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A hundred years educational work in the former Calabar Province (1846-1946)

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opponi p. 126

This is a clumsy explanation

But see local schools

omit this.

* Add my brief summary across
with reference and
embroidery typescript as per the

Appendix after p. 238

Although from the table on p. 221 it appears not correct to say that Calabar Province was leading in the provision of primary education, yet taking into consideration the proportion of children at school compared to the total child population, the number of secondary schools, personalities from the provinces, ports like Calabar, Opobo and Eket, and consequently coming in contact with Europeans and getting cultured, even if a veneer of European culture, other social changes including the status of women, and the publication in the Government White Paper - "Policy for Education" 1954 - that by 1953 fifty percent of children of school age were at school, ^{in Cal. Prov.} while other provinces had lower percentages, I think it fair to make this statement.

<u>Years</u>	<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total.</u>
1931	Calabar	8,282	2,860	11,142
	Owerri	8,084	1,107	9,191
	Onitsha	7,028	1,280	8,308

1936	Owerri	10,231	2,309	12,540
	Calabar	8,445	3,434	11,875
	Onitsha	7,305	1,934	9,239

These figures do not give a complete picture. It must be remembered that the total population of Onitsha was greater than Calabar; that of Owerri, immeasurably greater. Later figures published in the 1950s clearly show that Calabar had a larger proportion of children at school. Therefore it seems fair to claim that Calabar Province was leading all other

provinces in Southern Nigeria in the provision of primary education and Eastern Region, for that matter, was leading all other regions because all the provinces above belong to the Eastern Region. 18a. and appendix pp. . . . affix p. 238.

A visitor to Calabar today, like Mrs. Elspeth Huxley,¹⁹ may be fascinated because, of all the regions, it is the most modern and the most ancient, the most altered and the most unchanged, but he will never find the type of barbarism that shocked Macgregor Laird in 1833, as we have already seen. It is a town that no less a person than Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II can visit and actually visited in 1956. We may here note too that it was in Calabar Province, the land of Esere bean administrators, that local government was first introduced into Nigeria.²⁰ All this could not have happened but for the education given in those days.

Answers to the Questions asked.

1. The number of assisted schools in the table on page 63 should be 55 and not 51. I wrote "with an average attendance of over 12,000" in my script but ^{this} was by mistake taken and typed as "with an average attendance of 11,000".
2. p.105. The "attendance" figures for table II are not available. I thought a comparison could be made bearing only "on roll" figures in mind.
3. p.124. This is obviously a mistake. The attendance figures are not available; I wrote the figures given by mistake.
4. p.220,221. There are no figures available for giving any idea of the proportion of children at school compared with the total child population for the period covered by the present work. But from figures published in 1954 in "Policy for Education; Laid on the Table of the Eastern House of Assembly as Sessional Paper No.2 of 1954" which gives Calabar Province as the only province in 1953 with fifty percent of children of Primary school age in school, 28 percent of which were girls, it can be inferred that of the five provinces of Eastern Nigeria in 1946, or earlier, Calabar Province had the highest proportion of children of school age at school. From the 1933 Census figures all have come to accept that Calabar Province was a small province compared to Owerri or Onitsha. This has been confirmed by the 1953 Census, the figures of which, quoted from the "Nigeria Year Book 1958", is given ^{on} below *the next page*:

Eastern Nigeria (p. 179).

Population 7,218,000

(a) Province	Total Population
Calabar	1,541,000
Ogoja	1,082,000
Onitsha	1,769,000
Owerri	2,078,000
Rivers	748,000
(b)	Population of age group 7 - 14
Calabar	271,000
Ogoja	187,000
Onitsha	311,000
Owerri	402,000
Rivers	133,000

N.B. Most of the children of the primary school age come under this group.

Assuming that from 1946 the population of Calabar Province has not been decreasing, while those of Onitsha and Owerri provinces increase steadily, I think that even though by 1936 the number of children at school in Owerri Province started to be more than that of children in Calabar Province, in view of the facts stated above the overall influence of education was greater in Calabar Province than in Owerri Province.

Even in the field of secondary education Calabar by 1946 had secondary schools scattered over the province, as it has been stated in the dissertation, whereas Owerri had only three - two Government Secondary Schools and one Voluntary Agency. There were many at Onitsha town, but most of the outlying districts had none. Even those at

Onitsha were mostly unapproved ones. The attempt by the first Minister of Education in the East to approve these badly managed schools for Government grants brought the Minister and his Permanent Secretary into loggerhead. These facts and the general opinion held not only by the people of Calabar Province but by others outside the province, Nigerians and aliens, have convinced me that at least up to the end of the period under consideration Calabar Province was the most advanced and progressive educationally in Eastern Nigeria.

Now to the other questions. In Calabar Province, as in the rest of Eastern Nigeria, the age at which children went to school was at first very high. Later on, i.e. from about 1930, the age at which a child could begin schooling came to be anything between five and eight. The popular class after which most children stopped to attend school was standard four. Before 1930 the time that was spent in school before leaving in standard four was seven years, if a boy did not repeat any class. After 1930 it was ~~six~~ six years. Many of those who continued left after standard six, spending nine or eight years in the pre- and post-1930 years respectively. Only a few of those who had money and chance went to secondary schools. In that case they would spend four or six years more, depending on whether they left in Class IV or Class VI, in the post-1930 era. Over ninety percent of the girls left in standard two before 1930, in standard four after 1930. *Speaking in general terms* Over nine percent read up to standard six and less than one-quarter percent went to the secondary schools.

There were and still are marked differences between boys and girls on the one hand, and between boys or girls brought up in towns and boys or girls brought up in country districts. The difference lies in the

(1) The attitude of the parents of a town boy and a country boy is of a big contrast. The town boy is not very interested in education; she wants to marry as soon as possible and the parents simply discourage any suggestion to educate them. So they come to value education as something meant only for their brothers. The town boy has a ~~narrow~~ ^{broad} outlook on various aspects of life but the country boy has a narrow outlook as he can only "book knowledge".

(ii) Consequently the country boy is narrow in outlook and conservative.

(iii) Because he does not come into contact with civilising influences ^{does} as the town boy, his achievement educationally is not as outstanding as that of the town boy.

(iv) The country boy is also shy and retiring. He feels he will make mistakes at every step and feels inferior to a town boy of the same class as he. // Again neither Owerri nor Onitsha could then boast of more good towns, where people were civilized and cultured, than Calabar, therefore I am convinced beyond any shadow of doubt that at least up to 1946 Calabar Province was leading all other provinces in Eastern Nigeria in the provision of education.

new para.

**A Hundred Years Educational Work In The Former
Colabar Province (1846 - 1946)**

**Submitted By J. B. Adiakpan
For The Degree Of Master of Arts.**

June 1962.

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Method of Investigation.

It was not an easy task to find out the facts which are written in this dissertation about educational progress in the former Calabar Province from the very beginning (1846) to 1946. This is so because proper records were not kept by those who were engaged in the work of providing education in the province. Where records were available, many were very suspicious about letting people see these records. Perhaps those concerned had certain things they wanted to hide, otherwise I do not see why some still refused to cooperate after seeing Professor Eagleshan's statement on my work. In this respect it might be said that there are displeasing rumours about certain missions where Africans have recently been given positions of responsibility. It is said that new records are being issued for the African-run departments and that the old ones used by missionaries are locked away. I even met with refusals from many African managers of all denominations who were suspicious of such an innovation as educational research.

Thus the mission bodies, especially the Protestant missions, did not cooperate as one thought they would. Therefore I had to undertake extensive tours to meet certain individuals to whom I was directed and who could give me some information from what they actually saw.

These included Chief J. I. Amah, M.P.E., J.P., Major Essien of the Salvation Army, Mr. Ubo of the R. C. M., to mention a few. These people helped me very much and were happy to assist in this way. Many even felt it was a great honour done to them.

Experienced teachers were also among those I met during these tours. However, feeling that this was not enough, I sent out 150 questionnaires, to which I received only twenty answers. In five cases out of the twenty I had to go to the people in person and actually did the writing for them before I could get anything. I did this because they were my old teachers and I felt that they would help if they saw me and knew my purpose. From these five people I received more help than I would have got from the questionnaire. Some thought the standard of education has fallen neither because of teachers nor because of pupils but because of the age. But all agreed that moral laxity among the young is due to lack of moral compunction among teachers of today.

I did not confine myself to Eastern Nigeria alone, I went out of the region to both the Federal territory of Lagos and Western Nigeria. In these places, I had to check up certain facts and did some reading at the Library of the Prime Minister's Office and also at the Library of the

University College, Ibadan. Because of frequent changes in the Nigerian Constitution and consequently the shifting of headquarters and creation of new ones, abortive tours had to be made in search of records later on found to be available nowhere in the country.

This finally necessitated and resulted in my obtaining the permission of the Minister of Education, Eastern Nigeria, to make use of records at the Calabar Education Office. Even here there were difficulties to be got over and it was here that Professor Eaglesham's statement was most effective. I was asked to quote any precedent, but I could not quote any. In fact there was none. However, when I wrote and actually declared before an official of the Department that what I was writing was not for mercenary purpose and would implicate no one, backed up by Professor Eaglesham's statement, I was allowed to use the records of the Calabar Province Education Headquarters.

From information got in this way, I have compiled something that may seem too modest when compared with any other which covers the same number of years in another territory where records are available and up-to-date. However, as I have already said, with the greatest odds against us, it is never easy for us to do something as I have done out here.

Acknowledgements.

As it can be inferred from what is written above on the method of investigation, many individuals and some authorities have rendered invaluable assistance to me throughout the period spent on both the collection of the materials for, and the writing of, this dissertation. I wish, therefore, to use this opportunity not only to acknowledge my indebtedness to all of them but also to express my gratitude to them for the assistance which they gave to me. Any mistake or fault that my readers may come across in this dissertation should be attributed to me and not to any other person who helped in reading or commenting upon it while it was being written.

The foregoing, however, will not be adequate enough if I fail to refer to special people. First among these men must be mentioned Professor Eaglesham of the Institute of Education, who not only made it possible for me to get the permission of the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education, as has already been stated, but also got Dr. J. J. Grant, Principal of St. Culbert Society, to read through my script and make some comments. Next I must mention Dr. Grant himself to whom I am already heavily indebted for it was through his assistance that it was possible for me to complete my course at Fourah Bay College. Here I have to thank him very much for sparing the time to read my attempt

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in spite of the fact that he has very many other things to attend to. Even though he had to abide by the rules and regulations of the University and so did not go to the extent I had hoped, yet his comments not only gave me the encouragement I badly needed from a competent person, but also were very useful in my final writing of the dissertation.

In Nigeria I have to express my gratitude to the Ministry of Education and the Calabar Provincial Education Headquarters for allowing me to use certain files, reports and documents of the department, without which I could not have got any useful information on education in the Province before 1940. I am also grateful to the Principal of the Teachers' Training College, Uyo, the British Council, Enugu, the Librarians of the University College, Ibadan, and the Librarian of the Premier's Office, Lagos, for allowing me to use their libraries and for willingly helping to find some important documents for me.

I am also grateful to Dr. P. E. B. Inyang formerly of St. Mary's T. T. C., Ediene, and now of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, for showing me how to write out the Bibliography and for allowing me to make use of his library. I must also express my gratitude to Mrs. Rosemary Uwanodin who read through my final typed script and made some useful comments, especially of what I wrote on the secret societies.

I have found it wise to rule out some of what I wrote because there is nothing to use to substantiate them. I have also to express my gratitude to Mr. J. N. Essien of the Port Harcourt Provincial Education Office for his guidance in both recommending me to some of the men from whom I got useful information for my work and also for supplying me with lists of books from which I have derived real benefit.

I must not forget Mr. J. S. Ekpo of Qua Iboe Mission Secondary School, Etinan, who did all the typing for me without asking for any reward. I am very thankful to him. Finally I have to thank my wife for the use of her books on cookery and domestic science, for the information she gave me about life in the girls' school she attended in the late forties, and also for making every effort to see that our little daughter who always wants to be in the study with me to do one thing or another was always kept off from me and occupied in an interesting way that made her forget about me and the books in the study.

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POSITION AND GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS.

Calabar Province formerly consisted of that south-eastern portion of Nigeria which today is divided into Annang, Calabar and Uyo Provinces. It covered the area enclosed roughly between parallels 4° and 6° North Latitudes, and the meridians 7° and 9° East Longitudes. On its west lay the former Gorri Province, on the east the former British Southern Cameroons, now the Western region of the Federal Republic of the Cameroons, on the north the former Ogoja Province, and on the south lies the Bight of Biafra. In all it covered an area of approximately 6,250 square miles, and comprised the administrative divisions (sometimes called districts) of Ekot, Uyo, Abak, Itu, Ikot Ekpene, Opobo and Calabar.

Like other parts of the coastal region of Nigeria the former Calabar Province is dissected by streams and rivers running from the north to the south and emptying their water into the Bight of Biafra. The most important of these are the Cross River, Calabar River and Qua Iboe River. The Cross River, which is the most important river outside the system connected with the Niger, rises in the highlands of the Southern Cameroons and flows in a great circular arc for its first hundred miles. Near Afikpo it changes to a southerly course and flows in this direction to its estuary near Calabar. These rivers helped much in commerce in the past, and consequently provided easy routes along which the Christian religion and modern education spread to the hinterland of the

province.

On the whole the land is low-lying and only rises a few scores of feet above ^{the} sea level. The highest range is the Oban Hills which rise to about 600 ft. The salt-water swamp area is "a maze of islands intersected by innumerable creeks and rivers, the islands themselves being formed of thick black alluvial mud and often completely submerged at high tide."¹ The characteristic vegetation is the mangrove tree which, in several varieties, covers the whole area. Beyond the mangrove forest stretches a belt of ever-green forest. This forest covers most of the province² and is very dense in the central part of the province, especially in the areas inhabited by the Southern Annang, Inan and Ubiun clans. The forest thins out as it approaches the northern boundary of the province. The main tree here is the palm, which is the most important cash crop not only of the former Calabar Province but also of Eastern Nigeria, of which Calabar Province forms a part.

The influence of this environment of water and mangrove can be traced in the character and beliefs of the people of this area, as we shall see later on. All the most powerful Jujus and principal deities were, and still are, connected with the sea, sacred pools, and rivers.³ Even "the palm, springing straight and tall above the lesser vegetation, glorying, as it were, in the free air and sunshine, and

waving its proud crown against the blue sky"⁴ could not shed a milder influence on the people and keep them away from worshipping blood-stained Jujus.

As in any other part of West Africa, the year can be broadly divided into two major seasons: the Wet Season or Rains of the North Summer months, and the Dry Season of the Winter months.⁵ The Dry Season extends from the middle of October to the middle of April; and the Wet Season extends from the middle of April to the middle of October. Apart from the two weeks of sunshine about the beginning of August, the Wet Season is always a period of heavy rainfall, and on certain days it falls continuously. Because of this, the inhabitants do not normally do large scale out-door work at this time. The men prepare mats for repairing their leaking houses. Whenever it is possible to go out, farmers go to their farms to care for the crops and replace broken yam stakes. Fishermen too, do often risk their lives. It is really the women who do more work in this season. They crack palm kernels, weed the farms, go to the market even if it rains cats and dogs. There is a saying in the vernacular which roughly interpreted means, "Rain can prevent work on the farm, but can never stop going to the market." The women also, whether it rains or not, collect the food crops from which the day's meals have to be prepared. This heavy rainfall, which brings any serious out-door

activity to a standstill, in my opinion, is one of the factors which have encouraged the docile, pleasure-loving attitude of the people and their fondness for feasting, seen particularly among the men-folk.

The chief occupation, as can be inferred from the above, is farming; and most of what is produced is for home consumption. Among the natives, agriculture is based upon African peasant production, carried on by hand under traditional forms of land tenure. Now there is a four-fold agricultural economy system:

- (a) A basic subsistence economy,
- (b) An internal exchange economy
- (c) A peasant export production economy
- (d) A plantation economy.

Food crops that come under (a) and (b) are mainly yams, cassava, cocoa yam, corn and plantain. Cash crops that come under groups (c) and (d) are palm oil and rubber.

We have earlier said that the palm is the most important cash crop of Eastern Nigeria. Below is a quotation about crop production in Eastern Nigeria in the Agricultural year 1948/1949, which shows the importance of the former Calabar Province to Eastern Nigeria in this direction. "In the Eastern Region, production for export attains its greatest importance in the Provinces of Owerri and Calabar, which together account for three-fifths of the Region's export

output. Highest values (over £1,000 per square mile) are recorded in the south-east in Aba, Abak, Eket, Opobo Divisions."⁶ Of these divisions the last *three*, as already stated, were divisions in the former Calabar Province.

Fishing, which is another important occupation, is mainly carried on by the people who live along the coast. An occupation that has recently aroused interest in many is sawing. Both within and outside Calabar Province planks are needed in great numbers for building and for furniture making. Pottery, formerly only done by women, is now undertaken on a commercial basis and the methods are mechanised. Women in the coastal districts make "osek", the native net, from raffia. The women also trade in foodstuffs, but on the whole, they concentrate on home-making.

The province, like the country as a whole, is still underdeveloped; but there is every hope that when fully developed, it will be one of the most prosperous areas in Nigeria. The inhabitants vaguely believe that it is another Canaan, as can be seen from the song, "Canaan, Canaan, Calabar-o." The belief arose from the fact that, in days gone by, people could get any type of food they wanted from the forest surrounding their homes. Secondly, because of the surrounding peoples, they were the first to come in contact with Western Civilization which, even then, left a great impact on Calabar, the administrative headquarters of

the province to which it also gave its name.

The above geographical account, I hope, will help us to have some idea of the physical background of the province with which we are concerned and in which the type of education we will see later on was doled out to the people and consequently, to judge how far the education given, helped, or failed to help, the people to master their environment and improve their economic status. In saying this, I in no way associate myself with the politician of today or the Chief Inspector of Education of 1889 who, because of his dislike for a literary content of education, advised and wrote, "I have only to say finally, that I would urge on all parties practicality; this should be the end and aim of education in Africa. Let practicality then be the motto".⁷ For after all, the African boy or girl cannot be really satisfied with vocational training only. He wants to satisfy himself and convince others that intellectually he is inferior to none.

Peoples and their Origin.

The dominant tribe that inhabits the former Calabar province is the Ibibio tribe. Other tribes found in the area are the Aros, a clan of the Ibo tribe, the Kwas, a clan of the Ekoi tribe, and the Ogonis, a clan of the Ijaw tribe found in the Opobo Division. There is, so far, not much known about the Ijaws, and until a proper research is undertaken by anthropologists, nothing authentic can here

be said about them.

The Aros, like all other Ibo clans, are a Sudanic group of people.⁸ Many Ibo people today vaguely believe that they descended from the Jews. This is mainly because, like the Jews, they are great traders and are very materialistic in outlook. There is, however, a small group among the Aros which maintains that the Aros are not Ibos; that they occupied the territory before the Ibos came, and that when the Ibos arrived they were pushed down towards the south to the area which they are now occupying. Later through marriage and other types of intercourse, the Ibo influence being more dominant, the earlier inhabitants took on the outlook and language of the Ibos. The situation appears to be similar to what happened in Britain to the Celts when the Angles and Saxons arrived in the island. Again, until an actual research is undertaken we cannot rely absolutely on these theories as some of them might be based solely on sentiment.

The Kwas belong to the Bantu group of people. Some writers classify them, the southern Cameroon tribes, and the Ibibios as semi - Bantu tribes,⁹ and nothing so far is exactly known about the origin of the races often called the Bantus.

Until recently the Ibibios did not normally think of themselves in terms of tribe as, for instance, a Yoruba man may think. The Ibibio man thinks of himself as a man from

one or another of the clans more than a man from the tribe. It is because of this defect - a tendency to concentrate and master the little and neglect what is big and remote - that the Efiks claimed some years ago that they were not Ibibios. Living in the area now known as Calabar, they came early in contact with Europeans and so felt that it would be derogatory to accept that they and the "bush" man from Ibibio mainland had a common ancestor. The Efiks, it seems, were a central Ibibio clan. For some reasons not quite known,¹⁰ one section of this clan moved northwards to become the present Enyong of the north Ibibio section, and the other section moved south-eastwards to Kwa and Efut territory and became the Efiks of today.¹¹ This group only became known as the Efiks (oppressors) during the time of the slave trade when Calabar became the centre for slave trading and consequently for all sorts of oppression and cruelty.¹²

Those who moved south eastwards were later joined by people from the fishing areas of the mainland. During the time of the slave trade these men, or their descendants, who were middlemen in the cruel trade, took a lot of slave women as wives and concubines and from these they had many children. Thus it came about that writers, like Donald Macfarlan, maintain that there is slave blood in every Efik man.¹³ Whether this is true or not, one thing is certain and that is that the forerunners of the present Efiks were

Ibibios - "It is thus clear that the origins of the present Efik are very mixed. Rev. Hugh Goldie wrote, 'Calabar was said to be divided at first into twelve provinces or clans though some say seven, but only four remain.' Thus there is evidence to show that at least five separate Ibibio clans furnished the forerunners of the present Efiks".¹⁴ This quotation from Jeffreys seems to confirm the statement by some writers that every Efik man has slave blood in him and certainly supports the assertion that though much adulterated, the Efiks are Ibibios.

Where then did the Ibibios come from? Like the origin of many Nigerian tribes, that of the Ibibio tribe has not yet been established beyond reasonable doubt. The Ibibios have no traditions about their origin. All they are certain about is that they are living at the place where they have always been living. However, many towns and villages have been standing in the territory which they occupy today for quite a long time, and so their inhabitants have forgotten everything about their origin.

The educated Ibibios welcome the findings and suggestions of Mr. Jeffreys published in his book "Old Calabar." My opinion is that his suggestions should be accepted as valid except when proved otherwise by a more detailed and better organised research. He says, "It is my belief that the Andoni were the original stock from which the tribe was derived, and the suggestion is here put

forward, that the present Ibibio language is the result of a Bantu invasion of Andoni territory, in fairly recent times, and that the Andoni men on the mainland were killed off, and their women taken as the wives of the Bantu invaders..... In other words it is here suggested that the Ibibio language is Sudanic at base, with a Bantu invasion influence superimposed."¹⁵

The evidence for this is the culture of the Ibibio people. In male affairs their culture is similar to that of the Semi-Bantu Ekoi tribe. An example is the famous Ekpo Society, which, until recently, was the most potent in affairs of government and public order in the land. Similarly in things that are women's their culture is much like that of the Andoni people. No imitation could have been so complete and so perfect. It is also interesting and perhaps intriguing to note that while all other tribes around them have a four day week, the Ibibios have an eight day week, which they call 'Odot'. This looks like an amalgamation of two four day weeks. Furthermore, an analysis of the language shows that in purely male activities, like hunting and fishing, the vocabulary is made mainly of Bantu words or words of Bantu origin. The following words are examples of such words: Iyak (fish), Inyang (sea), and Utiga (bow).¹⁶ Likewise the vocabulary of words referring to female activities are predominantly non - Bantu. Examples of such words are Inun (salt), Ifia (firewood), and Abiön (hunger).¹⁷

The people referred to as the Ibibios do not normally call themselves by that name. It is the language they speak that they call Ibibio or Ibibio language. The word, Ibibio, does not, however, mean "Bushmen" as Mr. Jeffreys and other writers have suggested. In my opinion, it is derived from the word "edibio." It is not commonly used today. The full phrase is "edibio ekong", and the meaning will be obvious from the following: Ekong was the cult of the god of war and was a secret society. "One of the initiation customs of any young man, who could afford entrance into this order, consisted in buying a slave and having him beheaded by some member of the family. The head, still gory, was brought to the candidate, who had to handle it and to dip his finger in the blood and taste it."¹⁸ When one had done all this and was an accredited member of the society, it was said that he had "chopped off the head of war". In other words, that he had been fully initiated and was ready to do doughty deeds in war. If my opinion is accepted, Mr. Jeffreys' suggestion that the Ibibios are descendants of Andoni women and Bantu men becomes more plausible. The mothers could have told their children who were born after the invasion that their real fathers had got their heads "chopped off" in one fight or another. Hence the name Ibibio, which, in my opinion, means offspring or children of beheaded fathers, was given to them as a nickname by their mothers.

Whatever others may think, none will deny that there is

a link between the Andoni and Ogoni peoples on the one hand and the Ibibio people on the other, and also between the Ekoi peoples and the Ibibio people. This was early in 1958 proved before the Minority Commission which probed into the fears of the minority tribes of Nigeria. In my estimation, the Ibibios form a new race - a race formed by the fusion of the Bantu and the Sudanic, and for this new stock I suggest the name Bantu - Sudanic. It is not certain from where the paternal forebears, the Bantus, came but it is believed that their maternal forebears came from the region of the Aswan dam in the Nile valley¹⁹ and entered South eastern Nigeria by way of the Kano plains.

The individual is always a product of heredity and environment. The Ibibios are very much unlike the Ibos who are a Sudanic group of people. It appears that the fusion of the Sudanic and the Bantu has made the Ibibios lose that verility and pushfulness which characterize the Sudanic people, particularly the Ibos who are the neighbours of the Ibibio people. I think, on the whole, the heredity of the Ibibio people and their environment have made them more introversive, docile and peace - loving than their neighbours. The Ibibio man also believes in the mysterious more than any other people around him and is very philosophical and thoughtful. More on this we shall soon see when we consider some of his religious practices.

To the people of Calabar Province, as we have already noted, the clan mattered more, even though the different clans agree that ethnologically they are one. But although the clan mattered more, apart from slight variations in names of days of the week, for instance, the same social institutions, traditions and rites prevailed and still prevail all over the land. The village was, and still is, divided into wards, called "ekpuk" in the vernacular. The "ekpuk" is made up of a number of compounds, and the inhabitants of any compound have a common ancestor. Each compound has its leader, the Elder of the compound, and each ekpuk has its head, the Obong Ekpuk (i.e. chief of the Ekpuk). The Obongs of the ekpuks then appoint the village head, the Obong Idung, and also his prime minister, sometimes called "Nsung Idung" or "Akpan Idung". In some villages, the Obong Idung must always be selected from one "ekpuk," the most senior "ekpuk." Very often in the past the seniority used to be determined by the fact that trustees of the supreme cult of the village belonged to that particular "ekpuk," but occasionally numerical strength was used in determining this seniority.

Often the council of the Obong Ekpuks constituted the Legislative council for the village or town and was the Advisory Council to the "Obong Idung". Before 1948 no clan,

except the Efiks, had a chief that was recognised by the whole clan. In the 1920's the Government of the protectorate of Southern Nigeria tried to create Warrant Chiefs, but the authority of many of such chiefs was never respected by the people.²⁰ The Obong Idung and the Obong Ekpuku in the past were also high priests who officiated at the Clans' and the villages' high altars. I think the best name for them should be Priest-Kings. These priest-kings, as already stated, had no administrative authority over their clans. The people of this area were not much concerned with government beyond the village level. The Obong, to use the vernacular word, and his council were solidly backed up by the secret societies, particularly the Ekpe Society. These Obongs were members of most, if not all, the secret societies in their locality. The final act of conferring the title of Obong on any person was the crowning of the man with the Ntinya or Anyanya, which is the vernacular for the crown. Some villages, towns, and clans preferred calling their Obong by names like Olu, Okuku, Nkuku or Ata Unan. In this case the name merely describes one or the other of the offices of the Obong.

The offices of the Obong were many, but broadly speaking his functions were mainly presidential, deliberative and legislative, judicial, and religious.²¹ He attended all public rites inaugurating or terminating certain ceremonies, observances and festivals. As the high priest, he officiated

at, and was in charge of, the high altar of the town. He was also the one who at festivals poured out libation to the deities connected with such festivals. Each of the eight days of the Ibibia week was sacred to one deity or the other, and there were always some festivities to mark these days, particularly during the planting season or the harvest time. The Obong was also the law maker, but very often his pronouncement was the will of his "brother chiefs." He was also the one to whom appeals were made for justice. Minor cases were judged by the Elders of the compounds or Obong-Ekpuks. However, if either of the parties felt he had been cheated he could appeal to the Obong for justice. Cases involving theft, murder, and ownership of the land were always referred to the Obong for immediate and peaceful settlement.

Although the foregoing is true for most parts of the province, yet the system operating in the small Ibo section deserves some mention. This system is often referred to as the Arochukwu system.²² Arochukwu, the territory of the Aros, consists of a federation of two equivalent components, Amuzo and Ibom Isi, living and associating together. The two groups or components are divided into clans and the clans are subdivided into smaller units, sub-clans. Originally there were nine clans, and the nine clans formed the government of the tribo. Matters affecting all were decided

at a general meeting of the men of all nine clans assembled by clans in a central place. The meetings were conducted by more elderly and experienced men in the various clans. Other men were allowed to make known their opinions, if they had anything to say, and if others were prepared to listen to them. No clan or group was bound by the decision taken in the absence of its representatives. The same thing happened in the village affairs. The Aros have chiefs too, and their paramount chief is the Eze-Aro (the chief of Aro). Each clan has its own Eze and each sub-clan has its own Onyishi Otosi.

A very important political and social link in the olden days and which is still highly respected, particularly among the Ibibios, is the Inaan system. Individuals, *okpuk* or villages can enter into this alliance. In the olden days it was entered into mainly for the purpose of protection. So, there were regulations, restrictions, privileges and immunities governing this institution. For example, if Etin's village was at war with Edet's village, Etin who was from an *okpuk* which was an *inaan* of Edet's village would never suffer any injury or wrong from anybody from Edet's village as a result of the war. Any person who disregarded such a law could be killed without trial or sold into slavery.

Next, let us examine the life of the people, their family relationship, social intercourse, religious beliefs and practices. When a child was born he was named and

circumcised on the eighth day. The name given to him on this day was his sacred name, something similar to the Roman Cognomen. He was scarcely called by that name except by a few elderly ones in the family. However, he had numerous pot names and nicknames by which he was called. Names generally were given according to the day or time of birth or order of birth. Sometimes they were given after an important event in the life of the parents, particularly during the pregnancy of the child. Some names were ancestral names, and these, given according to a particular cycle, helped in tracing the genealogy of the family. At other times children were named Bassey, Ekpenyong and Ndem after some deities.

The child normally was born into a family of many brothers, sisters and other relatives. This was so because men then married many wives and the smallest family contained the grandfather, his sons and their wives, and also the grand children. This unit or type of family was called "Otung" by the people. If the grand father was Etukarpan, for instance, the family would be called "Otung-Etukarpan." Since there were many houses built round the grand father's, people have come to refer to these as compounds.

A man, as we have said, was allowed to marry as many wives as he could, but these wives were very often regarded as chattels and could be sold at any time. In some cases they were often mercilessly killed as a part of the funeral rites of the husband. The choice of partners was mainly done by the

parents, particularly the mothers. Sometimes marriage was purely political or for the purpose of acquiring wealth, and the bride price varied from place to place but it never exceeded fifty pounds in modern currency. Soon after ceremonies connected with marriage had been completed the girl would undergo the fattening ceremony. There were cases of divorce even in those days, and the main reasons for divorce were infidelity and barrenness. If barren women were unhappy, mothers of twins were very unhappy. Their children were killed and they were driven away into Twin-mothers settlements.²³ They were never tolerated where "normal human-beings" were.

There was free social intercourse between individuals, families and villages. Except later at Calabar, there was a measure of social equality. It is true there were very wealthy families and poor ones, but there was nothing like the system of Emirs and common people as we have in Northern Nigeria or like the caste system in India. However, many did not associate freely with those regarded as criminals, wizards and witches, and thieves. Some of these could be altogether boycotted or secretly killed after all the elders of the 'ekpuk' had given consent at a meeting secretly called for that purpose. The three offences which were most hated in those days (and are still most hated) were adultery, theft and murder. Thieves were often thoroughly flogged and then painted with charcoal. They would then carry some of the

stolen goods and dance round the village or market as ordered.

In some cases their houses were burnt, and of course, they would run away from the village to where they would not be known as thieves.

Both the men and the women had their secret societies. Some of these had nothing really secret about them, and as such should be rightly called play societies. The play societies included Ekong, Ekpri Akata, Ekang, Ekpo Akpara and Attat. Ekong are of three types, the old men's, the young men's and the children's own. The most attractive is the children's Ekong, but the most popular is the young men's. The youngmen's Ekong is a masquerade which chases and flogs any young woman it sees. It also takes much delight in begging and never rejects anything that is given to it. This has given rise to a proverb which says that Ekong has no choice, but must accept whatever is given to it (see eabñ Ekong, Ekong adadia). The old men's Ekong is a junior type or a miniature of Ekpo Nyöhö, but does not beg and chase as the youngmen's.

The secret societies included the Ekpe, the Ekpo Nyöhö, "Obön" and Idiöng societies. There is not much that is known about these societies by non-members. The Idiöng Society appears to have been a guild of seers and prophets. Membership was very costly, and we are told that some were "divinely" called into that order. There are instances known which resemble the calling of St. Paul on the Damascus

high way. The Ekpe Society was in some way a political party, a type of communist underground organisation. It was the government of the day and its laws were binding on all in the community. It also served as a school of politics and administration. Here young initiates were taught the rudiments of the science of government. Later we shall see how the Calabar missionaries employed this society in keeping order at Calabar. The inner section and most costly of the Ekpe society was the Inyam - Nkpe. Secret societies, like Ekpe and the Obón societies, had periods when the "spirits" of the societies would go out and walk about the village, and at such a time the uninitiated had to remain indoors, or avoid the village. There were also occasions when everybody could see the materialised "spirits" associated with the societies. At such a time these "spirits" wearing masks would parade round the town dancing, and making all sorts of merriment. The materialised "spirits" were always members of the society from another village, but the women and the uninitiated were told that they were spirits.

The women's counterpart of Ekpe society was the Ebre society. While the Ekpe was in control of the whole community the Ebre controlled the female kingdom, as it were, of the community. Certain orders of the society acted as C.I.D's, and carried out among themselves certain examinations and investigations which men normally do not conduct. Through

this society the women could as a body rebel against certain acts done by the men folk. If any woman had stolen or committed adultery this society would go round the town in the night singing and degrading the offender in every way possible. It was also a "school". Here some of the women had revealed to them the art known today as midwifery, and others perfected the knowledge of domestic science and man - woman relationship. Those who were married into the town from other villages or towns learned from the older women the traditions and conventions of that town. The women had many societies, but these were mostly play societies and what some today call sororities, mainly for the purpose of mutual help. Like the men's societies the women's had their pass-words, but only men's had symbolisms. The women did not use masks in this part of the world, and though they could adorn their heads in the most fanciful manner, they never covered their faces.

The religion of the people was very much influenced by the environment. They were surrounded by hills, forests, gigantic trees, rivers and animals. They were exposed to forces of nature like tornadoes, storms, thunder and lightnings, and heavy rainfall. Being unable to comprehend these, they attributed to them mysterious powers and assigned an indwelling spirit even to stones and anthills.²⁴ To them every grove, stream and tree was the home of one type of spirit or another. These spirits on occasions could project themselves in numerous ways and influence the life of those

with whom they came in contact. The people also believed in nature spirits which very much resembled creatures like the English gnomes, fairies, salamanders, naiads and dryads.²⁵

There were very many gods. The most powerful in strength but not the supreme of these earthly gods was the god of thunder. The deity at the head of the whole hierarchy of the earthly gods was Eba Abasi, and also it was that endowed women with fruitfulness. But the greatest of all the gods of the Universe was the God of the Sky. This God, who in the Christian religion is the father of us all, was believed to dwell in the sky, and had no particular interest in the affairs of men. He seems to have represented justice, because in every covenant or undertaking needing fair play and honesty, and also at all sacrifices, he was the first to be invoked. But he had no altar or priests and was never sacrificed to at any time.

The natural consequence of such a religion (a religion in which every home, town and clan had its own god, and ancestors were worshipped) was a multitude of sacrifices and festivals. Every day of the eight day week (edot) was sacred to one god or another. There was a god in every farm and each season had its special deity. There was always one feast or another particularly for the father and the children. Then there were feasts when the whole family or the whole village would participate. A few among these were feasts like the new year festival, the end-of-year feasts and feasts

connected with planting. These were also occasions for sacrifice, and the sacrifice in nearly every case needed the shedding of blood. Sometimes it was that of a sheep or a goat or a fowl, but frequently, especially in great feasts, it was that of a human being. In some sacrifices a miniature canoe was used, and in many great importance was placed on certain things being white - a white fowl, a white spoon or a white cloth - to name a few. This idea of white things and the canoe has intrigued many people and confirmed them in their belief that the ancestors of the Ibibios immigrated from the Nile Basin.

Nothing then happened without the agency of the gods or their messenger spirits. The people were held by a great fear of spirits, ghosts and demons, and sacrificed the best part of whatever they had to appease these. All this sacrifice was regarded as a sign of piety and in this way an Ibibio man preserved his soul and those of his people from being badly influenced by evil spirits and witches. He believed that he had an affinity in the bush, and often his soul would leave his body and enter that of its affinity and appear in the shape of a "were beast". He had up to three souls, or, rather his soul was supposed to be manifested in three ways. "They believe," says Talbot, "that every man possesses three souls or spiritual bodies, viz (1) the ethereal or astral, which roughly corresponds to the Egyptian Ka and perishes after death, (2) the soul or

individuality which resembles the Egyptian Ba, survives the body and inhabits the world of ghosts between incarnations, and (3) the immortal spirit of true Ego, somewhat like the Egyptian Khu which always stays with God.²⁶ His beliefs were numerous, and sometimes they were crude in the extreme. Occasionally they were "almost startling in their tenderness and beauty."²⁷ Their creation stories would make you believe that the people were of the ancient Horse stock, while their religious beliefs and practices would make you think that their ancestors left the Nile valley during the religious revival of the time of Amenhotep when the Jews were still in Egypt.

The religious beliefs can be further seen in the way they treated the dead. Death could result from an accident, poison, old age, malice of wicked men, and punishment from the gods. Burial was done according to the cause or type of death. The coffins of important people were made from bamboo. Some people were wrapped in woven young leaves of the raffia palm and then buried without the coffin. Those who did not matter were sometimes just thrown into the grave without any "wrapper". At best they were wrapped in mats or with "nkpatat", a type of creeping fern. Good men were buried with their legs towards their houses, so that during reincarnation they might walk back to their homes and there be reborn. Old people were often buried in their houses, and this was regarded as a special honour done to

the deceased. The graves were always stocked full of food, utensils and useful household property, so that the dead might use these while in the other world. Men of importance had their slaves and some wives either killed or buried alive with them.

After burial there was always a cleansing ceremony which used to take the following form. When all who attended the burial returned they washed their faces, hands up to the elbow, and legs up to the calves. The water was always in an earthen-ware basin and contained an egg and an "nvweweb" leaf, a type of plant with soft stem and soft, broad and hairy leaves. Next they anointed their foreheads with oil provided and sanctified for the purpose. After this they could enter the house and participate in the ceremony and entertainment in the house.

After the burial and after all the ceremonies and rites of the secret societies to which the dead belonged had been carried out, a memorial, "nvororo" or "nukuku" as it is called, was set up for the deceased. This would be done at the roadside or cross-roads where many people could see it. Some of the person's personal possession, like his bed, "ukpok" - a vessel for drinking palm wine - knife and pots, were placed at the memorial. The people believed that a dead person could come back as a ghost for a revenge or to tell the people to accord him a worthy burial and so make him rest in peace. Such a ghost, if

troublesome, could be caught and killed by a juju man.

This second death would send the dead man to "Ekpo Nkpòsòbò" from whence there was no reincarnation and where he would be eternally tormented.

Although any man, as we have earlier seen, could marry many wives and treat them in any way he liked, including putting them to death, the women were very useful and were never given in marriage by their parents for servitude. In addition to bearing children who, their proverb says, are better than riches, these women provided free labour on the farms. The marriage system was different from what we have today, which is becoming more and more Europeanised. The bride-price too was not as high as it is today and, sometimes, used to be some service rendered to either of the wife's parents. However, in passing, may I just say that the word "bride-price" is a misnomer as no African buys a wife.²⁸ Whatever was and is paid, money or service, is merely "the establishment of legitimacy, a guarantee for the stability of marriage and an equitable equivalent for the loss to the parental family of the girl of the girl's productive power."²⁹

EDUCATION AND SOCIALIZATION OF THE YOUNG.

There was no well developed or thought out system of education. There is no doubt that members of secret societies and cults received some education, but it appears that each cult had its own peculiar system of instruction. Apart from this, it was all another kind of primitive method

of socialising or educating their children. They built their houses, farmed their lands, managed the affairs of their little communities and had no thought of the need of proper education except that which was given as a matter of course within the community. So their children learned the way by which they could help in the farm as soon as they were old^{enough}. The boys learned how to build houses and the girls how to cook, and they also received lessons on what today we call domestic science and child welfare. The history and tradition of the village and, sometimes, of the clan were instilled into the children by the old men. Law and order was easily maintained, and no one thought of any "book education". All they did was to bring up their children to take an intelligent place in the society.

The training started as soon as the children were old enough. Their only principle appears to have been what is expressed in the following quotation from the Bible: "Bring up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he shall never depart from it." Accordingly the father who wanted his son to develop an interest in the government of the village would always give the child an accurate account of the issues discussed at the meetings of the village he attended. Later on he would ask the child to recount what he told him. If the boy omitted an important point he would put him right. This lesson would be repeated from time to

time. Surprisingly the fathers of those days used no rod to enforce the learning of these lessons. When the child was old enough he would take the child to these meetings and when they returned home he would ask the child to reproduce what he heard, and correct him when he went wrong. Even in those early days the people realized the importance of repetition in learning.

In the evening the family gathered together on the verandah of their homes and entertained themselves by telling and hearing folk tales. These were sometimes about the gods, creation, consequences of disobedience, selfishness, disrespect, covetousness and the rewards always awaiting good and honest people. By means of these stories the people of those days successfully inculcated in the young habits of industry, frugality and fair play.

The children were also taught how to observe and interpret the signs of times and seasons. The young learned from their parents or relatives how to determine the right season for planting and harvesting from flowering plants, from the shades of the green on the trees around them, from the atmosphere and from birds. At that time children learned from their parents what we today learn at school that towards the end of a season and the beginning of a new one there would be frequent thundering in the heavens. They knew what we today call the middle dry which occurs about

the early part of August and that that was the time for the first harvest, and the celebration of the festival of "Ukpehe Abasi." "Ukpehe Abasi" literally means cutting God. In other words we can say that God (the god of the sky) was checked from acting in his normal way, perhaps by nature. One expects that it will always rain in the rainy season, but this is not so; there is always a two week period of sunshine, the middle dry. Men also did some harvesting and did not wait till the time of the real harvest which usually begins in November. So, to the mind of people of that time this was a sort of checking or hindering of the God of the sky in his normal process.

Taught by parents and Nature, children of the past had a remarkable knowledge of plants, animals and birds. They knew that at the beginning of certain periods of the year some birds from other lands came to their neighbourhood, while others quitted it. They knew from the presence of birds like the swallow, the "Usari," the "Inin" and the cattle-egret that the dry season had set in. They believed that the sound of the usari, depending on the direction from which one heard it, could at times be a good or bad omen. From the sounds of birds they could tell whether a dangerous animal was near or not. From the position of the sun and the shadow of objects cast, they could tell the time of the day, though not in hours or minutes. This method is

still used by many today.

Though the education of the young in the past was quite informal, the young were taught the symbolisms, riddles, art, songs and music of their people. The study of the symbolisms was very important because a proper understanding of these was essential if one were to live peaceably and avoid coming into conflict with people or secret societies or the government of the community. For example if "eyei" (young palm leaves) is tied across any track, any person going beyond that point does so at his own risk and has himself to blame for anything that may happen to him. Eyei was one of the most commonly used symbols. Its meaning varies from peace to a very serious trouble and depends on how it is woven and how placed. Today our illiterate brothers respect and heed the signs of the eyei more than an act of Parliament. Thus "when (1945 - 1948) the Man Leopard Society was perpetuating its atrocities in certain areas in Ibibioland, the Ibibio State Union used, not the police force (whose presence, by the way was ignored by the secret society) but an eyei in putting an end to the menace".³⁰ The writer goes on in the same paragraph, "till now not a single case has reoccurred. The magic lies in the fear that heedlessness of such material warning must, according to custom, bring a curse to the village concerned. Poor harvest, pestilence and unaccountably difficult parturition among women are a few

of the suspected rewards of breaking faith with "Abasi Ikpa Isong" - god of the land."

This briefly indicates the attitude of men of ancient time towards these observances, and also shows that the life of these men was thoroughly affected or influenced by natural objects. Perhaps the idea at the back of the mind of these men was similar to what Alfred L. Tennyson beautifully sets forth in the following lines:-

"..... if I could understand
What you are, root and all and all in all,
I should know what God and man is."

Of the riddles children of the past learnt, Donald C. Simmons says that beside its inherent interest as a form of folklore, as a linguistic specimen, as an example of Efik humour and as a minor form of indigenous education, the most common form of simple Efik riddle possesses theological and historical implications.³¹

Children of those days would also learn popular songs and music. If they were members of the secret societies then they would be taught how to intone certain sounds members of the societies made, the songs, incantations and chants. The songs varied in type. Some were for driving away laziness, evil spirits or anything not wanted. Some were for arousing greater energy and inducing better concentration, and some were for teaching good morals and proper conduct to the young. In the songs and the proper

understanding of their meaning lies the story of the race, their social custom, traditions, games and recreations, the secrets of healing and the basic elements of their ancient religion.

Even though the type of education referred to above was quite "informal", it helped the people to live as effective and responsible citizens of their community. It is interesting too to note that the type of education given by these "rude forefathers" helped to create a community in which no one lived entirely for himself, but everyone lived for one another. In other words, even in those early days, people could achieve in some measure what we today call by the grand name of welfare state.

Those men made effective use of repetition and the play method of learning. The learning given to the young was also related to what he was going to do when he grew up. Although the children were sometimes punished, there was no system of "spare the rod and spoil the child" as yet. In this respect it is good to note what Dr. Uka thinks. He says that corporal punishment is un-African³² and that Westerman believes that under African traditional conditions spoiled children are an exception. Punishments are seldom inflicted on children on the ground that they are not real persons as yet and are not responsible for what they do.³³ Moreover, any average African thinks that the child is a

reincarnation of one of the ancestors and should be treated with consideration and not punished.

The extended family too offered some education on responsible community living. The children were brought up to be individuals but ^{to} feel responsible for the happiness of all. This idea, which European educationalists³⁴ have realized within comparatively recent times, some educators, as we shall later see, almost destroyed. They, like W. E. Macmillan who said "By all historical analogy, they will and must be individualists",³⁵ preached a type of individualism that made the emergent Africans extremely individualistic and selfish when compared to the old communal way of life of the people. However, in conclusion, it is good to note that there is much in the African method of socialization and friendliness to all from which the world of today can learn.

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CONTACT WITH EUROPE.

(a) Period of unrestricted Slave Trade.

From the account given in the introduction one may be tempted to think that there was peace and, except in rare cases, some humane treatment of others in the land a few decades before the missionaries arrived. That was not so. For over four centuries before the coming of the missionaries West Africa had been in contact with Europe and commerce was the fundamental relationship that bound them together.¹ A brief review of this period is therefore necessary so that we may be able to appreciate the depth and intensity of the revolution that took place in the society and also the change that occurred in the character of certain individuals as a result of their contact with Europeans during this period.

The first European nation to come to West Africa was Portugal. In 1440 the Portuguese reached Cape Bojador, and in 1441, Pope Martin V conferred on the King of Portugal the right of possession of, and sovereignty over, all countries discovered between Cape Blanco and India.² By 1470 the whole coast of Guinea, we are told, had been discovered by them and in 1485 John Alfonso d'Averiro visited Benin and exported pepper from Benin to Lisbon. By 1510 Africans were no more curiosities in Portugal³ and in that same year the first considerable number of African slaves were

exported to the West Indies.

The trade in Africans increased with the European colonization of the Americas and the Indies. This export of human beings reached its height in the eighteenth century when something between 70,000 and 80,000 Africans were exported every year. It has been estimated that between 1450 and 1850 West Africa lost ten millions of its inhabitants by slave trade.⁴

People have tried to apportion the blame for this. Some writers⁵ think that slavery ~~was~~ existed in Africa from time immemorial and so seem to blame Africans for this cruel trade. However, like David Fasil, I think this is just an attempt to "fasten" on the minds of Africans "a sense of special guilt for the slaving centuries; ..the truth is that the guilt was shared all round, and ..the Africans were not the prime movers in the matter."⁶ The slave trade was worse in its social consequences than the Black Death. "It degraded thought and action, African as well as European, through generations of engrained contempt for human life."⁷ Although there are some material benefits, like the introduction of certain food crops,⁸ that West Africa owes to this period of slave trade, yet the amount of misery caused was so much that I feel that West Africa would have been better without the cassava and the tobacco and the firearms that were introduced during this period.

Since we are particularly concerned with Calabar, let us see how Calabar fared during this period. From its name⁹ and records¹⁰ it is true that the Portuguese came to Calabar quite early during their trade with West Africa. "Nor had Calabar been neglected, for in 1699, Barbot records that one of the Calabar chiefs whom he met 'speaks Portuguese and seems to have been instructed by Romish priests, who are sent over from time to time from Sao Tomé and Brazil.'"¹¹ Soon Calabar came into prominence. There is little wonder in this because Calabar is a natural harbour and so was second only to Bonny in importance.¹² Thus about 1790 it is said that more than half the slaves exported from West Africa were shipped in 'British bottoms' from the rivers between Calabar and Bonny.¹³

We are told that the cruelties practised by Europeans in this trade were unbelievable. The conditions in the crowded hold of a slave-ship were very bad and inhumane.¹⁴ Arms and spirits were given in exchange for slaves.¹⁵ Petty chiefs along the coast were thus encouraged to raid their neighbours and consequently assisted to become more powerful and wealthy than they were formerly by means of traffic in human flesh and blood. That is why chiefs like Eyamba the Fifth of Duke Town styled himself 'King of all Black Men'.¹⁶ This encouraging of Africans to fight one another brought about inter-tribal wars which were very rare before now and about which some people

write with a gusto as if from creation Africans have always been blood thirsty.

In this regard one is surprised that Macgregor Laird was not only shocked but expressed his amazement as if the people of Calabar by design or inherent nature brought about the situation which he described. I quote in full: "The most uncivilized part of Africa ever I was in was Old Calabar, where commerce has been going on for the last three hundred years. The Calabar River has been so long frequented by British vessels that a description of it would now be superfluous. I may remark that I was struck by the extreme demoralization and barbarism of the inhabitants in comparison with the natives of the interior. The human skulls that are seen actually kicking about the streets, attest the depravity of feeling among the people."¹⁷

As already seen, the natives of the interior were the kith and kin of these people and among these natives of the interior there was something mild and gentle. Reports about their funeral rituals are few but not grim. Why, someone may ask, were the Efiks so barbarous and depraved in character? They were so because they learnt it from the Europeans who came to their land and who they assumed were always right in whatever they did. Many people do not as yet fully realize that what is learnt without compulsion but by mere imitation is often thoroughly mastered.

Speaking of a later period Mary Kingsley said that the Guinea trader was not the barbarous and ignorant fellow he had hitherto been taken to be,¹⁸ yet even at that time, as we shall soon see, there were many Europeans who behaved disgracefully, descending to lower moral levels than those of the natives and completely bewildering them by their way of life which contradicted all Christian teaching. If this was so during the period of trade in oil when slave trade was illegal, then it was worse¹⁹ in the "palmy days of the slave trade."²⁰

(b) Period of restricted slave trade.

In 1807 the Act abolishing the slave trade was passed by the British Parliament. But other nations continued and the slavers from those nations "in defiance of all that our (English) cruisers can do to prevent them, carry it on with a cruelty to the slaves, and a disregard of their comfort and even of their lives, to which Englishmen could never bring themselves to resort."²¹ But through the untiring effort of Great Britain the European powers in 1842 signed an "Equipment" treaty and somehow stopped from trading in human beings. We are told that from October 1820 to July 1821, 169 cargoes of slaves were taken out of the Old Calabar.²² However by 1842 a British naval officer was able to state that "the slave trade at Bonny and at Calabar has been done up with these three years."²³

The cruelty of the traders and captains of this period was great. A typical 'ruffian' of this period was Captain Lake of the brig "Thomas".²⁴ Richard Lander wrote in his journal that "The Captain of the palm oil brig "Elizabeth", now in the Calabar river, actually whitewashed his crew from head to foot while they were sick with "fever and unable to protect themselves; his cook suffered so much in the operation that the lime totally deprived him of the sight of one of his eyes, and rendered the other of little service to him."²⁵ "How little the British traders were interested in the spread of civilization may be gathered from the fact that in 1840 a young girl was sacrificed at Bonny without a single protest being registered by the masters or supercargoes of the vessels then in the river."²⁶

I have written at length about these acts of cruelty because I want to maintain that the contact of West Africa with Europe during this period, to say the least, caused the people to be more barbarous because they unconsciously imitated the Europeans who they thought were right in everything they did. The Europeans taught the Africans by their examples that life had no value. Even though it is a fact that at the death of important people other men had to be killed, without the example of the Europeans before them, the Efiks would not have been as brutal as they were at the death of their chiefs²⁷ or the sons of the chiefs.²⁸

The full effects of the slave trade cannot be exactly determined. They were ruinously destructive to society and civilizing growth. The wars that the slave trade provoked "had no 'progressive' side in that they stimulated rivalry between peoples, and hence invention and initiative, and thus material progress - as some have liked to argue: they were, on the contrary, completely negative in their effects - they stained and ruined much of the fabric of African society while permitting nothing better to replace it."²⁹

(c) The period of legitimate trade.

Throughout the period that we have read about in the section above, the legitimate trade - trade in oil - was growing. "The Industrial Revolution was proliferating into countless machines, all needing oil, and in the palm of West Africa there was an inexhaustible supply for the taking."³⁰ So people like Captain Adams, who were foresighted enough to know that Abolition would come, turned their attention to the palm oil trade.³¹ Thus in 1807 when the slave trade was declared illegal countless British captains and supercargoes turned immediately from slaves to palm-oil. It is estimated that the amount of palm oil imported into Liverpool from the Oil Rivers in 1806 was 150 tons, in 1819 over 3,000 tons, and in 1839 about 13,600 tons.³²

Soon the legitimate trade grew by leaps and bounds in the thirties. In 1845 the oil exports reached the 25,000 tons mark in the Niger Delta areas but fell in 1846 to

18,000 tons because of the famous Bonny - Andoni war.³³

However the important thing to note is that by that time palm oil had replaced the slave trade and the River Gentlemen had taken the place of slave traders. During this time it should be noted that palm oil was not the only article of trade. There were other commodities as well, but the palm oil was the most important.

(d) Effect of the contact on the native population.

As we have already seen, the effect of the contact with Europeans during the period of unrestricted slave trade was an increase in acts of cruelty and barbarism among the people, particularly those in Calabar Division. Good results came during the period of the restricted slave trade and legitimate trade. "Pidgin English" which was only spoken and used as a trade language during the period of slave trade could now be written by the natives. Some of the natives were taken on board their ships by the "supercargoes" and taught how to write. Even though some people think Englishmen should be blamed for "pidgin English", yet I think it served and still serves a very useful purpose. Moreover, those who first used and popularised it did not come for formal education.

Through the medium of "pidgin English" the people of Calabar freely associated with English traders. They invited them to their houses³⁴ and were in turn invited to the ships. I think this developed in the Calabar people a

liking for pomp, pageantry and what is gorgeous. It helped them to long to be like Englishmen and so some of them had to send to England for chairs and materials for building their houses.³⁵ I think this is one of the reasons that Calabar today is to some people the most fascinating part of Nigeria.³⁶ In short it was "pidgin English" that allowed the rudiments of English culture to infiltrate into the culture of the Calabar people.

The traders of the latter period helped the Calabar people to write³⁷ and read; that is, they introduced some modern education to the people. These traders in fact did more; they took some of the sons of the native traders to England. "Adams recorded that already in the eighteenth century the sons of some of the traders had visited England and that schools had been established by the Efiks in their own towns 'for the purpose of instructing in this art the youth belonging to families of consequence'".³⁸ As a result of this, many Efik people could write letters and keep daily record of their transactions with the Rivers' gentlemen. Examples are Anterea Duke's diary for the years 1785 to 1788,³⁹ Eyo Honesty's vocabulary,⁴⁰ and the series of letters sent overseas for missionaries, teachers, and for help in establishing plantations.⁴¹

It was the traders of this period who, as we shall see later on, helped to stop inhuman acts among the Efik people. Moreover, by 1846 they had indirectly done much

to make the people have a general idea of commercial education. From all this there is little wonder that Captain John Adams thought the people of Old Calabar were more progressive than those of Bonny.⁴² Although, as we shall soon see, when the missionaries came, the people were still under the grip of heathenism, yet by and large they were comparatively much ahead of any other group of the peoples of the Guinea Coast.

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DIRECT BRITISH INFLUENCE.(a) Establishment of British Rule.

Although in actual fact the missionaries preceded the British Government in making direct contact with the peoples of the former Calabar Province, I have chosen to consider the beginnings of administration first because British rule was established in a very short time over the entire area and, consequently, it helped in the easy spread of the Christian religion and modern education.

The position of the merchants trading in the West Coast in the early days was a dangerous one. They were completely at the mercy of the African chiefs. "Even the most veteran supercargo must sometimes have had moments of apprehension, as the slow months in Calabar or Bonny went by, and no puncheons of palm-oil had been brought in by this or that middleman against the goods he had been given on trust."¹ The credit system worked out quite well, but there was still need for law and authority other than that exercised by the captains of Her Majesty's ships.

By 1832 Britain had acquired prestige because of her campaigns against the slave trade and also because of the presence of the naval squadron at Fernando Po, which they had taken over from Spain in 1827 for administration and used as a base for ships engaged in the suppression of the slave trade. In 1834 the naval establishment was

discontinued, but Mr. John Beecroft, who had been the superintendent at the base, remained in the island; and in 1843 he was appointed Governor of the island by Spain.²

Because of lack of adequate and continuous supervision, representations were made from time to time to the British Government by persons engaged in legal trade in the Rights of Benin and Biafra. At last the British Government appointed John Beecroft reluctantly as the first consul for the Rights of Benin and Biafra. He took up his duties in the latter part of 1849, and "the period of his consulship, 1849 - 54, saw the end of non-interference and the inauguration of empire building in Nigeria."³ "Through his activities Africans came to look on the British Consul as the de facto Governor of the Rights of Benin and Biafra."⁴

Soon Courts of Equity under the supervision of the Consul⁵ were established; and by 1870 these courts were working at Old Calabar (now Calabar), Efonny, New Calabar (now Degema), Brass, Opobo, Akassa, and in the Benin River area. These courts "were composed of the agents of the various firms, and were presided over in turn by each of the members, in order that no one should obtain, as President, undue influence among the inhabitants to the detriment of his rivals in trade, or should incur the displeasure of the powerful chiefs by being the regular mouth-piece of the court, which did not always decide in favour of African litigants."⁶

In September 1851 he was petitioned to settle the dispute between "the Omun and Acoona-Coona people."⁷ He was always at home at Calabar which, as far back as 1815, was always pro-British, "and led the way in the introduction of legitimate commerce, Christianity, and education."⁸ When King Archibong died in 1852 Beecroft presided over the election of the new king and his right to do so was never questioned. All this goes to show that he made his presence and, consequently, that of Britain felt in the area. Thus "long before the Partition of Africa had become a subject of practical politics in European capitals, Beecroft, in his peculiar way, had succeeded in making British rule familiar to the native states under his consular jurisdiction."⁹

In 1872 an order-in-council set out the powers of the Consul. The judicial and administrative sides of his work were officially recognised. The Courts of Equity were also given recognition.¹⁰ The British consuls by their personalities and sterling qualities succeeded in laying the foundations of a deep respect for the British administration among the people of this area. The result was that later on, when other European nations, like Franco,¹¹ made attempts to secure treaties with some chiefs of the Oil rivers, they could not succeed.

In the meantime the British Consul, Consul Hewett, had

succeeded in obtaining treaties from the chiefs of the Oil Rivers, who thus placed their territories under British protection. The result was that at the Berlin Conference Britain could successfully claim that her interests were supreme on the lower Niger and the Oil Rivers. On the 5th of June 1885 Britain declared protectorates over this area and Calabar came under the Niger Coast Protectorate.¹²

At first the protectorate was called the Oil Rivers protectorate¹³ and the headquarters of the protectorate was at Calabar. In 1893 the Protectorate was extended and the name was changed to that of the Niger Coast Protectorate.¹⁴ The territory was at the beginning governed by a Consul. However, in 1889 Sir Claude Macdonald was sent out by the Foreign Office to ascertain what form of government was best suited to the Oil Rivers Protectorate. In 1891 he was sent out again as the first Commissioner and Consul General of the Protectorate with thirteen officials to assist him. Soon the Protectorate powers began to impress their authority upon the people by the use of a 24 - pounder and the Protectorate's troops.

It is interesting to note that the Consul General was not only interested in establishing law and order in the Protectorate by use of force, he was also teaching the people, by practice, the basic principles of health education. "Meanwhile, in Calabar the Consul General and his medical

staff were trying to eradicate the 'prejudice in favour of dirt which has been ingrained into the people of Calabar for centuries'"¹⁵ He built latrines, cleared bushes, made regulations about the daily cleaning of the streets, and appointed two natives sanitary inspectors. Thus, little by little, order began to be established in the Protectorate and there was a marked improvement in the standard of health.¹⁶

Things continued to improve steadily and with the end of the nineteenth century came a new era for the protectorate. On the 1st of January, 1900, the Niger Coast Protectorate was abolished and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria was declared over the territory of the former Protectorate.

We have already stated that the establishment of British rule helped Christianity to spread easily. This was so because there was order; and roads were being constructed to join different parts of the land together.¹⁷ There was some employment for those who could understand English and this, as we shall see later on, provided the spur that pricked the people on to desire education passionately.

Let us now briefly see how the Ibibio mainland, the hinterland, as it were, of Calabar, was opened up during the period that began with the creation of the first

Protectorate and culminated in 1914 in the creation of Nigeria. Actually, the Ibibio territory did not come under British control until about two years after the Aro expedition of 1901.¹⁸ The Aro expedition was undertaken to break the "unholy influence" of the Long Juju and set free the surrounding people from the oppression of the Aros, who had used the oracle as a means of carrying out their evil designs on non-Aros.¹⁹ On the 23rd of March, 1902, the Aro Field Force ended its work of destroying the Long Juju and consequently of subjugating the Aros.

But before the Aro expedition, various small military patrols were undertaken to bring the Ibibios under administrative control for by 1895 two administrative headquarters on the Ibibio mainland, Opobo and Ekot, had vice consuls allotted to them. However, as a result of the Aro expedition, Ikot Ekpono, Itu, and Uyo (all of them now administrative headquarters of divisions bearing those names) were opened in 1903. By 1912 through several punitive expeditions the whole of the Ibibio mainland which comprised all, except the Calabar division, of the former Calabar Province had been brought under administrative control. To guard against further unrest among the people troops were stationed at Ikot Ekpono till 1921.

Gradually all parts of the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria came under effective British control. In 1912 Sir Frederick

Lugard returned to Nigeria, "having been appointed Governor of both the Northern and Southern Protectorates for the special purpose of uniting them into one country."²⁰

Unification was imperative because only by it could communication be satisfactorily developed, trade and administration facilitated, and economic progress generally hastened.²¹ So the protectorates, now under the control of the Colonial Office, were on the 1st of January 1914 amalgamated and renamed the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. With the coming into being of Nigeria we can now leave this section and turn to other fields. We have already seen that this helped much in the rapid spread of, and insatiable demand for, education. What the government did educationally will best be treated under the heading "Government's contribution". Suffice it to say that the government was fully awake to its responsibility and did all it could with the limited resources to encourage education.

(b) The Presbyterians and the beginning of modern schooling.

Calabar seems a land of romance to some people, especially children, both in and outside Nigeria - "Calabar, like Timbuktu and Samarkand, remains a name of magic and romance for European and North American School boys of all ages."²² Perhaps one of the factors that helped to enshrine Calabar with this air of romance is the romantic way religion was brought to Calabar. In the Qua Iboe area,

it was the Ibuno people who sent to Ireland for a white teacher to tell their people of God.²³ There were also similar requests from Calabar itself, but above all the idea of founding a mission here came not from Scotland as one might assume from the title of this chapter but from Jamaica. This and other factors that we shall soon see made Rev. McGregor conclude that "The inauguration of the Old Calabar Mission was quite in accord with apostolic experience."²⁴

A greater part of the slave population in Jamaica was made up of people brought from the territory which came to be known as the Niger Coast Protectorate, the capital of which was Calabar. Those slaves, when they were emancipated, decided to send missionaries to their fatherland to christianize their kinsmen. So they approached the Jamaican Presbytery with the suggestion. The Presbytery decided to carry out the suggestion and formed a new society for raising funds for the purpose. It is reported that these ex-slaves gave their "Freedom's Offering" gladly in recognition of the good they had received in Jamaica, and also in token of their love for the land of their birth.

At this time too, urgent invitations sent through captains of ships reached them from the chiefs of Calabar. These wanted men who would educate them and teach them the Christian religion. People in Scotland did not give their consent when the Jamaican Presbytery approached them with

the idea. However, eventually opposition decreased and the Church in Scotland agreed that missionaries should be sent to Calabar to teach the people there the Christian religion. Rev. Hope N. Waddell was chosen with the consent of the Church in Scotland as their first agent in the new field to be opened at Calabar. Early in 1846 Rev. Hope Waddell and his small party set sail for Calabar, and thus after many difficulties a mission was founded at Calabar in 1846. In 1847 the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland took over the management of the new Church at Calabar from Jamaican Presbytery.

The religious situation and social conditions at Calabar at this time were bad in the extreme, as we have already seen. The climate was pestilential, and in "the broad reaches of Calabar River to the silent mangrove swamps, impenetrable and mysterious, known only to the crocodiles"²⁵ lay the home of the tsetse fly and the dreadful mosquitoes. This was why at first the response from Scotland was cold and their fear was later justified because of the number of missionaries who died there. The missionaries were in a dilemma. They were to protect themselves from sudden death, propagate the Christian religion, effect social reforms, educate the people and teach them the hygienic way of life.

The problem of a language understood by the natives and the missionaries immediately arose. A few of the people of Calabar had been able to read, write and speak

English tolerably well because of their contact with crews and captains of ships - "Next day they received a more cordial welcome. The king spoke in the broken English of the Coast, 'I look long time for you, Glad you come for live here.'"²⁶ Some of these men had probably attended some schools at Freetown in Sierra Leone. This eased their task a little because they found men who could act as interpreters to them though then, as now, the interpreters being unable to translate English idioms could say anything that came into their minds.

So in order to be able to get to the people, Hope Waddell applied himself to the task of reducing the Fik language to writing, preparing in it the first vocabulary and lessons and thus laying the foundation of the Fik literature. Within a few months he mastered the language and produced the first printed vocabulary of the Fik language by a lithograph process on the printing press he had brought out with him.

Already they had begun the work of evangelisation and were preaching to the people not only on Sundays but at all times, whatever might be the place, circumstance and time. At this time too Hope Waddell started a school in Duke Town for any who wanted the most rudimentary form of written education. Then education in the three R's was in any part of Black Africa a most miraculous and spectacular accomplishment. A person who was so educated had an

esteem which no one now can ever hope to get. But the task of teaching was not an easy one either to Hope Waddell himself or his assistants like Rev. Anderson and Rev. Hugh Goldie who evangelized and brought education to the Creek Town district.

Soon after the establishing of the school at Duke Town, another was also established at Creek Town. It is reported that the school at Creek Town met in the morning and afternoon, with an attendance of about 120 daily. But during the farming and trading seasons the number would decrease. Not many girls attended because the people thought 'book education' would be of no use to the girls who in any case could not go through the ordeal successfully. The young people learned to read the Bible in Frik and in English so that they might go home and help to spread the gospel message in their families. We are told that the children had almost everything to learn except evil and that the discipline of the classroom was irksome. In 1848 the people of Creek Town received lessons on Christian marriage, and what they heard astonished them as it seemed the exact opposite of their own system. Thus quite early in the history of the mission, the handful of missionaries in spite of the difficulties that confronted them, laid the foundation of the education and technical training which culminated in the founding in 1895 of the famous Hope Waddell Training Institution.

While these developments were taking shape in Duke Town and Creek Town some of the missionaries made excursions into the surrounding territories. The first of these was to Adiaho on the Calabar River, about twenty miles above Creek Town, and next to Ekri Tabaka, which is about twenty-five miles down the river. Neither of the excursions to these two places was as interesting as the one to Ikoneto on the Cross River. There the missionaries were cordially welcomed by the chief whose house was "neatly furnished in European style with a bed in one corner, a cupboard with plates and tumblers in another, a table in the middle, and a sofa by the wall."²⁷ The missionaries also noted that a little away from the town was a settlement of twin mothers and that these women were living in enforced seclusion. This took place in 1848. In 1851 they made a similar excursion to Unon. Some of the chiefs of Calabar, particularly Duke Ephraim of Duke Town, did not favour the idea of the missionaries spreading to the interior for fear that this might interfere with their trade. Earlier they had opposed the abolition of the slave trade. But the missionaries came to preach to all and not to favour only one group. So in 1856 they opened a station at Ikoneto, and the work here was entrusted to the Goldies and Miss Euphenia Johnstone. From Ikoneto, the missionaries made trips to Ikoroffiong, an Efik outpost in Ibibioland. Other trips were made to places like Unon and Ikotana

under the leadership of Edgerly, through whose labours African teachers were also found for those places. Similar treks were made into the Oban hill country, and stations were established at Uwet and Okoyong.

Work began at Ikotana in 1864 and this was to be the base from which Christianity would spread to the rest of the Unon people. A school, as at Duke Town and other places, was started; and as a matter of fact Christianity and education went hand in hand. In 1888 a station was established at Unwana, destined to be a gateway for all future work among "the slave-dealing Aros" and a base for expansion up-river. The next station opened was Auramura. The interesting thing about this station is that its opening had the backing of Vice-Consul Johnston (afterwards Sir Harry Johnston) who regarded it as the key to the upper river. This was in 1869 when the Oil Rivers Protectorate was created. By 1890 the missionary activities reached Ajasso, the village beyond the rapids, and stations were fully established at Ikoneto, Ikoroffiong, Unon, Ikotana and Unwana.

Wherever and whenever the missionaries established a station, a school and church were built. This has remained not only the policy of this mission but also of all other missions operating in this area. While schools at the older stations were getting well established and attracting a large pupil population, new ones were being built at

places like Unon and Unwana. School work, however, made a great demand on the time of the missionaries. Moreover Sunday schools were being conducted every Sunday. Here lessons were given on religious topics, or extracts were read from Pilgrim's Progress. Some were taught how to read the letters of the alphabet and tracts containing Biblical passages. Sometimes it took the form of discussion when certain points raised during the sermon in the morning would be reiterated and emphasized. At other times religious hymns could be learnt.

By introducing a new religion and education the missionaries were definitely reforming, if not revolutionizing, the society. They were "men who have come hither to turn the world upside down" to those who would have liked to persist in doing everything as their ancestors did. Already the missionaries were telling them that the God who hitherto had been to them a vague, remote, characterless Being was the Almighty God who knows everything, sees all acts of men, and punishes all wrong doers. In His sight there was no free man or slave. All men were equal and should be treated justly. They further claimed for women rights which had hitherto been regarded as the prerogatives of men. Thus the missionaries let loose upon themselves the anger and resentment of the heathen hordes. But they did not care about their opposition because they knew they were doing the right thing, and so they set about bringing a stop to some of the evil

practices.

They preached against the slaughter of innocent lives at and after the death of free men, who owned the slaves and wives butchered at their death. After some failure the missionaries aided by the captains of the ships in the river got an Ekpo law proclaimed on the 15th February, 1850 against the sacrifice of any human being on the death of another person, whatever might be his rank or status. The slaves were very happy and banded themselves together to protect themselves against any return to the old custom.

The missionaries also fought against substitutionary punishment, and "in 1861, after a long time of education, during which the underlying principles were discussed and reiterated, Creek Town passed a law abolishing substitutionary punishment, and another great step was taken."²⁸ Creek Town, it should be noted, always tried to cooperate with the missionaries because of its chief, King Eyo Honesty, so called because of his honest dealing with the Europeans.

The social effects of polygamy proved a great hindrance to them. The women lived too much by themselves and their children grew up without any proper paternal control. The missionaries preached against this and struggled to raise the status of the women. They also insisted that everyone entering the church should marry one wife, and those who

had already married were to choose one they loved most as their wife and disband the rest. These surplus women in turn created trouble for the missionaries. This very step later on led to the establishment of churches like the African Church which differs from other Christian churches in that anyone can marry as many wives as he can care for.

The work of the emancipation of women was done mainly by the women missionaries, and the most prominent among those was Mary Slessor. At times these women, whose memory is till this day very dearly held by the people, were so vigorous and determined that they succeeded where the men had failed. For example, of Mrs. Anderson, Macfarlan writes, "she ruled her household with a rod of iron, and even the chiefs of Duke Town trembled before her. Sometimes they resisted the missionary but yielded to his wife."²⁹ The women missionaries worked quietly and persistently among the women folk. They visited those who were not allowed to leave their compound except to work on the farm, and instructed them in ~~the~~ Bible^{Knowledge} encouraged them to read for themselves and thus roused them from the apathy of their life. Of Miss Slessor the following record is left: "When she went on leave in 1890 Miss Slessor's influence in Okoyong was clearly marked. She had no tale of crowded churches or meek orderly scholars or law-abiding converts to tell. There was not a single church member. But chiefs were beginning to come to her for advice in their

palavers. Orderly trade with Calabar was increasing. And in each village there were women and children who owed their very lives to her."³⁰

This was so because the missionaries did everything to raise the position of women and were checking the cruel treatment given to twin children and their mothers. In this as in other matters, although towns like Duke Town hold out for a long time, the missionaries in the end had their way. In 1868, after the widows' revolt against the harsh custom of staying for months or years indoors till after the complete performance of the funeral rites of their husbands, the missionaries aided by the Acting-Consul put an end to the cruel custom. The widows' revolt was one of the instances of that lawlessness which then, as now, often occurred when old restraints were thrown off and the people concerned wrongly believed they could then behave as they liked.

The missionaries achieved successes in other spheres. They stopped holding markets on Sundays, and in this too Creek Town gave the lead. There was a marked improvement in the all round physical development of the children under the care of missionaries. The Christian way of life was getting a firmer grip on the people. For example, when fire burnt down Eyo's house and stores he neither believed the disaster was brought about by witchcraft nor did he use

the esere bean to find out the culprits; but he is reported to have said, "The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away"⁵¹. At his death nobody was killed because he left definite instructions that no one should be killed at his death. When in 1867 war broke out between the people of Okoyong and Creek Town it was because of the Christian influence that the two parties finally agreed to settle their dispute before the Consul.

By 1878 conditions had actually changed. In that year Consul Hopkins visited Calabar and on the instruction of Lord Salisbury, who then was the Foreign Secretary, drew up a treaty with the king and chiefs of Duke Town to put an end to their cruel customs. The fate of Willy Tom Robins, whose town had been completely destroyed by the order of the acting Consul because he persisted in treating his people cruelly as his fathers did, was a grim reminder that unlike the missionaries, "the government men" and "the gentlemen of the ships" would never use persuasion but force, even if it were brute force at times. So the people submitted. In the treaty any person found among other things, guilty of wilfully killing twins or offering human sacrifice was punishable by death. Anyone administering or taking the esere bean wilfully to commit suicide or to establish his innocence was to be heavily fined and banished from the country.

The achievement of the missionaries during the period ending in 1890 was, in my opinion, great indeed. Some there are who depreciate it when they consider the number of communicants and the loss of human lives attendant upon winning such a small number of souls. But it must be remembered that without the achievement of those days the success of today would not have been accomplished. The missionaries had disrupted a society and had therefore raised up for themselves hydra-headed problems. These they had to tackle and solve before anything worthwhile could be done. This they did, and in the field of social work and emancipation have made the women folk of Calabar what they are today. It was they who laid the foundation of Efik Literature, and thus imposed unintentionally a dialect of the Ibibio language upon the parent language, Ibibio. It was also during this period that there was implanted in the people of this province that desire to be educated which for a long time made the province unrivalled by any other province in Nigeria.

When we recall Rev. Hope Waddell's hope, when he sailed for Calabar in 1846, that "He (God) would open our way, and make darkness light and crooked things straight before us"³² we cannot but admit that it was more than fulfilled, for in less than fifty years of selfless service the missionaries were putting to flight all the forces of heathenism. The secret societies, once the highest courts

in the land and the guardians of the people's highest religious beliefs, were being shorn of power. Funeral rites were modified and old punishments for adultery, theft and murder were proscribed. Everybody was beginning to have the opportunity of being treated justly, and, though freedom, when old restraints are cast off, has its attendant problems, one might justly say of the era:

"The people which sat in darkness
Saw a great light
And to them which sat in the region
and shadow of death,
To them did light spring up"³³

In Calabar and the districts around Calabar a new order, a new society, and a new form of life was opening out before the people. Many vernacular schools were springing up here and there, and the art of writing was no longer the preserve of men of consequence and their sons. They no longer needed to go on board ships to be taught by supercargoes or to England to be taught to read and write; education had come to them and was to be got by merely asking the missionaries for it.

The missionaries too quickly built a vernacular literature and by 1868 had translated the Holy Bible into Efik. Soon they also translated the "Pilgrim's Progress" into Efik, and thus helped to make the Efik language the literary language for the whole Ibibio people, of which

the Efiks, as we have seen, form a part. ~~Seeing all this,~~
~~the Ibano people, as we shall soon see in the next chapter,~~
~~could not help sending for "a white teacher" to come and~~
~~teach them.~~ Furthermore, the Government of the protectorate
which, as we have read in the first part of this chapter,
had been declared over this area introduced into Calabar
the material things commonly associated with modern
civilization. Courts were set up and the representatives
of the communities met there now and again to judge cases;
and every person had the right of appealing against the
decision of the court. Workshops of the Marine and Public
Works Departments were set up and many Efik people were
accepted as trainees. Better roads and streets were
constructed and there was a definite attempt made to improve
the drainage system in the town. In this way the old town
came to wear a new look and was full of life and activity.
Seeing all these amenities and improvement in the spiritual
and material life of the town, the Ibano people, as we shall
soon see in the next chapter, could not resist the desire
to send for a "white teacher" to come and teach them.

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Missionary expansion and the spread of education.(a) Expansion by Qua Iboe Mission.

While the work of propagating the Christian religion and of teaching the people the rudiments of written education, as we have already seen, was taking shape at Calabar and along the Cross River, a fresh attempt at missionary work was started in the heathen territory of the Ibuno and the Ibibio tribes along the Qua Iboe River in 1887.

As we have already stated, before this time the people of Ibuno through frequent commerce with Calabar had come to know about the work and influence of the Calabar mission. These men therefore induced their chiefs to send a letter to Britain through the missionaries at Calabar begging for a white teacher. The letter was received by the principal of Harley College in Ireland. He told the students that the letter was "an appeal from some chiefs of the Ibuno tribe in the southern shores of Nigeria for a white teacher to tell their people of God."¹ Anyone could volunteer to go but the climate was pestilential, he added. Thus it was that Samuel Alexander Bill gave up his studies and accepted the challenge to come to Qua Iboe to teach these men about God.

On the 14th September, 1887 he sailed from Liverpool for Calabar, and arrived there on the 6th of October, 1887.

While at Calabar, where he was the guest of a Mr. Forster, an ex-student of Harley College which he attended, he studied the Efik language which at that time was, on account of commerce, much used or understood by many people. At Ibuno he was well received both by the natives and the agent of the Liverpool African Company there.²

The task of opening up any place is never an easy one. In the case of Mr. Hill the task was greater still because he was alone in the field and had very little support from home. His work at the beginning was a personal venture, though he had no selfish motives. He was, however, fortunate in that at Ibuno the savagery of heathenism had not deteriorated to the degree to which it had at Calabar. Nevertheless the people were still in the grip of fear, superstition and despair.

His most deadly opponents were the secret societies. As at Calabar, the members of the secret societies, like the Ekpo, had no patience for any one who told them to treat and regard women as human beings. They did not oppose him directly, but persisted in harassing and attacking those who went to hear him. Not satisfied ^{with} ~~the~~ preaching only on Sundays, he went about preaching from house to house. He did not even avoid the Efo, where the people normally gather to drink palm wine and where they used to store, in days gone by, the paraphernalia of their secret

societies. European writers have mistakenly given such a place the odd name of "Palaver House."

Soon he started a school at Ibuno for the young people. Now what the people wanted had come to them, and so young men thronged the school. Mr. Bill's purpose for opening the school was to teach the young to read the English and the Efik Bible so that they might return home and help to spread the gospel news among their parents and relatives. This, as we shall see later, remained the only purpose for providing education in the Qua Iboe Mission. The Curriculum was similar to that of the school at Calabar, which, as we have seen, consisted of writing, reading and arithmetic.

Although he could not establish many schools at once as the Presbyterians were able to do, the little he could do bore fruit. For when Mr. Bill went home on furlough in 1890 he was able to take to Ireland an African who could speak English tolerably well. This man was David Ekong, his first pupil and also the first native pastor in the Qua Iboe area. It is reported that the presence of this man, who could speak English reasonably well, and who declared publicly his belief in the redemptive power of Jesus Christ brought about in 1890 the formation of a council for the support and management of affairs in the Qua Iboe area.

Following the formation of this council other missionaries were sent out from Belfast. From Ibuno as the base, the work of evangelisation spread to other Ibibio

territories along the Qua Iboe River, and stations were established at many places like Ukat in 1891, Ikpök, Iköt Akpatek and Iköt Ehidang, all in the neighbourhood of Ukat. Vernacular schools began to spring up alongside the churches, and the growth of these schools were so rapid and so uncontrolled in the Qua Iboe area that the mission, as we shall see later, came to have more schools of this type than any other mission in the former Calabar province.

Ukat itself became a very important educational centre. As the mission's base continued to be shifted as they penetrated more and more inland, Ukat soon became another base. It was here that about 1900 the most important school in Qua Iboe at that time was established. The school was known as the "Youngmen's Training Institute." It was used as a training centre for would-be African evangelists and preachers. However by 1912 the school had ceased to exist and later on when the need for such a school was felt, the Boys' Training Institute was established at Etinan. We shall hear more about this when we come to secondary and middle schools.

By this time the Niger Coast Protectorate had been declared over the area and consequently there was, as already stated, a Consul at Calabar and also there were District Commissioners at places like Opobo and Ekot. Roads were also being constructed in many parts of the land and there was order. So the small band of missionaries

began to move out rapidly into the surrounding territories. Thus by 1900 Christianity had spread through a great part of the Iman territory - Minan, established in 1898, being used as the base in this case. Then it spread into Ubiun clan; and Ikot Ubi became the centre or base. By the time it spread through the Annang territory about 1912 the area had been opened up by Government activities and there was a rest house at Ika.³ The roads were sufficiently good to allow the missionaries to ride their bicycles. By 1917 when Christianity spread into the Ibo territory and outside Calabar province, the railway was operating at Aba.

In the above paragraphs I have not made mention of the establishment of schools in every village or town to which the Christian religion spread, though they were established. This is because it was almost axiomatic for schools to be established along with the churches as soon as teachers could be got. These schools were all vernacular schools and much like the school at Ihuno. So I feel one would be bored to read almost the same account in every paragraph. Education had come and everybody wanted it for employment and for personal prestige. The officials of the Protectorate went about with their team of workers and in this team were Africans. The people knew at once that the close association of Africans and Europeans was only possible through education. So as soon as any village saw somebody who could read, they

took him to a missionary and demanded that a school be established in their village or town. In this way the Qua Iboe Mission in its own way helped to spread modern education to many parts of the Province.

(b) Expansion by the Methodists.

The Primitive Methodist Missionary Society had been established in the island of Fernando Po by 1870. It was from this island that after about twenty four years of its activities there, the Methodist Church spread to the Calabar and Owerri provinces of Eastern Nigeria. About 1893 the Rev. R. Fairloy and the Rev. Ben Showell came to Nigeria and started their missionary work along the Akwajayo River, a tributary of the Cross River. But when they realized that the area they selected would come under German rule, they then shifted to Jamestown and Cron in 1894.

Before this Rev. Fairloy and his friends had actually worked in Archibong Town and Ikang. Those were small settlements found along the Creeks that span the part of the coast near the mouth of the Cross River. While there, they worked mainly among people of slave origin and these men were their first converts. While still at Archibong Town they had started a school. However, records about the progress of the school are lacking.

Soon by the principle of church and school wherever the missionaries went, as we have already seen in the case

of the Qua Iboe Mission, the Methodist Church quickly spread westwards in two directions into a large part of the province. From Oron it spread into the hinterland of Oron to, among other places, Iquita, Uyaron, Oyubia and Okobo. It came to Okobo in 1909, and from there spread much farther inland to Oduku and parts of Etebi. Anyone who glances in a most cursory way at any map of this area during this time, might be surprised at the number of schools springing up like mushrooms here and there without any order or plan.

The other direction was from Jamestown to Adadia and beyond. The Methodist Church spread to Adadia in 1907. By the time they established a church there, they were actually building upon the foundation which the Church of Scotland Mission had laid. For in 1902 the Church of Scotland Mission had started work there, but when trouble arose they had given up the work they began. In 1909 Rev. Dodds of the Methodist Church went to Adadia and in the following year chose it as the headquarters from which their work would spread to the interior. By this time too work spread from Oron to Ekaya and from Adadia to Ebeghedu and Esuk Inyang. The missionaries were well treated at many of the places to which they went, and many towns received their message with joy. In this part of the province, travelling by road was difficult, so resident ministers used canoes. In many of these places mentioned,

vernacular schools were established, and many gladly sent their sons to the schools.

Because of roads and the rule of law, the Methodist Mission quickly spread through Uruan Clan to the territory of the Iisit people. By 1914 it had spread through Ibesikpo and Asutan clans and following the Cron - Aba road came to Ikot Ekpene and then finally spread to Opobo and the surrounding areas. Again it must be stressed here that the rapid spread of Christianity was more or less motivated by the desire of the people to become educated.

The only schools of importance that the Methodist Mission had at this time were the schools at Oron. One of these was begun in 1905 and by 1912 became known as the Training Institute.⁴ The other was a girls' school. It was at first opened at Jamestown between 1905 and 1909, but was later removed to Oron to become the Mary Hanney Memorial School. In this mission as in others during this time the same building was at once a school and a church. On week days classes met here and on Sundays divine service and Sunday schools were held. The teacher in charge was very often the teacher and the evangelist. Although in many cases education always followed in the wake of the spread of religion, yet by this time in the mission it is reported that the rate at which religion was spreading was so phenomenal that education could not keep pace with it.

This was so partly because, as was already stated in the introduction, the people were in a way pliable and not as adamant as others in sticking to their ancient worship, and also because there were roads and expansion was easy, and consequently each mission tried to bring as much of the territory as possible under its influence and shut out rival religious bodies.

(c) Expansion by the Roman Catholic Mission.

It was the keen competition and religious 'scramble' that made the Roman Catholics in many cases change from the principle of church and school to that of "school first, religion thereafter." This mission spotted at once that the school, more than any single factor, made the people forsake their ancient religion and accept a foreign one, for after all the idea of God was not altogether a new one. "The common essence of heathenism is not a denying of God...but an ignoring of him in the worship of natural powers and mysterious demonic powers through magic and magical sacrifice and ceremonies."⁵ In fairness to the Roman Catholics, it must be stated that not only they but all the Christian Churches in Nigeria used the school as a vehicle for conversion.⁶

With the Roman Catholic Mission, as stated above, education at times preceded religion. The mission came to Calabar in 1903 from Onitsha to which it had spread from Lagos. Rev. Father Lejeune who was then in charge

of the work at Onitsha did not confine himself to Ibo-land only. Towards the second half of the year he hastened into Calabar, leaving the whole of Overri province untouched. It is difficult to say why he decided to do this; but I feel that in Calabar he saw a fertile ground. The land was being well opened up, as it has already been stated, and the people were very thirsty for education and were daily thronging the miserable vernacular schools for the most rudimentary education. The Protestants opposed him, but because they themselves had no interest in one another, they could not offer any effective opposition.

The Roman Catholic Mission at once established a school, which later on became known as the Sacred Heart School; and in order that they might attract more people to their fold they gave a type of education to which Mr. Archibong, to whom I owe this information, gave the name English education. It appears this "English education" was different from the education given in the vernacular schools in that English was the main medium of teaching, perhaps something similar to the direct method of teaching Latin.

Of their activities at Calabar then Father Lejeune wrote on September 13th, 1903:

"Today I am leaving Old Calabar for Onitsha, after spending three months there in the Capital of the Colony. During my stay we built first: the Church

which is now being painted and which will be opened for public worship in three weeks' time. Secondly half of a house, and thirdly a kitchen and shed. Up to now the authorities of this new mission have been almost exclusively occupied with the schools, but their efforts have met with extraordinary success. The actual daily attendance is 180 in one school and 70 in the other; there are 360 on the books. The High Commissioner summoned me a short time ago to discuss with me the foundation of an Institute in which 150 sons of the chiefs should be educated. I agreed to this. After spending three or four years at this institute, the students would be sent to a Government College where they would be trained as Lawyers, doctors and the like."⁷

The above shows the people's interest in education, and confirms my earlier statement that in the case of the Catholics, at times, education preceded religion and also reveals the Government's interest in education, as we shall see in the next chapter of this dissertation.

To avoid repetition I have tried to give the account of the Catholic activities at Calabar in detail as their work in other places followed almost the same pattern. The "English education" given by the Catholics appealed very much to the people since they realized that in this way their sons could get to speak English fluently and so have all the esteem and prestige that went with education then.

It is reported that many deputations went to the Roman Catholic Mission to ask the missionaries to open their missions among them. Some time afterwards, a convent school for girls, which was opened at Onitsha in 1904, was removed to Calabar and there it attained a standard of efficiency which made it a model in the training of girls. Thus many were drawn through education into the fold of Roman Catholicism. Between the years 1903 and 1910 the Roman Catholic confined their activities to Calabar and the district around Calabar.

But by 1910 they began to move into the Ibibio mainland. About that time Rev. Father Laynar established churches at Ishiot and Ekaya. We are told that at Ekaya, on the day Father Laynar arrived, the chiefs showed him a corrugated iron roofed building which was meant for their Juju, but which they there and then gave to him for education. On the next day, the story continues, more than three hundred pupils gathered round the building, clamouring for education. No building then could contain them all and so one hundred of them were selected for the school, which started on that same day too.

From Ekaya the Roman Catholic Mission spread to Ama Ikon and Ndon Ebon. In 1912 it spread to Anua, which was destined to be for the rest of the province, what Calabar was to the district around it. At Anua the story at Calabar repeats itself and through the work of Rev.

Fathers J. Krafft and J. Eiechey, Father Laynar's assistants, who took up residence at Anua, the Catholic mission and the education given by them spread through the rest of the province. Mr. Ube who was their Catechist during the expansion in the Ibibio mainland had very interesting stories to tell about this period. Some of the stories were about chiefs who allowed the missionaries to preach to their wives and say nothing about their own cults and shrines nor claim for their wives rights that they did not have. Others were about the chiefs and ordinary people who sent children of the wives they did not like to school and kept back those of their favourite wives to attend at their shrines, and the trouble that arose afterwards between the two groups of children. From Anua they pushed into the interior and by 1915 had established stations at Ifuho, near Ikot Ekpene, Edon Ekpat (near Etinan, Qua Iboe Mission stronghold), and Asong. These places in turn became the sub-headquarters from which their religion and education spread to the outlying districts.

The spread of education, as we have already stated, is a case of "history repeating itself;" perhaps here we should say a case of a story repeating itself. In some cases it was the Calabar story repeating itself, and in some it was the Ekaya story repeating itself. It was their "powerful" and more progressive 'educational policy' that

made the Roman Catholics succeed in establishing centres where others had already planted their church and school. In this way the Roman Catholics also helped in carrying religion and education to a great part of the former Calabar province.

(d) Further expansion by the Presbyterians.

While the Qua Ihoé Mission, the Methodist Mission, and the Roman Catholics were pushing into the hinterland from their bases, the Presbyterian mission was also pushing into the interior, and along the Cross River. Already the establishment of the Catholic Mission at Calabar, their stronghold, was a challenge to them. By 1903 Mary Slessor was doing excellent work among the people of Okoyong. On the second Sunday of August of 1903 a Communion service was held for the first time in Okoyong. It is believed that that was the culmination of fifteen years of hard and difficult toil among the people of Okoyong in the service of Christ.

Earlier in the same year Mary Slessor had visited Itu and selected a site for a church and school. Shortly after this she paid her first visit to Arochukuwa and soon opened a school at Anasu. This she staffed with two lads whom she had trained. Through the invitation of Onoyon Iya Nya the missionary work spread to Akani Obio. Onoyon, who had earlier met the missionaries at Ikorofiong, had decided to embrace Christianity because of the calamity that had befallen him. Unusual flooding in the wet season of 1906

made the people of Akani Obio believe that offended gods were taking revenge on him for daring to worship the white man's God. But he took another view, and built a new town on a higher ground and in the centre set a new church and school. He gave this new town a new name, Obio Usiero, which literally means "town of the damn."

In 1905 it was decided that Itu, because of its strategic position in the business conduct of the mission, should be named as a proper European station. We might here note that Itu has since remained the most important station in the mission as far as the business conduct of the mission is concerned. In the same year a fully equipped hospital was built at Itu. From Itu Miss Slessor, who had settled there in 1904, carried the Christian religion and education to Okpo, Odot and Asang along the Anyong Creek. Then she went to Ikot Obong where once again she was appointed the permanent Vice-President of the court which was by this time being established over the land by the Government. In 1907 she started a settlement for twin-mothers and refugee women at Use.⁸ Here she built neat mud houses, planted fruit trees presented by the Government and bought live stock. Each of the women in the settlement had a plot of land to farm and she started light industries like basket making, cocoa nut fibre work, and bamboo work and for these local materials were used.

Then she started to move towards Ikot Ekpone, then the military and civil headquarters for the Ibibio area, and by 1913 had reached Ikpe. She passed away in 1915, but her work lives on, and she had a useful successor in a certain Miss Welsh. She carried the work to Ibiaku. Soon deputation after deputation was received from the people around, each demanding teachers to work among them. Before long it is said that Miss Welsh had over ninety stations staffed by boys to whom she had given only six months' training. In the mean time through the effort of Miss Peacock a network of schools and churches was established in the Ididop area and in some Ibiomo villages, all within easy reach of Ikot Obong. When in 1922 she moved to Asang the Presbyterian church with its education and medical work had spread through the part of Calabar Province it now occupies.

(e) The Salvation Army and others.

If the churches that we have so far considered spread through the province like wild fire, then the Salvation Army took it by storm. Great friends of Nigeria, like Dr. Walter Hillier,⁹ thought that, with the coming of the Salvation Army into Nigeria, the Nigerians would have something to satisfy them emotionally if not spiritually. Whether this is so or not can best be determined by members of that church. However, it is certain that most Africans are more eastern than western in nature and outlook.

They believe very much in the supernatural, as we have seen, in ecstasies and in "excitements" and so want for worship, to take a crude example, an atmosphere similar to the one the prophets of Baal must have created for themselves on Mount Carmel in their conflict with Elijah. Apart from the Roman Catholic Church, none of the Protestant churches could give them an atmosphere of awe and reverence, something the people had been accustomed to at their shrines and altars. The approach to God was thus purely intellectual and not emotional and so being emotionally starved they yearned for something more satisfying to their emotion and inner being. Because of this some broke away from the established churches and formed the ever popular and ever growing native churches that were sometimes called Spiritual Churches. More on these churches we shall soon see. In 1924 reports about the work of the Salvation Army were brought from Lagos to Ibadan in Oyo Division. The Ibadan people at once sent representatives to Lagos to Colonel Shooter who was in charge of the Army at Lagos. He then sent Major Jones to Ibadan to investigate the possibility of the Army starting its religious activities there. Major Jones returned with a good report, and so Captain (now Brigadier) Labinjo was sent in 1925 to start work in Ibadan, a clan of the Ibibios of Oyo Division.

It was at this time that one Tom Akpan Iwa of the African Oil Company at Oyo wrote to his cousin, Uno Esena

of Akai in Ubiun Clan in Eket Division, about the "wonderful church." He went to Opobo, and invited Captain J. F. Cole, who had taken over the station there from Captain Labinje in 1926, to bring the Salvation Army to Ubiun, his clan. So Captain Cole led a campaign from Ibeke to Ubiun, and arrived at Ikot Uho, which was by now a Qua Iboe Mission stronghold. There the Army established a Church and moved down towards Eket and came to Akai. Another station was established there, and, with Akai as the base, the Army after six months spread to Ikot Use Ekong, Odoro Enea, Afia Nsit Eket, Afaha Eket, Ikot Ibiok and Ekor. The Army also started schools at Ikot Uho, Akai and Ikot Use Ekong. Aided by their music and military way of marching they captured a lot of followers from the already existing churches and spread through Ubiun and Eket Clans.

In 1933 Mr. T. W. Etukwa, a native of Ikot Ebo, who was working at Opobo, came in contact with the army and brought the Salvation Army to Ikot Ebo near Etinan in the heart of the Inan Clan. Through the assiduity of Lieutenant Essien who took over the station at Ikot Ebo in 1934 from Lieutenant Ino the work of the Army spread from Inan area right down to Atin Ekpo and Ibiono and the furthest reaches of Itu District. Under Captain Ita Una it also spread through the Nsit areas. As other missions did, they had to start schools wherever they went. In those days it would have been difficult to establish a church without having a

school along-side the church. All this, as we shall soon see in its appropriate section, led to the establishment of mushroom schools, not really worth the name of school at all.

In 1936 the Lutheran Mission came. The Lutherans did not establish schools of their own immediately they arrived. They took over the administration and management of the schools belonging to the Ibesikpo clan. They had been invited to this clan because the people were dissatisfied with the Qua Iboe Mission which from the very beginning set its face against polygamy, and through misunderstanding the person who introduced the Lutheran Mission thought this mission would allow the marriage of two wives. The Lutheran Mission began to spread from the Ibesikpo clan and got schools of its own after the Second World War.

Other minor churches were established at one time or another in the province. Some of the founders of these groups of churches were cheats, and rebels and teachers who had been dismissed from their employment. So finding themselves with nothing to do they would found a church and a school, and these together with those that we have already mentioned came to be known as native or spiritual churches. The only important one in this category is the African Church. The A. M. E. Zion mission, though of different origin, also comes under this group of miscellaneous churches which with their badly built, and ill-staffed schools often were an impediment to proper and purposful educational development

in the province.

(f) Conclusion.

The spread of missionary activities through the province was rapid and so too was the educational movement that went with it. Even though only a quarter of all the children of school age went to school about the thirties, yet the lure of literacy was evident all over the land and the clamour for schools was mounting daily. Because of this the change from a primitive and barbarous state to a more intelligent way of life was likewise rapid. On the whole the missions laid the foundation of education in this province as they did elsewhere in Nigeria and Africa at large. When later on the Government decided to help, they only gave grants, formulated policies, built a handful of schools and provided men to supervise educational work in the province, and cooperated with the mission bodies in their educational services. This is the story of the next chapter.

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CHAPTER IV.DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION (I).Pre-non-intervention period.

The different mission bodies operating in the province continued, as we have already seen, with the system of establishing vernacular schools in the area of their authority. Many of these schools were built by the natives themselves who were induced either by the lure of education or by the status that accompanied having a school in one's village or town. In nearly all of them the teacher was also the local preacher. The premises of many of these were inadequate, unsuitable and sometimes positively unhealthy and harmful to the children. But in considering the schools of these days we must forget a little about the darker side and remember that they were then the best that could be provided.

While new schools were springing up here and there as religion spread, as we have already seen, older schools were becoming more stabilized and work in them was progressing. About many of these adequate records are not available. Each mission managed its educational affairs as best it could. A very large number of the schools had only infant classes. Many of the remaining ones did not go beyond standard one; and only a few, the central schools - as schools at any station in which a resident minister lived were called - did work beyond the standard two level. These schools, which were found

mainly in the rural areas, were, as we shall see used later on, variously called "bush schools," "mushroom schools," or vernacular schools. As we have already seen, this type of schools continued to spring up everywhere and in the older ones more serious work started to be done in the classrooms.

But in the schools at Duke Town, Creek Town and Qua Town, all belonging to the Presbyterian mission, there was real development. The number on the roll in those schools was increasing, and teachers for some of them were got from Jamaica and Sierra Leone. Mary Slessor and other pioneer missionaries taught in them before moving up to the outstations. The non-white teachers got from outside Nigeria gave them, particularly the Duke Town School, a prestige and a name not yet surpassed by other schools in Nigeria. Between 1900 and 1914 the number of pupils at Duke Town had already gone up to a thousand, if not more. Though Duke Town School has always excelled the Hope Waddell Training Institution in numbers, the latter founded in 1895 was destined to surpass it in fame. The main purpose for establishing this institution was to provide a good general education in English, to give training in various industries like tailoring, carpentry and baking, and also to systematise the training of teachers and pastors. The project,

especially on its industrial side, was so good that the government of the Niger Coast Protectorate stopped in at once to assist. The following is a statement attributed to Sir Claud Macdonald, the then Governor, on the Hope Caddell project: "A most important and useful departure has been made by the Presbyterian Missionary Society in starting industrial schools in Old Calabar."¹ The Government of the protectorate also assisted the institution by a yearly grant of £200 and gave free to the Society the land on which the institution still stands.

In 1896 a girls' wing was attached to the institution, but was removed to Creek Town in 1898, where it became the Girls' Institute. This further became in 1902 the Edgerley Memorial School in which girls were trained for the profession of teaching and nursing and were also taught to become good house-wives, good citizens and better mothers. The institution itself also continued to expand. In 1896 it had an agricultural department, and in 1898 started the tailoring and Bakery departments. By 1903 it also began an infant section and work in the school reached the standard VII level. In 1911 the Normal College was also started as a part of the institution. This was a two year course and began with only four students. The mission concentrated mainly on the institution and wanted to make (and actually made) it

the first of its type and the best in Nigeria.

The schools in the area of authority of the Qua Iboe Mission continued as already stated because the mission has always been particularly poor and had very little support from Ireland. Many of the schools did not go beyond the infant classes. The only schools of importance were the Youngmen's Institute and "The Cosy Cottage." The institute, as already stated, was founded about 1900 at Ikot Alpan in Ukat area, and in 1904 it is said to have been managed by one Miss Gordon. The cottage was founded in 1906 for the training of girls. The students of the Cosy Cottage used to help Mr. Bailey, who was the missionary in charge of the area, in church on Sunday mornings, "and in the afternoon they spread around, taking the gospel to the neighbouring towns and villages."² This is still the prevalent custom in some of the leading Qua Iboe educational institutions. The Youngmen's Institute was removed to Etinan in 1916 where it was renamed the Boys' Training Institute. "The Cosy Cottage" seems to have had a chequered fortune; however, when it revived, it became the Grace Hill Memorial Institute at Afaha Eket.

The Methodist mission continued its educational activities almost along the line followed by other missions. Vernacular bush schools continued to spring up along the trail of religious expansion. While these schools were

being established through the enthusiasm of the natives, the mission only concerned itself with developing two schools. These were the Eyo Bassey Girls' School at James Town which, as we have already stated, became the Mary Emancy School at Cron, and the institute at Cron. The institute was established so that Africans might be trained there to become teacher-evangelists of those days. In 1905 the work in the school did not go beyond the standard five level but by 1916 there was standard six in the school. "All students belonged to the Christian Endeavour society and conducted services each Sunday and sometimes on week days in the neighbouring villages. They were given training in teaching methods and preaching along with their elementary school subjects."³ Also included in the course were subjects like Biblical Knowledge and Homiletics. By 1910 the institute was already enjoying some "reputation for producing young men with good elementary education, a sound knowledge of the scriptures and zeal and ability in evangelism and teaching."⁴

The Roman Catholic Mission was still in its infancy in 1916, although as already seen, they had spread to the mainland. The only schools of importance the mission had then were the Sacred Heart School and St. Joseph's Convent. They tried to start some secondary education in 1912 as a department or wing of the Sacred Heart School,

but unfortunately the man who started the project was conscripted in 1914 and so the project came to a standstill. One Father F. Howell arrived later to continue the scheme, but because of lack of teachers and his illness in 1915 the scheme was suspended. Some of their elementary school teachers were trained at that time at the Catholic College at Igbariam in Onitsha.

As can be seen from the above survey of the educational scene of this period there is evidently an eagerness on the part of the missionaries, and enthusiasm on the part of the natives to press on with the education of young men. Educated men were in great demand and often one who had read up to standard three passed for a prodigy. On the whole the missions favoured vernacular education at the elementary stage so that they might lay the foundation for selecting future African missionaries and then educate the rest to be worthy members of the Christian communities in their respective villages.

(b) Government intervention and contribution.

Prologue.

From the foregoing it is quite obvious that each mission worked independently and did what it believed to be the best that could be done under the circumstances. Except when, as previously stated, the Commissioner discussed with the Roman Catholic Father the possibility

of building a school at Calabar for the sons of chiefs and when the grant was given to Hope Waddell, there was then no indication that the Government of the protectorate showed any interest in the education of the people. For almost over half a century the missionaries and the natives met the cost of education and, in fact, of the social changes that were taking place in the area alone and unaided. The Government and the merchantile houses only employed some of the children educated by the missions. There was no machinery whereby the work of the missions could be coordinated. Most of the missions, trained only a few people to be teachers and pastors. Others they only educated to be good Christians and to be able "to search the scriptures" daily.

However, the Government did not remain silent or indifferent like this indefinitely. With successive political changes came also a realization, as it were, by the government that it was its responsibility to guide the educational development of the territory. In the following paragraphs we shall only consider the developments in the Southern Protectorate as ^{they} affected Calabar Province.

As far as this province is concerned, the intervention, as it is often called, had taken place by 1903. Perhaps before we go on, it might be good to review

what exactly happened before, and up to, this time so that we may know whether the Government was just unwilling to assist or was actually doing something to aid education step by step.

It will be recalled that in 1861 Lagos was ceded to the British Crown and became from that date a Crown Colony. By 1866 it had its own Legislative Council, but administratively was under Sierra Leone, as part of the West African Settlements.⁵ In 1874 it was redesignated as part of the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and finally on March 15th, 1886, became an 'independent' colony of Lagos, that is, not administered as a part of any other West African Colony.

In 1852 an Ordinance was passed in the Gold Coast legislature to promote and assist education in the Gold Coast.⁶ This was the first Education Ordinance passed in British West Africa. Although primarily it was concerned with education in the Gold Coast, yet it paved the way to Government participation in education in other British West African territories. So about 1877 the Government of the Colony of Lagos began to give a yearly grant of £200 each to the Anglican, the Roman Catholic, and the Wesleyan Missions in the Colony of Lagos.

The next stage of development came in 1882, when Mr. Sunter, Principal of Fourah Bay College, was appointed Inspector of schools for all West African Settlements,⁷

and the Settlements passed Education Ordinances in some respects modelled on the English educational system of the day. A dual system, the Ordinance stated, was to be developed; that is Government schools and mission schools were to be established. The Government schools were to be established where there was no mission school. Grants-in-aid were no longer to be fixed sums paid to each mission, but were to depend on the attendance of the pupils, the general efficiency of the schools and the success of the pupils in annual examinations based on prescribed syllabuses.⁸ This, we may note, sounds very much like Robert Lowe's Revised Code of 1862.⁹ Teachers were to prepare for examinations and receive certificates, and a substantial part of the grants-in-aid was to be a contribution towards their salaries, subject to the missions paying them certain minimum sums.

The general control of education, the Ordinance further stated, was to be under a General Board of Education. The Board was to advise the Governor, who himself was a member of the Board, on matters affecting education in the Colonies. This Board had power to establish local Boards which should advise the General Board on the opening of new Government schools, and determining whether the purpose for which grants-in-aid were paid was being fulfilled.

However, in Lagos it was not found possible to alter

the system of fixed grants-in-aid to the missions until after 1897. By 1892, Lagos education was completely separated from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone education, and a full time Inspector of Schools was appointed. This state of affairs continued till 1906 when Lagos education was merged with the young Education Department of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria,¹⁰ which was established in 1903.¹¹ The Education Department for the Protectorate, as soon as it was established, at once set out to organize the usual system of earned grants-in-aid for mission schools and also to supervise the ever increasing number of schools. There were two Boards: the Eastern Board and the Central Board. Some slight difficulties seem to have arisen when Lagos education and that of the rest of the Protectorate were merged together. For in 1908 another Ordinance was passed establishing just one Board of Education for the whole of Southern Nigeria.

(ii) Increased interest and participation.

In 1897 the Government had been moved with sympathy to build a primary school at Lagos for the Muslim Community which seemed undisturbed by what was happening around them in the field of education. In 1900, when the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria was created, it took over the management of the Boys' High School, Oguguwanga, from the Niger Delta Pastorate that hitherto had managed

the school and had built it jointly with the Pomny Chiefs and two Commercial concerns operating at the time in the area. Soon another Government school was opened in Benin City about this time. It also selected Hope Waddell at Calabar "to perform the functions of a Government High School and Industrial School," and so paid a grant for this purpose. By 1903, District Primary schools, or Government schools were opened at Owo, Warri and Agbede.¹² In the same year another school a 'Residential Intermediate School' was opened at Sapale and in 1904 Government schools were opened at Opobo (in Calabar Province), Oban and Owerri. Girls' schools were also opened about the same time at Sapale, Benin and Warri.

From the above it appears that the Government was alive to its responsibility; that is, that it was responsible for the education and the moral welfare of the people that it ruled and that it should not leave this entirely to the mission bodies. Thus it is quite obvious that the Government did not wait till 1947 before it knew that the responsibility and the task were its own, as it may be inferred from the memorandum on education published in that year. Side by side with this increased participation in the building of schools, the Government continued to give grants-in-aid to mission schools and little by little was planning towards a policy of indirectly

bringing the mission bodies (or voluntary agencies, as they are popularly called) under its control and evolving an educational policy for the whole country. However, in the meantime it continued to provide more schools. By 1900, the Government schools had risen to forty in number. There were six in the Western provinces, eighteen in the Central, and sixteen in the Eastern provinces. A Government secondary school, King's College, was opened in 1909 with eleven pupils and a European headmaster and two European assistant masters.

By 1912 there were fifty-nine Government primary schools and ninety-one mission schools receiving Government grants. Of the ninety-one mission schools the Anglicans had twenty-seven, the Presbyterian had nineteen, the Wesleyan Methodists had six, the Roman Catholics had thirty-six, the Quia Iboe Mission had one, and the United Native African Church had two. Apart from these there were also a large number of private schools that were not recognised by the Government.

It must be remembered from what we said in the section entitled "Pre-non-intervention period" that although the Government was doing all this, the state of education when Sir Frederick Lugard (later Lord Lugard) arrived in 1912 was on the whole bad because of the existence of numerous non-assisted and private schools. The missions'

resources were altogether insufficient to meet the great demand for education all over the country and teacher training facilities, except for Hope Waddell Training Institution (1911),¹³ the institution for training of teachers by the C.M.S. at Abeokuta (1849),¹⁴ Wesley College Ibadan (1905)¹⁵ and Akoka (1904), were almost non-existent. The schools were therefore inadequately staffed, and in many missions no attempt whatever was made to supervise these schools. The situation was really very unsatisfactory and the standard of education was evidently very low. We are told that even many of the Government and assisted schools were understaffed.

But in spite of the poor standard of education, it must be stressed again, that on account of increased trade and the economic development of the country, like the building of the railway, there were very many lucrative jobs for the person with the barest rudiments of elementary education. Some departments too at this time undertook to run courses for their apprentices.

(iii) Policy and control of education.

It will be remembered, as already stated, that in 1912 Lugard was sent to what is now Nigeria as Governor of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, and also of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria expressly to unite the two together, and that he achieved this in 1914. As

Governor (later on Governor - General) -in-Council the Director of Education was responsible to him and he had to approve everything affecting education and the department before it was put into effect.

"Few men combine political insight with administrative ability, and fewer still can add natural wisdom to these. Lugard had them all." In fact it is believed by some that he himself drafted the Code of 1916. However, no one is certain about this. Before we go on to the code, let us briefly examine the educational situation during the war years (1914 - 1918). The war we are told hit Nigeria badly. But because of lack of records not much can be said here that can be compared to what ^{will be said} ~~is said~~ in the case of the second world war. There was no money and there were no people to do certain jobs. The number of Government schools fell from fifty-six in 1913 to forty-five in 1917. The assisted mission schools just before the war had already fallen from 91 in 1912 to 84 in 1913. There was, however, a marked increase in enrolment in the primary schools during the period. In some respects, the war nevertheless was beneficial to Nigeria and the needs of war speeded up development and consequently helped to open up the country at a rate that was certainly unparalleled.¹⁶

We now turn to the Code of 1916. The main aim of this Ordinance was for the Government to be able to take

over the control of education in Nigeria. Perhaps this will be clearer, if we state below some of the principles involved in this: (a) The primary object of all schools was to be the formation of character and habits of discipline; the grant-in-aid was to be based on success in this direction;

(b) The value of religion, irrespective of creed or sect, and the sanction and incentive it affords, was to be recognised and utilised as an agent for the purpose, together with secular and moral instruction;

(c) Educational agencies, whether controlled by Government or Mission, were to cooperate in the common objective, and as far as possible by similar methods of discipline and instruction.

(d) Continuation and evening classes,^{and} institutions for the training of teachers were to receive special encouragement;

(e) The Government was to exercise control over all schools, assisted or not, and endeavour to bring them in line with general policy. It must, however, be noted here that Lugard did not just push out the missions because he believed that "it is an essential policy in Education that it (Government) should enlist in hearty cooperation all educational agencies in the country which are conducted (as Mission Schools are) with the sole object of benefiting the people."¹⁷

In order to encourage the transfer of non-assisted schools to the assisted list the Governor - General said,

"the grants to assisted schools shall no longer be awarded on the basis of an annual (and necessarily hurried) examination in certain subjects but on frequent inspections and examinations extending through the school year."¹⁸

Again it is necessary to note how closely West African education in general followed and imitated the English educational system. A little before this time, people in ^{1/2 century!} England were vehemently against the Revised Code,¹⁹ and Scotland actually suspended its financial provisions till a Royal Commission had reported on the schools of Scotland.²⁰

The Code also specified what the relation between the Director and the Department on the one hand, and the missions or Voluntary Agencies on the other should be. Lugard had good plans about "Provincial Schools" in which some sort of industrial or commercial education was to be given to meet the country's expanding economy and also about "Rural Schools." But it seems the war did not allow any of these plans to materialize.

On the whole Lord Lugard's reforms were favourable to the missions, particularly because of the new formula for grants-in-aid. The assessment which determined the grant was by the 1916 Code made on the following bases: 30% of the marks was to be given for the tone of the school, discipline, organization and moral instruction, 20% for the adequacy and efficiency of the teaching staff,

40% on the result of periodical examinations and general progress, and 10% for buildings, equipment and sanitation.²¹

It was on account of this that the number of mission assisted schools grew and seemed not to have been affected by the war. Ten of the assisted mission schools developed secondary departments and in all they had about 300 pupils on roll.

Immediately after the war the desire for education increased by leaps and bounds. The unassisted schools grew day by day and from 1,443 in 1920 it rose to 2,432 in 1922. The enrolment also rose accordingly. In 1922 there were 122,018 children on the roll and with an average attendance of 78,772. In the same year Government and Government assisted schools numbered 195 with an attendance of 28,000.

Sir Clifford, who took over from Lord Lugard, as the Governor considered the state of education in the non-assisted schools as very unfortunate, and as being very dangerous to the real development of education. He therefore felt that to guard against this sporadic growth of "bush schools," the power of controlling educational expansion and of closing undesirable schools should be vested in a representative Board of Education rather than in the Governor. This clearly points out that it would not take a long time before certain changes took place

in the system of education envisaged by the Code of 1916.

The surveys of 1919 and 1924 by the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the work of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa (formed in 1923) brought about the change which by 1925 had become inevitable. Before we consider the 1926 Code, which ushered in the desired changes and produced what we may justifiably call the Nigerian educational system, let us first briefly consider the work of the Advisory Committee, because the final recommendations or memoranda of this Committee, when approved by the Secretary of State, became the formulated policy of the Colonial Office. It should, however, be noted that before this the various governments concerned had the chance of making their own observations on the draft recommendations or memoranda always sent to them beforehand.²²

In March 1925 the committee produced a paper which laid down the principles that should form the basis of a sound educational policy in Africa. I here list briefly a few of the principles which were used in the making of the 1926 Code:

- (i) Governments themselves were to control educational policy, but they were to cooperate with other educational agencies. Each territory was to have

an education advisory board.

- (ii) Education was to conserve as far as possible all that is sound and healthy in the fabric of the social life of the people.
- (iii) Religion and character training were to be given very great importance.
- (iv) Grants were to be given to aid voluntary schools which satisfied the requirements.
- (v) African languages as well as English were to be used in education.
- (vi) Training of teachers was essential.
- (vii) The system of specially trained visiting teachers was recommended as a means of improving village schools.
- (viii) A thorough system of inspection and supervision of schools was essential.²³

Because of all this, the Code of 1926 became more comprehensive and progressive than that of 1916, and many of the weaknesses of the previous code were eliminated.

Among the new provisions of the code were the following:

- (1) A register of teachers was to be kept and only those teachers enrolled on it could teach in the schools of the Colony or Southern Provinces.
- (2) Powers were given to the Governor, acting on the advice of the Director and Board of Education, to

control the opening of new schools, and to close down inefficient schools.

- (3) Supervisors, who were in fact voluntary agency inspectors, were to be appointed to assist in the supervision of schools.
- (4) The Board of Education was enlarged and made more representative of the main bodies concerned with education.²⁴

With the passing of the Ordinance making this Code effective, we may say that the education system of Southern Nigeria had evolved.

(iv) The system in practice, 1927 - 38.

Following the enactment of the Ordinance things began to improve little by little. The missions appointed their own supervisors and also began to improve the "key schools" and restrict the opening of the "bush schools." This they did by persuading two or three villages to pool their efforts and form group schools.²⁵ The following will certainly show that the situation had improved greatly, as the Report of the Department in 1929 noted:

<u>Years</u>	<u>No. of schools</u>	<u>Enrolment</u>	<u>Average attendance.</u>
1926	3,578	146,700	96,600
1927	2,519	127,066	81,000
1928	2,676	126,728	81,132
1929(only of mixed schools)	2,414	119,985	81,042

There is an increase of 157 in the number of schools in 1928 when compared with the number of schools in 1927. This could be partly because proper counting was done and therefore some of the 157 schools were not counted and partly because entirely new group schools continued to be built. The educational development of the comparatively prosperous years (1927 - 1929) following the birth of a real system of education reached its height in 1929 when the Department of Education of Northern Nigeria was merged with that of Southern Nigeria.

Meanwhile schools continued to spring up at different places. The Government continued with its own system of building Government schools. The N.A.S. started their own group of schools and the missions continued to expand. In the thirties, because of the trade recession, things did not go on smoothly. However, the Government introduced the system of block-grants about which we shall hear more in the next chapter when we consider how each mission body in the former Calabar Province fared during this period.

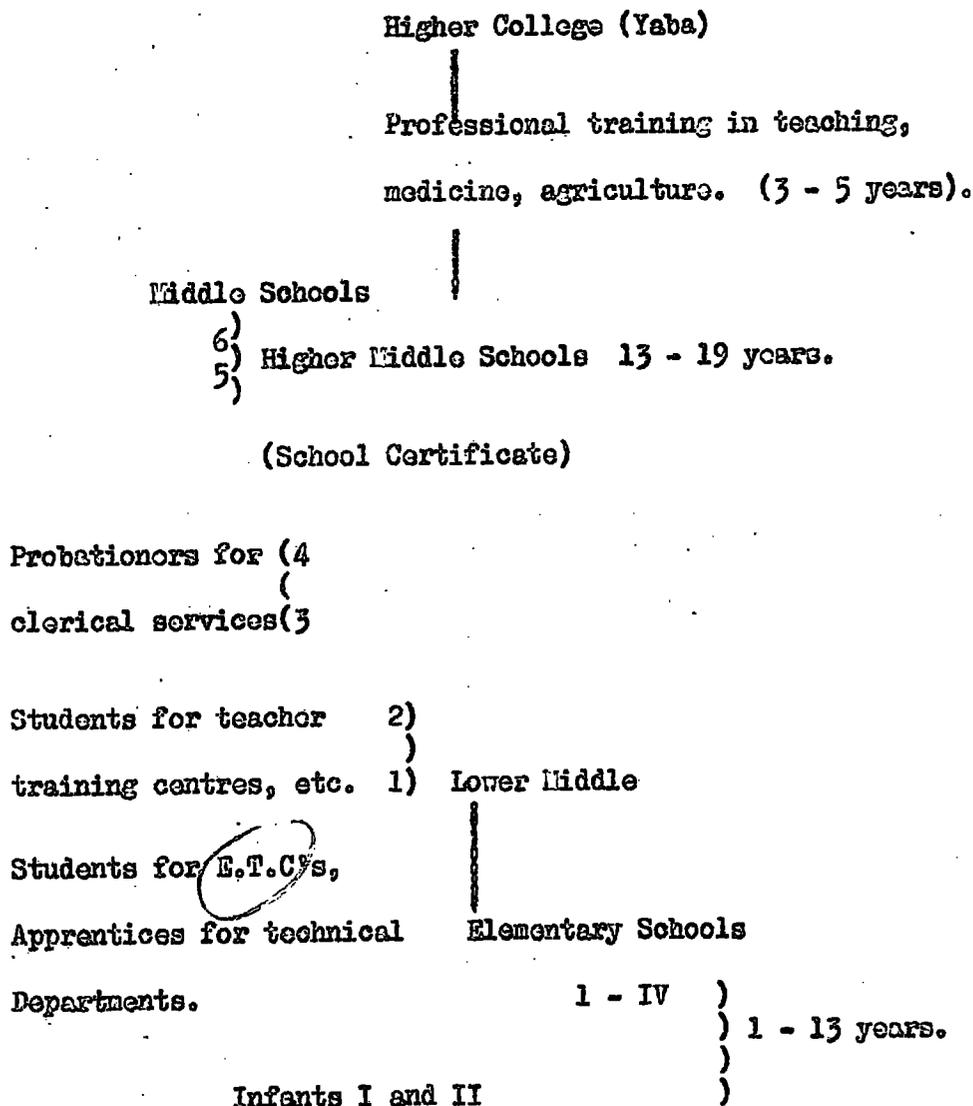
(v) The structure of education.

Before concluding this chapter it will be of use to explain here the structure of the school system of this period and any related nomenclature so that when these terms are used hereafter there may be no confusion. The pre - 1930 school system, according to the 1926 Code, consisted

of the primary and secondary schools. Instructions in the secondary schools were to be based on the requirements of English Examinations. It provided that Form I should attain a standard equivalent to that required for a pass in the Cambridge preliminary Local examination; Form II, the Cambridge Junior; Form IV, the Cambridge School Certificate and Form VI, the Cambridge Higher School Certificate or the Intermediate Examination of the University of London. In 1930 the system was reorganised both in the primary and secondary schools. The secondary schools were organised so that they could admit boys at a lower age from Elementary Class IV (former Standard IV), and were accordingly renamed Middle Schools. Thus Middle I came to contain boys who, according to the old system, would be in Standard V. Any pupil desiring further education on leaving Elementary IV could, according to the new system, have it by entering either Higher Elementary Class I (old Standard V) and then go on to Higher Elementary Class II (old Standard VI) or Middle Class I and then continue up to Middle Class VI at the end of which he would take the Cambridge School Certificate^{Examination}. According to this arrangement he could have taken Cambridge Junior in Middle Class IV. Higher Elementary Class I and Middle Class I followed entirely different curricula. The middle classes took subjects generally considered as

secondary school subjects, and the Higher Elementary Classes continued with elementary school subjects but carried them to a higher standard. The arrangement in the Higher Elementary Classes may be compared to what was obtaining in the Higher Grade Schools of England during *Alwa cond's* the nineteenth century.

Presented diagrammatically the post 1930 school system in Southern Nigeria can be displayed thus:



In conclusion it is interesting to note that very few young men from Calabar Province benefited from the Yaba Higher College, and in fact it was not until 1935 that the first group of young men from this province went to the College. There were four of them, three Ibibios and one Efik. There were no secondary schools of note in the province, except Hope Waddell Training Institution, and so boys from this province had no chance of going to Yaba. Hence in this brief account prominence has not been given to this institution which until the founding of the University College, Ibadan, dominated Nigerian education.

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DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION (2).(a) Government and missions - cooperation.

In the preceding chapter we saw how the different mission bodies worked independently till 1916; how the Government became more and more interested in education and consequently built Government schools and assisted some mission schools; and how finally it evolved a Nigeria education system. In general terms, from time to time, we referred to the work of the missions in Southern Nigeria. In this chapter, we shall be concerned primarily with the educational work in the former Calabar province from 1916 to 1939 and how the different bodies carrying out educational work in the province cooperated with the Government and made use of its valuable advice to make education develop and expand properly in the areas under their jurisdiction.

From 1916 vernacular schools, as can be inferred from the previous chapter, continued to spring up here and there for it was not possible for the missionaries to stop the people from having what they wanted - a school in nearly every village. We have also seen that by this time the Government had begun to take over the control of education. However, it was too early to expect the Government to carry out effective supervision of education in the land. Nevertheless the situation continued to improve

steadily and by 1929 the Government was successful in bringing pressure upon the missionaries to persuade two or three villages to unite and form group schools.

In Calabar province there were by this time over 700 vernacular schools operated by the Church of Scotland Mission, the Roman Catholic Mission, the Qua Iboe Mission, the Methodist Mission, the African Church, the Niger Delta Pastorate and by "a large number of native African missions, some of which have been founded by African ministers (often not Nigerians) who have been dismissed by a reputable mission for some cause or other."¹ Compared with these vernacular schools there were only forty-eight assisted schools and six girls' schools in the province.

As those carrying on education in the province gained experience and cooperated properly with the Government, the schools began to progress little by little. This is particularly true of schools belonging to the Presbyterian, Methodist and Qua Iboe Missions. For in 1929 these missions had their own supervisors, and this helped much in making possible some form of supervision, which was lacking in previous years. The system of registering vernacular teachers, as already stated, also helped much in the progress of the schools, and about this time there were over 600 registered vernacular teachers in Calabar Province. The mission supervisors must have really done their work well because in

a record at the Calabar Province Education Headquarters it is stated that all three of them were men of considerable energy and did quite useful work.

From 1930 on the number of unassisted schools began to thin down. In 1930 there were 537 of these schools; in 1933 there were 528 and in 1936 it rose again to 538. Statistically this does not seem to imply a continuous decrease in the number of unassisted schools. Formally, if schools must continue to be established, such a decrease is impossible. So the rise in the number of unassisted schools in the thirties was, as we have already seen above, due to the enthusiasm of the people in establishing schools where there was none already.

As should be expected, the number on roll and the attendance also began to increase. Where there was an appreciable decrease, this was due to the economic stress of that time. In 1930 the number of assisted schools was 55 (an increase of one over the previous year's) with an average attendance of 11,000 pupils. The number of day boys increased by 10%, and over 50,000 attended unassisted schools irregularly. The following table will help to show what was happening in the assisted schools in respect of enrolment and attendance (mixed schools only).

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>No. on Roll</u>		<u>Average Attendance.</u>	
		<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls.</u>
1930	51	9,708	2,816	9,428	2,425
1934	55	8,070	3,077	7,119	2,636
1936	58	9,195	3,551	8,031	3,138

The thoroughness of the superintendents of education which had a very good effect on the work of the teachers, the work of the Government Visiting Teachers and the mission supervisors, the steady influx of trained teachers into some schools, helped to improve the standard of work done in the schools. The trade recession did all it could to deter this progress, leading ultimately to a strike in 1936 by teachers of the Presbyterian Mission at Calabar. But through strict economy some of the agencies came off tolerably well, "having maintained most of our educational work at its former level,"² as one Methodist minister put it.

The "bush schools" continued to be established at different places and were principally owned by the African Church and other native missions, though the Roman Catholic Mission and the Qua Iboe Mission also had some. The following table shows the number of these unassisted schools (mixed) operated by the four leading missions in Calabar Province.

<u>Denominations</u>	1930	1933	1935
	No. of Schools	No. of Schools	No. of Schools
Church of Scotland Mission	38	50	32
Roman Catholic Mission	62	86	113
Methodist Mission	143	101	76
Qua Iboe Mission	261	220	225

Thus in spite of the financial stringency, the enthusiasm for education continued to grow and many parents and guardians made every effort to find school fees. The then Director of Education, Mr. Hussey, testified to this when in his Report for 1932 he wrote:

"A proof of the widespread desire for education lies in the fact that one of the last economies of Southern Nigerian parents is in school fees."³

Fees, it might be noted, varied from one penny a month in Infant and "bush schools" to two shillings per month in Calabar.

The 1937 result of the First School Leaving Certificate examination, which was first introduced in 1936, shows that schools in Calabar Province were not bad in quality when compared with schools in other provinces. The result, as the table below shows, may not be very good in the opinion of the people of today, but realizing how "difficult" this examination used to be, according to current report and

stories about it, I think the result was not bad at all.

<u>No. who sat.</u>	<u>No. successful.</u>	<u>No. with distinction.</u>
545 boys	169	69
58 girls	40	33

St. Joseph's Convent, about which we will hear more when we come to girls' education, was the best school in the province. Of the 19 candidates who sat the examination, 18 were successful and of these 18, 17 passed with distinctions. Other schools that did well were Nsit District School (Q.I.M.), Ibesikpo School (Lutheran Mission) and Eket Government School. Each of these three schools had five distinctions and the number of successful candidates were 11 out of 16, 6 out of 7, 13 out of 19 candidates for Nsit, Ibesikpo and Eket Government schools respectively.

Another interesting feature in the schools at this time was the appearance and use of the vernacular textbooks in Infant classes. It will be remembered that the Code of 1926 had encouraged the use of the vernacular in teaching and as a result of this the Efik Translation Bureau had been set up in 1927.

There was also definite progress made in vocational training in the province in the thirties. The mission that took the lead in this was the Church of Scotland Mission. In 1936 it started a vocational training school at Ididop and courses were given on Agriculture, Carpentry, Basket Making, Citizenship and Nature Study to boys who had

passed Middle II. The work of Mr. E. O. E. Offiong in the farm, especially in the palm oil plantation, aroused much interest in both that village and in the other villages in the neighbourhood.

Similar plantations had earlier been started at the Government schools at Abak and Ikot Ekpene. Later on it was begun at Ikot Uho (Q.I.H.). The Roman Catholic Mission in 1936 started to operate an oil press at St. Joseph's School, Anua. The local chiefs helped in defraying half of the cost of the press and the people of the area were invited to bring their produce to the press. This press had a very great effect on the community for it led to the possession of similar presses by many people.

Thus the schools in the province progressed and education spread to a greater part of the province. Both in the field of secondary education and girls' education much was taking place at this time. This we shall leave as yet till we come to the appropriate sections.

(b) The Native Administration's participation in education.

It is also noteworthy that during this same period a number of new educational institutions appeared in the province. These were the N.A. schools and the clan schools. The clan schools were not N.A. schools and therefore did not receive any grant from the N.A. Except in the Ibesikpo

area and at Etinan where there was one clan school, clan schools were not established in the province at many places. The Ibesikpo clan schools, as we have already stated in chapter III, were taken over by the Lutheran mission in 1936 and thereafter were regarded as schools belonging to the Lutheran mission.

The N.A. schools, on the other hand, were very popular, and perhaps as popular as the Government schools. In contrast to the mission schools, which in many cases prohibited anything African or native, both the Government and N.A. schools allowed things African, like native songs and dances, within their premises because these schools were under the Department of Education and were managed by the District Officers and the Superintendent of Education. Because of this N.A. schools very quickly grew and developed. They were staffed ^{with} ~~by~~ efficient teachers. The schools were, in actual fact, opened after teachers who would staff the number to be opened per year had completed a course of training at the Elementary Centre, Uyo, about which we shall hear more later.

Moreover in N.A. schools, the people saw another way of spending their money. Already they had other things like bridges, dispensaries and native courts to maintain. They felt the N.A. school was theirs and had nothing indicative of foreign domination. They could enter the

premises as often as they liked and could watch their children, as much as they liked, at games and play when they would be performing on African drums. In these schools everybody had a pride. It was nobody's and yet everybody's, including the young Christian who was told that there was everything Satanic in all things native and therefore he should shun the company of heathens or face suspension in the Church. "It must be regretfully conceded that all too often the Western missionary, however unwittingly, was still inclined to look somewhat superciliously upon African society as from a superior vantage ground and so failed to find, as appreciation of the positive values in it would have enabled him to do, that fullness of respect for its members which was needed to enable him to fulfil his missionary vocation among them at the deepest level."⁴

The Government, the Superintendent of Education in the province and the Department had realized, as was obvious from the Codes and the principles put forward by the Advisory Committee to the Secretary of State, that education was to be rooted in the soil of Africa and not to be "classed among exotics that were not likely to acclimatize."⁵ The people's attitude and enthusiasm convinced them that they had taken the right step. However, every effort was made to avoid a clash between the missions and the N.A., and so before any N.A. school was established it was first ascertained that no mission had established or was willing to establish any

school in the place and that the people really wanted the school. In spite of the fact that the Government did much to control the growth of N.A. schools, this steadily increased from three in 1934 to 12 in 1935 and by 1938 had gone up to 18 in the province. Thus in different ways and by various channels school places were provided for many children in the province.

(c) Girls' Education.

All the schools considered in the above sections were mixed schools. While the schools already considered were expanding in their own way, an important advance was taking place in the field of girls' education, though initially the idea of girls being educated was not popular with Africans. The girls they believed "no can saby book... They no want go for ship make trade."⁶ However if the belief in the inferiority of women is now regarded as a sin the people of Calabar Province were not more sinful in this respect than the people of other races. So either because of the attitude of the people or because of the difficulties that confronted the missionaries during this time, not much attention was paid by the Protestant missions to the question of girls' education. The few girls who attended schools went to one or the other of the existing primary schools. By 1930 excepting six recognised girls' schools in the province all others were mixed schools. For

many years the number of boys to that of the girls was in the ratio of about 5:1. In these mixed schools there was no provision for domestic subjects, and so when the boys went out for handwork or any other field work the girls had to content themselves with remaining inside the classroom or scrubbing the floor of the classrooms or of teachers' houses.

However, the Qua Iboe Mission during this period had one girl's school which was not approved till 1931. Nevertheless the school, or Home, as it was called at first, assisted somehow in providing girls' education. It was started in 1919 at Afaha Eket by Miss Ema Bill, the daughter of the founder of the Qua Iboe Mission. One of the first students was Rosa Ekong, the daughter of the first Pastor in the Qua Iboe area and who himself was the first pupil of Mr. Bill in the school at Ibuno. In 1923 there were 15 girls in the school and by 1933 the number had increased to 42. In 1932 only four girls took the Government standard six examination and of these, three were successful. After the death of Mrs. Bill the Training Home took on the name of "Grace Bill Memorial Institute" and thereafter was popularly known as "Grace Bill."

Of the six recognised girls' schools, which we said above were the only girls' schools by 1930, we have already considered the development of the Edgerley Memorial School,

Creek Town Girls' Institute, Mary Hanney Memorial School and St. Joseph's Convent, Calabar, up to 1916. These schools progressed steadily and continued to give elementary education as well as some instruction in domestic science and needlework. Some, like St. Joseph's Convent and the Edgerley Memorial School, undertook some sort of teacher training. In 1922 the Presbyterian Mission Council decided that the most fitting memorial for Mary Slessor was a Memorial Home in which the work Miss Slessor did for women and girls at Use could be carried on. This led in 1923 to the establishment of the Slessor Memorial Home. The activities at the Slessor Home fell into three main groups. The first was organising meetings and classes for those who had never been to school, and in this way girls of the Home helped many Arochuku women to read the Bible in the vernacular. The second was training in the Home. In the early mornings the girls were engaged in domestic work at the Home. They learned hygiene and sanitation, mothercraft, civic responsibilities and Christian leadership. In the third division came all types of health services carried out at the dispensary there.

In the twenties too, the Roman Catholic Mission began a Convent at Anua, their headquarters then in the mainland. It provided elementary education for girls of the Roman Catholic faith in the mainland. All these six schools

played an important role in the furtherance of education in the province. In 1929 it is reported that the Edgortley Memorial School, St. Joseph's Convent, the Slessor Memorial Home and Mary Hanney Memorial School, "always do good work,"⁷ and, with the exception of Mary Hanney Memorial School all were graded "A" according to 1926 Code classification.

During the thirties an interesting development in girls' education was the establishment by the sisters of the Holy Child Jesus of a chain of primary schools for girls in the province. The Rev. Mother Mary Osmonde was the head of the sisterhood and therefore the one in charge of these schools. How much she had done in the cause of education can best be seen from the fact that the Queen awarded her the O.B.E. in 1956 for her services in the cause of education. These schools were at first standard II schools, and as the years passed they increased in number, attendance, number on the roll and standard. In 1936 the number on the roll in these schools was 361 and in 1938 the schools won the praise of the department - "The 'bush' schools of the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus in Calabar province continued to do excellent work, and the Sisters hope to open new schools as teachers and funds become available."⁸

Another development in girls' education during the thirties was the establishment of Marriage Training Homes. These homes were operated mainly by the Presbyterian, the

Methodist and the Roman Catholic Missions. The courses provided at the homes were short and the general organisation of the homes was very elastic. Girls were admitted for periods of any length from two months to two years. Married women were also admitted in some cases. Although the homes did not receive any Government recognition by way of grants, yet they were a great educational force in the province. Everybody interested in education knows the importance of the home in the education of a child, and so the importance of the homes in development of education in the province is quite obvious. They were later on discontinued because of the increased number of girls who attended schools and also because of the increased number of girl schools and the introduction of Adult education.

At the homes every effort was made to develop and preserve native arts and crafts. Much attention was given to industries like weaving, dyeing, raffia-work, designing, soap-boiling and starch-making. Some girls from these homes sat for and obtained the Certificate of Merit. The examination consisted of a practical test in domestic work, and inspection of handwork and needlework, and a test in oral English of an elementary character. Both in the homes and schools needlework was always a favourite subject. There was much useful work done at these homes, but they were always confronted with a lack of students. For instance, in 1934 the Slessor Memorial Home, the best of

these homes, had only six girls. It should be noted that the Slessor Memorial Home was a comprehensive type of institution in which there was a girls' school and a department which normally we can call a Marriage Training Home. Although many did not utilise these homes as they should have done it is true to say that through them there emerged in Calabar a new type of women who were educated and to a certain degree emancipated from the old ideas.

(d) Secondary Education.

As we have seen above in all the three sections, definite attempts were being made to see that as many children as possible in the province had some elementary education. While all this was happening in the field of primary education, certain advances were also taking place in that of secondary education.

Let us now examine what these advances were, and in this case the work done will be better appreciated, if we go back to almost the very beginning. We have earlier stated that the fees charged were not much, and that in spite of the low rate of fees, it was not easy for many parents to pay them and educate their children to a reasonable standard of education. Those who struggled through to Standard VI entered for the public examination set by the Government at the end of the year. Many of these, whether they failed or went through their examination

passed into training colleges or entered government offices. Some were employed as teachers immediately they left school. This state of affairs continued till about the nineteen twenties or thirties, in some cases, when some mission bodies began to realize that it was just not enough to educate people to be vernacular teachers, or catechists or merely to enable them to "search the scriptures daily." So they decided to give a higher or more advanced type of education obtainable in secondary schools. Secondary education in this case is not a stage of education but more or less a type of education. These secondary schools did not spring up as new establishments but were developed out of existing central schools which already provided education up to standard six or Higher Elementary II.

The first of these schools was Hope Uaddell Training Institution which was established in 1895. In 1905 Standard VII was added to the primary school, and this we may take as the beginning of secondary education. However, progress in this department of the institution seems to have been the slowest of all forms of progress in all departments of the institution, for up to 1920 work in the secondary department was limited to only one class. However, by 1929 it received some new impetus and the department was built up to form III and had about 57 boys. In 1930 the number on the roll decreased to 45 partly because of the

trade recession and partly because "the chiefs of Calabar and up-river even though many of them are well off will not pay for their sons and daughters to be educated."⁹ By 1932 the number increased to 89, including seven girls. In 1936 there were 67 boys and 5 girls, and by this time Hope Waddell had developed a full secondary department and often presented pupils for overseas and local examinations. For example, in 1922 it had five successes in the Cambridge Junior Examination and one in the Cambridge Preliminary Examination. One Junior candidate was awarded Third Class Honours with distinction in English Language and Literature, and another had distinction in Hygiene in the same examination. In 1923 one candidate passed the Cambridge School Certificate Examination and another the Cambridge Junior Examination. It was in this way that in spite of slow progress this school built up for itself a name and prestige that only a handful of Nigerian schools will ever dream of getting and "In a Nigeria moving rapidly towards self-government, there is probably no department of Government which does not have old boys of Hope Waddell Training Institution on its staff."¹⁰

The next school that provided secondary education in the province was Duke Town School. As already stated, the secondary department was built upon the existing primary school and up to 1946 this school did not give education beyond Middle IV. Brighter pupils on leaving Duke Town used

to complete their education at Hope Waddell. Of Duke Town some important personalities say much. For instance, Sir Hugh Clifford, Nigeria's second Governor, said that it was the best institution in Nigeria, while the members of the Commission on African Education stated that they had not observed a better institution anywhere in Africa. The number on the roll rose to 1,300 in 1927; it then fell and in 1936 rose again to about that number and there were over fifty teachers on its staff. By 1921 it reached Form III and had 37 pupils on the roll; and in 1934 it is recorded that there were 41 boys and 4 girls on the roll in its secondary department. Like Hope Waddell, it from time to time sent pupils in for overseas examinations. For example in 1922 two pupils from the school passed the Cambridge preliminary Examination and in 1923 one passed the Cambridge Junior Examination.

In 1925 a secondary department was also carved out of the existing Boys' Training Institute, the most important Qua Iboe Mission Primary school. There were then five pupils on the roll. Prior to 1950 it had a most chequered fortune partly because the founders believed that education beyond Middle IV and working in any of the government departments or firms would automatically lead one to hell and partly because of finance. However by sheer effort and the perseverance of one man, R. J. Taylor, who seems to

have been the only one of the lot who believed it was necessary to educate a child beyond the most elementary stage, the school was able to go up to Form IV by 1935.

The Methodist Boys' High School, Oron, did not begin till 1932. The Methodists had blindly stuck to the old idea of teacher-catechist training, and having thus set themselves against any move at reform were not in receipt of Government grants till 1924. Earlier, by 1922, they had decided to modify their earlier policy of the Oron Training Institute, and thus by 1923 prepared for the change over. The intervening period they used in making adequate preparation for the change and in 1932 the Institute became a High School. Gradually the Infant and primary classes were taken off and the school became a middle school up to Class IV. The war prevented the implementation of the building scheme drawn up in 1937. In 1938 the school went up to Class V and in 1943 there was a Class VI of 10 boys who entered for the School Certificate.

The Roman Catholic Mission, as far back as 1913, as we have already seen, had tried to establish a secondary school but failed because of lack of teachers. However about 1933, under Bishop Moynagh, the Sacred Heart College was started at Calabar and this again was a secondary department or school carved out of the existing primary school, the Sacred Heart School. The progress of this

school was slow like that of any other during the period. In 1936 the Sacred Heart College was removed to Ikot Ansa where in 1943 it was renamed St. Patrick's College.

In 1933 too, the African Church created a secondary department in their main primary school at Calabar. Lack of proper management and finance made the school collapse about 1940. About 1935 the Aggrey Memorial College was started at Arochuku by one African, Alvan Ikoku. This College was built upon or incorporated the Government primary school at Arochuku. Like other schools it had to fight against many odds before coming into its own. So by 1938 before Hitler plunged the world into war the foundations of the most important secondary schools in Calabar Province had been laid.

Wastage in education of those days.

Although these great advances were taking place in elementary education, girls' education and secondary education, yet it would be unfair to close this section without mention being made of the wastage that was also taking place in those days. How great this wastage was can easily be seen by even the most cursory glance at the tables on the next page, which show the position in the early and late thirties:

Table I. Government and Assisted Schools. 1931.

	Inf. I	Inf. 2	Std. 1	Std. 2	Std. 3	Std. 4	L. H. 1	L. H. 2	L. H. 3	L. H. 4	L. H. 5	Total
On Roll	3151	2423	1784	1355	1242	1070	775	731	117	36	3	12687
Att.	2752	2053	1542	1138	1052	922	672	672	103	33	3	10868

Table II. Government and Assisted Schools. 1938.

Infant		Elementary				Middle					
I	II	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
4410	2633	2472	1893	1720	1278	800	660	295	146	39	11

It is obvious that the bulk of children who attended schools finished their education in the Infants Department so that some higher classes had just a handful of children for whose care teachers were being maintained. The cause of this educational wastage in even the best elementary and secondary schools of those days are many. The fees could not be easily found at that time by most parents since the price of palm oil and kernels had fallen very badly. Some parents too withdrew their children as soon as they found that they were old enough to help them either in the farm or in any of their trades. The introduction of central schools also caused much wastage, because if, for instance, a central school were built to give educational facilities from standards four to six and if it had about four schools as its feeder schools, then it would only be able to admit at most 35 out of about 120 pupils. The rest would then be cast out to fend for themselves in any way they could. These groups of children

later on flocked to towns and finding no useful employment became a social nuisance and found unjust and illicit means to sustain life. The N.A. schools also caused much wastage because none of them gave education beyond standard four. The desire to get into some employment after standard six (middle II), in addition to the fact that existing facilities were few, made it not possible for many to be willing to spend more years in school in the upper middle classes which offered the type of education that we today call secondary education.

Another thing that we very often lose sight of was the severity of the teachers. Perhaps many of them had the weakness of the village teacher in Goldsmith's "Deserted Village:

".....or if severe in aught,

The love he bore to learning was in fault."

However, intentionally or unintentionally, they helped to scare away many a weak child from school because they believed that the use of the cane was "an essential part of the pedagogue's function."¹¹ After all, they further thought, Solomon himself, who is believed to be the wisest man, warned:

"He that spareth his rod hateth his

Son: but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes."¹²

The last of the causes of wastage that must be mentioned is the attitude of the missions toward education. As we have

earlier seen, many missions used education and therefore the schools as a means of winning converts - "Christ's Kingdom is built through the schools"¹³ and were only concerned with bringing up the children to be good Christians by reading the Bible daily.¹⁴ Thus they did not mind whether the children read beyond standard two or not, but instead used them as preachers and evangelists. In some missions today work in the church is actually suffering as a result of this because the congregation in some places is made of people who are more enlightened than the pastors.

However, the above examination of the wastage that was taking place must not be allowed to belound the educational advances of that time. There is always educational wastage everywhere, except in countries in which education, both primary and secondary, is free. Moreover, other social and economic problems made this unavoidable. Let us now go on with more educational developments that were taking place.

(e) Training of Teachers.

"All educational progress depends in the last resort on one factor and on one factor alone

No amount of building, no decisions about

the type and organisation of schools or even

the lengthening of the school course, will be of

any avail unless there is the right number of

teachers of good quality, well trained and

suitably qualified for the tasks they have to perform"¹⁵

"All the plans for educational advance
ultimately depend on the teacher."¹⁶

From the above we see at once the importance of teachers and why their training should be given first priority in any educational programme. But unfortunately this was not done in Nigeria, as we shall see, and people like G. F. Groves maintain that the weakest point in Nigerian education was (and perhaps still is) lack of qualified teachers.

I agree with that view because, as we shall soon see, even though Calabar province was one of the first to have teacher training institutions, like the rest it took quite a long time before many teacher training institutions began to develop.

It will be recalled that the first school goers were not really children but young men. For example in the Qua Iboe Mission the leading school had the name, Young men's Training Institute. The young men who attended these schools were educated to be "helpers" in the different mission fields. Some of them were taken into the household of the missionaries and these were called "mission boys." These then learned more English and increased their knowledge of the Bible. On occasions they were given instructions on how to preach to the people. It is true that they did not have formal lessons on the methods of teaching Arithmetic, for instance, nor did they learn any philosophy and principles of education, but

they had training in that discipline which makes teachers an entirely different race of men. Rightly or wrongly these teachers were made to break away from their former way of life and to give up their customary habits, excepting honesty and respect for the elders. For example, they had to stop dancing, including folk dances, or going to watch any native play and take up European and Biblical names and wear European dress. Later on we shall examine the effect of this system of training. In the meantime suffice it to say that but for the effort and exertion of these young men, who lived on a mere pittance, education would not have spread to many parts of the province as rapidly as it did.

A real system of teacher-training did not begin till the establishment of the Normal Department (later on Normal College) in 1911 at Hope Waddell Training Institution. It began with a two year course and in the first year there were only four students. However, the number increased steadily and more trained men with the Teacher's Certificate of the Education Department were sent out to the schools of the mission. Even in those early days Hope Waddell always did good work. In 1919, 21 out of 25 candidates from the school passed the Teacher's Certificate examination and this was almost a third of the whole country's passes. In the whole country 293 candidates took the examination and only 69 were successful. By 1922 when there were only 370

African certificated teachers in the country, Hope Waddell could boast of training 120 of these. Until 1928 when the College switched from the two year course to the four year course, later known as the Higher Elementary Course, the number of students was normally between 30 and 40. By 1928 the number of students doubled and in 1932 there were 80 male and 5 female students. The male students were all boarders and the female students came from town, as day pupils. The number of teachers in training did not always increase; it fluctuated at times, and was only 60 in 1936. These were all men for in 1933 a teacher training department was created in the Edgerley Memorial School and the girls of Hope Waddell were removed to Edgerley. In 1933 there were nine girls doing the Teacher's Certificate Course or Lower Elementary Course, as it came to be called, at the Edgerley Memorial School. There were 14 of them in 1935 and in 1936 the number fell again. This school suffered the fate of any other educational institution at the time, and the fluctuation in the number on the roll was because of poor economic conditions.

Meanwhile the Methodist Mission was carrying on a system of teacher-training at the Training Institute at Oron. Although the training given here was in certain respects systematic, yet because of the policy of the mission, it was not recognized as such by the Government. The institute existed for training Africans to be teacher-

evangelists in the mission field. "Special attention was given to the selection of students and the course included Biblical Knowledge, instruction in teaching methods and homiletics" and "Soon the institute came to enjoy a reputation for producing young men with a good elementary education, a sound knowledge of the Scriptures and zeal and ability in evangelism and teaching."¹⁷ By 1920 when two classes, which they referred to as secondary classes, were added pupils in these classes were trained as pupil teachers. Training here continued till 1926 when a teacher training department was started at Uzuakoli Institute established in 1923. In 1926 the teacher training side of the Institute was discontinued and the students were removed to the Uzuakoli Institute.

Another type of makeshift teacher training was done at the St. Joseph's Convent, Calabar. From the very beginning the school was conducted on Montessori lines, and so the few teachers trained in this school were given training mainly on the application of this system. It was a sort of "in-training" system. The teachers who were given this training were those who were teaching in the school. The founders of the school believed that the best policy was to train the girls in the school in which they were teaching. The girls so trained were normally to be considered as being trained to become certificated teachers in that particular

school, though they were not to be prevented from being removed to another school, were this necessary. Such girls (there were never many at any time) continued to teach while they were also doing their training, and the number of their teaching periods were not many. Because of this they had many free periods during which they had lessons from their instructors. This state of affairs continued till 1936. In 1937 the six students who were doing this course were transferred to Ifuho which started in 1936 as a Marriage Training Centre and is now the headquarters of the group of Roman Catholic girls' schools known as the school of the Holy Child Jesus.

The only teacher-training college begun before the World War II as a training college from the very beginning was the Elementary Training Centre, Uyo. It is now the only educational institution of importance owned by the Government in the former Calabar province. It was started in 1930. Already the attitude of educationalists about education in tropical Africa was changing, and by 1930 the system of teacher training at Hope Waddell was considered too academic. It is also reported that there was not enough training in practical teaching under supervision. A missionary supervisor is reported to have complained in the following words: "I am amazed that in answer to public demand we continue to take boys by the thousands from

farming and fishing on which the people depend, and then so treat them that very few will ever dream of returning to useful and productive labour."¹⁸

So when the training centre at Uyo was started together with other training centres in other parts of Eastern Nigeria and Southern Cameroons, it was the chief aim of the Government to train rurally-minded teachers who could make education in the villages a real and living thing. Teachers from the Uyo centre were employed by the N.A.'s, and soon the standard in N.A. schools came to be higher and better than the standard in many mission schools. "The course of instruction is different from that given at the mission training colleges which provided teachers for Elementary and Middle School classes. It is more practical, and the difference is reflected in the passing out examination in which the test is mainly oral."¹⁹ In 1933 the number on the roll at Uyo was 17 and by 1936 the number had gone up to 46. By 1944 the centre was giving a full teacher training course.

While all the institutions in which training was given were carrying on their work, as we have tried to show in the foregoing paragraphs, there was another system of training being practised among the teachers themselves. This ward-teacher training system, as we might call it, was conducted by certificated teachers who themselves had been to training

colleges. The certificated teachers had elementary schools to which they acted as friends. They helped the teachers in charge of such schools by giving them lessons that raised the standard of their education and also explained to them the mystery of school methods which they might apply for raising the standard of work in their school. In some cases arrangements were made whereby the friend was able to visit the school to see how the theory he had taught was being applied. This last step was also adopted by the education department, and the two African Visiting Teachers, Mr. S. U. Etuk and Mr. J. Udo-Affia, spared no effort to hold teachers' conferences and lectures to which doctors, agricultural officers, and District Officers were invited to address teachers on subjects relating to education and social welfare.

In 1935, of the two Visiting Teachers, one visited 130 schools and conducted six courses, and the other saw 160 schools and held three courses. Of the system of visiting teachers the 1935 reports says: "The system of Government Visiting Teachers continues to give good results, and most of the teachers are doing excellent work" and their very "existence has spurred many a feckless manager to a realization of his responsibilities."²⁰ Thus little by little, by training many men for the profession education in the province was being improved and consolidated. The result

of all this was that when by 1938 probationary and uncertificated teachers were not to teach beyond standard IV, except with the permission of the department, it was possible to have sufficient number of certificated teachers to teach in standards V and VI in the schools of the province.

(f) Higher Education.

The new awakening that was taking place in educational, religious and economic fields had many repercussions. It led, among other things, to a new awareness of the fact that the Ibibio clans by themselves could not achieve much unless they united together. Moreover the Efiks, as we have already seen, who were originally an Ibibio clan, started to pretend, on account of the "superior education" they obtained at Hope Waddell Training Institution, that they were not Ibibio. This, to cut the matter short, led to the formation of the Ibibio State Union. The first thing this union decided to do was to send people to do University Courses in Overseas educational institutions. They felt that these young men would lead them better and sooner or later make them advance more than the Efiks who, they say, were "offspring of slaves." It is good to note here at once that other communities soon irritated the Ibibio State Union in the provision of higher education.

The Union sent out six young men, of whom one unfortunately died in America. Two were sent to study medicine - one was to study at Edinburgh and the other at

Glasgow University. One was sent to Trinity College, Dublin, to study law; and two were sent to Tuskegee Institute (U.S.A.) where one was to study agriculture and the other education. Except in the case of the unfortunate one, the effort of the union and the endeavours of the students were crowned with success. It is popularly believed that the union's student who studied law is one of the first few Nigerians, if not the very first, to have a Ph.D. in law. Thus the native people of Calabar province taught the missionaries who were very hesitant to give the people a reasonable education that, given the chance, they could do something intellectually and consequently helped to teach other tribal units in Eastern Nigeria not to waste time but to send their youths overseas for higher education.

Such, as we have tried to show in this chapter, was the state of education in the province before Hitler shook the world in 1939. By 1938 there was every hope that the much needed provision, which had been long delayed by the economic stress of the thirties, would be made. The three-year assessment period for grants-in-aid was due to begin in 1939. There was every hope that 1939 would usher in a period of greater advances and development in education. Herr Hitler did not think so. Whatever he thought, for all I know, brought about the Second World War. Let us now turn to the next chapter and see the state of education during the period of the Second World War.

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CHAPTER VI.THE SECOND WORLD WAR YEARS.

The declaration of war on the 3rd September, 1939, had immediate repercussions on the schools at Calabar. Although there was likely to be no direct danger from the Cameroons as in 1914, yet it was considered that precautions should be taken against air raids. An order was made that all schools in Calabar be closed from the 4th September. Special permission was granted to allow boarders to remain in school, but some left of their own accord. The order remained in force for two weeks. Schools like Hope Waddell fully reopened after air raid shelters had been dug behind the dormitories, and thereafter air raid practices were held.

In 1940 the Government College at Umuahia was closed down so that its premises might be used as an internment camp for the Germans from the Cameroons. The boys were sent to different schools to carry on their education. A number of senior boys were sent to Hope Waddell and another group of 22 boys together with a teacher, Mr. G. Ifon, was sent to the Boys' High School, Oron. All these boys eventually completed their education in the schools to which they were sent. This sending of the Government College boys with their masters to different schools was good in this that many schools like Oron, Ifuho, and Aggrey Memorial College, had the services of Government teachers, two of whom were science masters. However, many of the boys felt that they were above boys from

mission schools and brought about some conflict in the schools to which they were sent.

It is important to note, even at the risk of digressing, that wherever the English people went, they tried to create a small English society. Thus in education, there is also the problem of parity between the Government schools and colleges on the one hand and the mission schools on the other as exists between the Public schools, the Grammar Schools and the Secondary Modern Schools in England. For out here, all Government schools and colleges, like King's College, were "originally intended, in the words of the Gazette, 'to provide for the youth of the Colony a superior course of general education; to prepare them for matriculation in the University of London'.... there is very little to distinguish it from a small grammar school in England."¹ Thus it is quite clear that the fault for the wrong attitude in the boys from the Government school, already referred to, was not altogether the boys'.

In the rural areas, to continue with our account, the schools continued, but everybody was in perpetual fear of air raid. At the sound of any passing, or approaching, aeroplane children (in the early period with teachers) would rush out of the classroom to find some shelter elsewhere. As time went on and more and more war propaganda was carried to every part of the province, schools came to disregard any passing aeroplane.

What really disturbed the normal school routine in the rural areas was the industry for raising money for war effort

and war charities. I call the collecting of palm kernels for this purpose industry because we, who at that time were at school, took this up more seriously and assiduously than many people today do in their different trades. For from two to five days in the week, immediately after morning devotions, school children would go into any bush and nearby forest to collect and crack palm kernels. The teachers invariably went along with the children. When this had been done and all the children who went out had returned from the bush to the school, teaching would then begin.

The pupils in the schools at Calabar assisted in their own way. Some schools staged variety concerts and plays to raise money for the War Relief Fund. The scouts were very helpful. In 1939, on Armistice Day, they staged a play that drew over 1,000 spectators and the gate fee was given, as their contribution, to the Nigerian War Relief Fund. Right through the period they offered voluntary services and were used as messengers, helpers at shows arranged in aid of the Nigerian War Relief Fund and also at the places where salt, which was very scarce at that time, was being sold. They also helped in distributing letters and doing all sorts of odd jobs. All of us, who were then at school, did our best to help very cheerfully, and were happy to contribute something toward bringing about the end of the war and restoration of world peace.

However, there was a lack of educational workers everywhere. The Education Department lost some of its important officers

because these were required for military duties. The school lost teachers as these in increasing numbers joined the army to "learn a trade," as it was often said at that time. The truth, however, is that as soldiers they received a far better salary and enjoyed much better conditions than teachers. The Government realized this and gave increased grants for increments in the salaries of certificated teachers, and also gave some "cost of living allowance" to all teachers.

By 1943 the situation became more and more uncertain and there was a lack of everything. Books could no longer be got and those that were available were very costly. Food too became scarce. This resulted in underfeeding children generally. The game of football was almost stopped right through the province and organised sports were suspended. The Empire Day, 24th May, to which hitherto every pupil had always looked forward as a day of festivity, became only a day for a march-past whenever it was observed. Under these conditions all toiled on till in May 1945 the news of victory in Europe ran through the country and in August came the news of world peace when Japan surrendered.

Education suffered terribly. The Government could not, under the circumstances, exert much influence on the Voluntary Agencies - "The amount of control exerted by the Government on Voluntary Agencies is remarkably small. Such control as there is, is effected mainly by inspection but as the number of schools has grown rapidly while the staff of the Education

Department has remained static or shrunk inspection has remained less effective."² Young men became mercenary and professional integrity among teachers fell. There were even cases of religious frauds - "Indeed, a major problem for the education officers in charge of Owerri and Calabar provinces is the protection of the community from the roguery of petty 'religious societies'"³ which were springing up here and there and, as we have already seen, were founded by cheats who had fallen out with the authorities of reputable churches which they formerly served, and who at that time wanted a means of sustaining life by forcing some people to raise funds for schools which were never established. The standard of teaching, as in other parts of the country, was low and work in standards five and six deteriorated greatly. But it is fair to observe that, in spite of all this, the teachers who continued in the profession made a loyal effort to help.

Although the war brought very many difficulties, as we have seen above, it seems to have in actual fact accelerated the pace of education and intensified the enthusiasm for it. The Reports of the Department of Education in the province are full of increased demands for more schools, particularly secondary schools. The table on the next page speaks for itself:

Year	No. of Schools (all types)	Enrolment		Attendance	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1942	721	44,571	10,951	44,571	10,951
1943	890	49,965	12,518	41,251	10,258
1944	781	50,893	15,457	43,074	13,103
1945	860	61,252	16,091	not available	
1946	827	63,894	16,600		

It should be noted that the great increase in the number of schools in 1943 and also in 1945 was due to an increase in unassisted schools which ⁱⁿ those years numbered 819 and 774 respectively. It should also be noted that the reports for these years were for the 1st April of one year to the 31st March of another year. Thus the figures above are those of the 31st March and not of 31st December of each year.

The Native Administration schools increased from 18 in 1938 to 21 in 1946. There was also a marked improvement in these schools - "On the other hand it (N.A. school) is increasingly popular in Calabar and Cyo. On the whole the schools seem to be remarkably efficient. In Calabar some of them are better than assisted mission schools,"⁴ and in the "1st April, 1945 - 31st December, 1946 Report" of the Department of Education, it was stated that "In the Eastern Region, Native Authorities are as yet an educational force in the Calabar and Cameroon provinces." There was on the whole

an increasing demand for schools and, in the Report of the Department in 1944, it was stated that the Ibibio and Ibo people were continuing to show the greatest enthusiasm for education, and in Warri, Calabar, and Onitsha provinces there was a definite popular desire for literacy.

In girls' education Calabar too was not lagging behind. Together with the other provinces of Eastern Nigeria, Calabar Province contributed towards the increase of girls in the Methodist Mission schools noted in 1934 and in 1936 according to the Reports of the Education Department. A general increase became evident in the forties. By 1940 it is reported that the schools at Calabar and Ifuho were quite full and there was no room for admitting other girls who were crying for admission. The assisted girls' schools had by this time gone up from six in 1938 to 10 distributed as follows: Roman Catholic Mission 6, Church of Scotland Mission 2, Methodist Mission 1, and Qua Iboe Mission 1. There were in all a total of 1,242 girls attending these schools.

The Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus continued their "bush schools" in the province. Our Lady of Lourdes was established at Ifiayong in 1942. In 1944 the following report was made about the state of girls' education: "In large towns such as Lagos, Onitsha, and Calabar all existing schools are full and many overcrowded. In the

rural areas, especially in the Eastern provinces, new schools rapidly fill up. Outstanding examples of this tendency are seen in the growth of Catholic girls' school in the bush,⁵ particularly in Calabar province. It should here be noted that this type of school started in Calabar province and only later on spread to Ogoja province.

Thus by 1946 there were 19 elementary girls' schools that were approved by the Government in the province. Perhaps, it will not be out of place to note that because of this growth of girls' education, there was a marked increase in the number of female teachers and it is reported that, at this time too, because of the presence of the female teachers the quality of work in the schools in the province improved greatly.

This enthusiasm for education was also noted among adults. Mr. J. McLeod Campbell has rightly noted that "Neglect of this part of educational programme is both unimaginative and wasteful, since it has been established that in every society it is impossible to educate a child far in advance of his parents without creating serious emotional tensions"⁶ The Colonial Office shared this opinion too because in 1943 it published "Mass Education in African Society," of which Jeffreys says, "it is an admirable treatise on the general principle of education," stating in short that "(1) A community must be educated throughout. ... (2) The whole community must be actively (italicized by Jeffreys)

interested in education.... (3) Learning should be purposefully related to contemporary and local problems."⁷ On the importance of this aspect of education the 1944 Report declared that its development must be regarded as "a problem of special importance and urgency."

The people of Calabar province, natives and non-natives alike, seemed to have been aware of this fact. For by 1943 the wife of the education officer at Uyo was conducting classes for adult women. By 1944 the Methodist and the Roman Catholic missions were doing the same thing at Itukhang and Ikot Ekpen respectively to improve the home life of the women of the localities. When the Adult Literacy campaign was started in the Eastern Region, only Calabar Province won some praise - "The development of adult literacy classes in the Eastern provinces has been sporadic. The movement is only real in the Kwa area of Calabar and in the Ekot District,"⁸ which, as we have seen in the introduction, was at that time in Calabar Province.

The different churches, it should be noted, had also been helping to educate the adult member of their congregations by conducting all kinds of classes, including Sunday schools in which the people were taught to read the Efik Bible and also the vernacular hymn books. In the thirties, and thereafter, those who attended these classes, in addition to the Bible, were taught to read easy vernacular readers published by the Efik Literature Bureau. Sometimes too, during these classes

the leaders of the Church tried to educate the ordinary people on why it was necessary that Christians (and Christian nations) should go to war.

It will be remembered that when the missionaries came, they told the people that war, strife and oppression were not good in any form. Now within a comparatively short time, their country, which claimed to be Christian, had taken part in two great world wars in which Africans suffered much. This baffled the people, and, speaking of the first world war, Groves says, "The war has led to mission workers, European and African, being despised by the pagans and in a measure being persecuted; it has also increased pagan influence and worship, this being especially noticeable where there were Christian Churches."⁹

The same situation arose during the Second World War, the condemnation of war in this case being led by the Nigerian press,¹⁰ though evidence that Christianity had come to stay in Africa was obvious among the soldiers.¹¹

Nevertheless with all its disadvantages the war brought about some improvements in education in the province. There was an improved teacher - pupil relationship. To have earlier stated that one of the causes of wastage was the autocracy and cruelty of the teachers. During the war years the teachers became less tyrannical and used the cane less than before. In the bush, while collecting the palm kernel, the teachers and the taught were not only friends in suffering but senior

and junior members of one family. The Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides Movements, which had been started quite early in the province, spread to many places and many boys and girls gained much from them. Children too were told world news. Propaganda films were shown to many of them and they always enjoyed them. British Ministry of Information pamphlets were distributed to many of them and also to adults. Those who had wireless sets continued to tell others news about the progress of the war. Some villages had notice boards, which today constitute a common feature in many villages, and on these notice boards items of news were written and posted for everybody, who could read, to learn about what was happening around him.

Children, too, had the opportunity of meeting people from other places because men, especially soldiers, were always moving from place to place. I remember quite well that it was at this time that I met somebody in khaki shorts and shirt with badges and a round hat and a staff. This young man who came from another part of Eastern Nigeria did not explain to me that he was a boy scout but helped me to get salt easily because at that time we had to queue up in long lines from dawn till dusk before buying a very small quantity of salt. Soldiers held different demonstrations and showed us how aeroplanes were shot down, how they operated all sorts of machines, and told us of some substance

which one could eat so as to survive for at least seven days without proper food. All this helped greatly to broaden the outlook of those of us who were at school.

When we saw all these things, we all declared that if we were old enough we would join the army. Not even our mothers could dissuade us; and how when I remember those days, I think Wordsworth must have had the same feeling as the one we had when during the French Revolution he wrote:

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven! Oh! times,
In which the meagre, stale, forbidding ways
Of custom, law, and statute, took at once
The attraction of a country in romance!"¹²

The war, as we have already said, brought about a lack of school books and apparatus. This led to the improvisation of the apparatus and drawing of good maps by students at the Teachers' Training colleges and also later on in the schools in which these ex-students were employed as teachers.

African members of the department were given more responsibilities and they discharged them admirably well. It was during this period, in 1943, that the first man from Calabar Province, late Chief (then Mr.) S. U. Etuk, F.A., J.P., was appointed an education officer. I think a more favourable tribute could not have been paid at this time to Eastern Nigeria, of which Calabar Province is a part, than

the following: "In the Eastern Provinces a stranded motorist, for example, need never wait for more than a minute or two before a school boy, eager to help, will come along and do his best in English, seldom good English, but usually understandable."¹³ The following table shows the primary school population distribution by 1946.

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
Eastern Provinces	214,000	49,000	263,000
Western Provinces	182,000	46,000	228,000
Northern Provinces	44,000	10,000	54,000.

It will be remembered that there were 63,874 boys and 16,600 girls in Calabar Province attending schools at this time. Thus more than one quarter of the number at school in the East came from Calabar Province.

The foregoing obviously sets out the advantages of the war; and without detracting from it, it should be noted that both the general ferment caused by the war, in spite of the gallant part the schools played by fostering nature studies, improved farms, scouting and various projects of community development, and the glamour that attended the soldier accelerated the drift from country to town and greatly undermined the morality of many.

Secondary Schools.

As we have already stated in the previous chapter, it was during this period that many of the old, or the first

group of, secondary schools reached the full secondary school status. The Oron Boys' High School, to recount this briefly, became a full secondary school in 1943 and for the first time six boys from it took the Cambridge School Certificate. The Etinan Boys' Institute reached full secondary status in 1945, though the Government only recognised it to Middle IV. It had $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ success in the Cambridge School Certificate examination of that year. In this same year, 1945, Aggrey Memorial College at Arochuku became a full fledged secondary school and had 66% success in the Cambridge School Certificate examination.

However, the period was not only one for perfecting existing secondary schools, new ones also came into existence. One of these was the Holy Family College established in 1941 at Abak by the Roman Catholic Mission. It offered the usual secondary school course, but in addition had agriculture as a subject to be taken up to school certificate level. It also had a very extensive farmland which members of its "Young Farmers' Club used for poultry farming.

In 1943 the West African Peoples' Institute (popularly called WAPI) was founded under the proprietorship of Mr. Eyo Ita. Later, it became a full-fledged secondary school preparing pupils for the Cambridge School Certificate Examination. Before 1943 when it was called National Institute, it was opened for courses in various types of technical training. Admission

was given mainly to pupils with standard VI Certificate, and only such academic courses as were necessary for the enhancement of the technical studies were provided. The technical course provided included Mechanical Engineering, both in theory and practice, Woodwork, Building, Architecture, Engineering Drawing and Painting. The school produced stationery and different types of glass ware, but unfortunately it was burnt down and many of the tools were destroyed. When in the same year it reopened at another site under the name of West African Peoples' Institute, the character of the school was changed to that of a normal secondary school with a strong bias for science.

The next school to be founded in the province by people trained in the United States of America was the Ibibio State College. It will be remembered that in chapter five, page 115, we read that the Ibibio State Union sent people to the United States of America to study education. When these students returned, the Union in 1944 established the Ibibio State College for them to educate and bring up the young in the best possible way known to them. The curriculum was similar to those of the existing secondary schools since all of them prepared their pupils for the Cambridge (Overseas) School Certificate. But the Ibibio State College, unlike other secondary schools outside Calabar Division, brought up its pupils to follow no particular religious sect or

denomination, and placed emphasis on civics and what I may call sociability. From its very foundation it was a coeducational institution and moralists had a lot to condemn in the idea but all they said was to no purpose and thereafter coeducation became more and more popular.

The last, though not the least, secondary school to be opened before the end of the period under consideration was a girls' secondary school, the Cornelia Connelly College. This is a Roman Catholic school and was opened at Calabar in 1944, but was later removed to Uyo in 1949. It thus came to be the first full-fledged girls' secondary school in the province, because the Edgerley Memorial School contented itself with giving a Secondary Modern type of education up to Class II only. The Cornelia Connelly College was founded by the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus and the chief aim of the school was to give the pupils a sound education and a good religious training which would both fit them for life in the home and enable them in future to play their part as educated women in the spiritual and intellectual development of their country. The subjects offered included Latin, Art, Botany, Mathematics and Needlework and a great emphasis was placed on cultural education and not as in many boys' secondary schools on the passing of external examinations.

Thus by the end of the period, 1946, there were 9 secondary schools in the province, namely: Rope Waddell

Training Institution, Duke Town School, St. Patrick College, Methodist Boys' High School, the Boys' Training Institute, Etinan, Aggrey Memorial College, West African Peoples' Institute, Holy Family College, Ibibio State College and Cornelia Connelly College with a total of 1,710 boys and 88 girls.

Teacher Training.

What happened in the field of secondary education also took place in that of teacher training. While the older establishments were becoming stabilized, a few more were being opened in other parts of the province. By 1939 the Roman Catholic Centre at Ifuho was doing a full elementary teacher training course for girls. Later the centre developed into a full teacher training college, training its students for the Higher Elementary Certificate Examination. In 1944 the Government Elementary Training Centre became a full teacher training college. By 1946 it undertook to train teachers for the small and educationally inefficient Protestant missions in the central Ibibio - Annang part of the province.

In 1942 a new teacher training centre was opened at Urua Inyang by the Roman Catholic Mission. This centre, St. Augustine's Elementary Training Centre as it is called, prepared students for the Teacher's Elementary Certificate Examination. About this time too some other missions which could not build a training centre or maintain an additional

one started Preliminary Training Centres. The pupils admitted to the centres were those who had standard six certificates, and they were given training in preparation for their becoming probationary teachers, and eventually entering training colleges. The Qua Iboe Mission started one of these centres in 1944 at Etinan. In 1946 the one established at Ididep by the Presbyterian Mission was favourably commented upon by the department. However the training done at Ididep was typical of the training given at such centres about this time. The curricula were greatly simplified and a greater emphasis laid on the three R's. A preliminary instruction was also given in School Method, and the working day was always evenly distributed between literary work, practice of native crafts, and domestic duties.

Provision of Educational Facilities in the Rural

Areas and the Problems Arising Therefrom.

In 1945 there was an outbreak of murder in the Annang areas of Opobo Division. This was caused by the "Eke-Owo" secret society or the Man-Leopard society, as it was called in English. It was not a new society but had existed long before in the province, and it was characteristic of it to be in hibernation till an occasion demanding retaliatory action, which would result in immediate butchering of the one involved, presented itself. So, it lurked in secret during the period of Government and missionary activities prior to 1945.

It is alleged that the member taking the offensive, wore a certain dress having stripes and colours like a leopard's, walked on all fours and left on the sand footprints in no way different from a leopard's. Any victim killed was also killed in the way a leopard normally kills its victims. The plain truth is that these people tried to imitate the beast in every detail so that acts of murder might be attributed to it and the offenders go scot free, since there were many leopards in this part of the province.

The causes of the revival of the practices of this society, after over fifty years of missionary and Government effort in the land, were sociological and educational. It is believed by the people of the area that it was a reaction against the English legal system which, as they say, based everything on a coherent telling of lies. Thus, on account of such lies, a case in the Native Court, involving the paying back of the "bride price" to a man whom his wife had divorced, had been "shabily treated" by the District Officer who reviewed the case.

Whether this is true or not, I do not know. But it must be remarked that many Englishmen of that time saw nothing reasonable in the people's institutions and often tended to share the opinion attributed to Sir Philip Mitchell, Governor of Uganda - "There is only one civilization and one culture to which we are fitted to lead the people of these countries - our own."¹⁴ Thus it is

possible that the District Officer referred to already wanted to apply some ideas in English laws about divorce overnight because of his false conception of the African's "bride-price." In this way many Europeans have brought about great social upheavals.

Now let us look at the educational aspect of the causes of the "Erpe-Owo" atrocities. A survey of the educational scene in Opobo and Abak divisions in particular shows that the influence of education was not great. In the two districts involved, Opobo and Abak Districts, schools were clustered round certain areas and other areas were neglected. At Abak itself there were the Government school and the Holy Family College, and about one mile from Abak there was a Roman Catholic School. Areas which were remote from Abak had no good schools, if at all they had any. In Opobo District, schools were also clustered round Opobo town, the headquarters. Here alone there were the Ekwanga Methodist School, St. George's School, the Ibekwe Methodist School and the Ibekwe Salvation Army School. The next school which was at Ette was eight miles from the township. Further inland in all directions there were scarcely any. Std. two schools; and where there was any school, the attendance was too poor because the parents did not like to pay fees and also because the children would stay away from school during the planting and palm fruit collecting seasons.

In the last quarter of the school year some of these would return to school to take the promotion examination. In nine cases out of every ten these children would fail and feeling ashamed to repeat a class or having no money would return to the village to indulge in evil practices. This type of young men caused more trouble in the village than any group. However, the Government and the Qua Iboe Mission cannot avoid some blame for this. The Government concentrated every attention on the District headquarters and failed to realize that it had a duty to open up the other parts of the districts. It is a discredit to the Qua Iboe Mission that the Man-Leopard atrocities happened only within its field of influence, for from the very beginning "it was concerned only to teach the children to read in Efik so that they could read the Efik translation of the Bible,"¹⁵ and seemed to have preached that education other than this would lead the people automatically to hell fire. The cause of the lack of educational facilities can also be traced to the people's indifference to new ideas and systems, and I feel they have to be blamed most for it.

However, as we have seen in the introduction, page XXXVII, it was eventually stopped in the traditional manner, after the Government had done all it could without any success, and had actually hanged seventy-seven people. The place

was, after this, opened up; wider and more straight roads were constructed; and many schools were built. It is believed that with more education there will not be a re-occurrence of such a thing in the province.

In any case a proper system of religious education would have prevented this from ever occurring. By religious education, I in no way mean one that was directed at overthrowing overnight everything that was found in the indigenous way of life, but one that would eventually draw the people away from their former ways to the new and more enlightened one that the missionaries brought. In this new way there should also be a place for what was good and noble in the old. More time should have been taken to teach the people that the law of "an eye for an eye" had been replaced by that of "love thy neighbour as thyself," especially since the European nations by fighting against themselves were merely saying to the people 'you can do what I say, but not as I do.' This, we have already seen, brought about a "heavy slump in white prestige and the unprecedented criticism of the European and his ways."¹⁶

Conclusion.

Although we did not treat educational progress during the First World War in full as we have treated it during the Second World War in this chapter, it must be noted that by 1946 education in the province and Nigeria at large was in

many ways very fortunate in passing through two world wars in a comparatively short period. The soldiers learned much from their association with other Nigerians, with West Africans and Europeans. In the Army many of them learnt to read and write and returned home tolerably well educated. They brought back new ideas which were often beneficial to the society. Why the number of children that go to schools during wars is always great is something of an enigma. Perhaps everybody is always desirous of helping his country and so must go to school to be educated first before being able to serve his country intelligently; for, every duty in war time demands ability to read and write, and great intelligence. The school is the only 'factory' for this. That is why, I think, there is a great rush to the schools in times of war.

Thus the wars, in spite of the lack of everything that accompanied them, added momentum to an already tense situation in Nigerian education. Because of the impact of these wars on education and consequently on the society that was being rapidly transformed by it, Nigeria has been catapulted from the state of being an agglomeration of tribes to being a nation in less than a hundred years. "It is one of the compensations, indeed the greatest of all, for the wastefulness, the woe, the cruel losses of war, that it causes a people to know itself a people; and leads each

one to esteem and prize most that which he has in common with his fellow-countrymen, and not now any longer those things which separate and divide him from^{them}¹⁷ This is exactly what happened in Nigeria after 1945. In fact it is said that the war brought West Africa into the light, even though the British official account in spite of West Africa's contribution towards the war effort, has not made an adequate and understanding reference to it.¹⁸

If the war did anything in other spheres of life to West Africa, I think it did more educationally. The war, more than any single factor, has made us achieve within a comparatively short time what many nations of Europe could not. The following statement attributed to Major-General J. G. McN. Bruce of the 82nd (W.A.) Division admirably sums up the situation - "If he is 'educated' his father almost certainly was not, and what you have achieved in many generations is being forced on him in one"¹⁹ and war more than anything else 'forced' education on us during the period under review.

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CHAPTER VII.THE COST OF EDUCATION.

From what we have seen in chapters III to VI, especially in chapter IV, it is obvious that the cost of education was borne by the Government, the Voluntary Agencies, and the community. The community can again be divided into the Native Administration and the local community; that is, the town or village on which the school stood, and which therefore supported the school by fees or otherwise, as we shall soon see.

It is true that in Calabar Province, the cost of education was at first solely borne by the Voluntary Agencies and the local community until when, after the creation of the Niger Coast Protectorate, Hope Waddell started to receive grants for the industrial side of the school, as we have already stated. But we are not going to consider first the financial contribution by the voluntary Agency and the community.

The real and effective financial aid to education, as far as Calabar Province was concerned, I think, dates with the Governorship (later Governor-Generalship) of Lord Lugard. By this time there were, as previously stated, 59 Government schools and 91 assisted schools. In Government and N.A. (Native Administration) schools, the representatives of the people contributed about one-third of the recurrent cost, which sometimes varied from £40 to £100. Those whose parents were natives of the community paid no fees, but children whose parents were non-natives of the community paid fees ranging from one shilling to two shillings a month.

While on this, it may be of interest to note the steps taken before a Government school was normally opened at any place. An inquiry was held with the chiefs and the leading members of the community to determine whether they wanted the school or not. The community then provided a site which was acceptable to the Government. Often a Government Officer actually had to advise on the choice of the site. The community then had to provide school buildings, teachers' quarters and also had a share of the recurrent expenditure with the Government. That is why the children of parents who were natives of the community generally paid no fees; in the few places where they did have to pay, they paid less than the fees paid by the children of settlers.

Each of the ninety-one Voluntary Agency schools that qualified for grants had to (a) have proper buildings, (b) maintain adequate and efficient staff, (c) be a non-profit making concern, and (d) the proprietor had to render properly the required returns to the Government. Each of them, for a first grant, received the sum of three shillings per unit of attendance, organisation and efficiency. For a second grant each had to receive three shillings for individual success in compulsory and optional subjects. There were also grants to augment teachers' salaries, and for building houses and maintaining them.

In secondary schools the system of "payment by results" was still used, though at a higher rate than formerly. There

was also a grant of one shilling or two shillings per unit of average attendance "where pupils were taught to sing from note modulator"¹. There were also grants for unit of attendance and for organisation and discipline. Voluntary Agency teacher training centres and departments did not at that time receive any grants-in-aid.

By 1916, the idea of "payment by results" began to receive less attention, and, as we have already seen in chapter IV, the grants to assisted schools were no longer to be awarded on the basis of an annual examination in certain subjects but on frequent inspections and examinations extending through the school year. The basis by which the grants of this year and the following years were assessed has already been discussed in chapter IV, along with the code of 1916. It now remains to say that the grants regulations prescribed grants for the salaries of teachers both in secondary schools and training institutions and also grants in respect of boarders in primary schools. As a result of the generous grants offer, 167 voluntary primary schools were brought into the assisted list in 1917. Education in that year cost the Government 1.6 per cent of its revenue, and this was much, compared with 1.4 per cent of the previous year.

By 1926, with the introduction of a new code, "Payment by results" "passed into the limbo of forgotten things". In that year grants were paid for approved mission Supervisors of schools. The old formula for determining

grants was superseded by one that was more complicated and divided the schools into A, B, C, D categories - 'A' signifying a 'very good' school, and descending in that order to 'D', a 'very bad' school. Suffice it to say that the grants-in-aid rose from £35,390: 0: 0d. in 1925/26 financial year to £52,730: 0: 0d. in 1926/27 financial year.² The following shows both how grants were allocated and how they rapidly grew:

1927/28	(a) £53,715: 0s.: 0d.
(for Building)	(b) £14,954: 0s.: 0d.
(for supervisors)	(c) £ 2,520: 0s.: 0d.

1928/29	(a) £64,736: 6s.: 3d.
	(b) £15,164: 8s.: 9d.
	(c) £ 5,477: 2s.: 6d.

1929/30	(a) £77,567: 8s.: 4d.
	(b) £16,215: 7s.: 11d.
	(c) £ 5,595: 10s.: 6d.

As we have already stated, the economic crisis of the thirties did much harm to the cause of education. It led to a revision of the grants formula and the subsequent introduction of the 'block grants' system. In 1930/31 financial year, the grants-in-aid voted amounted to £110,122 (including grants for buildings and the supervisors). The actual expenditure was £109,268. However, by October 1930, the annual allocation became limited to about £85,000, which for three successive

years became the annual vote for education. This led to all kinds of inconveniences, including a strike by the teachers of the Church of Scotland Mission in 1936, as we have already seen.

With the onset of the Second World War, things ran from bad to worse. The Government made a desperate effort to control its finance and this resulted in more drastic cuts than ever before. However, as we have already seen, it could not control the thirst for education. The Government was therefore in 1940 forced to apply to the Colonial Secretary for a block grant of £26,000. This was refused because the Government system of grants-in-aid was not reasonable enough and also because the Government could not effectively check the growth of bush schools. A systematic plan of development was then asked for and this led to the drawing up of the "Ten-year Educational Plan" in 1942, but which was rejected by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies in 1943. Among other things the plan recommended one hundred per cent grants in respect of salaries of certificated teachers and also of special register teachers in voluntary agency schools. It also recommended grants giving arrears from the 1st of January 1937 to the 1st of January 1941.

Meanwhile the Nigerian Government met the required grant of £26,000 from its revenue. On account of this grant a series of interim awards to certificated teachers were made. Thus the qualification for grants steadily

shifted from efficiency of the school to teachers per se. The interim awards were soon followed by a Cost of Living Allowance (C.O.L.A.) to voluntary agency teachers of all grades and in every school. At this point we must leave considering the Government's financial cost of education generally and consider how Calabar Province benefited from these grants.

Government Financial Aid to Education in Calabar Province.

From the very beginning, as we have already stated, the Government of the Protectorate assisted Hope Waddell by a yearly grant of £200 from the revenue.³ For some time Hope Waddell continued to be the only school receiving Government aid in Calabar Province. However, by 1903 the number of schools receiving Government grant increased to two - Hope Waddell and St. Joseph's Convent, both in the town of Calabar. From two, the number increased steadily so that by 1912 there were not less than twenty schools in Calabar Province receiving Government aid. Of these, the Church of Scotland Mission had nineteen and the Qua Iboe Mission had one. The number of schools belonging to other mission bodies is not known since these operated throughout Southern Nigeria and the number of schools available are not given province by province.

The number of assisted schools continued to increase and by 1927 there were forty-eight assisted schools in the province with the Church of Scotland Mission leading with

twenty-three, followed by the Qua Iboe Mission with only six assisted schools. All these assisted schools received grants from the Government and the grants to Voluntary Agencies amounted to £9,990: 16s.: 8d. The expenditure in the same year by the different missionary bodies was as follows:

Church of Scotland Mission	£6,803: 14: 11d.
Roman Catholic Mission	£ 945: 0: 0d.
Qua Iboe Mission	£ 522: 14: 3d.
Methodist (Primitive	£ 627: 10: 8d.
(Wesleyan	£ 176: 14: 0d.

The expenditure by the mission bodies, it should be noted, included money from the grants and also money from other sources.

In 1928 the Government grants to schools in the province, excluding grants to European staff and Boarders, amounted to £12,344: 2s.: 7d. and were distributed as follows:

Church of Scotland Mission	£7907: 9: 10d.
Roman Catholic Mission	£1098: 17: 10d.
Qua Iboe Mission	£ 836: 2: 5d.
Methodist (Primitive	£1281: 8: 9d.
(Wesleyan	£ 253: 11: 5d.

There were in that same year forty-four assisted mission schools in the province.

By 1929 the grants had gone up to £13865: 6s.: 9d. The years 1927 - 1929 were the three favourable years, as we have already seen, that followed the passing of the Ordinance of 1926. The grants in 1929 to the different mission bodies managing forty-nine assisted schools were as indicated here below:

Church of Scotland Mission	£3841: 10s: 9d.
Roman Catholic Mission	£1183: 17s: 8d.
Qua Iboe Mission	£ 936: 1s: 11d.
Methodist Mission	£1877: 11s: 3d.

One of the striking features of that year, 1929, was the increased Government grant to Qua Iboe Mission. In 1927 and 1928 the mission had eight assisted schools, but in 1929 it had seven assisted schools. The increase was due not only to increased Government grants but also to improved condition in this mission, noted for its "bush schools."

In the thirties the grants to the missions decreased considerably because of the trade recession of the period. This decrease led to cuts in salaries of teachers and expenditure generally. The Church of Scotland Mission, for instance, made a cut of 20% in the salaries of teachers in 1931 and the Roman Catholic Mission made a cut of 12% in 1932. The Government grants to the province for everything incidental to, and connected with, education stood at £15805: 10s.: 0d. in 1934. In 1935 the grants amounted to

£16,620: 0s.: 0d. This marked the end of the five year block grant. From 1936 on the grants were to be given for a period of three years. During this three year period the annual grants to the missions in the province amounted to £19,921: 0s.: 0d.

By 1938, as we have stated earlier, there was hope that the much needed increased provision, which had long been delayed by the economic difficulties of the thirties, would be made in the amount of grants given to the Voluntary Agencies. But when the war started the hope was dashed to the ground and the financial position actually worsened. The Government expenditure on education in Nigeria in the period 1939 - 1941 actually dropped below the level for 1938/1939 financial year, as the table below shows:

<u>Financial Year.</u>	<u>Total Expenditure.</u>
1938 - 1939	£269,152: 0: 0d.
1939 - 1940	£264,461: 0: 0d.
1940 - 1941	£259,546: 0: 0d.

The grants to schools in Calabar Province in 1939 was almost as in 1938 - £19,920: 4s.: 0d. But in 1940 (i.e. 1939/1940 financial year) the grants to missions fell to £19,441: 0s.: 0d. There was a little increase in 1942 because, as already stated, when the Colonial Office refused to assist Nigeria with a grant of £26,000, the Nigerian Government managed to provide it from within Nigeria. Thus the total expenditure on education in 1941/1942 financial year

increased from £259,546 of the previous year to £282,882. That was why the grants to schools in the province in 1942 rose from £19,441 to £19,717: 8s.: 0d.

As we have already seen, the Government did much to improve the conditions of teachers and thus encouraged them to continue in the profession and not join the army as some had already done. Because of these measures, the grants increased little by little as can be seen from the following table (i.e. grants to education in Nigeria):

<u>Financial Year</u>	<u>Total Expenditure.</u>
1943 - 1944	£481,226: 0 : 0d.
1944 - 1945	£485,113: 0 : 0d.
1945 - 1946	£615,663: 0 : 0d.
1946 - 1947	£745,850: 0 : 0d.

Of this total expenditure more than 50% was for grants-in-aid. Thus by the end of 1946 the total amount given to schools in Calabar Province as grants-in-aid was well over £45,000. In the financial year 1945/1946 the grants amounted to £42,337:14:3d. Of this amount £10,513: 0: 0d. went to secondary schools and teacher training colleges; £27,823: 14s.: 3d. went to the primary schools; and £4,001 were for half the salaries of certificated and trained teachers in unassisted schools.

From the foregoing it is evident that the Government was fully aware of its responsibility to provide education in the country. During the war the Government went a step

further and seemed to have been less interested in the social usefulness and efficiency of the schools, for both the assisted and unassisted schools benefited from the Government awards.

Contribution by the N.A.'s.

The N. A. schools, at least for the period under review, received no Government grants; and unfortunately records about what each N. A. spent on education are not available. So it is not possible to refer to actual figures, except to talk in general terms. Each N. A. maintained its own schools, paid the teachers and also provided funds for buildings. Because the mission teachers used to complain that their status was not as good as that of the Government and the N. A. teachers, it is to be assumed that the N. A.'s tried to treat their teachers as human beings and paid them well, if not as the Government teachers were paid.

The main sources of income for the N. A.'s was their own share of the tax money; and only a small portion of this went to education, for the N. A.'s had other things, like roads, bridges and dispensaries, to maintain. They were of course permitted to raise rates both for their schools and other schools in their area of authority. Thus in 1939 it is noted that some N. A.'s in Calabar Province were giving grants of £200 a year to some mission schools on the assisted list. They also gave a number of scholarships to pupils in different educational institutions.

The cost of education on the N. A.'s was really great; for, unlike many missions, the N. A.'s had very many trained teachers. The Training College at Uyo, it will be remembered, was established primarily for training N. A. teachers and the N. A. schools in the province actually started with the first batch of students that left the College. In 1940 it was found that it was too costly to maintain Government schools for while the net cost per child in the mission did not at any time exceed £2, the net cost per child in the Government schools was never less than £4. Because the N. A. schools tried to equal the Government schools in many things, especially in efficiency and number of trained teachers, it is fair to say that the net cost of education per child in the N. A. schools was about £3. This was really great when we consider the number of children in N. A. schools. The table below will help much in this direction:

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>No. on Roll.</u>
1933	1	35
1935	12	566
1938	18	1448
1943	19	2491
1945	21	3678

Thus, to say the least, the N. A.'s spent much to keep education going in the province. Some people did realize that the N. A.'s in Nigeria were doing some useful work and

that was why Director Morris embodied proposals to help the N. A.'s in the abortive Ten-Year Plan, already referred to on page 149. It is, however, not out of the way to note that the 1947 "Memorandum on Education" incorporated these proposals.

Contribution by the Local Communities and Churches.

The local communities and the churches also contributed a great deal to maintain their schools. But, as in the case of the N. A.'s, there are no records from which actual figures can be taken or quoted. It is common knowledge, however, that funds were raised in many ways for the maintenance of the schools: sometimes it was raised jointly by the local community and the church that owned the school. In the case of central schools, many churches, if not all in the circuit or (mission) district, used to contribute a certain quota to maintain the school and pay the salaries of the teachers in the central schools.

The missionary, who was the manager of the school, used to keep the money. All the people knew when they had no money and had to contribute more or else lose their teachers and consequently their school. It was in this way that many dishonest managers of native churches, as already seen during the war years in Owerri and Calabar Provinces, used to cheat the people and soon become rich.

The whole burden of maintaining the unassisted schools rested on the local communities and the churches that owned

the schools. In areas where there was a lot of palm produce, the people used to agree that for a certain period nobody was to cut the palm fruits. When these had been fully ripe, on a fixed day all the adults used to go out and collect them and take them to the residence of the chief. Then on another day they were pressed and the oil got was thereafter sold. All the money realized from the sale of the oil was taken to the missionary who had to spend it on maintaining schools in that particular area. Thus it was that long before the era of free education, several children in some communities attended schools without paying school fees.

Sometimes school festivals, concerts, church harvest festivals were organised, and the proceeds from these festivals were spent on the schools. Local preachers often did the duties of teachers. That is, they used to do some teaching in the schools attached to their churches and where that happened, often those preacher - teachers received their allowance or salaries as if they were employed only in the church. In this way the local communities and the churches tried to meet the cost of education.

Fees.

School fees formed a substantial part of the cost of education. But, unfortunately, as in the cases above, there is no way of getting a detailed information about school fees. Many people still remember with regret that in the very early

days, they were told to attend schools without paying anything, but they stayed away. They did not know that education would be as important as it is today and would cost as much as it is costing now.

Where and when fees were paid, they varied from area to area, and from agency to agency. However, normally the fees ranged from a few pennies in the Infant classes to a few shillings a month in the Higher Elementary classes. In the poor rural areas fees were very low, but in Calabar the fees were comparatively high. But before 1938 no primary school charged more than two shillings a month.

In 1939 fees were paid as indicated below; and this continued to be the basis for paying fees till the end of the period under consideration:

A. Government Schools.	(Infant	6d.)	
	()	
	(Elementary	1/-) per month.
	()	
	(Higher Elementary	1/ 6d.)	

B. Institutions under public management.

(a) Elementary 1/6d. per month.

(b) Teacher training £2.0.0d. per annum.

C.	(Elementary	3/-)
	()	
Aided Institutions	(Secondary	6/-) per month.
	()	
	(Teacher training	10/-)

Even though the amount paid on the whole seems very low compared with what is paid today, it was not easy for the parents of that time to find the fees, especially during the trade recession of the thirties and during the war that followed. This small amount paid as school fees, it should be noted, did a lot to save many teachers, especially those of non-approved agencies, from misery and want. The phrase, "titia ebak okpoho," (a twenty-shilling teacher) which was current at that time, shows that even the poorest villager considered himself better placed financially than teachers who were receiving ten to fifteen shillings a month; and with what might be considered improved conditions the scale of salary in 1938 was as given below:

Probationary teachers	£ 9 per annum
Uncertificated teachers	£18 per annum
Elementary Certificated teachers ..	£30 per annum
Higher Elem.Cert. teachers	£40 per annum.

The salary of female teachers was two-thirds that of a male teacher with the same qualification. School fees were without any exaggeration very important to these teachers whose meagre salaries were always never paid in time.

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THE CURRICULUM.

(a) Development.

When schools were started, the children, as we have already seen and should expect, were given the most rudimentary education. They were taught the three R's - Writing, Reading and Arithmetic. The material for reading was always scriptural and thus reading became the avenue through which the redeeming love of God and salvation through faith in Jesus Christ was preached. The situation was similar to what happened in Grammar Schools of England in the 19th century where "The core of the curriculum continued to be the classics through which the pupils were expected to learn the history, poetry, philosophy, and ethics of the ancients."¹

"Cleanliness," people say, "is next to Godliness." Because of this and the fact that the people were very unhygienic in their ways, as we have already seen in the case of Calabar itself when the Commissioner first went there, Sanitation was introduced immediately in the vernacular schools. There was no particular period allocated to it on the time table. It was taught practically. The children had to make the premises of the schools as pleasant as possible, just as the missionaries were making their houses and surroundings pleasant.²

The pupils were also taught simple rules of health: how to take care of their persons, nails and dress; what

exercises they had to perform when they got up in the morning; and why they had to eat good and well-prepared food and drink good water. Sometimes a whole school used to go out to clean the village's source of water supply. Later on this subject was introduced into the classroom by the name of Hygiene and Sanitation.

Physical training was also done in the very early days of 'school education.' But at that time it was not known by the name of Physical Training. It was normally called 'Drill,' and sometimes it was called 'Exercise'. From the name and from what I remember of what I saw in my days at school and also because of the fact that in many ways education in the colonies has been 'aping' education in England, I think the 'drill' was very much like the "military drill, first recognised by the Code of 1871"³ in England. From this early period right to 1935 (or 1938 in some schools) dumb-bells used to dominate the drill ground. Those who were too young to use the dumb-bell were contented with hand-stretching, leg-stretching and head turning exercises. Some progressive teachers in the late nineteen-twenties and early thirties introduced the African play, "Ukwa", and modernised it on the basis of English fencing, to which "Ukwa" is very similar. Where this happened the pupils used wooden swords and not actual swords.

It was in the forties that the dumb-bell with all that it stood for - the over developed biceps and "the 'pouter pigeon' chest" to mention a few - altogether disappeared in the province. About 1936, a better system of physical training based on the British Education Syllabus (1933) for Physical Training was introduced. From that time on different schools started to adopt the system and by 1940 it was universally used both in the province and in the rest of Nigeria.

As time went on, the Object Lesson was included in the school time table. The pupils liked these object lessons because they offered them opportunity of rambling when they went out to collect birds' eggs, rocks, flowers, plants and species of smaller animals. The teachers and the missionaries liked them for through these lessons they tried to point out to the children the greatness of God. He created everything in nature and thus nature was in very truth the living and visible garment of God and all that we see are "but workings of one mind,

'Characters of the great Apocalypse.....

The types and symbols of Eternity,

Of first, and last, and midst, and without end."⁴

Or, better still, because all these things "declare the glory of God and .. sheweth forth his handywork."⁵

Later on the Object Lesson⁴ was superseded by Nature Study. Although, like other subjects, Nature Study came to be taught as if ~~it~~^{it} were ^a'dead' subject⁵, yet many religious leaders saw in it a means of doing away with "gloomy and superstitious fears about adverse hidden powers" in the woods and forests, and of giving place to "a filial, confidential trust that we and all our ways are subject to the loving providential hand of a Heavenly Father, without whose knowledge, not even a sparrow falls to the ground."⁶

Another subject that was introduced into the schools early in the twentieth century was Moral Instruction. By this time Religious Knowledge, as such, had not been made a subject in the school curriculum. During the period for Moral Instruction the pupils were given lessons on Honesty, Punctuality, Duty to one's father, Duty to God, Politeness, on controlling one's tongue, Obedience and kindred subjects. Afterwards when this dwindled into mere formulaxy and recitation, it was dropped and its place was taken by Religious Knowledge or Scripture, as it used to be called.

Other subjects, like History, Geography, Singing and Handwork, were included in the curriculum. The geography course of those days was very much unlike the geography course of today. At best it can be described as a catalogue of unrelated facts which the children were expected to learn off by memory. Some of these facts were definitions of

geographical terms like island, lake, peninsula, gulf, mountain, ocean and sea. Examples of each were expected to be had at finger tips. The "five continents" of the world were also studied and the difference between a continent and a country known. The children were also required to learn the zones of the world. Of course all this was graded, and the children themselves were thrilled and delighted to learn these things.

History was sometimes taken with Geography as a single subject. Some schools, however, offered it and taught it as a subject, not to be taken with Geography. There was not much History taught in standards one and two. But by the time the children reached standard three or four, they began to study the "tribes of Nigeria", their customs and traditions, characteristics, ways of dressing, and their origins. Some lessons were also given on the exploration of the Niger and the slave trade. The names of the Governors of Nigeria and their periods of rule were studied, and in standards five and six, a child might learn something about African empires and the peoples of other regions. The notes given on all these lessons were stereotyped and the children were expected to know them as they were given. However, things were greatly improved in the forties when "the Battern series" (books on History and Geography written by T. R. Battern) were used.

In time, drawing was introduced and in the thirties handicraft was practised in one form or another in different

schools, particularly because one of the conditions for approval for the First School Leaving Certificate was that a school must take part in some form of "practical activity" and also achieve some sort of accomplishment in it. The practical activity for the First School Leaving Certificate examination introduced in 1936 as it had been earlier stated, included at least three of the following:

- (i) Music, choral singing, concert, plays.
- (ii) Physical training, games.
- (iii) Gardening or school farm.
- (iv) Craft work: Either Carpentry
Or wood carving, leather work,
 simple tin and metal work.

Dictation was also introduced. Writing (i.e. forming of letters), which was one of the earliest subjects to be introduced, continued to be taught and the copy book was in vogue.

Reading, too, continued to be taught as a subject. Reading varied from school to school; sometimes it was a dull monotony. Pronunciation also varied and depended on whether the missionary whom one often heard was Irish, Scottish, English, or American. Vernacular reading books and English reading books were used in standards one and two. But from standard three to standard six reading was done only in English.

The vernacular reading books at first were the Efik Bible, the Efik translation of the "Pilgrim's Progress" and the "Shorter Catechism",⁷ and some other Biblical tracts. In the thirties, on account of the work of the Efik Translation Bureau better Efik literature books such as "Akpa Erikot Nwed" and "Eguörö" were introduced into the schools. Up to 1930 books like the "First Primer", the "Second Primer", and the "Atlantis Readers" were used for English reading. Thereafter some schools continued with the "Atlantis Readers", but step by step the "New Method Readers" were introduced, and the readers were widely used by 1936. For the purpose of teaching English the "Readers" were used together with the "Companion Readers" and the "Learn to speak by speaking" series.

The Arithmetic syllabus also continued to expand steadily as classes in schools increased. All sorts of Arithmetic books were used. But, by 1936 the "Tutorial Arithmetic" by Workman became the standard text book for standard six. Thus, within a comparatively short time, the curriculum of the elementary school developed from the most rudimentary to include some of the most difficult topics in Arithmetic and in English grammar.

Development of Secondary School Curriculum.

The secondary school curriculum has no history and did not develop. It was just born, and at birth became full grown.

That is, from the time that secondary schools started to be developed, the pupils were prepared for the Overseas School Certificate examination, and so the secondary schools had to adopt the curriculum framed and designed to meet the requirements of the overseas examinations. The overseas examinations were the counterpart of the School Certificate examination that came into operation in England in 1917.⁸

As there was no choice in the matter, the schools had to accept the syllabus and prepare their boys, as best they could, to struggle through the examinations.

In the nineteen twenties and thirties only two schools, Hope Waddell Training Institution and Duke Town School, in Calabar Province prepared boys for these examinations. The subjects included in the syllabus were English Language, English Literature, Latin, English History, Geography, Elementary Mathematics and Religious Knowledge. Other secondary schools that sent in candidates for the examinations in the forties also followed the same course, though other subjects like Science, Music, Drawing, and Painting were introduced where there was a competent teacher to teach any of them. Even the schools that did not prepare for the ~~School~~ ^{School} Certificate examination had to follow the course to the Cambridge Junior level. Some secondary schools also introduced Handicraft and Woodwork in the lower classes.

(b) Criticism.

As we have tried to point out from time to time in the account given, British African education in the main followed the English educational system and programmes. We are told that "Progress in the dependencies has always been closely conditioned by developments in the United Kingdom and any survey of education abroad can only be understood in the light of the situation at home."⁹

Thus the primary school curriculum (and the secondary school curriculum about which we will say more later) was modelled on the main according to that of the English elementary school. So in their blind imitation, the authorities made primary education in West Africa pay "far too much regard to the content and treatment traditionally associated with the English elementary school and far too little to the African environment and to the material which has reality and meaning for the children because it is within their experience."¹⁰

In this way they ignored the fact that right education depends on the proper use of environment.¹¹ Thus they made learning remote and unearthly. Those concerned with the work of education, particularly the missionaries, were just satisfied with the assumption that "the function of the primary school is to insert a certain definite corpus of factual knowledge into all children,"¹² irrespective of age,

aptitude and ability, one may add.

There was unnecessarily "heavy emphasis on the three R's taught in isolation from all other subjects."¹³ It was because of this over - heavy emphasis that pupils in standard six had to use the "Tutorial Arithmetic" and Nesfield's "Manual of English Grammar and Composition" - books that today are used in top forms of secondary schools! We are told that even now judged by most of the subject syllabuses in use in primary schools in West Africa, the African child is expected to cover more ground in less time than his English cousin.¹⁴ If this is true of today when many people complain of low standard everywhere, then the position must have been worse in the thirties and the forties.

The schools failed in many ways "to meet current needs by not teaching 'matters of action meet for present practice'"¹⁵ and, except in the case of N. A. and Government schools they almost ignored everything African. The missionaries felt that anything African had a taint of the devilish about it. For quite a long time they failed to realize that "It is a mistake to suppose that the aim of Christianity must be to destroy everything indigenous."¹⁶

This certainly is not a discussion on Christianity, but in many respects we cannot separate education from Christianity in West Africa. In many mission schools where Singing was taught no African folk song was allowed to be sung. The

children were forbidden to take part in the folk dances of their people. This is particularly true of the Oja Iboe Mission. The Church of Scotland Mission, because of the influence of Mary Slessor, was somewhat tolerant in its early days - "In the history of missionary activities in Nigeria, she (Mary Slessor) was the first to realize that some measure of good must be contained in the culture of a people no matter how backward or how degraded they are."¹⁷ So she studied Ekpe and made use of it in carrying out her work of emancipating the women.

This erroneous attitude towards African culture has brought upon colonial education criticisms like the following:

One of the most regrettable aspects of education as it exists in many schools today is to see children laboriously copying robins and holly leaves on Christmas cards, or painting snow scenes on gourds, or learning feather stitching in blue cotton on pink flannalette rompers.

I have seen such examples in many areas, and most recently in British Honduras, where Maya Indians have a rich tradition of functional design, both in their roof-making of interwoven palms, in their house building with their intricate criss-cross

wood-work, and in their ancient pottery and bas-reliefs. In an infants school in Calabar the children were told to sing for me, and they chanted English nursery rhymes in unison with a few stiff jerky 'actions', and managed to put them in a minor key. When I asked if they could sing any vernacular songs, a little girl got up and began one of the narrative songs with a chorus. In a few seconds all the children were swaying rhythmically, and the little leader was working up herself and them to a crescendo as the story developed."¹⁸

Most of what is written in the above must always happen where the content of education is based on what is obtaining in another society that is foreign and remote and where people refuse to admit that "A curriculum exists to prepare pupils for living within a certain kind of society"¹⁹ and that African society is not English society.

Even if there was nothing good in the African society, since the rate of change was too rapid, in the interest of the children, the curriculum, in at least certain subjects, should have contained certain features or topics with which the pupils were familiar. If the people had belief in certain spirits

similar to English gnomes, naiads and salamanders, as we have already seen, then what happened in England should have been allowed to happen here - "Until recently an ancient popular culture, with naturalistic and Christian elements indiscriminately intermingled, was strong in England. It is the culture of the fairies, the legends, the folk-songs and dances, the seasonal customs, the nature lore and the proverbial wisdom of rural England. Till about the middle of the seventeenth century or a little later one may say it was the base of English life and a fruitful source of material for literature... But though it survived Puritanism and aristocratic cosmopolitanism and sophistication, it could not survive the Industrial Revolution and the institution of a national system of education. It never entered the schools at all until quite recently, when it was practically dead, and certainly unintelligible to the large mass of urbanised children.... Now, having lost most of its native social and historical associations, it has become little more than a field of quasi-archaeological study by groups of enthusiasts: organised for the purpose."²⁰

The History course was unsuitable and remote from the children's background. Except for a very brief course of Nigerian history, it was a jumble of World History. There was no attempt made to study local history. Instead of learning anything about their ancestors, the pupils were daily fed with facts about Julius Caesar, Pompey, Xenophon and Archimedes.

No one objects to teaching children something about these men when they are more mature and can appreciate their achievements in the light of what they know about their people, but to base their primary school history course on these ancient and foreign people was certainly, to say the least, undesirable. There is every possibility that the children thought of these men as legendary and unreal. They had very little in common with the ancient world and so these lessons could not have stimulated them to find out more facts about the people as they would have done if the men were their ancestors.

Perhaps to defend this many will advance the age-old reason that there was not enough material to make a good and consistent course of study. But why was an attempt, a beginning, not made? The missionary pioneers either had too much to do or were not interested in knowing about the past of the people that they came to save. Government officials, like Dr. Talbot, Dr. H. D. W. Jeffreys, and Burns, however, tried to leave some record about the peoples of Nigeria. In Calabar Province, to be fair, some missionaries of the Church of Scotland Mission actually did much to leave written records about the people in their area of influence.

A geography course based, as we have already seen, on definitions and memorization of examples of capes, gulfs and oceans certainly had no reality for the children. Even during the period that it was realized in England that "the school should

contribute more effectively than before towards fitting boys and girls to play their part worthily in home, workshop and neighbourhood, as happy and useful men and women,"²¹ educators in Nigeria (and these were all Europeans) continued to allow Nigerian pupils to be dosed daily with this mass of unrelated facts. Geography was not taught from 'the human standpoint' and thus the children failed to realize 'how the conditions under which men live have helped to mould their lives and their activities.'²² In short, the course failed to "supply the pupil with a definite body of ordered facts, topographical, commercial, economic and scientific, that are part of the stock of information which members of a modern civilised community need for the understanding of current events."²³

Later on, in the forties the geography course was replanned. From that time on there was a great deal of improvement. The course began with the school compound and extended to the village; from the village it moved on to the district, the province and the country. There were also lessons on West Africa, Africa, and the World. This was certainly good and, at least, was sufficient to give a child, who had a full primary school education, an idea of his country and the relationship between his country and other countries of the world.

I think it was a very serious mistake in the education of those days, both in the primary and secondary schools, to

omit citizenship in the curricula. Perhaps the missionaries in their zeal and piety believed that only

"Heaven is our heritage

Earth's but a player's stage."²⁴

and so nothing should be done about citizenship here for we "have only one city which is the new Jerusalem." But the Government that was trying to form "a nation out of the bewildering agglomeration of tribes and clans which at present lack even a common language"²⁵ ought not to have failed to include citizenship in the curriculum in at least 1916 when the Government really stepped into the educational scene. "Education for Citizenship in Africa" that came in 1948 was too late to serve any useful purpose, considering the political developments and changes that came after that year and fears of tribal domination before independence in 1960.

Some have tried to defend the failure to use the schools to evolve a common citizenship on the ground that that would be an American and not a British approach and also because the British people have always tried not to use indoctrination as a means of educating the young. This, in my opinion, is merely a face-saving excuse, for what was indoctrination in 1915 was still indoctrination when the Colonial Office published the booklet mentioned above and when in 1949 His Majesty's Government published "Citizens Growing Up at home,

in school and after."

Now to summarize: the curriculum of the primary schools was "an unintegrated conglomeration of subjects" just as the curriculum of the secondary schools was, as we shall soon see. It was not conceived and planned as a unit, and was very academic. Some very important subjects were not taught, whereas some that were not very important were taught. The curriculum also failed to meet special needs of Africa and Africans and was very often alien and altogether remote from the child's environment. Consequently some of the subjects remained unintelligible to the children. Thus those who planned the curriculum for schools in Nigeria violated one of the most important principles advocated by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies that

"Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of national growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his

or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service."²⁶

Secondary School Curriculum: Criticism.

We have already stated that the curriculum of secondary schools in Nigeria was planned simply to suit the requirements of the Overseas School Certificate Examinations conducted by the Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate. Thus from the very beginning it was examination that dictated the curriculum of our secondary schools. If of the School Certificate, its English counterpart, it was said: "designed to follow the curriculum, it has in fact dictated it (particularly in small and badly - staffed schools), and the exemption - demands of the Universities and other bodies which have used the examination, have often canalized a pupil's studies into channels which his teachers have known to be the wrong ones for him, and which, running parallel to one another and with no tributary connections, have deprived the curriculum thus forced upon him of any intelligible wholeness,"²⁷ it is just to say that in Nigeria, as in other West African territories,

the secondary school curriculum was limited to academic subjects chosen not for their educational values nor for their contribution towards the pupil's future and his work in the community, but because the teachers who were available could only manage to teach those subjects.

Thus the whole organisation of our secondary schools was geared up to this examination, with "compulsory subjects and groups and no certificate without a fixed number of passes."²⁸ In doing so, those who planned our secondary education ignored the fact that "English secondary education has by tradition come to be regarded essentially as preparatory to the universities or some other form of higher education."²⁹ What really should have happened in West Africa where there was no institution, excepting Fourah Bay College, giving university education, should have been to make secondary schools have a broader function than that of feeding the university. Those who planned secondary school education in Nigeria should have used the secondary schools primarily for speeding up the development of the country and concentrated on high standards and sent out young men not only to the university but into a wide variety of callings. These should be well-educated young men and women of good character who would play a full and worthy part in the social, economic and political life of their community.³⁰

Thus once more we see that no attempt was made to make secondary school education rooted in the soil of Africa. In Africa because of the type of education given, our educators, unwittingly perhaps, reversed the dictum that for education to fulfil its function and fructify, it must be intimately related to the environment in which the pupil is to spend his life.³¹ The secondary school pupil was not given the knowledge and training required for adult life nor was the creative impulses needed for new enterprise, daily adaptation to routine and changing situations, fostered in him. In this way was developed that craze for the certificate, which today 'experts' are condemning in Nigerian education.

Let us now leave general remarks and consider the curriculum subject by subject and see what exactly was happening. The curriculum for the Overseas School Certificate Examinations made a foreign language, other than English, compulsory. So Latin was offered and, consequently, many secondary schools in Calabar Province about this period offered Latin. This subject has been a bane of our secondary school system. It is of use neither to the pupil nor to the community. If it was taught (and it is still taught) for 'the advancement of learning,' I have not unfortunately seen how a grounding in Latin in Africa has advanced knowledge. Perhaps it served, and still serves, a useful purpose in Europe whose culture, moral values, law and system of government are derived from the Greeks and the Romans.³²

I am inclined to think, perhaps erroneously, that Latin was introduced in West African schools just because some felt that Cowper's idea of "the insupportable fatigue of thought" should not die. Having done Latin beyond the School Certificate stage, I have to agree with much of what Professor Whitehead wrote in favour of Latin.³³ But I have known people who began their study of Latin in a University College. The example he gives of the three representatives of the Faculty of Science who "energetically urged the importance of classics on the ground of its value as a preliminary discipline for scientists"³⁴ is unique and an instance of it cannot be found out here in West Africa. With all due deference to him, I beg to submit that, with the modern restatement of the principles of the transfer of training and the fact that "it has not become a dominant doctrine in deciding what the content of any subject in the school curriculum should be",³⁵ Latin in secondary schools has no educational values for the people of West Africa. Whatever legacy the Romans left to the world, we would have read, understood, and appreciated readily if translated into English or any other modern language. What is learnt in school should be relevant to life, and since we are surrounded by French speaking countries, the language that should have been taught is French and not Latin.

On the other hand, science which was, and still is, very important in this age was taught 'properly' only in a few schools. Perhaps, this was so because of lack of laboratory

facilities. But even in schools where this was 'properly' taught, it was restricted to the classroom and laboratories. The entire resources of the environment was untapped. For Botany English plants were used. Thus it came to be regarded and treated as an examination subject only. The result was that whether you offered Latin or Science at school, you were never the better for doing so, for when you left your school, you also left behind whatever you learnt of Science, except you were fortunate enough to go to Britain to study medicine. How science was taught was the very antithesis of the following:

Science has to be thought of not as a mysterious and highly complex cult pursued by highly specialized "scientists"; not as a many-sided magician producing wonders for the populace and profits for the enterprising; nor yet as a technical necessity of modern life for which, however reluctantly, any self-respecting school must make some provision. It is rather modern life itself (italicised) in one of its most fundamental aspects, and therefore an essential basis of a modern education for everybody."³⁶

However, I think the bad science teaching was due to lack of competent science masters and laboratories. But even now

there is much to be desired in the teaching of science in our schools. We have to bridge the gulf between the East and the West. In our ancient religion, which is oriental in origin, mankind is overshadowed by the immensity of natural phenomena. Christianity will not become real to many till we explode the myth of the primitive thoughts of our fathers by a proper knowledge and use of science.

All the schools offered Mathematics. It was right they should do so, for all quantitative statements of our physical and social activities demand a knowledge of the mathematical processes. But unfortunately the course followed the traditional course in which every branch of Mathematics had a compartment of its own. Thus the subject was taught more or less as a discipline and not for its practical uses. It was recondite, remote and abstract for the mass of the pupils that attended our secondary schools. No matter what one may say in favour of Mathematics as a subject for profound study, the truth remains that except for a highly selected class, Mathematics considered in the traditional way is fatal in education. In Nigeria of those days, certainly such a class of elites was not available, and so mathematics was not properly taught.

In passing we must state that, as far as possible, the content of mathematics course should be related to life. Emphasis should be placed on the functional aspect of Mathematics.

In short, in the words of Professor Whitehead, "The goal should be, not an aimless accumulation of special mathematical theorems, but the final recognition that the preceding years of work have illustrated those relations of number, and of quantity, and of space, which are of fundamental importance..... In fact elementary mathematics rightly conceived would give just that philosophical discipline of which the ordinary mind is capable. But what at all costs we ought to avoid, is the pointless accumulation of details."³⁷

The principal arithmetical responsibility should be to provide opportunities for the quantitative interpretation of social environment. The work should be so organized that emphasis is placed on the importance of arithmetic in the better understanding of many of the children's normal daily experiences. Thus the arithmetic course should make an important contribution to the intelligent consideration of various aspects of business, consumption, production, government and social relationships that lead themselves to quantitative study and analysis. Because the teachers of those days did not realize this fact, the mathematics teacher in Calabar taught the metric system purely as a classroom subject. Many, in fact, did not understand it themselves, and so could not teach the children this system. No mention was made of the inter-relation between the French system and the British system of measurements. Consequently, the pupil

had no practical experience of using the metre-rule with the yard-rule. Perhaps he was ignorant that his cousin in the French Cameroons, a few miles from Calabar, used this system of measurement and that one day he would come in contact with him. The same thing was true, and to some extent is still true, of the francs and dollar currencies. This is certainly bad because all around are French neighbours and therefore we are bound to come in contact with them in games, commerce, and purely African matters.

The only branch of social studies taught in the secondary schools was History. The content of the course in the lower classes varied from school to school; but in the higher forms the history of the making of the British Empire was, and still is, taught in all the secondary schools in Calabar Province. The courses in the lower classes seem to have been somewhat flexible; perhaps, they were chosen because of the ability of the teachers that were available to teach them. But in the top classes where the pupils were prepared for the Cambridge School Certificate examination, there was no choice. The history course for the junior classes included the following:

- (a) Nigerian history in general with particular reference to the Slave Trade, the Conquest of Northern Nigeria, the Exploration of the Niger, the Coming of the missionaries, and Nigeria under British rule.
- (b) Tropical Africa in World history.

(c) English History.

(d) Empire History.

Even though Nigerian history is included in the above list, not all the schools taught it. Many that taught it limited it to Class I only. Because of lack of adequate material, many teachers treated it haphazardly and merely expected the pupils to be able to cram, and reproduce at the annual examination, Potts' "History of Nigeria." Because of lack of materials, many preferred English history. This, as far as I can still remember, was only about the lives and reigns of English monarchs, famous Englishmen and women, wars, battles lost and won, and the rise of English navy. I must confess it was dry to us and the dates were baffling and confusing. I know many of my class-mates who used to sneak out to avoid the wrath and the punishment of the master.

The following remark is true of the history course in the first four decades of this century in Nigeria as it is true of it today:

"All too often, history lacks reality for the African boy or girl. By strenuous memorising or note-making a credit may be achieved in the school certificate examination; but true insight into the past and the important lessons history can teach are often scarcely brought to the surface of the mind at all."³⁶ This is so because the history taught has never been relevant to the pupils' needs, background and intellectual

strivings. Thus the African child has been made to study what will never be of use to him, what he knows must be studied if he must have a reasonable economic security, but what will be discarded as one discards an old exercise book.

I sometimes think that the African child has been quite often misdirected on account of 'education for the sake of education.' In the light of the following statement: "In the History class-room there is good reason for making the first serious sketch relate mainly to the History of our own nation, the place of England in the World..... The pupil is the citizen in posse (italicised) of one of the greatest and noblest nations in the world, and a due consciousness of the value of this citizenship is an essential ingredient in the making of the full citizen of the world-unity of nations later on",³⁹ I think, since we were not inhabitants of 'overseas Britain' as it would have happened if we had the ill-luck of coming under France, effort should have been made to discover our past, at least for the sake of teaching it to our children, who in that way could have been helped to have a sense of "belongingness."

What puzzles me at times is that the British people realized the importance of their sons and daughters knowing their past - "we would not see a pure internationalism in History teaching take the place even of the too exclusive nationalism which has prevailed in the past"⁴⁰ - and yet those

of them who came to Africa felt that to the African his past was unimportant. All along it was accepted that History was the basis of training in political and social matters, and citizenship.⁴¹ One may justifiably ask whether we were taught British and English history so that we might become citizens of Great Britain. Perhaps it is best to accept that they taught us all these things with the best intention but were handicapped by the circumstances and conditions of that time. In any case, it is good to observe that a good history course should not be based primarily on the history of distant and remote peoples.

The foregoing paragraphs seem to be a wholesale condemnation of the curriculum. But judged from the wide spread complaint that the standard, particularly of English, has fallen, there seems to be at least one bright spot in the education of those days. So that I may not seem to be detracting too much from the work of those days, I concede that the English of a primary or a secondary school pupil was better than that of today. But it must be stated that even in those days there was some complaint of a low standard in English, particularly spoken English.⁴² Moreover, it is accepted that "The superimposition of the language of the dominant race on a vernacular foundation, necessarily weak because of the inadequacy of suitable literature and the absence of facilities for research, has produced in the Southern Provinces a situation

in which the literary command of both English and the vernacular has suffered."⁴³ So even at that time the standard could not have been as good as many would have liked, or ^{as some} want us to believe now that it was.

Two factors have led to this "fall in the standard of English" - the exclusion of formal grammar from the curriculum and also the type and nature of the English reading books used. Many people today have condemned the teaching of formal grammar simply because people who have never gone to school and, therefore, have never heard of grammar, speak their language fluently without any 'grammatical' faults. On the basis of this argument they do not see why English should not be learnt without learning the formal grammar of the language.

This argument is very unfair for "there are certain aspects of formal grammar which if known will speed up the learning of the language, and will enable one to use it with confidence and intelligence."⁴⁴ All I say is that "Grammar need not mean pedantry, routine for routine's sake; it can mean a valuable necessary discipline or a fascinating study. We certainly want less grammar of the former kind and more of the latter"⁴⁵.... "The teaching of grammar is justified as a means to an end. The end is clear expression, the ability to express what one wishes to communicate so that

the receiver (listener or reader) can take it in without undue effort and without being misled or confused."⁴⁶ So I urge on all to teach grammar (i.e. the new grammar as opposed to the formal) in secondary schools from Class I to Class III, at least. If we refuse to do this, let us stop all sorts of 'meandering' in the name of teaching English and simply export all generations of our children to Britain where they will learn and speak English fluently and correctly without any thought of grammar.

The second reason for the fall in the standard of English, as we have already noted, can be found in the type of literature (reading books, as they are often called) used. In this paragraph and the following we shall concentrate on the primary school where the foundation of writing and speaking English is laid. Before the introduction in 1942 of the "Oxford Readers", attention was given to formal grammar when the "New Method Readers" were used. As a result the children could write correct grammatical English sentences. But now this is not so because the authors of the "Oxford Readers" feel that formal grammar is useless. This, as we have seen, is of course erroneous in the case of African children, the greatest number of whom come from homes where English is never spoken and, as such, have no chance of speaking English for at most three hours at a stretch without bringing in the vernacular. It must be observed that these

vernaculars have no syntactical similarity to English.

With their new ideas on learning English, the authors of the "Oxford Readers" have compiled for different classes books which not more than three out of every ten teachers have used efficiently. The English exercises at the back of the 'Readers' are always too detailed and so, often not more than a half of the work expected to be done is ever done. In the following year the unfortunate children start a new class with a new 'Reader' with new sets of exercises which are bound to suffer the same fate as that of the previous 'Reader'. Thus the lessons of the second halves of the books are often undone, and all these omissions can never improve the children's standard of English. However, this is not a weakness forced upon this era by the previous one, and so this defence might not be an effective one and in the end might not be justified.

One thing, however, is certain; and that is both in the past and now our English has left much to be desired and many English people of good will have been worried about it. Our English is weak because of the way it was begun. It was begun as Oral language in Infant two and as written one in Elementary One. In Elementary one too, it was introduced as a medium of instruction, a good deal of the vernacular being also used. From Elementary two on, it became the main medium of instruction. In doing this the authorities of the thirties

failed to realize that "Educators who boldly undertake to impose a foreign language as the medium of instruction run the risk of losing the fruits of all their efforts by producing a generation with superficial verbal knowledge unconnected with its surroundings and previous experience".⁴⁷

Before passing on, I cannot help quoting another instance when it was found that the use of English as the medium of instruction lies at the root of the ineffectiveness of many children in that subject. Here it goes:

"The claims of the mother tongue must come first, so that the children may be the better able to express their innermost thoughts in a language related to the genius of their race and redolent of their past....Unto well on in the last century few realized that the use of a foreign language as the medium of instruction placed a grievous burden upon the vast majority of pupils; fewer realized that, if pupils were taught in their mother tongue, a better knowledge of English could subsequently be acquired in a comparatively short time and with comparatively small expenditure of effort; scarcely anyone appears to have

realized that exclusive use of English in schools and colleges tended to crush individuality of thought and to foster, instead, habits of repetition and memorization."⁴⁸

This speaks for itself and many see now why they often say that Nigerians do not write original compositions in examinations. For the first time, the fault in this case is not in ourselves but in our stars.

In conclusion, even at the risk of being branded a pessimist, I submit that for many years to come our English will always be inferior to English spoken in England. In fact in the ultimate, it will not be English at all. It will be Nigerian, if it will not be replaced by an indigenous language, that is a language spoken in Nigeria and in some ways similar to English just as the English spoken in America is American and has certain elements in common with English. In this connection I have to say that it is very gratifying to see that some Englishmen, like Mr. C. W. Robert, formerly of Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, and now of the Institute of Education, University of Bristol, who have taught English in West Africa and therefore understand and make allowance for the difficulties of the African child in the use of the language, hold almost the same view.^{48 (b)}

Last, but not the least, let us consider Domestic Science, since this should have been the pivot of any well conceived girls' education in Africa where marriage comes first in every girl's thought and plan - "Nearly all women want to marry and to have a family. Marriage is the most important event in their lives. In most African societies its importance is recognized by the fact that, in addition to the daily domestic 'lesson' she gets from her mother, a girl has some special training or instruction to prepare her for marriage."⁴⁹

But it is sad to say that even though those who carried on the work of education knew what is stated above, they made no attempt whatsoever to teach domestic science in the mixed schools. Some of the six girls' schools (primary), however, taught some form of domestic science. In the forties, the marriage training homes offered some courses that we can today call by the name of domestic science. I say 'some form of domestic science' because it was based too much on the English pattern. The menu prepared was often un-African in character and certainly the girls leaving such schools could not have returned home to prepare English dishes. Money and time were wasted on the purchase and preparation of items of English diet; and where the preparation of African diet was taught at all, local food stuffs were treated in the way that Europeans wanted and not

as Africans, whom the girls were to serve later, wanted.

The following spoken of domestic science at a later date will certainly substantiate my statement that during the period that we are considering, the subject, where it was taught, was very badly taught:

"Domestic science centres, where they exist, are good and the teaching in them is often quite first-rate; but the equipment, though rightly based on 'native conditions', is too often restricted to the traditional and the known, and the girl is seldom introduced to more modern equipment which could be used in native conditions and which would save labour and make easier - and so encourage - a greater variety of diet. Sewing is well taught on the whole but within narrow limits which tend to make it dull; and the lessons in so-called child care, home craft, hygiene, and so on are even more dull and bookish."⁵⁰

In conclusion, I have to say this that it is actually necessary that a domestic science curriculum be based partly on Western ideas and partly on the local African traditions. It was really a sad mistake not to teach domestic science in mixed schools. I agree with the statement that "a good

department of domestic science should be an essential part of every girls' school, primary or secondary"⁵¹, and not only of girls' schools but also of every educational institution where a number of girls are found.

Before we pass on to the next chapter, let us briefly restate what we have said about the curricula of the schools in Nigeria. In secondary schools, education was as academic as it was in England at that time, and also had the tradition of 'the white collar' behind it. The primary schools consequently became academic and the subjects taught were very often remote from the pupils' environment. It was the School Certificate Examinations that brought about all this; and if these examinations had adverse effects on schools in Britain a fortiori on schools in West Africa, and, in fact, on other British territories overseas. Because of these examinations one type of curriculum was exclusively followed; and this curriculum was in general limited to academic subjects, most of which were chosen not for their educational value, nor for their contribution towards the pupils' future life in their community, but because the staff and the training could be easily provided. Thus our children were educated to live in a society that did not exist.

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THE SOCIAL SOMERSAULT AND VALEDICTION.

Because of the peculiar title of this chapter, I think a little explanation of what we are setting out to do is necessary. In the first part we are going to consider the impact of education on the traditional societies of the province and also note any new life that was infused into the society. Hitherto we have, except in the Man-Leopard episode, confined our discussion to the schools. The schools, it must be noted, did not exist in a vacuum, but in a community from which children went to school, and to which they returned after school.

In the second part we are not going to have a farewell to education as one might say the N. A. has in "Epitaph to Indirect Rule", because the N. A. did not thereafter exist again. The type of farewell that we are going to have in this chapter is going to be a type of stock-taking, an evaluation, or a public praise for what has been done or achieved. I say praise not because everybody will necessarily win some praise, but because the emphasis will be on what is praiseworthy. We cannot justifiably sacrifice anyone because of the mistakes of the past. If the attempt to educate was not made, what would we have done?

(b) Impact of Education on the Society.

Lord Hailey in his "African Survey" has well said:
"Education in Africa is an instrument of change and not as in

more static communities an instrument for maintaining the continuity of culture."¹ From the very beginning education had a certain disintegrating impact on the different communities of Calabar Province, because the educational system adopted, as we have already seen, originated from a different background and was superimposed on the indigenous system of education. In addition to this fact, the missionaries went a step further and discouraged every native play or practice, including folk songs and dances, as we have already seen. Thus education, in spite of the effort of the Government to encourage the use of traditional institutions as the basis for education,² did nothing to conserve anything in the culture of the people. It, in short, was out to overthrow 'overnight' the indigenous way of life and in its place plant another one, possibly modelled on the Western pattern. Some of the missionaries at that time had the same conviction that made John Lawrence say: "We are here by our own moral superiority, by the force of circumstance, and by the will of Providence. These alone constitute our charter of government, and in doing the best we can for the people we are bound by our conscience and not by theirs."³ Consequently basing everything on western values, they found African Communities bereft of anything of real value.

Western education brought about, and still brings about, a sharp divergence between education of the school and the

traditional education. The main purpose of traditional education was to make children effective and responsible citizens of the community; and implied in it was the over-all interest of the community. Western education was, and still is, direct antithesis of this. It seeks the happiness and material welfare of the individual. One is often surprised that many Europeans show concern about parents' attitude of sending their children to school for materialistic reasons. This has been brought about by the type of education they brought to us!

In any case we should be the people to complain, because the type of individualism they brought into our society has altogether destroyed the traditional belief that everybody is his brother's keeper and has enthroned acquisition of wealth by the individual for himself at the expense of his other fellows.

Even though "for many years the Missionary Societies, working in the southern areas, had the field of education to themselves, and the educational system of Southern Nigeria today is largely the creation of Missionary effort,"⁴ the education given failed to "penetrate patterns of living rooted in religious systems that pervaded every detail of social and domestic life"⁵ both in Calabar Province and in Nigeria in general - "Africans have a strong sense of spiritual values and recognise them in the motives and

sanctions which govern morality. Their education, before European influence made itself felt, had for its care the training of youth in social obligations, and this training was given by persons approved by the tribe⁶. The missionaries and other educators that came after then failed because they did not build on the original foundation but believed that by a mere wave of a magic wand, as it were, they would replace native ideas ~~by~~^{with} European ideals. But unfortunately it is the material side of European civilization that leaps to the eye: its ideals, being more subtle and elusive, cannot be easily grasped. Thus Western education has thrust upon us godless materialism.

While in Europe in the last two decades of the 18th century and the early part of the 19th century, people were preaching 'back to nature', in Nigeria in the twentieth century, because of the type of education given, people were fleeing from the land and from nature. The Government from time to time stressed the need of encouraging agriculture, and actually encouraged it by establishing plantations in Government schools, as we have already seen. They established a School of Agriculture at Umuahia, to which Government and N. A. schools in Calabar Province and other parts of Nigeria sent their teachers to be trained. But the missions with hundreds of primary schools all over the province, except for a few solitary cases, virtually did nothing. The Europeans

in general with their multitudes of servants and by making housewives virtually idlers⁷ gave the people a wrong idea of education and therefore the people hated to work on land or elsewhere, except in offices as clerks. Education, it must be noted, is not the business of schools alone, but goes on wherever human beings are in contact.⁸

So western education, because of the failure to graft it to the indigenous system in spite of the Government's effort, as has already been pointed out, caused a cleavage not only in the community between the literates and the rest of the mass of the people, but also within the personalities of the pupils. "It is quite obvious that the whole mental life of the inhabitants of a West African Colony is affected by the difficulty of reconciling the beliefs and thoughts, instincts and impulses, hopes and fears, which are a part of their mental heritage, with a new sense of values, new types of experience and a new social and political regime, all of which result from contact with Europeans and European civilization."⁹

"Conduct in primitive society was regulated by complicated but well-known rules of behaviour, and the transgressor went in fear not only of punishment at the hands of men, but of retribution in this world by the unseen powers."¹⁰ So people tried to be honest and to avoid stealing, adultery and murder. But with the coming of Western education and, consequently,

the civilization it brought, people began to be less concerned about what type of character they had. In spite of attempts to teach Moral Instruction and Religious Knowledge in the schools, educated men, no more bound by the spiritual sanctions of their local cults, committed crimes that would have stupefied their forefathers.

Schooling came to be regarded as the only route to salaried employment. So everybody tried to send his child to school so that he might get a salaried post. In this way a wrong sense of education was given to the people - "The fact that schooling is regarded as the highway to employment, and that Governments recognize the passing of what is in fact an external examination as a passport to a job, accounts for the importance in the eyes of indigenous people of certain aspects of Western education. It also explains why certain aspects in the wider sense have been regrettably discarded for so long".¹¹ The curriculum of the schools, as we have already seen, placed a premium on foreign cultural material. This served to obliterate the respect for our culture in our youths. Thus they came to despise their culture and find shelter in cities and townships where they would have nothing to do with the culture of their own people.

To say the least, the impact of education on the traditional communities of the province caused a bloodless and silent revolution. It not only brought about a serious

loosening of social obligations and moral sanctions as we have just seen but disrupted the whole fabric of the social order through a weakening of the ties of families and clans. A type of individualism, which in Africa where communalism has been practised from time immemorial was certainly extreme and which today seems incompatible with the ideas of a social democratic welfare state, was introduced because the protagonists of this individualism felt that in the past individuals had been subordinated to the community.

However, the impact of education on the society was not solely and wholly destructive. There was a lot of respect for those who were educated. The respect no doubt came from ignorance and wonder or amazement:

"And still they gas'd, and still the wonder grew,
That one small head could carry all he knew."¹²

Teachers came to wield a great power in the land. They were regarded as the moral and spiritual leaders of the community. They settled disputes and brought about reconciliation between two opposing groups. Everybody accepted what they said and regarded them as (and in fact they were) honest and impartial judges. So parents urged their children to emulate the teachers. Thus, education, by making it possible for a teacher to exist in a community, was actually benefiting that community.

Some school activities, like the plantations which have already been referred to, aroused interest of the community, though the people made no attempt to adopt the new ideas on planting that the schools introduced. The two Government Visiting Teachers held talks with many groups of people on revival of village crafts, on village sanitation, and on oil palm planting. They undertook 'brighter village' campaigns, and one of them introduced the Credit and Trust Society into Uyo and today the division is full of this helping society for nearly every village has its own.

The schools also did a lot of 'social' work. What the children learned in theory in the class-room during lessons on hygiene, they went to the community to practise. In many parts of the province school children swept the streets in the village and the village square once a week. On occasions they would go down to the streams and clear the village's sources of water supply. It was also the school children who, on every Saturday, swept and kept clean the premises of the village church. Thus the school taught the community practically the need for cleanliness.

In many spheres of life the ordinary man in the street felt the presence of the school in his community, and sometimes tried to imitate the new way of life introduced by the school. Both school children and teachers gladly helped in writing and reading letters, for education had

introduced a means of communicating with distant friends and relations. Also, on certain Sundays there would be children's services. The whole church would be packed full of Christians and pagans who would eagerly come to hear the children sing songs, perform plays and recite scriptural passages from memory. Although the villagers for some time stood aloof from the school and wondered at the teacher or the school boy, the school did its best to woo the society. Later on, when the people's stabilities had been shaken by western education and the people themselves had turned with a wistful longing to what made the life of the Europeans attractive, it was education itself that helped them to adjust themselves to the changing conditions due to contacts with the Europeans.

Evaluation.

In the foregoing chapters we have seen how different missionary societies brought education to the peoples of Calabar Province. We have also seen that at first that education was of the most rudimentary type of education. Later on with the establishment of the British rule in the area now known as Nigeria, the Government stepped in and took over the control and direction of education. The Voluntary Agencies were not displaced. What the Government did was to cooperate with them, and assist them in the work of education by annual grants. In this way a real system

of education was evolved for Nigeria.

We have seen too that the education given had certain defects because it borrowed too much from English elementary and secondary schools. Thus the education given, because of the curricula content and the resultant remoteness of the subjects, came to be a mere veneer of alien culture.

Accordingly the schools, though on African soil, were alien growths and did not belong to the West African people. How could they, when education was not adapted to the needs and prejudices of the people!

We have also seen that the impact of education on the traditional societies of the province and West Africa at large was very disruptive. "In the early days of European contact there was a vast gulf between the pattern of culture of the indigenous people, and that of the immigrant European. The missionaries had a certain pattern of culture, the traders a slightly different one, but they had many common elements of language, dress, food and other characteristics which were completely alien to the local people. In many areas the early missionaries and other Europeans despised all aspects of the indigenous culture, and proceeded to teach this attitude in the schools."¹³
"The attitude of despising indigenous culture, adopted by European educationists and handed on by them to their pupils, has caused psychological conflicts and mental

stresses."¹⁴ Thus, as we have already seen, the impact of education on the community was immediately to cause social upheavals and later it brought about cleavage in the personalities of those who went to schools.

Many other charges, like the drift to towns, failure to encourage agriculture, and the 'cult of the certificate', have been brought against education both of this period and of a later age. To those charges I shall answer briefly. Education did not of itself alone cause the drift to towns. It was because only in towns could employment be got. So realizing that a job was an easier way of getting money than working on the land in the country-side, people automatically flocked to Calabar and other towns. In any case, this was not a peculiar case because it happened in Britain during the Industrial Revolution.

"A time there was, ere England's griefs began,
 When every rood of ground maintain'd its man;
 For him light labour spread her wholesome store;
 Just gave what life requir'd, but gave no more:
 His best companions, innocence and health;
 And his best riches, ignorance of wealth.

But times are alter'd; trade's unfeeling train
 Usurp the land and dispossess the swain."¹⁵

Another reason for the drift to towns was because social amenities were only available in towns. Only in Calabar could

people get electric light. Only there could they just take a few steps to a standing-pipe and get water. In some of the villages people had to travel for some miles before they could get water. There were no hospitals except at Calabar. Those at Ituk Mbang and Etinan only came later on, and there was no rediffusion system in any other place in the province other than Calabar. It was easier and cheaper to pay about 2/6d. a month to own a 'rediffusion box' and enjoy B. B. C. news and local programmes from the studio at Calabar than to own and maintain a wireless set. Thus education as such did not cause the drift to towns as some people often think.

It is easier to blame the schools for not teaching the pupils, and so not developing interest in, agriculture. Even if the schools taught agriculture, no boy would have returned to work in the farm. Wherein would he be better than the boy who never went to school? "If manual training is the proper avenue to understanding, let us see you (Europeans) limit yourselves to manual work".¹⁶ But the people did not see the Europeans do this, so they themselves did not want to do anything regarded as inferior by the Europeans who claimed to be superior. Granted that the educated young man was not as superior as the European, he was certainly, the argument went, superior to the child who did not attend school and was engaged on the land. Therefore he could not return to work on the land.

Again, all this talk about agriculture seems making a mountain out of a mole-hill. In Calabar Province, for all I know, land tenure, or ownership of land, was and still is such that no large-scale farming could be carried out. The plots are just small holdings and so it seems to me not very fair to expect that an educated boy should return to continue with subsistence farming in the same traditional manner that others use, with the possible exception that he will use manure. Moreover, people often talk as if God intended Nigeria to be only an agricultural nation and not like any other nation that today is an industrial as well as agricultural country. Could the insistence on agriculture not have been so that Britain might continue to use Nigeria as a source for raw materials? Some often ask. It would have been unfair to make Nigeria a country in which all would be farmers. Did not Jefferson in 1770 say that America would never be anything but an agricultural country?¹⁷ Has this not been proved false? So I fail to appreciate the over-insistence on agricultural education in Nigeria. We could not have been a country of only farmers.

Next we come to the 'cult of the certificate'. This 'cult', it is argued, has impeded good education in our country. It has made children associate 'school education' with the possession of a certificate as an "end product of education". Because of this, the pupils, it is further argued,

memorise in order to pass the required examination set and marked in England; but soon forget what they learnt and remain illiterates in spite of their certificates. This charge is certainly true; but the mistake has already been committed and there is nothing we can do now about it.

However, it is incumbent upon us of the new age to devise a new educational philosophy consonant with the aspirations of our people. This philosophy should draw from the best that we can find from all countries in the light of our cultural values and outlook on life.

The last criticism of the schools of that time that we shall consider is school punishments. We have earlier said that the severity of the punishment given to pupils in those days made many of the pupils run away from schools and eventually stop going to schools. It was only during the war years, as we have stated, that many teachers became less cruel. Excessive punishment was very bad in a society that believed that children were reincarnations of their forebears and therefore should be loved and cherished; for, while still young, they were irresponsible for whatever they did. Excessive punishment, particularly corporal punishment, reversed this idea because when the children were beaten they did not die as was expected, but rather temporarily stopped from persisting in their own way. In the early days, corporal punishment was so rife that certificated

teachers, and headmasters whether certificated or not, used to flog the probationary teachers in the class before all the pupils.

This, in my opinion, was not only bad but was ungodly. These cruel masters and educators forgot that a society is perpetuated by its own education; and that "the countries most noted for the severity of punishments were ever those in which the most bloody and inhuman actions were committed, for the hand of the assassin and the hand of the legislator were directed by the same spirit of ferocity."¹⁶ But being ignorant of this great truth, the masters of those days entrenched corporal punishment or bullying, as I call it, in our educational system. This bullying remained in vogue till the fifties when it was officially checked. All of them failed to realize that bullying is often passed on and that the bullied often become bullies. On this issue, both the Europeans and the Africans, whom they taught to be bullies, come in for censure.

This attitude of the bully can still be seen in our teachers today. But what appals one is the way many Europeans condemn it now. Many of them are often very unfair, no matter how good their intention may be. They always give a feeling that it is only in Africa that such can and could happen at any time, without remembering that about two decades ago, many of their countrymen and

predecessors were preaching by word and deed that the cane or any severe punishment was inseparable from any sound system of bringing up African children.

Some of the critics of our educational system seem to confuse readiness to recourse to the cane with the 'authority' of the teacher. However I feel that, as far as the Nigerian society is concerned, the type of authority that Mr. G. H. Bantock ably treats in his book, "Freedom and Authority in Education", will be necessary for some time to come. This, it must be emphasized, does not necessarily imply the use of corporal punishment or an hour grass-cutting. Absence of pranks and jokes at the expense of the teacher in our schools is not due to what people call "authoritarian attitude" of the teachers. It is because of the nature of our society - a society in which respect is shown to the authority of the elders, and in which that respect is enhanced when the elder holds a recognised place of authority, like that of a teacher's. It will be disastrous for our country, if American ideas of progressive schools are injected into Nigerian societies without proper consideration.

But I must reiterate that many types of punishment, common then and now in some schools, particularly corporal punishment, are cruel and should never be used. It is both un-African and educationally unproductive of any good effect. Whenever it must be given, and this should always be in

extreme cases, it should be given by one not affected by the offence resulting in the punishment. Christ Jesus had come with the doctrine of love, and we too, as teachers, must love our pupils as ourselves. If any offence is committed, we must rebuke but not abuse, forgive and not retaliate, love and not dislike. This does not mean acceptance of American 'progressivism', but that we have to 'train up the child in the way it should go', bearing in mind "that we are conc that they might have life and might have it more abundantly."

But when all is said and done, this first century of educational work, when seen in historical perspectives, may come to be counted among the most important years in the social history, or social evolution, of the peoples of the area that until recently (1960) was known as Calabar Province. For it was in those years that education was first provided for very many children in the province; and thus the province came to be regarded as one of the most educationally advanced areas in Nigeria, as can be seen from the following table (Assisted Schools only):

<u>Years</u>	<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total.</u>
1929	Calabar	8,641	2,781	11,422
	Owerri	8,353	961	9,314
	Onitsha	6,669	1,012	7,681

<u>Years</u>	<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total.</u>
1931	Calabar	8,282	2,860	11,142
	Owerri	8,084	1,107	9,191
	Onitsha	7,028	1,280	8,308

1936	Owerri	10,231	2,309	12,540
	Calabar	8,445	3,434	11,875
	Onitsha	7,305	1,934	9,239

How is total population? Onitsha?

Thus we see that Calabar Province was leading all other provinces in Southern Nigeria in the provision of primary education and Eastern Region, for that matter, was leading all other regions because all the provinces above belong to the Eastern Region.

A visitor to Calabar today, like Mrs. Elspeth Huxley,¹⁹ may be fascinated because, of all the regions, it is the most modern and the most ancient, the most altered and the most unchanged, but he will never find the type of barbarism that shocked Macgregor Laird in 1833, as we have already seen. It is a town that no less a person than Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II can visit and actually visited in 1956. We may here note too that it was in Calabar Province, the land of Esere bean administrators, that local government was first introduced into Nigeria.²⁰ All this could not have happened but for the education given in those days.

Even though I have spoken much in favour of our customs, I have not done this purely for sentimental reasons. For I do not maintain that every element of our culture was good and so should have been preserved. What I say, if I have not made it clear, is that all that was good in the old ideas should have been preserved; and if changes must come the schools should help the changes to take place steadily, and not with such haste that the old is thrown away before there is anything else to replace it.²¹ I am only opposed to the idea of producing from Nigerian schools "the complete 'evolue' - the man or woman who has abandoned all the external forms of his own culture, and lives henceforth entirely according to a European way of life, in so far as his economic circumstances permit".²²

To any one who has read himself back into the atmosphere and environment of those early days when slavery was at its height and hosts of human beings used to be sacrificed at the death of important men, the educational achievements of this period in the province with regard to health, cleanliness, orderliness and sobriety, especially at Calabar, cannot be bought with gold. Without the educational work of this period which produced what Dr. Jones of the Phelps-Stolkes Commission called "mission educated" natives, where would our great ones of today have been: Mr. (popularly called Professor) Eyo Ita, M.A.; Dr. Udo Udoma, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.; Mr. Alvan

Ikoku, M.A.; Dr. Amah, M.B., CH.B.; and Mr. C. A. Ekere, M.A.,
Permanent Secretary in Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education?

It is also interesting to note that the greatest figure in
Nigerian political history, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, our present
Governor - General, attended the Hope Waddell Training
Institution, Calabar. If these are not achievements, who
then can claim to have achieved anything?

Indeed no one who tries to read into the atmosphere and
environment of the past can fail to realize that the
activities and achievements of the past ten years in the
province and in Nigeria at large have been due to the education
our people got at that time. If there is anyone who will not
concede this, then he is a cheat. Every honest citizen will
agree that through the education of the past our European
benefactors have placed us on the path of becoming an
educated democracy.

Looking back at tangible educational achievements by
the end of 1946, we see that there were in the province 59
assisted Voluntary Agency primary schools, 19 N. A. schools,
4 government schools, and 745 non-assisted schools. That
is in all there were 72 recognised primary schools with a
total enrolment of 73,894 boys and 16,600 girls spread over
the province. Most of the schools offered education up to
standard four; many others offered educational facilities
up to standard six.

For secondary education we had Hope Waddell Training Institution, St. Patrick College, Duke Town School, Methodist Boys' High School, Oron, The Boys' Institute, Etinan, West African Peoples' Institute, Holy Family College, Edgerley Memorial School and Cornelia Connelly College. Teacher training facilities were available at Hope Waddell Training Institution, Teachers' Training College, Uyo, St. Augustine's Elementary Training Centre, Urua Inyang, and the College of the Holy Child Jesus, Ifuho, near Ikot Ekpene. The last named college was and still is a training college for women. There were also Preliminary Training Centres at Etinan and Ididep; and some kind of vocational education was offered at Hope Waddell Training Institution, the Ididep Vocational School, and the National Institute, which we have seen became the West African Peoples' Institute in 1943.

Therefore broadly speaking, there was no part of the province to which education had not spread, or that did not feel the influence of education by the end of 1946. However, some areas, like the Man-Leopard areas already referred to, either through their inherent indifference to new ideas or because of a lethargic and indolent disposition remained comparatively backward. But no one can rightly place the entire blame on the missionaries for this. The people should blame themselves for not establishing, at least, N.A. and clan schools in their community if the mission bodies did not

establish many schools in their area. The Government too was at fault for not reestablishing at another place in Opobo division the only Government school which had been closed.

Secondly, it would not have been out of place if, in certain areas, the Government went against the policy of establishing only one primary school in an administrative division.

Nevertheless, by and large education, as we have already seen, had by the end of 1946 spread to all parts of the province.

The Efik language had also been reduced to writing and Calabar Province had its own vernacular literature. The peoples of the province had also achieved a measure of efficiency in the use of the English Language. Because of this the peoples of the province have been able to have easy intercourse with the rest of the Nigerian tribes.

The people have also come to embrace one of the world's greatest Religions with its system of Christian ethics. With the coming of Christianity and education came, as we have seen, the conquest of barbarism. Our womenfolk have been forever emancipated and many of them like chief the Honourable Mrs. Margaret Ekpo are now wielding considerable power not only in the province but also in Nigeria today. Thus Calabar Province has once again set the pace in giving our society that stimulus which only cultured feminine influence can provide.

There is little wonder that Calabar has an air of romance

about it. The Long Juju at Arochuku had been dethroned, and the secret societies had lost their power and influence. In the case of the secret societies, it is only regretted that we have also lost their system of education, and also some of their beautifully carved masks which would have today occupied a place in our museums. By 1946 all the multifarious ancient cults were abandoned and were only left to the diehards who thought that the old wine was sweeter than the new. Darkness fled and gave place to light, and I feel one can justifiably bestow on education and Christianity the same praise that Lucretius, in his "De Rerum Natura", heaped on Democritus and his system of philosophy.

Many will perhaps regard this as looking at things too much on the good side. But I have already stated that although there were many weaknesses and faults in the educational system of those days, we shall not refer much to them in this section. Moreover, we have already discussed some of them. Here we are mainly considering our gains.

Anyone who thinks I should not do this should first answer the questions: How soon did Great Britain want to give us self-government? Did the education given by the Voluntary Agencies or mission bodies satisfy the objectives of the missions and the churches? On his answer depends the verdict of his own judgement of the educational achievements of the period under review.

My answer to the first question is that I do not know the exact date. But I am sure that it was never intended that Nigeria should be free in as early a date as 1960. In any case I am not a student of political history and so will accept correction.

But my answer to the second question is that it more than satisfied the objectives of the missionaries. They did not come to turn our people into a pack of politicians or a group of industrialists. They came to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as the Bible states:

"to preach good tidings to the poor, to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised and to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord".²³

This they did and the education they gave was up to 1920 primarily to enable them to do this.

We must therefore give credit to all the Voluntary Agencies, particularly to the Roman Catholics, the Presbyterians and the Methodists. For it is because of what they have done that the area that before 1960 was Calabar Province today compares favourably with any other area in Nigeria. The influence of the schools and the missionary activities here was noted as far back as 1914.

"Many", Talbot wrote, "it is true, have now been led by white influence to the borderland between the old and the new.

Indeed so rapidly is civilization spreading, that the late Mr. Eakin, a missionary of great experience, told me that I had only come just in time to record the old faiths and customs before their final fading".²⁴

The Government too, as we have seen, contributed much to education both in the province and Nigeria at large and deserves much praise, especially when we realize that the British Colonial policy has never been that of forcing the pace of development, but that of leading any group of people steadily and gradually towards self-government and all that this implies. We have seen a lot of defects in the educational system and in the type of education given, but we must not forget that there is no perfect system of education in the world, and that it is never easy to create an educated democracy. This task becomes greater still when it has to be created out of nothing, as it happened in our own case.

From 1947 on, there has been much progress in the field of education. But this is outside the scope of our present work. When all is said and done about education in the past, we must accept that our present achievements would not have been possible had it not been for the foundation laid during the period under consideration. From the mistakes of the past we can learn much and evolve for ourselves a really sound

system of democratic education, which will make us contribute something useful educationally to the world.

In conclusion, I have to re-state that through the efforts of the pioneers, unofficial and official, European and African, and of their successors, the area covered by the former Calabar Province has come to the present stage that it now occupies in Nigeria. Much they dared and much they achieved, and our sincere gratitude goes to all of them. If mistakes have been committed, it will not be of any practical use to continue to hammer on these mistakes here, and whatever these are, the motive we must realize was a good one. It may even be true they forgot that

"You can give them your love, but not your thoughts,
For they have their own thoughts.

You can house their bodies, but not their souls,
For their souls dwell in the house of tomorrow.

You can strive to be like them,
But seek not to make them like you,

For life goes not backward, nor tarries with yesterday".²⁵

But let us never forget that

"The rose alone can make its perfect bloom

And cast its crimson folds in radiance fair".²⁶

So only we in Nigeria can evolve for ourselves a system of education that is really good for ourselves and our country; and we can best do this by still learning from Britain, from other countries, and from the mistakes of the past.

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APPENDIX.THE COMMISSIONS ON EDUCATION.

In both chapters four and six mention was made of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the Elliot Commission. The following is meant to give those not familiar with happenings in West Africa some idea of these commissions:

1. Phelps-Stokes Commission.

Like many other reports and records on education in West Africa in the past, the report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission could not be traced in any of the libraries and education offices I visited in the country and so little can be said here about it. This commission was financed by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, a voluntary philanthropic organisation in America. This fact may possibly account for the lack of interest on the part of the missions as can be inferred from the total lack of reference or mention of it on the part of their writers, excepting Groves in his "Planting of Christianity in Africa".

One notable thing about this commission of 1919 is that it had a West African, Dr. James Umar Kwegyir Aggrey, as one of its members. The work of the missions received very many unpalatable strictures from the chairman of the commission, Dr. Jones, who prepared the report. The Colonial Office used money from this fund and others in tackling the educational problems in Africa. It is therefore plausible to say that the Colonial Office, or to be more exact, the Advisory Committee on Education

to the Secretary of State, gained from the criticisms of the commission in drawing up in 1925 their memorandum on education.

2. Elliot Commission.

The Elliot Commission was appointed in mid 1943 "to report on the organisation and facilities of the existing centres of higher education in British West Africa, and to make recommendations regarding future university development in that area". This commission was in fact complementary to another Royal Commission appointed in August of the same year to consider the principles which should guide the promotion of higher education and research, and the development of universities in the colonies, and also to explore ways and means by which universities and other appropriate bodies in the United Kingdom could cooperate with the institutions of higher learning in the colonies to give effect to those principles.

The Elliot Commission, the West African Commission, toured the West Coast of Africa extensively and its report was published in June 1945. There was a serious disagreement which led to the submission of two reports - the Majority Report and the Minority Report. The Majority Report recommended the establishment of three university colleges, one each for Nigeria, Gold Coast (now Ghana), and Sierra Leone, but the Minority Report recommended that one university college should be established for all West African Colonies and territorial colleges in each of the big colonies to serve as

feeders to the university college.

Partly because the university college for all was to have been established in Nigeria and partly because of political reasons, the Gold Coast got angry and established its own university college in challenge. Sierra Leone and friends of Fourah Bay College all over West Africa would not like to see that dearly beloved institution, which for many years held up the only light of higher education in West Africa, swept away like that by a stroke of the pen. So the Majority Report came to be the one adopted by at least three of the four West African Colonies even though the Colonial Secretary gave his verdict in favour of the Minority Report.

Questionnaire Issued.

1. Names of important Primary Schools in your area established before 1946.
2. State whether Std.4 or Std.6 school?.....
3. State the year the school (schools) was (were) established, and the denomination managing it (them).....
4. Was it established through the effort of the missionary or through local initiative?.....
5. Where possible state the approximate number of children turned out yearly from the school.....
6. Did the people at that time like having schools, sending their children to the schools and offering lands freely for building the schools?.....
.....
7. Where people refused to send their children to school was it because they could not pay the fees or because they did not bother about the Christian religion or education?.....
.....
8. Did it add anything to the prestige of a town or village in those days to have a school or educated young men?
.....
9. What influence did educated men shed on those around them?
.....
10. What do you think makes educated people today behave worse/better than those of the previous era?.....

11. Do you think the standard% of education has fallen?

12. Why is this so?
 (a) Because of teachers?.....
 (b) Because of pupils?.....
13. Why do children now not respect their elders again?

14. Were the textbooks used then better than those used
 now? If so, in what way?
15. Do you think moral instructions and flogging of the
 past era did something to improve discipline?

16. What was the effect of the Second World War on the
 schools?
17. What influence *did* the Government and N. A. Schools
 have on mission schools in your area?
18. What influence did the school in your village or
 town have on the community?.....
19. Do you detect any defect at all in the education
 given then? Say, like a tendency to make people
 prefer becoming clerks to becoming manual workers

20. Do you think the schools of your denomination have properly carried out the ideals for which your denomination stands?

.....

.....

21. How did the schools of your denomination prepare children for life in this world, especially in South - Eastern Nigeria?

.....

.....

.....



N.B. Please where there is no space for a fuller answer, use another piece of paper and indicate the appropriate number.

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