total enrollment 763.[33]

As provided by the new organization, ~~the elementary schools~~ offer six year courses in Southern Nigeria and four in the North. In the South an elementary school includes Infant Classes I and II, and Standards I-IV. In the infant classes, the mother tongue is used as the medium of instruction. Beginning from Standard or Elementary I, English is taught as a subject. In the cities where the school population is composed of different tribes with different languages and dialects, English is employed from the early beginning as the medium of instruction.

In Northern Nigeria the vernacular is, as a rule, employed for instruction. The language usually used is the Hausa, which is the accepted lingua franca.

The subjects of instruction in the elementary schools include the three R's, history, geography, hygiene, physical training, nature study, and gardening. In the North, where education has a very strong vocational bias, agriculture and industrial training occupy a disproportionate part of the curriculum. Whereas most of the elementary schools in the South tend to offer courses leading to secondary schools, those of the North,

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[33] Annual Report of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, 1931, p.40.

with a few exceptions, offer terminal courses designed to fit its graduates for village life.

The length of the middle school course is six years in the South and four in the North, with an additional year preceding Class I for a "Remove Class."[33a] In the North the middle schools continue the same kind of syllabus carried over from the elementary, but on a higher scale and for only a select group of students. "At the end of two years of instruction, those students who manifest a vocational bent are encouraged to specialize on their manual subjects during their last two years in preparation for technical training at the native administration workshops. Those who pursue a more literary course are eligible for selection to Kaduna College, where they are given vocational training in either teaching, agriculture, or other professions, in cooperation with appropriate government departments.[34]

In the South the middle schools offer a more liberal and literary education. The syllabus is usually patterned after the requirements of the Cambridge School Certificate and Higher College Entrance Examination.[35] The subjects of instruction include: (a) mathematics, (b) history and geography, (c) English literature and composition, (d) arts, (e) general science--biology, chemistry and physics, (f) religious knowledge. A number of schools have introduced wood and metal works, sculp-

[33a]The Remove Class offers an intensive course in English for twenty periods a week to a specially select group of students who are later sent to Kaduna College for higher technical studies. (See Report of the Education Department, 1937, pp.9-10)

[34]Annual Report of the Education Department, 1932, p. 6f.

[35]Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937, p. 4.

ture and tailoring, and so on. But these are still considered, in the main, "extra-curricular" activities.

In spite of the reorganization, many schools, especially mission schools, still operate under the 8-4 plan. The old organization still finds favor in some quarters either because of the physical difficulty of enlarging the existing four-year secondary schools into a six-year middle school, or lack of adequate staff to effect the reorganization.

More confusing, however, in the operation of secondary schools in Nigeria is the question of nomenclature. There is an apparent confusion, on the part of a foreigner, as to the terms "College," "Grammar School," "Academy," "Institute," and "High School," often associated with secondary schools. A visitor labors under misapprehension when he thinks that these terms suggest different levels of organization, or tries to compare them with their equivalents in Europe or America. Even though these schools go by different names, they are all secondary schools and offer nothing but secondary school education.

Higher Education

In 1921, a training college for teachers was opened by the government at Katsina, in Northern Nigeria. In 1927 the scope of this college was enlarged to include the training of dispensers for the government Medical Department. Three years later, it was suggested that the college should be developed to the same status as a "higher college" that was about to be established at Yaba, in Southern Nigeria. In other words, the normal college was to be developed into a post-secondary institution.

Later on, the idea of a higher institution for the North was given up, with an official explanation that Nigeria could not afford to maintain two such institutions.[36] Instead of a post-secondary, the college was developed into a secondary school and became the only full secondary school in the North.[37] In April, 1938, the college was removed from Katsina to its present site at Kaduna, for the convenience of cooperating with government technical departments and workshops.

The apex of Nigerian educational system is the vocational Higher College at Yaba. It is a post-secondary institution, and "the standard of entry is roughly that of the London Matriculation or Cambridge School Certificate, and of leaving about that of the London Intermediate.[38] The formal opening of Yaba in 1932 (for two years, 1930-31, the college was located at the King's College, Lagos, pending the completion of its buildings) was heralded by the Nigerian people as an answer to their long-time demand for an institution of higher education. But subsequent events did not justify such a view. Yaba opened, and still continues, as a vocational school where students are trained as teachers, medical assistants, pharmacists, engineers, and surveyors.[39]

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36 Ibid., p. 8.
37 Report of the Commission on Higher Education of West Africa, Cmd. 6655, 1945, p. 23.
38 Annual Report of the Education Department, op.cit., p. 10.
39 Ibid., pp. 24-26.

CHAPTER VII

TEACHER EDUCATION AND THE TEACHING PROFESSION

No history of any educational system can be considered adequate without some knowledge of the teachers who form a vital link in the performance of the education functions. So far the evolution of Nigerian education has been traced and its administrative and organizational structure discussed. It is the aim of this chapter to review, briefly, the evolution of teacher education in Nigeria and to describe the conditions under which Nigerian teachers perform their duties.

1. Southern Nigeria

The history of teacher education in Nigeria originated with the missionary organizations of Southern Nigeria. The first institution was the Hope Waddell Training Institute, founded by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland in 1895. The institute trains teachers as well as pastors, and has both a secondary and a vocational department. A second institution was St. Andrew's College, Oyo, founded in 1896, by the Church Missionary Society. In 1904 a similar college was established by the same mission at Awka, in South-Eastern Nigeria. In 1905 the Wesleyans founded the Wesley College at Ibadan.[1] Nearly every mission in Nigeria has its own teacher training institution.

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[1] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937, pp. 3-4.

The most outstanding of these, in addition to those already mentioned, are St. Gregory's College, Lagos; St. Thomas College, Igbuzo; St. Charles College, Onitsha--all of which are owned by the Roman Catholic Mission; the Methodist College, Uzuakoli; and the Baptist College, Ogbomosho.[2]

Higher Elementary Certificate

These colleges train teachers for the elementary and higher elementary schools. The course lasts for four years, at the end of which the students take a government certifying examination, known as the "Higher Elementary Certificate." The course of study includes the following compulsory subjects: (a) English; (b) Hygiene and Sanitation; (c) School Method; and (d) History and Geography. The following subjects are optional: (a) Agriculture, (b) Art, (c) History (advanced), (d) Geography (advanced), (e) Infant School Methods, (f) Nature Study and Botany, (g) Mathematics, (h) General Elementary Science, (i) History of Education, (j) English (advanced), and (k) Religious Knowledge.[3]

The entrance to these colleges is controlled by entrance examinations conducted by various mission education authorities. In the selection of the entrants, their academic qualifications as well as their characters are judged. Most of the students in these colleges had had only elementary education and a few years of teaching experience before entry.[4] A few students who had a background of secondary education are required to spend

[2] Loc.cit.
[3] Syllabus for Teachers, Government Printer, Lagos, pp. 5-13.
[4] Ibid., p.28.

only two years in the college during which time they spend most of their time in practice-teaching and in preparing for the Higher Elementary Certificate.

A special feature of the training colleges is their attempt to supplement secondary education, or to provide it where it did not exist at all. This phase of the college work usually occupies the first one or two years of the entire course. A practice which could be defended on the ground that general education is indispensable to a prospective teacher seems, however, to cramp the work of the training institutions, with the result that their graduates come out with hazy ideas about many things and no sound knowledge about anything.[5] Furthermore, the final examination occupies a disproportionate time and attention on the part of the students. As compared with the educational background of the students, the certifying examination is, as a rule, very stiff, and the mortality is generally high. In 1938, 35.1 per cent of those who sat for the examination failed.[6]

Examination Results, Teachers' Higher Elementary Certificate Examination - 1938[7]

Institution[7a]	No. of Candidates	No. of Passes
St. Gregory's College	7	3
St. Thomas College	11	7
Hope Waddell Institute	9	5
Awka College	20	12
St. Charles College	16	10
Uzuakoli Institute	2	1
St. Andrew's College	22	20
Wesley College	10	8
Baptist College, Ogbomosho	14	6
Total	111	72

[5] Annual Reports of the Education Department, 1938, pp. 21-22.
[6] See the following chart.
[7] Report, op. cit., p. 22
[7a] All mission owned.

Elementary Training Centers

In 1930 the government opened three centers at Ibadan, Warri, and Uyo for the training of elementary school teachers. Two years later a similar institution was founded at Kake in the League-Mandated Cameroons. These institutions differ from mission training colleges in several respects. In the first place, the length of the course is three years as against four in the mission colleges. Secondly, the final examination is conducted orally, and, in the third place, attainment of a satisfactory standard in some handicraft is a prerequisite to the granting of Elementary Certificates.[8]

The course of study at the elementary training centers is simpler than that of mission colleges, and, according to the Education Department report of 1937, it "follows a common policy in which insistence is made on the practical nature of teaching."[9] The aim of the elementary training centers is to train teachers who, in addition to the imparting of the three R's and simple activities of daily living, such as farming, carving, weaving, and metal work, can render community services. They are trained and are expected to live in an atmosphere of "community-centered school." They "have constantly before them the fact that the useful service of the teacher and of the village school does not end within the limits of the village school--they are trained to organize and to be alive to and explore opportunities for community service."[10]

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[8] *Annual Report of the Education Department*, 1937, p. 29.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 29-20.
[10] *Loc. cit.*

It can be said that the work at the elementary training schools is designed to serve the needs of rural communities. The philosophy underlying this work has not gained wide acceptance in spite of the publicity which government sponsorship has given it. The students of the elementary centers are usually elementary school graduates, and the level of the courses offered at these centers is just a little above that of the elementary school syllabus. The only novelty in the elementary centers is the emphasis laid on handicrafts, manual education and community services. The lower status enjoyed by the graduates in terms of social prestige and salary has made the elementary centers unattractive. Despite the elimination of a final written examination and the special recognition which these centers have received from the government, few students and few mission authorities have been attracted to them. In 1938 only five institutions, one of which is mission-owned, sent in candidates for the Elementary Certificate.[11]

Examination Results, Teachers' Elementary Certificate Examination - 1938[12]

Center	No. of Candidates.	No. of Passes
Agege (Mission)	11	4
Ibadan (Gov't)	3	2
Kake (Gov't)	13	8
Uyo (Gov't)	15	11
Warri (Gov't)	9	4
Total	51	29

[11] See the following chart.

[12] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1938, p. 22.

The graduates of the elementary centers are generally employed to teach in the native administration schools. They are entitled after five years of service to take the Higher Elementary Certificate. The Education Department report of 1936 states that it is the considered opinion of qualified members of the Education Department that the average product of elementary training center is better, especially in practical teaching, than many of the teachers trained at the mission colleges.[13] But actual experiences do not bear out this official testimony. The holders of Higher Elementary Certificates, that is, teachers trained at mission colleges, do not only consider themselves superior to the holders of Elementary Certificates, but are better paid than they.[14] That the products of the elementary centers gain over and above the graduates of mission colleges in practical and mechanical efficiency is lost in their lack of a broad educational background. It can be said of all the teacher training institutions in Nigeria that they lack an adequate program for an all-rounded education, a condition which is further aggravated by the fact that, with a few exceptions, their clientele are generally recruited from the elementary schools.

Secondary School Teachers

At present no special institution for the preparation of secondary school teachers exists. A special science course for secondary school teachers is, however, offered at Yaba Higher College. In 1939 fifteen students, the majority of whom were

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[13] Ref., pp. 26-27.
[14] See pp. 144-145.

mission teachers, enrolled in this course.

The teaching staff of the secondary schools is usually drawn from three categories of teachers: (a) university graduates, these are few in number; (b) holders of Senior Teachers' Certificates, to obtain this, a holder of Higher Elementary Certificate must gain a pass in two subjects of his choice, taken in alternative years, and seven years after his passing the Higher Elementary Certificate examination;[15] (c) a preponderance of secondary teachers usually come from the holders of Higher Elementary Certificates. Among this group have always been found teachers of special ability who through self-study and correspondence courses have prepared themselves for the teaching of secondary subjects.

2. Northern Nigeria

The program of teacher education in the North is less elaborate than that of the South. As in other phases of education, teacher training institutions of the North are lagging behind that of the South. In spite of government sponsorship, the North has not been able to produce teachers adequate in number or quality, and it is the policy of the government not to encourage further expansion of school until there are properly trained teachers to staff them.[16]

Elementary Training Centers

The government maintains three centers where teachers are

[15] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1938, p. 22.
[16] See Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937.

trained for the native administration schools. One of these centers, the Bauchi Training Center, ministers to the needs of the Moslem communities of the North. For many years the non-Moslem communities were neglected. A change of mind came, however, in 1929, when a non-Moslem training center was established at Toro.[17] In 1932 a second non-Moslem center, which is under the care of the Church of the Brethren Mission, was opened at Garkida. "The cost of the building, and much of the expense of establishing and maintaining" the latter institution "was generously given by the Carnegie Corporation, New York City."[18]

The course of study at these institutions lasts four years and embraces a review and expansion of the existing elementary school syllabus. In addition to the three R's, course offerings include agriculture, metal and woodwork, rope-making, pottery, leather work, sewing, nature study, drawing, and dramatization of folk stories. "Actual teacher training begins in the third year, special attention being paid to mapwork and to the use of the blackboard, and most of the fourth year is devoted to intensive teaching practice."[19]

Minor changes in courses exist according as the need of each particular institution dictates. At Toro, for example, which enrolled illiterates until 1937, teacher training is preceded by elementary education, and is supplemented by the training of a few students who go out as clerical helpers in the native ad-

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[17] Ibid., p. 8.
[18] Bittinger, D.W., Educational Experiment in Sudan, 1941, pp. 289-290.
[19] Report, op.cit., p. 30.

ministration services. Whereas Islam is the avowed religion in Moslem schools, the non-Moslem institutions, especially Garkida, emphasize Christianity.[20]

Secondary School Teachers

As in the South, the middle schools of the North recruit most of their teachers from the ranks of Higher Elementary Certificate and Senior Certificate holders. The Kaduna College is the only institution which trains teachers specifically for the middle schools. The training here lasts from three to five years, and as this college is government-controlled, entrance is generally limited to a few rigidly selected students. In 1937 there were only nine teachers in training, specializing in English, History, and Geography.[21] What determines the number of candidates to be enrolled for normal courses is not the need for teachers, but rather the number of teachers the central government or the local government can afford to employ at one particular time.

3. Problems of the Teaching Profession

Section 3 of the *Annual Report on Education Department*, 1919, states:

> Another serious difficulty that has been greatly felt and one that is likely to become more acute, is insufficiency of teachers.
>
> A large number of the schools on the Assisted List are indifferently equipped in the matter of staff as well

[20] *Loc. cit.*
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

as with regard to adequacy as to competency, and it may be inferred that the unassisted or private schools numbering some fourteen or fifteen hundred are in a no better, if not worse, condition.

As a class, teachers cannot be said to be well paid, and the salaries offered as a general rule prove no attraction to youths who have passed the 6th Standard or received a higher education in a Secondary School.

To this must be added, that those who take up teaching are called upon to go through a course of study and training, and to pass qualifying examinations. These requirements fail to appeal to those who have not an aptitude for teaching and a liking for the work, which are not given to the majority.

Moreover, during the last two or three years, opportunities in various directions offering more remuneration and attractive have considerably increased, and teaching work when undertaken is in many cases regarded as a stepping stone.

This observation, which is even far more true today than in 1919, vividly summarizes the problems facing teachers in Nigeria today, namely inadequate preparation[22] and poor remuneration.

Inadequate Preparation

The education of teachers reflects two philosophies of education that are now fighting for supremacy in Nigeria. For many years the European colonial powers in Africa have puzzled and mused over the type of education that is best for the Africans. Two common answers have always been given. One school of thought is for academic or liberal education, and another for vocational and industrial education based on the rudiments of common village life.[23]

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[22]See Charts on pp. 140 and 141.

[23]Murray, Victor A., The School in the Bush, 1929, passim.

QUALIFICATION OF TEACHERS, SOUTHERN PROVINCES: ELEMENTARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS AND HIGHER COLLEGES*

Schools	Vernacular		Uncertificated		Elementary Certificate		Higher Elementary Certificate		Senior Certificate		Master's Diploma		University Graduates		Europeans	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Elementary Schools																
Government			109	4			182	5	9							
N A Schools			51	4	107		6									
Assisted Schools	57	43	2037	335	17	4	958	83	11		1		1		14	96
Un-assisted Schools	3013	65	3805	57	18	3	270	13					2		4	14
Total	3070	108	6002	400	142	7	1416	101	20		1		3		18	110
Middle Schools																
Government			1	1			4	4	4		13		2	2	15	5
N A Schools							5				1					
Assisted Schools			47	9			166	36	20		2		14	1	41	14
Un-assisted Schools	3		49	7	1		28						3			
Total	3		97	17	1		203	40	24		16		19	3	56	19
Higher Schools																
Government											2				9	
Total											2				9	

* *Annual Report of the Education Department*, 1937, p. 91.

QUALIFICATION OF TEACHERS, NORTHERN PROVINCES: ELEMENTARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS*

Schools	Vernacular		Uncertificated		Elementary Certificate		Higher Elementary Certificate		Senior Certificate		Master's Diploma		University Graduates		Europeans	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Elementary Schools																
...rnment Schools					3		4									
Schools	188	12	236	1	151		10		4						3	5
...ted Schools	19	1	104	6	10		20		1						1	2
...ssisted Schools	259	4	152	5	4		5								40	28
...l	466	17	492	12	168		39		5						44	35
Middle Schools																
...rnment Schools							2				1				4	
...chools	19		29		1		30		22							
...ted Schools	1		14		3		9		1						2	1
...ssisted Schools			3				1									
	20		46		4		42		23		1				6	1

...al Report of the Education Department, 1937, p. 66.

QUALIFICATION OF TEACHERS, NORTHERN PROVINCES: ELEMENTARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS*

Schools	Vernacular		Uncertificated		Elementary Certificate		Higher Elementary Certificate		Senior Certificate		Master's Diploma		University Graduates		Europeans	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Elementary Schools																
Government Schools					3		4									
N.A. Schools	188	12	236	1	151		10		4							
Assisted Schools	19	1	104	6	10		20		1						3	5
Un-assisted Schools	259	4	152	5	4		5								1	2
Total	466	17	492	12	168		39		5						40	28
															44	35
Middle Schools																
Government Schools							2				1				4	
N.A. Schools	19		29		1		30		22							
Assisted Schools	1		14		3		9		1							
Un-assisted Schools			3				1				-				2	1
Total	20		46		4		42		23		1				6	1

*Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937, p. 66.

More shall be said later about these two schools of thought.[24] Suffice it at the moment to say that in Nigeria the missions represent the first school and the government the second. The mission colleges, though the means at their command have not enabled them to give adequate expression to that faith, envisages a future for the Africans which could be attained only through a sound foundation of general education.

The government, on the other hand, is becoming convinced more and more that just as, in its own considered opinion, the people are politically immature, likewise they are culturally immature. In this their state of immaturity, the best type of education for them is that which gives them an insight on how to make proper use of their local environment and to be contented there. The government elementary centers are designed primarily to train teachers for this type of people.[25]

What is wrong with the elementary school centers is not necessarily ~~the~~ educational philosophy on which they are based, namely the relating of the work of the school to the actual life activities of the people and their needs, both as individuals and as a community. This principle, in itself, is good, sound, and desirable. But the philosophy governing the elementary centers errs in its exclusiveness and short-sightedness. Vocational and industrial pursuits receive a prominence which overshadows any other phase of education. And these pursuits are to be only those known within a locality. All innovations, political, social, or economic, are considered dangerous and undesirable. The

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[24] See Chapter VIII

[25] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937, p. 29.

future envisaged for youths is about the same, hence the flat uniformity imposed upon teachers and their students. The society as conceived by the elementary training centers is static. It is self-contained, lives within itself, sees and knows nothing but itself. No wonder they have not attracted the best brains, and children who were unfortunate enough to enroll there had occasion to run away.[26]

It is true that some of the mission college graduates are often lost between two worlds, because they have not acquired enough of their cultural heritage to be better members of their own society, and have only a vague and hazy idea of the world beyond them. But the missions have been less dogmatic in their educational philosophy. They are increasingly modernizing and broadening their curricula, even in a Christian way, as witness the introduction of science, industrial arts, and music. They are even showing some interest in the panacea which the government has discovered in the elementary centers.[27] The present expansion of curriculum in some of the mission colleges seems to indicate that the missions are accepting the elementary center ideas not as a panacea, but as a partial solution to the country's educational problems.

Up to date, neither the mission college nor the government elementary center is in a position to offer a type of education that will induce anybody who wishes to come in contact with the world of knowledge and ideas to embrace teaching as a profession. A broad scheme of teacher education is among the future

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[26] Bittinger, *op. cit.*, p. 227.
[27] *Annual Report of the Education Department*, 1938, p. 22.

plans of the Education Department, and what nature that will take remains to be seen.[28]

Poor Remuneration

A second important problem of the teaching profession is poor remuneration. It is true that teachers, as a rule, are not well paid in many countries of the world, but the situation in Nigeria is indeed very acute. The situation is further aggravated by inadequate preparation. In Nigeria teachers fall into two main groups according to their rate of pay--government and mission teachers. The former receive higher salaries than the second. Since 1930 a third class of teachers whose salaries are even lower than that of the mission teachers has been added. These are the graduates of the elementary training centers who are generally employed in the native administration schools and known as native administration teachers. Mention must also be made of teachers in private schools other than missions. Many fortuitous factors generally control their salary, which sometimes is many months overdue before it is collected.

The Education Code provides the following minimum base salary schedule for the elementary school teachers.

1. Probationary Teacher £9 or $ 36[28a] per annum
2. Uncertificated Teacher £18 or $ 72 per annum
3. Elementary teacher £30 or $120 per annum
4. Higher Elementary Teacher £40 or $160 per annum

NOTE: Women to be paid a minimum of 2/3 of the above.[29]

Beyond this specified minimum, the salary schedule as actu-

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[28] Ten-Year Education Plan, Government Printer, Lagos, 1945.

[28a] The exchange is based at the present rate of $4 to a pound sterling.

[29] Report, op.cit., pp. 11-12.

ally paid up till 1938 is as follows:[30]

A. Government Teachers:

1. Probationary and Uncertified Teachers	£14-£ 60	or $ 56-$240/annum
2. Certificated Teachers, Grade IV	£42-£ 72	or $168-$282/annum
3. Certificated Teachers, Grade III	£80-£128	or $320-$512/annum
4. Certificated Teachers, Grade II	£140-£180	or $560-$720/annum
5. Certificated Teachers, Grade I	£240-£300	or $960-$1200/annum

B. Mission Teachers:

1. Vernacular Teachers	£4½-£12	or $ 18-$ 48/annum
2. Probationary Teachers	£9 -£18	or $ 36-$ 72/annum
3. Uncertificated Teachers	£18-£48	or $ 72-$192/annum
4. Certificated Teachers	£42-£140	or $168-$560/annum

The Secondary School Teachers are paid at a different schedule which is as follows:[31]

A. Government Teachers:

1. Masters Grade III	£ 88-£128	or $352-$ 552/annum
2. Masters Grade II	£160-£220	or $640-$ 880/annum
3. Masters Grade I	£240-£375	or $960-$1500/annum

B. Mission Teachers:

1. European Principals	£350-£450	or $1400-$1800/annum
2. European Assistants	£225-£370	or $ 900-$1480/annum
3. African Graduates	£155-£200	or $ 620-$ 800/annum
4. Yaba Diplomatist[31a]	£ 60-	or $ 240-$ - /annum
5. Senior Certificates	£ 72-£150	or $ 288-$ 600/annum

The maximum salaries stated above are usually received after many years of service, varying anywhere from ten to twenty-five years. In the government schedule for the secondary teachers, an efficiency bar of £300 is placed on Grade I Masters.[32] This means in practice that very few if any do attain a maximum of £375, which is reserved for men of exceptional efficiency. Also, a-

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[30] Loc.cit.

[31] Ibid., p. 17.
This schedule applies to Nigerians only. Britishers are paid at a rate varying from one and a half to three times the present schedule.

[31a] A graduate of the Yaba Higher College.

[32] Loc.cit.

vancement from one grade to another, where it is controlled by considerations other than success in an examination, is generally very slow.

Thus between inadequate preparation and poor remuneration, the teaching profession and the general educational advancement of the country atrophy. The solution seems to lie in three directions: (a) better preparation and better pay for teachers; (b) a more genuine interest in and respect for teaching as an honorable profession; and (c) a recognition of the fact that education is neither all academic or book knowledge, nor vocational or training in manual skills and techniques, but a combination of these directed by men and women sufficiently educated to recognize their interdependence and mutual relatedness. It is a foregone conclusion in Nigeria, as elsewhere, that teaching will never attract specially talented men and women unless and until it can command a decent salary and the respect that is accorded to other professions.

SECTION III. SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATIONAL ADAPTATION

The first section of this study summarized the major events that led to the political and economic control of Nigeria by the British. One of the results of this British contact was the introduction of formal education, the evolution and the present trends of which were discussed in the second section. In this, the third and final section, an attempt will be made to examine critically the current educational system in Nigeria, with an aim to listing its major weaknesses and suggesting means of improving it.

One of the strongest charges that could be made against education in Nigeria, and one around which all other charges revolve, is that it lacks adaptation. As here used, adaptation means (a) the "....sloughing off of outmoded purposes and practices by school systems and the taking on of new ones to meet new needs;"[1] and (b) a conscious effort to relate the work of the school to the actual life needs and activities of the people--political, economic, and social.

Reference was made in the last chapter to the two philosophies of education--the general-liberal and the vocational--that are now battling for supremacy in Nigeria.[2] It is the aim of

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[1] Mort, Paul R., and Cornell, Francis G., Adaptability of School Systems, 1938, Introduction, p. ix.

[2] See p. 139.

this chapter to examine the conflicting tenets of these philosophies, with regard to the future educational development of the country and its people. The terms general and liberal, as here used, have identical connotations, and refer to that type of education which, in ancient Greece, was designed for free citizens as opposed to slaves. They are used also to indicate that type of education which concerns itself with an all-round development of the individual, as opposed to training in any specific art or vocation.[3]

The educational tradition introduced by the missionaries is essentially European in character, and, in Nigeria, especially British. It emphasizes literary studies--grammar, Latin, literature, religion, history and geography, and mathematics. It relies on books alone for its intellectual contents, and in Nigeria as in other areas under British rule, its curriculum is dominated by the requirements of Cambridge local examinations.[4] Two kinds of future are open to its products: (a) professional education in a British university or (b) clerical employment in government and commercial establishments; and teaching or the ministry.

The liberal tradition reigned unchallenged until the early part of the present century, and its decline coincides with the establishment of the Advisory Committee on Colonial Education in 1923.[5] A new tradition was established in 1925 with the Com-

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[3] General Education in a Free Society, Report of the Harvard Committee, 1945, pp. 51-52.
[4] See p. 127.
[5] See p. 65.

mittee's publication of the Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa.[6] For the first time the term "adaptation" received emphasis in African education. The Committee stated that "education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life."[7]

Whether or not this was the intention of the Advisory Committee matters little, but the interpretation given to adaptation by the colonial governments was that African education should be given a strong rural-vocational bent. In 1935 the Committee issued a Memorandum on the Education of African Communities[8] which addressed itself specifically to the education of rural communities, offering suggestions on methods and procedures, and on the type of teachers necessary to carry out the proposed scheme.

These developments were paralleled in Nigeria--where the whole of the Northern Provinces have been undergoing years of ruralization--by the opening of the elementary training centers for the education of rural-vocational teachers and the further expansion of agricultural-industrial education.[9]

The vocational tradition represents a reaction against the liberal tradition, which it now seeks not to supplement but to supplant. It stems out of the spirit and idea of adaptation, but in its exclusiveness and unrestrained enthusiasm, it is now

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6 Cmd. 2374, 1925.
7 Loc. cit.
8 Colonial No. 103, 1935.
9 See pp. 96-100.

seeking to destroy the very ideal which gave it birth. The welfare of Nigeria and its people demands not an exclusive liberal or vocational education, but a harmonious combination of the two, fully adapted to the needs of the individual and of the community of which he is a part. At present this adaptation is lacking in many areas, notably: (a) curriculum development, (b) external examinations, (c) the medium of instruction, and (d) public support of education.[9a]

1. Curriculum Development

The liberal education introduced by the missions is liberal education as the British know and practice it. Not only does it fail to emphasize the needs of the masses, but it has nothing in it to make it a good liberal education for a Nigerian child. It is English in conception and outlook. It is conceived in terms of an educational philosophy which considers knowledge as everywhere the same. Not only was its curriculum constructed without any regard to Nigerian society, but it regarded everything Nigerian as bad. According to Diedrich Westermann, an eminent German-born English anthropologist and scholar,

> Schools have been started, and mission work has been carried on without any consideration for the state of mind of those who were to be educated or evangelized. The Africans have been treated.... as having no religion, no language, no traditions, no institutions, no racial character of their own, as empty vessels to be filled with European or American goods...Pupils and teachers have been forbidden to use their vernacular in

[9a]The last item will be discussed in a separate chapter.

> school, the Native language has been completely debarred as a medium of education. Boys and girls have been obliged, or expected, to lay aside their name, their dress, their African way of living; they have been taught to look upon their social ideals, their traditions and folklore as being of infinitely small value, as ridiculous or sinful.[10]

Changing Character of Nigerian Society

Such is the nature of the liberal tradition the missions introduced. It came to Nigeria when the society was comparatively simple and a Standard Six Certificate was a sure passport to gainful employment and "prosperity."[11] The need it served, namely, training of clerical workers, teachers, and ministers, was precise and relatively simple.

Today the inadequacy of the liberal tradition as an exclusive educational policy is becoming evident. The school population has grown far in excess of the available educational facilities.[12] The products of all levels of schools have trebled what they were in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Neither the government nor the missions, nor private and commercial establishments, can absorb all those who, as a result of their education, have prepared for some kind of white-collar job.

In addition to the changes within the school, other changes are taking place outside it which make Nigerian society profoundly more complex than it was a hundred years ago. The growth of such big cities as Ibadan, Kano, Lagos, Ilorin, Abeokuta, and

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[10] "The Value of the African's Past," International Review of Missions, July 1926, pp. 426-427.

[11] See p. 119.

[12] Ten-Year Educational Plan, Government Printer, Lagos, 1944, pp. 29-31.

Oyo; and of smaller ones like Port-Harcourt, Enugu, Kaduna, and Minna, has drawn from the country to the city a great number of people who are either ill-prepared or wholly unprepared for city life. And the process has by no means abated. One outcome of this phenomenon is that people who used to live in their own homes without estimating the cost are now tenants in the cities. Likewise, they no longer get their food-stuffs from their own barns or farms. They have to pay for whatever they eat.

The changes along political lines have by no means been less phenomenal. Resistance against foreign rule is gaining force every day. Several political parties have come into existence, all bearing the banner of nationalism and bidding for the support of the youth.[13] This inevitably involves, on the part of the citizens, an ability to analyse critically the issues at stake and to make an intelligent choice. The people are demanding the introduction of democratic principles of government, bordering on such considerations as general franchise, popular elections, and the right of the people to hold their rulers accountable.[14]

Similar changes are taking place along economic lines. The old-time economy has undergone a profound change. Pounds, shillings, and pence have undermined the importance of <u>cowries</u> and other sanctional media of exchange. The introduction of annual taxation has accelerated the importance of cash economy. People who ordinarily, would have contented themselves with mere spending money are now compelled to earn enough money to pay

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[13]See pp. 31-34.
[14]*Loc. cit.*

head tax or face months of imprisonment or forced labor, or both.

The opening of the coal mines at Enugu and Udi, and of the railroads, has swelled the ranks of wage earners, most of whom are paid at a rate below the subsistence level. The inevitable, and perhaps welcome, result of this situation has been the emergence of militant labor unions which now number over 80, with a membership of approximately 27,000.[15] Equally important in their effects are foreign investments, monopolies, and cartels, against which the new and growing commercial class has to contend, obviously on rather unequal terms. The ever rising cost of consumer goods, even foodstuffs, has made subsistence farming an anachronism beyond imagination. Of course industrialization is the answer for which the country is inadequately prepared, in finance and human resources.

"The environment of the African," says Lord Hailey, "is being rapidly modified by influences to which he has hitherto been a stranger, and his school life must therefore be designed not only to equip him to deal with his existing environment, but to fit him for the new conditions which he will have to face, and to help him to take his own part in shaping those conditions."[16] The Western civilization has created for Nigerians a new environment which they must adapt themselves to, as well as adapt to themselves. Such a two-way process of adaptation could not be effected without a conscious effort to employ the school as an agency for preparing the people to meet the problems of their

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[15] Annual Report of the Labor Department, 1941.

[16] An African Survey, 1938, p. 1207.

daily existence, political, economic, and social. If the school can do nothing to direct the influence of these changes to constructive ends, at least it can stimulate clear thinking of them, thereby enabling the people to act wisely and intelligently.

In view of the complexity of present Nigerian Society, we can no longer think of education merely in terms of preparing students for clerical services and white collar jobs, or for a simple agricultural life, or enforcing an arbitrary decision whereby the few are prepared for the former and the masses for the latter. What is needed is not a choice between literary and vocational education, but a broad educational system, which will give every child an opportunity to develop that skill in which he is most interested. Equally important is the necessity of starting education for every Nigerian child with contents of familiar experiences.

Principles of Curriculum Construction

It is not the aim of this chapter to delineate the techniques of curriculum construction. What is being suggested here is the principle on which a sound curriculum could be built. And, according to Julian Huxley, "the first thing to consider in the construction of a curriculum is not what the teacher would like to teach; not what the ideal human being ought to know; not a curriculum framed to cover the range of human knowledge and activities, in relation to which children are so many candidates. The first thing is what the child can profitably learn; what is suited to the needs and desires of a limited human organism in a particular environment; a curriculum framed

to promote the development of individual growing boys and girls."[17]

A system of education for any society, according to Professor Monroe, can be considered sound to the extent to which it embraces the following principles:

1. The primary function of education is to cater to the actual living needs of people.

2. The primary function of the school is to help children in making a wholesome adjustment to their own life needs--physical, moral, intellectual, economic, as well as social.

3. The value of any given course of instruction depends on the extent to which its results influence the actual life of the educand by modifying or controlling his conduct.

4. Hence the value of materials of instruction can be judged mainly by the extent to which they are drawn from the immediate experience and environs of the educand.[18]

In Nigeria schools are being conducted in partial, and more often complete, neglect of the above principles. After one hundred years of educational development, and in spite of the people's eagerness and demand for educational facilities, only 11.7 per cent, or 350,000 out of an estimated school population of 3,000,000, are in school.[19] The resultant effects of education are indicated in the following health figures for the Provinces outside Lagos, in 1930: Death rate, 45 per 1,000; birth rate, 50-60 per 1,000; infant mortality, 300 per 1,000.[20] In the Lagos

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[17] *Africa View*, 1936, p. 304.
[18] Monroe, Paul, *Essays in Comparative Education*, 1927, p.5.
[19] *Ten Year Educational Plan*, Government Printer, Lagos, 1944, p.29.
[20] Jacob, S.M., *Census of Nigeria*, 1931, p. 126.

metropolis, where education made its beginning, the figures for 1936 were as follows: birth rate, 29.2 per 1,000; death rate, 17.2 per 1,000; infant mortality, 140 per 1,000.[21]

The products of the few schools there are, are growing out of sympathy with their own laws, customs, and mores, because the contents of education have nothing to say about them. What is learned is usually forgotten as soon as the heat of examination is over, because it has no practical significance for the student's past, present, or future life. In other words, the education received has not been adapted to the actual and felt needs of the student. And by adaptation I mean more than what Victor Murray calls "the use of local illustrations."[22] It is inconceivable how local illustrations could be used in teaching English History to Nigerian boys and girls, who had never at any time in their lives studied the history of their own people. My view of adaptation is that a history lesson for Nigerian students must begin with a solid knowledge of Nigerian history before advancing towards English, American, Greek, or Roman histories. Likewise geography, literature, and language. Whereas the contents of the physical sciences may be the same everywhere, adaptation would suggest the use of indigenous plants and animals. Beyond these, adaptation should seek to make a conscious effort to give the students a knowledge of their physical and social world, through the employment of local political, economic, religious, and indus-

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[21] _Report of the Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire, Cmd. 6051_, 1939, Part II, p. 38.

[22] _The School in the Bush_, 1929, p. 162.

trial problems. In other words, it should employ the forces of the local culture in developing an all-rounded personality.

Freedom of Choice

To divide education into vocational-agricultural for the masses, and literary for a few people who would hold positions of trust and responsibility, is to sow the seeds of social dissension and class struggle. Worse still is the attempt to consign a whole country or any part of it to nothing but vocational and semi-technical education.[23] No arbitrary choice should be forced on anybody as to the field of learning he should pursue, or on any community as to the type of education it should provide for its members. An individual's interest should be the guide to his choice of vocation, and it should be the duty of the community to provide as wide varieties of opportunities as possible so as to enable everybody to develop his talent to its maximum height.

Vocational education should not be considered as separate and distinct from liberal education, because vocational education completely divorced from liberal or general education produces technicians, not intelligent social beings. A sound education must emphasize not only the means of earning a living, which admittedly is important, but also a means of rational living, without which the beauty and harmony of life are lost. Education will fall short of its duty if it trains an individual in

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[23]In the Northern Provinces, which contain more than half of Nigeria's population, the official educational policy is simple vocational education, designed to produce contented peasant farmers and artisans. See pp. 93-97.

the manipulation of certain mechanical skills, without at the same time cultivating his mental abilities, in other words, developing his reasoning capacity. "The ability to think in accordance with the facts and with the laws of inference, to choose wisely, to feel with discrimination is what distinguishes man from animals and endows him with intrinsic worth... The union of knowledge and reason in the integrated personality--this is the final test of education."[24]

Vocational education tends towards specialization and seeks to equip a student with the knowledge of how to perform some specific function. Liberal education, on the other hand, looks at a student as a member of a community, and seeks to develop him as an intelligent and responsible citizen.[25] These two phases of education are mutually interrelated in the development of a well-rounded personality. Hence the education of every individual should include some element of each, and society should make proper provisions for both. The choice should not be either-or, because neither liberal nor vocational education can by itself alone serve the needs of Liberia and its people.

To provide an atmosphere of friendly relations between these two phases of study and the people engaged in them, a common foundation of elementary education should be provided for all children, irrespective of their future callings. While its curriculum should seek to be as realistic as possible by the employment of contents of familiar experiences, such an education should not emphasize agriculture or any specific trade.

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[24]General Education in a Free Society, Report of the Harvard Committee, 1945, p. 168.
[25]Ibid., p. 51.

Its primary objective should be to give children such an orientation in the general culture as will engender in them a feeling of intelligent appreciation of the community life, and of comradeship towards one another. From the very beginning, it should stress the fact that education is concerned with the development of human personality, not through the cultivation of his skill in one particular aspect of life but of his general intelligence. In the higher grades, a program of vocational education should be supplemented by liberal education, and vice versa.

2. External Examinations

Constant reference has been made in this study to the dominating influence of external examinations in the Nigerian school system. A detailed discussion of this topic is now undertaken, because it is one broad aspect of Nigerian education in which adaptation is most urgent. To graduate from a secondary school in Nigeria one must gain a pass in one or more of the following examinations: (a) Cambridge School Certificate; (b) Higher College Entrance; (c) Middle VI Certificate.

Cambridge School Certificate

The Cambridge School Certificate Examination is an examination designed for boys and girls of English secondary schools, and conducted at selected centers by the Syndicate of Cambridge University.[26] Similar examinations are conducted by other Brit-

[26] The School Certificate Examination, Report of the Panel of Investigators appointed by Secondary School Examination Council, London, H.M.S. Office, 1932, pp. 9-10.

ish Universities, notably Oxford and London. With the expansion of the British colonial empire, the British system of education was exported to the four corners of the globe, and with the introduction of British educational ideals came also the tradition of external examinations, in the nature of either the Cambridge or Oxford School Certificate.

In this study we are concerned with the Cambridge School Certificate Examination, which predominates in Nigeria. Since 1933 the number of candidates for this examination has been on the increase. Whereas in 1933, 19 successful candidates out of a total of 40 for the examination were reported, in 1943 the number had risen to 505 passes out of a total of 961 entrants.[27]

The papers for the Cambridge School Certificate examination are set and corrected by the Cambridge Syndicate. With slight modifications in English and languages, the contents of the examination are usually the same as those taken by British secondary school students. Consequently they are colored by experiences which are familiar to the latter and only vaguely perceptible to Nigerian students, who invariably owe their success in this examination to memory work.[28] The subjects of the examination include general science and mathematics; history, usually either English or British Empire; geography, embracing the study of the British Isle, with a slight reference to Africa and the rest of the world, and a passing remark on Nigeria;

[27] Report of the Commission on Higher Education to West Africa, Cmd. 6655, 1945, p. 182.

[28] A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, "The Place of Achimota in West African Education," Journal of the Royal African Society, London, Jan. 1940, p. 146.

literature, one selection from Shakespeare and another from some other outstanding British literary figure; languages, English and Latin, or sometimes a vernacular in place of Latin; religion, the Bible. The examination invariably determines the curriculum of the secondary schools and extends its influence to the elementary schools.

Higher College Entrance

The Higher College Entrance, as the name suggests, is an examination designed as a qualifying examination for candidates for the Higher College, Yaba.[29] It differs from the Cambridge School Certificate Examination in that it is conducted locally by the staff of the Higher College. But, with the exception of religion, which does not figure at all, and slight variation in history papers, the contents and character of both examinations are about the same.

Students may also enter for the Entrance Examination merely to try their luck in government scholarships, which are awarded to a few students with the highest average score in the examination. In addition, the Entrance Examination is now conducted as the final school leaving examination for all secondary school students. Thus a candidate for the Higher College Entrance Examination stands the following chances: (a) winning a government scholarship (if he is exceptionally brilliant) to the Higher College; (b) gaining an ordinary admission to the Higher College; or (c) obtaining a secondary school leaving certificate.

[29] See pp. 92-93.

Middle VI Certificate Examination

The Middle VI Certificate Examination differs from the preceding examinations in that it is conducted by the staff of each secondary school as the final school leaving examination. The successful students are, however, selected and certified by the Provincial Superintendent of Education, on the basis of the final examination results, tabulated in order of merit. Usually the decision of the Superintendent is arbitrary. He might decide, just by looking at the tabulated results, that any score below 50 or 60 per cent average is a failure.

As indicated before, a pass in the Higher College Entrance entitles one to a Middle VI Certificate. Likewise a success in the Senior Cambridge School Certificate. As a result of this arrangement, secondary school students are often preparing concurrently for both the Middle VI and the Senior Cambridge Certificate examinations, and, in many instances, for Higher College Entrance, as well.

The comparative status of these three different examinations is indicated in the following excerpt from the report of the Principal of the Higher College, relative to the Higher College Entrance Examination:

> It is impossible to say what is the standard of this examination, but it may be of some interest to note that all candidates for the Middle VI Certificate took the Entrance Examination in all subjects except Science and History, in which special papers were set. The standard demanded for a Middle VI pass was roughly 10% lower than that for the Higher College Entrance. By comparison of the results with those of the Cambridge Certificate, which most candidates took as well as their Middle VI, the local

> Middle VI examination proved more severe as a test than the Cambridge School Certificate. This shows that the standard for the Higher College Entrance is considerably higher than that required for the Cambridge Certificate.[30]

Advantages and Disadvantages of External Examinations

The foregoing discussion on external examinations warrants an assertion that the battery of examinations to which secondary students are subjected at one and the same time is too heavy and does not make for adequate educational growth. In all of these examinations, instead of the curriculum determining the examination, the examination determines the curriculum. Teachers and students have no choice but to follow religiously the prescription of each examination, especially the Cambridge Certificate, which sets the pattern for all others. In a feverish attempt to complete the syllabus in order to allow sufficient time for revision and rechecking, teachers resort to drilling as a method of pedagogy. Students equally anxious to gain a pass in an examination often do resort to memorizing as a learning device. Frequently what is memorized is forgotten as soon as the heat of the examination is over. Education under a curriculum dictated by external and foreign examination negates sound educational principle, in that it is not a growth from within but an "imposition from without."

Defenders of the external examination state that it "has a tonic effect upon the pupil, giving him a goal towards which to strive, and a stimulus to urge him to attain it."[31] They

[30] Annual Report of the Education Department, 1937, p. 25.
[31] Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools, Report of the Committee of the Secondary School Examination Council. London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1941, p. 30.

also claim that it provides for the pupil the necessity to acquire knowledge "for a definite purpose." Not only is he constrained to acquire knowledge for a purpose, but he must acquire it in such a way that he can reproduce it when needed. In trying to accomplish these dual objectives, the pupil is trained in "perseverance and steadfastness."[32] It is also claimed that the student is better satisfied with the external and impersonal standards in testing his achievements, because they are "objective and universal."[33]

Whatever merits there are in these arguments for external examination, are offset by the arguments to the contrary which states that external examination is harmful to the pupil, the teacher, as well as education itself. The school, dominated by the heavy arm of an external syllabus which pervades the outlook of both the teacher and the pupil, is deprived of its main task of providing the direction and stimulus of education. Under the present setup,

> ..."the examination dictates the curriculum and cannot do otherwise; it confines experiment, limits free choice of subject, hampers treatment of subjects, encourages wrong values in the class-room. Pupils assess education in terms of success in the examination; they minimize the importance of the non-examinable and assign a utilitarian value to what they study. They absorb what it will pay them to absorb, and reproduce it as second-hand knowledge which is of value only for the moment. Teachers, recognizing the importance of the parchment to the individual child, are constrained to direct their teaching to an examination which can test only a narrow field of the pupil's interests and capacities, and so necessarily neglect the

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[32]*Loc. cit.*
[33]*Loc. cit.*

> qualities which they value most highly; they are forced to attend to what can be examined and to spoon-feed their weakest pupils."[34]

The opponents of external examinations further state that the formality of the examination displaces originality, and in sacrificing every educational effort to examination, the teacher becomes less important than the examiner, in whose estimation the child is but an "examination number." Contrary to the argument on the negative, they affirm that no one can be a better examiner than the teacher who knows the child, not as a paper to be corrected or so many points scored out of a hundred, but as a living, growing, human being.[35]

Secondary Certificate

To the weight of arguments here presented against the external examination by the best considered opinions of the British educational world itself, must be added the fact that external examinations in Nigeria mean not merely an examination conducted externally by an impersonal board of examiners who have no knowledge of the child's educational development, but also an examination conducted by a board thousands of miles away from the scene where the learning took place, and whose contents are partially and often wholly foreign to the candidates for the examination. It will be impossible to catalog the handicaps against which Nigerian students work without repeating all that has been said before. Suffice it to say that to the extent that the Nigerian educational system is governed by the cult of

[34] Ibid., p. 31.
[35] Loc. cit.

the certificate, domestic or foreign, especially the latter, to that same extent will wrong values and wrong emphasis be placed on the concept of education. Educational development of the people and the country can take effect only when the ideal, the contents, and standards of measurement of Nigerian education are drawn from the soil and are designed to serve real and felt needs.

In a country like Nigeria where formal education is still in its formative stage, and where new educational institutions are multiplying by hundreds every year, no one should deny the necessity of setting up a standard to guard against undesirable practices and fraud by ill-advised proprietors. But such a standard need not and ought not to be foreign. At the same time, it should not be so rigid as to stifle individual initiative, research, and experiment, which are some of the fundamentals of a sound educational system.

The Middle VI Examination, which is now conducted by the staff of each secondary school, is a possible standard, but not in its present form. A school leaving certificate award should be based on something more than a final examination. To declare a student a pass or a failure, his cumulative record should be reviewed. Where little doubt about a student's success exists, it would be wise to check his final performance only with his cumulative record for the year. Where there is an evidence of doubt, his entire secondary school record should be reviewed before a final verdict is given. In addition to the final examination and the cumulative record, a third criterion of certification should be a principal's report, carefully prepared for

each candidate and stating his educational growth within the school.

Instead of the results being reviewed and the successful candidates selected and certified by the Provincial Superintendent of Education,[36] the secondary school leaving examination results from all secondary schools in Nigeria should be reviewed by a Board of Examiners, on whom should rest the responsibility of selecting and certifying those students who, as evidenced by (a) their marks in the final test, (b) their cumulative records, and (c) their principal's report, are worthy of certification. The certificate thus awarded should be known as a <u>Secondary Certificate</u>. Such a procedure, if adopted, would ensure the maintenance of good standards of secondary education and at the same time allow each school to frame its curriculum according to its local needs.

3. Medium of Instruction

One of the foremost educational problems in Nigeria is the question of the medium of instruction. As of date no final decision has been reached as to whether English or the vernacular should be the language of instruction. The Advisory Committee on Colonial Education in its study of this problem recommends the use of the vernacular in the elementary classes and English in the middle and technical schools.[37] Steming from this recommendation, the place of the vernacular in the elementary schools

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[36] See p. 163.

[37] The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education, Col. 110, May, 1927.

has invariably been admitted, but still debated where its use is of equal importance, namely the secondary and post-secondary schools.

It is in these latter institutions that the study and the use of the vernacular could be better carried on as a medium of literary expression and cultural communication. The vernacular as used in the elementary schools, is not much removed from colloquialism. The elementary school children are too immature to grasp the structure of the language they use, and consequently are unable to write it with grammatical correctness, let alone refinement. By the time they are mature enough to gain a better insight into the use of their native language, it is time for them to drop out or to enroll in a higher institution where the medium of instruction is English. Instead of continuing an advanced study of the vernacular, the foundation of which has been laid in the elementary school, the children are completely divorced from it.

Development of Vernacular Literature

One of the results of this arrangement is the absence of vernacular literature. The only kind of book one commonly finds in the vernacular is the Bible, which has been translated by the missionaries. Current literature is lacking. With the exception of one periodical published in the North in Hausa,[38] all the Nigerian newspapers are published in English. Hence the reading public consists of only those who can read English. One of the arguments often presented against the use of the ver-

[38] Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo, Edited by Mallam Abubakar Imam.

nacular as a medium of instruction in the secondary schools is the lack of vernacular literature from which instructional materials could be drawn.[39] It can also be argued that one main reason for the absence of vernacular literature is that the schools, particularly the secondary and the normal schools, have not encouraged the people who could have produced such a literature to study the language for expressing it.

To remedy this situation, it would be advantageous to introduce the vernacular as a subject of study in the secondary schools and teachers colleges, where English is now a medium of instruction. The aim should be to enable the secondary school students to study the vernacular with the same seriousness they now study English. They should be required to write compositions and short stories in it, and to do simple translations from English. The curriculum of each secondary school should include at least two vernaculars, and among these to be emphasized should be Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba.

In normal colleges the aim should be to train language teachers as well as to disseminate proper knowledge of how to speak and write the vernacular. As in the secondary school, every student should study at least two vernaculars. From a prospective teacher, however, efficiency should be required in at least three vernaculars, in addition to English. A special feature of a normal college language department should be the preparation of simple reading materials in local languages, and translation of select books from English to Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba.

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[39] Murray, Victor A., The School in the Bush, 1929, pp. 140-154; 317-326.

As soon as enough teachers and instructional materials are available, the vernacular should be substituted for English as a medium of instruction in all schools. English should then be retained merely as a subject of instruction. In the localities where no knowledge of either Hausa, Ibo, or Yoruba exists, the local vernacular should be employed as a medium of instruction, especially in the elementary schools. But the study of one or more of these languages should be introduced as early as possible in the elementary grades, so as to provide later a medium of instruction for secondary education.

Common Languages

The choice of Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba as languages of instruction is by no means arbitrary. These are languages spoken by the most dominant groups in Nigeria.[40] According to the 1942 estimate of the New York branch of the United States Office of War Information, Hausa is spoken by 7,000,000 people; Yoruba by 3,375,000; and Ibo by 3,300,000. The actual figures, when and if they are computed, will prove to be far above the present estimate, because the Ibo speaking people alone number 4,000,000.[41] But even this rough estimate gives an indication of the numerical strength of these three linguistic groups.

The choice of these languages, however, does not solve the problem of developing a common Nigerian language. By a common language I mean a medium of communication among the literate members of the community and with the world at large; a means

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[40] See the Introduction.

[41] Meek, C.K., Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe, 1937, p.1.

of expressing the materials of national culture as a part of world civilization, and of drawing cultural inspiration from the rest of the world. This is the purpose which English now serves. But English is, and will always remain, a foreign language in most of Africa. ..

Already Hausa has assumed the role of a common language in the Northern Provinces. It is the language of the court as well as the commercial world. It has become the lingua franca for many sections of West Africa.[42] Under the auspices of the government-sponsored bureau of translations at Zaria, literature is now being developed in it.[43] The advance which Hausa has made over other languages in Nigeria deserves its being considered and adopted as common language of Nigeria, in the place of English. Such a move will accelerate the pace of national solidarity, and the building of a stable group culture.

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[42] Hailey, Lord, An African Survey, 1938, p. 28.
[43] See p. 28.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION AS A STATE FUNCTION

Adaptation was the theme of the last chapter, and in that chapter three phases of the Nigerian educational scene in which adaptation is most urgent were discussed. This theme of adaptation continues here, with special emphasis on the need and desirability of state support of public education. In this chapter adaptation is used in its generic sense and refers to "the sloughing off of outmoded purposes and practices by school systems and the taking on of new ones to meet new needs."[1] This interpretation, when applied to Nigeria with reference to the need of public education, points to the necessity of substituting government support for the present mission sponsorship.

In principle, government control of education has been acknowledged in Nigeria as well as in other parts of the British African dependencies.[2] But what this means in practice is that the government controls education policy and leaves to the missions and the Nigerian people the main burden of establishing and financing schools and teacher training institutions.[3] The government annual grants-in-aid given to the mission and other private institutions are far below their needs or the cost of maintaining them. This government policy of providing public

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[1]Mort, Paul R., and Cornell, Francis G., Adaptability of Public School Systems, 1938, Introduction, p. ix.
[2]Hailey, Lord, An African Survey, 1938, pp. 1235 1238.
[3]See pp. 49-50.

education through inadequately-subsidized charitable organizations, has resulted in the retardation of educational development throughout Nigeria. Of the estimated 3,000,000 children of school age, only 350,000 are in school.[4] Today there is no compulsory school attendance law in Nigeria, and no single institution is tuition free. The missions, which own about 85 per cent of the available schools in Nigeria, are reported to be financially unprepared to undertake any substantial program of educational expansion.[5] Even if the missions have the means of providing a national system of education, it has also been pointed out that such an expediency would be undesirable in view of its unwholesome effects on the society.[6]

The practice of leaving public education in the hands of the missions is outmoded, because the complete separation of church and state has been accepted as desirable throughout the civilized world. Secondly, it has proved ineffective in Nigeria, because of the financial limitations of the missions and other problems inherent in mission education itself. The welfare of the country and its people demands a more progressive approach to public education, namely direct government provision of educational opportunities for the greatest number of people. In many nations today the state has not only accepted the responsibility of providing public education, but has come to consider it its proper duty.[7]

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[4] Ten-Year Education Plan, Government Printer, Lagos, 1945, p.29.
[5] See pp. 61-62.
[6] See pp. 59-60.
[7] Kandel, I.L., The End of an Era, 1941, pp. 56-61.

1. Education in a Democratic State

While most nations have accepted the idea of education as a state function, the character of education provided in each country has been conditioned by that concept of the state[7a] held in a given locality, and the kind of government devised for expressing it. In a totalitarian state, the individual is regarded as a means to an end, which is the state. Hence his education seeks to mold him into patterns of behavior desired by the state. In a democratic state, on the other hand, the state exists as a means employed by the people to provide for themselves collectively those services which would have been difficult, or wholly impossible to achieve by individual efforts. A democratic state lays emphasis on the individual and seeks to develop his potentialities as a law abiding citizen.

Education for Democratic Living

Today Nigeria is being governed by an alien power, Great Britain, which is considered a democratic nation. The growth of political thought in Nigeria has been greatly influenced by the British ideas of government as well as Nigerian political practices, which have in them strong elements of democratic principles, and the popular demand in Nigeria at present is for an increased application of the democratic form of government.[8] It is safe to conclude, therefore, that the Nigerian people should be educated for democratic living.

[7a]The state is here defined as "a whole people united into one body politic; a Commonwealth." Webster's International Dictionary, 1944.

[8]See pp. 30-34.

The democratic state functions through the intelligent and voluntary cooperation of its citizens who, according to Meiklejohn, are the governors as well as the governed.[9] As participation in government presupposes intelligence, competence, and efficiency, it can be said that a broad system of education is indispensable to the operation of a democratic government. Thomas Jefferson, more than any other statesman of his time, recognized the importance of education as a bulwark for democracy. In 1786 he warned George Washington that "our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves, and that, too, of the people with a certain degree of instruction," which he considered "the business of the state to effect and on a general plan."[10] In his message to the Congress in 1790, George Washington said: "Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impression so immediately as in ours, from the sense of the community, it is proportionarely essential."[11]

Principles of Democratic Education

There is no other way the state can assure its own security and at the same time guarantee for its citizens those conditions that will really make them free except through the provision of a free, compulsory education for all, irrespective of sex, race, creed, or conditions of birth. Stated more forcefully, the state

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[9] Meiklejohn, Alexander, Education Between Two Worlds, 1942, pp. 267-268.

[10] Monroe, Paul H., Text Book in the History of Education, 1935, p. 713.

[11] Ibid., p. 712.

should undertake the responsibility of educating its citizens. According to Professor Moehlman of the University of Michigan, the following principles should govern state education in a democratic society:

1. Because education is an integral part of the national culture, both its policy and content must grow out of the cultural needs, and must operate in harmony with the fundamental beliefs and patterns of the society which it serves.

2. The dual function of education as an agent of cultural reproduction, and of cultural change should be recognized and provided for by the state.

3. Since a democratic state recognizes the worth and value of each individual citizen, education should be made available not only to young boys and girls, but to adult citizens as well.

4. Because education is a continuous process, and because every experience is education of some sort, an organized educational agency, like the school, should seek for and welcome the cooperation of out-of-school educational agencies like the church, the press, the radio, clubs, and so on.

5. Because a democratic society welcomes diversity while working to weld parts into an organic whole, state support of education should not mean state control of education. The state should encourage decentralized administration of schools, because it is more conducive to experimentation and research, and because it gives local communities the opportunity of sharing in their own education.

6. While encouraging local initiatives, it should be the policy of the state to tap wealth wherever it is to educate its

citizens wherever they are.[12]

2. Education and Cultural Progress

A democratic state which recognizes the sanctity and dignity of the individual looks upon education as the most economical, humane, and civilized method of social control as well as an avenue of engineering cultural progress. By preserving and transmitting the culture of a group, education ensures group continuity. This does not enslave the individual, because he derives his individuality only by reflecting upon and revolting against the group's traditional ways of behavior when and where necessary. Perhaps the most important function of education lies in the fact that in a society where the inevitability of change is not frowned at, it is the agency for directing cultural evolution and social progress. A state can progress politically, economically, and socially, only to the extent it makes adequate provision for the education of its citizens.

Compulsory and Free Public Education

In Nigeria every phase of cultural life stands an immediate need of improvement, and improvement in turn calls for cultivated human intelligence. Superstition, ignorance, disease, and poverty need to be replaced by science, knowledge, sanitary health conditions, and higher standards of living. Ignorance stands in the way of progress and obstructs intelligent thought and action.

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[12] Moehlman, Arthur B., School Administration, 1940, pp. 597-600.

This and other social evils enumerated above, can be liquidated only through the enactment of a compulsory school law and the provision of a free public school system, at least on the elementary level, by the British Government in Nigeria. This conclusion is based on the following considerations:

1. <u>It is politically expedient</u>: The official colonial policy of the British Government has been stated by one Colonial Secretary after another as that of "trusteeship," which in its interpretation means that the British Government is holding the colonies in trust, and is committed to the task of preparing its colonial territories for ultimate self-government. The latest pronouncement comes from Colonel Oliver Stanley, late Colonial Secretary of State. Speaking before the House of Commons on July 13, 1943, he said: "The central purpose of our Colonial administration has often been proclaimed. It has been called the doctrine of trusteeship, although I think some of us feel now that the word 'Trustee' is rather too static in its connotation, and that we should prefer to combine with the status of trustee the position also of partner. But we are pledged to guide Colonial people along the road to self-government."[13] James Madison once said: "A popular government without information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or tragedy, or, perhaps, both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance, and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives."[14]

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[13] Oliver Stanley, "Economic and Social Progress in the Colonies," in <u>British Speeches of the Day</u>, No. 6, August 1943. British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York.

[14] Everett, Samuel, <u>The Community School</u>. D. Appleton-Century. New York, 1938. p.55.

If the thesis, that the success of a democratic government depends on its enlightened public, is accepted; and if the British government is sincere in its proclamation of ultimate self-government for its colonial and protected territories, it inevitably follows that its first and foremost concern should be to provide the broadest possible system of education for all its colonial peoples, boys and girls as well as men and women. The most endurable system of government has always been that in which public opinion plays a part, and in which the active participation of the people is encouraged. In order that the people may not clog the wheel of government, their participation must be an intelligent one, and for them to participate intelligently, they must be educated.

2. <u>It is socially desirable</u>: The ever increasing demand of the people for an active and responsible government, the present unhealthy conditions under which millions of people in Nigeria live, the excessive infant mortality, the shocking 92 per cent illiteracy rate, the low standards of living,[15] are some of the great many social problems against which no responsible government could close its eyes with impunity. It is bad logic to think of a forest apart from the individual trees which comprise it. Society in abstraction does not exist. It is the life and activities of each individual member of a group, when put together, that make up the society. The feelings, health, and economic position of every individual do concern the entire community directly or indirectly. As long as one member, through lack

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[15] See pp. 30-34; 80-82.

of proper knowledge, drinks impure water, lives in unsanitary homes, takes wrong care of his young ones, the life of the entire community is not free from danger.

3. It is a fiscal necessity: All evidences point to the fact that the missionary organizations which now control over 85 per cent of the schools in Nigeria are incapable of financing education on any wide scale.[16] Their unquestionably limited economic resources lead not only to inequalities in educational opportunities, but also to educational retardation throughout the country. In spite of the fact that they have done the country a remarkable educational service at a time when both the British Government in Nigeria and the local state governments were totally unconcerned, it is an inescapable fact that a minimum program of education for the entire country cannot be financed solely on charity basis. The function devolves logically on the state, now represented by the British Government in Nigeria and the local governments.

4. It is economically advantageous: It is sometimes argued that the reason why the British Government has not educated its colonial and protected people is that it considers such a measure disadvantageous to the British industrialists. The British, it is said, want to make their colonials perpetual producers of raw materials and consumers of British manufactured goods.[17] At present this formula seems to hold true, but it is highly questionable whether or not current practices provide enough evidence for sub-

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[16] See pp. 61-62.

[17] Linton, Ralph, The Science of Man in the World Crisis, 1945, pp. 308-311.

stantiating such a statement.

Even if the above statement could be satisfactorily substantiated it is still open to question as to whether or not it is a sound economic policy. Provided that the right kind of education is given, educational expenditure yields positive and direct economic returns. Uneducated and illiterate people make neither good producers--of raw materials or otherwise--nor good buyers of manufactured goods. Thus educated Nigerians will prove economically advantageous to Nigeria, either as a British Colony and Protectorate, or as a free, independent republic.

Increase in Educational Expenditure

To finance this proposed program of free and compulsory elementary education will require an increase on the current educational expenditure, which is wholly unsatisfactory. At the root of Nigeria's educational backwardness is the fact that the educational expenditure of either the central government or the local governments is far below a defensible minimum. Hence it has been impossible either to provide adequate educational facilities, or to employ competent men for the job or even to pay those already in service. As compared with the other British West African dependencies[18] of Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast, Nigeria fares worse in educational expenditure per capita. The 1935 figures were as follows: The Gambia, $8.48; Sierra Leone, $8.18; the Gold Coast $17.20; Nigeria, $2.24.[19]

[18] See Map on p.5.
[19] Hailey, Lord, An African Survey, 1938, p. 1308.

In 1938-39, the total expenditure of the central government on education was £269,152 or 4.3 per cent of the country's total annual expenditure. In the same year the local governments of the Southern Provinces spent a total of £13,125 or 1.9 per cent of their annual revenue on education. In the Northern Provinces, where the entire cost of education (with the exception of payment of European officials and maintenance of the two government schools at Jos and Kaduna) is borne by the local governments, the total expenditure was £49,982, or 4.9 per cent of their annual revenue.[20]

Since 1937 the educational expenditure of the central government has been running on a diminishing scale, as shown by the following figures:

Year	Expenditure
1937-38	£289,284
1938-39	£269,152
1939-40	£264,460
1940-41	£259,545, 18:10 [21]

This reduction in educational expenditure continues in spite of the increase in the number of schools and enrolment. The _Annual Report of the Education Department_ for 1939 acknowledges that "in spite of a large increase in the number of schools and scholars, there is less money and less staff available."[22]

In the annual budgets of the local governments a disproportionate amount of the revenue is usually devoted to administra-

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[20] _Annual Report of the Education Department_, 1938, p. 8.
[21] _Annual Reports of the Education Department_, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941.
[22] _Ref._, p. 8.

tion. For example, in the fiscal year of 1936-37, the administrative expenses of the local governments of the Northern Provinces accounted for 57 per cent of the annual expenditure. In the Southern Provinces the corresponding figure for the fiscal year 1938-39 was 60 per cent.[23] The bulk of the administrative expenses goes to the payment of a handful of British officials, who, in addition to their "duty pay", travelling allowance, and six-months' furlough expenses every two years, are paid at a minimum of three times the salary of an average Nigerian civil servant. With the exception of real indispensable ones, these officials should be replaced by Nigerians and the savings to be netted should be used in increasing the present meager expenditure on education.

In 1937 the percentage of the total revenue expended on education by the local governments of eleven Provinces in Southern Nigeria stood as follows:

Province	Am't Spent in £	Percentage of Total Revenue
Abeokuta	395	.52
Benin	399	.04
Calabar	2,423	4.48
Cameroons	1,499	6.04
Ijebu	225	.53
Ogoja	186	.84
Ondo	367	.99
Onitsha	305	.85
Owerri	1,140	1.8
Oyo	1,654	1.59
Warri	2,647	10.21[24]

The inevitable results of such a poor educational investment are a high percentage of mass illiteracy, poverty, ignor-

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[23] Hailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-428.

[24] *Annual Report of the Education Department*, 1937, pp. 17-18.

ance, physical debility, and general mortification of the country's human and natural resources. An adequate public spending on the right kind and right amount of public education will amortize its cost, not only by clearing these handicaps which stand in the way of high productivity and improved standards of living, but also by opening a new vista to youths for the development of their potentialities. At least 15 to 20 per cent of the annual revenue of the central government and 15 per cent of the local governments' should be set aside for education. To the extent that the British Government provides for the development of human intelligence in Nigeria, to the extent it substitutes knowledge for ignorance, science for superstition, abundance for scarcity, labor-saving devices for crude human labor, technical agriculture for subsistence farming, to that same degree will it fulfill its supposedly civilizing mission and make good its pledges of trusteeship in the eyes of the world.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study represents the first attempt to present the history of education in Nigeria in one volume. Its importance was dictated by the growing complexity of Nigerian education and its problems, and its purpose is threefold: 1. To trace briefly the political and economic changes which took place in Nigeria during the nineteenth century as a result of British colonial expansion, as a major factor affecting the development of education in Nigeria; 2. to describe the evolution of Nigerian education, showing (a) what part the missions and the Government have played in its development, and (b) its nature and present trends; 3. to record some of the major weaknesses of the present system of education in Nigeria, and to suggest some measures for its improvement.

Section One of this study examines the political background out of which Nigerian education grew and now operates. This background was provided by the expansion of European overseas possessions in Africa from 1850 to 1903. For England this meant (a) the acquisition of trade monopoly over the major part of West Africa, and (b) the establishment of economic and political control over many independent states totalling 373,000 square miles and now collectively called Nigeria.[1] For Nigeria this meant its birth as a single political unit and the acquisition

[1] See pp. 1-21.

of the status of a subject nation under the jurisdiction of Great Britain.[2]

One of the most significant innovations brought into Nigeria by this British occupation was the introduction of formal education, which is the topic of the second section of this study. The foundation of Nigerian education was laid by the British missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission and the Church Missionary Society. Acting independently, these two bodies began missionary work in Nigeria in 1842. Starting with elementary schools, they soon began to operate secondary schools and institutions for the training of ministers and teachers. These early pioneers were later followed by other missions, and today there are more than ten different missionary bodies in Nigeria engaged in spreading Christianity and education.[3]

Until 1882, when the first Nigerian Education Ordinance was passed, Nigerian education was completely in the hands of the missions.[4] The passing of this Ordinance was the first manifestation of the government's interest in Nigerian education. Since then this interest has continued to grow. But the contributions which the government made towards educational development in Nigeria have been mainly along the following lines: (a) passing of educational laws and regulations; (b) control of educational policy through the exercise of the law, which entitles it to inspect all schools and to close any which, in its opinion, fails to meet the required standards; (c) certification of teachers;

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[2]See pp. 22-23.
[3]See pp. 41-50.
[4]*Loc. cit.*

and (d) granting of an annual subsidy to a few eligible mission and private schools.[5] The main burden of establishing schools was, and is still, borne by the missions and the Nigerian people.[6]

The third and final section of this study embodies a critical analysis of the Nigerian educational system, and suggestions on how it could be improved. The chief fault found with the system was lack of adaptation. The areas in which adaptation is most urgent are (a) school curriculum, (b) examinations, (c) medium of instruction, and (d) provision of public education.[7]

Along these lines the following suggestions are offered for improvement: (a) The school curriculum should reflect local needs and experiences familiar to the children. (b) All external examinations, especially the Cambridge School Certificate, should be discouraged, because they enforce an alien curriculum on the students and make learning unreal and unmeaningful. The students of each school should be examined by the masters who taught them, and a pass or failure for each student should be determined by his performance in a final examination conducted by his own teachers, his cumulative record, and his principal's report. (c) The continuance of the use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction in the elementary school us urged. It is also suggested that the vernacular, especially Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba, should be taught as subjects in the secondary and normal

[5] See pp. 93-95.
[6] See pp. 48-50.
[7] See pp. 151-172.

institutions, with an aim to developing them as future media of instruction in all schools. (d) To remedy the unwholesome economic and health conditions under which the Nigerian people live today, and the appalling illiteracy rate in the country, it is suggested that the British Government in Nigeria enact a compulsory school law, and provide a free public education, at least on the elementary level.[8]

The representations made in the preceding pages do not represent all that could be said about the history of education in Nigeria. I have only sketched this history as time and resources at my disposal could permit. If this study does nothing else, I hope that it will at least stimulate thinking on the subject and point to further inquiries.

After a sympathetic and objective study of the Nigerian educational system, one cannot help concluding that it grew out of the most unfortunate circumstances. The people for whom it was devised had no say in its development. Their interests were not considered.[9] Even at present it is still being controlled by a foreign policy-making body in which the Nigerian people have no adequate representation.[10] The missionaries who laid the foundation of this education have undoubtedly done a noble service for Nigeria and its people. But just as they have been the source of its inspiration, they have also contributed to its drawbacks because of (a) their insistence on interpreting everything in terms of Christianity and other worldliness; and

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[8] See p. 178.
[9] See pp. 151-152.
[10] See pp. 105-108.

(2) their presence as well as their persistence that African education must have a religious coloring,[11] have given the British Government in Nigeria an unjustifiable excuse for not undertaking the duty which rightly belongs to it as the custodian of public welfare, namely the provision of adequate education for the people of Nigeria.

In spite of the many shortcomings of current educational practices and the hardship which they brought upon the people, one cannot help but to concede also that some progress has been made in the material and spiritual life of the Nigerian people, but not as much as the people had expected or enough to justify a hundred years of educational development. Whatever progress was made, has been made at a very slow and sometimes discouraging pace. But conditions are still improving, slowly but steadily. Provided that the government and the people are sincere to each other and perform their respective duties with courage and foresight, the present unsatisfactory conditions will soon give way to a new outlook for Nigeria--an outlook which is prophetic of a better tomorrow not only for the country and its people, but for the world at large.

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[11] See pp. 42-49.

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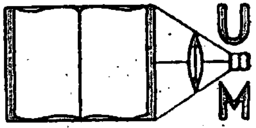

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