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EDUCATING YOUNG NATIONS

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A HISTORY OF GHANA
Second Edition

EDUCATING YOUNG NATIONS

By

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C.M.G.

With a Foreword by

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FOREWORD

THE best books about education, with hardly an exception, are the distillation of a wise man's experience of it. This is such a book.

I first met Mr Ward at a Unesco Conference when I was an official of that organization. At one such conference he made such a wise and witty speech to turn away wrath from an 'anti-colonialist' that I asked him at once if we might have it for publication in a Unesco periodical. Ever since then, if I may so, I have hoped that he would set down in writing something of his experience in education in 'under-developed' countries. Now that he has done so I feel it a great honour to be asked to write a foreword to his book.

Mr Ward has spent his life in this work: first in the Gold Coast, which has become the independent state of Ghana; then in Mauritius, with its problems of a plural society made up of people with French, British and Indian backgrounds; then as an educational adviser in the Colonial Office and editor of that excellent periodical *Oversea Education*. Mr Ward has been teacher, trainer of teachers, and administrator. No doubt it has been his fate to deal with minutes, memoranda, and circulars and all the paraphernalia of official business; but, as he says, he has been happiest in front of a blackboard with a piece of chalk in his hand. As one reads his book one feels not only in contact with someone who has a clear understanding of policy but in touch with living educational experience.

For many years now it has been the purpose of British colonial servants to 'work themselves out of a job', and in a sense I suppose it would be possible to accept this book as a kind of epitaph. It is not really that. But although it is personal it is also (as Mr Ward would be the first to

agree) representative. It is in one way a memorial, and a modest and moving one. The story of the Empire that is now giving way to the Commonwealth is a mixed story. Yet if there is any class of men and women who have really and without equivocation served disinterestedly the peoples whose affairs we have temporarily administered it is those who have gone out to teach and to extend education. They are men and women who have not sought praise. But it is only just that something more should be known of their work and their spirit, by their own countrymen and by the new generation in the countries and territories they served. Too little is known at present. Mr Ward recalls how at a conference he quoted a famous saying of Dr Aggrey's emphasizing the importance of women's education and how a woman delegate from an Asian country expressed her pleased surprise at hearing such words from the lips of an 'imperialist'. As Mr Ward says, echoing another famous phrase, 'what sort of people do they think we are?'

But this book is not an epitaph, and for reasons that the author makes very clear. It is foolish to see the educational problems of colonial countries as one thing and those of independent 'under-developed' countries as another. As Mr Ward says, the problems feel very much the same as you cross from Sierra Leone to Liberia. Indeed, Liberia has in some ways the more difficult situation (as some Liberians see now) because they did not have the help that a colonial power could bring. No doubt the context is different in some ways, according to whether a country is administered by another power or is independent. But the root difficulties are not different; they are similar. The problem is one of frightening poverty, not due to exploitation (even though exploitation there may have been) but to circumstances that were

there before the colonial power ever came. A miserable pastoral life or mere subsistence agriculture, helplessness in face of disease, even after the beginnings of development too little capital and too little income: all these things prevent men and women from living a proper life. This is as true in India and Pakistan, Liberia and Ethiopia, as it is in the colonial territories of Britain, France, Belgium or Portugal.

Times are changing fast. More and more people are saying indeed that the men and women of these countries are entitled, as human beings, to something better than this. Yet it does not help very much just to talk of entitlement and of rights. How is it to be done?

The classic dilemma confronting educationists in these countries is that they cannot develop a modern economy, a modern administration, a modern society, without better and much more widespread education; and that equally they cannot develop such a system of education without a more modernized economy, administration and society. The dilemma is a cruel one, but fortunately it is not absolute except in terms of abstract logic. We still have both hens and eggs even though we cannot say which was logically prior. In fact education is spreading side by side with changes in the economy and with the gradual modernization of society. As Mr Ward indicates, the changes in what is now Ghana since he went out to teach at Achimota show what progress can be made in spite of the logical dilemma.

In dealing with the real situation there are immensely difficult problems, much too complex to permit of easy slogans. Conditions differ very much from one country and territory to another, and what may be workable in one may not work at all elsewhere. Nor, if one confines one's view to a single situation, is any slick generalization

possible. One great virtue of Mr Ward's book is that he indicates all the time his sense of the often hostile facts of the situation without ever suggesting that the job cannot be done, without ever losing the faith which has sustained him throughout his career. Plans are indeed important. But even more important are an idealism kept practical by a sense of humour, a recognition of the limits within which one must work at any given moment, above all a broad humanity and love of people that understands racial and religious and political difficulties and discovers what is common among men however big these differences seem to be.

It is not for me here to comment on the particular problems on which Mr Ward gives us the benefit of his experience and reflection: the curriculum we should work to, teacher training, the language or languages that should be the vehicle of instruction, the relation of school to informal adult education, and so on. Not every reader will agree in every particular with what he says. But there is none who will not hesitate if he does disagree, for here is a most persuasive and experienced commentator on the educational scene in the countries he describes. Nor will any reader fail to gain from this book a deeper and more human understanding of the basic educational problem that afflicts more than half of humanity still, and that we must surely do something really major to liquidate before the present century is out if we are not to hang our heads in shame before the bar of history.

H. L. ELVIN

PREFACE

THIS book is a discussion of some of the problems met with in educating the peoples of colonies and other young countries. How far the problems are the same in colonies as in sovereign states is one of the matters I discuss.

I am most grateful to Mr Lionel Elvin, Mr V. L. Griffiths, and Mr Harold Houghton for the trouble they took in reading the typescript and saving me from some errors; also to Mr B. A. Astley and Mr R. G. Pettitt for kindly advising me on some points of detail.

One sentence in Chapter One and another in Chapter Five are quoted from a chapter which I contributed to a book of *Fabian Colonial Essays*. I am grateful to the editor and to the Fabian Society for allowing me thus to quote myself. I have been writing articles and papers on the general subject of colonial education since 1946, many of them appearing in the quarterly *Oversea Education*, which is Crown copyright. I am not conscious of having quoted from these writings, but it is too much to expect that there should not here and there be a line or a phrase which I have used before. If I have thus unwittingly infringed Crown or other copyright, I can only apologize.

My whole career has been spent in the service of two British colonies and of the United Kingdom Government. I must emphasize that the views I express in this book are entirely personal; it is not permissible to infer that anything I say represents the view of any of my colleagues in the Colonial Office or overseas, or the view of Her Majesty's Government either in the United Kingdom or in any British oversea territory.

January 1959

W. E. F. WARD

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CHAPTER ONE

COLONIES AND OTHERS

HILAIRE BELLOC once wrote an essay *On Lengthy Titles*. He praised the old-fashioned lengthy title, pointing out that it was an accurate and just introduction to the book, whereas

‘Your short title tells men nothing; it adds, therefore, to its failure in use what it fails in decorum, and it is often downright untrue.’

The title I have given this book deserves Belloc’s strictures. It is conveniently short, but it needs to be explained and qualified.

I have spent a good deal of time and energy since 1945 in maintaining that to the professional educationist there is no difference between the educational problems of a colony and of an independent state. In international gatherings such as the conferences of Unesco and the UN there are many who think that all colonial affairs—or, to use the international jargon, the affairs of non-self-governing territories—should be treated separately from those of independent states. In its early days, Unesco actually proposed to set up a separate department for non-self-governing territories; and I well remember the indignant surprise with which a high official of Unesco protested that ‘of course’ the educational problems of such territories could not be considered side by side with those of independent states because they were not comparable. That seems to me nonsense, as I told him at the

time. The basic problem of education in most colonial territories is lack of money. There is not enough money to build schools, train teachers and pay them, build roads so that school inspectors can get quickly from one school to the next, and carry out research into local problems. Because of this lack of money, the educationist finds himself facing a whole tangle of secondary problems: isolation and apathy, malnutrition and ill-health, local feuds and jealousies. But none of these is caused by the territory's colonial status. They are all found in independent states as well, and if they exist in a colonial territory which gains its independence, they will not vanish on Independence Day. If a school inspector in the hinterland of Sierra Leone were to wander across the Liberian border he would find the same problems in the Liberian villages as in those of Sierra Leone. The village teacher on the banks of the Amazon will have the same difficulties and living conditions as his colleague on the banks of the Congo: the same damp heat, the mosquitos and other insect pests, the malaria and hookworm, the same remoteness from books and music and pictures and other manifestations of the civilization which it is his business to impart to his pupils. To take one last illustration: I have visited Negro schools in Alabama which reminded me irresistibly of schools I used to know in Mauritius. Now, the United States, Liberia and Brazil are sovereign states, whereas Sierra Leone, the Congo and Mauritius are colonies. Political status is quite irrelevant to the teacher's professional problems.

This is coming to be more widely recognized nowadays. Unesco abandoned its idea of a special colonial department, and in its Handbook of world education statistics, it prints the figures from colonial territories immediately after the figures from the metropolitan

country concerned. But if this is so, it surely seems inconsistent for me to regard colonial education as being in a special category?

I do place it in a special category, because there is indeed a difference between education in a colony and education in a sovereign state, though it is not the sort of difference which those imagine who consider 'colonialism' to be the greatest evil of our time, and it is not the sort of difference which Unesco can measure.

At this point, I must pause to make clear what I mean by a colony in this connection. I have in mind the sort of colony in which I used to serve: in which, long before the days of United Nations Technical Assistance, strangers like myself not merely provided professional advice but laid down Government policy. There are very few such colonies now left in the British Commonwealth. One after another in the last twenty years, British overseas territories have been achieving, first an elected legislature, then a ministerial system, and finally independence. As far as the British Commonwealth is concerned, the colonial system I describe is almost entirely a thing of the past.

What then is the difference between education in such a colony and education in a sovereign state? It is a psychological, not a professional difference. When education has progressed so far that there is a handful of educated and politically articulate people, a tension invariably develops. They wonder if there is a political motive behind the simplest professional decisions. Why does the Government want teachers to take courses in agriculture and to run school farms: is it because the Government wants to restrict us to a life of subsistence agriculture? What is this talk of adapting our school curriculum to local conditions: does the Government

think we are incapable of following the curriculum which its children at home follow, or does it want to hold back from us some essential knowledge? Education must be part of general Government policy, and so it cannot help having a political aspect. It is a powerful means of social change; and as soon as the people of the country realize that, the work of education becomes surrounded with an atmosphere which is different from the atmosphere surrounding it in an independent state. The Ministry of Education in England, or in countries like Ghana or Malaya which have emerged from their colonial status, is always under fire; but we know that if we feel strongly enough we can force a change of policy by changing the Minister. The people in such a colony as I have described, before a ministerial system had developed, could not force the Government to change the Director of Education.

In Kipling's story of *Regulus* we read how King, the Latin master, breaks off from the close study of Horace's text to give the class a discourse on the background; 'Your examiners won't ask you this so you needn't take notes,' he remarks, and we can imagine the relief with which Stalky and Beetle and the rest laid down their pens. In contrast to this, I knew a school in Africa in which a master who tried to give his class a similar digression was greeted with a general hostile mutter of 'Syllabus, syllabus!' and had to give up—rather like Charles I retiring from the House of Commons amid the general mutter of 'Privilege, privilege!' The class felt that its pilgrimage along the high road of the syllabus was sufficiently long and difficult, and the master was being thoughtless, if not malicious, in trying to entice it into by-ways. There you have the difference in atmosphere between education in a free country and education in a

colony; though in fairness to my African friends I must admit that it is most unusual for a class to express itself so bluntly.

A further characteristic of colonial education is that the colonial people have a special reason for studying the language and the culture of the ruling power. In consequence, they are likely to show an insatiable thirst for learning. Schools and colleges appear to them as the best means of satisfying their national pride and demonstrating their capabilities. They may attach what seems even to an enlightened foreign ruler an exaggerated importance to educational development. The administration may plan an all-round development, education taking its place with health and agriculture and other social services; but the people cry out principally for schools and more schools. In British East Africa, for example, it has often happened that some peoples have offered to tax themselves for education, but the administration has been unwilling to allow education to race ahead of other social services, and ahead also of the country's capacity of absorbing educated people in appropriate employment.

For these reasons, it seems to me that colonial education presents the educationist with psychological, though not professional, problems different from those he will usually meet with in sovereign states. I say 'usually', because some sovereign states contain peoples who stand in this same 'colonial' relationship to the Government: such as the Amerindian tribes in the Amazon basin, the Navaho Indians in their reservation in the United States, the Bantu in South Africa, and various aboriginal tribes in India.

This book is not a history or a description of colonial education, nor is it an autobiography. I discuss some of the characteristic problems of educating the colonial

peoples and what can be done to solve them; and I try to clear up some of the misunderstanding which clouds the subject.

I need not labour the point that I am writing mainly with British colonies in mind. I have had enough chance of comparing notes with French, Belgian, Portuguese, Danish, Dutch and American educationists to believe that a good deal of what I say about education in British colonies may apply to other nations' colonies as well. But I can only write from my own experience. During my colonial service, the fashionable slogan in British administration has passed from 'trusteeship' to 'partnership' and finally to 'self-government', but there has been no change in our objective. We knew all the time that we were educating the people of the colonies for self-government, though when I went out to the Gold Coast in 1924 I do not think that anyone expected that country to achieve its independence as early as 1957. Denmark, Holland and the United States have had the same general objective, and so I should expect educationists in their colonies to have the same experience as ours. France, Belgium and Portugal seem to contemplate some closer form of connection between their oversea territories and the metropolitan country, and so, as far as the political aspects of education are concerned, I should expect the parallel with British colonial experience to be less exact.

This is not an autobiography, but I shall sometimes illustrate what I say from incidents in my own experience, and it is only fair to the reader that I should outline what my experience has been. When Alec Fraser and Dr Aggrey went to the Gold Coast in 1924 to found Achimota College, they took me with them as a youngster straight from college. I was at Achimota from 1924 to the end of 1940, and I was fortunate in my experiences

there. My own subject was history, but in those happy early days we had to turn our hands to anything, and it was a long time before I taught any history. For some time I was in charge of the method teaching in the teacher training college. For three years I did nothing but music, running choirs and orchestras in college and helping to organize school singing festivals up and down the country. I taught in all departments of the college, including the infants (the five-year-olds) and the university classes, though my normal schedule in later years was English and history in the upper secondary forms and in the university classes. As senior history master I had to devise my own history syllabus. There was no suitable text-book of Gold Coast history, and not enough was known of the subject; so in the school holidays I used to get far away into the bush and collect unwritten historical traditions from the chiefs and village elders as material for a syllabus of Gold Coast history. I had my share of administrative work; for one period of six months I was lent to the Education Department for provincial work, and at various times I acted as principal and bursar of the college.

For four-and-a-half years during the war I was Director of Education in Mauritius, a small island (the size of Surrey) with beautiful scenery and a delectable climate but bristling with educational problems. Then in 1945 I came to the Colonial Office as one of the Secretary of State's educational advisers, a job which put me in touch with all the ten-year development plans which the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945 had made possible, and with the senior officers in the various British territories who had devised them and were carrying them out.

This job, however, soon developed in an unexpected

direction. A few weeks after I joined the office, the preparatory conference of Unesco was held in Central Hall, Westminster. The Secretary of State, Mr Creech Jones, proposed to attend it, but he wanted someone from the office to go with him. Everybody was busy, I was the new boy, and so naturally I was detailed to go. Mr Creech Jones himself was busy, and he soon became weary of the incessant discussions on constitution and procedure. At the end of the first day he told me he could spare no more time for it, but I was to stay and see it through, and report at the end of the conference. After this, the office naturally regarded me as its own authority on Unesco, so for the next ten years, international affairs took up more and more of my time, and I went to conferences and committees of Unesco and the United Nations, wherever education was being discussed. My career as an educationist has been a steady decline and fall, from the concrete experience to the abstract generalization: first a teacher, then an administrator, then an adviser, last a conference delegate and a sort of international diplomat. On the whole I was happiest with a class in front of me and a piece of chalk in my hand; but the wider view and the international contacts which my later experience has given me have been most interesting, and I should have indeed been sorry to miss them.

We stand together at this point, about to begin our journey through the wide expanses of colonial education, as Alice and the Red Queen stood at the top of the hill and surveyed the great chess-board below them through which Alice was about to travel. 'I'll just take the measurements,' said the Queen. 'At the end of two yards,' she said, putting in a peg to mark the distance, 'I shall give you your directions.' I think it as well to follow the Red Queen's example.

My first point is that the colonial scene is so vast and varied that it is impossible to generalize. Even in my own service, there was a great difference between the Gold Coast and Mauritius: the Gold Coast an artificial segment of West Africa, its peoples fairly homogeneous and very conscious of their relationships with other African peoples, possessing an ancient culture as shown in their music, wood-carving, weaving, poetry and proverbs, traditions and ceremonial; Mauritius on the other hand small, isolated, with no indigenous culture (the island having been uninhabited when first discovered by European explorers) but thickly populated by peoples drawn from many stocks and bringing with them a complex of immigrant cultures. The climate and vegetation of the British colonial territories range from the palm-groves of Fiji through the thorn-scrub of East Africa to the mahogany forests of British Honduras and the gorse and primroses of the Falklands. Their peoples include the industrious peasant farmers of Africa with their coffee or cotton or cocoa, the nomadic Masai herdsmen, the Chinese scholars and businessmen of Hong Kong, the semi-feudal emirs of Northern Nigeria with their cavalry bodyguard clothed in chain mail, the miners of the Rhodesian copper belt. The educational scene is similarly varied. There are some peoples among whom Western education has so far taken little hold; there are others among whom you will find surgeons, engineers, works managers, accountants or university dons who would be as useful in London or New York as they are in their own country.

My second point is that, as I have already mentioned, during my colonial service there has been a great change in the political scene. Of the territories for which the Colonial Office was responsible when I first went to

Africa, four: Ceylon, Palestine, Malaya and Ghana, are now independent; Nigeria and the West Indies soon will be; and Colonial Office responsibility for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland has been much diminished with the establishment of the Federation. More than this. When I began my service, educational policy was under British control. In each country, policy was laid down by a British Governor on the advice of a British director of education; nearly all the teachers in secondary schools, and all the 'education officers' who held responsible positions in the work of administering and inspecting, were British, that is to say natives of the United Kingdom; only the primary school teachers were locally born. Nowadays, in most of the territories still under the Colonial Office, educational policy is in the hands of locally born Ministers responsible to an elected legislature. Local people hold most of the administrative posts, most of the teaching posts in secondary schools, and an increasing proportion of the university posts. In other words, although because of the general expansion of education overseas more teachers are being recruited from Britain than ever before (the figure is about 450 a year), they are being recruited to assist in carrying out an educational policy which is laid down by local people. And I want to say that this development is natural, inevitable, and desirable. It is what my colleagues and I have been working for. But it is important that my readers should bear the change in mind. I shall talk a good deal about what *we* should do or should not do, about *our* ideas and *our* difficulties, *our* responsibilities and problems, *our* failures and successes. Had this book been published thirty years ago, the *we* would have referred to the natives of the United Kingdom who were working in the task of education overseas as missionaries or as

Government servants. Today, it refers to all of us who are engaged in that task, whether we are natives of Kingston (Jamaica), Kingston (Surrey), Kano, Kampala, or Kuching. It is an active and happy partnership, in which the weight of professional skill and experience is steadily shifting from the United Kingdom to the local-born partners.

My third point is that this change brings about a certain difficulty for anyone who is writing about colonial education. Thirty years ago, nearly all the readers of this book would have been natives of the United Kingdom; today, perhaps most of them will be natives of some other country. One reader will take for granted a point which another reader will need to have explained; and it will often happen that a reader will say to himself, 'That may be true elsewhere, but it certainly is not true here.' I have to write one sentence for a reader like myself, who whatever his home country has seen other lands and other ways, and the next sentence for an English or Jamaican or Nigerian reader who has never left home. I can only ask a reader in one country to be patient with me if for the moment I am writing for a reader in another.

Lastly, let me go beyond the example of the Red Queen, who gave Alice directions for her journey, but no map. Let me try and provide a quick glance at a map of the country before us.

From the educational point of view, British colonial territories may be divided into two broad classes. One class includes the small old-established plantation territories with a strong European element in the population; Mauritius and the Caribbean territories are the chief examples. The other includes the larger and younger territories in which there has been comparatively little European settlement, and in which British policy has

been to base development as far as possible on local institutions and traditions. Most of the African territories are in this class; so are the Solomons and the Pacific islands in general; so was Malaya until it became independent.

On the eve of the 1939 war, the plantation territories had a certain amount of primary education, usually inadequate both in quantity and in quality; but they had also a group of old-established grammar schools, giving a sound and solid secondary education and proud of the way in which they kept up the cultural links with Britain. These schools provided a small but influential class of well-educated citizens. Their weakness was that they were insufficiently in contact and in sympathy with the primary schools.

In 1939, Western education in the territories of the second class was young and immature. These countries had not the traditions of the old grammar schools, but they had the work of the missionaries, and their Governments were busily engaged in co-ordinating the mission schools and colleges into a regular system of education. To an English reader, the educational condition of these countries would seem anomalous. He may form an idea of it if he starts with that of Mr Pickwick's England and makes the necessary adjustments. Take away from England, first, the universities and the old public and grammar schools. Take away also two-thirds of the churches and chapels, but allow each remaining church and chapel to run its own school. Add, on the other hand, a very active Ministry of Education, responsible for stimulating and co-ordinating educational development all over the country. The Ministry will have its local officers, perhaps forty or fifty in all, dotted up and down England, seeing that teachers are properly paid

and registers properly marked, that a leaky school roof is mended in Newcastle, that a teacher in Shrewsbury is granted his compassionate leave, that the new school which is being opened in Brighton shall be graced with a respectable quota of girls as well as boys, that a promising lad in Llanrwst shall have an opportunity of going to Chester to be trained as a teacher, that a refresher course is arranged for the teachers in a group of Norfolk schools. Perhaps one boy in three and one girl in ten is attending primary school, and over and above the primary schools we shall have a handful of teacher training colleges and a few secondary schools—say three in London, two in Manchester, and one each in Liverpool, Newcastle, Norwich, Leicester, and Truro.

In this description of the state of education in 1939 I have said nothing about the efficiency of the schools. I have confined myself to describing the organization as it existed. I might have continued the analogy by pointing out that all the senior officials in the Ministry and nearly all its local officers were French, that secondary schools taught their pupils in French, that a knowledge of French was essential for every English boy who wanted to rise in the world, and that the entire corpus of published English literature could easily be contained on one small bookshelf. These are complications which I will deal with later.

Three great changes have come over this picture in the last twenty years, two of them directly due to the 1939 war. One of these is a great increase in the enthusiasm for education among the colonial peoples themselves. The second is that colonial products have been fetching high prices on world markets, so that the colonial Governments have had more money to spend on education than ever before. The third change, not directly con-

nected with the war, is that the United Kingdom Government has passed a series of Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, by which the British taxpayer has contributed towards the capital outlay on education in the colonies, as on other social services. This money has built large numbers of primary and secondary schools and teacher training colleges; it has built universities or university colleges in Jamaica, Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, the Sudan, Rhodesia and Malaya, and higher technical colleges in Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria and elsewhere. Money voted under these Acts has also provided thousands of scholarships for training of various kinds.

Thus, with all its difficulties and deficiencies, the educational situation in these countries is now vastly improved. Many of their people know what Western education is and are competent to plan and administer it. They still have not enough good schools, but they have some schools and colleges whose staffing and buildings and equipment would satisfy the most exacting authority in England. They have universities and Institutes of Education on the English model, and they are beginning their own educational research. It is normal, not exceptional, that their students who come to English universities should take a good honours degree in their stride.

Colonial education is an exciting adventure, whose achievements, inadequate as they are to the colonies' needs, are too little known in Britain. Many educationists are incredulous if they are told that students in Africa act Shakespeare or Gilbert and Sullivan, use the calculus, perform chemical analysis, translate Tacitus, play Mozart, or dissect a frog. The landscape of colonial education is as varied in matters of curriculum and organization as that of education in Britain, and much more varied in matters of setting and colour and professional problems.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATION FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

EDUCATION can be a means either of social stability or of social change. Colonial peoples had their own education before they became subject to foreign rule: the education of the family, the age-group, the tribe, the monastery, the Koranic school. In those days their education was a means of social stability; under foreign rule, it becomes a means of social change, of acquiring foreign ideas and skills and of fitting themselves for independence in the modern world. In this book I shall be writing mainly of this modern Western education. Not that the older indigenous education is valueless or unimportant: far from it. But it belongs to the old order, and the colonial peoples look to us to supplement it, and in some cases to replace it, by the new education which we bring.

We often hear it said that in all British colonial territories, education was begun by the missionaries, and even today much of it is in church hands. That is quite true, but it needs two footnotes. One is, that nowadays the churches may do the work, but they could not do it without Government organization and large grants of Government money. This is a point which I shall come back to later on. The other is, that not all missionaries are Christian. Apart from the Koranic schools of the traditional type, there are many up-to-date Muslim schools in Africa run by the Aga Khan's organization or by the Ahmadiyya mission. And I shall not easily forget an experience I had in Mauritius. A Hindu friend took me

to a meeting of a village club called a *baitka*. A priest was reading from the *Ramayana* and commenting on the text. The audience consisted of twenty or thirty men, sitting on the floor, their eyes fixed on the priest with a rapt expression. They were all labourers on the sugar plantation, and there was little enough colour in their hard daily life; but for an hour or two their minds were being taken away to the colourful world of religion and of legend, to the story of the divine lovers and the eternal struggle of right against wrong. That too was education; and I remember thinking at the time that the education I was providing in the schools would offer them nothing parallel.

Subject to these qualifications, let us accept that all education in the colonies was formerly given by the churches, and that much of it still is. The State entered the educational field in the colonies just as it did in Britain: to supplement the work of the churches, to assist the churches with grants and to lay down the conditions on which grants might be earned, and finally to co-ordinate and systematize the work of different bodies. The State, in British territories, means the Government of the territory: Kenya, Fiji, Mauritius, and so on; the Colonial Office in London has never attempted to administer education overseas, though until recently it used to exert a good deal of influence (sometimes almost amounting to control) over the broad lines of policy. When I first went to Africa we used to speak of Government schools and mission schools. The term 'mission school' is now out of favour. There are many non-Government schools which are not run by Christian bodies: there are native authority schools, schools run by independent committees, and of course private schools—not to mention schools run by non-Christian religious bodies such as the Aga Khan's

schools in East Africa. Further, in many territories the work of the missionaries has resulted in the establishment of indigenous Christian churches such as the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches of Ghana, and the Native Anglican Church of Uganda. For these reasons, the term 'mission' is nowadays usually replaced by the term 'voluntary agency', which covers all types of non-Government school.

In the early days, neither the missionaries nor the Governments were thinking of anything so remote as self-government. They were engaged on the practical routine work of teaching members of Christian congregations to read and write and to live useful and virtuous lives. The commercial firms and the Governments needed subordinate staff of all kinds, and it was the job of the schools to train them. The schools were training individuals rather than training a nation. It was not till after the first world war that the idea of training a nation arose; in those days it was usually expressed in the phrase 'training leaders'.

Once this idea comes in, the whole educational system has to be revised. Self-government is a difficult art, and it does not become any easier. Under modern conditions, a people does not become fit to govern itself by possessing one or two hundred men who have read Plato, Burke, and John Stuart Mill. It certainly needs a good handful of statesmen who have that sort of wisdom, but the wisdom derived from such studies needs to be combined with a good knowledge of the history, geography and economics of the modern world, and the sort of experience which will enable them to negotiate with the American State Department, the UN Technical Assistance Board, and the representatives of big business. These statesmen will depend on a large body of trained

administrators of all kinds; the administrators need not in theory all be citizens of the new state, but in practice most of them will have to be, because public opinion will become restive if the plum jobs are held by outsiders. Behind the administrators must stand the technicians: the engineers, doctors, accountants and actuaries, chemists and agriculturists, and all the rest of the multifarious technicians who keep the machine of the modern state running. And every technician must have his subordinates. Moreover, however solid its technical equipment, a state will come to grief unless there is a certain standard of public virtue; if selfishness and corruption get beyond a certain danger line, knowledge and skill cannot save it.

What does this mean for the educator? It imposes on him the task of providing schools and specialized training establishments of all kinds and at all levels, so that the country may be provided with at least the indispensable minimum of these skilled people. Primary and secondary schools are not enough; there must be technical schools and colleges, there must be at least the nucleus of a university, there must be teacher training colleges, and there must be a system of scholarships with which people may be sent abroad to receive training which they cannot receive at home. It is an ambitious programme; it will cost a great deal of money; and it will need skilful planning so that the different pieces of the system are in gear with each other. It would be wasteful to set up a university college before the secondary schools can produce undergraduates, to multiply primary schools faster than they can be supplied with teachers, or to allow the supply of doctors to outrun the supply of nurses and dispensers.

By way of contrast, let us recall the condition of the

Gold Coast in the years immediately after the first war. With a total population of something over four million, it had between forty and fifty thousand children attending primary school; it had a few hundreds in secondary school, and its teacher training colleges produced between 100 and 150 trained teachers a year. There was no higher education. It had one technical school of a mediocre standard, and four low-grade trade schools. The Government spent between three and four per cent of its recurrent expenditure on education; this expenditure from central funds was not supplemented by expenditure from any local rates, for there were no local rates or rating authorities. That was the educational condition of a country which, as events showed, was to achieve self-government in less than forty years. The achievement would not have been possible without an educational revolution.

Such educational revolutions of course are not possible without money. The Gold Coast was fortunate in being fairly well off. It supplied half the world's cocoa, and had gold, diamonds, manganese, bauxite and timber for export. Not all colonial territories are as fortunate.

At the moment, I am not discussing this problem of poverty; I shall come to that later on. We have to assume that in no colonial territory is there enough money to provide as complete an educational system as exists in Britain or the United States. Where that is the case, it is important that the money should be spent so as to provide a working model system, not the unfinished stock of a full-sized machine.

It is important, that is, if the best results are to be secured from a given expenditure. But it is very often not possible. It means, for example, leaving some children with no opportunities of obtaining any schooling at all,

because the money which might have been spent on building and staffing primary schools for them has been spent on a secondary school or some other establishment. That is not a popular decision, and it becomes harder and harder to take such a decision and to enforce it with every year that passes. Once people awake to the importance of education, every parent wants his child to go to school, and he thinks a little schooling better than none. Unesco is guiding public opinion, and is at the same time giving expression to a public opinion which already exists, in its campaign for universal primary education. If there were a primary school in Brighton, but none in Eastbourne, and the citizens of Eastbourne were eager for education, it would be an unenviable task for anyone to go down to Eastbourne and explain that their children would just have to wait a year or two. Having answered the question 'If they can have a school in Brighton, why can't we have one here?' and convinced his hearers that the Government could not afford to build Eastbourne a school, he would meet the further question, 'Then we will build the school ourselves; can the Government send us a teacher?' The educational administrator has to be content to achieve only as much of his professional ambition as is practical politics. The construction of a balanced educational system is often no longer practical politics; but it remains the ideal to be achieved, and if it is not achieved there will be waste. Children will attend primary school, leave it after a few years, and forget all they have learned, because there are no secondary school places for them. Secondary schools will be running far below their full efficiency, because the primary schools are short of trained teachers, and so children from the primary schools enter secondary school with an inadequate foundation. The educational

administrator has a vision of the system he is building, of the standards for which he is striving. But a public which has had no experience of those standards of quality will find it difficult to give him full support; it is much more likely to press for quantity in education rather than quality. And the administrator is likely to see his high standards swept away in the flood of cheap schools produced to meet the popular demand.

This has been the experience of administrators in many British colonies. In the early days, the people showed little enthusiasm for education, and the European missionaries and the handful of Government education officers were able to give a reasonably thorough education to the small numbers of children in the schools. It was unfortunate that the popular demand for education began to grow about the time that the depression of the 'thirties' cut down the numbers of European staff available. Those numbers were still further cut down by the war, and the war caused the demand for education to soar yet higher. The people built themselves hundreds of new schools and clamoured for teachers. Teachers, of a sort, were found; the trained teachers had to be used as head-teachers, or supervising teachers, or departmental heads—in whatever way their precious professional skill could have the widest influence on the large numbers of untrained teachers that were flooding into the schools. Inevitably, there was a sharp fall in the quality of the schooling; inevitably also, the balance of the system was upset, as primary schools were so much more easily built and staffed than secondary schools, and bookish education so much more easily provided than technical.

In circumstances like these, the administrator has little enough chance of maintaining a balanced educational system. But the more nearly he can achieve the desirable

balance, before such circumstances arise, the better chance he will have of being able to expand his education rapidly if such an expansion of demand does occur.

Education for self-government, then, sets the educator the problem of providing this working model, as I have described it, of the complete machine, with every part represented: a sufficiently formidable task, even if measured solely by examination results. But knowledge is not enough; we have to aim also at wisdom and virtue. Wisdom and virtue cannot be taught; but they can be caught from contact with the wise and virtuous. The quality of the education will depend on the quality of the staffing; and when teachers have to impart not merely a culture which is utterly new to the country they are working in, but habits of thought and standards of conduct which are also new, staffing should be more generous than it is in the metropolitan country. I should emphasize that I speak of standards of conduct which are new; I do not mean that they are always superior. I have seen too much of the courtesy, generosity and integrity of non-Christian Africans living in a tribal society ever to claim that Christianity, or Western education in general, could make them more courteous, generous or honest. But when Western commerce weakens the links holding tribal society together, some other standard of conduct has to be provided for the individual. And it is the job of the educator to provide it.

That is one reason why, in British territories, so much education is still run by the voluntary agencies, among whom the Christian churches are conspicuous. Aristotle said of the city-state of his day that it first came into existence because people had to live; but that it continued to exist because people wanted to live graciously. We might say the same about the Christian churches. They

began the work of education when there was nobody else to do it; but they go on doing it today, because in spite of Governments and Ministries and local authorities, people like the sort of education which the churches provide. It is not merely because it is cheap, though of course it is cheap. The missionary educator, whether he is a teacher or a supervisor of schools, costs the Government much less than one of its own officers. Church congregations will turn out to re-thatch school buildings without cost to the Government, whereas a Government school needing re-roofing will mean a contractor's bill or an item in the estimates of the Public Works Department. Church schools can often get desks and blackboards made by a local carpenter, much more cheaply than they can be turned out in the P.W.D. workshops. Yes, church education is cheaper than Government education. But, apart from that, it is on the whole more popular than Government education.

This is a statement which needs support. How can I possibly know? It is also a statement which is unpopular in some international circles, where it is commonly assumed that all education, to be efficient, must be secular.

In 1951 and 1952, the Colonial Office and the Nuffield Foundation, seeing how rapidly British Africa was moving towards self-government, decided to promote a comprehensive study of African education while it was still possible to do so. Two teams of educators from Britain spent six months touring in Africa. Their draft reports were sent out to Africa for criticism, and in September 1952 a conference was assembled at Cambridge. All the British territories sent home representative delegations: Europeans and Africans, men and women, teachers and administrators, Government and non-Government. One of the groups into which the Conference divided itself

studied the question of the control of education. It reported that the existing partnership between State and voluntary agencies (including the Christian churches) should continue. It laid down

'that secular education is not enough, and that our deliberations presuppose an education with a religious basis and a spiritual doctrine of human nature and destiny; that without the formal association of religious bodies with the established forms of Government, there can be no effectual guarantee of the type of education which we presuppose. It follows . . . that the close relationship of the voluntary agencies with education rests not simply on past services but even more on the indispensable contribution they have still to make, and the problem is how to find the best means of furthering their co-operation with the statutory authorities.'

Its report was considered in plenary session, in which there were 28 African members, including five Government ministers. Not one dissenting voice was raised against this recommendation but no fewer than six African speakers explicitly said that they agreed with it. These are words; what about deeds? Since 1952 several African territories, including Ghana and Nigeria, have reorganized and expanded their education. In all of them, a large part of the expansion programme is entrusted to the voluntary agencies. In Ghana, for example, thirty-seven of the thirty-nine secondary schools, twenty-six of the thirty teacher training colleges, and 3,513 of the 4,303 primary and middle schools are run by voluntary agencies, and as recently as February 1958 the Minister of Education repeated that the Government intended to continue the policy which these figures imply.¹

There are reasons why church education is popular.

¹ I am indebted to Mr G. Kodwo Benson of the Ministry of Education in Accra for these details.

Whether the local church leader is a foreign missionary or a locally-born clergyman, it is generally recognized that he has no personal ambition. The foreign missionary often stays longer in one place than the Government official; he sometimes goes less often on leave; he is less likely to be transferred to a different territory; he has better opportunities of learning the language and of identifying himself with the people. He becomes a friend, whereas the Government education officer is too often a bird of passage, leaving the district just when the people are getting to know him. Then again, whatever the private views of the Government official may be on religion and morality, officially he has to be neutral; but both pagans and Muslims prefer in matters of education to deal with people who stand for something definite, and the Christians are often as attached to their church schools as church folk are in Britain itself.

On the other hand, people in colonial territories often criticize church education. From time to time one hears complaints that a church is trying to use its school to advance its denominational interests: it tries to persuade the schoolchildren to join the church, and it causes irritation by such measures as refusing to call children by their African names and insisting on giving them 'Christian' names. A more serious criticism is that the churches' missionary spirit causes them to regard each school mainly as a centre of evangelistic work; consequently there is too much competition and overlapping of effort between different denominations. For the same reason, a church tends to spread its efforts too widely: an African once said to me, 'If you give a local church £100, it would rather spend £80 on opening four new schools than spend the whole on improving the one school it already has.'

At the Cambridge conference, all the African speakers said they wanted to retain the church schools; but many of them said they wanted them brought fully into the national system of education, and controlled by managers and local authorities who should represent educational as well as ecclesiastical interests. It would probably be generally true to say that people in the colonies like the church schools as long as they are properly controlled and co-ordinated. Missionaries, like Government officials, must adjust themselves to the new conditions brought about by the development of nationalism.

So much for the popularity of church education. Its efficiency is secured by grants of public money, and inspection to ensure that the standards of efficiency laid down as a condition of the grant are being maintained. Grants are paid in respect of qualified teachers employed, of buildings constructed to approved specifications, of equipment in accordance with approved standards. When the Government has thus enabled a voluntary agency to erect and staff a school, it proceeds to keep the school up to the mark by exactly the same methods as it uses on its own schools. The Government inspector visits all schools, Government and non-Government, watching the work, discussing with the teachers, running refresher courses for Government and non-Government teachers together. Pupils from all schools enter for the same qualifying examination for a primary school leaving certificate or for admission to a secondary school; if a school does badly, there will be an inquest by the parents and by the Department. Standards of efficiency are the same for all schools, whether Government or voluntary agency.

Although the people in the colonial territories value the distinctive contribution which the voluntary agencies,

and especially the Christian churches, are making to education, there is no intention of allowing any voluntary agency to be a law unto itself. Everywhere there has been a process of tightening up the regulations and enforcing standards. The ideal now is an effective partnership between the State and voluntary agency; the State assumes responsibility for seeing that minimum standards of accommodation and efficiency are maintained, and the voluntary agency continues to provide the life-giving spirit. The process of tightening regulations, enforcing standards, and co-ordinating the efforts of voluntary agencies is now nearing completion. Sometimes it is a matter of recent history. When I went to Mauritius in 1941, I found the 126 primary schools of the island fairly evenly divided between Government and voluntary agencies. Each of the voluntary agency schools had a manager; every Catholic and Anglican parish priest was the manager of his school, and as manager he was independent. He engaged, promoted and dismissed his own teachers, and if he chose, he could make an agreement with another manager, like two sovereign powers or two football clubs, to transfer a teacher. As director of education, I had no power to refuse approval of any appointment, provided the teacher had the necessary academic qualifications and had no criminal record. In one grant-aided voluntary agency school, I found fifty-two children being taught in a dimly-lit room twelve feet by eight; and when I wanted to cut the school's grant, I found I had no legal power to do so. One of my main tasks in Mauritius was to bring some order into this chaos, and to obtain legal powers to enforce what I considered minimum standards—which, in the matter of accommodation, I put at a good deal better than two square feet per child.

Here then is the problem which the prospect of self-government presents to the educator. With resources in staff and money which were perhaps adequate for educating one boy in five and one girl in fifteen, he finds himself facing a rapidly rising demand for schooling. He has to train statesmen and technicians of all kinds. He has to struggle to maintain some standards of quality, to remember his responsibility for wisdom and virtue as well as for knowledge; while the clamour for mere knowledge, which brings with it money and power, grows ever louder. He may have to face problems of language, of poor communications, of great distances, of communal jealousies, which render his task much harder. Neither Governments nor voluntary agencies could do it alone; they need each other.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY

NOT long after I joined the Colonial Office, there arrived on my desk a communication from a local Labour Party organization in one of the London constituencies. Its secretary wrote to the Secretary of State, enclosing a copy of a resolution which urged the Government to introduce free universal primary education in all the British colonial territories. Rather than write a long explanatory letter, I invited the secretary to come and see me; and in the course of an afternoon's discussion I explained that the Secretary of State could not possibly act on the resolution. One reason was that he had no legal power to do so. The educational programme of Fiji or Tanganyika is provided for by the legislature of Fiji or Tanganyika, and is paid for out of Fiji or Tanganyika taxes. The other reason is that their revenue is insufficient to provide free universal primary education.

Both these points are important for an understanding of the British colonial system. British and Americans agree in regarding education as a matter which so intimately concerns the life of the home that it should be controlled locally, not centrally: by school boards or local education authorities, not by a Ministry. Even if British colonial territories were in general governed from London, their education would probably be left in their own hands. But the colonial territories are not governed from London. Early in its history, a colony develops some sort of legislature of its own. The normal course of

constitutional development is that the colonial legislature, at first entirely composed of officials, grows an unofficial element; the unofficial members, at first few and all nominated by the Crown, increase in numbers, and divide into two groups, a nominated group and an elected. The elected members increase in numbers and power, until all nominated members, whether official or unofficial, vanish from the Chamber. Parallel to this development in the legislature there is a development in the executive. The Governor is at first assisted by an executive council of officials, whose advice he is not bound to take. Gradually an unofficial element makes its appearance here also, and the executive council is gradually transformed into a Cabinet. As the Colonial Government thus develops in capacity, the Secretary of State relinquishes more and more of his power. When I was in Mauritius, for example, the Mauritius Government was not allowed to carry out any major project without the Secretary of State's approval. In those days, the Mauritius legislature contained several elected members, but the officials were in a majority over elected and nominated unofficial members. Since then, Mauritius has attained a high degree of self-government, and any such power of veto is now out of the question.

In the British Commonwealth, colonial constitutions are always developing towards self-government. Even in the Mauritius of 1940 or the Gold Coast of 1925, the Secretary of State would be chary of issuing direct instructions on educational matters. If it seemed to his advisers that some particular educational reform, such as an extension in the teacher training course, was desirable and practicable, he might write a despatch inviting the Government 'to take into consideration the possibility of an extension in the length of the course given in the

teacher training colleges', and the despatch might conclude by 'inviting your observations on the proposal'. It is true that this decorous language would be interpreted by the Governor and his Director of Education as meaning: 'It seems to me that it is time for you to take this step, and that you can afford to. Will you either take it, or else give me a convincing explanation why you won't?' A Governor and a Director, with their careers to think of, would take such a suggestion very seriously indeed. But the despatch does not contain an order, and is not meant to be interpreted as containing an order. There is a strong tradition that 'the man on the spot' should be trusted; and if the Governor and the Director can produce a convincing reason for not carrying out the Secretary of State's suggestion, that will be the end of the matter. One of the Governors under whom I served in Mauritius once passed on to me some query from London. He said, 'This is a nuisance for you, I know; but you and I must always remember the Secretary of State's position and make it as easy for him as we can; for he has to bear the responsibility in Parliament for what we do.' But that falls far short of receiving an order which has to be obeyed.

Since in educational matters the Secretary of State has powers of advising, exhorting, warning, and if necessary disallowing, but not of giving positive orders, the Colonial Office has no department of education with a director at its head. The office has merely a group of educational advisers, supplemented by an unofficial advisory committee. Their duty, strictly speaking, is to advise the Secretary of State when called upon to do so; not to advise Colonial Governments. Strictly speaking, again, the link between the Director of Education in a colony and the Secretary of State's advisers is only an indirect one, through the Governor and the appropriate

geographical branch of the Colonial Office. But British institutions seldom work according to the strict letter of the law. In practice, what happens is that the advisers in London and the Directors of Education in the colonies keep in touch with each other; they discuss matters when the Directors come on leave, and the official despatches are supplemented by semi-official and private correspondence. While I was in Mauritius, I used to consult the educational advisers privately on the outlines of my schemes before ever I submitted them officially to the Governor; so that I knew, before ever the official despatch left the Mauritius secretariat, that the reply from London would be broadly favourable. And this is a common practice, fully sanctioned by the Secretary of State and the Governors.

A further modification of the strictness of the system is that Governors often find it expedient to ask for the visit of a special adviser on some difficult topic. Directors welcome such visits; very often they themselves know exactly what is needed, but their advice may be unpopular, and the special envoy who comes trailing clouds of glory from Whitehall may be able to get things done which would never be done on the advice of the local Director. (One must of course not exclude the possibility that the local Director of Education may *not* know exactly what to do.) Whether the Secretary of State's envoy on such occasions is one of his official advisers or a member of his unofficial advisory committee, his visit is a welcome chance for the local Government to short-circuit the roundabout official channel.

I may perhaps here interject an aside: as a colonial territory comes very near self-government it is natural that its leaders should be reluctant to seek professional advice from such an 'imperialist' source as the Colonial

Office. The Commonwealth Relations Office has no educational advisers; the Ministry of Education has none who are familiar with overseas conditions. It would be a very good thing if some means could be found of establishing an advisory panel to give nearly or newly independent overseas territories advice that would be valuable and acceptable.

Since this is the relationship between the Secretary of State and the Colonial Governments, it is plain that there was no possibility that the Secretary of State should take upon himself to give instructions for the immediate introduction of universal primary education. But there was a still more conclusive reason; unless the United Kingdom paid the bill, universal primary education would have been quite beyond the resources of most Colonial Governments. Compared with the United Kingdom or the United States or the prosperous countries of Western Europe, most colonies are poor.

The Marxist of course has a slick explanation for this. He says that the capitalists in the metropolitan countries keep the colonies poor by exploiting them, that is, by using them as sources of cheap labour and cheap raw materials. He says that colonies are poor because they are colonies; if they could get free, they would become prosperous.

The last sentence is as nearly as possible a direct reversal of the truth. The truth is that colonies are colonies because they are poor; if they can become prosperous, they become free.

The charge of exploitation cannot be answered so briefly. There was a time in the eighteenth century when every colonial power looked on its colonies as sources of cheap raw materials and as settlements to be run primarily at any rate for the benefit of the colonial power. That system lost us the American colonies.

The nineteenth century was a time when Britain was interested in coaling stations and trading bases, such as Aden, Singapore and Hong Kong, rather than in colonies. We acquired large territories in West and East Africa; but we did so reluctantly, not with any idea that they would be profitable investments, but with the purpose of putting down the slave trade and tribal warfare and other unpleasant practices such as human sacrifice. This reluctance had its effect on the way in which we treated the colonies. No territory received any grant from the United Kingdom Treasury unless its own revenues were insufficient for even the minimum expenses of administration. No money from United Kingdom public funds was spent on the development of education or other social services, or in economic development such as railway construction or geological surveying. Colonial Governments were left to finance all this from their own revenues or from such loans as their credit enabled them to raise. On the other hand no colony was ever called on to pay any tax to the United Kingdom—an important point which ought to be more widely known.

Naturally, private capitalists of any nation were free to do business in the colonies, and the *laissez-faire* ideas which prevailed in Britain prevailed also there. The Ceylon tea-planter, like the Lancashire mill-owner, had an interest in keeping his wages-bill down; and although Lancashire would like Ceylon to buy its piece-goods and Ceylon would like Lancashire to buy its tea, planter and mill-owner did not co-operate in raising the purchasing power of their workers.

But ideas have changed in the last fifty years. At home, *laissez-faire* ideas have given way; we have seen the rise of trade unions and collective bargaining, of co-operative societies, and of the welfare state. There has been a similar

change in our ideas about colonies. As long ago as 1898, the Government of the Gold Coast set up a special department to ensure that European mining or timber companies did not take advantage of African inexperience and obtain cheap concessions. Everywhere there are trade unions and co-operative societies and produce marketing boards, all of them stimulated and fostered by Colonial Governments in order to protect their people from exploitation. The Colonial Governments derive much of their revenue from taxes on exports, and mining companies often have to pay royalties to the owners of the land as well as the Government tax. Nowadays, Governments skim off in taxation a sizeable proportion of the value of the national product. In 1953, for example, the figures for three representative territories were:

	<i>Domestic Exports</i>	<i>Government Revenue</i>
Barbados	£7,950,000	£2,867,000
Cyprus	£14,462,000	£9,578,000
Sierra Leone	£11,975,000	£5,418,000

Admittedly, the value of a country's exports is not the same thing as its total national income; but these three, and most other colonial territories, are primarily producers of raw materials for export, and for such countries it comes much nearer to being a fair index of national wealth than it is for a country with a more complex economic system. The corresponding figures for three independent tropical countries were:

	<i>Domestic Exports</i>	<i>Government Revenue</i>
Cuba	£241,195,000	£110,000,000
Liberia	£11,998,000	£3,571,000
Ecuador	£26,600,000	£15,000,000

Moreover, since 1929, and more particularly since 1945, the United Kingdom Government has abandoned its old policy of expecting colonies to stand on their own feet. It has recognized that it would be a painfully slow process for them to accumulate funds for development from their small revenue surpluses, and by a series of Colonial Development and Welfare Acts it has provided considerable sums, partly as a gift, partly in loans, to Colonial Governments for their economic and social development. A good share of this money has been spent on building and equipping university colleges, higher technical colleges, and schools of all kinds, and in providing scholarships for Colonial students tenable in the United Kingdom.

The poverty of the colonial territories is not due to exploitation. It is often supposed that British colonies are required to sell the whole of their produce to Britain, or as much of it as Britain needs. It is supposed moreover that they are required to sell to Britain at a cheaper price than to other countries. Both these suppositions are untrue. Ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century, British colonies have been free to sell their produce on the world market to anybody willing to buy; and British purchasers have to buy colonial produce at world prices. A glance at the trade figures of any British territory will show how real this freedom is. The colonies are poor because, like many independent 'under-developed' countries, they are producing too little, and have not the capital to open up new sources of production. They are like the owner of a poor building in a street that is just beginning to develop; he knows that he would get a good return for his outlay if he could put up a modern building, but he has not the capital to invest.

Let us take a few examples of what their poverty feels

like. Tanganyika is over four times the size of Great Britain, nearly half as big again as Texas; it has about eight million people, and its Government revenue is at the rate of between two and three pounds a year per head. From one provincial headquarters in Tanganyika I was driven sixty miles along a main road without passing a village or, as far as I remember, seeing another vehicle. The countryside was clothed with grass and scrub, but it was uninhabitable because of tsetse-fly. There are two ways of eradicating the tsetse-fly. You can spray, which is expensive, or you can cut down the undergrowth which shelters the fly, and keep it cut; this can only be done if you have a settled population to do it. Neither means was available here; so the countryside remained empty. After sixty miles we came to a village, where presumably for some reason the tsetse-fly found the climate uncongenial. Here there was a school, and a good school, with an African head-teacher and staff, young and keen on their job. The next school was 120 miles further on, where there was another strip of country free from the fly. The nearest bookshop was at Dar-es-Salaam on the coast, four hundred miles away. Every pencil and exercise book had to come along the road I had travelled. I remarked to the head-teacher that he and his staff must sometimes feel rather isolated. He replied, 'Sir, it is like living in an oasis in the desert.'

I have described one vicious circle: you cannot put down the tsetse-fly till you have the people, you cannot have the people till you have put down the fly. Here is another. These schools are so isolated that they need frequent visits from a sympathetic education officer; but the distances are so great that the education officer cannot get to them more than once a year. The territory cannot afford either to improve the road so as to speed up the

travelling, or to have more education officers so that each needs to travel less. Tanganyika has some 3,500 miles of main road and 25,000 miles of other roads; Great Britain, one-quarter its size, has 28,000 miles of Class I roads and 158,000 miles of other roads.

Again, take the Volta River scheme in Ghana, an ambitious scheme for harnessing the Volta river and generating electricity, which is only waiting for someone to put up the money. For thirty years, the Gold Coast Government knew that there was a large deposit of bauxite waiting to be developed, but it could not develop it; the deposit was away from the country's main lines of communication, and it would have needed a special railway line to convey the ore. There were many projects more urgent, and the country had other deposits of bauxite which it did export. After the war, the price of aluminium seemed likely to make this fresh deposit worth working. The Volta scheme seemed to solve several problems. The river would be dammed near the rapids which make it unnavigable. The Volta and one of its tributaries above the dam would back up and make 200 miles of lake, providing water transport for a region which had hitherto being very remote. The electricity generated would provide power not only for quarrying the ore but for smelting, so that Ghana would not export ore but ingots of metal, at an immense saving of freight charges. There would be electricity available also for domestic use and for light industries; and lastly, the reservoir would make it possible to irrigate sixty miles of semi-arid plain near the capital city. The benefits would be immense: if only construction costs would not rise and the price of aluminium would promise not to fall. Meanwhile, the scheme hangs fire, for lack of capital.

It is easy to see how this poverty lowers the efficiency

of education. In Kenya, which is nearly as big as Texas, there were only fourteen men in 1939 available to inspect African schools. That was a direct result of the depression of the 'thirties, which brought down the price of pyrethrum and the other farm produce of Kenya. Countries whose prosperity depends on the world market price of their raw products are compelled to budget cautiously. This year's boom is apt to be followed by next year's slump; and it will do you little good if you build a hospital or a college on this year's profit and next year cannot afford to staff it.

It is not my business as an educationist to discuss in this book why countries remain primarily producers of raw materials for export, and do not more quickly develop into manufacturing countries with a comfortably diversified economy. I have to take facts as I find them. I will only say that the development of a manufacturing industry needs capital, labour (of all degrees of skill), fuel or power, and a home market which can afford to purchase. These requisites are not easily come by; and international economists have reported in not very hopeful terms on the prospects of some colonial and newly independent territories.

The facts as I find them are unpleasant enough. One obvious consequence of a country's poverty is bad or non-existent roads. Education officers have to spend far too much of their time in travel and too little in the schools. School equipment is slow in arriving and expensive because of the freight charges. Villages and tribes are isolated from one another. Isolation causes ignorance of all kinds: resistance to new ideas in agriculture, ignorance in matters of health, with malnutrition and an abundance of malaria and hookworm and other parasitic diseases, all of which lower the apparent intelligence.

Isolation also splits languages into many dialects, making communication still more difficult. If we come down to matters of practical administration, it is difficult to bring schools or colleges together for football matches or sports meetings or music festivals, difficult to collect teachers for refresher courses, difficult sometimes even to post a teacher to a school outside his own district, where the people speak a different language and disapprove of strangers.

Such problems as these are not restricted to the large territories. People can be isolated from one another by communal differences, or by such physical obstacles as mountains and sea. The islands of the Caribbean, for example, lie in a chain 2,000 miles long; the Gilbert and Ellice Islands contain 180 square miles of land scattered over two million square miles of ocean; Fiji is so mountainous that it is often quicker to go by boat than to cross the mountains. It is understandable that Governors should feel that the spending departments—education, health, agriculture, public works and so forth—are competing against one another, and that the fairest way is to give each as much of its essential needs as can be managed, without throwing money away on luxuries. ‘The Director of Education puts in for a new biology laboratory, the Director of Health Services wants a new maternity clinic; we can only afford one of the two this year, and we dare not promise that we will build the other one next year, because if the price of sugar goes down. . . .’ It is a difficult choice, and the Governors and financial secretaries who have to make it deserve my understanding and sympathy. That is not to say, I fear, that they will always have it.

CHAPTER FOUR

HOW EDUCATION BEGINS

ONLY a few weeks after I arrived in the Gold Coast to take up my duties at Achimota College, an angry European said to me, 'What I have against you Achimota people is that there is no colour problem in this country at present, but you are doing your damndest to create one.' Up to a point, he was right; he had put his finger on one of the essentials in education. Education is and must be a means of social change. At that time, the great bulk of the Gold Coast people were content with the paternal British rule. There were plenty of people alive who could remember the civil wars in Ashanti, and they still treasured the peace and prosperity which British rule was bringing them. There were no European settlers in the country, so that there was no source of friction over land. The British district commissioner was the father of his people, and the only criticism they had was that instead of telling them straight out what they were to do, so that they would know where they were with him, he was more and more trying to make them guess for themselves what they ought to do, offering hints and suggestions when what they desired was orders. And my angry European friend knew that a big modern school, with Africans and Europeans of similar qualifications on the staff, with cricket matches and debating societies and a library and with a close and constant contact between European staff and African pupils, would inevitably encourage Africans to measure them-

selves against Europeans. It would 'put ideas into their heads'—the unforgivable sin on the part of a teacher.

But in another respect, my friend was quite wrong. The process did not start with Achimota College, or even with the older secondary schools. Education is not confined to schools and colleges. It goes on wherever human beings are in contact; and especially so when two races are in contact, with very different cultures. Culture-contact implies education. In a remote bush village, the first sign of European influence in those days was commonly a battered felt hat. The next sign was European liquor. Some enterprising manufacturer marketed a brand of gin, and on every case was the mark 'Gin for Kings'. This subtle piece of flattery was often taken to imply a Royal appointment, and every village headman supposed that he was drinking gin as served in Buckingham Palace. From felt hats and liquor, the rising tide of European influence passed to such things as bicycles and gramophones. In the bigger towns there was the influence of the cinema, nowadays of course supplemented by that of the radio. Then there was the living presence of Europeans, with their incalculable behaviour. Every European in an office, every European housewife with her servants, is engaged all day in an educational process. The manager's efforts to teach his clerk, the housewife's efforts to train her cook or houseboy, are far less effective than their unconscious daily example.

Most important of all, there is the powerful influence of Western individualism and business methods. We come into a society in which the unit is the tribe, the age-group, the clan: in which morality is guarded by custom and the fear of incurring the wrath of the gods or of the ancestors: in which all payments are made in kind, and all services rewarded by fees whose amount is regulated,

like everything else, by custom. We introduce money, the idea of a regular wage in return for a regular amount of work done, the idea that an individual is responsible for his own actions. We introduce cash crops, so that it becomes a highly profitable business to hold land; and traditional systems of land tenure begin to crumble. Things to buy with your money, things to do so as to get more money, the desire for wealth and power—these are a more powerful educational force than any school, because they work without ceasing, and they work unnoticed.

Before the introduction of the white man's rule and the white man's individualistic commerce, peoples living in a simpler economic system had a very efficient educational system, though it was designed to serve as an agent of social preservation rather than of social change; and of course they had their great and small, ambitious and humble, rich and poor. But wealth expressed in money, and the power which comes from money, are a far greater stimulus to individual greed than wealth expressed in flocks and herds. When money comes in, it often corrupts wholesome customs. In West Africa, litigants would pay court fees and fines in sheep and fowls and cloth and palm wine, and the elders composing the court would receive each his customary share. It compensated them for their time and trouble, and in days before written records it helped to fix the judgment in their memory and in the memory of the public at large. Money comes in and the payments are commuted into cash; at once there is a temptation to screw up the price of justice, to take bribes, and to fiddle the accounts.

In all manner of ways such as this, contact with Europe modifies the old manner of living. It is one of the facts of life that other peoples find certain aspects of European

culture attractive. Even India and China, with their age-old civilizations, imitate European industrial technology. Africa is less discriminating; people in Africa are often ready to throw away their own culture as barbarous, and receive European culture intact. Nothing is more impressive to a British teacher than the African eagerness to learn, shown in docile and industrious children, double-session classes, enormous entry lists for secondary schools and for public examinations, and an eager enrolment for adult literacy and university extra-mural classes and for the courses given by correspondence colleges. Thirty years ago I stood outside the post office in a small Gold Coast town waiting for the mail lorry to arrive with the English mail. I was the only European in the town, and expected to find only a few other people there; but there was a crowd of nearly a hundred young men waiting with me, and when the mail was sorted I saw dozens of packets being handed out which bore the imprint of a well-known correspondence college in England.

The colonial peoples are determined to get Western education. The question is, what sort of education will they get? How great an effort are we prepared to make to ensure that our civilization is worthily presented to them?

This raises two commonly made criticisms of colonial education. One comes from some of our own people, colonial administrators and businessmen in the colonies, who shake their heads over what they describe as the results of education. My angry friend whom I quoted at the beginning of this chapter went on to make the point that education takes a good man and spoils him. This is a criticism which I will deal with in the next chapter. The other criticism comes from foreign critics of colonialism. They say that one of the evils of

colonialism is that the colonial power imposes its own culture on the peoples of its colonies, and their indigenous culture is crushed.

As far as British colonies are concerned, there has never been a deliberate policy of replacing native culture by European culture. I stress the word 'deliberate'. Example is stronger than precept, and there is a powerful suggestion in the example of a well-paid official who owes his position and his wealth to the examinations he has passed, who has no more knowledge of the local language than the regulations require him to obtain, and who has at most a tourist or dilettante interest in the art, music, religion, proverbs, and customs of the country. There are many officials and business people in the colonies who are keen and competent at their job and genuinely interested in the people they serve, but who simply have not the time or opportunity to make a deep study of language or culture. After all, there are some 400 major languages, apart from dialects, in British tropical Africa, and it is common to find six unrelated languages spoken in a country not much bigger than Great Britain.

Far from there being a deliberate policy of imposing European culture, there has in fact been a contrary policy. For thirty years and more we have been basing our education as far as possible on the local language, and cultivating local history, geography, art and music as far as our sometimes scanty knowledge enables us to do so. We have followed this policy far enough to arouse opposition. People have said in effect, 'We know enough of our own culture; we want you to teach us yours.' I once told a boy that he had better drop Latin and take extra English; he was a good boy, but Latin was just not his subject. His father wrote me a pathetic letter. He

said that all Englishmen knew Latin, and he wanted his son to have as good a chance in life as any English boy. When I first went to Africa, I found that schoolchildren could repeat the rivers of the Humber basin and the capes from Flamborough Head round to St. Bees Head; and when the Cambridge syndicate first set West Africa as a region for its geography syllabus, there was a good deal of muttering. Forty years ago it was impossible to get educated people in Ceylon to take any interest in Sinhalese and Tamil; the cry was always for English and more English. In the early days of Achimota, we had difficulty in persuading the boys that their beautiful African dress was suitable for state occasions; they said it was only fit for informal wear, and educated people should wear European dress to look smart. There are of course some modifications of European syllabuses that are accepted without protest. The ship that first took me to the Gold Coast carried in its refrigerator a consignment of English earthworms and dandelions to be dissected by African biology candidates in London University examinations. It did not take long to get these replaced by African plants and animals, and nobody protested. But in general, our well-intentioned efforts to adapt syllabuses to local conditions are not welcomed.

This is one of the inescapable difficulties of colonial education. The European is known to have reached his position of authority through a good school and college education. It took him all his time, learning through the medium of his mother-tongue. Why should he propose unnecessary difficulties to his pupils? The African in a secondary school is studying through the medium of a foreign language. The content of the syllabus, which was mainly evolved in Europe, is foreign to him; the programme may be expected to take him longer than it

took his European teacher. Then why must he spend two periods a week in studying his own language? Why does the European urge him to spend some of his precious time in studying African music or art, in collecting proverbs or folk-tales or historical traditions? Can it be that the European wishes to withhold from him some essential piece of European lore and thus prevent him from reaching the highest position? As long as Europeans are in positions of authority, this suspicion must persist. Only when the pupil is convinced that the European is not striving to maintain his own position, and that he does not praise a work of African art because it is African, but because it is good, will the suspicion die. Then we may look for a renaissance. The renaissance of interest in the Sinhalese and Tamil languages and cultures is now in full swing in Ceylon, and African dress is universally worn on state occasions in Ghana.

Meanwhile, students in colonies study European culture, not because it is imposed on them, but because they want it. Knowledge means power, and power—with wealth—is what they desire. Because of his knowledge, the white man is in a position of authority. If they can learn what he has learnt, if they can pass the same examinations and gain the same certificates, no doubt they will be able to succeed to his authority. Hence comes their indiscriminating thirst for knowledge; hence their anxiety not to deviate at all from the syllabus as devised for English pupils. Like King Wenceslas's page, our African pupils mark our footsteps and tread in them.

Thus the professional educationist does not start with a clean sheet. His pupils come to him with all sorts of ideas and impressions drawn from press, film and radio, and from miscellaneous contacts of all kinds. Many years ago, a political leader in one of the colonies, who was

something of a thorn in the flesh of the local administration, told me that as a young man in London reading for the Bar, he had no opportunity of visiting English people in their homes, so he made a practice of visiting the cinema regularly 'in order to study English home life'. When two cultures come into contact, it is often the ephemeral and less worthy elements that are most easily transmitted. The material possessions of European life: the use of European liquor and clothes, bicycles and automobiles, typewriters and telephones, the jazz gramophone record and European dancing—these are easily copied. So are such things as banking and office management, and business methods. But the achievements of European thought and art—Plato, Darwin, Beethoven, Botticelli—which after all are enjoyed only by a minority of Europeans, are much less easily absorbed. The educationist in the colonies is always running a desperate race against these other influences, trying to give his pupils something of the nobler elements in European, or rather, in world culture.

By way of tailpiece, let me add an incident which shows that if the educationist is sometimes tempted to despair of his task, he sometimes has unexpected encouragements. Some years ago, it was discovered that the European nightingale visited West Africa on migration. A distinguished ornithologist on a visit to the Gold Coast was giving a lecture to an African audience; he mentioned this fact, and regretted that his audience could never have an idea of the nightingale's song, for it only sang in its European breeding grounds. To his surprise, there came a courteous interruption: 'Yes, Sir; Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony!' A British veterinary officer had the gramophone records of the symphony, and encouraged his African staff to listen with understanding.

CHAPTER FIVE

WHAT SHOULD THEY LEARN?

THERE is a tribe in the Northern Territories of Ghana called the Konkombas, a pastoral people whose cattle means a great deal to them. They are fine handsome men, and are famous for their traditional dancing, much of which symbolizes the cattle-raiding and warfare which used to be one of their national recreations. In 1927 I was in charge of education in the Northern Territories, and the education department was not popular with the officers of the political administration, who had until recently run their districts single-handed, and objected on principle to the intrusion of departmental technical officers. A colleague of mine visited the Konkomba country. The district commissioner kindly staged a dance display for him, and when it was over, turned to his guest and said crushingly, 'And these are the people you want to take into your damned schools and turn into clerks!'

My colleague, wisely I think, did not attempt much argument with the great man. But I should have been tempted to reply on these lines. First, the function of the school is not merely to produce clerks. It is to produce responsible, intelligent men and women; and even if you consider it merely from the point of vocational training, it will produce skilled farmers, sanitary inspectors, surveyors, hospital dressers, veterinary assistants, as well as clerks. Second, you profess to despise clerks. But your administration needs them, and you yourself are employing a southerner because there are no local people avail-

able. Third, this wonderful dancing draws its inspiration from a way of life that has passed away. We have to provide some fresh inspiration, and if we can make the schools good ones, they will be one of our chief means. We cannot have the Konkombas preserved in their traditional way of life as museum specimens and tourist attractions.

I may seem to be making too much of a remark made over thirty years ago. But such remarks are still made today. Many Europeans are nervous about African education, for they assume that to educate an African is to spoil him. There is often superficial evidence to encourage their fears. Africans as well as Europeans deplore the brashness, the cocksureness, the downright rudeness of many who have passed through the schools, learning to despise the old ways, acquiring the thinnest possible veneer of European knowledge, and concealing their uncertainty beneath an outward aggressiveness. The African who has lost his European veneer has become a regular figure in European mythology, as witness the number of jokes on the theme of the cannibal king who murmurs consolingly to his victim, 'Me too Balliol man!' And every time an African clerk embezzles money from the cash-box, the familiar jeer arises, '*There* is your educated African!'

Now I want to say quite bluntly that in my experience the African is intellectually as good as the Englishman: his best as good as our best, his worst as bad as our worst, his average about our average. Next, that Africans have abundantly shown that given the chance, they can carry responsibility as well as anyone. Lastly, that African clerks are no more given to embezzlement than English clerks of similar standing; and that, in general, the trouble is not education, but a derisory smattering of education.

The cure for it is not less education, but more.

Nevertheless, the criticism is still often made that there must be something seriously wrong with our education policy, because so many whom we regard as 'educated' are less disciplined, wise, reliable and hard-working than we could wish. Does it not seem that we are providing the wrong sort of education, and is it not possible to devise an education which would be more suited to the needs of the country and more easily assimilable?

I believe this to be a mistaken diagnosis; but we must admit that the symptoms are as stated. Schooling does too often produce the attitude of mind which for me is crystallized in a remark made years ago by a servant of mine: he saw some labourers carrying heavy sacks of cocoa, and with a self-satisfied snigger turned to me and said, 'We Fantis are too sa-ga-ci-ous to carry loads!' Moreover, we must be careful not to misrepresent the motives of Europeans who make the criticism. Some of my African friends have dismissed it too lightly, saying, 'Of course, these Europeans dare not admit that we are as good as they are; they occupy a privileged position, and they are afraid of losing it.' It is not as simple as that. It is true that this criticism is sometimes made for such selfish reasons: schools give children ideas above their station in life. But it is more often made for sentimental reasons by people who respect and admire the old dignified country ways in Africa, just as they do in England, and have devoted their lives to the gradual and orderly development of local government and of health and agriculture in the rural setting. To these people, the spread of education means that country ways give place to town ways, that order and dignity give place to a pushing individualism, and that social problems arise, such as juvenile delinquency, which were formerly unknown.

Now there is a great deal in what they say. The virtues of tribal life are very plain, and many a youngster leaves school despising the old life and unfitted to play any useful part in the new. The old tribal life was in a condition of equilibrium, which is upset by the contact with European ways. What we now have to do is to help the people to pass as quickly as possible through the resulting period of disequilibrium and reach a new stability on a different level. The schools ought to be one of our chief means of giving this assistance; but the schools have not the tools to do the job properly.

It is wrong to blame the schools for teaching individualism. Individualism is taught by the European employer, who pays the individual worker a wage for his work, who complains when the worker wants to leave after a few months to go home to his family and enjoy what he has earned, and who complains still more when he cannot persuade a senior man to take a post of responsibility because, as he says, the extra salary will simply mean that he has to support twenty relatives instead of ten, and he will be no better off.

Similarly, it is wrong to blame the schools for teaching children that educated people should not get their hands dirty with manual work. This is taught by European example. The European housewife employs servants to do what she would do for herself in England. Europeans are seen in positions of authority, and the higher their rank, the less manual work they do. The European foreman in the workshop may wear oily dungarees, but everyone knows that the manager is his superior. I remember on one occasion telling my African servant that he had not cleaned my shoes properly. He replied that he could not get them any cleaner; whereupon I called for the blacking and brushes and cleaned one shoe

myself in front of him. 'There,' I said, 'that is what I call a clean shoe; look at the difference!' The poor lad was astounded. 'Master, he savvy clean shoe?' he gasped. He had always assumed that I paid him to clean my shoes because I did not know how to clean them myself; it had never entered his head that it was merely to save myself effort. I remember that of all the pictures I ever showed a class, the one which caused most amazement was one of Covent Garden porters carrying baskets of tomatoes on their heads. It went home, because Africans carry things on their heads, and they had always thought white men incapable of it. But they found it hard to imagine that in England there were white men who earned their living by manual work. They had always thought of a white man as one who sat at a desk and signed letters which an African clerk had typed.

The schools ought to be doing more to correct these one-sided views. They are not able to do more because they are short of trained staff, of books and pictures, of films and film-strips, and of outside help such as mobile libraries. The remedy is not to try and put the clock back by discouraging the schools, but to give them the staff and the equipment and the outside assistance they need to do their job properly. Which of course is entirely a question of money.

There is one special version of this criticism which needs mentioning. It is one which is commonly made by Governors and others in authority. They say, 'Agriculture is the backbone of this country. The schools ought to produce solid progressive farmers who will stay on the land and not go drifting away to the towns in search of office jobs. Therefore, every school should have a school farm and should teach agriculture; why is it that so many schools have no farm, and that many of those

that have farms seem to have very little effect on the agricultural practice of their neighbourhood?’

In this again, there is some truth. Many colonial territories do rely largely on their agriculture; they feed themselves by a system of subsistence farming, and export cotton or coffee or sugar or cocoa. Mineral products at present are less important than agricultural, and there seems little prospect in the near future of much manufacture. But the conclusion the critics draw about the schools seems to me mistaken. Subsistence agriculture is all very well as a means of feeding a sedentary population. But it produces no revenue. Introduce an export crop, and you obtain revenue; but at the same time you produce a demand for land, a desire for individual profit, a class of middlemen and brokers, and all the familiar signs of an economic and social system in transition. Further, subsistence agriculture carried on in the traditional manner is often inefficient; it needs to be improved with manuring and composting, contour ridging and irrigation, spraying and crop rotation and consolidation of scattered holdings.

How much of all this can be taught in the schools? Agricultural practices are intimately connected with religion and other aspects of social life. It is not easy for schoolboys to raise better crops than their fathers. Parents do not send their children to school to learn how to grow yams or millet; they send them to learn the qualifications for obtaining a salaried job. School holidays interfere with work on the school farm, especially if the holidays are arranged so as to free the boys for helping on the family farm at harvest and other busy seasons. A really first-class teacher may make the school farm the centre of his school life, grouping his English and arithmetic and general science work around the farm

routine. But not all teachers are first-class. Too often the school farm is used as a means of saving money by raising food to feed the children in the boarding houses. Sometimes, I fear, it is used for less worthy purposes, such as raising vegetables for the head teacher's own table. The best school farms are usually those in which the boys have their own plots and are allowed to sell what they grow. As the report of the Cambridge Conference says:

'The school cannot hope directly to cause much increase in the national productivity, in the face of such obstacles as the prevailing systems of land tenure, the shortage of capital, uncertainties of weather and of world prices, the low return obtainable from subsistence farming, and the absence of amenities in village life.'

Agriculture is not specially suitable for the primary school curriculum (and secondary education as yet is only for a minority); it involves much time in hard routine labour for results which will often be better achieved by the boys' parents at home. Our critics show a touching faith in the schools when they think that if only we make the boys work on the school farm they will ask for no better career than to spend the rest of their lives working on the family farm.

Nor can the schools stop the drift to the towns, which is still going on in England, where education is much better than in most colonial territories. If you live in an African village, you will have to light your home by a paraffin lamp, fetch water from the river, travel maybe twenty miles or maybe 100 miles to the nearest clinic or cinema. When Governments find themselves able to provide electricity, or a hospital, or a housing scheme, or a piped water supply, or a secondary school, they

always provide it first in the towns. This is natural enough, for it is in the towns that these amenities will serve the biggest public. What is strange is that, having provided them, they bewail the fact that more and more people come drifting out of the countryside to enjoy them. What do they expect? A farmer's love of the land will have to be very strong to counteract his wife's love of light from a switch and water from a tap. We can no more keep people on the land by setting schoolmasters to preach the virtues of agriculture than we can keep people in the pits by setting schoolmasters in Yorkshire or Glamorgan to preach the importance of mining. We have discovered now that the way to keep people in the mines is to provide better pay, better housing, better baths and canteens and amenities in general. Similarly, if we wish Africans to live in the country, we must make the countryside attractive to live in; and that is not primarily the business of the schools, but calls for such measures as housing, electricity, water supply, and health services.

The trouble is not that our education policy is mis-conceived, but that it is inadequately carried out. The schools have an immensely difficult task in bridging the gap between the old world and the new, and they have not the resources—above all, they have not enough trained and competent teachers—to perform it properly.

What then should we teach in schools? The first thing to do is to find out what the people wish their children to learn. If we ask the question, we shall find that the general desire is for an education as close as possible to that provided in England. If there are to be any modifications, it must be clear that they will not lower the academic standard, or provide a qualification inferior to that obtainable in England. The people naturally wish

to prove their worth and qualify themselves for responsible positions and eventually for self-government; and examination certificates are the first qualification they seek. It is easy for us to say that examinations are not everything. But we ourselves have obtained certificates and diplomas, and would not have obtained our official positions without them, and it ill becomes us to discourage others from striving for them. It is useless to deplore the craze for certificates. They are valuable as long as they are rare, and the craze will moderate in proportion as they become common. Meanwhile, we shall find steady resistance if we try to divert the curriculum away from the requirements of public examining bodies in Britain. Fortunately, the public examining bodies are usually very ready to accept alternative syllabuses to meet local needs. Syllabuses are available in several Asian and African languages, in geography, in history, art, and biology.

Moreover, in the colonies as in this country, the public examination is not the end of a child's career. If a student wishes to become a barrister or an accountant or an engineer, he has to consider not merely the freedom of choice provided by the examining body, but that freedom as limited by the requirements of his professional organization. Acceptance by a university or higher college, or by a professional institution, is highly competitive, and so we see English pupils striving to pass the examination for the General Certificate of Education in eight, nine or ten subjects, just as we used to see them straining after the maximum number of credits in the School Certificate. As long as colonial students compete with English students for admission to such courses, the attractive idea of devising a school curriculum closely adapted to the African or Pacific or Caribbean environment is impracticable. When lawyers no longer wish

to be called to the English Bar, engineers to be admitted to the British Institutions, and doctors to obtain a qualification registrable in this country, the problem will become simpler. Until then, we are considerably circumscribed.

The difficulty is that these pressures are felt from the very bottom of the primary school. The teacher in a remote rural school, facing forty new children on the first day of the year, may well have the gloomy knowledge that half of them will drop out after the first two years, and that not more than one or two will ever enter a secondary school. But the education he gives the class must be designed to prepare all of them for the prospect of secondary education. As far as it lies in the teacher to give it, every child must have an equal chance. There can be no question of picking out one or two to become members of an elite, and providing for the others an education which is not suited to their age, ability and aptitude, but suited only to the lowly rank which we design them to hold in society. It may happen once again that

Knowledge to their eyes her ample page
Rich with the spoils of time did ne'er unroll;
Chill Penury repress'd their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul.

But it must not happen by the deliberate policy of the teacher or the education department. Our business is to give with open hands all the knowledge and opportunity we have to offer.

This means that we must give the children in the primary school enough English to enable them to profit by secondary education given through the medium of English, and enough arithmetic to give a sound founda-

tion for secondary school mathematics. Since in most colonies (the Caribbean is the chief exception) English is a foreign language, this is a heavy load, and it leaves little room for local adaptations of the curriculum. Of course we must teach the local language if circumstances permit; as I shall point out in a later chapter, they do not always permit. We must teach this language with two aims: the first is that the basic skills of reading and writing, and the comprehension of unfamiliar subject matter, should not at first be complicated by the addition of a foreign language; the second is that all children, even if they leave the school before acquiring much English, should become permanently literate in their own language. We must introduce English as early as possible, recognizing it as a foreign language and teaching it as such. Having made provision for all this, we may if we please devise elementary syllabuses based on the local environment in history and geography and nature study and hygiene and handicrafts and the other subjects. But the solid foundation of mother-tongue, English and arithmetic must be well laid, whatever else has to suffer.

This may seem obvious; but it is not always as simple as it sounds. I leave the linguistic problems to a later chapter; but meanwhile, what about the history, geography and nature-study? Somebody will have to study them first. When I was in the Gold Coast, I found that the old people who knew the tribal history were usually very reluctant to tell it to young educated people such as teachers; they will make fun of it, they said. Similarly there is a wealth of knowledge available among the old people on the subject of botany; every tree and plant has its name and use, and usually a proverb attached to it. But I have only met one teacher in Africa who really knew his forest in this way. One afternoon in

Mauritius I visited a village school, and found the children learning the capes and bays of the island from a big map. (Very good so far; they were at least starting at home.) They could repeat them perfectly in clockwise order, but found great difficulty in naming any cape chosen at random. I took the class outside. The sun was just setting, and outside the school a sizeable brook rushed purling to the sea. Nobody could point to the north, and nobody knew the name of the brook or anything about its course. It was not the teacher's fault. He was untrained and had never heard of the idea of teaching geography from a basis of local surveys and expeditions. It would be more difficult still for a teacher in a big country, who must needs await the production of a geography text-book and an atlas—which requires a geographer with time on his hands.

When we propose adapting a curriculum to local needs, we do not always realize these difficulties. We in Europe live in an atmosphere of close observation and of popular science. We grow plants in gardens and in pots, we keep cage-birds and fish, we have microscopes and magnifying glasses, and are familiar with the idea of objects too small to be seen with the naked eye. Things are different in the bush school. Hunters and medicine-men have an intimate knowledge of the animals and plants that are useful to them, but the ordinary citizen looks on nature with an incurious eye. A biology colleague of mine once bred some mosquitos in the laboratory aquarium. Unfortunately, the insects emerged from the pupal cases at night; and when the class assembled in the morning and found the adult mosquitos in the tank, they refused to believe that they had emerged. They all knew that such things could not happen; and they insisted that the teacher had come by night and made the exchange. If

this can happen in a well-equipped secondary school with a first-class teacher, what can we expect from the village school in the bush? I once became so weary of supervising nature study lessons on the dog and the sheep, which the students simply copied out of a book, that I told a student to give a lesson on the tree-bear, a very common animal of the West African forest. He accepted the assignment without demur, but came back later in despair, saying that he knew nothing about the animal (which he admitted he could hear howling every night at home) and no book could tell him. A qualified teacher once told me to my face that, although she knew the life-history of the malaria parasite by heart from her text-book, and taught it faithfully to her class, she did not believe a word of it. Malaria came from drinking bad water; everyone knew that.

It will take a long time to produce syllabuses in hygiene and nature study which are adapted to local needs and which can be convincingly taught in bush conditions.

At the secondary stage, the problems of adapting the curriculum to local needs are equally great, though of a different nature. Here the trouble is more lack of time and the pressure of examinations. The vernacular has to take a back seat, and there must be a heavy concentration on English. In history and geography, the pupils must look beyond their own country and learn some ideas of the outside world. Any adaptation to their special needs is likely to be more in the way of point of view and manner of teaching than in subject-matter. At this stage in their education, the problem of adapting the curriculum is closely connected with the problem of providing text-books. A secondary school history teacher in Africa or the Pacific may devise a special history syllabus, but his pupils will require to obtain a pass in

the appropriate public examination, and the examining body will require to know what text-book the class is studying. The history teacher thus has to devise his syllabus, get it approved in outline, write the accompanying text-book, and get the book published—and the publisher will want to know how many examination candidates are likely to buy the book each year. I discuss the text-book problem later on. Nowadays there is a good flow of text-books written for the oversea market, and things are much easier than they were; but in history and some other subjects the choice is still limited.

History is a specially difficult subject. It is easy to pour scorn on a school in some remote country which produces good examination results on 'Tudors and Stuarts'. But what history *is* suitable for such a school, for a four-year course of two periods a week leading to a School Certificate? We may assume that no formal history has been taught in the primary school, so that the history teacher has only this scanty time in which to impart information, encourage historical thinking, develop a time-sense, develop some understanding of the modern world, and so forth. If he follows the fashion of beginning from palaeolithic man, he will never penetrate below the surface; if he concentrates on modern times, his pupils will never put down roots into the past. If he keeps to the pupils' native country and the ruling power, he will be accused of putting them in blinkers and hiding from them the great world-movements which are taking place in other continents; if he opens their eyes widely, he will be blamed for not giving them a thorough understanding of the causes of their present colonial status.

In mathematics and science, there is little scope for a locally-adapted curriculum, though some science teachers

are doing useful work in providing text-books which enable experiments to be carried out with cheap and simple apparatus made locally. Biological specimens will of course be local. Some schools may achieve success in approaching science from agriculture, rather than from technology. But the scientific knowledge required for medicine or engineering admits of no compromise.

The Cambridge conference of 1952, discussing the school curriculum, agreed that the main need, both in primary and secondary schools, was not so much a series of specially devised syllabuses as 'a livelier and fresher approach to teaching'. Syllabuses certainly do need modification, and the conference felt

'that the preparation of syllabuses is a highly expert task, in which institutes of education, training colleges, and teachers should be associated, and that all syllabuses should be tried and modified, if necessary, before introduction into the schools.'

I would myself add public examining bodies to this association; and I think the conference would agree. We hear of examining bodies who can replace 'winter' and 'summer' by 'dry season' and 'wet season' in their botany papers, but are apparently unable to conceive of a country where there is no such division and plants are active all the year round. There should be close co-operation between the teachers and examiners, and it is a good thing that in British West Africa the Cambridge local examinations syndicate and the University of London have joined with the local university colleges and other bodies in setting up a West African Examinations Council.

But the main responsibility must still be with the teacher. A bad syllabus in the hands of a good teacher

will produce better results than a good syllabus in the hands of a bad teacher. By all means let us overhaul our syllabuses and write the text-books to suit them; but our main effort must be to develop what the Cambridge conference calls 'a livelier and fresher approach to teaching'. More teachers and better teachers are what the schools chiefly need.

CHAPTER SIX

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

AT the General Conference of Unesco held at Montevideo in 1954, the Egyptian delegation made an interesting proposal on the curriculum of education in colonies. It proposed that as a general principle, colonial powers should be invited to base education in their colonial territories on the culture indigenous to those territories. It is probable that the Egyptian motion was aimed at France, for at international conferences the Arab countries are always gunning at France on the charge of being discourteous to the Arabic language and culture in her North African territories. Taking the proposition at its face value however, a British delegate pointed out that it was a sound principle to apply to all countries, sovereign states as well as colonies, though most countries had very little culture that was strictly indigenous, and the diffusion of culture was an essential part of education. He went on to say that to base colonial education on indigenous culture was a regular feature of British policy. The Egyptian delegation agreed to modify its motion so as to make it apply to all education, not merely to colonial education, and the incident was closed.

The Egyptian question however remains open. How far is it possible and desirable to base education on indigenous culture? This is one of the principal points on which French and British practice differs. The difference is based on educational principles, not merely on political, though no doubt political differences have

some influence. Since it has been the aim of French colonial policy to establish a Union whose member states are represented in the Assembly at Paris, whereas British policy aims at establishing a much looser Commonwealth, it is naturally more important for the French territories to speak and write perfect French, and be thoroughly at home with French culture, than for the British territories to have the same mastery of English.

But the educationists differ on educational grounds. The British say that it imposes an intolerable strain on the child to take him from home to school, set him to acquire arts and knowledge belonging to a very different culture, and teach him through the medium of the English language. Let us, they say, ease the transition for the child as much as we can. Let us work outward from his existing experience; let us begin his teaching through the medium of the mother-tongue and incorporate into the work of the school as much as we can of the culture of his own people. He will thus acquire the needed habits of thought and behaviour more easily; and he will more easily pass over to foreign subject-matter and the use of English as the medium when the time comes. In other words, the young child has three difficulties to face sooner or later: the change from home life to school life, the new knowledge and new ways which he has to learn, and the new language which he has to use. Let us not face him with all three at once. Admittedly, say the British, the pupil will know less English than an English pupil of the same age and attainments. But this disadvantage will be quickly made up, and by the end of the secondary school course it will have vanished.

The French approach the matter from a different point of view. French education is in any case more formal, less child-centred, than British and American

education; and French educationists are more apt to judge the efficiency of an educational system by how much the pupils know and are able to do. They argue on these lines. Whereas the British are more impressed with the misery of the five-year-old who finds himself in the unfamiliar atmosphere of the classroom being adjured in meaningless sounds to undertake unheard-of tasks, the French are more impressed with the misery of the ten-year-old whose eager attempts to learn history and geography and to express himself are thwarted by his shaky knowledge of the French language. The language is an essential tool, and the sooner the child begins to acquire it, the better. Early childhood is the best time for learning a foreign language in any case; children will pick it up then much more easily than they will five years later. Something has to be sacrificed; let us sacrifice some of the normal activities of the infant classes in order that the children shall easily and quickly become fluent in French. Then the culture of the world stands open before them through the medium of French books. If the pupil wishes to make a linguistic study of his mother-tongue or to develop his native art or music, he will be the better able to do so because of the wide knowledge and comparative standards he will have gained from his French learning.

Further, say the French, the only administrative difficulty presented by our system is that we need to train French teachers in the special problems of teaching French as a foreign language, and we may perhaps need to prepare a few special text-books for explaining France to the non-French. Whereas the British system presents these same difficulties in a much greater form, and many others as well. There are 400 major languages spoken in British tropical Africa; one territory may easily have

ten languages spoken by large groups of people and twenty or thirty more spoken by small groups of a thousand people or even fewer, and further, each of the ten main languages may be split into several dialects. There are similar situations in other territories, such as the Solomons. The British proposal to teach every child through the medium of his mother-tongue can surely be no more than a counsel of perfection, which may be applied to the biggest language-groups but which cannot be applied to all. And what about the provision of textbooks. . . . ?

Educationally, it is a nice point. There is something to be said on both sides, and it is only a pity that it is not possible to run a controlled experiment to see which system produces the better results. I have taught on the British system, under exceptionally good conditions, and it can certainly produce excellent results. I have given reading lessons to a class of six-year-olds in their own tongue, and have taught the same pupils off and on for twelve years till they were taking the intermediate arts examinations of London University. As a rough guess, I would say that by the age of nine, when English became the medium of instruction, they were three or four years behind the English boys of the same age in their grasp of English; by the age of sixteen they were one year behind; by eighteen they were completely bilingual. Moreover, there is no doubt that an education which included their own history and proverbs and music and so forth did have the predicted effect of easing their path into the European culture which dominated their later education.

But the difficulties which our French colleagues see so clearly are very real. My class of six-year-olds contained none but Twi-speaking children; but I very soon

ran up against the dialect difficulty. There is a Twi word *ohene* meaning a chief, and one or two small boys protested against spelling it thus. They pronounced the word with an initial w, and they wanted it spelt as pronounced. The Twi language, as a matter of fact, has suffered a good deal educationally from dialect troubles. Twi itself is only one member of the Akan language, the other member being Fanti; and Twi and Fanti differ from each other perhaps as much as Glasgow Scots from Somerset English. German missionaries settled in one Twi-speaking district, and reduced the local form of Twi to writing a hundred years ago; English missionaries settled in one Fanti-speaking district, and reduced the local form of Fanti to writing. There are other forms of Twi, and of Fanti, and European linguists and educationists have tried hard to evolve a standard literary-Akan which all could use. But their efforts had little success against the resistance of local pride. Books still have to be produced in Fanti and in Twi editions.

The problem of the small language-group is much more serious. Two-thirds of the population of Mauritius are of Indian descent. The Hindi, Urdu and Tamil languages were taught in schools; but there were five other Indian languages spoken in the island by small (and usually scattered) groups. There are dozens of languages spoken in Nigeria besides the big three, Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba; and when I say languages, I mean languages which are as separate from one another as French and Polish and Italian, not merely dialects. At one of the Unesco general conferences, a Nigerian speaker confounded the doctrinaire advocates of education in the vernacular by asking them how they would manage in his home town, in which each classroom contained the speakers of eight different languages.

The examples of Belgium and Switzerland—and still more, India—are enough to show that this problem, like so many others, is not confined to colonial territories. There is no ideal solution to the problem of the small language-group. Its children must of necessity learn a foreign tongue as the medium of instruction. In British East Africa there is one language, Swahili, which has grown up naturally as a trade language and is spoken as second language by people all along the main roads and railways. Swahili is widely used in African primary education, in the belief that non-Swahili-speaking children will find it easier to pick up Swahili as a medium than English. In Uganda, national feeling has compelled the authorities to replace Swahili by Luganda and other local languages.

Great efforts are made to produce text-books in the main local languages. There are Government-sponsored literature bureaux in Malaya, the Pacific, and in Africa, which work in collaboration with commercial publishers to find suitable authors and to publish all sorts of reading material from novels down to hygiene leaflets. The East African bureau works in twenty-five African languages, the Central African bureau in six, and both produce locally-adapted material in English as well. But in the long run, it is surely an impossible task. There remain scores of languages in which there is still no reading material whatever, and many books are still being published in editions of 1,500 or 2,000.

My own judgment would be that the British way of working through the mother-tongue is better for the lucky few, those who speak an important dialect of a big language-group and have a large published literature available and who receive a thorough education. But the French way of working through French is better for the

majority, those who come from a smaller language-group or who leave school early. The child from British Africa who leaves school after three or four years may retain his literacy in his mother-tongue, but there may not be very much for him to read; and he will know very little English. The child from French Africa who leaves school after three or four years will know a fair amount of French, and there will be plenty for him to read if he is prepared to take the trouble and go on educating himself.

Judging from my own experience with Twi and Dagomba (one of the languages of North Ghana) I am sure that the languages are worth study and can provide useful education. At Achimota, we used four African languages, running the lowest classes in four language-groups. When we mixed the groups and taught in English, we continued to give two periods a week to the African languages. We wanted the pupils to develop an intelligent interest in their language and its possibilities. It was not for us as foreigners to say which language should be developed into a literary language. That, we felt, would be decided by the birth of a great African author. Chaucer's genius decided that the South Midland dialect should become the standard form of literary English: Dante's, that Tuscan and not (as seemed probable) Sicilian should become that of literary Italian: Tagore's, that Bengali should become one of the great literary languages of the world. It is by such chances that the fate of a language is decided. But we felt it our duty to help our students to be aware of the possibilities of their own languages.

I remember two experiences which brought home to me how great the possibilities were. On one occasion, I was sitting with an African colleague marking Twi essays in an examination. Many were mediocre: correct but

uninspired. Then we came to one which made us sit up. My African colleague became very excited. He said, 'Who is this candidate? He is writing the real old Twi that our fathers used, which you hardly ever hear nowadays. He must come from a very cultured home.'

The other experience happened to me in class. The authorities decreed that Twi literature should be developed. I was in charge of the highest Twi set, containing students of 17 to 19, and it was suggested to me that we should spend a term translating a useful text-book on tropical hygiene. I protested that this would be merely a chore, with no educational value; and that we wanted something to get our teeth into and make us think. As an alternative, I suggested that we take a few chapters from Jowett's English version of Plato's *Republic*, and translate that. Authority whistled, but told me to go ahead and try. We did not get very far in the term, but it roused the students to enthusiasm, and there was no doubt that Plato could express himself very well in the Twi language—a great contrast to the view, expressed at that time by many Europeans, that it was a waste of time to study African languages because their idiom and vocabulary were too poor to enable them to express abstract ideas. I remember one morning when we began to discuss justice. I knew two Twi words for 'justice', the students gave me five or six more; and we spent a profitable period discussing the different shades of meaning and deciding which of the Twi words most fully expressed what Socrates had in mind.

My experience in Twi is paralleled by other people's experience in other languages; but this does not of course avoid the difficulty that only a few out of the hundreds can be developed as literary languages. Nevertheless, what can be done should be done. Even if only three or four

African languages and one or two in the Pacific can be developed in this way, the world will be the richer, and Africa and the Pacific will have their own vehicles of expression to set beside the riches of European and Asian languages and literature.

I have been speaking so far of language; but it is truer still of culture. The world cannot afford to lose any great art, and a people cannot afford to lose its native forms of expression. It is one of the paradoxes of civilization that different cultures flow into and influence one another and yet remain distinguishable. A nation may draw almost every element of its culture from abroad, and yet retain its individuality. England is a good example; it has been submerged again and again by waves of cultural influence from outside, but it remains English. We owe all we have to Rome, the Normans, the Church, France and Italy and Germany; take away what they have given us, and there would be little left. Nevertheless, we recognize a distinctive English flavour, and England has its distinctive contribution to make to world civilization. I hope that in a century or so, Africa will similarly have made its own selection from the cultural influences now pouring in on it from outside, and will show the world a culture which plainly owes much to the other continents, but nevertheless is distinctively African.

The importance of the school in all this is that indigenous culture is in danger of perishing through neglect, and the school must help to keep it alive until the spontaneous renaissance comes, as it assuredly will. African pottery, weaving and carving are being swept away in the flood of mass-produced articles from Europe and Asia. The break-up of tribal society is leading to the loss of historical traditions. African music is suffering from the import of radio, guitars and harmoniums, and cheap

gramophone records. Shall we be in time to save it as a living art, and not merely as a subject of study for musicologists?

I repeat, it is not for a foreign Government or foreign teachers to say that this or that element of culture shall be preserved. That decision can only be made by the people to whom the culture belongs. But the foreigner can say, 'This seems to me beautiful and worth preserving; let us study it together, compare it with similar work which is done in my country and in other countries, and see why I think so.' As I said earlier, he may meet with suspicion, which he must set himself to overcome. If he endures a generation of students who ask impatiently, 'Why do you want us to learn this?', he will find that the next generation takes it up and triumphantly develops it. If he allows the indigenous culture to be neglected and forgotten, he will find the next generation reproaching him with the question, 'Why did you allow us to throw it away when you were in charge of us and we knew no better?'

There are of course difficulties in teaching the indigenous culture. The anthropologist will tell us that it is seldom possible to separate a culture into different elements, and to retain the carving or the music while rejecting the religion and the social organization of which they are the expression. I do not think this is entirely true. Much no doubt will be lost, but all need not be lost; music in Ghana, for example, seems to me to have made the transition successfully from a traditional element of culture to a conscious art-form. Another difficulty is that teachers are not easily to be found. You may find a weaver or potter or carver, but you will be lucky if he can settle down and teach a class successfully in an art department. He is more likely to be so accus-

tomed to his own village surroundings, where he works with one or two young apprentices, that he feels quite lost and can do no effective work.

Nevertheless, I should like to see strenuous efforts made—more strenuous than are being made in most places at present—to overcome these difficulties. I would like to see native arts and crafts, music, history, proverbs and so forth worked into the school curriculum: school buildings designed to harmonize with traditional styles of architecture, school organization designed to make use of traditional social organization. This is supposed to be British policy, and is carried out as far as resources permit. I wish they permitted it to be carried out more boldly. We would like our pupils to enter fully into the enjoyment of world culture without losing their native cultural heritage.

Reverting to the narrower question of language, I suggest that we should be wise to concentrate our resources more than we are now doing. Literature bureaux are encouraging as many languages as they can: two dozen in East Africa, half a dozen in Central Africa, and so forth. Even though these are the languages spoken by the biggest groups, most of them are quite small. Thus the publishers condemn themselves to the marginal economics of the small edition, they condemn all but one or two of the very biggest language-groups to a tiny handful of published literature, and they condemn the African peoples to living in a babel of vernaculars with nothing but English as an effective common language. Moreover, we must remember that there are over 300 African languages spoken in British territories which have never been used in a classroom, let alone developed into literary languages. We are forced to concentrate on a few of the biggest; should we not concentrate still

more? One of these days, the independent African states which are at the moment British colonies will be wanting a national language, as India is doing. I think it would be educationally sound if we selected one language in each territory (except perhaps for the huge and populous Nigeria) and concentrated on providing that one language with a really large library of published literature, and with the apparatus for developing scientific and technical terminology. If we were to concentrate on the following languages for example: Mende, Akan, Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba for West Africa; Luganda, Kikuyu, Swahili and Bemba for East and Central Africa, the linguists and the academies would still have enough to do. Of course there would be horrified protests from other language-groups, who would want us to continue attempting the impossible.

For impossible it is. Out of some 400 African languages, we have selected about forty for literary development; but in most of those forty cases we are only playing with the problem, in the sense that the gallant efforts of the handful of linguists, translators and authors available are hopelessly inadequate to the task. We supply a trickle of didactic literature; collections of folk-tales, text-books on hygiene or agriculture or civics; but we are doing nothing to prepare for the production of higher grade text-books of genuine literature. Even in the big languages like Swahili or Hausa, we are a long way yet from a Swahili or Hausa series of Penguins or World's Classics. In the small languages, there seems no hope at all of such a development unless the miracle occurs of a Tagore or a Dante. It is not the fault of the handful of people now engaged on the work. Even with the most gallant efforts, six men with four wheelbarrows could not dam the Zambesi.

Meanwhile, English has to be the common language.

Here too there are problems. As I have already said, pupils who are being taught in English will be anything up to three years behind English pupils in their understanding of the language. This raises the problem of text-books. We need text-books written in simple English but with normal difficulty of subject-matter. If we require a geography text-book for 14-year-old Fijian pupils, for example, it must be written with an English vocabulary and idiom roughly suitable to 12-year-old English pupils. That is a very rough approximation, for the differences between the English and the Fijian backgrounds will give the English 12-year-old a vocabulary of words and ideas different from that of the Fijian two years his senior. But it does roughly indicate the difference in level.

When I first went to Africa there were hardly any such books in existence, and we had the desperate alternatives of books whose content was too easy or whose language was too difficult. From those days I recall an incident where a colleague of mine was teaching Roman history from a text-book too short and simple for his needs, and was supplementing the book from his own knowledge. It was a class of teachers-in-training, and one of the class asked him how they were to teach history when they were qualified. Somewhat surprised, my colleague explained that he was careful to use methods of teaching which would be suitable for use in a school, so all they had to do was to follow his example. There was a shaking of heads, and the class said they could not possibly do that. Still more surprised, he asked what was to stop them. 'Sir,' replied the spokesman, 'we cannot possibly invent tales like yours.' And a little further discussion revealed that the class were under the impression that the modern world knew nothing of Roman history except what was contained in the slim text-book it was

using. All the supplementary material the teacher was giving them they took to be, in the Gilbertian phrase, 'merely corroborative detail, intended to give artistic verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative'.

We are better off now. British publishers have been publishing text-books in simplified English for many years. There are several rival sets of English readers and graded English language courses, some of them published in different versions adapted to the needs of different regions. There are series of simplified English classical texts, anthologies of verse chosen for oversea use, and so on. There are series of local arithmetics, and books on geography and science and other subjects. But there is still not nearly enough, mainly because there is a shortage of authors with the time and the skill needed for this specialized art.

Nearly all these books are produced on the restricted-vocabulary principle. On a basis of systematic word-counting, lists are drawn up of the 500 commonest words in the English language, the 1,200, the 2,000 and so on. The author chooses the vocabulary which he thinks suitable for the pupils he has in mind, and writes his book within it; if he wants a word which is not in his list, he has to choose between finding a simpler synonym or (if it is an unavoidable technical term) explaining it in a glossary. There are dictionaries of standard English, in which all words are explained within such a restricted vocabulary. Basic English has not made as much headway as might be expected: partly no doubt because the restricted-vocabulary systems were first in the field, partly perhaps because its self-denial in the matter of verbs occasionally forces it into phraseology which is not that of standard English—and people do not like

being given anything which is not standard English.¹

Every year makes the situation easier in this matter of text-books, though the choice is still pitifully small. It is a great thing to have books available in a suitably restricted vocabulary. What we need now is books which pay more attention to simplifying idiom as well as vocabulary, and books which are written so as to appeal to ways of thinking which are very different from those of Europe. I will take just one example of each. I found that most of my African pupils took to simile much more easily than to metaphor, presumably because their own language preferred simile. But English uses metaphor much more than simile, and it needs a good deal of effort for an Englishman to keep away from it and use simile instead. I do not know whether other parts of Africa would have the same difficulty; if so, it is a point which authors should bear in mind.

My other example was given me by a colleague from the Sudan. He found his pupils unaccountably perplexed by an arithmetic question of the type, 'If 17 oxen cost £42, how much will 28 oxen cost?' He eventually found that their difficulty was not mathematical at all, but social. The question is based on the concept of an ox of average quality. But this concept had no more reality for these cattle-keeping students than the square root of minus one. For them there was no such thing as an average ox. The only answer they could make to the question was Justice Silence's 'Thereafter as they be.' We need arithmetic books which shall take account of such difficulties.

I entitled this chapter 'Language and Culture'. The two

¹ For example, in Acts V 5, for 'Ananias fell down and died', the Basic English Bible has 'Ananias went down on the earth, and his life went from him'.

are inextricably combined. In colonial education we are engaged on a gigantic task of international, inter-racial, inter-cultural understanding. In the intimacy of the classroom and in the social contacts between teacher and pupils, the task appears greater, more formidable, and yet more hopeful of solution, than in the international conference room with its apparatus of multiple-translation and its listening public. Here, as in other aspects of colonial education, we are hampered by a lack of resources: too few authors, too few books, too little research. What we have in abundance on both sides is goodwill, the real desire to understand and be understood, the readiness to laugh together over a misunderstanding revealed.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

EVERYONE has heard Dr Aggrey's famous saying, 'Educate a man and you educate an individual; educate a woman and you educate a family.' I quoted it once at a United Nations meeting at which two of the Asian delegates were women. It seemed to me at the time that the quotation had gone home in a very satisfactory way; and one of these ladies said afterwards, with charming honesty, that she had been surprised and delighted to hear such words on the lips of an imperialist. What sort of people do they think we are?

In many colonial territories it is much harder to get girls to school than boys. The difficulty is not peculiar to colonies by any means, but colonies have their full share of it. Even probably in the United States, certainly in every other country, there are people who will say that a girl's place is in the home, and she does not need book-learning; a boy must be educated for a job, but a girl's job is matrimony. The most vivid expression I have heard of this world-wide opinion was given me by a Turkish inspector of schools in Cyprus. He said that when he began his career it was difficult to induce parents to let their girls go to school at all. After a long struggle, he persuaded some of the more open-minded that their daughters would take no harm from learning to read the Koran. But writing was a very different matter. No, they said, what could a girl possibly want with writing? Either she would write love-letters or she would write magic spells.

These Turkish Cypriots of an older generation were of course Muslims, and wherever you find Islam you must expect to find some reluctance on the subject of girls' education, though in modern states such as Egypt and Pakistan this reluctance is fighting a losing battle against modern ideas and the law of the land. Islam is very strong in Northern Nigeria, and girls' education makes but slow progress there. In the towns of Northern Nigeria, girls marry at twelve to fourteen and go into purdah, and that is the end of their schooling. In the country, the marriage age is higher, and purdah is not so strict, at any rate for the poorer people; but work in the home and on the farm is as effective as matrimony in keeping girls away from school. We may perhaps hope that purdah restrictions will be relaxed as time goes on; but at present it seems in some parts as if the tendency is the other way. Just because the peasant cannot afford to keep his wife in strict purdah, purdah carries with it a certain social prestige, and young educated men aspire to it. It is very difficult to find women teachers; it would be impossible were it not that public opinion permits the employment of widows and of women whose marriage has been broken by divorce.

The strict moralists who object to educating their daughters because it is wrong are far fewer than the easy-going or conventional who object because it is inconvenient. We are accustomed in England to say that a housewife's work is never done. The housewife in an African or Malayan village may not have as much cleaning and polishing to do, but her tasks are even heavier. It is hardly exaggerating to say that as soon as she can walk, a little African girl must begin to take her share in her mother's household duties. The two great burdens are pounding the meal and fetching water. Whether

yams, millet or plantain, the staple food has to be pounded in a huge mortar until the starch cells are broken down and it froths into a sort of dough, a process which may take between one and two hours of hard toil. The pounding is done with heavy wooden pestles whose handle is thicker than a broomstick. If she can, a woman will get two others to help her in this heavy work, and the rhythmical thudding of the three pestles is the most familiar sound of African village life. There are two main meals a day, so the housewife must reckon on spending three to four hours a day in this toil. From a very early age, girls have to begin training for it, starting with toy pestles and mortars suitable to their tiny hands, and passing on to larger and larger sizes as they grow. They have to harden their hands and develop their muscles, and it is sometimes raised as a serious objection to girls' boarding schools that during term time the girls' hands get soft and their muscles flabby, so that they are thoroughly out of training for their pounding when the holidays come.

Then there is water-carrying. Some villages are fortunate in having a perennial stream close by. Many are a mile or more from a stream; many have a stream which dries up in the summer. I have known villages where the women have had to sit by the hour while their petrol can slowly filled from a tiny trickle of water coming out of a hole dug in a dry river-bed. In Mauritius, where water is plentiful, there is an equally time-consuming chore. All Indian families in Mauritius have cows, which are kept in byres; and since land which will grow sugar cane is too valuable to be used for pasture, the Indian women have to set forth before daybreak to gather fodder by the roadside or on the mountain slopes.

Are there no wells? Very often there are none. In

many places the water-table is too low to be tapped by the shallow wells which are all that are possible with the villagers' primitive technique. In many territories there is a scheme for sinking deep wells, and as many teams of well-sinkers as the territory can afford roam over the countryside showing how it is done, teaching the villagers to do it, and persuading them to use the new wells when they are ready—which it cannot always be assumed they will do without persuading. In Ghana and Cyprus there are similar teams for laying on water from the stream into the village.

English husbands help with the washing-up; cannot husbands in these villages help their wives by fetching the water? It is difficult; the conventions are much more strictly observed. I once stayed in an Ashanti village, with a servant who came from the North, something of a rough diamond who despised the village people. The village headman was supposed to keep me supplied with wood and water, but one day his arrangements broke down, and my boy simply went out and commandeered the first woman's load he saw. I knew nothing about it until the woman and her husband came to me to complain; and then I told my servant that he must fill the woman's can for her to replace what he had taken. He refused point-blank; that was not for a man to do, he said. I told him that if he was too proud to do it, I was not; and I picked up the can and started off to the stream with it. I had taken perhaps twenty steps when he came running after me, weeping as if heartbroken, took the can from me and went on. I had tried him too hard; it was a shame for him to carry water, but a greater shame to let his master do it for him. I was young and knew no better. The incident ended in a typical piece of African generosity. The woman and her husband said they were

satisfied. They would not dream of pressing their complaint to the extent of making me or my servant fetch another can of water. The lady added that she would be happy to present me with the water which my boy had commandeered, and it would be no trouble to her to fetch another canful for herself.

When feelings go as deep as this, we must not expect it to be an easy matter to break down the conventions; and so it will not be easy to get the girls to school. Conventions are not broken down by attack from well-intentioned social reformers; they crumble from within as new ideas and new economic forces come into play. Women's emancipation is a recent event in England, and it came about more through the invention of the bicycle and the typewriter and the experience of war than through the efforts of the ladies—from Florence Nightingale to Mrs Pankhurst—who devoted their lives to the cause. In England there have been other potent influences at work: a monogamous society and a surplus of women over men. Many women have had to earn their own living without family support. The idea of the career woman, strap-hanging in the Tube on her way home from the City to her bachelor flat, would have seemed incredible and revolting to Sherlock Holmes or Swithin Forsyte; it has taken us fifty years and more to accept it as normal.

In many colonial territories, and in many countries which are not colonies, the forces which have led to this change of ideas in England are hardly yet at work. To begin with, they have a society in which polygamy is common; there is no surplus of women, and no woman is driven by sheer need to support herself. Women live as members of a family, of a family which is usually extended far more widely than in the Western European

conception. There is relatively little industrial and commercial development, so that there are plenty of men queueing for the available jobs as typists and clerks. Women have not been forced out of the security of their home by the needs of total war.

This does not imply by any means that women everywhere live a completely sheltered life, with no scope for their individual energy or initiative outside the domestic routine. In parts of Africa for example, women play an important part in tribal affairs, and not infrequently become chiefs in their own right. In West Africa, nobody can help being struck by the way in which women, even though illiterate, run nearly the whole of the retail trade and often carry on considerable enterprises. It is regarded as normal that a woman should trade on her own and should keep for herself all the profits of her business. There are women in West Africa who have a turnover of thousands of pounds a year, and keep in their heads all the complicated details and accounts which we in the West would put into books. Yet this does not impel them to send their daughters to school; it is not plain to them that a school education would make their daughters any more successful business women than they are themselves.

All this may seem a lengthy way of making the point that in many colonial territories—and elsewhere—the idea of sending a girl to school to qualify for a profession, or even to obtain a good general education, is new and strange, and we cannot hope that it will be speedily accepted. What will bring about its acceptance is not the exhortations of the Education Department, but plain and convincing evidence that schooling does not spoil a girl for matrimony but improves her, and that a professional qualification of some sort will enable her to bring good money into the home. To these considerations

I ought to add that Christianity sometimes has a powerful effect; in parts of southern Tanganyika, for example, there are Christian communities in which a very high proportion of the girls attend school, in great contrast to the neighbouring Muslim communities.

This reluctance to send girls to school is only a special case of a general reluctance to send any children to school, which used to be widespread and is still found in isolated backwaters here and there. Forty years ago it was quite usual for a zealous district commissioner to instruct a village to send at least a dozen children to the new school, and on his next visit he would find that the villagers had provided, to 'give to the Government' as they expressed it, a wonderful collection of the blind, the dim-witted, the crippled: children who were no use for normal life and would be no loss to the village. As far as boys are concerned, this reluctance has vanished nearly everywhere; the advantages of schooling are so manifest. But there is plenty of it left when it comes to girls.

In nearly every territory where education is not compulsory, there are fewer girls than boys in school, and the disproportion becomes greater as you go up the school. Fewer girls than boys come to school at all, and those that come when they are little drop out of school earlier than the boys. There are one or two exceptions. In Basutoland, there are actually more girls than boys in primary school. This is usually explained by saying that boys are taken away from school as soon as they are old enough to look after the herds, but this explanation does not seem sufficient. It is understandable that father should want his son to help him at herding, but strange that he needs the boy more than mother needs her daughter to help in the home. There must be some other factor at work. But Basutoland is exceptional.

Is there anything which can be done to speed up the change of heart on the question of girls' education? Regulations will do little good. In some parts of Africa there is an administrative practice, though not a formal regulation, that at the beginning of a school year when the teachers are enrolling new pupils, they should insist on having one girl enrolled for every two boys. But it is one thing to enrol a girl, quite another to make her attend; and if you visit a school a few weeks later, finding a hundred boys and fifty girls on the roll, but 78 boys and five girls in actual attendance, you will realize the inefficacy of administrative regulations. If parents do not wish to send their daughters, they cannot be made to. A poor country cannot afford the expensive paraphernalia of school enforcement.

Girls' schools have to be made attractive. At present, many parents find them not merely unattractive but positively repellent, because it is assumed that they will make girls lazy and undisciplined and virtually unmarriageable. Our first need is to convince parents that educated girls are good girls, helpful to their mothers and aunts, and likely to be helpful to their husbands when they are married. The most enterprising propaganda I have heard of for this purpose came from Northern Rhodesia. The authorities there produced a series of strip cartoons in several African languages showing how an old-fashioned father reluctantly agreed to allow his daughter to go to school, though he was sure that no good would come of it, and that all the eligible young men would fight shy of her. Needless to say, he was agreeably surprised; she made his home more comfortable in many little ways, and married the most eligible young man of them all. Aided by her wise and loyal support, her husband had a distinguished career in Government

service, and the young people were the prop and stay of the old man's declining years. Put in this way, the advertisement may seem rather naïve; but that is because we in the West have learnt this particular lesson. There are plenty of lessons equally obvious which we have not yet learnt.

Another effort from Northern Rhodesia was even more effective in the field it covered, though the field was necessarily a narrower one. A party of schoolgirls was sent out on a demonstration tour, taking their domestic science equipment with them. Their big lorry would arrive in a village market-place, the girls and their mistresses would jump down and set up their pitch, and as soon as the crowd collected they would perform their show. They would cook traditional African dishes, and some simple European dishes, and hand them round to be tasted. The grandmothers in the crowd would watch and taste, first with suspicion, then with grudging approval, and last with delighted surprise. Meanwhile, the sewing machines would be busy. The girls would spy a man with a ragged shirt, and offer to make him a new one on the spot. Out would come the roll of cotton cloth, the measuring tape, and the cutting-out scissors; and in a short time the girls would run him up a new shirt. The problem then was to extricate the girls from the crowd clamouring for free meals and free tailoring, and get them to the next village to repeat the performance.

No doubt this sort of publicity work is being done elsewhere; but it should be done much more than it is. We cannot sit down and wait for the slow development of economic forces which will in time drive the girls to school: we must do what we can to speed up the process. Already a vicious circle has developed in many places: because there are so few girls in secondary schools, there

are few qualified women teachers; because there are few qualified women teachers, there are few girls able to profit by secondary education. This circle has to be broken, and it can only be broken by a concentrated campaign to get more girls into the secondary schools.

It seems from this that a good department of domestic science should be an essential part of every girls' school, primary or secondary; and I think it should. This of course raises difficulties. Qualified teachers of domestic science are almost as scarce as scientists and mathematicians. Domestic science, like chemistry or handicrafts, needs special accommodation and equipment, which is a difficulty when money is short. Apart from this, there are difficulties over curriculum and time-table. Headmistresses are apt to make domestic science an alternative subject to natural science, because both need a double period, if not a whole session. This makes a girl choose one or the other, and it helps to keep alive the old idea, which should have died long since but is an unconscionable time a-dying, that a clever girl should go in for a profession, and the domestic science mistress can have the dullard. If I were driven to choose, I would choose at the present stage to keep the domestic science even at the price of abandoning science or art. It is true that poor countries need women doctors and lawyers and professional women of all kinds. But it is more urgent to get into the schools the girls who are at present being kept away from them by their parents' mistrust. A really good domestic science department, its curriculum and methods based partly on local traditions and partly on Western ideas, would be the most effective means of overcoming that mistrust.

There are two points that arise here. The first is this. I have spoken of the domestic science curriculum as

based both on local traditions and on Western ideas. Both are needed. The criticism is sometimes made that it is absurd to teach African girls to cook on an electric cooker, because most of them will never have an electric cooker in their own homes. That may have been true thirty years ago; it is certainly not true in many parts of Africa today. In Kampala and Kano and Kumasi, more and more African homes are being equipped with these modern conveniences, and African housewives need to be taught how to use them. Moreover, more and more African women are coming to Europe and are seeing modern kitchens and household equipment; they will have to use them here, and they will want to have them in their own homes when they go back. On the other hand, it is always possible that a girl may find herself faced with an unprepossessing wood-burning stove or a charcoal brazier, and it would be a sad day for the family if she sat down and moaned that nobody could be expected to produce an eatable meal without electricity.

The second point is more important, though it is one on which a man should speak with diffidence. It seems to me that poor countries have much to learn from the American concept of home economics. As I understand it, this concept is based on the historical needs of the floods of new settlers from the Old World who settled on the land, and in the new and unfamiliar conditions found that the husband needed as much advice and help with his farming as his wife did with home-making. The essence of it is that what we regard in Britain as the traditional occupations of the housewife are linked with agriculture and its related occupations. Secondly, all this is carried forward beyond school life into adult life; it is essential to have an advisory service, which will

help the farmer whose crops or cattle do not thrive as they should and will equally help the housewife whose sewing-machine or pressure-cooker is misbehaving.

The British domestic science tradition concentrates on the girls in school. They are taught, with great care and often to a very high standard, the techniques of the various household arts, with a fair amount of the scientific background. They sit for practical and theoretical examinations and obtain certificates and diplomas. If they specialize in the subject beyond the level of the secondary school, they will be trained for a career either in institutional management, or in the teaching of domestic science. But the subject is not demonstrably linked with anything which boys learn, and the housewife has no advisory service provided for her except the co-operative service which is provided by such voluntary bodies as the Women's Institutes.

No doubt this is over-simplified through masculine ignorance. Clearly there must be qualifications in the distinction I have drawn. It is to be presumed, for example, that the American home economics experts have adapted their work to the needs of city-dwellers. Again, I do not mean to imply any antagonism between home economics and domestic science. It is simply that British teachers, working in a small and homogeneous community, have concentrated on the job of turning out efficient housewives, whereas American teachers, working in a large and heterogeneous population which they had to transform into a community, have concentrated on the family as a unit and have worked as much through adult as through school education.

Seeing that most British colonies have agriculture as their main industry, that large towns are few, and that Western ideas and techniques of homecraft are unfamiliar

to the great majority of their womenfolk, I think that the linking of homecraft with agriculture, the development of an advisory service, and the acceptance of the family rather than the individual schoolgirl as the target—all of them characteristics of the home economics approach—might be very useful as a supplement to the British domestic science tradition. I believe in fact that some such collaboration between the domestic science and the home economics authorities will be enforced by circumstances. There are already signs that Colonial Governments are taking an interest in home economics. We are beginning to hear of conferences and of missions, and women from colonial territories are beginning to trickle over to the United States to study the American approach to the subject.

Whether we adopt the American or the British approach, I feel sure that the first thing we have to do in order to get the girls into school is to develop strong departments of domestic science in all girls' schools, and use them to show that an educated girl will make a better wife for an educated man, not a worse.

What about the next objection to girls' education, that it makes them physically soft so that they cannot pound corn in the holidays? Ultimately, this is not an objection which the schools alone can meet. It would not be reasonable for the schools to set the girls to two hours of pounding every day of term merely to keep them in training. This exhausting physical work seems to me just the sort of thing that Western technology ought to be able to dispense with. Physical exercise is good, but this goes too far; a girl who is doing all this cannot develop her full mental powers or her full finger dexterity. In some parts of West Africa, the introduction of power-driven corn mills is proving a great stimulus

to girls' education, and it is along these lines that I would seek to reconcile the needs of home with those of the school. Let us pipe water to the homes and mechanize the corn-grinding, so that the housewife no longer needs her daughters for these chores, and has some of her own physical and mental energy to spare for other pursuits. If one day the dieticians tell us that corn ground in a rotary mill is not as good as corn pounded with pestles, it should not be beyond the wit of technicians to devise a corn-pounding machine for the home on the lines of the pile-driver.

A more serious problem, on which as far as I know little work has so far been done, is whether the curriculum and the teaching in the schools need modifying to suit the girls. It is plain that, generally speaking, the curriculum was originally devised by men with boys' needs in mind, and girls and their teachers have been so absorbed in the task of showing that they are intellectually equal to men that they have taken over this originally masculine curriculum. It is plain, too, that in most colonies there are too few women teachers, so that many girls are taught by men who would be under women teachers in Britain; and that much of the teaching is of poor quality in any case. One obvious method of attracting more girls to school would be to have more women teachers and to improve the all-round quality of the teaching. I have already mentioned the difficulties in this. But making allowance for these defects, and granting that girls are at least equal to boys in intellectual power, do the schools make enough allowance for the fact that though equal they are different? I do not know; the subject needs to be properly investigated. But I am inclined to think not.

From my own experience in teaching co-educational

classes in West Africa, I believe in co-education; it is good for both sexes, though I think the system needs to be flexible, so that boys and girls are together more at some ages than at others. All the same, the class teacher notices obvious differences in temperament. Among boys and girls who are working equally hard, the boys tend to be more slap-dash over details, to be interested in the shape of the wood but less so in the individual trees, while the girls are incredibly painstaking over details but tend to be more absorbed in individual trees than in the wood as a whole. In history for example, there are moments when the teacher has to deal with general tendencies and with broad outlines, and others when he concentrates on episodes and personalities. I found on the whole that the girls were less interested than the boys in general tendencies and broad outlines; it was the episodes and personalities that attracted them. I do not of course mean to suggest that men make better historians than women, or any such nonsense. But it seems to me that at the secondary school stage the two sexes have different approaches to history. Again, when I produced *The Merchant of Venice* with a School Certificate class, I do not think it was merely coincidence that the three girls in the cast, Portia, Nerissa and Jessica, got inside their parts in a way that none of the boys did, although before the production I should have thought several of the boys superior to them in dramatic talent. From what I have seen, I would say that in my two subjects of English and history, girls and boys probably need different syllabuses, and certainly need different methods of teaching.

If this is so, it seems likely that the mathematicians, scientists and geographers might find the same difficulty. Several times I have heard men teachers say that they

thought girls intellectually inferior to boys; so I suspect that the difficulty is in fact widespread. We know that the school curriculum is largely dominated by examination requirements, and the examinations were originally devised for boys. I would like to see some research done in some colonial territories to find out how far the girls are being hampered by unsuitable curriculum and methods, and what can be done to give them teaching which suits them.

This chapter may seem gloomy. I have pointed out that for various reasons, girls' education in most territories is lagging behind boys'; I have suggested three things which should be done to make schools more attractive to the girls and their parents, and I have pointed out that none of the three is particularly easy to do. But those who are working in the field of girls' education do not feel gloomy. When I visited one territory, the lady who was in general charge of girls' education said to me, 'You, coming in from outside, will see plenty that is unsatisfactory; but we who have been working here for years are just as conscious of the tremendous progress that is being made. Things are far from good yet; but they are nothing like as bad as they were ten years ago, or even five.' Let us look at some figures from Northern Rhodesia as an example of this progress. From 1947 to 1957 the enrolment of girls in school increased from 42,000 to 73,000. In 1947 there was one girl to fifteen boys, in 1957 one girl to five boys. In 1947 there were 155 girls in the top two classes of the primary schools, and only six receiving secondary education; ten years later the numbers were 1,560 and 139. The number of trained women teachers increased during the ten years from 262 to 533. It is plain to see that Northern Rhodesia has a long way yet to go; but it is moving fast. Some territories

of course have reached the stage where there are as many girls as boys in school. In such matters, the graph of educational progress usually climbs more steeply as time goes on. As one family in five, instead of one in fifteen, will now be educated in Dr Aggrey's sense of having an educated mother as well as an educated father, the climate of public opinion on the subject of girls' education is that much improved, and we may expect a corresponding rise in the number of women teachers. The spiral takes a tighter twist.

This chapter is headed *Women's Education*, but I have been talking nearly all the time about girls in school. The Northern Rhodesian experiment in publicity, and the lesson of the home economics organization in America, both remind us that it is important to push on with schemes of adult education of all kinds directed at adult women. Especially, I would say, of the younger women; though anyone who has heard an English vicar's wife describing the trouble she has in getting hold of 'the young marrieds' is not likely to underrate the difficulty here. Women's literacy classes, classes in cookery or needlework or knitting or housewifery, or anything else which interests the women and makes them feel that there is something useful which they can learn, all will help to keep their minds open and to encourage the idea that education is something which can benefit women and girls as well as men and boys. Much is being done here and there; in Rhodesia for example there are women's homecraft classes organized by the Education Department, and in Uganda there are women's clubs organized by the Social Welfare Department. In the Pacific too there are women's organizations which are being helped to develop all kinds of educational activities. Here and there, too, we find welcome signs that the family is being

regarded as a unit. In some of the homecraft classes in Northern Rhodesia, for example, the women learn how to grow vegetables during the dry season, and their husbands fence the plot; the women make coat-hangers and their husbands fix up a strip of wood for them to hang from. In this, as in everything else, we could do more if we had more staff, which means more money. I discuss adult education in general in a later chapter. Here I will only add that Dr Aggrey's saying is even more important when applied to adult education than applied to the education of schoolchildren. Dr Aggrey came from a society in which women hold a high place, and are the guardians of tradition and precedent. We must educate women everywhere to see that the preservation of traditions and precedents, useful and important as they are, does not become the chief object of our social life.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

WHEN Mr A. P. Herbert (now Sir Alan Herbert) first stood as a Parliamentary candidate for Oxford University, there was one chapter in his election address which instantly won my heart and my vote. I quote the chapter in full:

'Agriculture

I know nothing about agriculture.'

It was a pleasant change to find a candidate who could afford to disclaim omniscience.

I am tempted to follow this admirable example; but for two reasons I shall not do so. Having heard it so much discussed by amateurs and experts, and having had to give advice on it myself, I cannot claim to know nothing about technical education. Further, the climate of opinion nowadays is such that if I did not include a chapter on the subject, I should find myself labelled as a reactionary caring nothing for technical education; which I am not.

Technical education, we are often told, is not merely a group of classroom subjects; it is an educational philosophy. It may be compared with other groups of subjects, such as the natural sciences or domestic science, or perhaps history with geography, and the educational philosophies acquired from them. Whether it is a question of skill with spokeshaves and slide-rules, with scientific formulae and hypotheses, with ovens and needles, or with historical concepts, the teacher would agree that his work

is not finished when the pupil knows how to handle his tools. He wants his discipline to inculcate a philosophy, so that his pupil looks on life in a certain way. The historian, the engineer, the agriculturist and the geographer can stand together, contemplating the same landscape; and without being blind to what the others see, each will focus on his own special aspect. The historian will look at the age of the buildings and the pattern of land settlement, the engineer at the problems of irrigation and flood prevention, the agriculturist at the use of the soil, the geographer at evidence of past glaciation and of river action. There is room for all these philosophies, and for more.

Technical education is fashionable today, partly no doubt in reaction from the long tyranny of the classics and mathematics. The natural sciences won their claim to respectability while technical education was still left to the lowly-paid and little-regarded handicraft instructor. Now technical education too has made good its footing, as is natural in an age which has seen such enormous advances in applied science and technology. In these days, when it seems that national survival may depend on the solution of a problem in metallurgy or aerodynamics, the value of technology is fully recognized, and even teachers of technical subjects bask in some of the glory reflected from their pupils.

But in poor countries, technical education has experienced an even more dizzy swing into popularity. Until the other day, all ambition was concentrated on becoming a clerk, a civil servant, an effendi; any occupation which involved getting sweaty and oily was despised as utterly as it was despised by Aristotle. Today, technical education is regarded as the key to wealth and power: let us drill our own oil-wells, dam our own

rivers, manufacture our own materials, pilot our own aircraft; thus shall we increase national wealth and catch up with the material comfort of the West, and thus too shall we increase our national power and play a larger part on the stage of world politics. Technical education is a good thing: we cannot have too much of it.

Well, yes. There is certainly need for a vast expansion of technical education. Speaking as a history teacher, I think there is a good deal to be said for the argument that in poor countries, the technical philosophy of education, rather than the historical, is likely to be the most useful. Pupils can learn a history text-book by heart, without getting any real benefit from it; and they do. But if a pupil sets out to learn how to make a table, or overhaul a diesel engine, or design a bridge, he must do the work, whether clumsily or skilfully; he has to acquire a certain amount of skill which will be useful to society. I am entirely in favour of pupils' acquiring a philosophy which, when the engine stalls or the river floods, will lead them to ask, 'What can I do about it?' instead of sighing 'It is God's will' and sitting down to wait until someone rescues them. If I thought that by abandoning history altogether as a school subject I should help forward the day when such a technical philosophy were widespread, I should think the abandonment of history a price worth paying.

But I fear that some of the hopes which are pinned on technical education may be disappointed. The very phrase 'technical education' has acquired an emotional halo; it is coming to be adored almost as indiscriminately as it was formerly despised. Let us ignore the halo and look more closely.

The idea of technical education covers several different activities. The first is the high-level education for a

profession such as engineering, which is given in a university or a higher technical college supplemented by practical training in an appropriate firm, and which is coming more and more to include some non-professional courses as well as the strictly professional. It is this type of technical education which is becoming the object of ambition.

There is the middle-grade vocational training, which turns out technicians such as surveyors, builders, draughtsmen, electricians, or automobile mechanics. This may be given in a technical school of secondary-school level, or in a system of apprenticeship, or in some suitable combination of the two.

There is the lower-grade training which aims at turning out a village handy-man, who is something of a mason, of a carpenter, of a metal-worker. This training is often much favoured by the advocates of a rural bias in education. It may be given in a junior trade school or handicraft centre which draws its pupils from the upper classes of the primary school, or it may be given in a suitably biased primary school itself.

Many people would stop there. But that is not enough. To say that technical education is the kind of education which trains a man to design a bridge or a locomotive, to repair a faulty carburettor or radio, or to make a table or a plough, is to keep it at the level of vocational training and to regard its teachers as handicraft instructors. And this is to regard it as a lower kind of education than the bookish kind of education which is hallowed by tradition. We do not teach a child about enzymes or the Treaty of Utrecht or the binomial theorem in the hope that he will use this knowledge to earn his living. If we did, we should never have heard the jibe that education is what remains when you have forgotten

everything you learnt at school. Similarly, we should not always teach carpentry or the structure of the internal-combustion engine in the hope that our pupils will earn their living as carpenters or motor mechanics. Technical education is education; four hours a week in the workshops may do as much for a boy as four hours in the science laboratory or the history and geography rooms.

This is the claim that is made for the teaching of technical subjects; it is the claim which lies behind the theory of the secondary-technical school in Britain as the equal colleague of the secondary-grammar school. For my part, I entirely accept it. I had a school-fellow whose mathematics were quite as bad as mine; but he was good in the carpentry workshop and put in all the time there that he could spare. Gradually he began to get his sums right; and he himself always attributed the improvement to his carpentry. He learnt arithmetic through his finger-tips. Another example is that of a distinguished professor of mathematics and of education whose work as a silversmith won him the grant of his own hall-mark. Many of us whose education has been predominantly bookish feel ourselves to be deficient, and we turn with relief to a task which involves handling concrete things, even such a humble one as polishing a table-top or building a compost-heap.

In the colonies, and some other young countries, technical education has suffered until the last few years by being regarded solely as vocational training. Secondary education has been exclusively bookish. There have been handicraft centres and junior trade schools, and a few technical colleges of a somewhat higher status, which aimed at turning out skilled technicians. But nobody thought of these as secondary schools, and very few students entered them who might have entered a secondary school of the

conventional type, and stood a chance of obtaining a Cambridge School Certificate.

There are reasons for this unsatisfactory state of affairs. The main reason is that there was so little economic development, that there was little effective demand for qualified technicians. The railways trained their own platelayers, signalmen and engine-drivers; the hospitals trained their own nurses and dispensers; the Public Works Department trained its own road foremen and clerks of works; and other Government departments such as Surveys, Agriculture, Forestry and Post Office and big commercial firms such as mining companies also trained their own technical people.

All would draw their recruits from the primary schools; only the Government clerical service would look for recruits with a secondary education. Further, there was very little possibility of developing an effective apprenticeship system, for there were few establishments big enough to train apprentices, and those that tried to train them usually found it impossible to hold the youngsters for the full course. From the youngsters' point of view, why should they stay? In the first year or two they learned enough to earn a living, and they had no experience of European standards of workmanship or of the status of a skilled workman. It is a common complaint in Britain today that young people can earn such good money as unskilled or semi-skilled workers that all too few of them take the trouble to obtain a proper qualification. That is one reason why an apprenticeship system never thrived in the colonies.

Another reason, itself a consequence of this lack of economic development, is that there were no prospects for a technician outside the narrow circle of the technical departments of the Government. In the Gold Coast as

I knew it up to the outbreak of World War II, there were several doctors and lawyers, four dentists, one firm of accountants, one or two moderate-sized firms of contractors—together with a large number of small Greek and Italian firms in which the proprietor did most of the technical work himself—and no manufacturing firms of any kind. European capital was invested in the mining companies, the cocoa-buying companies, and the various import and export firms. African-owned capital was mainly in retail trade and road transport, and here again it was a case of innumerable small firms, mainly family concerns. There simply was no general employment market for anyone but clerks. A man could live comfortably enough as a village carpenter or mason, supplementing his professional earnings with cocoa-farming; and very good work some of them did. But such a life had not the glamour of Government clerical service, with an incremental salary scale and a pension and the amenities of city life and educated companionship.

A third reason for the unpopularity of technical training is that the colonial peoples had never seen Europeans running a commercial and industrial society all by themselves. Right up to 1940 my African students would ask me, 'How do you manage in England without Africans to work for you?' I have already described the shock they felt at the pictures of Covent Garden porters. They found it hard to imagine such an England; although intellectually they knew that in England the bus-drivers and shop-assistants and garage attendants were white, they found it emotionally almost impossible to comprehend.

In Ghana today, things are very different. I think there are three main reasons for the change. One is that some thousands of Ghanaians have been given scholarships to

visit England, studying not only academic courses but all kinds of practical courses from bakery to railway traffic control. The second is that the movement towards political independence has induced a movement towards economic independence; Ghanaians want to do things for themselves instead of employing technicians from overseas. The third is that Ghana has been prosperous enough to afford a great deal of economic development, notably in roads and buildings and harbours, and has begun some manufactures; thus there is now scope for employment which did not exist before, and technical education is seen to be worth while. Other colonies are going, and will go, through similar changes.

These seem to me to be convincing reasons for the past neglect of technical education and for the beginnings of its popularity. I am not at all convinced by the suggestion which is sometimes made that technical education has been neglected because education in the colonies has been administered by people who were not themselves interested in the technical side. All through my overseas service I have heard European administrators and educators complaining that the standard of workmanship is low and that they cannot persuade students to take a technical training; they all want to be clerks. Schools can no more by themselves create a technically-minded society than they can create an agriculturally-minded society. They need to be helped by economic forces. Even the 'do-it-yourself' idea will never catch on unless the professionals set the amateur a standard to strive after.

There is this much of truth in the suggestion which I have just rejected. The administrators and educators who tried to persuade colonial peoples to enter trade schools and technical schools were sincere in their policy; but they were not themselves technical men. In this, as in so many

matters, we are judged not by what we say but by what we do. In Britain itself, we shall know that the secondary-technical school has won its battle for parity of esteem when the boy who comes from the secondary-technical school and the technical college stands just as good a chance as the boy from the grammar-school and the university of becoming head of a department in the civil service, or an ambassador, or head of the BBC. Similarly in the colonial world, the technical men have been usually restricted to technical jobs; the great ones of the earth, the Governors and the senior administrators, have been university men. In other words, whatever our protestations about the educational value of a technical education, we have tended to act as if we thought of technical education as vocational training.

Again, when, during the war years, we began thinking and planning about the future of education in British colonies, we began with higher education of the university type. Royal Commissions were appointed to make plans for the development of university colleges and universities, and as soon as the war was over, the architects and the academic staff went to work. Not till this work was well under way did Britain make any plans for the development of higher technical education. It would be unfair to make too much of a few years' delay; but it shows, I think, that we are not yet accustomed to thinking of the university and the higher technical college as equal colleagues. When we think of educational development, our first thought is to expand secondary education and provide university facilities. Only after we have set that process in motion and have sat down to take breath, do we remind ourselves, 'Ought we not to do something of the same sort for technical education?' In fairness, I should add that the Council which plans the higher tech-

nical colleges (under the chairmanship, characteristically enough, of an Oxford historian) set itself energetically to catch up the lead which had been given to its companion body the Inter-University Council, and higher technical education is now developing apace in British colonial territories. Nevertheless, expert planning, admirable buildings and equipment, the grant of millions of pounds from the United Kingdom taxes, and the services of a devoted staff: none of these can make technical education succeed unless there is an adequate supply of eager students. This supply will only be forthcoming if people's imagination is stirred by the extension of railway tracks and electricity power lines, the erection of dams and power houses and factories, and the spinning and humming of machinery, so that they want to erect and control these wonderful things for themselves.

In this chapter I have tried to make three points, in which I have ventured perhaps as far as a non-technical man should. The first is that until the last ten or twelve years, all the effort which was spent in persuading people in the colonies to patronize technical schools had very little result, but in these last years there has been a tremendous advance. The second point is that technical education has suffered in the past, in Britain as well as in the colonies, by being regarded merely as vocational training; the new realization of its general educational value (which has not yet had time to influence all our thinking) has been more or less contemporary with the recent advances in technical education in the colonies. My third point is that the problem of popularizing technical education is a problem in public relations. If I tell people in Borneo or the Solomons that technical education is a good thing for *them*, they will not believe me unless (a) I can show that my colleagues and I think it a good

thing for ourselves also, and (b) I can give them tangible evidence in the form of good jobs, carrying a good salary, prospects, and social status, that they will benefit by what I offer. For this sort of evidence I must look to the business men and others who bring about economic development of all kinds. In fact, technical education is a striking example of the general truth which I pointed out in Chapter Four: education is not the affair of the schools and colleges alone, and if they are left to do it alone they will fail.

CHAPTER NINE

INFORMAL EDUCATION

DURING one term of my service at Achimota, the vagaries of the teaching time-table brought it about that twice a week I had to go straight from coaching a colleague for a London honours degree to take a history class of ten-year-olds. The five-minute interval between periods was none too long for me to make the mental change of gear that was needed. I realized to the full not merely the difference between honours degree work and primary school work, but the difference between working with one solitary assiduous student and working with a class of some thirty lively and energetic youngsters. Educational problems are different in kind, not merely in degree, with large and with small numbers of students. Our educational system in the West was originally designed to deal with small numbers; we are now expanding it to deal with enormously large. It is too early yet to predict whether the experiment will succeed in producing an educated people. It is already certain however that the schools, unaided, would certainly fail.

Luckily, in Britain itself the schools are not left entirely unaided, though it remains to be seen whether the aid they receive from other sources will be sufficient. The programmes of press, film, radio and television, and the stage provide, along with a lot of rubbish, plenty of material of educational value. There are the various youth movements, ranging from the girl guide troop to the skiffle club; and there is a still greater range of

adult activities from the university extension lecture to the local music festival or flower show. The point is, that all teachers would admit that the school is effective only within narrow limits, and would agree that one of their main functions is to prepare the children to continue their education after they leave school.

The situation is worse in the colonies, and in other poor countries. There, we have large numbers of children in primary schools but comparatively few in secondary schools: many, perhaps the great majority, of the primary school teachers very inadequately trained: little or nothing to correspond to the Old Vic and the BBC orchestra: and the problems of isolation which I have already described. In other words, the schools themselves are less efficient, their task is greater, and they have less help from other quarters.

When formal education is so inadequate to its task, it must be supplemented by informal education: a name given as a matter of convenience by the Cambridge conference of 1952 to the various activities which are sometimes called mass education, basic education, social education, fundamental education, or community development.

It is a pity that the same idea should be called by so many different names. It happens because of the universal feeling that it may be wiser not to call a spade a spade because some people have a horror of spades. The earliest attempt to theorize on the subject was the pamphlet *Mass Education in African Society*, published by the British Government in 1944. The name *mass education* was used only for a few years. When Unesco began studying the subject in 1947 it rejected the word *mass*, because it felt that it seemed to draw a class distinction between the mandarin in his palanquin and the mass of

the coolies toiling in the paddy-fields. The Unesco authorities adopted the name *fundamental education*, and this term, with Unesco behind it, spread rapidly over the world.¹ Meanwhile, in 1948 a Colonial Office conference, largely composed of administrative officers on leave from the colonies, expressed a characteristically British distrust of the word *education*, which to them implied bookishness, rote-learning, and a dislike of honest hard work. The conference felt that what was needed was something which would inspire people to think less of their individual ambitions and more of the needs of their own community; and accordingly the conference adopted the term *community development*, which received official sanction and is now the accepted British term. The whole process is rather reminiscent of the distinction in *Alice* between what the song is, what it is called, what the song's name is, and what the name is called. By whatever name we call it we mean education mainly for adults and mainly using methods other than the formal class or lecture. The Cambridge conference used the name *informal education* in order to avoid entangling itself in definitions and controversy.

For there has been a great deal of controversy, and much effort has been made to frame suitable definitions. There is a general tendency in human behaviour which ought to be investigated by the learned author of *Parkinson's Law*. A group of activities is difficult to define; nevertheless an inadequate definition is framed. As soon as the definition is put on paper, people leave

¹ Eventually, Unesco and the other UN agencies agreed to adopt the British term *community development* to cover all kinds of improvement that might involve a large degree of self-help, and to use the term *fundamental education* for the educational component of community development. In 1958, Unesco abandoned the term *fundamental education* altogether.

off discussing the activities themselves and start discussing the definition; they assume, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, that the definition is adequate and precise, and they argue for or against what the definition implies, instead of for or against what they can see really goes on. Thus, as soon as the British Government announced that it proposed to abandon the term *mass education* and adopt the term *community development*, a furious controversy began. On the one hand were those who said, 'This is a new approach to the problems of education and of government in general, and has such possibilities that it should be widely adopted.' Their opponents were the great mass of administrative and technical officials who said, 'There can be nothing new here. All of us devote our lives to building up a healthy and prosperous community life; *community development* is merely a high-falutin' new name for all the activities of Government departments.'

In such arguments, there is usually something to be said on both sides. The sceptics were right to this extent: that the material results of successful informal education were often the same as those of the work of Government departments. Government officials in the field tried to induce people to spray their cocoa trees, to dip their cattle, to check the breeding of flies and mosquitos, to build roads, to establish co-operative societies. Any of these might result from the work of informal education. What then is the difference? By whatever name it is best called, what *is* this informal education?

The idea behind it is that there is a great deal which uneducated people could do to help themselves, if only they could be induced to try. The trouble is that they sit and wait for someone—usually the Government—to do things for them. We have to persuade them to try and

do things for themselves, and if necessary, suggest things which they could do. Once they have realized that they can help themselves, people are likely to set their wits to work to find new ideas. Here is an example: it is none the less good community development for not having been hitherto cited in the text-books.

When I was at Achimota, I had a European colleague who was a keen amateur yachtsman. There was no yachting in the Accra surf, so he used to go out with the fishermen in their sailing canoes. The canoes, he found, were perfectly adapted to their work, save in one respect: they had no keel, and so drifted badly to leeward. It was not possible to fit the round-bottomed dug-out canoes with a keel, and anyway a fixed keel would be dangerous when the canoe came flying up the beach on the crest of a breaker; so he made a lee-board such as the Thames barges use, which could be hauled up out of the way when not required. Then came his problem: how was he to get this device tested and adopted? The fishermen had their own chief, a man of intelligence; he knew my friend well by this time, having seen him handle nets and sail and paddle, and was prepared to consider carefully any suggestions he made. The chief set to work to find two canoes in the fleet whose performance was identical. Having found two such, he fitted one with the lee-board, and set the two boats to race each other in every condition of wind and tide and current. Naturally, the boat with the lee-board showed herself the better; and then the chief called his men together. 'Here we are,' he said, 'this is convincing. White men know a lot about books, but this is the first white man I have met who knows anything really useful like handling a boat. We can't deny that he has shown us something. What we have to do now is to fit all our

boats with these contraptions, and then we shall catch more fish and get back home quicker when the boat is full.' So the village carpenters were set to work making lee-boards; all the canoes in the village fitted them; and presently the lee-board fashion spread east and west all along the coast. The idea caught on, though the originator of the idea is forgotten, or at best reduced to the status of a Prometheus-myth.

I met another example in Uganda. The Government there had an organization of Social Development Teams, and one of these teams had been concentrating on improving the farming. The people grew bananas and kept cattle, but the cattle wandered free through the bush, and the bananas were grown on a system of shifting cultivation. The Team wanted to persuade the people to pen their cattle up at night in a kraal, and use the dung to manure the banana-trees. For a long time they had no success whatever. Eventually, one of the richer farmers of the district, named Uwane, agreed to try the experiment, more to get rid of the nuisance of the Team's nagging than because he thought anything would come of it. But of course something did come of it; he got heavier crops, and did not have to clear a new patch of bush and shift his farm. Having thus found that the Team really did know what it was talking about, he asked if it had any other bright ideas, and he soon took to treating his cattle with regular dipping and inoculations. But the real point of the story is this. Because Mr Uwane was rich and influential, all his poorer neighbours came to see what he did to get such good results, and they copied him. This type of mixed farming has spread all round the district, and is known as Uwane's method; and it spreads much better because its official origin has been forgotten.

One of the most famous bits of informal education in British territories is the Udi experiment in Eastern Nigeria. The district officer there, Chadwick by name, used to run some adult literacy classes in his spare time, and a number of people learned to read. But one day, someone said to him, 'If you really want to help us, there is something we want more than literacy; and that is a maternity clinic. Can't you give us a clinic?' Mr Chadwick replied, 'No, I can't give you a maternity clinic. That is not my affair at all, that is the affair of the Medical Department. But if you really want one, there is no reason why you should not build one yourselves. You can build the mud walls and provide timber for the roof; I will lend you the services of a mason and a carpenter, and I might perhaps be able to help with the corrugated iron for the roof. When the building is ready, I will try and persuade the Medical Department to appoint a qualified midwife, though you must realize that if their plans lie in other directions, I can't make them.' The villagers took him at his word; they built the clinic and made a motor road to lead to it, and a midwife was appointed. And that started the villagers off. There were other things they wanted but which they had never before realized might be possible: roads, markets, co-operative shops, schools, reading-rooms. The procedure was always the same: the villagers supplied the labour and most of the materials, the district officer supplied technical advice and supervision and managed sometimes a little help with materials; and—very important—he persuaded the appropriate authorities to take the completed project on their list for staffing and maintenance. Village rivalry came into play, and similar projects multiplied in the district. The scheme was not a complete success, for unexpected difficulties confined it to a res-

stricted area; but within that area it worked very well.

There are many similar schemes, such as a scheme in Tanganyika which combines school-building, literacy work and anti-erosion measures, and one in Northern Rhodesia which concentrates on literacy and has the slogan 'Each one teach one': I have taught you to read Chapter One, and you must teach someone else to read that chapter before I go on to teach you Chapter Two. In Latin America they favour working through well-organized teams, the so-called 'culture brigades'. The culture brigade may be as many as a dozen strong; it may include specialists in literacy, health, nutrition, water supplies, agriculture, co-operatives, music, drama, physical education, and recreation. The brigade settles down in a village for several weeks or even months with the aim of helping the villagers to raise their own standard of living. The first thing is to find out what the villagers themselves desire. It may be obvious to any stranger entering the village what they really need: fewer mosquitos and flies, better water, and so on. But things like these are part of life, and it does not enter the villagers' heads that anything can be done about them; whereas there is something else, perhaps quite trivial, which they feel ought to be possible, if only. . . . Unesco has cited a case in Mexico where the thing which the villagers were really dreaming of was a proper basket-ball court. The recreation man on the team knew all about basket-ball; he helped the lads to fix a site and mark out the court, and they set to work with a will to level it and construct it. The villagers needed just that bit of help and encouragement to turn their 'If only we could . . .' into 'We can, so let's. . . .' The construction of the basket-ball court released their imagination and energy, and soon they were digging wells and planting

trees, improving the village generally, and asking, 'What else is there we could do?'

Largely owing to the stimulus given by Unesco conferences and technical advisers, work of this kind is going on all over the poor countries of the world. The immediate objective varies according to local circumstances: here it is literacy, there, anti-erosion measures, and so on. But the ultimate objective is everywhere the same. It is to make people realize that there is a great deal they could do for themselves, and there is no need for them to sit and wait for the Government or some other remote agency to do things for them. The general tactics too are the same. The first step is to find out what the people desire, and help them to achieve their desire for themselves. The second step is to discover who are the natural leaders in the community, and get them convinced that further progress is possible; so that when the team, or community development worker, or whoever it may be, has to move on elsewhere, the work which has been started will not die out. The third step, which is the most difficult of the three, is to find a way of spreading the newly-released energy and enthusiasm beyond the limits of the village, or clan, or tribe. This is where many campaigns fail.

If we ignore for the moment the possibility of failure, and look at the successes, it is clear that a successful campaign of informal education will be of the very greatest educational value. For one thing, it will save money. If people will turn to and build their own schools and clinics and motor-roads, spray their cocoa trees, improve their water supplies and keep down erosion or malaria, much money will be saved which might have to be spent on getting these things done professionally, just as in Britain the voluntary unpaid work of scout-masters and justices of the peace saves money which

might otherwise have to be spent in paid youth workers and stipendiary magistrates. More than that: since we are speaking of countries which are poor almost beyond the comprehension of the stay-at-home Englishman or American¹, the choice is not between having a clinic built by voluntary amateur labour or built professionally; it is between having it built by the amateurs or not built at all, perhaps for the next thirty years. The country will be far better off in capital equipment such as roads, schools and clinics, in improved harvests, in human health and energy.

But informal education brings benefits much more important even than these. It shakes people out of a mood of apathy and resignation; it makes them feel that their future lies to some extent in their own hands, and helps them to understand and co-operate with the efforts that teachers and technical advisers of all kinds are making to help them.

If we look at it from the narrow departmental point of view, it is clear that much of the work which the schools are doing is wasted because the parents do not understand it and are unable to co-operate. A successful campaign of informal education might ensure that parents kept their children longer at school, adopted the health

¹ I have already described some of this poverty, but a few figures may serve as a reminder. In 1958/59, the estimated expenditure in England and Wales on education alone (counting Ministry and local authorities together) was £14 per head of population. In the previous year, Northern Nigeria's total Government revenue for all purposes amounted to fifteen shillings per head. Northern Nigeria is three times the size of Great Britain, and has one-third of Great Britain's population—sixteen million odd. This was an extreme case; Sierra Leone had £4 10s., Northern Rhodesia over £8, Barbados £18, Trinidad £28. Generally speaking the big countries are the poor ones: Kenya, nearly £5 a head, Tanganyika, £2 5s., Western Nigeria, a little over £2, Uganda, £3 5s.

measures and improved methods in agriculture which the schools are trying to teach, and in general made the teacher's life easier and his work more fruitful. The Cambridge conference of 1952 was so impressed by this possibility that it made a strong recommendation that informal education should be developed, even at the price of holding up the development of school education.

'Whatever the quality of the schooling provided, it cannot but produce a sharp break in society between the educated and the uneducated, and it cannot, because of the present scale of effort, contribute significantly in the short term to the task of preparing the great mass of the people for their civic responsibilities. We conclude therefore that, at least for the short term, there should be a quite novel concentration of energy and resources upon the tasks of informal education.'

These are strong words to come from a conference which was entirely composed of people professionally concerned with schools. When schoolmasters and school-inspectors say that it is more urgent to push ahead with informal education than to provide more schools, the community development worker may well feel encouraged.

And yet, this 'novel concentration of energy and resources' on informal education has not been made. The effort to develop school and college education still further has not slackened. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, the informal education of adults does not seem to public opinion an acceptable substitute for the multiplication of secondary school leaving certificates and trained schoolteachers: a useful supplement, perhaps, but not a substitute. It is significant that the biggest programme of informal education in Commonwealth territories is being carried on in Ghana, where

educational policy has been in African hands since 1951. The Government of Ghana is so sure of public support that it can afford to divert money and effort to informal education without being suspected of wishing to slow down the country's development.

A second reason is that all Governments prefer an activity which produces measurable results, such as 82,000 new primary and 6,000 new secondary school places provided in a year. But informal education does not always produce results of this kind. A great deal of work may be done with no visible result at all. The Uganda development team which I visited had worked for eighteen months, with nothing whatever to show for it, before Mr Uwane decided to try manuring his banana plantation. It takes an enlightened Government to pay for weeks or months of work when the only tangible result is a new basket-ball court, and a skilful public relations officer to present it as an achievement. In these two cases, it is true, this first result proved to be the breaking of the dam, and a flood of achievement followed. But it need not necessarily have been so. Informal education of this kind is necessarily an affair of trial and error, of groping and hoping; its results may be spectacular, but they may be insignificant.

For not all campaigns of community development are successful, and very few achieve complete success. I have mentioned the Udi campaign, in which the offer of literacy classes provoked a demand for a maternity clinic. That campaign was very successful up to a point. The point was reached when all the hamlets within the clan area had been evangelized in this way. Up till then, the idea had spread by what we should regard as normal means: individual helpfulness ('We are doing this, why don't you?') and village rivalry ('If they can do it, surely

we can?'). Beyond that point, neither of these worked. 'Those people are not of our clan; it is nothing to us how they choose to live.'

I suppose that with unlimited time and skill and patience, a team might be sure of finding the right button to press: the button which fires the charge to break the dam and release the flood. But unlimited time is not always given them, and all of us are apt at times to be deficient in skill and patience. A second common source of failure is that the community development worker hustles people too much in his impatience for results. He gets his road built, his well dug, his trees sprayed, but he has neglected to secure the understanding and co-operation of the people's natural leaders. In time he is transferred to another district; there is no one in the community he leaves to take over from him; and the people relapse into apathy. It is not always the fault of the community development worker. He is under pressure from his Government, which does not fully understand what community development involves but has grasped that it should be able to produce concrete results more cheaply than a Government department could. The Government, let us say, is keen on well-sinking. The community development man reports that the people have no interest in well-sinking; they want a football field. The Government (remembering that in a few months time it will have to send in a report of its year's progress to Parliament and the United Nations) is tempted to reply, 'Nonsense, of course they will want a well if you put it to them properly. That is what we sent you there for.' It would be difficult for the community development worker to resist. I fear that Governments sometimes do exert this pressure for measurable results, and that community development workers sometimes do yield to it.

The fact that the results of successful informal education, in so far as they are measurable, are the same as those of successful departmental work often leads Governments astray. To most departmental officers, it is these measurable results that matter. Their professional efficiency will be judged by their mileage of roads or contour strips, their numbers of trees sprayed or cattle dipped. The community development officer must be prepared to postpone these material results in order to make sure that the people's attitude is changed from apathy to eagerness.

A third source of failure is that departments do not co-operate. The community development worker has to be something of a jack-of-all-trades. Departmental officers are apt to remind him that he is master of none. They are apt also to behave as if they thought their own departmental programmes more important than co-operation with other departments. One would suppose it a simple matter for the heads of four departments to meet when each is planning his development programme for the coming year, and to arrange between them that the new school shall be sited close to the new agricultural demonstration farm, that the new road shall lead to both, and that both shall be covered by the pilot anti-malarial project. In fact, a little perhaps through jealousy or indifference, but mainly through pressure of work, it is very difficult. Each one of the four is overworked; plans and estimates are the busiest and most ticklish job of his whole year. Each is dealing with the recommendations and suggestions of his officers in the field. In making his overall plans for the department, he is applying to his officers' proposals the same process that the Government financial secretary will shortly apply to all departmental estimates. 'A and B both want new secondary schools.

We can't possibly put in for more than one new school in that part of the country. They are both good keen men; if I say that A can have the secondary school, is there anything I can do for B to keep him from feeling too dejected? At this stage, a proposal is made to him, let us say, to put his new secondary school neither in A's nor in B's district, but in C's district, where it would reinforce a proposed new agricultural station. But the director has a poor opinion of C, and has various professional reasons for giving the new school to A or to B. These are perfectly normal and proper departmental considerations, but they do not make for inter-departmental co-operation.

Similarly, it is not as easy as it sounds for these four departmental heads to arrange that the district officer, X, who is keen on community development, shall have posted to his district a doctor, an education officer, an engineer, and an agriculturist who are all good mixers and also keen on community development. Consequently, not all district teams are as good as they might be. I take it for granted that the effectiveness of the team-spirit and co-operation of the departmental officers at the lower levels (such as the agricultural demonstrator, the veterinary assistant, the road foreman, the sanitary inspector, the primary school head) will depend on the co-operation of their superiors.

For such reasons as these, campaigns of community development are not always successful, and I have not heard of any country in which community development has got out of hand and gone roaring across the country like a bush fire. It would indeed be embarrassing if villages built themselves clinics faster than nurses or dispensers could be trained to staff them. There must be enough co-ordination to ensure that the output of read-

ing material keeps pace with the issue of literacy certificates, that staff is available for the new establishments which are provided by community self-help, that community development workers are available when villages ask for them. The selection and training of community development staff is one big problem, the financing of community development is another; I leave it to community development experts to discuss ways and means of solving them.

It seems to me that in attaching such high importance to informal education (or community development, or what you will) the Cambridge conference was entirely right. A really successful large-scale drive for informal education would at least double the value now obtained for the money spent on schools. Education is not only the affair of the universities, the schools, the technical colleges, even of the classes run by university extra-mural departments and voluntary associations. Education of a far-reaching kind is going on when the herdsmen at the height of the dry season watch their cattle drinking for the first time at the new dam they have built: when the housewife for the first time finds she can spend the morning in her kitchen without the fowls and the goats getting at the food and the wood smoke getting in her eyes: when the villagers find that this season there are no flies because they have dug proper latrines, and no mosquitos because they have drained the marsh. It is far-reaching, not because of these immediate results, useful and important as they are, but because of the change of heart which they bring. Instead of saying, 'This is the season for mosquitos,' people are saying, 'There must be something we could do about these mosquitos; what is it?' From being apathetic, they have become receptive to new ideas. The leaven is working.

CHAPTER TEN

TWO SPECIAL PROBLEMS

IN this chapter I propose to deal briefly with two problems, one purely professional, the other semi-political, which cause a great deal of worry in some colonial territories and other countries. One is the selection of pupils for secondary education; the other is the problem of providing education in a multi-racial society.

SECONDARY SCHOOL SELECTION

When I was a boy, the problem of selecting primary school children for the privilege of receiving secondary education at the public expense still existed in England, but in a fairly simple form. All children in the local authority primary schools sat for the scholarship examination at the age of eleven. As far as I can remember in my own case it was a straightforward test of attainment in English, arithmetic, and a general paper. There was no interview, and no intelligence test. It was in fact a somewhat primitive affair, but it probably suited its purpose fairly well in the conditions of the time. There were not very many places to fill. Education both in primary and in secondary schools was mainly bookish, and a child who had done well in the primary school was likely to do well in the secondary school. It could be assumed that all the primary schools conformed to certain standards of efficiency; the inspectors and the local authority's staff would see to that.

Looking back on the conditions of those days, I can see that the selectors had an easy task. They had only a limited number of places to fill, perhaps a tenth of the number of candidates, and the examination must have indicated clearly who were the safe candidates. The weakness of the system was that it gave no chance to the child of good ability who for some reason (maybe because his home background was unfavourable, maybe because he was a late developer, maybe because his ability was not of the bookish type, or simply because he was a bad examination candidate) did not do himself justice in the examination.

Nowadays in Britain we are more ambitious. We give secondary education of some sort to all, and our problem is to decide which type of education is appropriate to the individual child. The written examination has to be supplemented by intelligence tests and interviews and a study of the teachers' reports. It is not an easy task to allocate children to the most suitable school, especially since most parents prefer their children to go to the grammar school.

But it is simplicity itself compared with the task of selecting children in a poor country. For one thing, the primary schools will differ very greatly in their efficiency, and a promising child may be frustrated by being buried in a remote bush school with poor teachers. When I went to Mauritius, I found that the inspectors of schools visited each of the island's 126 primary schools in turn, setting fresh examination papers at each school for the top two classes in English, French and arithmetic. The theory was that these examinations were so important that the class teachers could not be trusted to examine their own children. Whatever the merits of this theory, the system had several undesirable results in practice. One

was that the inspectors not only were unable to maintain uniform standards, but they did not even attempt to. When they came to a poor country school, they said, 'We must allow some of the children to pass, or else it will be too discouraging for the parents and the teachers.' This was easily arranged; they set that school easy papers. This in its turn produced a further result. The regulations laid down that a child who had failed in the examination could not be re-examined until after three months. The examination season lasted from April till August. A child who had failed early in the season looked around for a 'soft' school whose examination was not due for three months; if he found one, he transferred to it and had a second shot, thus gaining an advantage over the children who were not examined until June. A third result of the system was that, since there is a limit to the examiners' powers of invention and the same examiners went the rounds year after year, the top two classes in all the schools had little real teaching, but spent most of their time working through and through past examination papers.

This extraordinary system was hallowed by Mauritius tradition, but of course I decided that it must be changed. I told the schools to arrange their own internal examinations for the lower class, and for the top class I arranged a proper external examination, held simultaneously at a number of local centres. And then the storm began. School managers protested to me at the Education Office, and there were letters and leading articles in the Press. I was told that it was unreasonable to expect the remote country schools to sit the same papers as the big town schools, and I was accused of wanting to favour the town children at the expense of the poor children in the country villages. I replied that if an examination were to be held

at all, it must be uniform; an examination which was rigged by setting stiff questions here and easy questions there was worthless. My critics of course were right when they said that my centrally-administered examination would show up the deficiencies of the poor schools. They went wrong only when they claimed that it was a hardship on the pupils of the poor schools to be denied their Standard Six certificates. My defence was that certificates obtained under the old system were useless. Every employer and secondary school head knew that a certificate obtained by a pupil in school A meant something, whereas a certificate from school B was worthless. The true hardship suffered by the pupils in school B was that their school was so poor and their living conditions so wretched. The remedy was not to give them a certificate which they had not earned, but to provide the school with better teaching and equipment, and to improve its environment with community development and schemes of housing, water, electricity, travelling libraries, and so forth. The function of the examination is to act as a visible measure of the school's academic success. If the figures show that there is something wrong, I can investigate and prescribe. Whatever the disease, I want the symptoms to be plainly shown. I held my ground, and the new system took root.

Another difficulty in poor countries is that there is intense competition for the secondary school places. In Eastern Nigeria in 1953, there were over 6,000 candidates competing for 112 places in the Government secondary schools. The numbers involved make the mere mechanics of a selection examination formidable.

It is important to find the children with most ability, not merely those who already know most through the fortunate accidents of good teaching and a good home.

But this involves two further difficulties. One is that the examination will necessarily be set in English¹, and a candidate who is weak in English is handicapped throughout the examination, even though his weakness may be due to remoteness and poor teaching rather than to lack of aptitude. The other difficulty is that most so-called intelligence tests are tests of attainment as well as of ability. They are designed for children who can analyse their ideas and examine the uses of words, or who can handle small objects so as to fit them together in specified ways. But much work needs to be done to construct tests suitable for children with a completely different background. In many countries, children have no experience of mechanical toys, jig-saw puzzles, or even simple tools like screws and screw-driver. In Northern Nigeria, many school-girls are accustomed to handling the pounding-stick or the rope for hauling water out of the well, but nothing thinner or smaller: not even a needle, since needlework is traditionally a man's occupation. Their geography teaching, we are told, is hampered because they have never had a ball to play with, and so are quite unfamiliar with the idea of a sphere. It is difficult for teachers in Britain to imagine the poverty of these children's mechanical experience. Similarly, our intelligence tests assume that at a given age, a child of normal intelligence can answer questions which require a given degree of logical thinking; and so he can in Europe, where Aristotelian logic is part of our cultural tradition. But it is not part of the cultural tradition in Africa. It has to be learned; and so for an African candidate, a question which involves logical thinking is more a test of attainment (as

¹ For two reasons: English is the medium of instruction in the secondary school, and English is the common tongue in a colony which may contain many vernaculars.

opposed to ability) than it would be in Europe.

These difficulties will be overcome in time through the efforts of teachers and research workers in education; but they have not by any means been overcome yet. (And of course, if there were more money there could be more research workers, and results would be quicker.) Meanwhile, examination papers of the 'intelligence-test' type are being set by teachers who are amateurs in this very specialized field, and the amateur is beset by pitfalls. He finds it hard to standardize his papers, to grade his questions, and to avoid ambiguity. In many countries the examiner, whether amateur or professional, is faced by yet another difficulty. He does not know how old the candidates are. There is no registration of births—and in illiterate homes there is no calendar—and parents do not remember exactly when their children were born. 'My son was born a month after the flood which washed away Haruna's house and drowned three of his cows.' And when exactly was that, I wonder? But the theory of intelligence-testing rests on a great body of carefully worked-out evidence showing what it is reasonable to expect from a child of x years and y months; and when there may be an error of several months either way in estimating a child's age, the psychologist flings up his hands in despair.

However, in this as in so many other problems, we cannot wait for the results of research. We have to do the best we can meanwhile by the light of nature.

The first task is to weed out from the great mass of candidates those who are clearly below standard. Perhaps two-thirds of the entry may be quite hopeless, and it would be a waste of time to make them sit the whole examination and mark their papers. We need some test to act as an eliminator. This will leave us with a minority

of candidates whose work reaches a minimum standard, so that all of them are 'possibles'; our next task is to pick the best of them, a number corresponding to the secondary school places available. For this we shall need a different type of examination; it is unlikely that one paper would be equally effective in eliminating the weak candidates and in giving a wide spread of marks among the strong ones. Having thus reduced the candidates to a short list, we can then take into account their teachers' reports and interview them if we choose.

If we are to use a written examination at all, it is almost inevitable that we should examine candidates in English and in arithmetic, even though these two papers must clearly test the candidate's attainment more than his ability. Some sort of special paper of the intelligence-test type is often added. Work has been done in Eastern Nigeria and Northern Rhodesia in evaluating the results of the selection examinations. It suggests certain tentative conclusions.

In the first place, it seems a mistake to add papers to test the candidates' knowledge of such subjects as history and geography. When the primary schools vary so much in efficiency, to ascertain whether a candidate knows or does not know certain facts is of no value whatever in predicting his ability to profit from secondary education.

In the next place, it is a similar mistake to examine the candidates in more advanced arithmetic and English. One simple paper in each subject is better, if stiffly marked.

In the third place, it is better to avoid essay questions in the English paper. We have all learnt by now that an essay can be awarded widely different marks not merely by two different examiners, but by one and the same examiner on two different occasions. There are

other ways of testing a candidate's ability to express himself in English.

In the fourth place, many short questions are more effective than a few long ones. The good candidate will be shown by his ease and fluency in answering many questions while the poor candidate is stumbling over fewer. Americans have cultivated the art of setting examination questions, even at university level, consisting of very many questions, each of which can be answered in one or two words and has only one correct answer. The layman may wonder whether this does not help the guesser, and test merely knowledge of facts, not the power of thinking. But even a Cambridge Tripos sets out primarily to test what the candidate has learned from his books and lectures, and this could be tested even more searchingly if we did not require him to spend time in setting forth his ideas in flowing prose. As for guessing, the statisticians (with whom America is well provided) tell us that it is a simple matter to frame the questions so that a candidate who knows nothing whatever about the subject, and sets out brazenly to guess his way through the whole paper, will indeed score a mark here and there, but has no chance whatever of reaching pass level. For our purpose in selecting candidates for secondary education, there is a good deal to be said for using this American device.

But when all is said and done, no examination, however well conducted, can guarantee to pick out the candidate with the best ability. The differences of opportunity are too great. One child comes from an efficient school in a town; his parents (perhaps both parents, at all events his father) have had some education; he drinks clean water from the tap, and eats food which has been bought in a properly supervised market; he may go barefoot, but

it is on relatively clean pavements; his home has electric light and newspapers, perhaps a radio, perhaps even some books. Another child comes from a poor school in a remote village, with illiterate parents; he is infested with internal parasites from his food, his drinking water, and the mud he walks in;¹ and he may have no opportunity of hearing English spoken or even of seeing a newspaper. One of these two candidates has everything in his favour, the other has everything against him. No examination, however skilfully devised and sympathetically marked, is going to discount such great differences in health and nutrition, environment and opportunity. The existence of these differences is one of our problems.

Even if the psychologists succeeded in devising a test, suitable for such conditions, which would completely isolate this mysterious 'ability' and ignore the candidate's attainments, it would be of doubtful value for our purpose. The secondary school course is designed as a superstructure to be erected on the primary school foundation. It would be an exceptional secondary school that could cater for the completely ignorant genius and do the primary school's work as well as its own. The secondary school is so important that the limited number of secondary school places must be reserved for those who can put them to good use. The problem of developing and improving our selection machinery so as to discover the best candidates must be kept distinct from the other important problem of how to raise the standard of the

¹ Millions of people are enfeebled by hookworm, which enters the body through the sole of the foot, spends a happy life hooked on to the stomach wall, and in due course leaves its host in the urine. It is the towns that benefit first from campaigns against flies and mosquitos and the diseases they carry, notably of course malaria.

weaker schools so as to remedy inequalities of opportunity.

EDUCATION IN A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY

Ethnologists dislike the word 'multi-racial' because there is no precise meaning to be attached to the word 'race'. The word seems to have come to stay, however, and if we use it we should explain what we mean by it. As an educator, I use the term 'multi-racial society' to mean a society in which there are two or more communities, each of whom has not merely its own language, but also a distinctive culture to which it is deeply attached, and which it will not willingly see subordinated to another. I would not regard Switzerland as a multi-racial society, in spite of its three or four languages, because French, German and Italian cultures are all variant forms of European culture, and have borrowed freely from each other. Although we are told that Chicago is the largest Italian city in the world, I would not regard the United States for my purpose as a multi-racial society (except perhaps for the tiny Amerindian minority) because the 'American way of life' is the dominant culture which is shared by all.

On the other hand, I call Britain a multi-racial society because the speakers of Welsh and Gaelic, however convenient they may find it to use English culture, are still devoted to their own culture and speech, and do all they can in *ceilidh* and *eisteddfod* to keep it alive. Fiji is a multi-racial society, because it contains Fijians and Indians; Malaya is another, because it has Malays, Chinese and Indians, as well as smaller groups; Kenya is a third, because it has Europeans, Asians, Africans and others; and in all these countries, the different communities are

anxious to preserve their separate identity. Ceylon might perhaps be added to the list, and even India; though their internal differences are not as great as those between Malays and Chinese, or Africans and Europeans.

The problem of providing education in a multi-racial society is difficult enough in itself, but it is often complicated by colour feeling and all the emotions which that raises. So deeply has this impressed itself on the public mind, that Kenya and South Africa stand for most people as the supreme examples of multi-racial societies. When I talked at United Nations meetings about the problems of Malayan education, I always had the feeling that some of my audience were silently accusing me of trying to divert their attention from Kenya. In fact, I was once told that since all the different communities in Malaya were Asians, they would settle their differences easily enough if we let them alone, whereas the inequalities of Kenya were my responsibility, and I must not try and shelve it.

Now, I am not writing on race relations or the colour problem as such. I am concerned with them in this book only as they effect my work as an educator. The colour problem in Kenya and elsewhere is primarily a social and secondarily a political problem; and as an educator, I have to work within the social and political conditions that I find.

I propose to discuss the educational problems of a multi-racial society, and—to satisfy my United Nations critic of long ago—I shall take Kenya as an example. It is not my business to attack or defend the political or social policy of the Government of Kenya, but to discuss its problems from a professional point of view.

Nobody is ever called in to devise an entirely new system of education for a well-established country like

Kenya. One always has to build on existing foundations. Kenya's present situation is the result of its past history. It is a country two-and-a-half times the size of Great Britain, with a population of some six millions: one per cent Europeans, two per cent Asians, and the rest Africans. The Europeans and Asians are of course recent immigrants. The Europeans, largely of British origin, are farmers and business men; they or their fathers settled in the country at various times during the last fifty years, especially after the 1914-18 war. The original Asian inhabitants came over as labourers to build the Kenya-Uganda railway in the early years of this century; they are now firmly settled in commerce and industry. The Africans are divided into many tribes and languages, but all of them were cultivators or cattle-owners before the European immigration. On the coast there is a long-settled group of Arabs.

There are thus four main cultural groups, and a very large number of language groups. The different communities have had different attitudes towards education. The Europeans came from a country which had universal primary education, and they already looked on education as the right of every child. Since British settlement was desired and officially encouraged, and since European children were in manageable numbers, the Kenya Government undertook to provide all of them with primary and some with secondary education. Further, European parents had their own ideas on what schools should be, and were in a position to insist on reasonable standards of efficiency.

The Asians too believed in education. Hindus and Muslims had their own educational traditions, and India was a country in which Western education was spreading fast. Various voluntary bodies, notably the Aga Khan's

organization, were ready to supplement the Government's efforts in providing schools for Asian children.

The Africans on the other hand were dubious for a long time. It was not until the nineteen-thirties that the African demand for education began to rise. Throughout the depression of those days it went on rising, and the Kenya Government, its revenue heavily cut by the fall in the country's exports, could not meet it. Nor could the missionary societies, whose funds likewise were suffering from the general depression. Accordingly, shortly before the 1939 war, some Africans began to supply schools for their people.

From the onset of the depression until the end of the war, the Kenya Government was not a free agent, for it had neither money nor staff to do what it wanted to do. At the end of the war, it faced a clamour for universal African primary education, and its resources in administrative staff and in teacher-training facilities were about what they had been in 1930. Aided with grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, it drew up a development plan, and ran an intensive recruiting campaign to obtain teachers and administrators from England.

As far as African education was concerned, the Government first planned to provide a four-year primary course for half the African children, and to begin building up a four-year intermediate course and a four-year secondary course. The four-year primary course was regarded as the shortest which could make a child permanently literate, and was consequently the minimum that could be contemplated. The second stage of the plan was to provide the four-year primary course for all African children living in towns and for the great majority of those living in the country, with a greatly increased enrolment in the four-year intermediate course.

The ultimate objective, naturally, is to provide the combined eight-year course for all. In 1956 it was estimated that in the seven-to-eleven age-group, seventy-two per cent of the boys and twenty-eight per cent of the girls were attending school. Secondary education must for the time being remain highly selective; in 1956 it was available for about one child out of every eight who completed the intermediate course.

The plan had not been long under way when the most progressive and thickly populated part of the country was upset by the Mau Mau disturbances, which diverted a great deal of money and effort. As far as education was concerned, one of the striking things about the Mau Mau episode was the heroism shown by the rank and file of the African teachers, whom the Mau Mau men especially hated. Their lives were constantly threatened, and many of them dared not spend a night at home, but slept out in the bush, never two nights running in the same place. The Mau Mau also tried to compel parents to take their children away from school, and many schools had to be closed for a while until the parents' confidence returned and they sent their children back.

In spite of these difficulties, good progress was made with African education. Between 1946 and 1958, the number of trained teachers rose from 1,980 to 10,500; primary schools increased from 2,000 to 3,600 and intermediate schools from 56 to 615. Before the war there was only one African secondary school, in 1958 there were 31. The primary school population rose from 200,000 in 1946 to 504,000, intermediate from 7,000 to 68,000, secondary from 400 to 4,500.

Let us consider some of the criticisms which are made against the Kenya Government over its educational plans. The first is that if education is available for all European

children, it should be available for all children of the other communities, and if this is not possible, the communities should be treated alike.

This would be an ideally fair arrangement, and if Kenya had at present no education at all, we might devise a scheme on these lines. But as things are, it does not seem to me practical politics. We cannot put the clock back. We are all faced, Africans and Europeans alike, with the consequences of our own past actions. There is no gainsaying the fact that a generation ago, the Europeans in Kenya wanted their children to receive education, whereas most of the Africans were quite uninterested. Consequently, European education obtained a start; and what with the depression, the war, and the Mau Mau, the Kenya Government's plans for African education have a long way to go to catch up.¹ African educational facilities are certainly unequal to European; but the remedy for that is not to bring European education down, but to raise African education up. This is what the Kenya Government is doing.

There is a more subtle variant of this criticism. It is pointed out that European education is much more expensive per pupil than African, and this is claimed as evidence that the Kenya Government is giving—and presumably intends to go on giving—better education to European than to African children. If we take the figures for primary and secondary education separately, we find that in 1956/57, for example, the Government and local authorities in Kenya spent nineteen times as much on educating each European primary school child as on each African child in primary and intermediate schools; the

¹ For the sake of simplicity, I shall write of European and African education only; the reader will bear in mind that Kenya has Asian and Arab education as well.

figures were £78.0 European and £4.1 African. In secondary education there was no such disparity; the figures here were £178 European and £134 African¹.

As a debater, I have always found this a difficult criticism to answer. I can answer it, but only by showing that the figures do not mean what the critics take them to mean; and in the committee room that sort of argument is apt to sound like mere quibbling, and to give the impression that one is trying to make the best of a bad brief.

Not at all. I can provide counsel with a good brief. Our critic is now saying, 'If you intended your African education to become as good as European, you would spend as much per African child as per European, perhaps more. You are very far from doing this, so you cannot have that intention.' Let me invite him to put his criticism in a different form, and to begin with a piece of positive advice, with which I should warmly agree: 'If you have a multi-racial society, you should give as good an education to one community as to another, to Africans as to Europeans.' If, encouraged by my agreement, he went on to ask, 'Surely this will involve spending as much money

¹ I quote these figures from an answer given in Parliament (*Hansard*, 1st December, 1958). They refer to gross recurrent expenditure, ignoring administrative overheads and pupils in unaided schools. They do not allow for income from school fees, which average about one pound a year for an African pupil and fifty pounds for a European. It seems that if we were to offset expenditure by this fee income, we should not materially affect the disparity as regards primary and intermediate schools. But we should actually reverse the disparity as regards secondary schools. It would be plain that the net cost of secondary education to the Kenya authorities is greater for each African pupil than for each European. Critics usually ignore fees and lump the figures for primary and secondary education together; this would make the cost of European education in 1956/57 about fourteen times the cost of African education per pupil. But this crude calculation, as I shall show, is misleading.

per African child as per European?' I should reply, 'Not necessarily; or at any rate, not yet.'

Let me elaborate this answer. As time goes on, I should expect the two figures to draw closer together, but they are not likely to meet unless African teachers' salaries come to equal those of Europeans. Teachers' salaries are the biggest item in every educational budget. Europeans in Kenya live more expensively than Africans, consequently (though at certain levels the salaries for locally recruited staff, African or European, are the same) European teachers on the whole must be paid bigger salaries, consequently European education will be more expensive per pupil than African. The fact that Europeans in Kenya live more expensively than Africans has nothing to do with education, and so has nothing to do with me; it is one of the facts that I have to face.¹

On the other hand, I shall expect to find many other items in the educational budget, especially such items as books and equipment, costing the same in African as in European schools. If European schools need science laboratories, workshops, libraries and assembly halls, then African schools need them too. As African education progresses, more and more schools will be equipped in this way, and so the cost per pupil will rise. In fact, it is rising. If we lump primary and secondary education together and ignore fees, we find that in 1946, when there were 207,000 African children in school, expenditure was £0.73 a head; in 1956, with 445,000 children, it was £5.9: an eight-fold rise in ten years.

The fact is, that the two systems of education are not

¹ Incidentally of course it has nothing to do with race either. It is an accident of history that Europeans in Kenya have so far been much richer than Africans. Some Asians in Kenya are already as rich as any European, if not richer; and Africans too will be so in the future.

comparable. The European system is small, and is now mature; the African system, though already dealing with fifty times as many children, is still in the early stages of its growth. The European system needs only minor improvements; the African system is still straining to get all its children into school and provide them with the essential minimum. The lower the cost per child, the more children can be taken in; so that, up to a point, there is even a virtue at this stage of development in keeping the cost per child low. It is only in secondary education that the two systems should be comparable; and we have seen that here there is no significant difference between the expenditures on European and on African education.

There is the further consideration that even if unlimited money were available, there are limits to the rate at which it can be spent. You may have unlimited timber and cement, but you have only a limited number of carpenters and masons; and you may have unlimited funds for paying teachers, but you have only a limited number of people suitable for training as teachers, and it takes time to select and train them.

For these reasons, I am not disturbed at being told that Kenya is at present spending more per head on European than on African education. I prefer to look at the educational facts. Here—to repeat the essentials—I find that since 1946 the African secondary school population has risen from 400 in 1946 to 4,500 in 1958, and in the same period the number of trained teachers in primary schools has risen from under 2,000 to over 10,000, and the ratio of primary school pupils to trained teachers has dropped from 200 per teacher to 50. This is progress on the right lines, and in these conditions I shall expect the disparity between the relative costs of European and African education to diminish. It may not diminish steadily, or

quickly. The extension of inexpensive African primary education will tend to maintain the disparity, the development of African secondary education and the provision of more books and equipment will tend to reduce it; and there will naturally be a fluctuating balance between these tendencies. When the Kenya Government has achieved its aim of providing the eight-year course for all African children, and is free to concentrate on improving quality, the factor tending to maintain the disparity will cease to exist, and then we may expect the disparity to diminish faster. But that is some time ahead.

So far we have been discussing one principle which we all accept: that in a multi-racial society educational opportunities should be equal for all children, no matter to which community they belong. A second principle is often put forward which is more controversial. This is, that since one of the objects of education in a multi-racial society should be to develop a sense of common nationhood, children of all races should be educated together in the same schools. Under this principle, Kenya would be condemned because it educates African, Asian and European children in separate schools.

Inter-racial education is advocated for much the same reasons as co-education; it is good for Africans and Europeans, just as it is good for boys and girls, to grow up together in order that they may learn to understand and respect each other. And my feelings towards it are like my feelings towards co-education: I entirely approve the object desired, but I approve of the means proposed only up to a point. I think co-education and inter-racial education very good at some stages, but not at all. It is the old question of weighing the good of the individual against the good of the community. Those who advocate inter-racial education on these grounds are, for the time

being, thinking of the children in the mass, as members of a community. But we must also think of them as individuals, and ask ourselves whether inter-racial education will help the individual child to develop his gifts fully.

The point is, that the development of a sense of common nationhood is only one of the objects of education. Another object which particularly concerns the multi-racial society is that the different communities have languages and cultures of their own which they may wish to preserve. You may have to weigh one consideration against another. Malaya used to have a tripartite system: Malays, Indians and Chinese had their separate schools, and were jealous of any proposal to establish a unified national system of education because each community feared for its own culture. In the last few years however, events in Malaya have caused the development of a sense of common nationhood to be regarded as the supreme need, and the educational system has been modified accordingly.

Inter-racial education certainly has a great appeal. Mauritius is a multi-racial society. Officially speaking, there was only one system of education, and all schools were open to children of any community. In point of fact, you never saw a white child in any Government or assisted primary school (they were all educated at home or in certain select private schools) and there were some non-Government secondary schools which strenuously denied that they maintained any colour bar, but which for some reason very few coloured pupils ever entered. There was one very old-established Government boys' secondary school, the Royal College, which was genuinely inter-racial; it took in boys who satisfied its entry examination without caring in the least to which community they belonged, and here you found a real

cross-section of the island's population—white, coloured, Indian, Chinese. The Royal College had a monopoly of two valuable scholarships tenable at British universities. There were other schools in the island just as good, and I proposed to increase the number of the scholarships and to throw them all open to general competition. But my proposal to deprive the Royal College of its monopoly was resisted by the leaders of the coloured and Indian communities. They said that as long as the Royal College retained its monopoly, white parents would send their sons there for the sake of the scholarship; if the scholarships were obtainable elsewhere, the white boys would leave, and the college would become a school for non-whites only. This, they said, would be a social disaster; for whatever cleavages might exist between the different communities in Mauritius, at least there was a basis of mutual understanding and respect, because so many of their leaders had been class-mates at the Royal College.

Arguments like these must be listened to with respect. I think that in a multi-racial society, the onus of proving their case is on those who oppose inter-racial education.

My own view is that as a matter of principle, all schools should be open to pupils of any community, and that a pupil should attend the school which can best give him an education suited to his age, ability and aptitude. Secondary and higher education should be inter-racial, because, with a properly designed system of primary schools, it should be possible to give pupils of all communities a sufficient knowledge of English and a sufficient background of mutual understanding by the beginning of the secondary school stage for them to profit by being educated together.

At the primary level, the case is different. If we accept the general British principle that a young child is best

taught in his mother-tongue and on the basis of his familiar culture, it seems to follow that English-speaking, Kikuyu-speaking and Gujerati-speaking children in Kenya should be taught separately. It is not merely a question of language; it is also a question of habits of life and cultural background. The children of a Kikuyu villager, an Asian shopkeeper, and a European farmer have such different backgrounds that to bring them together in one classroom at the age of five would merely produce general bewilderment. This is not a matter of class distinction. It is not a question of one being inferior to another, but of differences being too great for the teacher to cope with at that stage. In what language are the children to be taught? If in English, the European child is at once placed at a great advantage over his Asian and African classmates; and I do not suppose that anyone will suggest Kikuyu or Gujerati as the language in which inter-racial primary schooling should be carried on. I know that young children can play happily together; they will work out a childish *lingua franca* and will play each other's games and learn each other's ideas, and if left to themselves they would in time work out a composite sort of culture. But formal education in school raises new problems. It would be interesting to try the experiment of having two teachers in each class so that the children grew up bilingual, but this would be impossible on a large scale. It seems to me that if we want the children of the different communities to lay a solid foundation of their own language and culture, they must be educated in separate schools at the primary stage.

There are two qualifications to be made here. The first is, that since as a matter of general principle all schools should be open to children from any community, a child should not be debarred from entry to a school simply

because he belongs to a different community from most of its pupils. In West Africa for example, though perhaps not yet in East Africa, there are some African children whose homes are English-speaking and European in culture. Such children should be admitted to European schools if their parents desire. Similarly, it is conceivable that a European missionary in a remote area might desire his child, who already speaks the local African language fluently and has played with African children from infancy, to enter the local African school; and the child should be allowed to do so. In other words, the school which a child attends should not be settled by the colour of his skin or the curl of his hair, but by his language and background.

The second qualification is that, if secondary education is to be inter-racial, all primary schools should prepare their pupils for meeting children of the other communities by teaching them something of a second language and of the customs and traditions of their future class-mates. Such preparation will save a good deal of unnecessary misunderstanding when pupils enter the inter-racial secondary school.

On the whole, then, I am in favour of inter-racial education at the secondary and higher stages, but against it at the primary stage, though even at the primary stage I would admit children of one community, in special circumstances, into schools belonging to another. In Kenya, higher education is inter-racial, both at the Royal Technical College at Nairobi and also at Makerere College, the University College of East Africa, which is situated in Uganda but is financially supported by the Kenya Government and attended by Kenya students. Primary and secondary education are given in separate schools, though a scheme is announced under dis-

tinguished sponsorship for the establishment of a high-quality secondary school for Kenya boys of all races.

If a multi-racial society desires that its children should not merely develop a sense of their common nationhood, but should also come to understand something of each other's culture, it faces a formidable problem. Each community must be prepared to make sacrifices. Fijians and Indians in Fiji, Africans and Europeans in Kenya, Chinese and Malays in Malaya, Sinhalese and Tamils in Ceylon, each must be prepared to study the culture of his alien fellow-countryman when he has still a great deal more to learn of his own. It is asking a good deal from unregenerate human nature. The ultimate end will presumably be a new composite culture, but there will be a good deal of opposition to any such idea, and its achievement may well lie in the distant future. Welshmen and Highlanders become completely masters of the English language, and often profoundly learned in the civilization which the English language carries; but few Englishmen return the compliment by acquiring any real knowledge of the Celtic culture or of the Welsh and Gaelic languages. The schools can do but little towards developing a common national culture; that is a phase which will not come until after the sense of nationhood is well established. It is in helping to develop the common nationhood that the schools can give most help to the multi-racial society.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE EXPANDING DEMAND

I HAVE made my formal bow to Women's Education and to Technical Education; and some of my colleagues will now expect me to make a similar bow to Teacher Education, or teacher training as it is still usually called in British territories. But I am not going to show it the courtesy of a separate chapter. Important though it is, I prefer to discuss it as part of the general problem of expanding the educational system.

I am fully convinced of its importance. I spent some years in it myself and saw the difference it made. I think that even the 'born teacher' (who is not as common as we are sometimes told) will be improved by learning something of educational theory, history and psychology, as well as the tricks of the trade of classroom management. The great majority of teachers, whose innate talent is only mediocre, can be improved out of all recognition by proper training.

If this is true in Britain, its truth is still more apparent in Africa, where so many teachers come to the profession with so slender a stock of knowledge and ideas. I joined the Government Training College in Accra only a few weeks before the end of the college year. A batch of students was on teaching practice, and I took over the job of supervising their work. I was bidden to notice the work of one student, regarded as the best of his year; this would give me an idea of the standard. He was preparing a lesson on the elephant, and he brought me

his notes. He wished to make the point that the elephant was a thick-skinned animal, 'or pachyderm', he added with obvious delight in the long word. He listed the apparatus he would require: 'one elephant, one pin.' The notes explained that he would try to puncture the elephant's hide with the pin; 'this will be impossible, thus proving that the elephant is a thick-skinned animal, or pachyderm.' The demonstration certainly seemed conclusive. I asked if he had his apparatus ready. 'Yes, Sir.' 'Have you got your pin?' 'Yes, Sir, here it is.' 'And your elephant?' 'Sir, as for that I thought you would help me.' The poor lad had never seen an elephant. He was working from a text-book of nature-study, in which elephants, rabbits and spiders were all illustrated with little or no indication of the difference in size.

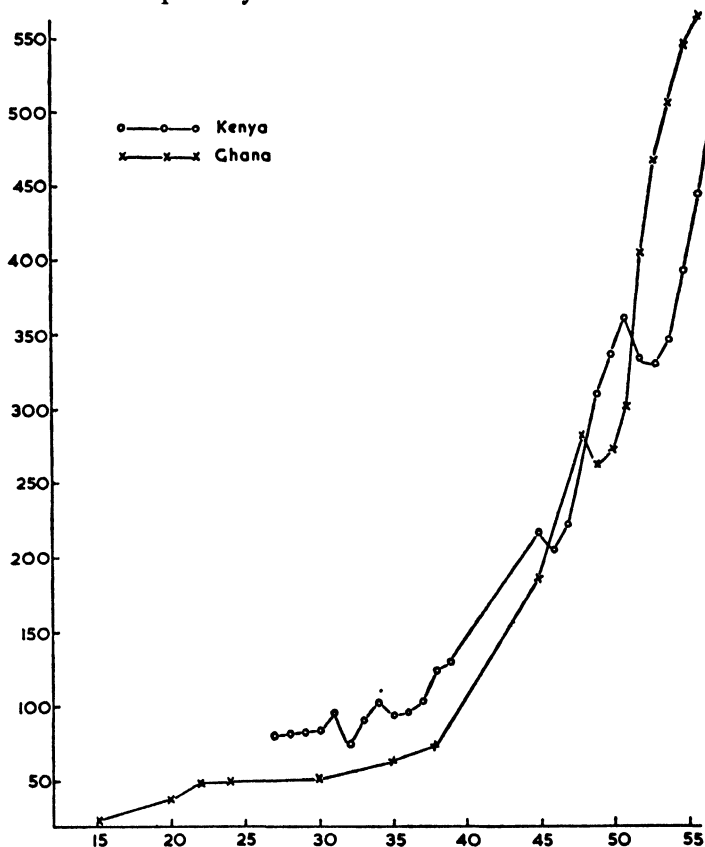
That incident happened thirty-five years ago, and no doubt the general level of knowledge and sophistication in Ghana and elsewhere is much higher now than it was then. But there are still teachers who are ignorant; there are still teachers whose teaching is nothing but chalk and talk, or even nothing but talk; teachers who delight in mouthing long words; teachers whose only question is, 'You all! Repeat! The elephant is a—?' 'PACHYDERM!' Of course teacher training is important. But its importance is most clearly seen when we are planning to expand the educational system, and it is in that connection that I shall discuss it.

The educational system is of course always being expanded. But there are two distinct stages in the process. The first is a long period in which there is very little money available for education, and the greater part of the people are not yet interested in schools. The second stage arrives suddenly. The long continued efforts of the pioneers have at last won success. The country has

made economic progress, so that there is more scope for employment; roads and railways have increased trade and movement of people up and down the country; nationalism is stirring; so that people are coming to desire Western education as a road towards political power. For such reasons as these, the demand for schools, so long feeble, suddenly becomes a clamour. The graph of attendance at school, which for fifty years has been rising slowly, suddenly rockets upward at a steep angle. At once, the old dilemma of quantity of education or quality becomes much more acute.

These generalizations may be illustrated from two territories, Kenya and the old Gold Coast. The Gold Coast appointed its first Director of Education in 1890, and established a Government training college for teachers in 1909, while other colleges were established by the churches. In 1902 there were some 15,000 children in school, and by 1920, when the Gold Coast was entering on its prosperity through cocoa, there were 35,000. The numbers rose slowly to 50,000 in 1924 and 63,000 in 1935. But then came a change. The demand for schools suddenly spurted; schools of varying quality sprang up everywhere; and by 1945 there were 185,000 children in school. In 1951, when the control of educational policy passed from the British Director of Education to an elected African Minister of Education, there were 301,000 and by 1957 there were 456,000 in primary schools, with 116,000 more in middle schools, a total of 572,000. These figures are illustrated in the graph. It is not surprising that the graph should climb slowly from 1902 to 1920, while the country was so poor. But it is surprising that it should continue to climb slowly during the years of prosperity from 1920 to 1935. During this period, the Government's expenditure on education

increased eight-fold, but the numbers of children in school barely doubled. The quality of Gold Coast education was greatly improved, but there was only a moderate increase in quantity.



NOTE ON THE GRAPH

This graph shows how school attendance in Ghana and Kenya increased but slowly until shortly before the second

world war, and then began leaping upwards. The vertical axis indicates numbers of pupils, in thousands; the horizontal axis indicates the years from 1915 to 1957.

The graph deals only with primary and intermediate or middle schools; secondary schools are excluded. It needs to be handled with caution, for educational statistics are tricky things. At bottom, they depend on the care and faithfulness of the teacher marking his register and adding up his totals, and of the managers and supervisors who ask in exasperation why the head office expects them to spend so much time on paper work instead of getting on with their proper job. In the early stages of educational development, the returns are often incomplete, and the national figures thus inaccurate. Then there may be changes in organization and in the classification of schools which may upset the tables of figures; such changes have occurred in both these countries, but their effects are not noticeable on the graph. I have plotted the actual figures we have instead of making the necessary adjustments silently.

The chief difficulty concerns the figures for unassisted schools. Pre-war figures from Ghana take no account of children in unassisted schools, but after the war they count these children, and of course since universal education began in Ghana in 1952, the distinction between assisted and unassisted schools has disappeared. Kenya reports begin in 1922, and at first they too relate only to Government and assisted schools; but from 1927 onwards they give estimates, more or less reliable, of the figures for unassisted schools, and it is these estimated totals which are given in the graph. Thus, if the pre-war figures for Ghana had been calculated on the same basis as those for Kenya, the plateau which is so well marked on the Ghana graph between 1922 and 1935 would have been at a higher level, perhaps at about 80,000 instead of 50,000.

The valley at 1949/50 in the Ghana figures is officially explained as due to incomplete returns from unassisted schools. It would really have given a truer picture if we

had omitted the points for these two years and joined 1948 direct to 1951. The same is probably true of the fluctuations on the Kenya graph for 1931, 1932 and 1934. Between 1931 and 1932 the attendance at unassisted schools is alleged to have dropped from 76.5 thousand to 46.1 thousand, which I just do not believe. The figures from 1927 to 1930 and from 1935 to 1937 show the slope of the graph; I think a truer picture of the Kenya situation would be given if we took the points for 1931, 1934 and 1938 and drew the line through them, parallel to the existing slope.

The small Kenya valley between 1945 and 1946 is due to a similar unexplained drop in the figures from unassisted schools from 108.9 to 98.7, which I would guess is due simply to incomplete returns. The big valley from 1950 to 1953 is the result of the Mau Mau disturbances.

Thus, the graph needs various adjustments in detail to make it a true picture. It needs no adjustment, however, as far as the general picture is concerned; in this it is quite reliable. The striking thing in both countries is the sudden leap in the demand for education which occurred just before the war, overwhelming the resources of the education departments.

Kenya has the same story. Until the depression of the nineteen-thirties, African education in Kenya made only slow progress as measured by figures of school attendance. Kenya was poorer than the Gold Coast, its education department was younger and smaller; but missionaries of different denominations ran schools for African children. The depression hit Kenya harder than the Gold Coast, for the Gold Coast had gold and manganese and industrial diamonds as well as cocoa, whereas Kenya's exports were all agricultural. So the Government educational staff had to be reduced, and the missionary societies found their income from contributions falling off and had to reduce their field staff also. And it was at this moment in Kenya,

as in the Gold Coast, that the demand for education suddenly began to spurt; and since the Government and the churches could not meet it, the African peoples determined to meet it out of their own resources. Schools sprang up, staffed by teachers who had had no professional training and often very little general education. The Government could not provide enough education officers to give them the help and guidance they needed. The war came. African soldiers from Kenya served overseas, became still more determined that their children should be educated, and spent their pay on school buildings and teachers' salaries. After the war the Kenya Government was faced with a most difficult educational situation: vast numbers of children in school, a steady pressure for more and more schools, the great majority of the primary school teachers quite untrained, and the resources of staff, both for training student-teachers and for supervising the work of the schools, pitifully inadequate.

There is the problem. We decide that our resources are sufficient to enable us to give a good education to one child in five, and for thirty years we labour to attract children to school. Slowly the attendance rises, until one child in seven is in school; we are just beginning to congratulate ourselves on having secured a reasonable attendance, and beginning to look forward to the time when these children will have grown up and will form a nucleus of educated citizens. And then the demand suddenly spurts. Our schools are speedily filled; and the other four children out of the five, for whom we have made no provision, find themselves education of a sort wherever they can. We have been watching the reactor so carefully, fingering the control rods so delicately; and suddenly it overheats and explodes.

Can we foresee this? Is there any preliminary warning symptom? What can we do to keep the reaction under control? To abandon the metaphor, can we do anything to ensure that this sudden expansion does not bring about a catastrophic fall in quality? Are we right in trying to insist on quality at the expense of numbers, when the people themselves have so clearly become determined to have education for all, even at the expense of quality?

Let me say by way of prologue that what has happened in the Gold Coast, and Kenya, and elsewhere, will happen everywhere sooner or later. It will happen in countries where there has so far been no sign of it; and it will happen among peoples who at present remain isolated in their conservatism among a progressive majority. In countries like Kenya, Nigeria and Tanganyika—and I daresay also in India, Burma and Indonesia—there are some peoples who are eager for more schools and for general progress along Western lines, such as roads and social services and industrial development; but there are others who at present ask only to be left alone to live in their traditional way. Sooner or later, the pressure will become too strong for these traditionalists to resist. As their country is opened up, it will be occupied by outsiders, who will come in to hold the salaried posts because there are no local people who are qualified. The cry is sure to be raised, 'Why should these strangers run our country for us? Let us go to school so that we can take these good jobs for ourselves.'

We can take it as certain that this sudden expansion of the demand for education will occur, and it thus becomes the duty of every Government to prepare for it. But it comes with very little warning. In the Gold Coast for example the figures of school attendance, which were 63,000 in 1935, rose to 80,000 on the eve of the

war, and to 185,000 by the end of the war. Nevertheless, there are some signs to warn a sharp-eyed administrator that the moment is drawing near. One sign is a large increase in the number of unassisted schools. Another is heavy pressure on the secondary school accommodation. When there are ten or twenty applicants for each secondary school place, and those who cannot gain admission to a secondary school seek for entry at teacher training colleges, we know that the primary school system is cracking its skin like a growing snake. A third sign is that children want to come to school younger, so as to get an earlier start on the educational road, and to stay at school longer in the hope of obtaining secondary education. This brings about what we have come to call in England the 'bulge', a sharp increase in the school population, beginning in the lowest classes and gradually moving up the school. When education is not yet intensely sought after, it is common to find the upper classes of the primary school much more thinly populated than the lower. In a six-year primary course, the figures of attendance in the different classes from the bottom upwards may be in the ratio of 20, 12, 6, 4, 2, 1. This is the so-called problem of wastage, which we must now discuss. If the educational administrator finds these ratios change to 30, 29, 15, 12, 10, 9, either as a result of his own efforts or by a natural increase in the demand for education, he should stand warned. Things are beginning to move.

In this context, the term 'wastage' has a double significance. As a snowfield wastes away and dwindles under the sun, so the crowd of children entering the bottom class of the school wastes away, and only a minority finishes the school course. And since many of the children leave school too early to receive any permanent benefit,

the money which is spent in housing and teaching them is wasted.

The problem occurs in all countries, whether colonies or independent states, which cannot afford to enforce compulsory school attendance. Here are a few figures¹ to illustrate it from different parts of the world, from three colonies and one independent state.

<i>Year of school life</i>	<i>Sarawak</i>	<i>Kenya African schools</i>	<i>British Honduras</i>	<i>Argentina</i>
1	21.7	134.1	4.5	993.7
2	12.4	95.3	2.2	375.8
3	9.8	76.1	2.0	299.0
4	7.9	76.1	1.6	235.6
5	5.9	19.6	1.5	178.4
6	4.2	17.5	1.4	145.5

If all children were attending school, we should expect the figures to show only a small steady decrease from year to year caused by death. But all these four tables of figures show two common features: a big drop after the first year, and a more or less steady decline afterwards so that the enrolment in the sixth year is only a small proportion of the first year enrolment—Sarawak 0.19, Kenya 0.13, British Honduras 0.31, Argentina 0.15.²

¹ I have given the figures in thousands, correct to one decimal place. The Argentine figures come from Unesco's *Handbook of Educational Organization and Statistics*, and date from 1950; the figures from the three British territories come from the annual reports of their education departments for the year 1956.

² A minor point of interest is that Kenya has succeeded in holding its enrolment reasonably steady for the first four years, and there is a drop from 76.1 in the fourth year to 19.6 in the fifth. This is because Kenya is making great efforts to provide at least four years of education for all its African children, but at this stage of its development plan can provide more than four years only for a minority.

We are tempted to suppose that, for example, of the 21,700 children entering the bottom class of the schools in Sarawak, 9,300 stay only one year, and 2,600 more leave after the second year. But the figures need not mean this. There are two other main causes which may bring about a drop in the figures from one year to the next. The first cause is this: that if school attendance is becoming more popular, parents will send their children in increasing numbers as soon as they reach school age, so that the 'bulge' will be first felt in the lowest class. For example, on the evidence of these figures we have no right to assume that the 12,400 children in the second year in Sarawak are the survivors of 21,700 children who entered school a year earlier; the intake in that year may have been smaller. When universal free primary education was introduced in Ghana and the Western Region of Nigeria, there was a big jump in the enrolment in the lowest class, and the second class would look horribly thin and wasted in comparison.

Another (and we must admit, a commoner) cause of inflation in the lower classes is that children are not promoted to a higher class unless they have reached a satisfactory standard in their present class. Because of this, every class contains some children who are spending their first year in it, and others who have spent a year already, or even more than one. When I went to the Gold Coast, it was common to find lads of fifteen in the 'infant' classes. Things are not as bad as that now. But of the 21,708 children in the lowest class in Sarawak during 1956, only 9,256 were under eight years old, and 356 were over thirteen. We may be sure that these older children, the twelve thousand odd of nine years old and upwards, were not all in the lowest class because their parents had taken a belated resolve to send them to school

for the first time. Most of them repeat the class year after year, while brighter or more fortunate children are promoted over their heads. The clear water flows over the dam; the silt accumulates at the bottom. Pity the children, and pity the teacher. What frustration and waste of effort!

Everybody is worried over this problem of wastage. Even if we allow for the effects of children who repeat classes, and of an increase in the entry at the bottom of the school, it is plain that many children *are* leaving school long before they finish the primary school course, some of them even before they have properly learned to read and write. Somehow or other we must ensure that children stay at school long enough to get some permanent benefit from their schooling, and that crowded lower classes and starved upper classes are replaced by classes of reasonable size throughout the school. The Cambridge conference of 1952 suggested no fewer than fourteen ways of attacking the problem. The most drastic, and probably in the long run the most effective, is that children who have attended school regularly should not repeat a class, but should be automatically promoted at the end of the year. This implies that the class should be no longer regarded as an achievement-group but as an age-group. If the school is efficient, the programme for each year of school life should be regarded as a programme which children of a certain age should normally be able to accomplish. Clearly, automatic promotion may solve the problem of wastage, but only by creating a new problem, that of the child who moves up the school without ever mastering the rudiments. But if the school is efficient, such children will be in a minority, and this is a price worth paying.

Apart from automatic promotion, the remedies sug-

gested at Cambridge all amount to making the schools more attractive and more efficient: better teaching (especially in the lower classes), better equipment and books, an upper limit to the size of classes, admission of pupils only at the beginning of the school year, and so forth. The problem of wastage, like so many others, involves a vicious circle. If a third of your children are in the bottom class, and you know that a good many of them will only stay one or two years, it is hard to put your best teachers to look after them; it is a great temptation to put most of your best teachers to teach those who are likely to stay the course. On the other hand, if you yield to the temptation and put most of your inferior teachers in the bottom class, you have little hope of increasing the proportion of children who stay the course. Anyway, from every point of view it is essential that the problem be solved. As long as this waste and inefficiency lasts, the educationist has a weak case for demanding further funds for expansion. If he can persuade four-fifths of the children of school age to stay at school for six or eight years, he will have a bigger field from which to select pupils for secondary schools, he will have a happier teaching profession, and he is likely to be turning out from the primary schools children who can at any rate read and write and do simple sums and are not likely to relapse into illiteracy. He will have solved one problem, and will at once find himself faced with another: how is he to deal with this increased school population?

At Pharaoh's court, Joseph, the expatriate administrator, made his reputation by guessing shrewdly that the easy life could not last for ever, and by making effective preparations for hard times. Joseph's job was to prevent, or at least lessen, starvation; the job of the

educational administrator is to prevent, or at least lessen, fall in the quality of the education he provides. If the crisis finds him with buildings and staff for one child in five and no reserves, the quality of his education will fall abruptly. What must he do?

Well, of course, he must do as Joseph did: he must lay in reserves. Joseph laid in reserves of corn, the educationist must lay in reserves of trained teachers. He should argue somewhat on these lines. At present we have roughly one child in five attending school, in classes of reasonable size, and roughly one teacher in three has been trained. At present, our teacher training colleges are turning out enough teachers every year to increase the proportion of trained teachers by five per cent: that is to say, if the numbers of children in school remained steady, in twenty years time two-thirds of the teachers would be trained, and in forty years time all would be. But I suspect that in forty years time we shall have all the children in school, not merely one-fifth of them, so that we shall need five times as many teachers, or fifteen times as many trained teachers, as we have now. If we denote the present figure of trained teachers by x , we are now training $x/20$ teachers a year, plus the number required to replace casualties. What we ought to do is to step up our output so that we train $15x/40$ teachers a year, plus the number required to replace casualties. In other words, we ought to be training about ten times as many teachers as we are now doing: say seven-and-a-half times as many to work towards our goal of having every teacher trained, and say two-and-a-half times as many to replace the increased casualties.

Teachers of course are not everything; our friend will have to think also about buildings and equipment. But

teachers are his most important need; in most countries,¹ if the teachers are there, it is possible to scrape up some sort of buildings for them somehow. The villagers will build some, and with conversions and temporaries and pre-fabs and makeshifts of one sort and another the children will eventually get housed.

But the educationist will certainly be told that a ten-fold increase in the teacher training accommodation is not practical politics. The Treasury mind does not work at all along those lines. He will be told that on his own showing, he already has enough teacher training facilities to provide a steady increase in the proportion of trained teachers. His expectations of a large increase in the demand for schools are only guess-work; who can tell when the increase will come? And who can tell what the financial situation will be when it does? Educational expansion is one of the most awkward types of development for the financial pundits to contemplate, for so high a proportion of the cost goes in teachers' salaries. If you train the teachers, you are saddled with the salary bill; and suppose hard times come? 'No, no, old boy; sorry, but you must be reasonable. If you were to suggest a modest increase, say an extra hundred trained teachers a year, we might see what we could do for you; but a tenfold increase—you must see for yourself that it just can't be thought of.'

That is what his colleagues in the Government will tell him. Probably he will feel that half a loaf is better than no bread; he will put in for two new training colleges

¹ There are some countries where the problem of school buildings is unusually difficult. Basutoland, for example, finds it impossible to roof schools with home-produced materials, for it has to import both timber for joists and grass for thatch. But that is an exceptional case.

with a total output of 120 trained teachers a year, and he will be given half of what he asks for.

That is the road to disaster. Sooner or later that country is going to find itself with all its children in school, and with only a small proportion of its teachers trained. The quality of its education will drop, and there will be a popular outcry that the schools are not doing their job.

I know the financial difficulties. I have already discussed the problem of poverty. It is always difficult to make long-term plans when your economy is dangerously dependent on one or two raw materials. We are told, for example, that a fall of £10 a ton in the price of copper cuts the Government revenue in Northern Rhodesia by £½ million; and in recent years the price of copper has fluctuated between £402 and £165 a ton. Governments cannot do all that they would wish. But this is a question of priorities. For various reasons, I think that Governments should give a very much higher priority than most of them do to the increase of teacher training, so that the educationist may have reserves of trained teachers when the demand comes. My main reasons are these: (a) The people themselves give education priority over almost everything else; they are willing to tax themselves for education before they will tax themselves for health services. (b) This sudden expansion of the demand for schools, and consequently of the need for trained teachers, is inevitable. (c) As every administrator knows, the social consequences of half-baked education are unpleasant, if not dangerous. If you have a reasonable proportion of your teachers trained when all the children are in school, you can hope that the education they receive will be moderately satisfactory; if, before the day arrives, you have a very high proportion of your teachers trained, the

schools will turn out a good nucleus of well-educated people, every one of whom will be needed in the time of expansion. Trained teachers are never wasted. They are one of the most productive forms of investment.

This is a truth which many Governments do not realize. There is a tendency to divide Government activities into two categories, Development and Welfare. Development includes geological surveys, communications, irrigation and hydro-electric schemes, which can clearly be seen to improve the productivity of the country and so its revenue. Welfare includes health and education and other schemes which spend the revenue on making people's lives more pleasant. I think that the accumulation of a big reserve of trained teachers should be thought of as a piece of development, and should be financed, if necessary, by loans or grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare moneys or from United Nations Technical Assistance or elsewhere, as if it were a scheme for irrigating the Sahara.

I have perhaps been writing somewhat lightly of training teachers, as if the only problem were to find the money. There are of course plenty of professional problems as well. Training teachers in a poor country is a different matter from training them in a country like Britain. In Britain, all the children are in school, and roughly a quarter of those in secondary schools attend grammar schools and obtain a General Certificate of Education. There are of course good schools and bad schools, but the differences between good and bad are not as wide as they are in a poor country; the local authority sees to it that all the schools it controls maintain minimum standards of equipment and staffing and general efficiency. There is a plentiful supply of well-qualified candidates for entry to a training college; the

colleges are linked in Institutes of Education; and there are well-established and highly responsible professional bodies like the National Union of Teachers, the Joint Four, and the various specialist subject associations.¹ I need not enlarge on other advantages such as the accessibility of books, visual aids, and the arts.

By way of contrast, let us go to a poor country in the tropics, and look over the shoulder of the Director of Education as he sits at his desk with a big map spread out before him. He has just heard from the financial secretary to the Government that his proposal for an additional training college of 120 students has been approved. Listen to him: 'The question is, where am I to put it? It ought to be in the North really; all my other three colleges are in the South, and all but two of the mission colleges. The two mission colleges in the North are small affairs, only 60 students between them, and one of the two is not much use anyway. A pity that last man they had in charge had to go home; the new man is not nearly as good. However . . . Yes, it certainly ought to be in the North; there are signs of increasing activity there. I would like it to be out in the country, with plenty of land for a college farm. There is a good cluster of villages in this area; the land there must be fairly good. But only one small school; ah yes, I know that school, one of the worst in the province. A rotten tumbledown building, and the head teacher an old stick-in-the-mud. It would be no use sending students from the college to practise teaching there. We shall have a demonstration school of course (I'm glad I got them to agree to that), but I don't want to have to rely entirely on the college

¹ This is all relative, I know; Britain has her problems and her shortages. But they are as nothing compared with the problems and the shortages in low-income countries, colonies and others.

demonstration school. And where will the children come from to attend the demonstration school? The people in that area are good farmers, but so far not interested much in schools. It looks as if it will have to be close to the town. . . .'

We need not follow him further as he weighs up advantages and disadvantages. Good farming land and a rural environment, plenty of eager pupils, several good primary schools near by, good water (and electricity too, if possible), a situation not so remote that the staff will be too lonely and it will be difficult to get occasional outside lecturers, but not so bustling that the college life will be overwhelmed with the distractions of the town. It is unlikely that he can find all these, and he will have to compromise. I have seen colleges in a delightful rural situation, but so remote that the expatriate staff got terribly on each other's nerves. I have seen the staff in charge of the practical teaching at one college, which had no demonstration school, working out their plans for supervising the work of their students, who were scattered over a radius of a hundred miles. I can leave the reader to imagine the practical difficulties and the waste of time involved in circumstances like these.

Then there is the question of the educational background of the students, and the length of course that will be needed. When I went to the Gold Coast, the course of training was just being lengthened. Students entered the college with eight years of primary schooling, and received a two-year course of training; this was lengthened to three years, and then to four. Generally speaking, the training which most Governments now give to their top-grade teachers is either two years following School Certificate or G.C.E., or four years following an eight-year primary course.

There is usually a fair supply of candidates for training as teachers, though by no means all of them regard teaching as their life work. Many of them have failed to get admitted to a secondary school, and look on the training college as better than nothing. In order to get some post-primary education, they are prepared to contemplate the prospect of signing a bond to teach for five years. Even if they have to serve the full five years, it is not so very long; and if they get the offer of a good job in business, they may be able to afford to buy themselves out of the last year or two. Still, subject to these reservations, the supply of willing candidates is usually sufficient.

The standard is another matter. Many of them come with a general education that is quite inadequate, and with ideas about the teacher's function, and his relations with his pupils, which are, to say the least of it, old-fashioned. A student of mine was giving a lesson on the Eskimos. He was a bright lad, with the makings of a good teacher, and the unsuitable subject was not his choice or mine, but that of the head teacher. Anyway, he gave quite a good lesson, full of igloos and polar bears, and it was not his fault that neither he nor the children had ever experienced a temperature lower than 75 degrees and so could not begin to imagine the Arctic cold. The children were interested; and feeling happy he stopped a minute or two before the bell and invited questions. Up shot a hand: 'Please, sah, what do they eat?' He replied without the slightest hesitation, 'Their staple diet is bananas!' Everyone was satisfied with the answer except myself; and when we got out of the room I asked him what on earth made him suggest bananas. He explained quite simply that he had not the faintest idea what Eskimos might eat; but he knew that as a teacher

he must appear to know the answer, so he said the first thing that came into his head, confident that nobody would know any better. I am afraid that the lecture I gave him on the pedagogic value of admitting ignorance and joining his pupils in investigating the facts had very little effect. That was the way he had been brought up, and it had gone too deep for me to alter it. Modern ideas of a child-centred education require not merely a new attitude on the teacher's part, but more skill in class management, and more books and equipment, than are often available. If my young friend had admitted that he did not know what Eskimos ate, there was no way in which he and the children could have found out the answer together. The school had no library, the children had no books in their homes and nobody who was likely to be able to tell them. The teacher could indeed have looked up the facts in the college library, several miles away, and could have told the children next day. But it would still have been a teacher-centred education. Whether the Eskimos eat bananas or fish is not so very important, since the children would soon forget it anyway. What is important is that the children should use their wits and learn to find out facts for themselves; and circumstances made this impossible.

This suggests very strongly that the conventional methods of training teachers, which consist of taking them from school at some suitable stage, giving them a course of training and returning them to the schools as teachers instead of pupils, are inadequate for the circumstances of a low-income country in which the schools themselves are far from what they should be.

The man who first realized this and took the necessary steps to modify the system is Mr V. L. Griffiths of the Sudan, to whom we owe much of our current thinking on

these matters. Mr Griffiths was principal of a teachers' training college on the outskirts of a small country town, and as soon as he settled down to his new job he came up against all the familiar difficulties. Many of the schools were ill-housed and ill-equipped. The teachers knew no way of teaching but lecturing and chorus repetition. Many of the children had no text-books, and most of the text-books in use were unsuitable to the needs of the Sudan. His students arrived with the scanty stock of information and ideas which one would expect considering the schools they came from. Where was he to begin?

Mr Griffiths decided that it would do little good to putty up the cracks in the students' general education, give them some sound ideas on how to teach, and send them back to schools where their new-fangled ideas would be incomprehensible and unwelcome to their senior colleagues. The essential features of his scheme were (a) it was as important to bring head teachers and senior teachers back to the college as it was to get young students straight from the schools; the older men learnt something of the newer ideas and gave the students the benefit of their practical experience. (b) Students were sent for periods of teaching practice only to schools where the head and some of the staff knew the college and were sympathetic to its ideas. (c) There was to be no division between training college staff and inspectors. They must work together as a team; inspectors must work in the college, and the college staff must follow up their students in the schools. Teacher training is the job of a team, consisting of inspectors, college staff, and senior teachers. (d) The college must build up a series of text-books suitable for local needs; they must be tested in the schools and amended in the light of experience until they were right.

A college of this type, which passes the whole educational system of the country repeatedly through and through itself and makes its influence felt in every aspect of educational thought, is far more effective than a college which confines itself to feeding trained teachers into the system and supplying staff to co-operate with inspectors and others in running occasional vacation courses.

Most colonies have plenty of training colleges, but most of them are too small. There are reasons for this. The one which everyone first thinks of is denominational rivalry between different Christian churches and societies. That is certainly one reason, but not as important as is sometimes thought; for there is an increasing number of colleges run by two or more societies jointly, and in many territories there is a certain amount of zoning, whereby one mission keeps to its own region and does not compete with others.

Another reason is tribal feeling and the language difficulty. It is thought better to have a college in which all the students speak the same language and can teach in the surrounding schools, in which the pupils are of the same language-group. A third reason is that it is thought better to give one or two highly-qualified expatriate teachers a small group of students than to give them more students than they can properly cope with, or to expand the staff by adding people of lower qualifications. In other words, quality is thought more important than quantity. A fourth reason is that a small college can live a simpler life, in closer touch with the life of the people around it; it need not separate the students in thought or sentiment from the people of the country. A fifth is that the students will not have far to travel from their homes to the college, or from the college to

the schools in which they teach.

Now these are valid arguments; but even in an age of leisurely development there are arguments on the other side, and in a period of uncontrollable expansion, when quantity is regarded as essential, arguments which are based on a preference for high quality are clearly useless. The trouble with the small college is that it cannot be versatile. Both in curriculum and in out-of-class activities, the bigger college can do things which the small college cannot; thus it can cater for more tastes and aptitudes, and provide a better training. The Cambridge conference thought that no training college should have fewer than 120 students, with a staffing ratio of one in twelve. If the college engaged, as it should, in giving training to teachers already in the service as well as in training young entrants to the profession, it should have additional staff for this. The day of the small college is past. It is not merely that a good big 'un is better than a good little 'un. In teacher training the good little 'un, however good, is not good enough.

So expansion and amalgamation and closer association of colleges should go ahead, and in some territories they are going ahead. But funds are limited, and it will not be possible to make all the colleges better as well as bigger. We do not escape from our dilemma of quantity or quality. This brings me to an important principle on which my old chief, Alec Fraser, the first principal of Achimota, fought and won several battles. He used to say that fifty teachers will have more effect if concentrated in one college than if scattered through ten colleges, and he always refused to give staff away to other schools who could not recruit staff of their own. I do not deduce from this that one enormous college is better than a dozen colleges of normal size. But I do deduce that if you cannot

give all your colleges all the staff and equipment they want, you should make a point of having at least one college which has everything. This college will be able to do better work than the others; it will have time for research—and how much research is needed into the problems to which at present we are forced to guess the answers!—and it will set a standard for the other colleges. It is to be hoped that its staff will have the sense and modesty to realize that the position of leadership which they hold is the result of the extra advantages they have been given, not of their own superior merits.

This principle applies all round, to schools as well as to training colleges. In a time of expansion, it is important to have here and there an institution which can set the standard for the rest. Educational advance has been compared to the progress of an earthworm, which begins by pushing forward its head and groping until the head has found an anchorage, and then bit by bit draws up the rest of its body. We must allow the earthworm to have its head. No doubt the cry will be raised that it is unfair to allow one school or college to have better resources than others. Of course it is unfair: just as unfair as it is to plant a school in village A before we can plant one in village B. But we have more important things to think of than unfairness to this village or that school. We are planning for the educational advance of a whole people, and we have to create the conditions which will make that advance possible.

These are the three essential steps in preparing for a period of rapid expansion: deal firmly with the problem of wastage, lay in reserves of trained teachers, and see to it that here and there you have institutions which are able to maintain a high standard of quality.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION

WRITING about education resembles gardening. Wherever you decide to leave off, there is always something just beyond, tantalizingly conspicuous: one more weed to pull out, one more trailing branch to tie. I am very conscious that I have not discussed some of the problems that give my colleagues most trouble, such as how to encourage the development of local education authorities, how to spend enough time in the schools without getting their office clogged with routine paper-work, how to teach English as a foreign language, or how to devise suitable syllabuses. The list could be easily lengthened, but I should be tempted to add more chapters to the book.

Let me conclude by trying to summarize some of the fascination, and some of the frustration, of education in the colonies.

The great joy of it is that you are working with people of a different culture from your own, who are eager to learn all you have to teach them, and are ready to admit you to as much of their own language, proverbs, history, music and so forth as you desire. You have the feeling that all you do is worth doing, and is appreciated. And there are of course the joyful moments that come to every teacher when he finds that something he has taught has had an effect; moments which probably come more often in colonial education than in Britain. We used to hold an annual reunion of old students at Achimota, and I always

used to get together those who had been in the choir and orchestra. We used to have a concert, partly 'live' and partly gramophone; and (bearing in mind that they had no opportunity of hearing good music, since this was before the days of radio in Africa) I used to play them one long work on the gramophone. One year I played them Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, which was new to them all. Next year I deliberately played it to them again; as I told them, it would do them no harm to hear the symphony twice in their lives at a twelve-month interval. At the loud entry of the horns in bar 59 of the first movement, I saw one lad lean forward and tap the shoulder of a friend in front of him. His friend turned round with an inquiring look; and he held him in suspense with a lifted forefinger until the violin entry four bars later. Then he released him with a grin of delight. He had remembered that moment from his first hearing of the symphony a year before, and wanted his friend to share it with him.

On the other hand of course, because of the poverty of these countries, the educational harvest is plenteous but the labourers are few. It is so hard to convey our full message. Of all the thousands of candidates in British colonies who study a Shakespeare play every year for the School Certificate examination, none have ever seen Shakespeare professionally acted on the stage, and very few have ever seen even an amateur production. No doubt the schools set their pupils to act Shakespeare; but their natural talent for acting, great as it is, would be greatly helped if they could watch professional actors bringing the archaism and the poetry of the language to life on the stage. I remember one Sunday morning in Achimota when I was rehearsing the orchestra in a Mozart minuet. We had been sawing manfully away at it for

some weeks, and today I decided to speed it up. Afterwards, two of my first violins came to me as pleased as a dog with two tails. 'Sir,' they said, 'do violinists in England ever have to play faster than we did just now?'

No doubt things are better now. Here and there you will find a qualified teacher of music. There is school broadcasting. There are BBC transcriptions to aid the resources of local broadcasting organizations. All the same, the gramophone and the radio only carry their full meaning when the audience has seen the real thing—the live lecturer, the stage play, the orchestra. As long as the radio and the gramophone are regarded as a sort of magic box, they will not make their full impact. I was once standing in the wings at Accra during a charity concert. An amateur pianist was on the stage, giving a respectable performance of some light music. With me in the wings was a prominent African business man. When the pianist began, my friend's eyes popped out of his head; he clutched me by the arm and whispered, 'Mr Ward! He isn't really playing that thing, is he? You must have a gramophone hidden somewhere, I suppose?' No doubt the capital city of Ghana will be utterly sophisticated nowadays; but Africa is big enough to contain some odd corners which have never heard the Fifth Symphony.

And if this is so in matters of art, it is just as much so in matters of standards of conduct. I have explained in Chapter Two that I do not wish to replace local standards indiscriminately by British standards. But there are times and places in which some change in existing standards seems desirable. In 1958 I heard a graduate teacher explain that he wanted to get out of his school, and in fact out of the service, because no promotion was possible without bribery. He stated it as if it were the most natural thing

in the world; in the tone in which someone might say: 'I am going to the Riviera in December because I can't stand the English winter.' How are we¹ to teach integrity in administration when we are so few? It is comparatively simple to carry out administrative reforms and to introduce new regulations; it is much harder to impart the spirit which alone can give them life.

There are other difficulties which I have already discussed, such as the difficulty the educationist sometimes has in dealing with his financial and administrative colleagues. But I do not wish to end by emphasizing difficulties. Difficulties are made to be overcome, and if you do not enjoy having a full load of water on the wheel, the colonies are not the place for you. What matters most in education is people; and the courage and kindness of ordinary people is the best cure when you are feeling depressed by red-tape. I once visited a Government school in Mauritius and found 97 children in the bottom class in the charge of one teacher. They were in a long verandah, sitting in two rows of nearly fifty each. The teacher had a blackboard at each end of the class, and spent her time walking up and down the long frontage. I said to her, 'You have an impossible task here, Madame.' She answered with a smile, 'Not at all, M. le Directeur. Today it is easy, for nearly one-third are away with malaria. When I have all the 140 children, then it is true, we are a little crowded and it becomes somewhat difficult.' Her smile was gentle and natural, without a trace of bitterness. Anything one can do to help people like that is worth doing.

¹ To whom does this *we* refer? Please bear in mind my warning on pp. 24, 25.

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