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A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE GAMBIA FROM
1903 TO THE PRESENT DAY.

A Study of the Western Contribution to
Education in The Gambia during the
Present Century.

by

A. S. Thakur.

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Thesis submitted for the
Degree of Master of Education
in the University of Durham.

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July, 1969.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.

	Part I.	
	INTRODUCTORY.	
Chapter I	Geographical and Historical Background	1
II	Education in The Gambia prior to 1903	23
	Part II.	
	EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND CONTROL.	
III	Government Control and Direction (I): 1903-1934	45
IV	Government Control and Direction (II): 1935-1945	79
V	Intensified Government Control (I): 1946-1962	104
VI	Intensified Government Control (II): From 1963 to the Present Day	120
	Part III.	
	DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE GAMBIA.	
VII	Primary Education	133
VIII	Education at the Secondary Level	170
IX	Recruitment and Training of Teachers	196

CONTENTS

Chapter	X	Technical and Vocational Education	226
	XI	Adult Education	254
	XII	The Welfare of Pupils	268
		Part IV.	
		CONTEXT.	
	XIII	Social and Economic Considerations	282
	XIV	The Gambia and its English-speaking Neighbours	314
	XV	Epilogue	322

Appendices.

- | | | |
|---|--|-----|
| A | Rules for Assisted Schools in the Settlement on the River Gambia made under the Education Amendment Ordinance, 1886 | 326 |
| B | The Curricula laid down in the Education Rules, 1917, made under the Education Ordinance of 1903 | 329 |
| C | Conditions for grants set out in the Education Regulations, 1935, made under the Education Ordinance of 1935 | 337 |
| D | The procedure relating to inspection of schools as laid down in the Education Ordinance, 1946 | 340 |
| E | Special provisions relating to schools in Bathurst as specified in the Education Regulations, 1946, made under the Education Ordinance, 1946 | 342 |
| F | The composition of the Advisory Council on Education, established under the Education Act, 1963 | 345 |
| G | Organisational Chart of the Ministry of Education as has been operative since 1967 | 346 |
| H | The curriculum prescribed in the Education Regulations, 1935, made under the Education Ordinance, 1935 | 347 |
| I | The Wesleyan (Methodist) Boys' High School: Time Table for Christmas Term: 1913 | 349 |

J	The curriculum for the School Certificate in the Gambia, Ghana and Sierra Leone as laid down in the Regulations and Syllabuses, 1964	351
K	The classification of teachers introduced by the Education Ordinance, 1935	352
	Bibliography	353
	Map of The Gambia.	

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Abstract.

A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE GAMBIA
FROM 1903 TO THE PRESENT DAY.

A Study of the Western Contribution to
Education in The Gambia during the Present
Century.

A. S. THAKUR.

Part I of the thesis provides the background necessary for a study of the development of education in The Gambia during the present century. The country's peculiar geographical position, the importance of the River Gambia, the main tribes and their history are clearly subjects of importance. Educational developments prior to 1903 are also examined. The efforts of the missions, determined as they were in spite of many difficulties to provide education, were to bear fruit. Then in 1882 the Government moved towards the control and direction of education, when the first Education Ordinance was passed. This provided for a Board of Education, a part-time Inspector of Schools and grants-in-aid, determined mainly by results.

Part II is concerned with educational policy and control since 1903. Developments based on the Education Ordinances of 1903, 1935 and 1946 and the Education Act of 1963 clearly show how the Government gradually exercised

more and more control. Generous grants, a full-time officer to administer the Department and extension in the provision led to an intensified control over education. In 1963 the Board of Education was replaced by an Advisory Council on Education. The pattern which had evolved by 1968 makes it clear that intensification of control will go on, though there is no immediate possibility of complete control by the Government.

Part III is devoted to the development of education - primary, secondary, teacher training, technical and vocational, adult education, and the welfare of pupils - during the period since 1903.

Primary education has maintained its continuity since the 1820's, although individual schools have had their vicissitudes. Bathurst and its environs are now reasonably well provided with primary schools; the Provinces, although they are being given priorities, still need a major thrust forward to catch up with the capital. Secondary education has remained very selective; even so it has not been able to acquire as high a prestige as that in other West African countries. Moreover, until recently, its development has been haphazard. Teacher training has a chequered history, and its position even today is not very encouraging. Technical and vocational education has suffered from prejudice against manual labour, from non-availability of teaching staff, and above all from the limitations imposed

by the non-industrial bias of the country. Very little has been done in adult education: literacy classes on a small scale have been conducted in Bathurst and the Provinces, mostly by voluntary bodies. The welfare of pupils is a joint responsibility of the family and tribe on the one hand and schools on the other - the moral and physical aspects of welfare are generally looked after satisfactorily.

Part IV is simply entitled "Context". Chapter XIII seeks to place the development of Western-type education in The Gambia in a social and economic setting and Chapter XIV briefly reviews the development of education in The Gambia alongside that in other English-speaking West African countries.

Part I

INTRODUCTORY.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

The Gambia is situated in the extreme western portion of the African continent, and lies between the meridians $16^{\circ}48'$ and $13^{\circ}47'$ west longitude and between parallels $13^{\circ}3'$ and $13^{\circ}49'$ north latitude. It is a tiny riverine enclave, land-locked by Senegal on three sides; its fourth side opens into the Atlantic ocean. The width of the territory is about 20 miles near the coast and about 12 miles farther inland; its total area is 4,008 square miles. Boundaries of the country are largely artificial and are said to have been drawn with the aid of a map, a compass and a ruler.¹ This was done "not by ethnic or geographical considerations, but by European politics of the latter part of the nineteenth century,"² the period of the so-called scramble for Africa.

The Gambia is divided into three major regions, almost parallel to the axis of the River Gambia. There are dense mangrove swamps which extend from its mouth to

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1. H.R. Jarratt: A Geography of West Africa. London, 1961. p.54.
 2. H.A. Gailey: A History of the Gambia. London, 1964. p.1.

about one hundred and fifty miles inland. These swamps have very few breaks, and the banks are of soft mud making landing difficult. Lying behind swamps, and on slightly higher ground, are the 'banto faros'¹ - estuarine and upper river. The estuarine 'banto faros' are flooded with salt water during the rains, and as a result are unsuitable for agriculture. The soils up-river are flooded during the wet season with fresh water and rice is grown on them. At the highest point is the third region, a plateau of sandstones and sandhills. The soils of the plateau - light, sandy, rich in iron content - are the best for groundnut cultivation. The population concentration is on the plateau but a slight variation is noticeable in the central part of the country; here because of the greater incision of the river, which facilitates drainage, there are more villages on the upper river 'banto faros'. Around MacCarthy Island, which is about 288 miles up-river, the villages are bluff line: these are located near the boundary between the 'banto faros' and the sandstone plateau, thus avoiding the extremes of both.²

-
1. In one of the local languages, Mandinka, the term 'Banto Faros' literally means 'beyond swamps', and refers to the areas that remain arid in dry season and become swamps during the rainy season.
 2. Jarrett: Population and Settlement in the Gambia. Geographical Review, Oct. 1948. p.639.

The River Gambia, from which the country has acquired its name, plays a very important part in the socio-economic life of The Gambia. There is justification for Lady Southorn's poetic description of the river and her use of John Burn's term "liquid history" for it; the river was used in the search for gold, the transport of slaves and the despatch of military expeditions.¹

The source of the river was discovered by a young Frenchman, Gaspard Mollien, in 1818. It rises in the Futa Jallon plateau in the Republic of Guinea, passes through Senegal and enters The Gambia near Koina. The River Gambia has been described as the most navigable waterway in West Africa. The largest ocean going vessels can easily enter the mouth of the river. Ocean vessels of varying draughts can reach Kuntaur, Georgetown, and Fatoto, while launches and canoes can reach Koina. These towns are 150, 176, 288 and 292 miles respectively from the Capital, Bathurst. Amongst the islands in the river, Fort James Island occupies a larger chapter in the British-French skirmishes of the eighteenth century;

1. Lady Bella Southorn: The Gambia: The Story of the Groundnut Colony. London, 1952. Chapter ii. pp. 21-37.

MacCarthy Island has remained the hub of educational activities up-river.

But for the river, the development of education in The Gambia, and indeed its whole history would have been largely confined to Bathurst and environs, as little communication would have been established with the riverain tribes and those in the hinterland. A motor road has only been completed recently, and even then it is the river which is used mostly in the transportation of cargo and passengers.

The Gambia was regarded as part of the 'white man's grave' because of the ravages of malaria, yellow fever and the tsetse fly. Climate however is considered to be the best along the west coast of Africa. Rains arrive in the interior in April and end in September; whereas on the coast they set in sometime in June and last until October. August is the rainiest month. Average rainfall is from thirty-five to forty-five inches. There are, therefore, two seasons - a long dry season and a short wet season. The wet season is rather unhealthy and oppressive. The Harmattan (dry north-east wind) begins in December, blowing cold in the morning and hot in the middle of the day. Sea breezes keep Bathurst and the lower river areas cool.

Educational institutions close by the third week in July and re-open by the middle of September, for rains would hinder punctuality and regularity of both pupils and teachers, particularly in the Provinces.

The only real town is Bathurst which indeed has recently acquired the status of 'city'. It is the seat of Government and the headquarters of many Departments including the Education Department. It has three senior secondary schools out of the country's total of four, four junior schools out of twelve, thirteen primary schools out of ninety-three, and the only Nursing School, the only Vocational Training Centre and the only Clerical School in the country.¹ Some other towns are Bakau and Serekunda in Kombo St.Mary; Brikama in Western Division; Kerewan in Lower River Division; Georgetown in MacCarthy Island Division; and Basse in Upper River Division. Georgetown has the only Government Senior Secondary School, a few other towns have junior secondary, and all have primary schools.

The expansion of educational provision requires economic surpluses. The Gambia is unfortunate in this respect, for groundnuts are the only major cash crop. Attempts at diversification have not made any great

1. Education Department: Annual Summary and Statistics 1967/68. Bathurst, 1967.

economic impact; as Gailey points out, The Gambia "remains a non-viable monoculture."¹ There are no significant proved mineral resources.² This economic aspect has to be borne in mind when development of social services is assessed. There is the question of a judicious allocation of money for an accelerated growth. In this age of democracy one is likely to ask why children of the groundnut producers in The Gambia should have a modicum of education: only 16 per cent of the children go to school in the Provinces whereas 82 per cent do so in Bathurst.³

Although The Gambia is a small country, it has many tribes; Mandingo, Fula, Woloff, Jola, Serahuli, Tukulor, Serere, Aku, Manjogo, Bambara, Daimunka, Larobo and Jombonko. Out of a total population of 315,486, the Mandingo number 128,807; Fula 42,723; Woloff 40,805; Jola 22,046; Serahuli 21,318; other Gambians 24,232; and non-Gambians 35,555.⁴ Bathurst has 28,000 inhabitants;

1. Gailey: op.cit., p.163.

2. The Gambia: Report for the Years 1964 and 1965. Bathurst, 1966. p.42.

3. loc. cit.

4. Report on the Census of Population in the Gambia, 1963. Bathurst, 1963.

40,000 if the "suburbs" of Bakau and Serekunda are included. No other town has more than 5,000, and the total in all rural areas is 276,000.

The historical background of the people of The Gambia cannot be very definitely ascertained for want of written records and cultural relics. The only archaeological objects in The Gambia are the Stone Circles, scattered along the north bank of the river between Kaur and Georgetown and further afield. The report of an archaeological investigation conducted in December 1964 - January 1965, reveals that they date from very early times, before the arrival of Europeans.¹ They were no doubt burial mounds, each concentration of circles representing the cemetery of an important family.

Modern research is, however, providing new data and the shadowy past of the peoples of the Senegambia region is being brought into a clearer perspective. They seem to have come from the Sudan as a result of a "series of voluntary and involuntary migrations which took place during the past two thousand years."² The rise and

1. O.P. Beale: The Anglo-Gambian Stone Circles Expedition, 1964/65. A report presented to the Prime Minister of The Gambia. Bathurst, 1966.

2. Gailey: op. cit., pp. 4-5.

fall of the Kingdoms of Ghana, Tekrur, Mali and Songhai precipitated the movement of people. In some of these migrations perhaps, lies the story of the Mandingo. In the thirteenth century most of the Sudanese city states were incorporated in the rising Mali Kingdom, the conquering people of which were Mandingo. They spread throughout the Niger regions and overflowed into The Gambia. It was the contact with Muslim Sudan through the traders that played an important part in the spread of Islam in The Gambia, and this is significant in that it was Islam that hindered the growth of western education in the earlier stages, chiefly no doubt, because it was promoted by Christian missionaries.

The Mandingo were amongst the first people of West Africa to embrace Islam, and they remain very staunch Muslims even today. In The Gambia Christian missionaries found it impossible to convert them. They were the last to send their children to the Christian schools, but now that the Government has also moved into the educational enterprise and there is less fear of missionary influence, the Mandingo are becoming more articulate in their demand for education. Another advantage that independence and democratic majority rule have brought to the Mandingo is that political power is

largely in their hands. More than 50 per cent of the Members of Parliament are Mandingo and the present Minister of Education¹ is a Mandingo too.

The origin of the Fula is a matter of even greater conjecture. Some early ethnologists traced them back to the Shepherd Kings of Egypt. A more plausible explanation is that their ancestors were Berber pastoralists who intermarried with Mande speaking peoples of Ghana and were the early rulers of Ghana. They were overthrown as a ruling class, and groups of them migrated to Tekrur. They assumed a position of dominance over the Woloff and Tuculor people there. A continuation of cultural and racial assimilation might have resulted in the people known as the Fula. When they were expelled from Tekrur they wandered and appeared in Futa Jallon Plateau and lived alongside the Mandingo. They were a pastoral people and perhaps when overcrowding took place, they moved in groups in search of pastures. Probably they continued to occupy and travel across very large tracts of the West African hinterland, and one group reached The Gambia. Many Fula had become Muslims much earlier; some are still

1. In a Cabinet reshuffle in 1968, Hon. Kalilu Singhatey became the Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Labour.

pagans and some have been converted to Christianity. They still remain chiefly the cattle-owners and herdsmen. An abortive attempt was made by some philanthropists during the 1830's to help the Gambian Fula to settle at MacCarthy Island, to become Christian and through education derive the benefits of western civilisation.

Different theories have also been put forward about the origin of the Woloff. One theory regards them as a composite tribe of Sereri, Fula, Serahuli and Mandingo. The history of the Woloff states is a succession of conquests, revolutions, invasions, rebellions and usurpations.¹ In this flux of history one section of the Songhai-Empire established itself at Guolata or Julafa in the Rio d'Oro valley from whence the present name of the tribe is derived. In spite of Moorish invasions and incursions by the Mandingo, they remained in power until the French subdued them in the fifteenth century. Most of the Woloff are Muslims but a few Christian Woloff, mainly Roman Catholic, are found in Bathurst and other urban centres. They were more co-operative with the Christian missionaries than the Mandingo and as a result, became the second educated

1. David P. Gamble: The Wolof of Senegambia. London, 1957. p.17.

tribe in The Gambia only next to the Aku.

The Jola are said to be the earliest inhabitants of The Gambia. As far back as 1700 Andre Brue found them in the coastal area of the River Gambia and the Casamance. They are largely pagans, though some have been converted to Christianity and some have embraced Islam. They have remained indifferent to change and averse even to sending their children to school.

The Aku are numerically small.¹ They are the descendants of detribalised, liberated Africans who came to The Gambia mainly from Sierra Leone. They were the primary objective for the evangelical work of Christian missionaries soon after the establishment of Bathurst, and they had the benefit of western education given in mission schools. They are therefore deeply entrenched in the civil service. Other tribes with numerical superiority seem to be catching up but still almost all the senior staff, for example, in the Education Department, belong to the Aku tribe.

This brief account of the main tribes is essential to the study of educational policies and programmes

1. About the Aku, Fyfe writes that "By the late 1820's most recaptives were from the Yoruba country, known in Sierra Leone as 'Aku', a name (derived from their greeting) also loosely applied to those from countries adjacent to Yorubaland." Christopher Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone. London, 1962. p.170.

because these concern people, and it is not possible for people to run away from their past - political, social, cultural, religious. New knowledge cannot be written as it were on a tabula rasa, in the history of a people: it has to be fitted into the existing make-up of a people, sometimes as a supplement, sometimes as a radical substitute, and occasionally as a graft.

Arab geographers and cartographers had given some account of the reputed wealth of Africa. Prince Henry, the Navigator of Portugal, inspired mariners to penetrate along the west coast of Africa for this wealth. Under his commission the Venetian, Luiz de Cadamosto, led an expedition in 1455, followed later in the same year by the Genoese, Antoniotto Usodimare.¹ They reached the River Gambia; but only proceeded a short way up. Both repeated their voyage in the following year; they proceeded farther up the river and discovered an island.² This time the expedition achieved something more: it established friendly relations with the riverain chiefs

1. J.M. Gray: A History of the Gambia. London, 1940. p.5.

2. The island was christened as 'St. Andrew's Island' after a sailor named Andrew who had died and been buried there.

and bartered European goods for a few slaves and a small quantity of gold, and then returned to Europe. Their discovery was followed by attempts on the part of the Portuguese at settlement, though on a small scale, along the river banks. The Portuguese intermarried with the natives; the European strain in their descendants rapidly diminished, and in the long run, except for their names, their European clothes and profession of Christianity, they could not be distinguished from the natives. However, the Portuguese have left traces of other legacies behind. The Mandingo language has many Portuguese words; the coastal people learnt seamanship from them; and they introduced oranges, the groundnut, lime and paw-paw into The Gambia.¹

The English and the French had started sending trading ships to West Africa long before the eclipse of the Portuguese power in the area, but they were not allowed a major share in the trade. A turn in historical events in Europe around 1580 resulted in a number of Portuguese taking refuge in England. In 1589 one of these refugees, Francisco Ferreira, piloted two English ships to The Gambia and returned with a profitable cargo of hides and ivory. In the following year Antonia,

1. Gray: op.cit., p.15.

Prior of Crato, one of the claimants to the Portuguese throne, sold to certain London and Devon merchants the exclusive rights to trade between the Rivers Senegal and Gambia. This grant was confirmed to the grantees for a period of ten years by letters patent of Queen Elizabeth. The patentees sent several vessels to the coast, but they could not reach The Gambia as they encountered considerable hostility from the local Portuguese on their way, chiefly for fear of loss of their monopoly. On their return the voyagers reported that the River Gambia was "a river of secret trade and riches concealed by the Portugals."¹ The mirage of the gold-dust and mystery of hidden treasures were bound to keep The Gambia in the limelight for further exploration.

Letters patent conferring (inter alia) all the rights of exclusive trade in the River Gambia to other adventurers were subsequently granted in 1598, 1618 and 1632, but it was only in 1618 that the English sent an expedition under George Thompson. He reached The Gambia but was murdered by one of his own men. In one

1. Richard Hakluyt: The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and discoveries of the English Nation. First issued in 1589. London, 1927, vol.IV, pp.44-53.

of the subsequent expeditions came the famous Richard Jobson who has been rightly described as a shining example of humanity in the "fetid annals of the slave trade."¹ He travelled up-river, made friends with the natives, and later gave an exhaustive account of them and the Portuguese descendants. However because of heavy losses in money, men and material - and no corresponding gains from The Gambia - the English focussed their attention on the Gold Coast.

The French, the Dutch and the Courlanders also tried to establish trade with The Gambia. The English interest in The Gambia revived after the Restoration, and in 1660 a new patent was granted to a number of persons, who were styled the Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa. The Royal Adventurers had none of Richard Jobson's idealism: their avowed object was to supply Negroes for the West Indian and American plantations. They occupied St. Andrew's Island and renamed it James Island; they got embroiled in the second Dutch War; and they ultimately found that the trade was not sufficiently profitable. They, therefore, sublet their monopoly to another firm called the Gambia Adventurers. The Gambia Adventurers too found trade disappointing, and then the trading monopoly was handed over to the

1. Southorn: op.cit., p.58.

Royal African Company. This Company made James Island the centre of its operations, and also opened factories up-river. The Company continued trading chiefly in slaves though it had ups and downs mainly because of French rivalry. It ended its career in 1750, and a regulated Company of Merchants trading to Africa was created by an Act of Parliament. The new Company differed from its predecessors in that it was prohibited from all trading in its corporate capacity.

The struggle between the French and English for political and commercial supremacy in the regions of Senegal and The Gambia continued for a century and a half. The history of the fort at James Island speaks of the rivalry, jealousy and callousness of the times. The fort passed finally into the undisputed possession of the British at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, but it had played "the part of a shuttle cock between the two nations, being five times in a century captured by the French and recaptured by the English."¹

Political instability in Europe had its repercussions on the Senegambia region, but hardships and frustration could not kill interest in The Gambia altogether. The Association for the Discovery of

1. Southorn: op.cit., p.103.

Interior Regions of Africa was founded in 1788. The Association sent the two Mungo Park expeditions: the first gave a very convincing account of the possibilities of trade in the interior; the second ended in disaster.¹

When by the Peace of Versailles in 1783, the River Gambia was recognized as a British possession and later when by the Abolition Act of 1807 slave-trading was made unlawful, most of the British traders honoured the anti-slave trade law but other traders, particularly the Americans, did not desist from slave trading. In order to effect a rigid control over the area, Captain Alexander Grant bought Banjol from the King of Kombo in 1816, and started fortification work on it. The area was renamed the Island of St. Mary, and the town christened Bathurst after the Secretary of State, Earl Bathurst. The population of Bathurst increased from about seven hundred in 1818 to eighteen hundred in 1826. Liberated Africans had poured into it from Sierra Leone, and this immigration continued. They were destitute of food and clothes, and needed provision for their moral and spiritual welfare. Native slavery was rampant; there were some pagans in and around the area. To

1. Some members died; Mungo Park and some others were drowned in the River Niger.

improve the lot of these people, the Christian Missions plunged themselves into the field of welfare with all seriousness of purpose, helped on by official approval.

The Gambia, previously governed by the African Company, was placed under the jurisdiction of the Government of Sierra Leone in 1821. Governor Charles MacCarthy controlled all forts and settlements in West Africa. The first Lieutenant Governor of The Gambia - Alexander Findlay - was appointed in 1829, but he had to forward all legislative enactments to Sierra Leone on the directions of Earl Bathurst. This arbitrary arrangement with its attendant inconvenience and hardships ended in 1843 when The Gambia was recognised as a separate colony.

Between 1816 and 1870, the British Government extended its territorial acquisitions beyond St. Mary's Island, by the use of both force and diplomacy. Barra, Lemain Island (renamed MacCarthy Island), areas adjoining St. Mary's Island and Albreda were gradually made part of the Settlement.

The period from 1850 to 1887 was a disturbed one in The Gambia because of the Soninki-Marabouts Wars. The fighting disrupted British trade; threatened British lives, and occasionally engulfed the settlements near

Bathurst and at MacCarthy Island. The Government in England did not allow the administrators to incur any expenditure in expansion; the West African settlements were considered as mere liabilities. Thus, throughout these wars "British action was totally defensive and restricted in the main to the protection of the colony areas from the depredations of the warring factions."¹

In 1866 The Gambia and Sierra Leone were once more united under the same administration along with the Gold Coast and Lagos. During the eighteen-seventies negotiations were entered into between the French and British Governments for the exchange of The Gambia for other territory in West Africa, but the proposal aroused such opposition in Parliament, among some mercantile bodies in England and even more among the natives of The Gambia that the scheme had to be dropped. The Gambia was once more separated from Sierra Leone and made into a separate colony in 1888.

Delimitation of boundaries with France and a series of treaties with the riverain Chiefs followed by Ordinances led to the creation of the Protectorate, and together with the Colony, gave the British Government control over The Gambia as a whole.

1. Gailey: op.cit., p.42.

The first half of the twentieth century had nothing of political significance to offer; life in The Gambia moved on slowly - perhaps too slowly - as if a calm had settled after a storm; yet the pace of development in the Colony had outstripped that of the Protectorate and had "accentuated the cleavage between the two areas considerably." ¹

Though there were no political pressures in The Gambia from national movements as in Nigeria and Ghana, Britain re-organized the Legislative Council in 1946. This was the beginning of the constitutional changes which ultimately led to independence. Under the 1951 constitution three elected members entered the Executive Council and two of them became "Members of the Government" with quasi-ministerial duties. Ministers were first introduced in 1954 when the Legislative Council was enlarged to 21 members, 14 of whom were elected. ² The Constitution of 1954 was an important step forward towards Gambian participation in the higher echelons of Government.

In 1960 the Legislative Council was renamed the House of Representatives, and a general election under

1. Gambia: Report for the Years 1960 and 1961.
London, 1963. p.72.

2. Gambia: Report for the Years 1962 and 1963.
London, 1964. p.99.

universal adult suffrage was held. Out of six Ministers appointed, four held portfolios conferring responsibility for Government activities. In 1961 Mr. P.S. N'Jie, leader of the United Party, which had a majority in the House of Representatives, was appointed Chief Minister. Another constitutional conference, held in London, necessitated a new general election in 1962. The election was won by the People's Progressive Party, and its leader, Mr. D.K. Jawara, became Premier.

Under the Gambia (Constitution) (Amendment) Order in Council, 1963, Gambia attained full internal self-government on 4th October 1963. At a Constitutional Conference held in London in July 1964, the grant of independence was agreed upon: The Gambia became an independent member of the Commonwealth on the 18th February 1965. A referendum was held in May 1965 to decide the introduction of a Republican form of Government, but it failed. The General Election held in 1966 again returned the People's Progressive Party to power with Sir D.K. Jawara as Prime Minister.

The Gambia now stands as an independent country. The obvious question of amalgamation with Senegal has arisen but the Report of the United Nations team on

closer association between the two countries has recommended only "common international representation and common defence arrangements" and not complete integration.¹ The shape of things to come has yet to be seen in this micro-state. Continuity of political stability within and a realistic policy overseas may gradually contribute towards its all round progress.

1. The Gambian Report for the Years 1964 and 1965.
op.cit., pp.2-3.
Relations between the two Countries have deteriorated since 1968. Smuggling of goods across the border is stated to be the main cause. See West Africa No. 2706 of 9th April, and 2707 of 12th April, 1969.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION IN THE GAMBIA PRIOR TO 1903.

The various tribes living in The Gambia before the arrival of missionary educators fell roughly into two categories. There were pagans whose education followed the primitive pattern in which tribal ceremonies played an important part. There were Muslims whose education was largely based on Islamic teachings, although the tribal cultural heritage still played an important part in it. Koranic Schools in which much of Islamic education and Arabic teaching went on, still remain popular in the villages in spite of the growing interest in western education and the provision for Islamic instruction in schools.¹

The earliest schools on the western model were established by the Dutch at Elmina in 1644, the Danes at Christianborg in 1722, the English at Cape Coast in 1752 - all on the Gold Coast; the Church Missionary Society provided schools for the liberated Africans in Sierra Leone from 1804 onwards; the Protestant Church pioneered the work in The Gambia in the 1820's and Nigeria started receiving benefits from western education as late as 1845.

The lack of spiritual provision for the growing

1. See also Chapter XIII.

population of the new settlement at Bathurst exercised the minds of MacCarthy and Grant.¹ They had requested help from the missionary societies in England, and meanwhile Grant conducted Sunday morning prayers himself.² In 1820, MacCarthy, on a short furlough, called at the Wesleyan Mission House in London. He strongly urged upon the general secretaries the establishment of a mission on The Gambia, although the station he recommended lay some 100 miles up-river at Tentabar.³ It was evident that the humanitarianism of liberators of African slaves was to find new outlets to benefit the African.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS:

The first missionary to arrive in The Gambia was William Singleton, a Quaker, who landed at Bathurst on 21st January 1821, and later on visited Tentabar. Singleton obtained from the Alkali of Bakau and the "King" of Kombo permission for missionaries to open a station at Cape St. Mary. After this exploratory work he visited Sierra Leone and sailed for England on 21st May 1821.

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1. Sir Charles MacCarthy was the Governor of Sierra Leone, and had jurisdiction over the Gambia also; Captain Alexander Grant was the Commandant of the Garrison on the Gambia.
 2. William Fox: A Brief History of Wesleyan Missions on the West Coast of Africa. London, 1851. p.262.
 3. C.P. Groves: The Planting of Christianity in Africa. London, 1948. Vol.I. p.283.

It was in 1823 that a party, sponsored by the Society of Friends, left for The Gambia. The leader of the party was Mrs. Hannah Kilham; other members were Richard Smith, John and Ann Thompson and two Africans, Sandani and Mahmodee.¹ The party landed at Bathurst on 8th December 1823 to promote the cultivation of the soil and instruct the natives in the useful trades and crafts.² Mrs. Kilham obtained a plot of land from the Alkali of Bakau and allocated the two male members of the party to instruct the natives in agriculture. The two women members took up residence at Bathurst and started a school for girls there. Later on they opened a school for boys. Children attended in the morning and adults³ in the evening.

Mrs. Kilham paid a visit to Sierra Leone in 1824 and on her return she found that a Wesleyan missionary,

1. Before Mrs. Kilham left for The Gambia she had learnt Jollof and Mandinka from her two African proteges and Singleton's Jollof Vocabulary, and had prepared a simple Jollof phrase book and translated passages from The Scriptures into Jollof.
2. Christopher Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone. London, 1962. p.182. See also J.M. Gray: A History of the Gambia. London, 1940. pp.311-312.
3. They were nicknamed "the King's Boys" - as liberated by King George.

Robert Hawkins and his wife, had arrived at Bathurst, and were keen on starting educational work amongst women. Giving proof of her true Christian spirit of tolerance, Mrs. Kilham handed her schools over to the Hawkins, and along with Ann Thompson, returned to Bakau where with the assistance of the two Africans she opened a school for girls. Children were taught in Mandinka language, and stress was laid on moral education.¹

Mrs. Kilham paid a second visit to Sierra Leone in 1827. Subsequently she published some school tracts on her methods, and returned to Sierra Leone in 1830 to put her theories into practice. She opened a school for recaptive girls at Charlotte, teaching in Mende and 'Aku'. In 1832 Mrs. Kilham went to Liberia for a comparative study of the two countries and on her way back to Sierra Leone she fell ill and died. Perhaps her indomitable spirit found a befitting burial at restless sea. Unfortunately other members of the party too, gradually, succumbed to the climate and its after effects. Except for an indirect interest taken in the establishment of the Fula Mission at MacCarthy Island in the 1830's, the activities of The Society of Friends came to an end in The Gambia.

1. Sarah Biller: Memoir of Hannah Kilham. London, 1837. p.253.

Some progressive features of the efforts of the Quakers cannot, however, be ignored; for example, their concentration on vocational education, with agriculture as its basis, and Mrs. Kilham's insistence on the use of native languages in teaching. Long after the departure of the Quakers, the Alkali of Bakau inquired of the Lieutenant Governor George Rendall after his old friends, and expressed great regret that they had not remained amongst his people, whilst the Lieutenant Governor himself "saw in the progressive modes of cultivation employed by the people of Bakau clear signs of the influence of the former missionaries."¹

THE WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY:

As early as 1821 the Wesleyan Missionary Society had welcomed the proposals put forward by MacCarthy and then sent out Charles Morgan. He landed at Bathurst on 8th February, 1821. Later he visited Tentabar but thought the place unsuitable for missionary work, mainly because of the disturbed state of the area.²

Another missionary, John Baker, was sent from

1. Gray: op.cit., pp.312-313.

2. Fox: op.cit., p.266.

Sierra Leone to help Morgan. They approached the Alkali of Bakau to grant them a plot of land, but he refused; then they approached the "King" of Kombo and succeeded in getting land at Mandinaree. The missionaries considered Mandinaree more salubrious than Tentabar.¹ They erected a house there and started teaching and preaching, but they also went to Bathurst to engage in preaching, chiefly to the liberated Africans. Mandinaree was inhabited by staunch Muslims, so that their preaching was mocked at and school could not be stabilised.² The climate did not prove healthy, water was bad and ultimately Baker left for the West Indies. Morgan was left on his own. Another missionary - William Bell - was sent to assist Morgan but Bell died forty-six days after his arrival. Still

1. J.T.F. Halligey: Methodism in West Africa. London, 1907. p.69.

2. John Morgan: Reminiscences of the Founding of a Christian Mission on the Gambia. London, 1864. pp. 46 and 74-75. In a discussion a Muslim said that Jesus was never crucified: it was a man called 'Rabmag'. Jesus had slipped away and the soldiers had crucified Rabmag, thinking it was Jesus. Jesus had then appeared to announce that he was risen from the dead. The Koran asserts that Jesus was not crucified but does not name the substitute. (Sura iv).

another, George Lane, was sent from Sierra Leone but he also fell sick; he returned to Sierra Leone where he too died. Morgan was again left alone. He had written to London for permission to leave Mandinaree. As no instructions reached him he decided to leave for St. Mary's.

Morgan opened a school at St. Mary's and devoted six hours every day to teaching, reading, writing and the elements of English grammar.¹ As there was a dearth of reading and writing material he obtained Bell's Alphabet Cards and a small number of Lancaster's Sheets from Sierra Leone and pasted them on the walls of the school-room. Slates were obtained from London. His pupils made satisfactory progress: in six months they could read a chapter in the New Testament and write a legible hand. Within about two and a half years a native boy had acquired a good mastery of English and arithmetic, and became the Chaplain's clerk. Another boy in less time became a merchant's clerk; others too made creditable progress.²

Some adults also attended the school. While Morgan was busy preaching to Africans in the jungle, where they

1. G.G. Findlay and W.W. Holdsworth: The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. London, 1922, Vol. IV. p.125.

2. Morgan: op.cit., pp. 56-58.

went tree-felling for their masters, adults were taught by his boy; on his return the missionary taught them himself. The result of preaching was that a Church of thirty-five liberated Africans was established and a Sunday School was organised.¹ Morgan's wisdom in leaving Mandinaree and working at St. Mary's had proved itself; but Morgan was not self-complacent: he was equally anxious to extend missionary work up-river. Morgan accompanied Major Grant on a voyage, and when the missionary visited MacCarthy Island he found it to be an ideal place to realise his aim. No concrete steps could, however, be taken immediately. Morgan retired from The Gambia in 1825 but his interest in the country did not diminish. He played an important role in inspiring philanthropists like Dr. Lindo to help the Wesleyan Mission in establishing a Fula Mission at MacCarthy Island.

The credit for the continuity of Wesleyan educational activity compared with that of the Quakers must, undoubtedly, go to John Morgan. His energy, determination and sagaciousness qualify him to be the father of western education in The Gambia.

The Rev. Robert Hawkins and his wife arrived in

1. Morgan: op.cit., p.58.

The Gambia in April 1824. Hawkins taught in the school for boys and his wife taught about twenty children in a girls' school. Here she taught them to read and sew, and met a women's class on Sundays.¹ In 1825 a Mission House was built on St. Mary's Island, the whole of the ground floor of which was appropriated "for the double purpose of holding divine service and also of keeping a week-day school."²

The death and departure of missionary workers between 1827 and 1831 proved a set-back to the educational and proselytizing work but the Mission was not demoralised. In 1831 arrived the Rev. William Moister and his wife. To assist them were sent the Rev. Thomas Dove and his wife, and the Rev. William Fox and his wife. The Moisters reorganised the school at St. Mary's and as a result there were 50 male and 17 female scholars on the roll.³

The long awaited mission work at MacCarthy Island was taken up by Thomas Dove and his wife. A mission house and a small chapel were built at Fatoto and a school was built at the Fula town of Buruco on the

1. Fox: op.cit., p.287.

2. Ibid., p.369.

3. Blue Book: Gambia, 1831. p.122.

south bank. Two African assistants, John Cupidon and Pierre Salah, helped in the work. Meanwhile a missionary linguist, the Rev. R.M. MacBriar, was busy translating the important parts of Scripture into Fula and Mandinka. A native, Mohammodu Sisei, who had acquired a working knowledge of English while he was in England, assisted MacBriar in compiling a Mandinka vocabulary. Dove was so impressed by the progress of work that he wrote to Fox at St. Mary's that the system of Mohammedanism was "rapidly on the decline."¹ The events that followed, however, invalidated his optimism.

The uncompromising attitude of Methodists towards slavery and other social evils had antagonised the officials of the Colony towards the missionaries. When hooligans led by John Messeroy demolished Cupidon's house and insulted MacBriar no protection was forthcoming from the Commandant, and after this incident Cupidon and MacBriar were withdrawn from MacCarthy Island.² The Fula Mission had failed, but other tribes, particularly the liberated African, benefited from the missionary work at MacCarthy Island, although a gradual loss of interest was quite obvious. Subsequent efforts

1. Fox: op.cit., p.363.

2. MacBriar to Lieut. Governor Rendall, 21st May, 1836: Methodist Mission Archives, London. Correspondence 1830-1836.

to found an institution for educating the sons of the native "Kings" and powerful chiefs also failed.

Replacements were sent to MacCarthy Island; names of missionaries and teachers - Fox, Swallow, Moss, James, Davis and Crowley - appeared and disappeared and with them seemed to be fading out traces of the work done. In 1842 there were thirty-two boys and thirty girls at school; by 1846 there was not a single pupil. Missionaries had found it difficult to give customary presents to the Chiefs; they had discovered also that their old pupils had relapsed on return to their heathen homes. A general sense of frustration was evident; at a District Meeting held at St. Mary's in 1846 it was decided that MacCarthy Island should be left to the care of native teachers and a mission started in the environs of Cape St. Mary's.¹ A native missionary, Joseph May was sent and he so revitalised the work that by 1850 the school at MacCarthy Island had 70 boys and 50 girls on the roll.²

Educational work at St. Mary's went along steadily between 1831 and 1850, and a school was started at

1. Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society Synod Minutes and Reports, 1846. Gambia District. London, Methodist Mission Archives. Abbreviation "W.M.M.S." has been used in subsequent references.

2. May was trained in Sierra Leone and in the Borough Road School in London at the expense of the Quakers. Eyles, op cit. p. 214.

Barra Point. The school house at Bathurst was a plain, solid and spacious building; missionaries taught children at home also. Instruction was free but older children were expected to pay for their books.¹ The first Government grant of £100 was given towards the running of St. Mary's School in 1849. Later on when schools were started at Baccow Konko (renamed Newcastle) and Hamilton Town, the two school masters there were also paid by the Government. The four Wesleyan schools in St. Mary's Circuit had 241 male and 140 female scholars on their rolls. The girls had much attention paid to them and they were reported to be beginning to "appreciate reading, writing and other branches of useful knowledge," and were also improving in their general conduct.²

The history of the Wesleyan elementary schools from the mid-nineteenth century to 1882 when the first Education Ordinance was passed is one of vicissitudes.

1. The main purpose of the Madden Commission, which visited The Gambia in 1841, was to report on the resumption of Crown control over the West African Settlements, but Dr. Robert Madden reported on Education as well. The Report drew particular attention towards the parrot-learning of religious knowledge in the mission schools. F.H. Hilliard: A Short History of Education in British West Africa. London, 1957. p.51. See also D.L. Sumner: Education in Sierra Leone. Freetown, 1963, p.51.
2. W.M.M.S. Reports, 1850. vol.XI. pp.68-69.

The schools at St. Mary's, Barra Point, Newcastle, Hamilton Town and MacCarthy Island had 625 children in 1864. By 1872 the number was 471 and in 1881 there were only about 91 children. A new school was opened at Sabijee (Sukuta) in 1881 but there was hardly any additional gain; children from Newcastle moved to it. The Cape school was closed. There were complaints that parents did not co-operate; that fees were not paid; and that there was a general shortage of books and material.¹

The first Ordinance "for promotion and assistance of education in the Settlement on the Gambia" was passed in the Legislative Council in 1882. A Board of Education was constituted and an Inspector of Schools appointed.² The Ordinance had introduced a system of payment by results and the immediate effect in the Wesleyan schools was harmful. In 1882 they had received £128.16.0; in 1883 they received £34. The Mission urged upon the Government the need to assist them in a work which had been "earnestly" carried on for the last sixty years.³

1. W.M.M.S. Synod Minutes and Reports, 1881. . .

2. The Education Ordinance, 1882.

3. Blue Book: Gambia, 1883. p.141.

In 1886 the Ordinance of 1882 was amended. One of the changes was that compulsory school fees, on which the grant was assessed, were made optional. There was gradual improvement in the schools. In 1884 the Wesleyans ran 5 schools and had 386 children on the rolls but by 1902 there were only 2 schools left; and the enrolment was 336 pupils. The Wesleyans received £187-19-10 as grant-in-aid.¹

In addition to the elementary education the Wesleyan Mission also took a lead in providing for secondary education. For education beyond the elementary stage children were sent to Sierra Leone; they were usually children of liberated Africans. Parents were not very happy over this because many had no friends to look after their children in Sierra Leone.² The Wesleyans were also realising that a sufficient number of zealous, well-trained native missionaries for school and ministry was an important factor in the success of their work.³

It was on 13th September, 1875, that an institution for post-primary education and training was started

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1. Report on the Elementary Education at the Gambia for the Year 1901-1902, Bathurst, 1902. pp.2 and 9.
 2. W.M.M.S. Synod Minutes and Reports, 1874.
 3. W.M.M.S. Reports, 1875. vol.XIX. p.123.

under the direction of the Rev. James Fieldhouse of the Wesleyan Mission. The institution made a poor start and even in 1878 there were only three pupils and three pupil-teachers at it. In 1879, when Fieldhouse's health failed, the work of the institution came to a standstill. The Rev. J. Heslam worked for some time but his health too failed, and the institution closed for a short time. It was reopened in May 1879 as the Wesleyan Boys' High School with 14 pupils; the number gradually rose to 23. C.R. Cross, a native, was appointed Headmaster. The subjects taught were Scripture, Conference Catechism Parts 1 and 2, Reading, Dictation, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, English Composition, Geography, English History, Algebra, Geometry, Map Drawing, Greek Testament, Latin Translation (Caesar), and Greek and Latin Grammar. Vocal and Instrumental Music was also taught.¹ It was clearly not possible for one teacher (perhaps with one assistant), to cope with this curriculum; the missionaries were clearly guided by idealism rather than by the realities of the situation.

Expenses of the school were to be met from school fees. It was intended that the school should be largely self-supporting; people were to be made to feel that it

1. W.M.M.S. Synod Minutes and Reports, 1879. p. 100.

was their own institution and that its success depended upon them.¹ These were, no doubt, lofty aims but they did not take into account the economic position of the parents.

The school continued under the headship of Cross from 1879-84, M.W. Rendall from 1885-1887 and J. Gilbert in 1888. It was closed early in 1889 and was reopened as the Methodist Boys' High School later the same year. Till 1900 G.P. Wilhelm was the Headmaster; thereafter the school was run by the circuit ministers till 1904.

The fact that the school survived after so many difficulties says a great deal for the tenacity of the institution. Its achievements were modest, yet it did produce some native agents and certainly gave its pupils a better start in life. Some went to Sierra Leone to continue higher education. It can be called the pioneer institution of secondary education in The Gambia.

As regards technical education, little provision existed in The Gambia prior to 1902, and then a Technical School was opened on 3rd November that year with five pupils on the roll.² The Wesleyan Mission played an

1. loc.cit.,

2. Gambia: Report for 1903. London, 1904. p.23.

important part in organising it initially, and then in its subsequent running. The idea was to introduce boys from the school desk to the mysteries of carpenter's bench, the forge, and the mason's scaffold. The school was non-denominational; it, however, remained under the auspices of the Wesleyan Mission. An agreed grant of £300 was paid by the Government, and the colonial officials gave all possible encouragement to the school.

THE ANGLICAN MISSION:

The Anglican Mission was the earliest mission in The Gambia, but in fact except to a very limited garrison school, it contributed little to the education of the region. The Garrison School under Robert Hughes (1821) the first chaplain, co-operated briefly but well with the Wesleyan missionary effort but often the chaplaincy was vacant so that Wesleyans conducted the garrison service¹ and the Anglican efforts to found schools were sporadic and weak.

A military school started in 1859 with a War Office grant of £100 worked for some 20 years on Bell's monitorial system but it declined from over 100 scholars to less than 30 in 1876, revived temporarily in 1877,

1. Gray: op.cit., p.315.

was suspended for lack of staff in 1879 and finally closed in 1882 by the operation of the Ordinance. However, Chaplain George Nicol kept some instruction going at his own expense and effort so that by 1886 a large school of 114 male and 120 female pupils was able to attract a grant of £49. By 1902 still with over 200 pupils, it earned £90-6-1 in grant.¹ Similar efforts by the Anglican Church outside the garrison made little headway and there are records of 3 schools which flourished awhile and petered out.²

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION:

After an early missionary effort under two French Sisters of Charity in 1823,³ which had no educational element, the Roman Catholic Church waited a quarter century before it again started work in The Gambia. Three priests from Paris established a mission at St. Mary's in 1849 and with three Sisters of Charity received "orphans and abandoned children"⁴ and in a modest sense established a boarding school. They followed it with a school for boys (Picton Street) and

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1. Gambia: Report for 1902. London, 1903. p.8.
 2. These schools were started for the benefit of Jola and Serere children who were mostly heathen.
 3. Biller: op.cit., p.188.
 4. Colonial Office: 87/55, 29th April, 1853. Governor Smyth O'Connor to Duke of Newcastle. Abbreviation "G.O." has been used in subsequent references.

one for girls (Buckle Street) which taught needlework in addition to other primary subjects.¹ The mission also sent boys to the Catholic College at Dakar. Again there is a story of fluctuating fortune. The boys' school closed in 1854 but a small Trades School for apprentices earned a grant of £50 in 1862, £75 in 1864 and £100 in 1865 - with corresponding increases in enrolment. In 1879 the Catholic Mission had 222 pupils in 2 single-sex schools.

Methods employed by the Roman Catholic Mission are interesting - especially with regard to the care they took in introducing the Jolof-speaking children to English: some English conversation was introduced in the lower classes and it was obligatory in the middle and higher courses.² Children's different "future avocations" and "weightier considerations of morality" led Catholics to insist on separate schools for boys and girls.³

Under the 1882 Ordinance, Catholics earned no grant as they charged no fees but an "amendment Ordinance" (1886) entitled them to grants. These

1. Blue Book: Gambia, 1852. p.145.

2. Blue Book: Gambia, 1880. p.149.

3. loc.cit.

however fluctuated in a way which caused them to complain against the arrears of payment, and perhaps justifiably, for owing to irregularities in the dates of examinations and the absence of any definite fixture for the Gambia School Year, the payments to the three missions were "somewhat erratic until 1888."¹

The Mission settled down to its two schools: the Hagan Street School for boys had 206 boys, the St. Joseph's Convent School had 150 girls on their rolls in 1902. In the same year the Mission earned £196-6-1 in grants.²

Altogether the period under review had been a period of trials and tribulations, and the position in 1902 was not very encouraging. The six elementary schools - five in Bathurst and one at MacCarthy Island - had 1029 pupils. The reports of the Inspector of Schools spoke of low standards of achievement of the pupils. There was no satisfactory provision for secondary education: the Methodist Boys' High School was in a state of flux; there was no secondary school for girls. A Technical School had just made a modest start. The Government was not very generous: out of

1. Report on the Blue Book for 1889. London, 1890. p.9.

2. Gambia: Report for 1902. op.cit., p.8.

a revenue of £51,015-11-7, a sum of only £500-15-6 was allocated to education. Schools earned only £474-12-0 as grants-in-aid.

One could easily overlook the failings of the Christian missionaries in the field of education in view of the factors that militated against their efforts. The missionaries struggled against nature, at one red in tooth and claw; they suffered privations, sometimes, too deep for tears.¹ They helped liberated Africans, at first regarded as figures of commiseration, and then arrogant challengers of authority.² The missionaries worked amongst a predominantly Muslim community which was generally non-receptive and defiant.³ They laboured amongst the Pagans, mostly superstitious and apathetic.⁴ Finally, no doubt, the missionaries worked under a Government that was hardly

1. By 1902, the Wesleyan Missionary Society had altogether sent 69 missionaries and wives; 22 had died on the field alone. Halligey: The West African Roll Call. London, 1907. pp.6-7.
2. Governor d'Arcy accused the missionaries of spoiling the younger generation of liberated Africans. Colonial Office: 87/71, 24th July, 1861. d'Arcy to Newcastle.
3. The Muslims hesitated in sending children to school; only 3.48 per cent Muslim children were at school in 1887. There was no radical change even in 1902.
4. The Wesleyan and Anglican schools for heathen children petered out.

benevolent in monetary matters. In spite of all these difficulties, they held on, and the result was that foundations of education were laid in the country. Why the missionaries did not achieve a greater success, was the result of inherent contradictions in their policies and programmes, of which they were either not aware, or which they tried to ignore.¹

1. See also Chapter XIII.

Part II

EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND CONTROL.

CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND DIRECTION (I).

1903 - 1934.

The interest of the Government in the education of The Gambians dates back to the early days of Bathurst when officials like MacCarthy and Grant encouraged Christian missionaries in the establishment of schools. After foundations of education had been laid, the Government gave small grants to the Missions. They were expected to encourage farm-school activities and maintain a general efficiency. There were no other strings attached to these gestures of goodwill. The Government continued to give such grants till 1882.

The first step towards government control was taken in 1882. An Inspector of Schools was appointed for the West African Settlements of Sierra Leone, Lagos, the Gold Coast and The Gambia.¹ In the same year an Education Ordinance was passed in The Gambia, and in it provision was made for an Inspector of Schools,² but no separate Inspector was appointed for The Gambia. The sharing arrangement continued even after the Gold Coast

1. Colin G. Wise: A History of Education in British West Africa. London, 1956. p.33.

2. The Education Ordinance, 1882. Similar ordinances were passed in the other settlements. Later on, the legislation varied according to their individual needs, although the broad principles

and Lagos had appointed their own Inspectors. The link with Sierra Leone was at last found inconvenient and was broken in 1901, and The Gambia appointed its own Inspector of Schools. It was the Attorney General who was given the post, which he held at the same time as his legal office. The difficulty of the joint inspectorate lay in excessive distance, whereas that of the dual post was to lie in inadequate time.

The Education Ordinance of 1882 provided for a Board of Education, consisting of the officer administering the Government, of the members of the Legislative Council and of other persons not exceeding four in number, who might be nominated by the Administrator, the head of the Colony. The Board was empowered to make, alter and amend rules with regard to the examination of schools and teachers, for determining the capitation grants, grants for capital expenditure, attendance grants, grants for industrial teaching, grants for organisation and discipline and special merit grants.

Rules made under the Education Amendment Ordinance, 1886, outlined the rates at which grants were to be made. A grant equal in amount to one-fifth of the sum shown by the manager of a school was to be annually awardable for school houses, furniture and apparatus; in case of

a school newly established the grant was to be one-tenth. The rate of capitation (proficiency) grant was two shillings and sixpence for every subject in which a scholar was found to be proficient, provided he was proficient in at least two out of three basic subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic - reading being compulsory.¹ Female scholars were to be given a grant of two shillings and sixpence for proficiency in needle-work. Attendance grants were awardable at the rate of two shillings and sixpence for the average daily number of scholars. A grant of sixpence a head over and above that for the average attendance was to be awarded if the organisation and discipline were good. In this case additional grants were made on a proficiency basis at 6d, 1/-, 1/6 and 2/- respectively if 60, 70, 80 and 90 per cent of the children presented in the Standards had passed. No grants were awardable if less than 70 per cent of those on the rolls were presented for examination and more than 40 per cent had failed in two of the three subjects.²

A provision was made to establish Government schools in which direct religious teaching was not to

1. Curriculum laid down in the Rules is shown in Appendix A.
2. Rules for Assisted Schools in the Settlement on River Gambia under "the Education Amendment Ordinance, 1886."

form part of the instruction. Schools for primary education established by private persons, an acknowledged society, body or Corporation with the permission of the Board were to vest in local managers the control and management of their schools and these managers were to be responsible for the salary of the teachers and other expenses. Schools were to be open to children without distinction of religion or race, and no child was to receive any religious instruction objected to by a parent or guardian.¹

The Ordinance came into existence nearly twelve years after the first Education Act of 1870 in England. A scrutiny of its title and the implications of its provisions establish a similarity of purpose, which was to "fill the gaps." But conditions in the two countries were so different that the mention in the Ordinance of Government schools went unnoticed in The Gambia, whereas the mention of School Boards in the Act of 1870 greatly stimulated the voluntary agencies in England to action. Moreover, the School Boards became a reality in England; in The Gambia nothing equivalent to the School Boards emerged, and no Government school was established during the period of the operation of the

1. The Education Ordinance, 1882.

Ordinance.

A brief account of the effect on schools of the Ordinance has already been given in Chapter II. Here it is enough to say that the petty sums of money earned by missions could hardly be called "assistance" to education. The missions could not embark on any ambitious programme of extending education: they were poor, those who supported them poorer, their pupils poorest. Small grants-in-aid left them in the lurch. They lost in two ways: their freedom of operation was curtailed, and on the other hand the financial reward was small. Nevertheless, it may be claimed that the Ordinance established a principle that education legislation for a small country was no less important than it was for a big one. It provided a basis for thinking, planning and effecting improvements. Education came in for critical evaluation and it was appreciated that education must be made to suit the demand of the times.

It was in 1903 that a committee of the Board of Education met to revise and recast the existing Rules and to report on the Draft Rules for the Technical School. The largely superfluous, gouty and cumbersome character of the Ordinance was criticised.

The Committee recommended that the section dealing with Government schools should be deleted. It further recommended that grants-in-aid should be provided for secondary education and allowed for small country schools with an average attendance under 20. Recommendations were also made to fix a uniform scale of fees and to abolish the system of proficiency grants on the basis of the school as a whole and to increase the individual proficiency grants.¹ Most of these recommendations were in fact embodied in the Education Ordinance of 1903.

This document entitled "an Ordinance to make better provision for the Promotion of Education," in its broad aspects merely embodied such of the principles of the Ordinance of 1882 as were of a general nature, though additional provisions were also made. The Board of Education continued to be the controlling authority but was now enlarged. It was to consist of the Governor, of the Members of the Legislative Council, the Inspector of Schools, and such other members not exceeding six in number as might be nominated by the Governor. The Governor was to convene the meetings of the Board; he, or in his absence, his nominee, was to preside over the meeting; and the president, in addition to his vote as a

1. Gambia Government Gazette, 30th May, 1903.

member of the Board, had a casting vote.¹

The Education Rules, 1904, elaborated the provisions made in the Ordinance. The Board's powers were extended to include secondary education also, particularly with regard to regulating applications for, and the allowance of grants-in-aid. An attendance grant at the rate of four shillings a head on the average attendance during the school year was awardable; the school should have met at least 380 times. Except in the case of infants in sub-standards, all other pupils receiving instruction in the subjects specified for the standards in the primary schools and the stages in the secondary schools, were entitled to the grant. The Board might grant scholarships to children from primary schools to attend secondary schools in the Colony or elsewhere.²

The rates of proficiency grant were to be determined by the degree of proficiency: for every subject, obligatory or optional, in which 50 per cent of the total marks had been obtained - 5 shillings were awarded, for 65 per cent - 7 shillings, for 80 per cent - 9 shillings; and for every child who had passed a satisfactory examination in reading, writing and arithmetic

1. The Education Ordinance, 1903.

2. Gambia Government Gazette, 23rd July, 1904.

(in sub-standards) - 10 shillings. No proficiency grant was awardable in respect of a pupil who had not attended school 100 times during the previous school year. The Inspector might award grants in respect of proficient girls at 2/6 for plain sewing, 10 shillings for superior needle work and 10 shillings for domestic economy. A grant was not awardable more than five times in respect of one pupil.

A provision was made to award a grant not exceeding a hundred and fifty pounds in the year in aid of the salary of any Superintendent of an assisted school, being a European of approved qualifications.

An annual grant of £300 was awardable to the Wesleyan Mission's industrial school, for which the Board made regulations in 1904.

It was made lawful to charge school fees at the rate of 6d per week per child in a primary school and 2/6 per week in a secondary school. Pauper children were to be taught gratis. Board and lodging could be charged separately.

The Education Ordinance of 1903, and the Rules of 1904, did not apply to the schools in the Protectorate, but the Inspector was to give directions for their management and make arrangements for their examination.

No average attendance grant was awardable to schools in the Protectorate, but the proficiency grant was one and a half times the amount of proficiency grant awardable in respect of pupils attending schools in Bathurst if the children were similarly proficient. Building grants subject to requirements of the Rules were also awardable.

The above Rules were amended in 1906, 1907 and 1908. The 1908 Rules were repealed by the Education Rules 1910. Further amendments were carried out in 1912 and revised Rules again issued in 1917.¹ The Education Rules 1917 were amended in 1925 and again in 1933. A number of the major changes were introduced during this process of revision and reissue of Rules.

The Rules of 1917 provided that no attendance or proficiency grant was awardable (except in an exceptional case with the approval of the Governor) to any school unless it had met at least 370 times during the year. Under the same Rules an attendance grant at the rate of ten shillings a head on the average attendance during the school year was awardable to pupils in standard I to VII and at four shillings a head

1. Owing to the shortage of personnel arising from the war, the Annual General Examination could not be held at Georgetown. Grants-in-aid equal to those awarded in 1917 were awarded in respect of 1918.

to pupils in sub-standards. Moreover, the Rules of 1917 stipulated that proficiency grants were awardable at ten shillings a child in sub-standards, if he had passed the prescribed examination; the scale for standards was graduated from five shillings, seven shillings and nine shillings on every subject, obligatory or optional, if pupils obtained not less than fifty per cent, sixty-five per cent and eighty per cent of the total marks respectively. The same Rules laid down that no candidate was to be awarded a Third Class Teacher's Certificate who had not obtained at least a Third Class Hygiene Certificate. A Second or First Class Teacher's Certificate could only be awarded if at least a Second Class Hygiene Certificate had been obtained.¹

The Rules regarding the proficiency grants were amended in 1925 in that a proficiency grant was awardable only in respect of pupils who had obtained not less than 40 per cent of the total marks obtainable in each of the obligatory subjects and an average of 50 per cent on the whole examination for the sub-standard in which they were presented. A pupil holding a Teacher's Certificate in hygiene was exempted from

1. The Education Rules, 1917. Curriculum appears in Appendix B.

taking this subject at the Annual Examination.¹

The only change of any significance in the amendment of Rules in 1931 was that a pass in English Composition was not to be obligatory for girls who had passed in Domestic Economy.²

The amendment Rules of 1933 provided that two or more primary schools might be reckoned together for the purpose of calculating the amount of attendance and proficiency grants. Moreover pupils sent to Sierra Leone or elsewhere for training as teachers to be employed in The Gambia were to be given financial assistance. Finally it was laid down that discipline enforced in the schools should be firm; but all degrading and injurious punishments were to be forbidden. Corporal punishment was only to be inflicted after due deliberation and with the approval of the senior teacher present in the school.³

A reference has been made to the common purpose - implied or manifest - of the Education Act of 1870 and the Education Ordinance of 1882. England passed its second major Education Act in 1902 and The Gambia its

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1. The Education (Amendment) Rules, 1925.
 2. The Education (Amendment) Rules, 1931.
 3. The Education (Amendment) Rules, 1933.

second major Education Ordinance in 1903, but the educational developments in England had taken so different a shape that even a superficial comparison of the Act to the Ordinance would be difficult to make. Nevertheless, it could not be denied that the administrators and educationists controlling and directing education either from the United Kingdom or within The Gambia inevitably looked for some model, and in this search for a model, the legislation in the United Kingdom has been the main source of inspiration and guidance. References, however incoherent, to primary, secondary and technical education in the Ordinance, bear faint echoes of the Act of 1902.

The real story of control and direction started with the activities of the Board of Education. The very composition of the Board signified its prestige. It was bound to have influence over the control and direction of education, even though taking too much active part might not have been feasible. It would, however, be wrong to say that its control was "nebulous."¹ The Board met to discuss Reports on Education, matters relating to finance and policies and programmes concerning education. The Rules, as

1. Development and Welfare in the Gambia, 1943. Bathurst, 1943. Chapter vi. p.1.

we have seen, clearly laid down how grants were to be administered; nevertheless it was the responsibility of the Board to ensure that the grants were applied properly. It, therefore, acted as a watch-dog over the finances. The Board's control became dynamic whenever it was discovered that certain provisions, which had outlived their usefulness, could be scrapped, replaced or augmented. The very fact that within thirty years the Education Rules were amended and revised about nine times showed that the Board was quite aware of the need for flexibility in legislation; and that it conducted its work in the same spirit that had led to the passing of the Ordinance. In 1904 the total grants-in-aid amounted to only £429-2-9; in 1934 they stood at £2429-0-5.

The Inspector visited schools as a point of duty but other officials too paid visits. Governor Denton and Colonial Secretary O'Brian visited the Technical School in 1910, and offered suggestions for improvement.¹ In 1926, the Hon. W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, visited Affiliated Elementary Schools and pointed out that there was small demand for education outside Bathurst and

1. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools of the Gambia for the year 1910. Bathurst, 1911. pp. 12-13.

there was irregularity in attendance even in Bathurst itself. He made suggestions for the improvement of education.¹

The main functionary of the Government in the administration of education was the Inspector of Schools. He was to carry out inspectorial duties in addition to his office as Attorney General. In the beginning of the twentieth century there were only a few schools to be inspected. Schools were situated in and near the town of Bathurst, except for one school at MacCarthy Island. It could not have been too burdensome a task to examine teachers and children once a year and disburse grants. The checking of a few records and inspecting of simple school buildings could not have entailed too heavy a demand on his time and labour, but year after year the list of duties went on increasing. More schools had to be inspected; so more time was needed. Although the expansion in education called for more supervision, it was still not considered necessary to depute a full time administrator for the post.

In 1913 the Inspector's duties were handed over to the Police Magistrate.² He too had to face the same

1. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the Year 1926. Bathurst, 1927. p.3.

2. Wise: op.cit., p.40.

situation as his predecessor. It became evident that the dual office was becoming too exacting: Inspector Michael McDonnell said that his almost daily presence in the Supreme Court and the Police Court made it difficult for him to carry out the duties smoothly. Others must have had the same difficulty.

R. F. Hunter, the Director of Education in Sierra Leone visited The Gambia in 1920 with the object of re-organising the whole scheme of education. One of his recommendations was the establishment of an Education Department under a Director of Education. The Governor of The Gambia did not accept the entire scheme owing to priorities given to the Agriculture Department. He, however, suggested to the Secretary of State that a Director of Education might be appointed to study the question on the spot; but the Secretary of State decided that it would not be possible to put into effect the proposed scheme.¹ Another opportunity was missed to hand over educational control and direction to a professional expert.

In 1926 the Hon. W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore suggested that an officer from Achimota College, Gold Coast, be seconded for a short time to give school managers and teachers

1. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1931. Bathurst, 1932. p.3. Also see F. H. Hilliard: A Short History of Education in British West Africa. London, 1957. p.54.

up-to-date advice on African education.¹ The suggestion clearly implied that there was a need for an educationist to administer education effectively. In the same year a Special Committee of Inquiry recommended the appointment of a qualified European officer who would devote his whole time to training African school teachers, examining scholars and advising the Government and Superintendent of Missions as to the best methods of education.² Nothing materialised out of these suggestions and the Police Magistrate continued as sole Inspector.

Arrangements were made in 1928 for the formation of a separate department under a Superintendent of Education. The Superintendent was appointed in 1929, but the Department came into existence in 1930. It was, however, based at Georgetown because the Superintendent was also responsible for the supervision of the Armitage School. The Headquarters of the Education Department were transferred from Georgetown to Bathurst in 1933, which was a practical move at that time as most of the schools were in Bathurst and so were the various other Government Departments; but this action deprived the Protectorate of its position as the seat of

1. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the Year 1926. op.cit., p.1.

2. Ibid., and Hilliard: op.cit., pp.54-55.

authority on education. The deprivation, in addition to other factors, proved a hindrance to the development of education in the Protectorate. The Superintendent was an administrative officer,¹ and not an educationist but the developments since 1930 were indicative of better shape of things to come.

The way the various Inspectors of Schools exercised control and direction became quite clear from some of the remarks - authoritative, paternal, and even naive - made by them from time to time.

In 1904 the Inspector of Schools called special attention to the fact that most of the grant paid by the Government was earned by pupils of the lower standards. He pointed out that this was not a very satisfactory state of affairs as "it was only when the higher standards were reached that the education offered by the schools ... became of any substantial use to the pupils in after life."²

Next year the Inspector advised teachers to converse regularly with pupils about their ordinary life and surroundings and illustrate the conversation

1. Mr. W.T. Hamlyn was the first Superintendent of Education. He wrote a book, titled: "A Short History of the Gambia," which was used as a text book in schools. When Mr. Hamlyn died in November 1934, his loss was greatly felt.

2. Gambia: Report for 1904. London, 1905. pp.20-21.

as far as possible by painting and objects.

In 1907 he warned the managers of schools that in future children in the upper standards would be required to take down dictation with reasonable rapidity in addition to writing and spelling properly. This was done to make children stay longer at school as they were expected to spend more time in mastering dictation.

The Inspector had been appreciating the difficulties of the children with English language and in the year 1912 he concluded that one was surprised "not so much that results were not better as that they were not worse."¹

The Inspector did not hesitate in taking to task the managers for neglecting to effect repairs in Hagan Street School and the Roman Catholic School, and in 1914 strongly recommended that the award of grant next year be subject to the completion of the outstanding work.²

When the Inspector visited the Methodist Boys' High School in 1919, he paid a glowing tribute to it for its beneficial work and recommended that the school should be given every possible encouragement.

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1. Education Report of the Gambia for the Year 1912. Bathurst, 1913. p.3.
 2. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools of the Colony of the Gambia for the Year 1914. Bathurst, 1915. p.3.

The Inspector's interest as a representative of the Government with the Mohammedan School (which was considered to be a Government school) became evident from his anxiety to see that the equipment of the school did not "lag behind that of voluntary schools maintained by the Missions."¹ A decade later gymnastic apparatus was ordered from England for it.

A suggestion made by the Inspector to start libraries in the schools was approved by the Board in 1924, and small financial contributions towards defraying the initial expenses were made. The older children were reported to be reading "with avidity the various standard authors."²

When economic crisis threatened the Teacher Training School with closure in 1932 a compromise solution was found by abolishing the post of Infant School Teachers' Trainer, doing away with supply teachers and stopping the maintenance grants to students in training. The Inspector played an important part in these re-arrangements, which were approved by the Board of Education.³

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1. Education Report of the Gambia for the Year 1913. Bathurst, 1914. p.12.
 2. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the Year 1924. Bathurst, 1925. p.6.
 3. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1932. Bathurst, 1933. p.9.

The provision of grants to the Superintendents (Managers) of the Missions was a well-conceived idea. They spent a good deal of their time in educational administration in addition to their proselytising work. There could have been another reason too: in a way, it could have been a subtle method of influencing people who mattered, and who could, otherwise, take an embarrassingly firm stand on educational policy and programme. By nominating the three Superintendents to the Board, the Governor fitted discordant elements into a pattern. It was easier to exercise control over a pattern than over a loosely structured arrangement.

The control and direction, which were previously confined to primary education, were extended to technical training in the beginning of the twentieth century; financial and inspectorial control over secondary education was exercised from the early nineteen-twenties; whereas teacher training came within the Government's compass in the late nineteen-twenties. These were indeed further steps taken towards a system of extended control and effective supervision.

The provision of £300 as a grant to the Wesleyan Technical School was to ensure better organisation of training facilities for manual work. There was a

tendency in all colonies for attraction of a white-collar job to nip in the bud any ill-organised venture in which pride of place was assigned to manual labour. Moreover, there were few training facilities available for technical hands and the demand was on the increase with the general development of the colony. The boys coming out of the technical school found ready employment in the Public Works Department and proved excellent workmen. The school engaged itself in paid work for public good. As early as 1903 the grant-in-aid given to the Technical School was regarded as well expended.¹

One marked feature of the Ordinance of 1903 was the Government's firm control over teachers. The Board examined teachers and certificated them. They received salaries which were partly calculated in accordance with the results of the pupils. The Board could forfeit a teacher's certificate on account of misconduct, and order its surrender. Teachers were employed and dismissed by the managers of schools, and for their day to day work they were under the control of the managers. This triple control by Government,

1. Gambia: Report for 1903. London, 1904. p.23.

managers and indirectly by the pupils must have made many teachers ponder over whether it was worthwhile being prisoners of such a system. No wonder that the teaching profession attracted little talent, and if it did, could not retain it. Year after year the Inspector reported on the low academic standards of teachers. In 1912 out of 29 teachers at all levels, only four had first class certificates, one had a second class certificate, two had third class certificates and the rest had no certificates.¹

The Government's concern at this state of affairs found expression in the proposals made to train teachers. The Colonial Secretary - L. Harcourt - though not prepared to start an institution in the Colony was keen on knowing from the Board of Education about the possibilities of sending students to the Gold Coast for teacher training. Some members of the Board expressed their apprehensions on the grounds that parents had strong objections to sending their children so far.² The Board's views were respected and the matter was closed for some time.

1. Education Report of the Gambia for the Year 1913. op.cit. p.4.

2. Reference 175 (M.P. 449/1912) 31st December. Minutes of the Board of Education. Public Records Office, Bathurst.

The country could not afford to evade the responsibility of training teachers for long. The Inspector of Schools submitted a memorandum on the training of teachers in 1928, and as a result a Teacher Training School was opened. Government's financial support to this ingenious scheme in which supply teachers relieved regular teachers for training during part of the day was one of the important factors of its success. The position of teaching staff towards the end of 1934 seemed to have improved - partly, no doubt, because of this scheme - and there were three teachers with University degrees, 42 trained and 42 untrained teachers.¹

The provision of scholarships to children from primary schools in the Colony to attend secondary schools within or outside the Colony was a progressive step. It established an educational ladder although it had only a single rung at first. Later on scholarships were awarded from the Boys' High School to Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, and to the U.K.²

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1. Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1934. Bathurst, 1935. p.22.
 2. In 1929, L.F. Valantine was at Fourah Bay College, J.E. Mahoney in the Gold Coast and S.H. Jones at Manchester. Correspondence 1928-30 (File 6/202) and 1930-31 (File 241/30) Public Records Office, Bathurst; Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1929. op.cit. p.5.

There were only a few climbers to the higher rungs but there was satisfaction in that a system had been established.

The weakest link in the Government's chain of control and direction was its inability to establish adequate Government schools. Only three schools came into being during the period under review. The first school, started in Bathurst in 1903, was called the Mohammedan School. It was managed by a Committee of Muslims and, first the Governor, later the Inspector, was the chairman of the Committee. The Government paid the salaries of the teachers. Strictly speaking, it was a quasi-government institution. The second school was established at Georgetown in MacCarthy Island in 1926, primarily to train the sons and relatives of the Protectorate Chiefs. The third school was opened at Bakau in 1930; it was a vernacular school.

It appeared as if the Government had a little blind spot for secondary education, even when it had committed itself to the provision and financial support of it. Moreover, no grant was given to the tottering Methodist Boys' High School until the nineteen-twenties. The Government's ambivalence towards this school became manifest through its various Inspectors. In 1906, though the Inspector found the results of the school "just passable," he still thought it deserved

encouragement.¹ This theme of "encouragement" was repeated in 1919. In the meantime, Inspector Donald Kingdon advised the Government against any subsidizing of the school because of its pre-dominantly denominational set-up and recommended "some altogether more ambitious scheme of secondary education."² The Government failed to establish any secondary school but the Missions established three more, and gradually the Government paid them grants-in-aid. History seemed to have repeated itself: the Ordinance of 1882 had provided for the establishment of Government primary schools but established none; the Ordinance of 1903 did the same for secondary schools.

It is essential to point out the degree of Government control and direction during the period under review. The Government outlined in its policy of 1925 that it welcomed and would encourage "all voluntary educational effort" which conformed to the general policy, but it reserved to itself "the general direction of educational policy and the supervision of all educational Institutions by inspection or other means."³

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1. Gambia: Report for 1906. London, 1907. pp.13-14.
 2. Reference 175(M.P. 449/1912) 3rd March. Kingdon to the Colonial Secretary. Public Records Office, Bathurst.
 3. Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa. Cmd. 2374, London, 1925. p.3.

The Advisory Board of Education was to be established to promote co-operation between Government and other educational agencies. Grants-in-aid to schools which conformed to the prescribed regulations and attained the necessary standards were to be given. It was made clear that if the required standard of educational efficiency was reached, aided schools should be regarded as filling a place in the scheme of education as important as the school conducted by the Government itself. The conditions on which grants-in-aid were to be given were no longer to be dependent on examination results.¹

This policy established the principle that the Missions were partners with the Government in education and not subservient agencies, even though the terms and conditions of partnership were not strictly on equal basis. It also clarified the position of grants-in-aid. These were not charities: they were legitimate payments for the work done, even though grants-in-aid only.

The Government controlled the policy; it framed broad principles behind programmes; and it ensured that agreed conditions were fulfilled from either side. The Missions through their representatives on the Board of

1. Ibid., pp.5-6.

Education participated in the formulation of policy and setting out of programmes and they retained control over the day to day running of their institutions.

The main barrier to the growth and development of education remained the finances. The grants-in-aid increased gradually but the extension of provision and improvement of facilities entailing extra expenses had outstripped the monies earned by the Missions.

In the year 1933 the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies submitted a memorandum on Educational grants-in-aid. It established principles for guidance in the use of such funds as might be available for educational grants-in-aid. The availability of funds set apart for such support was to depend on local circumstances. It was, however, pointed out that the need for economy would not allow any increase in total expenditure: therefore "readjustment of grant" according to the principles advocated seemed advisable.¹

Grants-in-aid were classified as (a) recurring towards maintenance charges, and (b) non-recurring towards capital expenditure on building and initial equipment. It was laid down that if recurring grants could be sanctioned for a designated period of three

1. A Memorandum on Educational Grants-in-aid.
Col. No. 84, London, 1933. p.4.

or more years, this would give "a sense of financial stability" and encourage the managers "to look ahead and frame programmes for development." Thus while the laying down of general principles for the assessment of maintenance grants was desirable, provision should be made for reasonable elasticity in the application of those principles.¹

This same Memorandum drew attention to the practice of calculating capitation and results grants. The chief merit of these grants was supposed to be the encouragement they offered "to the enrolment of pupils and to their proper instruction" but educational bodies which had come up to the required standard needed no such "reward" or "stimulant."² With regard to efficiency grants, it was pointed out that "expert opinion" was "against the determination of grants solely or mainly with reference to results or efficiency." Provision for a variable factor dependent on the general work of the school, might be defended on grounds of educational productivity but the main factor in the determination of a grant should, the memorandum concluded, be "expenditure on staff and not results or

1. Ibid. pp.8-9.

2. Ibid. p.9.

attendance."¹

Regarding salary grants, the Memorandum declared that a scale should be approved by the Government based on the principle that there was no reason why a teacher who preferred educational work under the auspices of a voluntary agency should on that account be paid less generously than a teacher who placed his services at the disposal of the Government. The number of teachers would be fixed with reference to the needs of the schools and the scale should be calculated in such a way as to attract teachers with qualifications assumed by the Government to be necessary. The Government reserved the power to reduce grant or withdraw it if a teacher of desired standard had not been employed. The treatment of the staff of aided institutions on the same footing as the staff of Government Institutions would necessitate consideration of question of pension or superannuation funds, of leave, and passage money for European staff.²

In classes of schools where fees were usually charged the grant was to be based "not merely on salary expenditure but on the difference between that expenditure and the schools' fees, calculated in

1. Ibid. p.10.

2. Ibid. pp.10-11.

accordance with rates approved by the Government."¹

Recurring grants were suitably to be given towards boarding charges in residential schools where a need for such institutions had been recognised by the Government: the basis for calculation of grants being the net approved expenditure. On the question of criterion of financial support to the residential schools, the memorandum added that it was generally recognised that the important part which they played in the building up of character and in the provision of a suitable educational atmosphere gave them a special claim to financial support."²

The Memorandum did not consider it necessary to devise separate modes of calculating grants corresponding to the various grades and kinds of educational institutions - training, technical, primary, secondary. Grant for such special work as the supervision or organisation of groups of schools, or the holding of holiday classes or refresher courses was to be treated separately.

The questions of non-recurring grants towards capital expenditure on buildings and initial equipment or apparatus were considered comparatively simple and

1. Ibid. p.12.

2. loc. cit.

no comment was made on them.¹

The Board of Education in The Gambia studied the Memorandum and recommended that the education code be changed to accommodate these principles. There were other reasons too: all clamouring for a change. An Education Department had been in operation since 1930, and a full time officer was available to control and supervise education. In spite of its meetings the Board of Education had not had much opportunity of direct participation in the educational control. As the Board was at once a legislative body, an executive authority and a judiciary, it was but natural that there would be a lot of in-breeding. Some changes in its composition and function were long overdue. Advisory Boards of Education envisaged in the policy of 1925 were to include senior officials of the Medical, Agriculture and Public Works Departments together with missionaries, traders, settlers and representatives of native opinion.² Therefore spade-work for re-constitution of the Board had already been done.

The chief aim of educational policy towards the end of 1934 was still said to be "the improvement of the

1. loc.cit.

2. Education Policy in British Tropical Africa.
op.cit., pp.3-4.

standards and the quality of education in schools by the continuance of teacher training."¹ This was a wise policy: since the institution of training of teachers, marked improvements were noticed in the schools.

With regard to Protectorate work, it was felt that more could be done for the people by training the sons and relatives of chiefs than by starting many small Government Schools on various parts of the Protectorate.² This policy was not in the spirit of "Education in Africa"³ and "Education Policy in British Tropical Africa."⁴ The bulk of the population lived in the Protectorate and to deny them the advantage of education was not desirable. Although a "policy of restricted expansion of efficient schools under careful supervision" was practised in Northern Territories of

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1. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1934. op.cit., p.2.
 2. loc.cit.
 3. The Phelps-Stokes Report recommended that education in Africa should be both adequate and real, and emphasised the need to appreciate rural life in the general development of Africa. A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission. London, 1922. Chapters i and ii. See also Chapters VII and XIII.
 4. The policy stipulated that the first task of education was "to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people." p.4.

the Gold Coast and in Northern Nigeria where conditions largely similar to those obtaining in the Protectorate of The Gambia prevailed, yet it was essential to mark one great difference. Whereas in the Gold Coast and Nigeria the Missions were either forbidden from opening schools or they were restricted,¹ in The Gambia not only were they free to work but also were actively encouraged. In spite of this, the Missions had not achieved much success in the Protectorate and this fact was known to the Government. Many Governors and important visitors had been critical of the Missions. We might claim, therefore, that in the Gambia Protectorate there was a double emphasis on a "sectional" if not sectarian attitude to education: the missions were interested in religious and the Government in political converts.

The period between 1903 and 1934 was one of slow and unexciting development. Yet the Board came to realise that it was not infallible, and was ready to learn lessons from its mistakes. The Superintendents of Missions had seen the complexity of the system in which they were both masters and servants and were aware of the need for adjustment. The teachers had

1. Wise: op.cit., pp.43-45.

suffered from the harshness of 'payment by results', and were looking forward to seeing satisfactory new arrangements. The children must have wondered at the intricacies of learning from and earning for their teachers.

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND DIRECTION (II)

1935 - 1945.

By 1935 the weight of documents produced on the education of colonial peoples was heavy, but heavier still was the burden on the administrators to ensure that these documents were translated into action. Out of the three forces - educational, social, economic - at their command, it was in the field of education that "more control" could be exercised and "bolder initiatives" taken.¹ The intensive activity of the decade prior to 1935 was followed in that year in The Gambia by the passing of an "Ordinance to make better provision for the promotion of education." The title of the Ordinance of 1935 did not differ from that of 1903; many of its provisions were, however, very different.

Some of the more general features in the Ordinance of 1903 were retained; changes were made in others, particularly in the financial sphere. The Ordinance put into practice the principles set out in the

1. Basil A. Fletcher: Education and Colonial Development. London, 1936. p.3.

"Memorandum on Educational Grants-in-Aid" in 1933, referred to in Chapter III. The Board of Education continued as a chief controlling body, but changes were introduced in its composition and powers. The Board was to consist of the Superintendent, one representative from each mission, together with not less than three other members including not less than one African and one woman appointed by the Governor; the Superintendent was to be the Chairman.¹ The Board was to consider the reports on schools laid before it by the Superintendent, to recommend to the Governor any changes in the regulations, and generally to perform such duties as the Governor might prescribe or direct.

Grants-in-aid to the voluntary bodies were to be made on the recommendation of the Board, although the amount was to be determined by the Governor; if the grant had been falsely obtained, or had been misapplied, it was subject to refund.

Schools which received Government grants were to be open to inspection by the Superintendent or his representative, to visits of the Commissioner of the Province in which the schools were situated, and of any member of the Board.

1. The Education Ordinance, 1935.

The Governor-in-Council, after consultation with, or on the recommendation of the Board, was to make regulations on all aspects of education. Regulations did in fact appear at the same time as the Ordinance itself, and these further elaborated the clauses of the Ordinance.

Conditions laid down for grants are set out in Appendix C. The Regulations stipulated that every school should be classified by the Superintendent in regard to its efficiency as "A", "B", "C", or "D", and grants awarded towards the salaries of non-European staff on the basis of the classification; schools classified "A" were to be paid up to ninety per cent, "B" eighty per cent, "C" sixty per cent and "D" fifty per cent.¹

This provision was an innovation, and it laid the foundation of a new system of payment of block grants which affected the teachers as well. Provision was also made for grants to Supervisors employed by the proprietors of grant-aided schools up to the total expenditure incurred for Europeans and the total salary for non-Europeans. The system now introduced made, for the first time, a legal provision for

1. The Education Regulations, 1935.

non-European supervisors, and it also departed from the practice of fixed grant of £150 per annum each to the European Superintendents. The new arrangements were progressive in that they recognised the need to encourage local leadership, and considered actual expenditure a better criterion of assessment than fixed sums.

Rules were laid down for grants to assist building a new school or in enlarging, improving or repairing an existing school. These conditions appear in Appendix D. Some of the conditions existed before but they were now made more explicit, and a change was made in the rate of grant in the new Ordinance so that more financial aid could be given to the voluntary bodies.

Another innovation in the Ordinance provided that the Board, of which hitherto the Governor was the Chairman, was now to be under the Chairmanship of the Superintendent of Education. In status and prestige the Board, therefore, appears to have been downgraded; there could be no comparison between the high office of the Governor and a diminutive Education Department with a Superintendent as its administrator. When however, factors like availability of time to convene meetings, a general knowledge of educational theory

and practice and co-ordination of efforts between the Government and voluntary agencies are taken into consideration, there can be no doubt that the Superintendent was the better choice.

Moreover, the Board as constituted now stood in an advisory capacity to the Government. The Board, therefore, had a more decisive scope than its predecessors, particularly now that it represented more variegated interests. Its recommendations could be considered by the Government more objectively than these could have been before when the head of the Government himself played the most important part in their formulation. The newly constituted Board became an important pivot - reaching upwards to the Government and downwards to the schools. The Governor, who previously, as far as the Board was concerned, was first amongst equals, now became undisputed head.

The Ordinance was an instrument of liberation for the teachers: they were now free from the tyranny of payment by results. The era of uncertainty was over as their grades were clearly laid down and they could see exactly where they stood. Efficiency, no doubt, still remained an important criterion; and the Ordinance, in general, proved a great land-mark for teachers.

Progress in education in The Gambia was sluggish in the pre-war years, yet it was becoming clear that if Government control and direction were to be made more effective, a qualified education officer should be appointed to administer the Department. Therefore in December 1937, R.C. Allen was seconded from Nigeria for this purpose. One of his duties was to tighten up the existing organisation and bring all schools as far as possible into line with the Ordinance and its Regulations. Furthermore it was recognised that a general overhaul of the existing system was desirable and the intention was that the Superintendent should formulate a scheme for consideration by the Government in which special attention should be paid to such questions as secondary education and vocational training.¹

Allen settled down to the work in 1938, and the result was that a considerable tightening-up and re-adjustment of the existing organisation of schools took place during the year - in particular, steps were taken to improve the average attendance figures at schools and to regularise the system of fee-paying. That attendance improved from 55 per cent in 1937 to

1. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1937. Bathurst, 1938.p.5.

76 per cent in 1938 was a striking achievement by the new Superintendent.¹ In the same year, the office of 'Superintendent of Education' was re-designated as 'Director of Education', suggesting that the work in hand and work ahead called for a more elevated office, at par with some other colonies. It appeared as if the period of mere 'superintendence' was over and of real 'direction' had begun.

There was a general awakening in educational administration; the Board of Education was very active during 1938: three meetings were held and a number of schemes and resolutions were discussed, adopted, and embodied into the Education Regulations. A system of Transfer Certificates was to be introduced for the pupils seeking admission in another school after leaving their own; fees for all Bathurst Elementary Schools were to be standardised; a committee was to be formed for the purpose of studying school syllabuses and choosing suitable text-books; entrance for the local Standard VII Examination was to be restricted to those pupils who showed satisfactory records of attendance, fee-paying and conduct; each school was to include physical training in its programme; and the

1. Annual Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1938. Bathurst, 1939. p.3.

curriculum of the Teacher Training College was to be reorganised.

Regular meetings of the Board during subsequent years continued with briskness. The Board made it obligatory for anyone to obtain its prior approval before opening new schools and religious classes in the Protectorate.¹ It was clear that the Board was gradually regularising educational matters in the Protectorate also no less than the Colony.

The hopes that an Education Officer was the answer to the problems of education were not frustrated. The Director completed a Report entitled "Education in The Gambia - Present Organisation and Possible Future Development" during 1939, and copies of the Report were sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. The Director, while on leave in the United Kingdom, attended a meeting of the Sub-Committee on Education in the Colonies which was considering his Report, so that he was able to explain the document under discussion.

1. The Education (Amendment) Ordinance, 1939.
If a class for religious instruction was personally conducted by a native or a domiciled person in a village or town, no approval was required.

In the light of comments by the Advisory Committee, the Director drew up in 1941 a "Statement of Policy Regarding Education in the Gambia," which advocated shortening of the primary school course, mooted the idea of a break at 11 plus and the establishment of a secondary modern school.¹ One co-educational non-denominational school was marked as sufficient for the needs of the Colony. The Statement of Policy also outlined a system of bursaries at Achimota or Yaba for teacher training.

As a short term measure, the policy for primary education was quite meaningful, since it succeeded in gradually reducing the age limit in the schools; as a long term one it was pregnant with difficulties through the introduction of the break at 11 plus. The move behind consolidation of secondary education was a wise one, as it was to ensure efficiency at less cost. However the proposed termination of teacher training facilities within the country was a retrograde step as became evident from the development of events between

1. Government Statement of Policy Regarding Education in the Gambia. Bathurst, 1941. p.1. The terms "11+" or "secondary modern" were not specifically used. They were however implied in entrance after Standard IV by an examination to secondary schools and in inclusion of carpentry, horticulture, domestic science in the curriculum for those who remained to complete Standard VII.

1943 and 1949, discussed in Chapter IX.

Armitage School in the Protectorate, was to serve as a regional school for pupils from Native Authority Schools which were to be established at the more important townships in response to local demand, and were to teach as far as Elementary II.

The policy as a whole gave the Government a greater measure of control over education at the primary level and secondary stage, in the Colony as well as the Protectorate. Although the Missions were left as free as possible in their proselytizing work in the Protectorate, they were now tied to stricter regulations if they wanted to open a new school or convert a religious class into a school.¹ The policy was designed to save unnecessary duplication of effort in the Protectorate, with its attendant problems - inefficiency, rivalry and wastage.

One of the main concerns of the Government was to see that teachers' salaries were put on a more remunerative basis and that all teachers were placed on a uniform scale; this was to be achieved by grants to schools over and above the existing 90 per cent on

1. Ibid. pp. 6-7. Needs of the area and conformity to Native Authority Schools' pattern were to be considered.

merit - up to 100 per cent was contemplated.¹ In addition to some other progressive features of the policy, there was recognition of the fact that economic satisfaction of a teacher was indeed one of the basic requirements for efficient work.

A further useful innovation introduced during 1941 was an advance of money given by the Government to Mission Schools so that they could send to England through the Director a joint order for a large quantity of school materials. When these goods arrived they were stored by the Director and were retailed at cost price to Mission Managers as required; the advance was thus gradually repaid.²

The Government through more generous grants, by advice and through regulations, by offering facilities and by checking irregularities had come to dominate the scene by 1943. Moreover, it was also becoming the Government's concern to seek any assistance from other West African countries or from the United Kingdom which could help in the development and growth of education in The Gambia.

1. Ibid. p.4.

2. Annual Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1941. Bathurst, 1942. p.2.

It was perhaps this outward looking attitude which motivated Governor Hilary Blood in 1943 to ask the Sierra Leone Government to spare the services of Dr. A.M. McMath, Lady Education Officer, to visit Bathurst. Dr. McMath was given a formidable brief: "to investigate infant education with special reference to kindergarten work, to investigate female elementary education, and secondary education with special reference to the training of girls for Government posts, to investigate the training of female teachers with particular reference to facilities for training classes in Sierra Leone, to investigate local methods of training in domestic science, to advise as regards such short-term steps as could be taken to improve infant and female education and the training of female teachers in conditions obtaining in war time, and to advise regarding a long term programme for similar developments to be included in the Gambian post-war educational development scheme."¹

During her visit to Bathurst, Dr. McMath studied the educational position very carefully and she made important recommendations. Her principal short-term proposal was that the Government should buy all

1. Development and Welfare in the Gambia, 1943.
Bathurst, 1943. Chapter vi.

equipment, including furniture, from the Missions, since no new furniture could be made to replace the unsatisfactory pieces, and that a full-time permanent carpenter should carry out repairs. The buildings were, however, to remain the property of the Missions as they were used for Church social functions. The Government was to supply all schools with books and apparatus which was to remain the property of the Government and was to be under the care of a full-time Government store-keeper, and teachers were to requisition each term.¹

The Government was to be solely responsible for the whole of the teachers' salaries and the question of the teachers being Government servants was to be looked into. Moreover the possibility of a superannuation or similar scheme was to be investigated.²

Primary children were to be put into single-sex schools. The domestic science premises behind Dobson Street school were to be rented by the Government and all its equipment purchased, which was then to be used by girls from the two reconstituted schools.³

1. A.M. McMath: Report on Infant and Girls' Education. Bathurst, 1943. pp.4-5.

2. Ibid. pp.5-6.

3. Ibid. p.6.

Employment of a Lady Education Officer to assist the Director and to be responsible for all matters connected with Infants' and Girls' Education was recommended. Furthermore, in order to ensure harmonious running of the system a widely representative governing body was suggested to advise the Government on any problems in connection with the inter-denominational schools and to voice the feelings of the parents.¹

Regarding the staffing of the infant and primary schools, it was proposed that the Sierra Leone Government be approached for the secondment of a trained certificated experienced headmistress to take charge of the Infants' School and the Girls' Primary School, and a male teacher both to advise the headmasters of, and to supervise the work in, the three Boys' Primary Schools. The staffing position in the Roman Catholic Girls' School was considered satisfactory.²

The two Girls' High Schools were to be retained and the Government was to pay in full the salary of teachers, but primary classes attached to them were to be discontinued, and scholarships to the High Schools were to be awarded to girls at the end of Standard IV

1. Ibid. pp. 8-9.

2. Ibid. p.9.

through competition - girls from the primary section of the Convent Secondary School, if they were not regrouped as suggested in the Report, were not to be allowed to compete in the scholarship examination.

Dr. McMath suggested that girls should be sent on Government scholarships to Sierra Leone for infant and primary teacher training, and those who satisfied the Education Department in Sierra Leone at the end of a one year's course were to be paid on the same scale as those teachers with a provisional Gambia Teacher's Certificate; this was to be confirmed when the student obtained a Junior Cambridge Certificate.¹

Domestic Science teacher, Miss R. Fowlis, was considered quite capable of running the Centre with one assistant; a girl was however to be trained in Sierra Leone and she was to take Miss Fowlis's place so that the latter could undergo a course in the United Kingdom. Additions to this programme in the long-term policy, were that the Domestic Science Centre was to be attached to one of the girls' primary schools.

The Report stipulated that the first step after the war was to be the creation of new buildings by the Government, and the assumption of full control of infant

1. Ibid. p.11.

and primary schools. Ultimately the schools were to be handed over to the municipality.¹

With regard to secondary education, a Protestant and Muslim girls school was to be established by the Government, and it was to be a boarding institution. On denominational grounds, the Roman Catholics were allowed to keep a separate secondary school for their girls; the school was however expected to be staffed by qualified Roman Catholic teachers.²

The Report visualised no possibility of starting a Teacher Training College, even in the long-term, although to fill the gap an in-service course consisting of lectures in English and methods of teaching was expected to be conducted by officers of the Department. Teachers for infant, primary, secondary and domestic science were normally to be trained in other West African countries, and in the United Kingdom in some special cases.³

The McMath Report affected girls' education but as it could not be treated in isolation from education generally, R.C. Allen, the Director of Education laid

1. Ibid. p.11-12.

2. Ibid. p.14.

3. Ibid. pp. 14-15.

down a policy for boys' education. The Report is thus referred to as McMath/Allen Report. Primary boys were to be put into single-sex boys' schools, and a carpentry room was to be attached to them; the Government was to take some financial responsibility for the Methodist Boys' High School, but the block grant of £90 given to the secondary class attached to St. Augustine's School was to be discontinued, as it was not recognised as a secondary school.¹

In the long-term policy, the Methodist Boys' High School was to be replaced by a Government Protestant and Mohammedan Boys Secondary School, and the Roman Catholic Boys' Secondary School was to have parity of treatment, provided it was of the desired standard.

The McMath/Allen Report was a document of great significance, for it set in motion processes which were to give Government a large measure of control over primary education in Bathurst.

The Report, however, failed to take into account the possibility of opposition from Churches to Government attempts to deprive them of schools under their control. In their financial helplessness, Churches did abide by the Government's decision, yet

1. Ibid. pp. 16-17.

the fact remains that they have still not reconciled themselves to what they have regarded as an unpalatable decision.

Moreover, Dr. McMath seems to have exaggerated sex-differences at the primary level - perhaps because of a subjective reaction, as a result of misapplication of psychological "findings", for fear of Muslim parents, or because of a Roman Catholic bias, probably because of a combination of all these reasons.

By suggesting teacher training of the Gambians in, and staffing of their schools from, Sierra Leone, Dr. McMath ignored history: The Gambians did not like the "overlordship" of Sierra Leone in the nineteenth century itself when they were helpless; they could hardly be expected to accept the dominance in 1943, when they were trying to stand on their own feet in education.

The Secretary of State's decisions on the McMath/Allen short-term proposals were published in 1944. It was decided that the Colonial Government should assume full responsibility, financial and otherwise, and should arrange, in consultation with the denominations concerned, to take over the primary schools which thereafter were to be Government schools. The

schools were to be classified under the headings of Roman Catholic, Anglican-Methodist and Muslim respectively, though not necessarily so named and facilities for religious worship, with a conscience clause operating, were to be provided.¹

The Education Department was to delegate to a Primary Schools Management Committee its powers and duties with regard to the general management and supervision of the primary schools. Rules of management were to be laid down by the Governor after consultation with the Board of Education. Powers could be delegated to sub-committees, on which there was to be adequate representation of the religious group, the general community and the Government. Secular instruction was to be under the control of the Education Department but the Committees or Sub-Committees were to be free to suggest text-books for consideration of the Department.

Development of four separate secondary schools was not considered justified, and it was suggested that a single co-educational and inter-denominational secondary school for Bathurst was desirable.

1. Secretary of State's Decisions on McMath/Allen Proposals. Session Paper No. 9/44. Bathurst, 1944.

It was hoped that the views of the Secretary of State would, if adopted, aim at securing adequate Government control combined with local interest, stable finance, improved efficiency and improved education for the children of the three main religious groups, safeguarded by the Conscience clause.

The proposed changes were too sweeping for the Missions to accept unhesitatingly and they raised many queries and doubts during local negotiations. Dialogue was considered desirable and the Secretary of State sent out his Educational Adviser, C.W.M. Cox, to hold discussions with the Missions and others connected with education. Cox subsequently issued a statement to the effect that the Secretary of State "would not be prepared to revoke his published decisions." Moreover it was made clear that if no agreement was reached and the negotiations dragged on there was the possibility of the lapsing of the grant already sanctioned for this scheme.¹

Representatives of Churches wished their protest to be communicated to the Secretary of State as his

1. Conclusions reached subsequent to Sessional Paper No.9/44, on the Short Term Proposals for the Development of Education in Bathurst, 1945. p.3. A sum of £44,000 was already sanctioned, and revised application for £100,000 was sent in 1945.

directive for the total acceptance of the Despatch left no scope for re-opening the discussions on its principles which the Churches had desired to do. The Churches, however, agreed that in case the Secretary of State was inflexible, they would be prepared to abide by the policy.¹

Cox clarified some more points to the Missions: the distinctively religious character of the schools was to continue; in event of any dispute on a point of principle arising later on, appeal could always be made to the Secretary of State himself.²

As regards clarifying queries in respect of schools in the Kombo, he reported that the Secretary of State's intention was to consult the Board of Education as the constitutional body for considering the educational development of the Colony, before determining the policy to be followed.³

After Cox's report to the Secretary of State, a confidential document was issued in 1945 which is usually referred to as the "Cox Agreement." It contained further clarifications of doubtful points

1. Ibid. pp.1-3.

2. Ibid. p.4.

3. Ibid. p.8.

and embodied the principles agreed to between the Government and the Churches.

It was explained that the words "full responsibility...for education in Bathurst" in the Despatch were not intended to preclude the continuance, or establishment at some later date of private schools at the primary level with the approval of the Governor; nor were secondary schools or schools in the Protectorate affected by the despatch.¹ The words: "so long as they were required for use as Government schools", were designed to indicate that the buildings to be taken over would probably not be judged suitable for use as Government schools indefinitely, as long as the Churches concerned desired the buildings for other purposes. All costs of the school buildings were to be borne by the Government, but the Churches would appoint caretakers and pay their salaries. Terms and conditions on which the school buildings were to be leased were to be decided by mutual agreement.

The Cox Agreement laid down that the words "Mission School" should not appear on the schools, although the words "Government School" also need not

1. The Cox Agreement. Bathurst, 1945.

appear; a future education Code must however make it clear that they were Government schools.

The provision that the Director of Education should be consulted before arrangements for religious instruction were finalised was made to ensure proper allocation of time needed for the efficiency of the school, and indeed to draw attention of the religious authorities if the religious instruction was being overlooked or inefficiently given.

Teachers were to be Government servants, but it was to be the responsibility of Head teachers to bring to the notice of the management body or its chairman, the cases of teachers whose work and conduct warranted dismissal or removal from the school. In the appointment of a Head teacher the management bodies would be consulted, but right of veto by the religious authorities was not allowed. Teacher training was to continue outside The Gambia but Missions might be consulted on the suitability of the candidates.

It was made abundantly clear that the Government's responsibility for staff salaries in the assisted secondary schools was not to prejudice the character of the long-term re-organisation of secondary education. The assurance was however given to the Churches that the status of the secondary schools would remain as

Mission schools.

In addition to the implementation of some of the undisputed proposals of the McMath/Allen Report, the Government continued to show interest in other fields also, thereby extending as well as consolidating its control. The members of the Board of Education were supplied with copies of a "Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa," and the Secretary of State's Despatch asking for local public opinion on certain aspects of the Report.¹ The Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies was also sent to the members.² There was no direct bearing on The Gambia of these Reports but the exercise showed the Government's interest in educational developments in other countries and the result was that in 1946, the Government issued a policy on "Scholarships and Financial Assistance towards the attainment of Higher Education Qualifications."³

Furthermore the Government made use of the visit

1. Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. Cmd. 6655, London, 1945.
2. Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies. Cmd. 6647, London, 1943.
3. Scholarships and Financial Assistance towards the attainment of Higher Education Qualifications. Bathurst, 1946. The Gambians have generally continued studying at the Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone; University Colleges on the Gold Coast and in Nigeria established under (1) above were rarely used.

to The Gambia of W.E. Nicholson, Director of Education, Sierra Leone, to seek his views on education in general and Protectorate education in particular. One of the important recommendations made by Nicholson was the upgrading of Armitage School under a European Headmaster and this recommendation was approved by the Governor.

The importance of the policy that evolved between 1943 and 1946 lay in that the Government did not yield to the unreasonable pressure of the Churches, but at the same time, it could not altogether discount their views: basic principles were not compromised, yet a great deal of flexibility was allowed in practice. The result was that the "true educational interests of the children of Bathurst" were really put first.¹ It was a period of trial of strength between the Government and the Churches. The Government did not win in the same sense as the Churches did not lose, yet the former laid down a policy for intensified control and set out programmes for exercising it; the latter satisfied themselves with less power of control but greatly increased help with educational work and, though grudgingly, therefore offered their co-operation.

1. Conclusions..., op.cit., p.9.

CHAPTER V

INTENSIFIED GOVERNMENT CONTROL (I)

1946 - 1962.

Policies which had been formulated since 1943, and programmes which had been marshalled during the few years prior to 1946, were of special significance from the point of view of the Government's new initiative to intensify its control of education. The year 1946 gave legal sanction in the form of an Education Ordinance to these policies and programmes. This was framed to provide "for development and regulation of education" in The Gambia.

The Board of Education continued as the controlling authority, but its membership was increased: there were to be four ex-officio official members - the Senior Education Officer, the Senior Medical Officer, the Senior Commissioner, and the Senior Agriculture Officer; the Governor was to nominate one unofficial member of the Legislative Council, one African member who represented the Mohammedan community, and four other members of whom two were to be selected to represent the interests of female education; the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Missions were to nominate

one representative each with the approval of the Governor; the Governor, after consultation with the Chiefs' Conference, was to nominate two African members to represent the Protectorate; and finally, the Teachers' Union was to nominate one African member to represent the interests of the teachers.¹

A critical analysis of the Board, as constituted under the Ordinance of 1946, would show that education was being treated in a much wider context than hitherto. In a predominantly agricultural country, the importance of association with the Agriculture Department could not be underestimated. Although the Medical Officers of Health had maintained a long standing contact with the schools, the Medical Department had little say in the formulation of policies. It was only proper that expert medical opinion should be brought to bear on educational policy. The inclusion of the Senior Commissioner was significant in that he was the officer controlling other Commissioners. In an expanding system of education, several problems were likely to arise, for the solution of which help from the Commissioners was indispensable.

A continuity in the representation of religious

1. The Education Ordinance, 1946.

interests signified that voluntary effort was once again assured of its due say in educational matters. The Protectorate, in which there was a new upsurge of educational development, was rightly represented by Chiefs, who were, otherwise also, the respected members of the local community, and who wielded a great influence amongst their people. Long after its inception, the Teachers' Union too at last got a small say in policy matters, and thereby it established its importance as a professional body. Female education had been much neglected; therefore it was essential to provide for a representation to meet the special needs of girls and women.

The main functionary in the Board was the Senior Education Officer. It is difficult to say whether the designation "Senior Education Officer", used in the Ordinance, was a mistake, or whether it was suggestive of a future pattern, for the officer administering the Education Department prior to 1946 had been designated "Director." However, it is interesting to note the subtlety behind the mistake, if at all it was a mistake: the Ordinance came into force in January 1947, and the Director of Education, R.C. Allen, proceeded on leave in April 1947, prior to taking up an assignment in Sierra Leone. Allen's successor was designated as

"Senior Education Officer" only.

Nevertheless, the Senior Education Officer was charged with many responsibilities, and invested with a real authority. He was to keep a classified register of teachers; and he might, in his discretion, certify any person as a teacher in whichever category he considered appropriate to the qualifications of the teacher. He had the power to suspend from the register any teacher who was guilty of misconduct, and to remove from the register the name of any teacher who had been convicted of a criminal offence, or was guilty of grave or repeated misconduct. The Senior Education Officer was to keep a register of classified schools; he could also refuse registration of a school. Moreover, any application to open a new school or continuation class was to pass through him to the Governor. Yet these powers of the Senior Education Officer were not despotic: a wronged party had the right of appeal to the Governor.

The right to inspection of schools had been established in the Ordinances of 1882 and 1903, referred to in Chapter III, but, year after year, the sphere of control went on widening. The procedure laid down in the Ordinance of 1946 appears in Appendix D. It cannot be doubted that inspection was

a very effective instrument of control and that its proper exercise was conducive to efficiency.

A special feature of the Ordinance of 1946 was the provision of a Primary Schools Management Board and Committees with respect to the Local Agreement Schools. These schools were owned and maintained entirely by the Government, but were administered in accordance with the conditions agreed between the Government and the Heads of Missions. Details relating to the Board and Committees are furnished in Appendix E.

It is clear that the Government made elaborate arrangements for the administration of schools in Bathurst, yet it could not afford to neglect the Protectorate. The extension of provision there was accompanied by financial, administrative and inspectorial control. The local administration was authorised to open schools in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance, and apply its funds for the maintenance of schools - the approval of the Governor was, no doubt, essential. The Education Officer (Protectorate) was to exercise a general supervision over the Protectorate schools.

The Education Ordinance, 1946, and the Regulations made under it came into force in January 1947. It was

only right to expect some stability in the staff of the Education Department so that the documents could be implemented in their proper spirit; but the events that followed were so unusual that they nearly orphaned the infant legislation.

Mr. D.R.T. Goodwin, Protectorate Education Officer, had already left for Sierra Leone in December, 1946. Miss C. Buckley, Lady Education Officer, went on leave prior to her resignation in February 1947, and therefore the Department was left with the Director only. The Director, Mr. Allen, went on leave in April, prior to his transfer to Sierra Leone, and then the Department was administered by a headclerk until August. The depletion of staff continued: Mr. D.W. Grieve, who had replaced Mr. Goodwin, did a brief tenure of service, and then left for the Gold Coast in December, 1947.

The administrative chaos began to be resolved towards the end of 1947 with the appointment of David Lang in October 1947 as Senior Education Officer. Miss K.V. Knight arrived in February 1948, and took over the duties of the Woman Education Officer; Mr. S.I. Burke joined as the Principal of Teacher Training College in 1949; and Mr. B.A.G. Hamilton assumed the duties of the

Protectorate Education Officer.¹

The Officers of the Education Department tried to get to grips with the problems. Mr. Lang occupied himself in checking staffing, and in investigating and assessing the position of the Education Store. He made special efforts to acquaint himself with the schools: accompanied by Miss Knight, he visited schools both in the Colony and Protectorate. But the overseas leave requirements did not permit an enduring stability in the Department.

By 1951 the Government had come to appreciate the limitations of the patch-work in education, and was anxious to review education in its entirety. The Baldwin Commission was to fulfil this task. The one-man Commission was to make recommendations on the aims, scope, content and methods of education in The Gambia with special reference to the policy to be adopted to render financial assistance to Local Authorities and Missions in respect of primary and secondary education. The terms of reference of the Commission also included the investigation of and recommendations on the co-ordination of conditions of

1. Annual Reports on the Education Department for the Years 1947, 1948 and 1949. Bathurst, 1952. pp.2-3.

service of all teachers, and the establishment of a Unified Teaching Service. Finally, matters relating to the secondary education and post-school certificate courses were also to be gone into.¹

The Baldwin Report appreciated the role of the Christian Churches as agents of education, and insisted that a rewarding course was to invite them into a co-operative enterprise, rather than to relegate them to the exclusive instruction of their own members. The theme of the Report was "partnership" : neither dominance by the Churches, nor complete control by the Government was envisaged. The Report made a very objective analysis of the Cox Agreement, and drove home the point that the Churches seemed to feel that they had been deprived of their schools, whereas the Government was of the opinion that it had no real control over the schools in Bathurst because of the operation of the Management Committees. The complex nature of the Cox Agreement had given rise to misconceptions which made people concerned with education attack and counter-attack each other for a

1. T.H. Baldwin: Report of a Commission appointed to make Recommendations on the Aims, Scope, Contents and Methods of Education in the Gambia. Bathurst, 1951. p.(ii).

long time.¹

The Baldwin Report stressed the need to revive, revitalise and to run efficiently the Board and the Committees of Management. These were considered as the first instalment of a larger municipal authority in the future. It was made abundantly clear that "general good will" was essential in making the system work effectively. With regard to the Protectorate, the Report envisaged that the Divisional Councils should become Local Education Authorities and these Authorities should be responsible for the administration and financing of the schools within their areas - the actual work was to be done by representative Education Committees, and Churches were to be represented on them.²

Finally, the Report recommended that The Gambia should be brought more prominently into the West African scene and no longer regarded "as a sort of appendage to Sierra Leone." It was considered

1. Mr. G.J. Roberts (now the Assistant Director of Education in The Gambia) felt that the Government had failed to take over the schools; Mr. A.M. Gregory (then the Director of Education) clarified the position and then defended the Government. West African Journal of Education Vol.III October 1959. pp.96-98; and Vol. IV No.i June 1960. pp.84 and 86.

2. Baldwin: op.cit. pp.10-12.

reasonable to restore the title of Director to the head of the Education Department; and the Department itself was to be staffed with more officers to meet the requirements of effective administration.¹

The chief merit of the Baldwin Report lay in that it upheld the principles of the Ordinance of 1946. The Report became a document of great significance, for its 36 main recommendations were accepted by the Government - some as they were, others with slight modifications, and one after initial rejection.

The financial situation in the country did not permit the rapid implementation of the Report, which, however, provided enough background to thinking, planning and practice on all aspects of education. When Miss Freda Gwilliam, one of the Secretary of State's Advisers, reported on primary education in Bathurst in 1953, the country had some semblance of a system towards which the Baldwin Report had done a good deal of spade-work.

The Gwilliam Report of 1953 once again highlighted the disappointment of the Churches with the Education Department, because the Department had not been able to

1. Ibid. pp.35-36.

give as much continuous professional supervision as was desirable.¹ The Churches were justified in their complaints, for the turnover of staff in the Education Department since the passage of the Ordinance of 1946 had been so quick that laxity in administration was almost unavoidable, if not inevitable.

Although Miss Gwilliam's analysis was confined to a particular problem of educational administration, the fact was that inactivity, haphazardness and slackness were quite obvious in the whole system. Such a state of affairs was not at all justified when one took into consideration the inspiring documents like the Baldwin Report, the Jeffery Report and the Gwilliam Report. These Reports of the early nineteen-fifties had provided all the background needed for healthy development of education.

The period between 1953 and 1962 was one of some innovations, necessitated by political changes in The Gambia. The first Minister of Education was appointed in 1954, and he held office until December 1955; then the appointment was terminated.² It was again only in

1. Freda Gwilliam: Suggestions for an Action Programme for Primary Education in Bathurst. (Typescript). London, 1953. p.4.

2. Education Department Report 1955-1957. Bathurst, 1958. p.4.

1960 that under the new constitution a second Minister of Education was appointed with additional responsibilities for Social Welfare; simultaneously with the appointment of the Minister, a Ministry of Education and Social Welfare was also formed. Since then parties in power, and the individual Ministers, have come and gone, but the office of the Minister of Education has come to stay. The Director of Education served in the dual capacity of secretary to the Ministry and Head of the Department.¹

The Board of Education continued functioning as usual until January 1956 when the Heads of the Missions resigned from its membership. Hence no meetings were held in 1956 and 1957. In the following year the differences were resolved and the Board met again. The Board discussed a draft paper on educational policy, which was finalised at the end of 1960, and published as a Sessional Paper.²

In a way, the Sessional Paper was more of a

1. Education Department Report for the Triennium 1958-1960. Bathurst, 1961. pp.3-4. Welfare became a responsibility of the newly created Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare in May 1962, but reverted in October 1963 to the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare. Now the designation is: Ministry of Education, Social Welfare and Labour.
2. Education Policy 1961-65. Bathurst, 1961.

'programme' than a 'policy'; yet, as it covered all aspects of education, its importance could not be minimised. With regard to primary education, the policy stipulated that a six year primary course should be made progressively available to all children, and that the age of entry should be six years. New schools were to be opened, existing ones extended; and the growing demand in the Protectorate was to be met jointly by the Local Authorities and the Central Government.

It was envisaged that the expansion of post-primary education in the Colony should be limited to the addition of a fourth year to the prevailing school course, and emphasis laid on an improvement in quality and reduction of wastage amongst the pupils. In the Protectorate post-primary schools were to be developed for at least 50 per cent of primary school leavers.

As regards secondary education, the first priority was assigned to improving standards, the second to establishing Sixth-Form courses. Moreover, it was intended to upgrade the Armitage School to a full secondary course.

As far as the development of Technical and Vocational education was concerned, the policy was to

provide training in a variety of trades at the Technical School, to introduce a full science curriculum at the Gambia High School, and to re-open the Clerical School. In view of the expansion of facilities at Yundum College, the Sessional Paper proposed to limit the award of bursaries for full teacher training courses overseas.

Intensification of Government control went on with the momentum it had initially gathered in 1946. Some of the main fields in which the Government consolidated its position and extended its control were of real importance. For example, in 1955, the Government agreed to offer grants-in-aid to missionary primary schools in Kombo St. Mary's Division; the Government grant took the form of annual payments equal to the salaries of all qualified teachers.¹ The following year, the Government published a White Paper in which it accepted the Baldwin recommendation to establish an independent non-denominational, co-educational secondary school.²

Education in the Protectorate, which had been under

1. File B/121/131. 23rd November 1955. Secretary to the Minister of Education to the Chairman Kombo Rural Authority. Education Department, Bathurst.
2. Government Statement on Secondary Education. Bathurst, 1956.

the control of the Director of Education, was removed from his control, and placed under a Commission in 1956. Similarly Yundum College was also put under a Board of Governors, of which the Director was only a member. Both these arrangements lasted only a few years, control then reverted to the Department in 1957.¹ Thus the fact was established that the Government was to play a greater role in educational control and direction all over the country, and in all spheres of education. Another important step forward was taken in 1962, when the Central Government took over the buildings and running of primary schools from the District Authorities, because they were experiencing great difficulties in meeting both capital and recurrent costs.²

The extension of control had, together with other factors, necessitated the creation of the post of Senior Education Officer to assist the Director of Education with departmental duties. The Senior Education Officer was to be mainly responsible for staff

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1. Education Department Report 1955-1957.
op.cit. p.4.
 2. Education in The Gambia 1958-1967. (Typescript)
Education Department, Bathurst. p.8.

matters and examinations; and he was to act in place of the Director when the latter was absent.

By the end of 1962, the staff at the Headquarters had much increased. The Government was totally responsible for the Government schools and other institutions, financially committed to the Local Agreement Schools, and largely responsible for Mission schools. Payment of salaries to teachers, whether it was the full, direct payment or re-imburement, together with other financial obligations, called for a greater allocation of funds: in 1962 the recurrent expenditure on education stood at no less than £224,356.

CHAPTER VI

INTENSIFIED GOVERNMENT CONTROL (II)

From 1963 to the Present Day.

The Board of Education had debated the issue of a new Ordinance, and there was a general feeling that something more comprehensive, which fulfilled the needs of the times, was desirable. In 1963 an Education Act was passed "to make fresh provision for the development and regulation of Education, the Registration of Teachers, the Control of Schools, and matters incidental thereto and connected therewith."¹

The Board of Education was replaced by an Advisory Council on Education. The composition of the Council was such that it accommodated a wider variety of interests - administrative, religious, regional, professional, municipal, special - as will be seen from Appendix F. The Council was to advise the Minister of Education on questions of policy affecting education and matters of educational significance.

Regulations regarding opening and closing of schools followed the general pattern of the previous

1. The Education Act, 1963.

Ordinances, but the powers were now vested in the Minister of Education. The Director of Education retained the responsibilities for and authority on matters relating to teachers.

A novelty in the Act was the provision for establishment of Local Education Committees, but these Committees have not so far been established.

No fundamental change was effected in the provisions relating to the Local Agreement Schools, but the membership of the Primary School Management Board was to be further increased by introducing more members: four members representing religious interests (two Anglican, two Methodist) and four non-voting members representing the Gambia Teachers' Union were to be included. One member of the Union was also to be included in the Management Committee.

School Premises Regulations were more elaborately made, and the provisions were more explicitly set out than they had been in previous Regulations. As may be seen from Chapters VII and VIII, the requirements of these rules are not always met: a great deal of difference exists between theory and practice.

The first meeting of the Advisory Council on Education was held in 1965. Since then, the Council

has been taking up matters of educational interest in its various meetings. A few of the important topics discussed concerned the Unified Teaching Service, the Sleight Report, and Koranic Studies.

At one of its meetings, the Council advised that arrangements for bringing the scheme relating to the Unified Teaching Service be speeded up, and that necessary legislation should have retrospective effect from 1st October, 1965.¹

The December 1967 meeting was of great importance, because at this were discussed papers prepared by the Director of Education on the recommendations of the Sleight Report, with particular reference to Primary and Secondary education. The Council largely agreed with the modifications proposed in the papers; the dominant note in them was "consolidation" rather than "expansion."²

When the Council met in 1968, it accepted a paper on Koranic Studies in primary schools, and agreed that the Area Councils (they employ and pay the Koranic teachers) should review the qualifications and

1. Minutes of a Meeting of the Advisory Council on Education held on 15th December, 1967. Education Department, Bathurst. 1967.

2. Ibid.

competence of the Koranic teachers. The Council urged upon the Education Department the necessity to expedite production of a syllabus in Islamic Studies for use in the schools.¹

On the whole, the performance of the Council has been good, but those who had expected from it a more independent stand on, and a more profound approach to, the Sleight Report, must have been disappointed. The Council accepted the modifications of the Director as if these embodied his objective views. It should have been able to see through the general disposition of the Director against the Report which had declared his post as redundant.² Therefore, the likelihood of prejudice should not have been altogether ignored. Moreover the Director's main argument against the Sleight Report concerned its financial implications, and in this he appears to have been influenced by the school of thought which treats education as a drain on the national budget, and not as an investment. That

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1. Minutes of a Meeting of the Advisory Council on Education held on 8th February, 1968. Education Department, Bathurst, 1968.
 2. G.F. Sleight: The Development Programme in Education for The Gambia 1965-1975. Bathurst, 1965. pp. 51-52.

"the effect of education on productive capacity justifies the expenditure entailed" is being accepted even by those countries whose resources are not, in a way, better than those of The Gambia.¹

The position of the Director of Education has had its peculiarities and oddities since the formation of the Ministry of Education in 1960. As will be seen from Chapter V, the Director also held the post of Permanent Secretary to the Minister. It is difficult to say whether such an arrangement was made to ensure economies in expenditure or whether it was made in the belief that uniting the two posts in the same person would bring greater efficiency. The arrangement was, however, defective because it left little scope for checks and balances: the same person was the professional adviser to the Minister, the policy-maker and then its implementer. Lack of objectivity was its too obvious shortcoming, and then, of course, the situation was made more awkward as there were swift ministerial changes.² The joint office continued

1. Report of the Third Commonwealth Education Conference. Cmnd. 2545. London, 1964. p.9.

2. Since 1963 four persons have held the portfolio of Minister of Education.

until 1966, when a separate officer was appointed as the Permanent Secretary to the Minister.

Since July 1966 the staff in the Department has consisted of the Director of Education, the Assistant Director of Education, Education Officer (Colony), Education Officer (Protectorate), Woman Education Officer, Social Welfare Officer, Domestic Science Organiser and Secretary-Accountant. This frame-work is reasonably justified in a small country like The Gambia.

The Sleight Report of 1965 had, however, recommended the integration of Ministry and Department, and suggested that the posts of Director and Assistant Director should be abolished. It recommended that the Ministry should be under the Permanent Secretary who would be the chief executive officer and administrative head; his responsibilities would include the general organisation and control of education Headquarters; he would retain the final financial control; and lastly he would be the co-ordinator with the other Ministries and overseas bodies. The professional side of education, it was recommended, should be under the Chief Education Officer, who would be the supervisor of all professional staff, programmes and committee work.

Educational planning, scholarships and the annual report should also come in his control and direction.

Secondary and vocational education was to be in charge of Education Officers, who would look after Selective Entrance, and all West African Examinations Council examinations, relationship with Voluntary Agencies and Governing Bodies, staffing and supplies, all teacher training affairs, students, recruitment, courses and basic planning at secondary and teacher training level.

Education Officers (primary schools) should manage the affairs connected with primary schools, local and voluntary agencies, accommodation, staffing and supplies, inspection and in-service training. The Woman Education Officer was to share administration and inspection of primary schools, and she was to have a special responsibility for female pupils and teachers, and for women's education. No other change of significance was suggested.¹

Suggestions made by the Sleight Report did not envisage economies in staff at the Headquarters. However, as the recommendations were not implemented, the organisation until 1968 has remained on the lines

1. Sleight: op.cit., pp.51-53.

shown in Appendix G. The formulation of the policy is the responsibility of the Ministry; within the Ministry is the Education Department whose administrative head is responsible for the professional and advisory side of the Ministry. The Permanent Secretary, who is an Executive Officer, and on whom rests the ultimate responsibility for the implementation of the Government policy in the field of education, is the Administrative head of the Ministry. The Government policy may be applied at the direction of either Parliament or the Cabinet or by an order of the Minister of Education as appropriate.¹

The Education Department comprises a team of professional officers, headed by the Director. The Director is answerable to the Public Service Commission as well as to the Minister of Education. The Assistant Director of Education co-ordinates the work of officers who are charged with the responsibility for education at the first and second level. The Education Officer (Primary) (Administration) bears the responsibility for the administration of primary schools, whereas the

1. World Survey of Education. (Typescript).
Education Department. Bathurst, 1968. p.1.

Education Officer (Advisory) looks after the inspection side of the primary schools and the in-service training of teachers of these schools. Secondary, Technical, Vocational education and Teacher Training fall within the responsibility of the Education Officer (Secondary). Below the rank of Education Officers are three Supervising Teachers who form a link between the senior professional officers and Heads of schools as well as the teachers.¹

The present organisation of the Department does not seem to be working well, to judge from criticism from the teachers and the general public. As The Gambia receives many invitations for meetings, conferences and courses in Africa and elsewhere, some or other officer is nearly always absent from duty in the Department.

Another complaint is that there is hardly any inspection in the schools as it is understood in the United Kingdom, or even in other West African countries. Officers of the Department do visit schools occasionally, but the efficacy of such visits has been doubted by all those who are well conversant with the

1. Ibid. p.12.

dynamics of inspection. In fact, most of the inspection work is done by the supervising teachers whose qualifications, capacities, and even capabilities are rather questionable.

Still another drawback is that all the officers are stationed in Bathurst. Earlier, there had been an Education Officer particularly deputed for the Protectorate and his headquarters were usually located at Georgetown. It was easier for him to keep in touch with schools in the area, and offer them ready help and guidance. Now that educational provision is likely to be increased in the Provinces, there seems little justification in stationing all the officers in Bathurst only.

The last, but not least, defect in the staffing of the Department is indeed an accident of history. The Department is almost exclusively staffed by Aku officers. The Aku, as will be seen from Chapter II, received the benefits of western education earlier than other tribes; and as a result, they have, over the years, come to establish themselves as an educated, and thus a privileged class. This qualification, however, has now become a hindrance rather than help to them, for the Aku are regarded as usurpers by the other tribes. In this situation, the anxiety of ambitious young men

and women appears to be genuine: they can see their future bleak, as there is a very limited scope for openings in the civil service for many years to come.

The Aku thus find themselves in a predicament. At times, their weaknesses are exaggerated, their qualities underrated. The instinct of self-preservation drives them to create a hard-core of their own trusted tribesmen; for this, they are accused of nepotism. A recent challenge from their own enlightened, younger generation forces the Aku to consolidate their position; such an attitude is looked on as self-aggrandisement. In order to shield themselves against unpleasant realities, the Aku build a cocoon for isolation, and are then blamed for hauteur. This is a sociological problem of some gravity, and as it has affected the attitudes of teachers, ought not to be ignored, particularly in light of some other factors.

One major factor is indeed the poor image of the Department in the eyes of the teachers and the general public. The constant criticism of the Department in general, and the Director in particular, has gone

largely unanswered.¹ If, for one reason or other, teachers have little genuine respect for their superiors in the Department, it is doubtful whether a healthy education service can really be established.

Now that The Gambia has launched substantial, if not indeed too ambitious, programmes in educational development, it might no doubt be a wise step to review yet again the administrative arrangements for education which obtain in the country.

By the end of 1967, the Government had established its control and asserted its authority over education to a point at which the total effect fell little short of complete control. The Government's recurrent expenditure on education rose to £356,230 in 1967/68, which represented 11.4 per cent of the total recurrent expenditure. As regards provision, sixty-five primary schools out of a total of ninety-three, six junior secondary schools out of twelve, one senior secondary school out of four, the only Teacher Training College,

1. The Gambia Teachers' Union, and the local press - the Kent Street Vows, the Progressive, the Nation, the Students' Voice - are the chief critics of the Department. Time and again, the Director of Education, Mr. S.H.M. Jones, has been attacked for alleged maladministration. He has been accused of nepotism, and his Dip.Ed. was even called into question during the Gambia High School crisis in 1966!

and the only Vocational Training Centre belonged to the Government. Other institutions were substantially grant-aided.

Nevertheless, the possibilities of complete Government control are remote - at least in the near future. The Churches still wield tremendous power and influence. Their financial resources are rather modest, but mission educationists, particularly the Roman Catholic priests and nuns, possess great organisational acumen. In a healthy competition with the Government (this, in educational matters, means the Education Department), the Churches have not hesitated to assert their all round superiority.

Moreover, the Government's general tradition of tolerance leaves little scope for hardening of attitudes towards education in particular. Even the Muslim community has come to appreciate the contributions to education made by the Missions - their seriousness of purpose and their changing attitudes towards Islam. None the less, State control is bound to move still further, in that new ventures are likely to come from the Government and inevitably its financial, administrative and inspectorial position must dwarf non-governmental efforts.

Part III

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE GAMBIA.

CHAPTER VII

PRIMARY EDUCATION.

The history of education in The Gambia is largely a story of schooling at the primary level. Beyond that secondary or vocational education has grown spasmodically; and until recently there was a general dearth of provision. Primary education however has maintained some continuity since its inception in the 1820s, although individual schools have had vicissitudes.

It is difficult to conceive of a society without education, formal or informal, and education implies aims. Man has to adjust himself to his environment and in this process "sometimes our attention is directed to the activity of the educand, and sometimes the forces of environment."¹ The implication is one of emphasis rather than of differentiation. This assumption applies to The Gambia also.

Christian Missions were the first heralds of western education in The Gambia. The civilising

1. John Adams: The Evolution of Education Theory. London, 1912. p.128.

process was to be achieved by a direct teaching of the Gospel, by imparting literacy "to open the minds of primitive people,"¹ and so polishing and refining them before they could be enlightened in religious truth;² missionaries made little distinction between teaching and preaching to achieve their goal.

For a long time the Colonial Government had a policy of neutrality towards these activities, much to the disappointment of the missionaries. Thus a writer in 1912 declared that the African did not differentiate between church and state and the very fact that the Colonial Government did not expressly favour and use its influence on behalf of Christianity, but treated the Mohammedan religion with official respect, was interpreted by him as a sign that Islam was favoured: he did not understand the impartiality.³

The missionaries could not be blamed much for restricting their teaching to three R's and religious instruction, for they were influenced by the English

1. J.W.C. Dougall: Christians in the African Revolution. Edinburgh, 1962. p.11.
2. E.G.K. Hewat: Vision and Achievement. London, 1960. p.1.
3. F.D. Walker: The Call of the Dark Continent. London, 1912. pp. 321-2.

Charity Schools and perforce accepted these as models for West Africa. The difference was that in England the charity school children were mostly to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water: in West Africa they became an elite.¹ As education was confined to a smaller section of the population, it succeeded in achieving its aims in a limited sense in that till recently the elite group in West Africa generally, and in The Gambia, was Christian. This aim, however, made the Christian Missions unpopular in predominantly Muslim areas in Ghana and Nigeria, whereas in The Gambia the Protectorate Muslims maintained aloofness and there was little hostility. Since, as we have seen, the Missions, prior to 1882, were the sole educators, so they had the responsibility for setting aims and formulating programmes.

The provision of a conscience clause in 1882 made it sufficiently clear that the Missions could no longer carry out their religious aims in the grant-aided schools indiscriminately, although the value of their imperceptible influence could still not be underrated. The arrangements for the Koranic instruction in the Mohammedan School made a break-through in the aims so

1. Colin G. Wise: A History of Education in British West Africa. London, 1956. p.13.

far pursued, for it was then recognised by the Government that meeting spiritual needs of the Muslim children through the Koran was as important as of the Christian children through the Bible. The emphasis, however, shifted from religion to the three R's in all the schools.

As education spread amongst the African, the "mission-educated native"¹ acquired an ironical connotation - whether it was for his superficial identification with the western way of life, or his genuine revolt against it. After the first world war an atmosphere of humility prevailed over Europe and "grave doubts were felt as to the value of western literature, history, philosophy and politics" to the African.²

The overdue examination of education in Africa was carried out by the two Phelps-Stokes Reports, published in 1922 and 1925;³ they revealed that the educational policies of the governments and missions alike were inadequate and largely unreal so far as the

1. L.J. Lewis: Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas. London, 1954. pp.12-13.

2. Arthur Mayhew: Education in the Colonial Empire. London, 1938. pp.77-79 and 88.

3. See also Chapter XIII.

vital needs of Africans were concerned. It was realised that the real reform called for "a new synthesis of knowledge and an adaptation of education based upon the condition and needs of the society."¹ The second commission made detailed suggestions as to how education could be adapted to the needs of African Society so as to promote its development without causing its disruption.

Colonial policies were also changing. Education was "to enable the African 'to find himself' - ... to show him to the higher rungs of the ladder which lead from mere obedience, to co-operation, from servile imitation to individual initiative - ... in short 'a new way of life', with higher standards of duty and of efficiency."²

Thus again it was in 1925 that the general aims were precisely stated:-

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

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1. Education in East Africa: A Study of East, Central and South Africa by the second African Education Commission. London, 1926. p.9.
 2. F.D. Lugard: Education in Tropical Africa. The Edinburgh Review, July 1925, No.493. p.12.

of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution.¹

This policy, the result of new thinking in anthropology, sociology, psychology and pedagogy in Europe and Africa established new and challenging concepts. Africa could be a continent of "great misunderstanding," but it was no longer the "great dark continent."²

The policy document of 1925 went deeper into the question of specific aims of education and defined them as follows:-

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

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1. Education Policy in British Tropical Africa. Cmd 2374, London, 1925. p.4.
 2. Education in Africa: A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa, by the African Education Commission. London, 1922. p.1.

of advancement, through higher education, in Africa must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education.¹

This was a pyramidal approach in which the mass of the people formed the broad base and the peak was reached by both ability and facility.

By 1935, it was realised that character was "formed far less by the deliberate processes of formal education than by an unconscious give and take in the relation of the child" with the community.² Children had to be equipped to be in harmony with their environment and the community was to be educated so that it exerted healthy influences on children. A succession of the Colonial Development Acts at last reached a stage where financial assistance to "any purpose likely to promote the development of all the social services" was accepted as a matter of policy.³

Most of these aims were only pious hopes; yet some were translated gradually into action. The result

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1. Education Policy in British Tropical Africa. London, 1925. p.4.
 2. Memorandum on the Education of African Communities. Col. No.103, London, 1935. p.8.
 3. Colonial Development and Welfare Acts: Report on the administration and use of funds. Cmd 9375. London, 1955. pp.11-13.

was that some quantitative improvements had been made by the mid-twentieth century. It was considered desirable therefore, to take stock of the progress. In 1952 the Colonial Government appointed two study groups, one for East Africa and one for West Africa to undertake a comprehensive review of educational policy and practice; the West African group was headed by Dr. G.B. Jeffery, Director of the University of London Institute of Education at the time. / Subsequent to the Jeffery Report, the primary school was expected to aim at providing "a satisfying and worthwhile course" for the great majority of children whose formal schooling ended at or before the primary stage, and it also was to provide "a satisfactory course" for the few pupils who went on to secondary education.¹

The broad aims of education were defined in the following terms:

- "(i) The development of sound standards of individual conduct and behaviour.
- (ii) Some understanding of the community, of what is of value to it, and the individual's place in it.
- (iii) Some knowledge of the world beyond the immediate surroundings.

1. African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa. London, 1953. p.18.

- (iv) Permanent literacy in English and often in the vernacular as well.
- (v) The acquisition of some skill of hand and of right appreciation of the value of the work of the hands."¹

The Board of Education adopted these aims for education in The Gambia in 1954, and later on small changes were made in the curriculum.

Education in The Gambia went on, not aimlessly, but without much clarity of aims and objectives. The amount of education was so small that educationists were perhaps rightly shy of too much theorising.

In 1965 the Sleight Report criticised the content of education for its unsuitability in a rural community and recommended changes with a view to ensuring that the individual lived "effectively in his environment."² The Government has accepted the Report in principle, although its implementation is not too hopeful.

PROVISION.

Educational provision prior to 1903 has already been briefly treated in Chapter II. The position in

1. loc. cit.,

2. G.F. Sleight: The Development Programme in Education for The Gambia 1965-1975. Bathurst, 1965. pp.5-6.

the year 1903 was not too encouraging: the six grant-aided schools managed by the missions had only 1,166 children on the rolls.¹ In the same year the Mohammedan School was started for Muslim children, and was formally opened by Governor George Denton. The ceremony was of an "imposing nature" calculated to interest the Muslims in education. The school made a very promising start with 126 pupils.² The Governor impressed upon the Protectorate Chiefs the necessity of educating their children and received promises from some of them: the result was that six boys and two girls joined the school in 1904 from the Protectorate.³

There was a gradual improvement in the numbers of children in the grant-aided schools and by 1910 they had 1,256 children in Bathurst and 99 at MacCarthy Island, but after its initial success, the Mohammedan School seemed to have run into staffing difficulties and was left with 108 pupils in 1910.⁴

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1. Gambia: Report for 1903. London, 1904. p.22.
 2. Gambia Government Gazette, 29th August, 1903.
 3. F.B. Archer: The Gambia Colony and Protectorate. London, 1905. p.133; Gambia. Report for 1904. London. p.22.
The children were under the care of Ebrima Fye who was paid a maintenance grant by the Government.
 4. Gambia: Report for 1910. London, 1911. p.16.

The Wesleyan Mission started a small school at Kombo in 1907 and the school was put on the list of grant-aided schools, but its standards were so low that it was taken off the list in 1912, and closed a little later. The Roman Catholic Mission opened St. Bridget's School at MacCarthy Island.¹ The school passed through hard times and closed in 1926.

The history of provision for the two decades after 1903 was one almost of standstill. The seven schools - three run by the Methodists, two by the Catholics, one by the Anglicans, and the Mohammedan School - had in 1926 only 1,637 pupils on their rolls; obviously it was not a satisfactory state of affairs when compared to other West African countries with not too dissimilar conditions.

The educational policies of the nineteen-twenties stimulated a new interest in vernacular education in the Protectorate and the Government opened a vernacular day school at Bakau.² In a way it was both a primary school and a vernacular teacher training school. Its importance in relation to the primary education lay in

1. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the Year 1911. Bathurst, 1912. p.4.
2. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1929. Bathurst, 1930. p.7.
Also see Chapter XIII.

that it proved a source of inspiration to the Missions: the Methodist Mission opened three vernacular schools in 1930; the Anglican Mission two in 1931. The Government appreciated this new missionary enterprise; the Superintendent of Education advised the headmasters on their work and encouraged them to progress.¹

Another significant development in Protectorate education was the establishment of the Armitage Government Boarding School. The object of the school was to train the chiefs so that they became fit "to run the native administration."² The immediate success of the school was encouraging but success was, however, short lived: in 1928 it had 95 boarders and 22 day boys; in 1932 there were only 43 boys - the decline was attributed to non-payment of fees and the resultant sending the defaulters home.³ The downward trend continued, and in 1935 it had barely 36 pupils.

A missionary survey in 1931 found the Jolas

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1. Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gambia, 1931. London, 1932. p.20.
 2. Lord Hailey: An African Survey. London, Revised 1956. p.1187.
 3. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1932. Bathurst, 1933. p.19.

'unresponsive', the Mandingo 'impenetrable' and the Aku 'unpromising'.¹ It is not therefore surprising that advance, if advance it could at all be called, moved at a snail's pace. In 1935 there were only eight schools with 1,350 boys and 602 girls on the rolls,² and no significant development was to take place for another decade.

New ventures of the Missions were small, irregular and largely inefficient. They, however, showed the interest Missions had in extending education into the hinterland. The Roman Catholic Mission opened a school at Mbollet in 1931; one each at Basse and Bwiam in 1936.³ These were small un-assisted one-teacher schools in which about half the school periods were devoted to book work and the rest of the time was spent in gardening and agriculture. Similar small schools of the Methodists and Anglicans show a sporadic appearance, too often followed by a rapid eclipse. By 1937 there was only one Anglican School called St. Cuthbert's

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1. J.J. Cooksey and Alexander McLeish: Religion and Civilisation in West Africa. London, 1931. p.93.
 2. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1935. Bathurst, 1936. p.11.
 3. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1936. Bathurst, 1937. p.9.

at Basse, in which instruction was given in three R's and the vernacular. As the parents were not keen on sending children to it, the proprietor arranged the schooling in such a way that it did not interfere with their home occupations. Continuity and flexibility bore fruit and as a result some full-time children also joined. They were taught in Fula in the beginning and in English later.¹ Although in 1940 this school had 23 boys and 5 girls on the roll, the following year it closed down, so unpredictable was the state of affairs. Nevertheless, the Anglican Mission did not seem to be discouraged, for in 1942 it opened a residential school at Kristi Kunda, in the Upper River Division with nine pupils.² The school was to be developed into a secondary school where the Anglican Church leaders and workers were also to be trained.³ The assisted Methodist school at Georgetown and un-assisted at Sere Jobe'Kunda were born, had a short lease of life and then died in 1939. The irony of the situation was that

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1. The Annual Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1939. Bathurst, 1940. pp.7-8.
 2. The Annual Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1942. Bathurst, 1943. p.6.
 3. John Laughton: Gambia - Country, People and Church...London, 1949. pp.42-43.

there was little local demand for re-opening them.¹ The position of the Roman Catholic Mission was not much different either: in 1941 there was only one Catholic school surviving at Basse out of the many new ones started by the mission. The Catholic school had, however, come to stay and when its site was changed to Mansajang at the end of 1942, was named St. George's School. The mission started another school at Fula Bantang in 1943 and generally modelled it on similar lines to that of St. George's.

A significant chain of events started by the McMath/Allen Report of 1943 on re-organisation, necessitated a Despatch from the Secretary of State advising the Government to assume full responsibility for Primary Education in Bathurst and led to the Cox Agreement in 1945 - a ripple on an otherwise stagnant pool.

Three schools for infants were newly opened by the Government. Denominational allocation was such that Albion School was chiefly for Infants of the Anglo-Methodist Group; St. John's School chiefly for the Roman Catholic Group; and Leman Street School for

1. The Annual Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1941. Bathurst, 1942. p.5.

Muslim Infants.¹

No new school was opened for Primary children; they were, however, re-grouped in the three existing schools. The Mohammedan School was mostly for Muslim boys; St. Augustine's Primary School catered chiefly for boys of the Roman Catholic group; and St. Mary's Primary School accommodated boys of the Anglican-Methodist group. The Convent Primary School was chiefly for Catholic girls, and the Methodist Girls Primary School under the name of Wesley School, chiefly for the Anglican-Methodist group. In all the Christian Infants and Primary schools, there were Muslim children also.²

The Government Statement of Policy Regarding Education in the Gambia of 1941, and the Education Ordinance of 1946 had made legal provisions for the opening of Local Administration Schools. This was partly due to the interest in education taken by Chiefs and other enlightened people and partly due to the Government's policy of developing the Protectorate. Private schools

1. The Annual Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1945. Bathurst, 1946. p.4.

2. Ibid. pp.4-5.

running poorly were taken over by the District Authorities and new schools were also opened. In 1947, there were altogether 12 schools in the Protectorate; after two years, the number rose to 19 - twelve were District Authority, one was Government, five were Mission schools, and a school at Georgetown was run on a tripartite basis (Methodist, District Authority, Government).¹ Altogether the Protectorate schools had 758 children in them.

Towards the mid-twentieth century, there were signs of progress. About 66 per cent of the Bathurst children of school age were attending school; in the Colony and Protectorate progress in terms of per centage was not very satisfactory, but a push towards literacy was a healthy sign, especially with so much local initiative.

The Baldwin Report of 1951 recommended the building of one or two schools in Bathurst to relieve congestion in St. Mary's and the Mohammedan Schools, and suggested that second sessions could be held as an interim measure. Stimulation to open more schools also came from the Jeffery Report in 1953 and the Gwilliam Report in 1953. The result was that by 1957 there were 11

1. Annual Reports on the Education Department for the Years 1947, 1948, 1949. Bathurst, 1952. pp. 12-13.

Government schools in Bathurst, three in Kombo St.Mary Division (2 government and one Roman Catholic) and 31 Primary schools in the Protectorate; in the same year there were 5,893 children in all the schools in The Gambia. Schools in Bathurst catered for about 60 per cent of the estimated school age, in Kombo St.Mary Division 50 per cent, and in the Protectorate 3 per cent.¹ Results of further expansion were quite evident: in 1960 there were 12 Government schools, 28 District Authority schools, 9 aided schools and 7 unaided, and there were altogether 7,047 pupils on the rolls.²

Since 1960 the progress has been rapid. So many factors - economic, social, political - operate behind the accelerated growth: the proportion of the budget devoted to education has been steadily increasing; in a competitive society, the parents of the Protectorate children have seen the economic advantages of education; and the Chiefs' conferences have been insistently demanding more educational provision. Moreover, with

1. Education Department Report 1955-57.
Bathurst, 1958. pp.6-8.

2. Education Department Report for the Triennium 1958-1960. Bathurst, 1961. p.17.

the advent of independence new horizons of thinking have been opened and there has been more demand for educated Gambians to fill positions at all levels.

The Sleight Report recommended that the target for enrolment be 19,000 in 1970 and 30,000 in 1975; that Bathurst should attain universal primary education by 1970, and that by the same year about 40 per cent of the provincial children should be at school.¹ The Report provided much food for thought, a practical basis for planning and suggestions for implementation. During 1967/68 eight schools were started in the Provinces - 5 by the Government, 3 by the Missions.² In 1967 there were 93 primary schools with 15,386 pupils on their rolls.³ Nevertheless Government's policy of consolidation seems to be falling short of the targets set out in the Sleight Report.

BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT.

Early mission schools were generally run in the basement of a church, or a mission-house, but when separate provision was made for the school-house, a

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1. Sleight: The Development Programme. op.cit., pp. 1-18.
 2. Education Department Annual Summary and Statistics 1967/68. Bathurst, 1967.
 3. Ibid., Table 4.

one-room school came into vogue, and continued for a long time. The one-room school sufficed the needs of the small number of pupils who, usually, squatted on the floor, and used their knees for desks. Moreover, availability of only one teacher in most cases ruled out the possibilities of separate class rooms. This was, in a way, not peculiar to The Gambia: many other countries had passed through such a stage of development.

The Education Ordinances 1882 and 1903 made provisions for grants towards the building and repairing of school houses, and for grants awardable on the basis of general good condition of the school house - space, cleanliness and ventilation were taken into account.

The reports by the Inspector of Schools generally spoke well of the school houses; adverse comments were made occasionally on overcrowding but rarely on other aspects of physical facilities. In fact, there were hardly any objective criteria of judgement: much depended on the impression carried by the Inspector personally in a limited time during his visit.

Nevertheless, good school buildings and adequate equipment gave additional incentive to the parents and

their children. When a new building was put up for St. Mary's school in 1913 the number of pupils rose from 88 to 218 within a year.¹ By 1951 the same school was described as 'dungeon-like',² times and standards having so changed.

By and by, schools became furnished with desks and benches and eventually blackboards and maps were also provided. Partition walls were put up to separate the classes.³ Economic strain during the second world war proved a big handicap to schools, but after the war the position was slightly eased, and equipment could be ordered from the United Kingdom.

The Education Ordinance of 1946 required that all school buildings should satisfy the standards of the Senior Education Officer, Director of Public Utilities and the Medical Officer of Health. Standards were set for space, seating, lighting and ventilation, cleanliness, latrines, compounds, water, playgrounds. There were, however, very few schools - Government or

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1. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools in the Colony of the Gambia for the Year 1914. Bathurst, 1915. p.8.
 2. T.H. Baldwin: Report of a Commission appointed to make Recommendations on the Aims, Scope, Contents and Methods of Education in the Gambia. Bathurst, 1951. p.16.
 3. Annual Report of the Director of Education, 1938. Bathurst, 1939. p.13.

voluntary - that came up to the required standards.

The congestion in Bathurst called for extensive rebuilding, but little large-scale building work was undertaken: only two new schools - MaIfa School and Crab Island School - were built by 1955. Their buildings were, no doubt, designed to suit the climatic conditions, but most of the remaining schools were either in unsuitable buildings or were "grossly overcrowded." ¹ By 1963, although the worst cases of overcrowding had been eased, there were still several schools which met in improvised buildings, "quite unsuited to their purpose." ²

Village schools in the Protectorate were generally satisfactory: they had ample accommodation and equipment and were weather-proof. In 1958 a standard two-classroom plan was adopted and has since proved very satisfactory. ³

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1. Education Department Report 1955-1957. Bathurst, 1958. p.12. Of a total of 104 primary classes in 1957, 18 could not be housed at all in the morning sessions and were obliged to meet in the afternoons and it was estimated that 20 classrooms were necessary to alleviate overcrowding.
 2. Report of the Education Department for the Triennium 1961-1963. Bathurst, 1964. p.11.
 3. Education Department Report for the Triennium 1958-1960. Bathurst, 1961. p.11. Each room measured 600 sq.ft. and was adequate for 40 pupils; a teacher's office and a store were incorporated.

In the beginning the provincial school buildings would consist of mud block walls with a thatch or corrugated roof. The Community Development Scheme undertook and supervised the work. When a school had been established for one or two years and had attracted a regular annual enrolment, buildings were erected in permanent materials. These buildings were financed from a Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme and were erected by Development Officers working under the Ministry of Local Government.¹

The School Premises Regulation made under the Education Act of 1963 restated, elaborated and freshly introduced regulations relating to the facilities and conveniences in the schools. These requirements are hardly met even now. They, however, serve some purpose in that law can be resorted to if conditions are found to be deteriorating. |

The plans for Government schools are prepared by the Ministry of Works and Communications according to the Education Department specification. In Bathurst and Kombo St. Mary, the approved plans are executed by

1. Report of the Education Department for the Triennium 1961-1963. Bathurst, 1964. p.11. This arrangement works well in an atmosphere of unpredictability in the Provinces. A school might make a fine start and then peter out for one reason or other.

the Public Works Department, using imported material. The Sleight Report considered the arrangements too expensive in event of the envisaged programme for expansion, and recommended curtailing the costs by using local material. A separate school building unit under the Ministry of Works was also recommended,¹ but the recommendation has not been implemented.² This, of course, is just one fault of the educational conservatism in The Gambia: many other progressive features of the Report were either not accepted, or if they were, have been put into cold storage. The same Report recommended that "24 classrooms be built in Bathurst and 180 in the Provinces during the period 1965-70."³ The rate of expansion does not indicate that these targets will be even modestly reached.

Wide diversities are found in school buildings, both in Bathurst and the Provinces. There are schools like Windley, Campama and Malfa with modern-designed buildings, bright and cheerful; there are schools like

1. Sleight: op.cit., p.10.
2. World Survey of Education. (Typescript).
Education Department. Bathurst, 1968. p.14.
3. Sleight: op.cit., p.17.

St. Augustine's and St. Mary's with old buildings, drab and dreary, and schools like Lemau Street School with ramshackle arrangements. In the provinces and Kombo St. Mary too the pattern remains the same as in Bathurst: there are schools like D'mban, Serekunda and Bakau - airy, well ventilated and in spacious surroundings; there are schools like Jambur - inferior even to the poorest native hut. The same diversities are noticeable in furniture and other equipment also: some schools use imported furniture; others have only locally-hewn logs of wood straightened to be used as benches, sometimes propped on stones. A few schools have modern equipment as aid to teaching; others largely rely on chalk and talk, sometimes there is no chalk even. Some schools are self-contained for conveniences; others have none. Many schools have insufficient books; others are well-supplied, and even have small school libraries. In these diversities there is not much to choose between a grant-aided Mission School and a Government School. Theoretically a Government School should be a model but they certainly do not all appear to be of that standard.

THE CHILDREN AND THEIR CURRICULUM.

Fundamental principles of child growth and development are not vastly different in The Gambia, nor could there be a marked difference in the processes of learning. Hereditary and environmental factors affect the learner in The Gambia as elsewhere.¹

The Education Ordinances of 1882 and 1903 had set out the curriculum. Standards of examination were set. The primary school was divided into a sub-standard and standards I to VII. Subjects in different standards were carefully laid down and directions were given on what was to be covered within a particular standard. Children were examined at the Annual General Examination, although for a short time a Supplementary Examination up to Standard IV was also introduced to relieve the congestion. The Inspector of Schools conducted the examinations which dominated all other educationally desirable objectives.

Modern advances in learning theory cause one to wonder that not very long ago such educationally unsound practices were prevalent. Certainly in The Gambia unsound practices were abandoned much later than in Britain, but there were reasons typical to The Gambia

1. See also Chapter XIII.

which necessitated the continuity of outmoded practices: the Inspector of Schools in The Gambia was not an educationist till 1937. The system under which the work was done, first as part-time by the Attorney General and the Police Magistrate, and later on full time but by an administrative officer, would not have been possible had there been no clear definition of the curriculum which ensured clarity to the examiner, and as a result helped him to set norms of judgement and assessment within the limited time at his disposal.

Neither, of course, could the semi-literate and unqualified teachers, most of whom stayed in teaching only to wait for an opening in some other position, have done as well if curricula were not laid down. The reports of the Inspectors consistently attacked the bad methods employed by the teachers resulting in the low achievement of the children. Moreover, what was questioned was not so much the content of the curriculum as the effects of it on the attitudes of children. They were blamed unnecessarily for preferring a white-collar job to a technical or teaching job. There was hardly any provision in the curriculum to prepare children to accept manual work as honourable, and financial reward in teaching was so low that it had little prestige-value.

Some of the Inspectors did, however, attempt to shift the interest from the subject to the child. Although their opinions about the children were unscientific generalisations yet they do give some insight into children seen through the eyes of the Inspector. Children were praised for their general intelligence; the Joloff children were particularly commended upon for their sharp intelligence.¹ Children's difficulties over the mastering of English language were appreciated.

With small alterations here and there, the approach remained fundamentally subject centred and examination directed: children formed only a medium and not the end in the process. Although the Education Ordinance of 1935 put an end to payment by results, it did not effect much change in the system as a whole.

Some relaxation was, however, evident. Appendix H gives Schedules A and B of the Education Regulations, 1935, which reorganised the primary children into (a) Infant Schools or Departments - classes (I-III) and

1. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools of the Gambia for the Year 1913. Bathurst, 1914. p.3.

(b) Elementary Schools or Departments - Standards (I-VII). Subjects were not defined standard-wise; in turn fields to be covered over the periods were broadly stated.¹ The only external examination to be sat was the Standard VII Examination. Certain measure of flexibility was, therefore, allowed. One significant change was the recognition of vernacular as the medium of instruction where its use was to "aid in the thorough assimilation of the instruction given."²

The structure was further changed in 1941, and thereafter the course was to be quickened and shortened so that children passed through at the following ages:-

Infant classes I to II	5+ to 7+
Standards I to IV	7+ to 11+
Standards V to VII	12+ to 15+

Hence it was necessary to reduce by stages from eighteen to fifteen the age limit at which the pupils were required to finish primary education. The transfer of promising elementary school pupils to secondary education at a stage not later than Standard IV was to be encouraged through an entrance

1. The Education Regulations, 1935.
2. Ibid.

examination.¹ This was the first attempt towards the break at 11+, not finally introduced into The Gambia until 1958, and systematically followed until 1963.

A definitely practical bias was to be given to work in Standards V to VII including activities like carpentry, horticulture and domestic science.² The eventual aim was to be the completion of the course in six years. If Standards V to VII were to be abolished, a small higher elementary school with a practical bias for those who had completed elementary education at Standard IV and were not fitted for secondary education, was to be established.

The Native Authority one-teacher schools in the Protectorate taught as far as Elementary II, and a large part of their curriculum was devoted to farming, gardening, handwork and other practical activities including community work. The Armitage School supplied teachers for these schools.³ Theoretically the policy was to equip children in the Protectorate with skills which would improve their primitive methods of cultivation and crafts. The principle, that education

1. Government Statement of Policy Regarding Education in the Gambia. Bathurst, 1941. p.1.

2. loc.cit.,

3. Ibid., pp.8-9.

should begin in the vernacular of the child but English should be essentially taught, was kept in view.¹

After the Education Ordinance 1946 an important change emerged: the curriculum for those children who could not enter a secondary school after completing Standard IV, but could continue till Standard VII, was given a more practical bias both for boys and girls.² Latent in these arrangements was the idea of the secondary "modern" schools.

A syllabus prepared in 1946 and followed in Bathurst and the Colony ever since was seen to be inadequate by 1949 owing to the "more plentiful supply of modern text-books," and need was felt to revise it; whereas in schools in the Protectorate syllabus drawn up in 1949 by D.W. Grieve, the Protectorate Education Officer, was followed for a long time.³

The Baldwin Report recommended that the junior primary course in the Protectorate be shortened from six years to four by the omission of infant classes and the enrolment of pupils at a minimum age of seven or

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1. Languages in African School Education. Africa No.1170. London, 1943. p.1.
 2. The Education Ordinance, 1946 and the Education Regulations, 1946.
 3. Annual Reports on the Education Department for the Years 1947, 1948 and 1949. Bathurst, 1952. p.11.

eight. The content of this basic course was to be closely related to the local life and economy. Recommended changes had hardly been introduced in the Protectorate, when they came under sharp criticism in "African Education." The four-year course in the Gambian Protectorate was considered an inadequate preparation for secondary education. Intermediate classes were considered necessary to bridge the gap between the end of the four-year primary course and the beginning of the normal secondary course:¹ this for the first time envisaged a closer integration of Colony and Protectorate in educational theory and practice.

The term "Standard" was to be discontinued as it was based on the assumption that the function of the primary school was to insist on a certain definite "corpus of factual knowledge" divided into smaller units and expected to be inserted and then assimilated by children without regard for their individual differences. Emphasis was to be laid on the use of the three R's in a wide range of children's activities. A drastic pruning of the subjects was considered desirable because the African child was expected "to

1. African Education: op.cit., p.19.

cover more ground in less time than his English cousin" - a practice educationally not justifiable.¹

The importance of "African Education" lay in its stimulation to thinking about the learner and his needs as well as "subjects." The Gambia remained largely tied to the routine of the 1946 curriculum although the Report was accepted in principle.

In the District Authority Schools the curriculum, in addition to basic subjects, included Koranic instruction and school gardening. Basic instruction was in Mandinka or Woloff, but English was introduced at an early stage.²

The Colony area had developed a pattern of ten years' schooling by 1960 so that children entered the Infants' school or Department at 5-6 years of age usually for three years, then proceeded to Standard I in a primary school usually in a different establishment, and after four years in a primary school, at Standard VI, sought entry to a secondary school, either by means of a Government scholarship or by means of the school entrance examination. Those who failed to gain admission to the secondary school either remained in

1. Ibid., pp.19-20.

2. Education Department Report, 1955-1957.
op.cit., p.8.

their own school for a further three years until they reached Standard VII, when they took the Government Primary School Leaving Examination, or transferred to Crab Island School.¹

In the Protectorate two different practices prevailed: the Mission schools followed the Colony pattern, but the District Authority Schools pursued a six-year primary course, starting at the age of 6 years. This was a break from the system introduced as far back as 1946. The Protectorate pupils had a double advantage: they were eligible for entrance to Bathurst secondary schools in the same way as Colony pupils, as well as to Armitage School which had developed into a post-primary school.² In spite of this liberal policy there were only a few entrants to the secondary schools in Bathurst because of the weaker foundations of their education, the lack of boarding facilities, and the poverty of many parents in the Protectorate.

After 1961 the term "Primary School" in the Colony and the Protectorate was applied only to pre-secondary classes i.e. to the basic school course (including

1. Education Department Report, 1958-1960.
op.cit., pp.2-3.

2. Ibid., p.3.

infants classes) from first entry to school to the age at which selection for secondary school was made. A six year primary course was provided for all pupils, and they were not admitted until they had reached their sixth birthday.¹

This was the first time that a statutory limit was set on age. In spite of difficulties over registration of children and parents' uncertainty of the exact day or even month of birth of their children, this requirement is now accepted and enforced.

The Education Act and Education Regulations, 1963, defined the minimum subjects of instruction for primary schools, but most schools had no syllabuses. The Sleight Report had emphasised the importance of syllabuses for "young teachers in a developing system" which of necessity lacked "the traditional safeguards" available in well established schools.² It was, however, only in 1968 that lecturers at Yundum College turned out syllabuses in English, Maths, Physical Education, and these were made available to schools. Work on other syllabuses was in progress.

1. Education Policy 1961-65. Bathurst, 1961. pp.1-2.

2. Sleight: op.cit., p.4.

As there are a limited number of places in the Secondary Grammar Schools, many children do not get admission. In 1967 only 25.3 per cent were admitted.¹ The Common Entrance Examination which streams children at 11+, has, therefore, been agitating the mind of the public and the task of considering it was bound to fall on the Advisory Council on Education. The Council agreed that a working party nominated by the Director of Education be constituted to consider the whole question of limiting the age of candidates for this examination as well as for admission to Secondary Schools; and to explore the possibility of introducing a second examination to serve as a Primary School leaving examination.²

Visitors to primary schools in The Gambia may not be impressed by the buildings, or equipment, or the staff, but the Gambian child attracts immediate notice. Whether in a school uniform or in some makeshift attire, in Bathurst or small village, Christian or Muslim, cheerfulness is his outstanding quality. Discipline in the Gambian schools is still "traditional," yet

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1. Education Department Annual Summary, 1967/68. op.cit., Table 16D.
 2. Minutes of a Meeting of the Advisory Council on Education, 8th February, 1968. Item 8.

children seem to make good use of the limitations inherent in the rigid system. The extended family system offers security to the children, and though it would be wrong to say that they have no emotional problems, they generally conform to social norms. If there are no schools for abnormal children neither would there seem to be a great need for them.

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION AT THE SECONDARY LEVEL.

Education at the secondary level in The Gambia got off to a much later start than at the primary; when it did so, it was to face physical, administrative and financial difficulties and the result was that it developed slowly - indeed, haphazardly, until recent times. From the very beginning, the country has largely modelled its secondary education on the United Kingdom; therefore aims and objectives have also been formulated after the British pattern.

A well-reasoned definition of secondary education in England was given in 1895 by the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, which described it as "the education of the boy or girl not simply as a human being" who needed to be instructed in "the mere rudiments of knowledge," but as a "process of intellectual training and personal discipline conducted with special regard to the profession or trade to be followed."¹ The Methodist Mission in the year 1904 described the object of the Boys' High School as to "give advanced English

1. Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, 1895. London, 1895. Vol.I. pp.135-136.

education; "¹the meaning of this could only be understood in light of the above definition.

Over the years, definitions of secondary schools, if not secondary education, both in the United Kingdom, and The Gambia, have been mainly laying stress on the age of the pupils. The curriculum has been examination-directed: sometimes as a finishing course; but mostly as a preparation for still higher education.

Nevertheless, there are some well-marked differences between the British and Gambian schools. For example, the Grammar Schools in England have remained largely selective until recent times, and have mainly catered for aristocratic and professional classes; in The Gambia, no such classes have ever emerged: the social stratification is based on tribe or religion, but not on birth or economic position. In fact, the Aku, who were the main entrants to the Methodist Boys' High School, belonged to a poor class of the Liberated African; other pupils were in no way better off, as will be seen from Chapter II. By and by when more secondary schools were established, pupils from other tribes also started to participate - the Woloff in particular enrolled themselves at the Roman Catholic

1. Blue Book: Gambia, 1904. Bathurst, 1904. p.64.

schools in large numbers. It is, however, only within the last decade that pupils from all parts of the country and from all tribes have started climbing to the secondary schools. The only school, which could be regarded as established for a particular class, was the Armitage School at Georgetown: it catered for the needs of the children of the Chiefs and of their relatives in the Protectorate. This aspect of the School has now come to an end, and it is open for pupils of all sections of society.

For a long time the psychological implications of adolescence, which are perhaps studied rather too keenly these days, did not bother educators in The Gambia. In fact, prior to 1958 when the break at 11+ was introduced, there had never been any age-restriction for entry into schools - the early missionaries must have been quite happy with mature pupils: they could be trained as native agents to hold positions of responsibility, for which, perhaps, mere boys were not considered suitable.

One important point in the intellectual aspect of secondary education has been the richness of the curriculum which, because it has been tied to the hard requirements of overseas examinations, has called for pupils of high calibre. As will be seen later in this

Chapter, performance has been generally low. Schools were not able to attract the best as some parents sent their children to Sierra Leone. In this respect the main consideration has not always been the financial capability: merits of the children too have played an important part. Therefore Gambian schools, until recent times, had largely enrolled mediocre pupils, and this situation might have been further accentuated by the denominational character of the institutions - possibilities of religious as against academic considerations could not be completely ruled out.

Of late, a great change has taken place in the aspirations of secondary pupils. The security of the unsophisticated system of tribes does not, all the time, satisfy young persons. Moreover, competition for suitable employment based on good qualifications is becoming keen. The wind of change in Africa has had its effect on the Gambian pupils also. They are therefore keen on catching up with the advancement in the world. This attitude is indeed deserving of encouragement.

PROVISION.

The Methodist Boys' High School was established in 1875, but it had little to be proud of even in

1903; there were only 19 boys on its roll.¹ The lofty aim of being self-supporting, had led the school into a financial strait jacket time and again; moreover, its staffing position had remained so precarious that its very existence had been threatened with extinction.

The Government had made legal provisions for secondary schools in the Ordinance of 1903, but had established none; nor had it substantially aided the Boys' High School so as to help its development. There was, of course, another factor too which militated against secondary education in general: avenues of employment were limited to the Government and the mercantile firms, and these employers were generally satisfied with the good products of the elementary schools. Such of the few openings as called for better educated candidates were filled by those educated in Sierra Leone, mostly the Aku. The position was really awkward in that, on the one hand, the High School was starved of better entrants, on the other, the posts were occupied by those who were not really suitable for them, but who, all the same, blocked the way for better candidates.

A study of the Wesleyan Mission Reports for the

1. Gambia: Report for 1903. London, 1904. p.23.

first quarter of the twentieth century reveals the robust optimism of the missionary educators. Success of the High School in a particular year was jubilantly recorded, whereas a setback in another year was accepted with a typical religious serenity.¹

For about two decades after 1903, the numbers on the roll of the Methodist Boys' High School fluctuated between 26 and 33. During this period, however, one noteworthy feature of the school had emerged, and that was its religious composition: the school had Methodist, Anglican and Muslim boys, but there were no Roman Catholic pupils. This development was an important indication of the possible associations in the future - Protestant and Muslim co-operation looked feasible, but that of the Roman Catholic was doubtful. This was proved by the events of the nineteen-fifties, as will be seen later in the chapter.

With regard to secondary education for girls, the Wesleyan Mission had been keen on starting a school since the eighteen-eighties, but it was only in 1915 that a Girls' High School was started by Mrs. Toye, wife of the Rev. P.S. Toye of the Wesleyan Mission.

1. Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society: 96th Report, 1910. p.173, and 99th Report, 1913. p.162.

The school, however, had a very brief life-span and closed in 1917; it was not until 1923 that a fresh start was made by the Wesleyans to revive the school. In the meantime the Roman Catholic Mission, which had been consolidating its educational position, had started a secondary class for girls at St. Joseph's Convent, and with redoubled efforts, the Roman Catholic Mission had, by 1930, caught up with the Wesleyan Mission, because the Catholics had also opened St. Augustine's Secondary School for boys, and now had two secondary schools.¹

The four schools did not have a sufficient number of pupils at them to justify their separate existence, yet the Government fulfilled its obligations, recognised in the Ordinance of 1935, and paid grants to the schools: in 1939 the schools received altogether a sum of £555 as grant.²

The Secondary Schools still could not develop at a faster rate since they mostly relied on fees which many parents found difficult to provide and, as a consequence, pupils were sent down. Grants were also

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1. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1930. Bathurst, 1931. p.4.
 2. Annual Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1939. Bathurst, 1940. p.3.

not so liberal as to augment substantially the meagre resources of the missions. Moreover, schools were rarely able to attract talented teachers, and whenever they did so, could not retain them long enough for high standards of work to be established. Above all, the missions by duplicating provision, created problems for themselves as well as for the Government; some of these problems - financial, physical, administrative - have not been solved even today.

Theoretically, the Government continued showing some interest in secondary education, and in 1941 even postulated the establishment of a single co-educational secondary school receiving pupils of all denominations, but no immediate steps were taken to give effect to this policy.¹ The only redeeming factor in the Government's luke-warm policy on secondary education was the small grants it had been giving to the mission schools. The Second World War put a tremendous strain on financial resources, and little was therefore done in the educational field during the war years.

A new development in secondary education after the war was the introduction in 1947 of a science class,

1. Government Statement of Policy Regarding Education in the Gambia. Bathurst, 1941. p.2.

initially run in a building rented from the Methodist Mission in Bathurst. The Centre, which later was called the Bathurst School of Science, was administered by a Board of Management on which all the three missions and the Government had equal representation. In the beginning the Government voted a grant of £1,100 for capital expenditure and agreed to a grant for recurrent expenditure on staff salaries,¹ but ultimately all the expenses were met by the Government. The School served the four secondary schools and also the junior staff of the Medical Department. The curriculum could not be enriched with more science subjects, because the School had staffing, administrative and physical difficulties. In spite of these difficulties, the School maintained its continuity and was amalgamated with the newly created Gambia High School in 1958, as will be seen from the following paragraph.

After mid-century some more reports on education in general, as well as in The Gambia, appeared: two of them - the Baldwin Report of 1951 and the Jeffery Report of 1953 - again focussed attention on the theme of wastefulness of the four secondary schools in Bathurst.

1. Annual Report on the Gambia, 1948. London, 1949.
p.18.

The Baldwin Report strongly recommended that one independent, co-educational secondary school for The Gambia should be established as soon as possible.¹ The recommendation was first negatived by the Legislative Council, but was later accepted. However, the institution - the Gambia High School - that came into being included only the two Methodist schools and the School of Science, but not the two Roman Catholic schools, because the Catholic Mission opted out of the amalgamation scheme.² The Jeffery Report emphasised that secondary education "should be highly selective and restricted to a small minority of the children;"³ the Report, therefore, went against any major thrust forward in secondary education, although its direct impact on the country was negligible.

Secondary schools carried on making some progress: more pupils were entering them than before as the provision of elementary education was also increasing, and as a result, there were more children to feed the

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1. T.H. Baldwin: Report of a Commission appointed to make Recommendation on the Aims, Scope, Contents and Methods of Education in the Gambia. Bathurst, 1951. pp.20-24.
 2. The Gambia High School Ordinance, 1958, provided for the establishment of the Gambia High School.
 3. African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa. London, 1953. p.26.

secondary schools. Thus in 1958 the three secondary schools - the Gambia High School, St. Augustine's Secondary School and St. Joseph's Convent - had altogether 605 pupils on their rolls.

From the very beginning, the Gambia High School, which represents Methodist, Anglican and Muslim interests, has been administered by a Board of Governors - the only Government representative being the Director of Education.¹ The other two secondary schools in Bathurst are managed by the Roman Catholic Mission, but are heavily grant-aided. Although there has been no restriction on the pupils from the Provinces to join secondary schools in Bathurst, provision also exists for them at the Armitage School at Georgetown. This school is a Government institution, and has made a steady progress from a five-year course to, within recent years, the Schools Certificate Standard.

The policies that had been crystallising since the nineteen-forties had made it abundantly clear that The Gambia would one day establish its bilateral system of secondary schooling. However, it was only in 1958 that a three-year post primary course was started at

1. Ibid., pp.2-3, and Education Department Report for the Triennium 1958-1960. Bathurst, 1961. p.8.

Crab Island School. This school was designed to be a Secondary Modern School and was to accommodate post primary classes from other schools. The Roman Catholic Mission did not co-operate and continued running the post primary classes in their own schools. The Crab Island School started admitting 180 pupils each year and gradually extended both the duration and the content of the course: by 1962 a four-year course had evolved on secondary modern lines.

As the secondary grammar schools could admit only a limited number of pupils, demand increased for post primary schooling, and another Secondary Modern School was started at Latrikunda, chiefly to accommodate pupils from the Kombo St. Mary schools. Response at Latrikunda was so good that within two years of its establishment the school had 293 pupils on its rolls, 44 being girls.

The Crab Island School and the Latrikunda School both being Government institutions, complied with the requirements of the regulation to accept only those pupils who had been streamed through the Gambia Common Entrance Examination at Eleven plus. The Roman Catholic Mission first opted out and set its own internal examination on the grounds that the post-primary classes

formed an integral part of the Local Agreement School and that promotion should therefore be automatic. It was in 1962, however, that the Roman Catholic Mission also agreed to co-operate, and since that year there has been uniformity in the system. By and by more post-primary classes were opened, both by the missions and the Government, in other towns as well.

Since 1965, when The Gambia became independent, progress has not been as rapid as expected, although some measure of growth is noticeable. Towards this process of development, the Sleight Report of 1965 has contributed a great deal. The Report had criticised the provision of secondary education for being "a collection of institutions" rather than "a system," and had pointed out that the schools in The Gambia had "in fact emerged under pressure on an ad hoc basis" and as a result each school bore "the stigma of expediency."¹

The Report recommended that all secondary level education be integrated into a balanced system of secondary education and that all second level places be increased in existing schools to meet the increasing demand. The Report further recommended that the two

1. G.F. Sleight: The Development Programme in Education for The Gambia 1965-1975. Bathurst, 1965. p.20.

Secondary Modern Schools be organised as Junior Technical Schools; that of the five urban Post Primary Schools, four should be reorganised as Junior Technical Schools; and that of the five provincial Post Primary Schools, four should be reorganised as Rural Vocational Centres.¹

A critical study of the Sleight Report reveals that the Report is a comprehensive document and recommends expansion, consolidation and diversification. It envisages that these processes should operate simultaneously towards a healthy growth. The Government has accepted the Report in principle, but in the course of its implementation modifications - some justified, others retrograde - have been made, as will be seen from the remarks the writer has made on the Sleight Report in various chapters of this study.

The position of secondary education in 1967 was, by and large, satisfactory as regards numbers: the four senior secondary schools had 940 boys and 379 girls; the twelve junior secondary schools 1,890 boys and 652 girls on their rolls.²

1. Ibid. pp.21-29.

2. Education Department Annual Summary and Statistics, 1967/68. Bathurst, 1967. Table 10. The Advisory Council on Education in The Gambia has approved the use of the terms "Senior" and "Junior" secondary schools. St. Augustine's Secondary School has been designated as "High School." The Catholic Newsletter. Bathurst. Vol.I No.4, September 1968. p.5.

The present position of secondary grammar education is defective, at least, from the point of view of geographical equity: all the three senior secondary schools are in Bathurst, and the fourth one is in MacCarthy Island Division. In between stretches a fairly big expanse of land in which the school population is quite large, and as such at least two senior secondary schools could be justifiably established to meet the requirement. One school could be sited at Kombo St. Mary's, and one located on the Lower River Division.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT.

The Education Ordinances of 1882 and 1903 and the Regulations made under them had provided for building grants, but, as the secondary schools did not avail themselves of the grants until the nineteen-twenties, they were not strictly under any statutory obligation to conform to required standards. Nevertheless, the Methodist Mission had been quite aware of the importance of good school buildings, and when the building of the Boys' High School was destroyed in 1918, a new school was built at a cost of about £3,000.¹ For a long time this building housed the Boys' High School, whereas

1. Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society:
105th Report, 1918. p.7.

the Girls' High School, when it was started in 1915, was housed in the basement of the Mission House. It continued there until 1917 when the School closed, and was not reopened until 1923. When the Roman Catholic Mission started St. Joseph's Convent Secondary School, it was housed in a new building and, later, St. Augustine's Secondary School too made a start in a modest building. In that age of 'chalk and talk' much equipment could not be expected, yet the minimum needs of the pupils and teachers were satisfied; the domestic economy classes for the girls certainly had the necessary equipment. For a long time nothing noteworthy took place; minor improvements were, no doubt, effected.

It is however only within the last decade that something really worthy in school buildings and equipment has been provided. Since 1962 an imposing, new building houses the Gambia High School; St. Augustine's Secondary School is about to move into its new premises, a stone's throw from the Gambia High School; and reconstruction has changed the face of the Armitage School. It is only St. Joseph's Convent Secondary School which still occupies old buildings, now outdated and moreover too crowded to be healthy.

Schools are generally well supplied with science laboratories, furniture, books and other requirements.

So far, the Gambia High School has led in being an up-to-date institution; shortly, however, St. Augustine's Secondary School may be in neck and neck competition to assert itself from every point of view. The Armitage School at Georgetown under the Headship of James N'Dow has made a satisfactory progress. The school is the only Government secondary school, located in the politically powerful hinterland; and, moreover, is the only boarding institution for secondary pupils. As such therefore, it can hardly afford to lag behind any developments which take place in Bathurst.

CURRICULUM AND EXAMINATIONS.

The Education Ordinances of 1882 and 1903 and Regulations made under them had laid down the curriculum for secondary schools. This was largely modelled on the curriculum of Grammar Schools in England. The Methodist Boys' High School made some minor modifications to suit the needs of pupils in The Gambia, but the general pattern remained the same as in England. For example, in 1904 the Methodist School taught Arithmetic, Reading, Grammar, Composition, History, Geography, Mensuration, Euclid, Algebra, Latin, Greek and French.¹ Attempts were made to introduce even more subjects,

1. Blue Book; Gambia, 1904. p.64.

particularly commercial. This long list of subjects really called for a specialist staff, but the meticulous care with which the time table was worked out,¹ showed that the missionary educators compensated for the shortage of staff with their organisational skill, seriousness of purpose, and a touch of versatility.

There were no marked differences between the curricula for boys and girls, except for the addition of domestic economy, painting and "fancy work" in the latter.² An interesting feature of the regulations was that subjects for the girls were elaborately set out right at the beginning of the twentieth century, whereas schools came into being two decades later. It appeared that theory was years ahead of practice.

The curriculum was directed towards the Cambridge examinations in which the achievements of the pupils were constantly low, and indeed have not shown much improvement even towards the mid-twentieth century. The following Table makes some noteworthy revelations about standards of achievements in the Gambian secondary schools.³

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1. See Appendix "I".
 2. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the Year 1924. Bathurst, 1925. p.4.
 3. Annual Reports on the Education Department for the Years 1947, 1948 and 1949. Bathurst, 1952.

Table I

Cambridge Overseas School Certificate.

School	1947		1948		1949	
	Passes	Failures	Passes	Failures	Passes	Failures
1. Roman Catholic Boys'	2	0	3	4	-	-
2. Roman Catholic Girls'	1	1	0	2	-	-
3. Methodist Boys'	5	0	4	2	4	6
4. Methodist Girls'	2	1	3	1	1	2
Junior Certificate						
1. Roman Catholic Boys'	1	6	6	7	9	3
2. Roman Catholic Girls'	1	5	0	4	2	4
3. Methodist Boys'	11	7	5	10	10	14
4. Methodist Girls'	3	5	0	2	14	8

It will be seen in the above Table that more pupils failed in the Junior Certificate Examination than in School Certificate: perhaps they were ill-equipped from the primary schools, and were taught by unsuitable teachers at the secondary level.

Moreover, over the period, there was nothing much to choose between the performance of the four schools: this

indicated a general low level. Finally, girls were on the whole poor when compared to boys: reflection not so much on the level of intelligence as on other factors - less qualified teachers for girls, lack of time as girls shared the domestic chores, and less opportunities for free mixing to broaden their outlook.¹

How much staffing in terms of numbers had to do with the low achievements of the pupils can be seen from the position in 1949, when there were 6 graduate, 14 qualified and 12 unqualified teachers for 359 pupils at the four secondary schools.² The 11 : 1 pupil-teacher ratio was perhaps satisfactory, but the general low quality of teaching might have been one of the reasons for poor performance of the pupils.

A change was introduced in the examining body after the creation of the West African Examinations Council in 1951, and a joint examination for the School Certificate was conducted by the Council until 1965.

The certificate was awarded by the Council in conjunction with the University of Cambridge School Examination Syndicate. Candidates followed a six-year course and were accepted as school candidates only if

1. Although some prejudice against education of girls has existed, they were not much discouraged in Bathurst; in the Provinces, parents have not been too keen on education of girls.

2. Ibid., pp.22 and 24.

they were presented by a school recognised by the Council: all the secondary grammar schools in Bathurst were recognised. Other candidates were accepted as private candidates and the distinction in candidature was indicated on the certificates obtained.¹

The subjects of examination were grouped in such a way that there was a wide choice for the candidates, but they were normally to enter for not less than six and not more than nine subjects, which included the English language and subjects chosen from at least three of the groups listed in the Regulations.² Pupils were graded as excellent, very good, pass with credit, pass and failure; and they were classified to have passed in first division, second division and third division, determined on the basis of subjects passed. To qualify for the award of a School Certificate, candidates had to reach a satisfactory general standard as judged from the aggregate performance in their best six subjects, with credit in at least one of them, or pass in five subjects, with credits in at least two of them. A General Certificate of Education was awarded to candidates who entered for a full certificate and passed with credit

1. Regulations and Syllabuses for the School Certificate in the Gambia, Ghana and Sierra Leone for 1964. Oxford, 1964.

2. See Appendix J.

in at least one of the subjects offered.

Indifferent performance in examinations continued, and perhaps showed that The Gambia had not benefited much from the changed arrangements, for even in 1958, out of 47 pupils who entered for full certificate, only 10 passed; two years later there were 42 entrants and 21 passed.¹ Since 1965 an Examination for General Certificate of Education of the West African Examinations Council has been in operation, and procedure for interpretation of the subject grades in terms of the former Joint Examination has been laid down for convenience in determining the standards.

The three secondary schools in Bathurst switched to the new requirements of the examination in 1965, and the Armitage School entered for the first time in 1966. Results in the recent years have shown some improvement, and moreover there have been other interesting developments as well.

The following Table makes a thought-provoking reading.²

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1. Education Department Report 1958 - 1960.
Bathurst, 1961 p.9.
 2. Education Department Annual Summary, 1967/68.
op.cit., Table 15 H.

Table II

G.C.E. O-LEVEL

(West African Examinations Council).

School	Number of Candidates	Number of Subjects offered	Number of Passes	% of Passes
Gambia High	90	525	105	20.0
St. Augustine's	23	147	61	41.5
St. Joseph's	19	100	41	41.0
Armitage	26	130	22	16.9
Private	62	141	35	24.8
Total	220	1,043	264	25.3

It is clear that the Roman Catholic Schools did the best; boys and girls in terms of percentage were at par: it can be proof of a better organisation, hard workers and task masters. Furthermore it is interesting to note that private candidates showed better results than the Gambia High School and the Armitage School. This indicates the importance of private study, and does not speak well of the work being done in the two schools.

One significant point of comparison is that in January 1967, eighty-nine candidates, offering 186 subjects sat London G.C.E. O-Level Examination and 49 passes were obtained. This result compares favourably

with 25.3 per cent of the West African Examination Council (G.C.E.) in the same year. At least for the time being, these results have established that standards in West Africa will not be allowed to fall so low that problem of parity of treatment in the value of certificates may arise. Moreover, reasonably strict standards ensure that the Sixth Form will receive only deserving candidates for preparation to universities.

So far Sixth Form work has been done at the Gambia High School, and that only since 1960; prior to this date candidates aspiring for university education went to other West African countries or to the United Kingdom. The output of the Gambia High School has not been encouraging, largely, no doubt, owing to low qualifications of many teachers doing the Sixth Form work. Instability in the staffing position has further aggravated the situation. In June 1963, eighteen pupils sat the examinations and 12 obtained passes; in 1967, forty sat and 20 obtained passes.¹

Until the staffing situation changes for the better, there is very little hope for improvement in the performance of the pupils. In fact, a critical

1. Report of the Education Department for the Triennium 1961-1963. Bathurst, 1964. p.6; and Annual Summary, 1967/68. op.cit., Table 15-G.

evaluation is needed of the general staffing position in the secondary schools. A reference to secondary teachers has been made in Chapter IX. Here it is enough to say that the country should aim at graduate trained-teachers for its secondary schools, and then, of course, should make the conditions of service so attractive that there is not a swift turn over of staff - local as well as expatriate - as has been the case hitherto.

With regard to the curriculum of the Secondary Modern Schools at Crab Island and Latrikunda, a 4-year course in English, Arithmetic, Civics, Woodwork, Crafts and Domestic subjects has been provided; the fourth year is semi-vocational in character. Pupils sit a Government Secondary Four Examination. The schools also prepare pupils for stage I examinations of the Royal Society of Arts in Arithmetic, English, History of the British Commonwealth, Geography and Commercial subjects.

The Curriculum of the Post-Primary Classes remained rather undefined until recently, but, as the schools running these classes were also to prepare pupils for the Secondary Four Examination, cues were taken from the Secondary Modern curriculum. The vocational aspect was, however, far less pronounced in these classes owing to lack of facilities. The Government

has now redesignated the two schools and all the Post-Primary Classes as Junior Secondary Schools, and the curriculum is being revised in order to ensure that pupils receive a satisfactory general education for the first three years and continue it together with vocational education during the fourth year.

Gambian educationists still seem to be upholding the principles of the Hadow Report: a mere mention of comprehensive schools arouses more indignation than perhaps it does in England itself.¹ It has been typical of The Gambia to respond belatedly to progressive changes in education, and it follows therefore that the country might only break away from its bilateral system long after others have even stabilised their comprehensives.

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1. Minutes of Meeting of Education Officers on the Asbridge Memorandum. Education Department. Bathurst, 1967. Item 14. William Asbridge was deputed by the Oxfordshire County Council as an adviser on primary education in The Gambia. He wrote a Handbook for Primary Teachers. The book was mainly based on talks given by him during the in-service courses.

CHAPTER IX

THE RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS.

Teaching in The Gambia from its inception was not carried out by individuals who were professionally trained in any modern sense; the status of the teacher depended on a status achieved or more probably acquired for quite other functional purpose - social and tribal or religious and institutional. Brief references to tribal and Islamic teaching have been made in Chapters II, VII and XII.¹ Both of these types of teaching survive as also does the similarly based teaching in most missions, where teaching was a secondary function of those whose primary professional function was evangelical.

The Education Ordinances of 1882 and 1903, and Regulations made under them, had introduced certification of teachers, and this system implied preparation to pass the examination both in theory and practice of education, particularly the former. Teachers were examined by the Inspector of Schools in subjects like reading, writing and composition, arithmetic, grammar, history, geography and school management. Most of the teachers prepared for the

1. See also Chapter XIII.

examination by their own efforts, but some sort of pupil-teacher system had come into being, and in a few schools the trained or certificated teachers gave to the pupil-teachers whatever academic or professional help they could. It is doubtful whether much gain could have been had from such guidance, particularly as the trainer's own abilities and capacities were, in some cases, only marginal.

Nevertheless, rules for various grades of certificates were laid down meticulously, and standards set therein were quite high if the basically low qualifications of the candidates were to be taken into account. A candidate was to reach a mark of fifty per cent in each subject mentioned in the Regulations in order to gain a Third Class Teacher's Certificate; for a Second Class Certificate, sixty per cent in each of the subjects and the attainment of the same standard in Euclid and Algebra was compulsory, whereas for a First Class Certificate the mark went as high as seventy per cent. Furthermore, the award of a Third Class Teacher's Certificate was conditional upon obtaining a Third Class Hygiene Certificate, and that of a Second or a First Class Certificate to obtaining a Second Class Hygiene Certificate.¹

1. The Education Rules, 1917.

Practical teaching was done by meeting a class in the presence of an Inspector. The importance of this exercise was that the Board of Education awarded certificates only on the recommendation of the Inspector. The farcical element in it can hardly be gainsaid, as the Inspector was a legal man who had neither been trained for teaching, nor had taught a class, and yet he was the indisputable judge.

Certificated teachers were, however, encouraged by the award of bonuses: the holder of a Second Class Certificate was paid five pounds and of a First Class Certificate ten pounds a year. Another incentive provided for a bonus of ten pounds to any teacher whose work during the year had been deserving of special recognition.

It was doubtful whether much use was made of all these regulations, for in the year 1917, out of 30 teachers at the seven schools in The Gambia, only one possessed a First Class Certificate, one a Second Class, and four Third Class Certificates.¹

The Inspector spoke critically of the entrants to the teaching profession, which he considered to be

1. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools of the Colony of the Gambia for the Year 1917. Bathurst, 1918. p.12.

either "the last refuge of the incompetent" or else "the stepping stone to a more lucrative career."¹ In order to make teachers stick to the profession of teaching, the Inspector thought that the training was essential, for it was believed, that having secured a certificate would dispose teachers' minds to settle down in their vocation. Thoughts like these were important in that they were put across by an Inspector who was not an educationist by profession, and yet whose views had some psychological validity, for training does affect attitudes. It may, however, be wrong to say that all trained teachers are likely to stay in the profession.

The wishes of the Inspector for teacher training were fulfilled by the Wesleyan Mission, though in a very modest way, by starting a teacher training class in 1925 in Bathurst. Lectures were given by the Revs. J.G. Lane and F.E. Morton, Mr. C.W. Cole, all of the Wesleyan Mission, and the Rev. A.M. Haegy of the Roman Catholic Mission. The course covered the syllabus laid down for the teacher's examination in The Gambia, and was intended to last six months. After a good initial start, the arrangements started running into trouble,

1. Ibid., p.10.

for on Lane's departure for England, progress was somewhat retarded: attendance which had averaged twenty in the beginning fell to twelve, at which figure it remained throughout the course. Two other teachers - John Baker and John Mahoney - contributed towards the running of these classes by lecturing occasionally. Although much could hardly have been achieved by all these efforts, some progress was evident: one First Class, two Second Class and one Third Class passes were obtained in the Teachers' Examination in 1925.¹

When C.W. Cole left for England to undergo a course in teacher training, the class could not be held regularly; in fact there was no class running during 1928. But when he returned to The Gambia after training, he gave a useful course of lectures on teaching methods to the teachers. Even then the class could not be stabilised and at last it fizzled out. Haphazardness was quite evident in this venture, but there were other reasons too why the class could not last long: students were expected to lecture to their fellow students, which they resented. The resentment might have been the result of their own poor knowledge and the embarrassment

1. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the Year 1925. Bathurst, 1926. p.5.

they felt in the process. Moreover, the possibility of desire for some financial return for the extra work involved cannot be altogether ruled out.

Interest in teacher training was, however, kept alive from time to time: a Committee appointed by the Government in 1926 had recommended the appointment of a qualified European Officer to train teachers; and visitors like the Hon. W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore had stressed the need for teacher training.¹ Yet nothing concrete was done until 1929. By this time, it was realised that the question of teacher training could not be delayed any more without further deterioration in educational standards, and as a result a Teacher Training School was opened.² The School was located in Bathurst, and was a co-operative enterprise in which the Government, the Wesleyan Mission and the Roman Catholic Mission all participated. This venture can be regarded as the first organised attempt, however modest, to offer expertise in professional training.

The Wesleyan Mission sent out the Principal for the Teacher Training School. The same Mission made other

1. Also see Chapter III.

2. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1929. Bathurst, 1930. p.5.

contributions to teacher training in that it paid part of the Principal's salary; it provided quarters for the Training School on the premises of the Boys' High School; the Principal of the Methodist Girls' High School allowed her kindergarten department to be used for demonstration and practising purposes; and part-time teaching assistance was also given by the staff of the two Methodist high schools. The Roman Catholic Mission arranged for the teaching of sewing and drawing. Occasional help to the Teacher Training School was given by the Medical Officer of Health, the Principal of the Vocational School and Agricultural Superintendent; and the officers from the Education Department contributed their share by teaching Gambian history and geography.¹ The running of the School was one of the rare examples of cooperation, when petty denominational differences appeared to have been dissolved, and when stiff-necked official hierarchy relaxed.

The School made a good start with some fifty men and women and the course followed the London University training syllabus, but to make it more useful, the syllabus was adapted where necessary to the local needs.

1. W.T. Hamlyn: The Bathurst Teacher Training School, Gambia. Overseas Education Vols.III and IV. 1931-1933. p.82.

The subjects offered were: teaching theory and practice, nature study, hygiene, physical training and games, manual training for males, sewing for girls, drawing and local history.

That some serious thought had gone into the planning of the course, was evident from the arrangements made: half the teachers received their training during the mornings, and half during the afternoons; during the other half of the day, the teachers worked in their respective schools, where they did their practical work. Members of the training staff visited schools and gave the trainees help and guidance. Supply teachers, paid by the Government, were placed in the schools as a stop-gap arrangement - one supply teacher took the place of two permanent teachers, relieving one in the morning and another in the afternoon.¹

The arrangement of supply teachers kept the schools going, although much could not have been expected from them, for their own academic achievements, professional zeal, and class performance were rather doubtful; and moreover, relieving two teachers during the same day might have added to their problems. A fall in standards

1. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1929. op.cit., p.5.

was reported, but it was also recorded that by and by the substitute teachers were healthily 'rivalling' the teachers under training. Nevertheless, there appeared to be no other perfectly workable arrangement through which the system could function. Loss in efficiency must have been suffered, but might have been more than made up by the trained teachers when they reverted to full time teaching after the completion of the course.

As the teacher training progressed, more thinking was done to raise the standard of entry; and it was decided to aim at the Cambridge Junior Local Examinations as the minimum standard - gradually the standard of entry was to be raised even higher. It was laid down that, before a teacher could be recognised as certificated, he must, in addition to passing the professional tests, pass an examination equivalent in standing to the Cambridge Junior.¹

Teachers were promised better salaries on satisfactory completion of the course, which must have proved a great morale-booster, for there was not much waste in the course: at the end of 1931, forty-five teachers on this crash-course completed their training and resumed full teaching work in January 1932.

1. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1930. Bathurst, 1931. p.4.

Another facet of teacher training was that a scheme of teacher training scholarships was started in 1931 with a view to maintaining for future years a supply of trained teachers. The start was made with six candidates. With these new arrangements, the Training School had two types of courses running - the in-service course of two years' duration for practising teachers, and the regular course of three years' duration for pupils from secondary schools. The arrangements for the three-year course were such that the first year was spent in academic work, then followed by two years' professional training.

After a brief period of smooth running, the School faced two serious set-backs which threatened its very existence: one was the departure from the country of the Principal, H.E. Eburne, and his wife who was the lecturer on infant methods; the other, a more serious one, was the financial crisis of the Government. In fact, the financial crisis was so serious that closure of primary schools was feared, and if these were to be kept going, the Training School was likely to close: either would have been a retrograde step. Eburne's place was taken by J.J. Baker, but a lot of readjustment had to be made to tide over the financial difficulties. The Principal of the School and heads of missions recommended to the

Government that the vacant post of Infant School Teachers' Trainer be abolished; maintenance grants to students in training be stopped; and the teacher training scholarships be suspended. These recommendations were implemented and the system kept going.¹

These rearrangements ensured the continuity of the School, and the result was that training of the teachers who had not completed it, and of the student-teachers who had just started the course, continued; and indeed more students were enrolled later on. The discouraging aspect of the plan was that it probably disappointed the scholarship holders, and the grant-supported students, particularly those whose financial position was not good. Nevertheless, the adjustment made represented a better course of action.

Training of teachers continued during 1933-34 on similar lines to the previous year and eight teachers completed their period of training in June 1933. The School continued turning out a small number of teachers in the subsequent years also. In the meantime, the Education Ordinance of 1935 had stated more precisely

1. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1932. Bathurst, 1933. p.9.

the various grades of certificates to which teachers were entitled: teachers were classified as 'certificated' or 'provisional' or 'probationary'. The system of assessment appears in Appendix K.¹

One shortcoming of the course became too obvious, particularly because it did not appear educationally justifiable: students were admitted each year in January and those admitted every other year had, of necessity, a broken course - six months prior to the Principal's departure on leave, and further year after his return. To remove this difficulty, a shorter course of eighteen months, coinciding with the tour of the Principal was envisaged; and the course was to be divided into three sections of six months each. The first year students were excused from practical teaching during the first six months of their course and time thus saved was devoted to extra tuition in English and Arithmetic - the two subjects which even now tend to receive more attention in teacher training curricula in The Gambia. As the course progressed, it was considered desirable to add more subjects to the curriculum already in use. As a result emphasis was

1. The Education Ordinance, 1935.

laid on the general principles and methods of teaching; physical training was given a new importance in the course; and female students included in their domestic work, in addition to needlework, a course in Child Welfare and Mothercraft, taken by the Sister in charge of the clinics.¹

No new admissions were made in 1939: this was done to enable the students to work together throughout the course, and sit the examination at one time - this examination was also open to failed students of the School. In spite of the best intentions and perhaps even the best efforts of the Government and Missions, the course seemed to have lost its initial attraction. Year after year there was a general decline in numbers; so much so, that in 1942 only two students were training.

The unsatisfactory state of affairs could not go unnoticed: the Government decided to abandon the teacher training in The Gambia and replace it with a system of bursaries for selected teachers at either Achimota in the Gold Coast or Yaba in Nigeria. It was, however, expected that after the closure of the Teacher Training School, the Principal of the Boys' High School and the

1. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1937. Bathurst, 1938. pp.10-11.

Director of Education would, from time to time, give refresher courses for teachers.¹

The decision of the Government to close the training facilities in The Gambia was a confession of failure, and the gravity of the situation was that the change came about at the time when the country had an educationist as the Director of Education, who could have explored the possibilities of revitalising the emasculated Training School, instead of closing it down. Furthermore, the McMath/Allen Report of 1943, referred to in Chapter VII, had added Sierra Leone as another possible place for training. In a way, it could be said that the Report was a ludicrous epitaph on the School.

The story of teacher training between 1943 and 1948 was largely concerned with what the Gambian teachers had been doing in the training colleges of other West African countries, and the story was not as comforting as the exponents of the policy might have expected. At first the women students, who had undergone a course of training, came back after one, two or three years as qualified teachers having no certificate,

1. Government Statement of Policy Regarding Education in the Gambia. Bathurst, 1941. p.4.

and having sat no examination; then by 1948, although all the students were taking the usual examinations, the results were far from satisfactory: out of 27 students in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast during 1947-49, only 15 passed. Whether the training in these countries had vastly improved the academic and professional standards of the Gambian teachers was a moot point as will be seen from the views of Grieve and O'Halloran.¹ The futility of this enterprise seemed to have been realised sooner than expected, for the Legislative Council accepted in 1948 a plan for the establishment of a local teacher training centre.²

A Teacher Training Centre was opened at Georgetown on 8th March 1949 with twenty-nine students. The Centre was to run an emergency one-year course for male students until the time it could be developed into a normal two-year training college. The Centre was expected to cater for the expanding Native Authority Schools, and also schools in Bathurst and the Colony. That the Centre started under "exceptionally able and

1. "...the training, taking place in the urban and commercial atmosphere of Freetown, was not suitable for teachers...required to serve in village schools."
D.W. Grieve and George O'Halloran: Teacher Training Centre, Georgetown, Gambia. Overseas Education Vols.XXI and XXII 1949-51. London.p.135.

2. Annual Reports on the Education Department for the Years 1947,1948 and 1949. Bathurst, 1952.
p.16

inspiring direction" of Mr. D.W. Grieve, Protectorate Education Officer,¹ was perhaps a pointer in the direction of continuity, stability and efficiency in teacher training for years to come, although the future history of teacher training was to belie such early hopes.

The syllabus of the course at Georgetown was drawn up as a compromise between the needs of the most advanced students and those of the weakest. Academic subjects comprised English (including phonetics) History, Civics, Nature Study, and Hygiene - one period a day was devoted to each of these subjects. Professional subjects included Methods of Language Teaching and Methods of Arithmetic Teaching - $2\frac{1}{2}$ periods a day were allotted for each subject. Principles of Education, School Organisation and Routine, other Teaching methods and Demonstration Lesson had the allocation of one period each.²

The practice teaching was started eight weeks after the commencement of the course, and during the next eight weeks, two half-days per week were spent

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1. Annual Reports, 1947, 1948 and 1949. op.cit., p.17.
 2. Grieve and O'Halloran: op.cit., pp.139-140. The writer has had discussion with O'Halloran who is now the General Secretary of the i.t.a. Foundation.

in practice and observation; for the rest of the course two whole days per week were devoted to it. Students worked in pairs, alternately teaching and observing, and met classes from infants to standard IV. This method was quite sound in that the students could thus be assessed for the efficacy of their teaching at all levels. Furthermore, all lessons seen by the supervising staff were discussed with the students in detail and queries answered. Limited arrangement existed for demonstration and criticism lessons which were given by some selected students; and the exercise was considered as "one of the most successful features of the course."¹

In spite of the organisational skill of the staff, perhaps their best academic and professional guidance to the students, and the general stimulating environment, the Centre could not prove its worth in terms of results on the course: out of 29 enrolled students, 15 passed as qualified teachers and were awarded the Elementary Teachers' Certificate, 9 failed but were accepted as unqualified teachers, 3 were expelled, and 2 resigned.²

1. Grieve and O'Halloran: op.cit., p.139.

2. loc.cit.,

Hardly had the Teacher Training Centre at Georgetown started breathing, when the Baldwin Report of 1951 tried to stifle it. The Report recommended modelling of the Centre on the Jeans School in Kenya, and as a result only primary school teachers were to be trained at Georgetown; training at higher level was to be done outside The Gambia. Instead of letting the Centre develop into a fully-fledged training college, the Report had intended to squeeze the Centre into an institution which was in fact yet to be born. The Government's attitude was reflected by the Senior Education Officer, who considered running the Centre highly expensive even in its existing diminutive form on a two-year course basis.¹

Contrasted to the Baldwin Report was the Jeffery Report, also referred to in Chapter V, which considered a three-year teacher training course as the ideal one, "because the majority of teachers had not the training and qualifications necessary for a full appreciation of their responsibilities and opportunities." The Report further recommended that the curriculum of

1. T.H. Baldwin: Report of a Commission appointed to make Recommendations on the Aims, Scope, Contents and Methods of Education in the Gambia. Bathurst, 1951. p.43. The cost was reported to be £300 per head.

the training college should include provisions for general education, for vocational training and for improvement of spoken English.¹

Although the Government accepted both the Baldwin Report and the Jeffery Report, no specific action was taken on their recommendations on teacher training. The result was that this inertia, in a way, proved a blessing in disguise and saved the Centre at Georgetown; but at the same time the inaction kept the scope of the course very much limited. The Centre continued functioning at Georgetown until 1952 when it was transferred to Yundum, 16 miles south west of Bathurst.

The change of site from Georgetown to Yundum in 1952 was, so to say, a compromise between the Teacher Training School, Bathurst, which was largely urban-orientated and the Teacher Training Centre at Georgetown, which had a rural bias.

On the heels of this change of site followed the Gwilliam Report which, through its recommendations and action programme for pre-service and in-service training within The Gambia as well as in the United Kingdom, was

1. African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa.
London, 1953. p.35.

more enlightened and comprehensive than its modest title would suggest. The Report recommended that a group of experienced teachers be sent to the United Kingdom annually to take one-year courses at the Institutes of Education; and Yundum was envisaged to become "the training college for the whole territory and a laboratory for educational experiment and practice."¹

The Teacher Training College at Yundum occupied buildings vacated by the abortive Colonial Development Corporation poultry project; and these were converted to provide accommodation for dormitories, kitchen, classrooms, offices, junior staff quarters and other small scale requirements of a residential institution, at a cost of £40,000. The idea of developing Yundum on the lines of the Jeans School still lingered on, but no steps were taken in that direction.

In the beginning students were transported from Bathurst to the College and back, but in 1953 temporary arrangements were made for male students to reside at Yundum. Women students were admitted in 1953 and were, in a way, fortunate in occupying a more

1. Freda Gwilliam: Suggestion for Action Programme for Primary Education in Bathurst. (Typescript). London, 1953. p.7.

satisfactory accommodation in buildings originally intended as police barracks and quarters, about a mile away from the main campus. This off-campus arrangement has ever since had its difficulties in transporting women students, particularly because transport breakdowns have not been uncommon.

Duration of the first course at Yundum was two years for all; and thirty students were to be admitted. The course, was, however, extended from two to three years in 1957 for those with low academic qualifications; but those who entered with full secondary schooling, continued to do the two-year course. Entrance to the College was by examination and interview - minimum academic requirement being the completion of Primary Standard VII.

The course started making progress, although it was not as great as would have been expected in view of the fact that by this time other West African countries had gone far ahead of The Gambia, both in the number of teacher training institutions and the quality and variety of the courses. Nevertheless, there were 57 students at Yundum in 1957, including 10 teachers who had returned for further training after completing a shorter course earlier.¹ In 1960 the College had 70 students

1. Education Department Report 1955-57. Bathurst, 1958. p.11.

including 18 women; but the intake of students was raised from 30 to 50 in the following year, and at the same time two separate courses were arranged: one for those students who had completed their secondary schooling, the other for pupils with post-primary qualifications.¹

Expansion in education had called for more teachers and had therefore necessitated an increase in the output of the College. To meet the demand, the College was obliged to accommodate 150 residential students. In the year 1966, it was decided to run only one type of course lasting three years for all students. The standard of entry was raised, and students were mostly to be with five years senior secondary schooling, although provision was made for accepting some students with secondary modern qualifications and pupil-teachers who were strongly recommended by the Headteachers. In the formulation of this new course, the then Principal Mr. J.C.E. Greig played a leading role.

The curriculum over the years has not varied drastically: Mathematics, English, Geography, History, Science, Music, Education, Hygiene, Physical Education,

1. Education Department Annual Summary and Statistical Table for 1961. Bathurst, 1962. p.1.

Woodwork, Home Economics, Art and Rural Science have received attention, the amount of attention depending on the availability of staff and facilities. Over the years, a general up-grading of standards has been attempted in key subjects like Education, Mathematics and English. The main aim was to raise the standards so as to attach the College to some Institute of Education. It was also contemplated to introduce external examination which was to be conducted by the West African Examinations Council.

The teaching practice has always been an integral part of the course at Yundum, though arrangements have slightly varied from year to year. The students of the new three-year-course are expected to have five one-month teaching practice periods during the total duration of the course. Arrangements are made in such a way that students teach at all levels of primary schools, and also in different parts - rural, urban - of the country. Lecturers from the College visit students and offer them suggestions on the preparation of lesson notes, techniques of teaching and the solution of general problems arising in the schools.

Assessment is done over the period by almost all the staff, and on the basis of an average, students are then graded. Terminal and annual examinations are also

used as an additional criterion of the suitability of the students. A fair amount of work is done to get rid of those who had not been able to come up to the required standard: the first year can be described as a period of filtration. Towards the end of their course, the students are also assessed by the officers of the Education Department. The idea behind this system of external examiners is sound, but in practice it has not been very popular with the students who generally resent the uncomplimentary attitude of officers from the Department. Some officers had not been able to constrain themselves, with the result that, occasionally, there had arisen disciplinary problems, much to the embarrassment of the College staff.

Students, who successfully complete the course, are awarded a Teachers' Certificate; the parity of treatment of this certificate with certificates elsewhere has yet to be determined. Provisions for re-sitting the examination or sitting in certain subjects in which students have had a reference also exist. College staff offer help and guidance to those who have to prepare again to qualify for the certificate.

Other activities of the College in recent years include a year-long course, run for Returned Teachers during 1965-66 and 1966-67. These were crash courses

for those teachers who had a long service to their credit, but who were neither trained as teachers nor certificated. Those teachers, who completed the course successfully, obtained a Returned Teachers' Certificate, which entitled them to pension benefits. The course could not be continued because of a poor response, probably owing to personal reasons of the teachers rather than professional or academic ones.

The College has been playing host to and participating in the running of in-service courses during the short terminal breaks and the long vacation: History Workshop in 1966, British Council/Ministry of Overseas Development English Language Courses during 1966, and the Oxfordshire primary teaching courses during 1967 and 1968 are some modest achievements.

Nevertheless, all has not been going on well at Yundum over the years. In fact, there can be few other training colleges which have passed through such frustrating developments as Yundum College. The site, buildings and general atmosphere at Yundum have time and again been criticised. When critics attacked the accommodation in the beginning of the course, there were some who came to its defence. One opponent of the critics considered the old chicken coops offered

"comfort rarely obtained in Oxford and Cambridge."¹

The events that followed falsified such claims, for the strike by the students in 1964, as was evident from the Report of an enquiry, was not a childish prank: it was the outcome of their sufferings and humiliations.²

Those who have been making a realistic assessment of Yundum College have not hesitated from putting matters in their right perspective. A writer in 1965 referring to the 1964 Report of an enquiry, frankly admitted that the state of affairs it described was more than merely a statement of reasons for irresponsible student action: it illustrated "many unfortunate features bedevilling the healthy development of a Teacher Training College."³ The Sleight Report was still more candid when it pointed out that the accommodation consisting of 50 huts in tightly packed rows was "designed for convenience in the management of poultry but not for the inspiration

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1. Michael Crowder: Chicken Coop College - Aftermath of the Gambia Egg Farm. West Africa Review, February 1956. p.104.
 2. S.H.M. Jones: Report of an enquiry into the complaints made by Students of Yundum College. Bathurst, 1964. Bad and inadequate facilities formed the central theme of the complaints.
 3. A.L. Jones: Gambia, Sierra Leone and Lagos Report. Manchester, 1965. p.13...

of students."¹ Perhaps with a sort of feeling of self-criticism, the first Gambian Director of Education listed Yundum College amongst "problem institutions."²

Had a new College, more or less on the same design and with the same facilities, been built at Yundum or elsewhere, there might have been less scope for complaints. On the other hand, the trouble with Yundum College is that it has been receiving step-motherly treatment. Institutions like the Gambia High School, the Nursing School and St. Augustine's High School have been accommodated in imposing buildings, and that too within the last decade, whereas no effort has so far been made to build a new Teacher Training College. For some time a fictitious amount of money was shown in the budget estimates to build a new College, and then, that too disappeared from the records.

THE GAMBIAN TEACHER.

Teaching has never been a prestigious vocation in The Gambia, and as a result schools have suffered for

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1. G.F. Sleight: The Development Programme in Education for The Gambia 1965-1975. Bathurst, 1965. p.38.
 2. Education in The Gambia: 1958-1967. (Typescript). Education Department, Bathurst. p.16. Seven Principals have come and gone since the inception of the College; there was again a strike in 1968 and the students accused the present Acting Principal, E.O. Rendall, of maladministration. The local press too has been critical of the College, and of the Department - as will be seen from Chapter VI.

want of efficient staff. General complaints over the decades have revolved about salaries. Teachers in the country started on a missionary pittance, passed through the rigours and humiliations of payment by results, to a slightly better deal by 1935. Since then Committees and Commissions have met to revise the salary scales, and the cumulative result is that the Gambian teachers are not really lowly paid when compared with their compatriots in civil service and technical jobs. The main difficulty is that the teachers do not reach the higher economic status because there is "the minimal number of promotion posts."¹

Amongst other reasons are the feelings of the teachers that they are not encouraged by the Education Department; in turn, they are treated as trouble-makers when they press for their rights and privileges. Moreover, the community does not pay them due respect because they live poorly for want of better salaries. Teachers working in the mission schools are not entitled to pension, and efforts at a Unified Teaching Service have not yet succeeded. These teachers rightly feel a

1. Handbook for Raising Teacher Status in Africa. Washington, 1964. p.45.

sense of insecurity and injustice. Even if some of these reasons may appear exaggerated, the truth remains that the lot of the teachers in The Gambia is not a happy one.

The Gambia Teachers' Union was founded in 1937, and amongst its officials at different stages were teachers who later rose to high positions. For example, S.H.M. Jones, the present Director of Education, played a leading role in the activities of the Union. But for the few set-backs over the years, it had remained active until 1963. Since then, however, it has got into organisational difficulties. During 1968, efforts were again made to revitalise the Union. Credit for such a move goes to young graduate teachers like Henry Joof and Abraham Joof who have wisely associated with old-timers yet progressive teachers like E.T. Jeng and Bokari Siddibe.

TEACHERS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

Teachers in the secondary schools have generally been trained either in other West African countries or overseas, mostly in the United Kingdom. Except for the Roman Catholic Secondary Schools and the Gambia High School, where there still is a fairly large number of ex-patriate teachers (nuns and priests included) schools are staffed by Gambian graduate teachers, and those

teachers with the United Kingdom Teacher Training College qualifications.

In the junior secondary schools, Yundum trained teachers are found frequently, though the Yundum training is for primary schools only. Therefore a certain amount of mis-employment exists, which may, in the long run, be avoided either by instituting a special course at Yundum for those who are to teach in the junior secondary schools, or by training them elsewhere.

Generally speaking, when a Gambian has decided to make teaching his career, he is keen on his profession: he gives his best to the children and helps voluntarily in community education and other projects. He is largely respectful to the authority, friendly with his colleagues and kind to the children. He is keen on learning so that he can increase his knowledge, and thereby improve his status and indeed help his country. If his training facilities are improved, his emoluments increased, his status raised, he is sure to make still bigger contributions towards the betterment of The Gambia.

CHAPTER X

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.

After an initial start in vocational education made by the earliest missionaries, the story of technical and vocational education in The Gambia is until recently, one of helplessness, half-heartedness, and even indifference: partly because of staffing difficulties, partly owing to social reluctance at manual labour, and mainly no doubt because the country has a non-industrial bias.

Since the Wesleyan Mission arrived in the country, its interest in vocational education had never waned: time and again, the mission had explored the possibilities of introducing it into the country. Perhaps, it was this very attitude which had made the Rev. R.H. Williams put forward a proposal to the Government right at the onset of the twentieth century, for starting an Industrial School in Bathurst. The school, which has already been briefly mentioned in Chapter II, came into being towards the end of 1902, and made so rapid a progress that within a year, the number of apprentices had gone up from 5 to 21.

The prospectus of the school invited the attention

of parents and guardians to the exceptional advantage which the school offered their children of obtaining a thorough training in different trades. The apprentices received elementary and technical education free during the first year, and though a small remuneration was paid thereafter, the school none the less still came "within the reach of even the poorest lad."¹

Apprentices received theoretical as well as practical lessons in carpentry, masonry and blacksmithing. At first some of the pupils were sent for part of each day to a primary school, and others to the Methodist Boys' High School, in order to learn reading, writing, arithmetic, geometrical drawing and mensuration. Later, it was found more convenient for a teacher to attend the Technical School for the purpose of giving instruction.² Other aspects of technical education were tackled by instructor George Armatage who had been employed from overseas under the auspices of the Wesleyan Mission.³

The Technical School engaged in work for the public

1. Prospectus of the Technical School, 1903. Bathurst, 1903.
2. Report of Elementary Education at the Gambia for the Year 1903-4. Bathurst, 1905. p.1.
3. In some documents "Armatage" has also been spelled as "Armitage."

on contract. When the Wesleyan Society premises at Stanley Street in Bathurst required renovations in 1904, the young school proved its worth by undertaking and skilfully finishing nearly all the carpentry, masonry and blacksmithing work. Later on, the Wesleyan church at Dobson Street was equipped with an acetylene light which worked without any serious trouble. The general public benefited from the skill of the pupils in joinery, iron work and cabinet work. Building work for the Roman Catholic Agriculture School at Abuko was also done by the Technical School. In terms of finances, the position was encouraging: year after year the school earned good amounts of money; in 1910 alone, the amount stood at £545.12.9.¹ Part of the profit made on the work enabled the managers to pay the apprentices a monthly wage, and thus alleviate the financial difficulties of the parents and guardians.

One of the noteworthy features of the school was its religious composition: in the year 1911, it had 20 apprentices, out of whom 14 were Methodists, 4 were members of the Anglican Church, 1 was Roman Catholic and 1 Muslim.² Rarely indeed had pupils of different

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1. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools of the Gambia for the Year 1910. Bathurst, 1911. p.12.
 2. Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society Report, XXXII. London, 1911. p.162.

denominations been found in one single institution during these early years of the century, because any education provided had the strong motive, hidden or obvious, of spreading denominational religious influence.

Another important aspect of the Technical School was that it received co-operation from most of the important officials: the Clerk of Works assessed the work of the pupils on the principle of encouragement rather than condemnation; the Town Warden had rubbish quickly removed from the School premises; the Public Works Department allowed the instructor to use their circular saw in cutting wood for work in the school; and the colonial officials visited it and offered suggestions for its improvement.¹ In those formative years such small gestures of goodwill must have counted a great deal towards the success of the School.

Achievements of the apprentices in their examination had also been praiseworthy: in June 1914, for example, all the twelve examinees got through the examination, scoring good marks; Paul Staford, a carpenter and joiner, and Zacchous Owens, a blacksmith, each obtained

1. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools, 1910. op.cit., pp.12-13.

the very high mark of 95 per cent.¹ The performance of the trainees had never been discouraging throughout the life of the School.

In spite of all these favourable conditions and genuine achievements, there was gradual loss of interest; and the result was that little rush for admissions was encountered. Conditions became so serious that the Clerk of Works made an appeal to the managers of schools to encourage pupils by convincing them of the "advantages of a mechanical training."² The Technical School was praised for being the only institution of its kind in West Africa; and there was, no doubt, some justification for congratulation, because for about two decades it had been a hub of vocational activities, and its pupils had given ample proof of their skill. Yet the school started dwindling in 1920 when instructor Armatage left the country for good. As no appropriate substitute could be made available, it closed soon after Armatage's departure.

The Inspector of Schools recorded that there was no prospect of the school being started again. This

1. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools, of the Gambia for the Year 1913. Bathurst, 1914.p.15.

2. Ibid., p.14.

conjecture, though pessimistic, had a note of realism: some provision was definitely made for vocational education in a different form but this could, as will be seen, only be done at the end of about nine years after the closure of the school.

The policy of the Government in the mid-twenties was to attach to every Government department apprentices and trainees in vocations other than industrial. The policy stipulated that the aim of an educational system should be to instil pupils with the view that vocational careers were "no less honourable than the clerical." It was further emphasised that vocations relating to industrial and manual work should be made attractive so as "to counteract the tendency to look down on manual labour."¹

In pursuance of this policy, the Government had been accepting boys who had passed Standard VII in the primary school and then training them in the Departments concerned - the Marine Department, the Posts and Telegraphs Branch of the Receiver General's Department, the Medical Department, the Public Works Department and the Land and Survey Department, all trained their own apprentices. Training facilities, available in other countries, were sometimes used by the Gambians, although there were very few such opportunities: for example,

1. Education Policy in British Tropical Africa.

London, 1925, p. 7.

there were only two boys training at the Public Works Department Technical School in Lagos, Nigeria during late nineteen-twenties.¹

When Governor Edward Denham arrived in The Gambia in 1928, he went deeply into the educational situation of the country, and decided that as a first step, a vocational school should be established as early as possible in 1929. The result was that a Manual Training Centre came into being in that year.

The object of the Centre was "to give all boys at school some training in hand work rather than to turn out a few finished carpenters or other tradesmen."² All boys in both primary and secondary schools from Standard III upwards attended the school. During the training, efforts were made to inculcate in the boys an idea of "the dignity and practical utility of manual work."³

As no instructor was available locally, Captain H.G. Hendrie was seconded from the Gold Coast for two

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1. A Survey of Vocational Technical Education in the Colonial Empire. Col. No.177. London, 1940. p.14.
 2. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the Year 1928. Bathurst, 1929. p.1.
 3. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1929. Bathurst, 1930. pp.4-5.

years. In spite of the best intentions behind the scheme, and Hendrie's capable guidance, the school was not very popular in the beginning, but gradually people took interest, and pupils started attending regularly. For example, out of about 328 boys, a weekly average of 247 attended the school during June and December 1929. Attendance had never been too far below the average. Boys from the Methodist Boys' High School did better than those from the elementary schools; thereby perhaps proving that a sound literary background was more conducive to learning technical skill than a poorer educational background. Many boys from the High School were successful in entering technical departments like the Marine and the Lands.

The Manual Training Centre was a sound experiment conducted in the urban community of Bathurst which had been rather too conscious of the low status of manual work in comparison with the high prestige of clerical occupations. As all the pupils attended the Centre, the question of merits in the one profession over the other did not arise, as it could have, had there been different types of institutions involved.

It was reported that the prejudice, which formerly existed amongst boys educated at secondary school against doing any but clerical work, gradually died out.

Furthermore, it was being appreciated that a more highly educated boy should, other things being equal, do any kind of work better than a boy who had not had such great educational opportunities.¹

For a short time, the Centre succeeded in making a good impression on the attitude of the people; and it, no doubt, kept alive the interest in vocational education, which, otherwise, would have flagged. Certainly the Centre deserved a better fate than it received: it closed in 1937 owing to the permanent invalidity of the officer in charge.²

After the closure of the Manual Training Centre in 1937, small attempts were made at including practical subjects in the curriculum of schools. The Government was aware of the need for vocational education, but non-availability of funds during the second world war did not allow the establishment of any technical or vocational institution.

The question of technical education could not, however, be ignored indefinitely, as The Gambia could hardly afford to live in complete isolation from the

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1. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1934. Bathurst, 1935. p.4.
 2. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1937. Bathurst, 1938. p.4.

technological advances made elsewhere. During 1948-49, therefore, a survey of technical education was conducted in the country by Mr. Weston of the Ministry of Education, Sierra Leone and Dr. Harlow, Principal of the Chelsea Polytechnic, London. Their Report recommended that a technical advisory committee for the territory should co-ordinate the work of training in industry with the educational system. It was further recommended that the Science Centre should be expanded and its equipment amplified as the first instalment of a Bathurst Technical Institute. Such an institute, when established, should also be the centre for all the Further Education activities - the commercial courses were to be made available to non-government employees as well. With regard to Arts and Crafts Centres, the Report recommended that these centres should be established in large premises, and that an organiser of hand work should be appointed.¹

The recommendations of the Weston-Harlow Report were taken up for implementation. As a first step, the building of a Technical School was commenced in 1949, and completed in the following year. Subsequently classes were started in the School.

1. H.C.Weston and F.J.Harlow: A Survey of Technical and Further Education - Sierra Leone and Gambia. 1949. Part III. pp.9-10.

The next document of importance was the Baldwin Report of 1951 which considered the start made by the school as "good", and recommended that it should expand in numbers; also that mechanical trades should be introduced into its curriculum. The Report considered Standard VII as the minimum qualification for entry, and recommended that, in addition to the technical training, general education of the apprentices should continue. The Baldwin Report stressed the need for a Committee to advise on a Technical Institute and other technical developments, and recommended the constitution of such a Committee.¹ The Legislative Council of The Gambia accepted the Baldwin Report, though some of its recommendations could not be implemented.

In the early nineteen-fifties a fresh approach to the question of vocational education was recommended by the Jeffery Report. The Report drove home the point that it ought not to be possible "to find English and arithmetic and history and geography and nature study and art taught in such a way" that it was impossible to tell "from examining the syllabus or the children's

1. T.H. Baldwin: Report of a Commission appointed to make Recommendations on the Aims, Scope, Contents and Methods of Education in the Gambia. Bathurst, 1951. pp.24-25.

books, or from listening to lessons," whether the school was serving an urban or a rural population.¹ The Report aimed at breaking down the distinction between learning and doing; but as the realisation of this aim would have meant a radical change in the curriculum and methods of teaching, little was done in The Gambia to implement the recommendation of the Report.

The Technical School in Bathurst started making satisfactory progress; it gave artisan training for carpenters and joiners, and for masons. Apprentices, who were mostly recruited from the senior forms of the primary schools, followed a 4-5 year course. There were not many applicants for the technical training at the onset of the course, but after this initial reluctance, there was "a steady stream of applicants" - in 1957, for example, there were 16 carpenter/joiners and 4 masons in training.² The school course was reduced from five to three years' duration in 1959; and instead of six trainees, the school admitted ten each year. In the beginning of the nineteen-sixties pupils seemed to be showing a keen interest in technical training: there were a good many applicants;

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1. African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa. London, 1953. p.21.
 2. Education Department Report 1955-1957. Bathurst, 1958. p.10.

some of whom had secondary education. A stage had been reached when the authorities were in a position to select boys with "some aptitude for manual work."¹

With an increase in number of the trainees, and a demand for a variety of technical skills in the country, it was considered only proper to extend the physical facilities of the school. An extension to the school was built from American funds in 1958 in order to house a metal work and engineering workshop. Owing to non-availability of an instructor, the workshop could not be used until 1961; then an instructor was provided by the Canadian Government for a year under the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan.²

A further stage in the development of the Technical School was reached in 1961, when the Education Policy advocated developing the school to provide training in a variety of trades, depending on the availability of employment and the teaching staff. In addition, it was envisaged to start a second technical school to serve the needs of the Protectorate; the school was to be sited possibly at Georgetown.³ The Policy was

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1. Education Department Report 1958-1960. Bathurst, 1961. p.9.
 2. Report of the Education Department for the Triennium 1961-1963. Bathurst, 1964. pp.8-9.
 3. Education Policy 1961-65. Bathurst, 1961. p.5.

implemented in a modest way in Bathurst, but no school was established in the Protectorate.

A turning point in technical education was reached when UNESCO provided Mr. A.E. Snead as an adviser on technical training in 1962. He took over the mechanical workshop and completed the course started in 1961; he also introduced more subjects into the curriculum of the School.

Mr. Snead was called upon to advise the Government on matters connected with the planning, organisation and development of vocational training needs and facilities. Moreover, he was to make inquiries into the current demand for industrial workers and the trades for which workers could be trained. The terms of reference of Snead's survey also included the determination of the nature of the training to be given in the light of the needs of the economy and the background of the workers. Finally, the survey was to study the financial and administrative implications involved in the establishment of training, and make detailed proposals for such training.¹

1. A.E. Snead: Survey of Technical Training Needs and the Facilities in the Gambia. Bathurst, 1964.

The Snead Report summed up the socio-economic background of The Gambia and focussed attention on the country's poverty, one-crop economy, the small extent of the domestic market, the virtually non-productive industrial sector, the lack of indigenous entrepreneurs, poor communications, and shortage of skilled man power. The Report invited attention to the prevalent, wasteful method of imparting skills in which the learner sat by the side of the master - observing and learning; by contrast the Report considered organised training to be a more effective method. It pointed out that various Government departments and private firms were staffed by personnel who were not sufficiently qualified for their posts.

The recommendations of the Report embraced all aspects of technical and vocational education. The Government's attention was drawn to the need for training the agricultural extension workers at a rate sufficient to make 100 trained workers available by 1970.

The Technical School was to become a hive of technical and vocational activities. Facilities for upgrading courses in a variety of trades like turning, electric wiring, telephone linesmen and electrician, and auto-electrician were recommended. Moreover,

day-release and evening class facilities were to be offered to employees in various Government departments and private firms.

The Report recommended that the period of apprenticeship training at the Technical School should be reduced from five to three years. The intake of the full-time course was to be decreased from twenty to ten students, and the duration of their course reduced from eighteen to fifteen months.

As regards the staffing of the Technical School, the Report recommended that any further UNESCO aid in technical education should be mainly used for training local instructors. Three students from the full-time course were to be recruited as Assistant Instructors-in-training. Furthermore, the Report recommended that two full-time Technical Instructors should be recruited during 1963-64; and a Gambian teacher of English and Arithmetic should be posted to the Technical School.

Another recommendation of economic significance pertained to the setting up of a scheme which would enable the Technical School to do work for other Government departments and private individuals on a repayment basis. In order to help in the offsetting of training costs, the Report recommended the charging

of a fee for all training carried out at the School. The Report was, however, candid enough when it stipulated that it would be necessary to spend about £2,700 on extensions at the School; and that increased annual costs up to £3,600 should be accepted by the Government as justified.

The Snead Report was accepted by the Government and action was commenced on some of its recommendations soon after publication. It has indeed provided a blueprint for the development of artisan training in the Gambia.

When a second instructor was recruited from overseas in 1963, it became possible to provide a variety of upgrading and day-release courses as recommended in the Snead Report. The facilities at the Technical School were also used by the Public Works and Marine departments for training their staffs.

The Technical School was renamed "The Vocational Training Centre" in January 1965, in order to "reflect more accurately the varied activities" which had been carried out, or which were envisaged. Courses tailored to the needs of government departments in machining, fitting, carpentry and motor maintenance have been developing since 1965. As conceived in the Snead Report, the Vocational Training Centre has become a hub

of vocational education. In addition to the regular courses in technical trades, theory classes for recognised examinations like the General Certificate of Education O-Level and City and Guilds are also conducted. Facilities on a limited scale exist for instructor training classes, which have been regularly attended. The progress made since 1963 has been quite encouraging: at the end of 1965, there were 69 trainees at the Centre. Most of these trainees were enrolled in full-time courses, although some attended on a part-time basis only. In order to keep pace with advances in technical education, the Vocational Training Centre operates a trade testing scheme.¹

Partly in fulfilment of the "Education Policy 1961-65," and probably also to meet the rising demand of the people from the Provinces for an equitable provision of technical education, the Government worked out plans during 1965 for an extension of vocational training facilities to the Provinces. It was envisaged that a training centre sited at Sapu, which is about 12 miles west of Georgetown, could provide training

1. The Gambia: Reports for the Years 1964 and 1965.
Bathurst, 1966. p.46.

for apprentices of the departments of Agriculture, Public Works, and Electricity. The site was earmarked for its suitability because the Agriculture Department already had a considerable establishment there. Possibilities of providing courses aimed at creating a corps of driver - mechanics, running short courses for farmers in the care and maintenance of equipment, and organising up-grading courses for the departments which needed such courses, were suggested in the proposed programme.¹

The project at Sapu started in a modest way, but its development could be useful in absorbing some of the school leavers from the Provinces, particularly now that educational provision is being accelerated in the hinterland. Moreover, the large-scale drift from the villages to Bathurst and other towns could be checked; as a result many young men are likely to be saved from the frustration of roaming about the towns in the bewilderment of unemployment.

Another milestone in technical and vocational education was reached in 1965 when the Sleight Report did a comprehensive evaluation and recommended

1. loc.cit.,

establishment of Junior Technical, and Rural Vocational Schools and also a Senior Technical School.¹ As the Sleight recommendations have not been accepted the Vocational Training Centre in Bathurst has come to be the only institution of its kind in The Gambia. The Centre now offers no fewer than 12 courses covering the following fields:

Basic Workshop Practice.

Mechanical Engineering Craft Practice.
(Intermediate "City & Guilds")

Motor Mechanics.

Gas Welding. Arc Welding. 4 month courses.

Carpentry - (3 year course) "City & Guilds"

Telecommunications (Intermediate "City & Guilds")

Auto-electricians - 6 months course.

Upgrading courses in a variety of trades. Courses from 1 week to 3 months.

The Vocational Training Centre has made a great success under another UNESCO expert - Mr. Arun Majumdar - who left the country in 1968 after two years of assiduous work. The Centre has a Gambian, Mr. Jagne, as its Principal. The Education Department has been exploring the possibilities of obtaining a technical

1. G.F. Sleight: The Development Programme in Education for The Gambia 1965-1975. Bathurst, 1965. pp.24-29 and 33-37.

expert through the Oxfordshire-Gambia Link project to run the Centre when Mr. Jagne trains overseas.¹ The Government does not appear to be contemplating any large scale expansion of training facilities at the Centre for the simple reason that the needs of the country might not justify any such expansion.²

Other aspects of vocational education in The Gambia are rather limited: there are a Clerical School in Bathurst, an Agricultural Training Class at Yundum, a Nursing School in Bathurst and a Teacher Training College at Yundum.³ Some Government departments have provisions for in-service training on a limited scale.

In a way, facilities for in-service training in the clerical profession had existed in the country since the eighteen-twenties, and introduction of commercial subjects into the curriculum of the schools, particularly the Methodist Boys' High School, had been tried from time to time: no well-organised institution had, however, come into being until the late

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1. File Educ/12. 1966-1968. Education Department. Bathurst. Correspondence between A.R. Chorlton (Director of Education, Oxfordshire County Council) and S.H.M. Jones (Director of Education, The Gambia).
 2. Technical Education in The Gambia. (Typescript). Education Department. Bathurst, 1968. p.5.
 3. Teacher Training has been treated separately in Chapter IX.

nineteen-forties. Then, evening classes in commercial subjects were held in Bathurst after the second world war, but continuous losses of typewriters and furniture, coupled with irregular attendance, had brought the venture to an end within a few years only.¹

A properly organised Clerical School was started in 1949 to give instruction to Government clerks and clerical assistants in typing, shorthand and book-keeping. Two courses were admitted: the main course was intended for clerks who had passed the Government Entrance Examination; the duration of the course was six months. The subsidiary course catered for clerical assistants and was run for a shorter period. In addition to the professional training, the students also received instruction in English, Arithmetic and Civics; and moreover, they attended lectures given by the Heads of Departments on the functions of the Government.²

The Clerical School did not develop much, but it did succeed in turning out enough clerical staff to

1. Annual Reports on the Education Department for The Years 1947, 1948 and 1949. Bathurst, 1952. p.15.

2. Education Department Report 1955-1957. op.cit., p.10.

meet the needs of the country. The School was closed in 1958, because the Instructor retired from service, and no suitable replacement was found for him.

Although the Clerical School ceased to be an independent entity, the training facilities continued on a limited scale at the Crab Island Secondary Modern School, into which, in a way, it was incorporated.

The Snead Report of 1964 had recommended that Day-Release and Evening Class facilities should be offered at the Clerical Training Centre; and that a full-time instructor be engaged for it. The Report had also envisaged that a fee for training done for the private firms and Government Departments should be charged.¹

The Clerical School was revived in 1965 with the support of the International Labour Office, but it then operated within the Education Department under the supervision of an expert deputed by the International Labour Organisation. As slightly better qualified candidates were available, a one-year secretarial course for students with the General Certificate of Education was introduced. Other facilities included

1. Snead: op.cit.,

the one-year in-service shorthand course for G.C.E. holders, one-year typewriting course for selected students from the Secondary Modern Schools, and six months part-time typewriting courses for clerks in Government or private employment. The total enrolment during 1965 was 63 students.¹

The Sleight Report considered the existing Clerical School to be too small to operate effectively, and recommended that it should be incorporated with the re-organised Institution which was proposed to be established on the lines of a Liberal Arts College. The Report also recommended the establishment of a Commercial Education Advisory Committee with a view to co-ordinating commercial education.² None of these recommendations has so far been implemented.

Agricultural training was undertaken by the Society of Friends in the eighteen-twenties at Bakau, and the Wesleyan Mission at Georgetown in the eighteen-thirties.³ After these small efforts, no

1. Sleight: op.cit., p.34.

2. Ibid., pp.36-37.

3. Reference has been made in Chapter II.

organised attempt was made for well over a three quarters of a century to impart agricultural education. Then, in 1908, the Roman Catholic Mission obtained the grant of a plot of land at Abuko, about 14 miles from Bathurst, and started an Agricultural School. Encouragement to this venture, because it was of a great importance in a predominantly agricultural country, was readily given by the Government: an initial grant of £400 was provided, and then an annual grant of £200. As the School did not attract a reasonable number of trainees, the Government grant was stopped in 1911. The Mission, however, continued the School on its own until 1917, when due to the complete lack of interest on the part of the people, the Mission finally closed the School.¹

From 1918 to 1963, no separate institution worth its name was organised to impart agricultural education in the country. From time to time, no doubt, the primary school curriculum was furnished with agriculturally-biased subjects; and special efforts were made at Armitage School to devote ample time to gardening and work connected with agriculture. Most

1. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1936. Bathurst, 1937. p.4.

of the training for semi-skilled work was done departmentally; and for special posts people were trained outside The Gambia.

An agriculture training course was started in September 1964 at Yundum. Fifteen students, who were housed with the teacher training students, started an intensive course of one year. The course was run by an expert provided under British Technical Assistance.¹ The course has been continuing, and is now run by a Gambian - Mr. D. N'Jie - who has been trained abroad. It is popular, and attracts good candidates from the secondary schools, but its shortcoming is that it has been a "one-man show." The scope of the curriculum calls for more staff and better facilities.

The Sleight Report recommended the establishment of an Agricultural School in conjunction with the Roman Catholic Mission which in fact already had a plan for an Agricultural School. In this venture, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Agriculture were to co-operate. No action has so far been taken in this direction.

1. The Gambia: Report for the Years 1964 and 1965. op.cit., p.47.

A Nursing School was started in 1962 with the assistance of UNICEF, and a nurse-educator was provided by the World Health Organisation. By 1964 a new school was built in Bathurst, close to the Royal Victoria Hospital. The School has residential facilities for 30 women students,¹ although it trains male nurses also. The scope of the three-year course has been enlarged; and the School has been making a steady progress under the leadership of Mrs. Rachel Palmer, Sister incharge of the School.

The Gambia has a non-industrial bias, which stands in the way of any large-scale provision in technical and vocational education. There is no point in training people who cannot be profitably employed. The country may not aspire after big industries, but it can still establish cottage and small-scale industries connected with groundnuts, palm seed, citrus fruit, fish, consumer goods like soap, biscuits, candles, cloth; and industries for which raw materials like hides and skins are available. Canning of fruit, beef and fish, and export of bananas, paw-paw and mangoes could be tried without much investment.

1. Ibid., p.56.

Training facilities could then be diversified at the Vocational Training Centre to train people in advanced techniques. There may be no great impact of these ventures on the economy, but they will definitely help in its stabilisation.

CHAPTER XI

ADULT EDUCATION.

In its broad sense, the concept of adult education is quite old: education of oriental people - Chinese, Indian, Persian - continued much after youth; Plato's theory of higher education revolves about the idea of formal pursuits of learning by mature persons; and education during the Middle Ages, whether it was for intellectual, religious or social discipline, was carried on for a longer period than the days of formal learning. It was, however, in the late eighteenth century that foundations of what was to be called adult education as distinguished from higher education pursued by mature persons, were laid in the United Kingdom - first in Sunday Schools, and then in Adult Schools and the Mechanics' Institutes.

The theory and practice of adult education in the United Kingdom became a model for other countries. Some of these countries like the U.S.S.R., China and Turkey, although they have different social systems, claim to have benefited from adult education so much as to make the masses of their illiterate people literate within a short time. In many colonies too a modest

success was achieved, but in The Gambia, the story of adult education is brief and very little has been done seriously, in spite of a good deal of literature produced on the subject, both overseas and within the country itself.

Strictly speaking, even in the conception of adult education, The Gambia was a late starter: it was only in 1925 that the country had access to minimum principles as outlined in the Education Policy. The Policy advocated that the first task of education was "to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people."¹ No immediate plans were made for adult education; the only education given was to children in the schools on a small scale, whereas the vast majority of the population, both children and adults, remained unlettered.

A little progress had, however, been made in other African territories and the Advisory Committee on Native Education reviewed the progress, analysed the problems, and issued a Memorandum in 1935. Its main purpose was "to show the educational significance of the inter-relation of all the factors in community

1. Education Policy in British Tropical Africa.
Cmd. 2374. London, 1925. p.4.

life" and it stressed that the true educational aim was "the education, not only of the young, but of the whole community, through the co-ordination of the activities of all the agencies aiming at social improvement." The memorandum further stipulated that the education of adults should go hand in hand with the education of the young and education of the women with that of the men.¹

Belated efforts were made in 1937, but even then there was no deliberate planning specifically directed towards adult education. Lady Southorn, wife of the Governor W.T. Southorn, started a social club for women and girls and called this club "The Busy Bees." The Bees visited the Home for the Infirm and rendered inmates assistance. They assembled to sew and knit; sometimes they watched educational films; and occasionally they also discussed matters of common interest.² The Club remained very active for about two years, but was then slightly disrupted by the demands of the second world war. It had only small achievements to its credit, but its importance lay in

1. Memorandum on the Education of African Communities. Col. No.103. London, 1935. p.2.

2. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1937. Bathurst, 1938. p.13.

that it stimulated voluntary effort which, in fact, has been the main basis of the success of adult education in many countries.

During the second world war, for the education of the general public, daily broadcasts of news bulletins in English and Joloff through loudspeakers in the centre of Bathurst was undertaken. Speeches of important personalities were relayed to the public direct from the British Broadcasting Corporation through the loudspeakers; and public cinema shows were given regularly two or three times a month. The programmes consisted of news reels, documentaries, educational films, and occasionally, pure entertainment reels. At times silent films were also shown in Bathurst, while there was a regular showing of these at wharf towns on each trip made by the Government steamer up and down the River Gambia.¹

The Government was conscious of the fact that one of the primary concerns of these film shows was "propaganda"; but it was also being greatly appreciated that they were proving "a means of broadening and increasing the hitherto narrow knowledge of the adult

1. Annual Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1941. Bathurst, 1942. p.9.

population."¹

It is true that these activities had an intrinsic educational value, but it is difficult to support the assumption of the Government that the impact was great. There were hardly any sources of entertainment for the people during the war years; they might have taken a walk to the centre of the town to relieve monotony or to escape from the discomfort of the tropical climate - more for fun and frolic than for education. Even these days when entertainment seems to be much better organised in Bathurst, the people do flock about the MacCarthy Square in the centre of the town to while away their time. The observation in the Education Report for 1941 that the public was not "spoiled and surfeited by sensational entertainment films" no doubt points to the general dearth of entertainment media.² Nevertheless, these small attempts at community education were in minimal satisfaction of policies that would have otherwise remained only pious hopes.

Little was done in the Protectorate: the Daily News Bulletin was translated into the vernacular and

1. loc.cit.,

2. loc.cit.,

was distributed to the people in the main towns and villages. After the war, the Bulletin contained news about the Government legislation and other outstanding local events.

Stimulus to intensify the education of adults came in the year 1944. The goals set by the British Government were defined along these lines: to secure the improvement of health and living conditions of the people; the improvement of their well-being in the economic sphere; and the development of political institutions and political power to make people fit for self-government. It was pointed out that a man might be healthy, though illiterate. He might be prosperous without being learned. He might, while still almost entirely ignorant of the wider duties of a citizen, live and, indeed, enjoy life under a Government which provided him with security and justice. It was stressed that all these things might, in a measure, be true, but it was far truer that the general health of the whole community, its general well-being and prosperity, could only be secured and maintained if "the whole mass of the people" had a real share in education and had some understanding of its meaning and its purpose. It was further emphasised that without such general share in

education and such understanding, true democracy could not function and the rising hope of self-government would "suffer frustration."¹

Although The Gambia formulated no large-scale programmes of mass education, classes for adults were started in Bathurst after the war. Moreover, as need had arisen for classes for over-age children who were too old for Primary schools, provision was made to start special classes for these children. Education of the general public, if it could be called education, was conducted by the Information Bureau, run by the Public Relations Office on similar lines to the war-time ones; but the scope was slightly increased by the introduction of a lending library and still further by giving film-strip shows, accompanied by talks. During the rainy season weekly cinema shows were also held in Bathurst, and film-strip shows were periodically given to villages in the Kombo. In order to make such shows a greater success, the publicity people explained the pictures to the villagers and commented upon them in the vernacular.²

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1. Mass Education in African Society. Col.No.186. London, 1944. p.4.
 2. The Annual Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1945. Bathurst, 1946. p.17.

The need to find a vehicle of greater understanding, had given rise to the concept of Fundamental Education. UNESCO stressed the need of undertaking programmes to combat the ignorance of masses of people through the three R's; and to improve the life of the nations by influencing the natural and social environment, and by imparting knowledge of the world.¹

The Government did not undertake any worthwhile project until 1947; then an experiment in mass education was conducted by the Public Relations Officer in one of the villages in the Western Division of the country. The attempt was, however, short lived, and was abandoned in the following year.²

Subsequently a programme of mass education was also undertaken at Genieri in the Protectorate under the general direction of George O'Halloran, the Protectorate Education Officer. The programme was planned on a double basis to ensure general betterment and to impart literacy. The first part of the programme was undertaken by the Nutritional Field Working Party of the Medical Research Council. The literacy campaign was directed

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1. Fundamental Education. New York, 1947. pp.145-146.
 2. Annual Reports on the Education Department for the Years 1947, 1948 and 1949. Bathurst, 1952. p.191.

towards spreading a practical knowledge of the local vernaculars and an interest in the concerns of rural life by means of broad-sheets. These sheets were first issued in Mandinka in Roman characters, aided by simple illustration. In a modest way, the Laubach method of teaching adults was aimed at. O'Halloran and Bokari Siddibe, a Gambian who was trained in Social Welfare in Britain, jointly produced booklets and primers in Mandinka for the use of the adult learners.¹

There was neither any extension of such programmes to other parts of the country, nor were they sustained and intensified at their base; yet an interesting feature of the adult and mass education programmes is the great volume of correspondence produced which now lies in the Public Records Office in Bathurst.

Another significant document entitled "Education for Citizenship in Africa" was issued in 1948, in which it was stressed that mass education concerned itself

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1. Ibid., p.20. Also see Mass Education - Gambia. Overseas Education, XIX January 1948. p.646 and correspondence File B/90 in Public Records Office, Bathurst. O'Halloran has made some interesting observations on the question of teaching adults on individual basis or as a class. George O'Halloran: A Gambian Experiment on Mass Education, 1949. (Typescript). Community Development Clearing House, University of London.

"not merely with literacy or new habits such as better agriculture or better hygiene, but also with the development of a heightened social consciousness."¹

The Gambia still chose however to remain as an isolated island and satisfied itself with occasional small-scale programmes; programmes which were in complete contrast with the gigantic strides being taken in other West African countries.

Lack of interest in adult education, or rather a superficial approach to it, was also evident from such comprehensive documents as the Baldwin Report of 1951. The Report casually recommended that "night classes in the Rudiments should be held for illiterate adolescents and adults." It echoed the programmes undertaken in extra-mural studies of the West African University Colleges, and recommended that an "outpost of the Gold Coast College" be established in The Gambia to give courses of "an intellectual type."² Whether there was a reasonable audience or not was hardly taken into account. Moreover, the Protectorate, where the percentage of illiterate people was even higher, was

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1. Education for Citizenship in Africa. Col.No.216. London, 1948. p.29.
 2. T.H. Baldwin: Report of a Commission appointed to make Recommendations on the Aims, Contents and Methods of Education in the Gambia. Bathurst, 1951. pp.31-32.

ignored.

Credit for calling a spade a spade should, however, go to the Jeffery Report of 1953, which boldly stated that the campaign for mass literacy was being used in all territories with the possible exception of the Gambia, as a test of Government's sincerity and the campaign carried with it "an emotional undertone of great intensity." ¹

The Gambia still moved at a sluggish pace: evening classes on a small scale were, no doubt, held both in Bathurst and in certain towns in the Protectorate, but no ambitious scheme was put forward, even though the Government knew that less than two per cent of the people were literate in the Protectorate.

The only departure from this slowness was noticeable in the work of the Domestic Science Organiser who ran and supervised Homecraft classes for adult women during the dry season (January - May) at different centres in the Protectorate. As there was a general non-availability of satisfactory accommodation to run these classes, co-operation from the Chiefs was sought

1. African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa.
London, 1953. p.31.

in order to use their compounds. The encouraging thing was that such co-operation was readily given. Usually 12 - 20 women attended each centre, but soon the idea became so popular that more centres were opened: there were 8 such centres in 1957. The scheme drove home the point that earnestness on the part of organisers, the appeal and utility to participants, and Government's financial support were major factors in the success of programmes of rural uplift.¹

Even of late, the Government has not been as keen on shouldering responsibilities as governments in other West African countries have been. Its indifference to adult education was manifested in "Education Policy 1961-65," in which the hope was expressed that one of the international agencies might be "able to contribute in staff and funds."² When The Gambia participated in the Conference in Addis Ababa in 1961, the country appears to have only theoretically subscribed to the views of the Conference; in this Conference great importance was attached to adult education.³

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1. Education Department Report 1955-1957. Bathurst, 1958. p.15. The Government spent £480 on the Scheme.
 2. Education Policy 1961-65. Bathurst, 1961. p.6.
 3. Outline of a Plan for African Educational Development. UNESCO, 1961. pp.25-26.

Thus developments in the nineteen-sixties have not been deserving of any special notice: the Homecraft Classes have continued functioning; in some rural schools teachers have voluntarily held classes, usually teaching in the vernacular; and voluntary effort in Bathurst has been running adult literacy classes teaching in English.¹

Although Adult Education was not included in the terms of reference of Dr. Sleight, his Report of 1965 none the less made some valuable recommendations. The Report considered community participation as an essential ingredient in the success of a development programme in education. It stressed the need for treatment of programmes at a project level, so that there was less scope for the limitations of a remote administrative control. Importance of teachers as agents in literacy programmes was pointed out. It was further recommended that UNESCO assistance should be sought in the provision of books with a functional literacy value and for advice in the planning of a national programme on adult education. The Report went deeply into the question of education of adolescent

1. Report of the Education Department for the Triennium 1961-1963. Bathurst, 1964. p.12.

children who were not enrolled in regular schools and recommended that provision should be made for universal literacy of such children, and lastly it recommended that a token sum of £1,000 per annum should be earmarked for supply of literature to approved adult education classes.¹

The Sleight Report epitomizes the various documents issued on adult education from time to time, for it takes into account the interrelation of social, economic, emotional, intellectual and spiritual aspects of human development and progress. The tasks set in the Report are no doubt great but they can still be fulfilled by the co-ordinated efforts of all those who wish for the betterment of the illiterate masses of people.

1. G.F. Sleight: The Development Programme in Education for The Gambia 1965-1975. Bathurst, 1965. pp.45-47.

CHAPTER XII

THE WELFARE OF PUPILS.

Before a child begins school in The Gambia, he has already acquired some style of life from his family: an elementary introduction to the rudiments of practical arts has been given; he has received oral instruction in moral, religious and other matters; and he has been drilled in modesty of behaviour and propriety of conduct. In certain tribes, initiation ceremonies at puberty play an important part in the physical and psychic development of the adolescent. Tribes still are the great custodians of the social and moral welfare of the child.¹

Children, when they enter schools, are looked after in a different way. Their health is protected by medical science in the hospital, and not by incantations before an invisible and supernatural spirit as in the village. Spiritual needs of the children are generally met by Christianity and Islam, and not through the worship of tribal gods and goddesses. Social development takes place in a less rigorous environment in the school than is general in the tribal frame-work.

The change from home to school does subject the

1. See also Chapter XIII.

child to great psychological tensions; but generally the initial conflict is resolved by a compromise between tribal and western values. It must, however, be appreciated that when cultural tradition is subjected to more rapid changes than the capacity of the cultural mechanisms to make adjustment, "the distress suffered by a soul required to live in two different universes at once, is very great indeed."¹

As Islam and Christianity have both been only imports into The Gambia, many followers of these religions have not been able to make a clear break with the indigenous African religions. The devout followers apart, zealots, bigots, hypocrites and polytheists are encountered in the country as in any other society, subjected to the influences of complex moral and spiritual forces. This has a profound effect on children at home, in the school and in the community at large.

The various Education Ordinances and Regulations, and policy documents issued from time to time, have made it clear that, though there was to be freedom of

1. Colin Legum: Must We Lose Africa? London, 1954. p.257.

religion, no child was to receive any religious instruction objected to by the parent or guardian; and that all grant-aided schools were to be open to children without distinction of religion or race. Nevertheless, as the main aim of education of the early missionaries was religious, it was inevitable that no pains would be spared to inculcate Christian values. Provision was made for Islamic instruction in the Mohammedan School in the beginning of the twentieth century, but the percentage of school population attending this school was still low; many Muslim children continued attending the Christian schools.

Muslim children in the Christian schools either abstained from religious instruction, or participated in it voluntarily. That some cautious yet effective indoctrination might have been done by nuns and priests could not be denied, as conversions from Islam to Christianity were common, although, of late, the process has been in sharp decline.

The importance of religion, not only in spiritual development, but also in character training, was stressed in the Education Policy of 1925. Education was expected to "strengthen the feeling of responsibility to the tribal community;" it was also to strengthen will

power, to make the conscience sensitive both to moral and intellectual truth, and to impart some power of discriminating between good and evil, between reality and superstition. It was further emphasised that the formation of habits of industry, of truthfulness, of manliness, of readiness for social service and of disciplined co-operation laid the foundation of character.¹

In fact, the African tradition has never been agnostic or atheistic: from time immemorial, belief in some supernatural power has been the dominant note in African life. Yet in The Gambia, no syllabus of moral or religious training has ever been laid down in the Education Code. Religious matters have been left in the hands of the managers of schools.

Schools traditionally begin with an assembly: in the Christian schools the mode of prayer does not differ from schools in the United Kingdom, but in predominantly Muslim schools prayers are selected from the Koran, and are usually led by the Koranic teachers. Church attendance for the Christian children or mosque attendance for the Muslim children is practised without

1. Education Policy in British Tropical Africa.
Cmd. 2374. London, 1925. pp.4-5.

any difficulty. Children who do not belong to a particular religion, or even denomination, have the option to abstain from such attendance.

In addition to the spiritual side of children's development, efforts have been made to ensure their physical fitness. This has been achieved by introducing physical training in the curriculum, by instructing children in the principles of health and hygiene, and by encouraging medical inspections.

As early as 1922, the Inspector of Schools recommended a simple course of dumb-bell or bar-bell. The officers of the Gambia Police Force, were to train teachers and senior boys so that they could later act as instructors in the schools. Sports and games became popular in the schools in the early nineteen-twenties: a football competition was held for the first time in 1924, in which schools competed for a cup, presented by a local football club. A football league competition for junior boys was commenced for a shield which was jointly subscribed for by the schools themselves.¹ Football competitions were held on MacCarthy Square in Bathurst, and these were

1. Report on the Affiliated Schools for the Year 1924. Bathurst, 1925. pp.2-3.

enthusiastically supported by the public.

As the interest in sports and games increased, the Government was urged to grant a small sum of £5 annually to each school to be spent on games, and to this the Government readily agreed. Moreover, a School Games Committee was formed to promote sports activities. Gradually physical training was also included amongst the competitions, and the Governor offered a shield for physical training, which was to be competed for between the Bathurst schools. Although usual sports activities went on regularly, special programmes were organized for Empire Day. School children in their colourful uniforms paraded before the public during the morning; sports were held during the afternoon, both in Bathurst and at Georgetown.

During the second world war too, interest in sports and games did not diminish; more cups and shields were introduced into the competitions and physical training continued to be a regular part of the curriculum of each school. This development was further encouraged by a local club, called the African Cai Club, which donated a cup.¹ The war had its adverse effect on the

1. The Annual Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1941. Bathurst, 1942. p.8.

supply of sports gear, so that football matches could not be played frequently but soon after the termination of hostilities sports material could again be imported so that games were organised regularly. The display given by all teams was of a "high quality" and was admired by large crowds of spectators.¹

Association football became a popular game, and matches were played with teams from neighbouring territories of Senegal, Portuguese Guinea and Sierra Leone. Cricket was introduced on a national basis, and test matches have since been played against Sierra Leone every year. The Government made a financial allocation of £700 to the Football and Cricket Associations in 1957; in the same year a new series of inter-secondary school sports meetings was initiated under Amateur Athletic Association Rules.² Although athletics had not reached even minimum standards when compared to African and International records, yet there was consolation in that a start in the right direction had been made. Moreover, schools were to be

1. The Annual Report of the Director of Education for the Year 1945. Bathurst, 1946. p.15.

2. Education Department Report 1955-1957. Bathurst, 1958. p.14.

the main, regular, supply-centres for athletes and sportsmen.

Organisational progress in sports and games was furthered when in 1960, the Gambia Football Association became co-ordinators of the activities of various clubs, and the sponsors of international matches. The Government displayed more interest and made an annual grant of £350 to each Association. The Amateur Athletic Association, formed during 1960, sent a team to Nigeria to compete during the country's independence celebrations.¹

There is not much variety in the provision of games: football is popular with most schools; cricket is played in secondary schools and at Yundum College, and the outstanding players are selected for the national teams. Athletic activities have shown improvement under the care of the Gambia Amateur Athletic Association.² Sports and games remain predominantly a male occupation; of late, however, school girls have also been showing interest, and have been joining teams competing within and outside The Gambia.

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1. Education Department Report for the Triennium 1958-1960. Bathurst, 1961. p.11.
 2. Report of the Education Department for the Triennium 1961-1963. Bathurst, 1964. p.11.

Physical education specialists have played an important part in raising the standards in the schools: the work of Mr. F.D. Forbes, who was trained in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, deserves a special mention. As a lecturer at Yundum College, Forbes trained teachers in the most up-to-date theory and practice of sports, games, and physical education; these teachers are already giving a living proof of their sound training in schools. Furthermore, the youthful members of the British Voluntary Service Overseas and the American Peace Corps Volunteers have also made recognisable contributions towards raising the standards of sports and games.

Provision to teach hygiene and sanitation to the pupils was made in the Education Ordinance in the year 1882, and the importance of these subjects was duly stressed.

For a long time the pupils followed Dr. W.T. Prout's "Lessons on Elementary Hygiene and Sanitation with special reference to the Tropics." Pupils as well as teachers were examined in hygiene. Successful teachers were awarded certificates which were essential to the obtaining of a Teacher's Certificate. Lectures on hygiene were given by the Medical Officers of Health. Such an exercise must have been taken up quite seriously

as was evident from Dr. F.A. Innes's remark that oral teaching should be "sustained and explained by actual demonstrations on the subjects" for the sake of double force of appeal to the African who was, otherwise, likely to accept whiteman's science superficially and was prone to excluding Africa from it.¹ There has been continuity in the teaching of hygiene in the Gambian schools, although the subject was, later on, taught by the teachers themselves, and was no longer compulsory for a teachers' certificate.

The Medical Officer of Health has also examined the pupils, although medical inspections have not been very regular. Around the nineteen-twenties, it was feared that children would be scared of inspections, but when some regularity was established in medical tests and examinations, it was found that children, instead of being afraid, were delighted at the interlude from the routine of school life.²

Often a dresser from the hospital visited the schools, and attended to minor ailments, cuts and bruises; serious cases were treated at the Royal Victoria

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1. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the Year 1922. Bathurst, 1923. p.4.
 2. Report on the Affiliated Elementary Schools for the Year 1924. op.cit., pp.2-3.

Hospital in Bathurst, and the Bansang Hospital in the Protectorate. Within the last decade, dispensaries have been opened in many other villages and towns in the Provinces. These dispensaries are attended by children needing treatment. The dressers from the hospital now visit Bathurst schools regularly. From time to time, dental inspections of the pupils have been conducted on a limited scale, but it was only during 1967 that children in all the schools were examined by Mrs. I. Perera, the Dental Surgeon at the Royal Victoria Hospital. It is envisaged to establish a Mobile Dental Unit which, in addition to looking after the public in general, will also cater for the schools in the Provinces.¹

The social welfare of the pupils has been the joint responsibility of the family, the school, and also the Government. The family passes on inherited knowledge and wisdom through its folklore, ceremonies and rituals; the school organises extra-curricular activities, and the Government has provided a Social Welfare Officer. This officer co-ordinates the activities of the country as a whole, but he has a major share of work within the Ministry of Education. He is

1. Progress Report on the Primary Education for the Period September 1966 - December 1967. (Typescript). Education Department. Bathurst. p.3.

the sole probation officer, and supervises the care of the few juvenile delinquents, for whom there is no separate institution. They are, however, placed in charge of foster-parents.

Voluntary organisations - Bathurst Youth Centre, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Red Cross Society - offer opportunities to pupils to participate in their various activities. The Boy Scouts Movement is a long-established organisation but like many other organisations in the country, it has had its vicissitudes.

The only institution for handicapped children and adults is the Rural Training Centre for the blind near Georgetown. The Centre was started in 1964 with the funds provided by the Freedom from Hunger Campaign in the United Kingdom. Trainees are received from various parts of the country and undergo a nine-month course of training in farming and handicrafts. By December 1964, 24 trainees had passed through the Centre.¹ The progress within the last few years has not been encouraging, because, it seems, the scheme is not very

1. The Gambia: Reports for the Years 1964 and 1965. Bathurst, 1966. pp.48-49.

popular: sentimental attachment of the family to its blind member is so strong that sending him away from home is considered not only unkind, but also sinful.

Except for meals to necessitous children provided on a very limited scale at the Mohammedan School and the Roman Catholic Schools at an even earlier date, and the milk supply in some schools during the last few years, there is hardly any other welfare service, as is found in schools in the United Kingdom. Children usually buy their food and drinks from vendors; the standard of cleanliness of their supplies is not always satisfactory.

The smallness of the country, the mutual relationship of its people, religious and tribal loyalties, respectfulness of the younger generation, paternal attitude of the elders, simplicity of life in general have all contributed to a largely healthy, harmonious and happy life; and these features of life are reflected in the schools as well. Some kind of break from the tribal life is inherent in the process of education, but as education is also an instrument of stability, a complete break will be rare.¹ The new

1. Gwen Vessy: Looking at Africa. London, 1951. p.41.

materialistic challenges are likely to make the younger generation look for loyalties over and above the tribal, religious or regional ones, yet there is no serious danger of any immediate disintegration - spiritual, moral or social in The Gambia.

Part IV

CONTEXT.

CHAPTER XIII

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS.

Most Africans in the past lived - as many live today - in tribal groups. Although geographical, ethnic, and later on political considerations have played an important part in the life of such people, it was religion that played the decisive role, particularly with respect to the Western influences. Tribes have either followed the traditional African religions, or embraced Islam, or were converted to Christianity. The Gambia has gradually become predominantly Muslim; it has a Christian minority and there still is a small number of the followers of traditional religions, who have resisted the proselytising influences both of the Muslims and the Christians.

Little noteworthy anthropological or sociological research has been done either on the pagan groups, or on tribal organisation; Daryll Forde, as late as 1945, pointed out ~~the~~ the dearth of research, and saw clearly how the process of ethnic intermixture and diversity was adverse to social cohesion in the hinterland. The "discrepancy in cultural background and economic standards between the Aku minority and the urbanised Wolof" was also noted.¹

1. Daryll Forde: Report on Need for Ethnographic and Sociological Research in the Gambia. Bathurst, 1945. pp. 2-5.

It was in 1949 that Gamble conducted a socio-economic survey which, though of some value, lacked psychological and sociological breadth.¹ The only other work of some importance has been the socio-economic survey of Bathurst and Kombo St. Mary, conducted by Van der Plas.² The work as a whole fell short of understanding the wider issues - political, social, economic, psychological and spiritual. These two researchers have also made other small contributions along the lines taken in the above surveys. Descriptive rather than analytical though the approaches of Gamble and Van der Plas are, they provide an outline for more penetrating study.

Generally speaking, the pagans did not feel the need to discard their world in favour of Islam and Christianity because they had what met their needs: viz the supernatural for spiritual gratification, the process of imitation for acquisition of skills, simple agricultural activities, hunting and pastoral life for economic satisfaction, and rites and ceremonies to knit the fabric of their social life.

The child in these traditional societies was taken as seriously as he is today in advanced societies. He was

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1. D.P. Gamble: Contributions to a Socio-Economic Survey of the Gambia. Colonial Office. London, 1949.
 2. Charles O. Van der Plas: Report of a Socio-Economic Survey of Bathurst and Kombo St. Mary in the Gambia. New York. 1956.

a boon, and his arrival was considered good fortune. After birth, the first step in the socialization of the child was accomplished by means of the naming ceremony. This was an expression of the child's 'social birth', because of the forging of the initial lasting ties between the "individual and his social heritage." ¹

Primitive education, proceeding through childhood by a process of imitation, reached its climax when the boy or the girl attained puberty. The initiation ceremonies were- and still are - a culmination of the social desires of the group to immerse the child into its culture and fetch him out a mature man; they mark the passage of the youth from "social childhood" into "social maturity". ² Thus indigenous societies enabled children to be assimilated fully, and one generation transmitted its culture to the succeeding generation ³ - handing on its total heritage: spiritual, economic, social and psychological.

Only very recently have historians, sociologists and anthropologists begun to look at the African past more objectively. The myth that Africa has no history is being exploded; the idea that Africans, before the arrival of the

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1. Nathan Miller: The Child in Primitive Society. London, 1928. p.70.
 2. Ibid. pp.184 and 189.
 3. E.E. Evans-Pritchard: Indigenous Education in Africa. Essays Presented to C.G. Seligman, London, 1934. p. 321.

Europeans, had no social structure meriting attention, has been successfully challenged; and the belief that traditional societies really lived mostly solitary and nasty lives is shown to be untrue. Light is now focussed more clearly on the ancient history of Ghana, and the later and larger Songhai, both of which kingdoms probably embraced The Gambia. Moreover it is being appreciated that animism, fetishism, initiation ceremonies, sorcery and witchcraft have served the same purpose in primitive societies as is "served in more complex society by sciences, philosophy, history, literature and religion".¹

The self-contained life of the pagan has always put a barrier in the path of western education. It has taken as long time - longer than it took the Muslims - for the Christian influence to penetrate, particularly because the Christian missionary was more of an alien than the Muslim, who was closer in ethnic characteristics and close enough in many social habits.

The Muslim tribes too had their organization which met all their needs. Islam provided not only the spiritual, but also social, economic, and even political basis of unity. Although Islam had its sects, it had - and has even today - a fair amount of unity in its theory and practice. Five pillars of faith are found in prayer, fasting and pilgrimage

1. Paul Monroe: A Brief Course in the History of Education. New York, 1912. p.8.

which are ritual action; in the giving of alms which is congregational; and in declaration of faith which provides the doctrinal basis.¹

Islam does not have a sacerdotal body, but it has its clergy whose role is seen "analogous with that of the European Middle Age Clerks."² Terms like 'marabout' and 'malam' are in vogue; and then, depending on the specific task - public worship, teaching, mastery of canon law - clergy may be termed 'imam', 'almammi' or 'liman': 'marabout' and 'imam' have been frequently used in The Gambia. The list of his religious functions is long: from cradle to grave, the 'imam' has something to do - he names the new born, teaches the young the rudiments of Islam, conducts the marriage ceremony, leads in prayers, performs the first sacrifice at the great feasts, washed the dead and leads the funeral prayers.

The prestige of the religious leader left little hope of success for the early missionaries in convincing the Muslims of Christian superiority. The early encounters were symptomatic of this hard reality.³ In addition, there existed mystical brotherhoods like the 'Tijaniyah',

1. S.F. Nadel: Nupe Religion. London, 1954. p.259.
See also H.J. Fisher: Ahmadiyyah. London, 1963.
pp.1-11.

2. J.S. Trimingham: Islam in West Africa. London, 1959.
p.68.

3. See Chapter II, p.28, foot note 2.

which provided a great cementing force from within, and acted as shields against foreign influences.

Moreover, the Muslims had the Koranic or Arabic schools whose origin in West Africa was "the oldest of conceptions in the field of education, a pupil willing to learn and a teacher ready to teach. They were not intended for material ends but to help the scholars to understand man and his relations to things visible and invisible."¹ In The Gambia these schools were not as well organised as in Northern Nigeria; nor were they organised on the same lines as the Christian schools, but they served the same purpose: religious instruction - quite often learnt by children by rote- dominated the Koranic schools as much as it did the early Christian schools. The character of these Koranic schools has not changed much over the years. Almost all villages of reasonable size have a school - a big village may have more than one. Arabic teaching and writing, and the Koran are taught; emphasis is on memorization of passages from the Koran.² Recitation is done from the text; small books, usually printed in Morocco and Egypt, are available. Generally male children of different ages assemble on the compound of the teacher, mostly at night.

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1. Report of a Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. London, 1945. p.14.
 2. Similar practice is prevalent in Northern Nigeria. See Bashiru Tukur: Koranic Schools in Northern Nigeria. West African Journal of Education. Vol.VII, No.3, October 1963. pp.149-152.

Open fires light the lessons and children sit with their backs to the fire to facilitate reading or writing. There are no mosque schools as in other Muslim countries, but the Ahmadis - a mission from Pakistan - have introduced such schools in other West African countries, although their influence in The Gambia is limited.

Children practise writing on a smooth, flat, rectangular plank of wood, which is called 'wala' in Mandinka. This contrivance is called 'Takhti' in India and Pakistan, and was indiscriminately used in village schools; it is used sometimes even now in schools in poor areas. Reed pens, sharpened on one end are dipped in black ink, and writing appears in bold characters; these are then washed off in preparation for new writing.

Teachers in the Koranic schools are generally well versed in Islamic studies, and many have a good command of Arabic - some have been educated in Senegal and Morocco, and they are highly respected by the pupils as well as the village communities. In certain areas children work on the farm of their teacher, who, in turn, feeds them. This arrangement is accepted in good faith. Many of these schools now only supplement rather than, as they did before, provide alternatives to Western-style schools: the child attends the Koranic schools in his spare time.¹

1. See also Chapter XII, pp.268-274.

In addition to the religious basis of the tribal life, the tribes have been socially organized in other ways. There were - and still are - slight differences in organizations of the Mandinka, Wolof, Fula, for example, even if the broad framework was the same. They had strong family ties, and the authority of the elder member was readily accepted.

The village community had a strong sense of unity; which it still maintains: when people from neighbouring villages attend festivities, in particular circumcision ceremonies, they do not come individually but collect on the outskirts of the village and enter as a community.¹ This collective action again gave cohesion and prevented the possibility of any individual member being influenced by missionaries. There was a marked subordination of the individual to the customs of the community, although those customs were not necessarily static.

How well-organized the tribes are, becomes evident from the prevalence of 'Kaffu' - something equivalent to a Youth Club. The 'Kaffu' is an age-set organization, having members from the age of 13 to 30. There is also a complementary organization among the women, consisting mostly of the initiated girls and women. The leader of

1. Van der Plas: op.cit. p.23.

the 'Kaffu' is elected by the common vote of the members. The 'Kaffu' is responsible for the entertainment of visiting bands of drummers, welcoming and throwing challenges in wrestling, mending a road, repairing 'bantaba' and digging wells. The female 'Kaffu' cooks and takes part in dancing and entertainment.¹ It is likely that such organization left little scope for the development of Christian-inspired clubs like the Boys Brigade, Scouts and Guides - organizations through which western influences were cemented.

Another example of the way in which western educational influences were restricted arises from the nature of the village organization. Villages are divided into wards (Mandinka 'Kabilo', Wolof 'Khet'). These units have as their nucleus a particular kin group, but the ward includes the wives who marry, the descendents of settlers, smiths, weavers, leather-workers and 'giryots' (bards). The head is the 'Satio-tio' - owner of the village, and he is the eldest of the generation. Within the village, the sub-division is made into yards and compounds (called 'suo' in Mandinka and 'Kir' in Wolof). The yards usually lead the formal procession to the mosque at the end of Ramadan.

1. K.L. Little: The Organization of Communal Farms in the Gambia. Journal of African Administration, Vol. I No.2. April 1949. p.77.

In event of any disaster, the hardships are borne by the community as a whole rather than the individual in particular - thus social security is ensured.¹

The foregoing social structure prevailed in the hinterland: conditions in Bathurst were different. Contacts with European traders, and later with missionaries affected the life of the urban communities. When the detribalized, liberated Africans arrived they gave scope for western influences. Early missionaries saw in these rootless people the best raw material for their evangelical work.²

It was natural enough for such Africans to take pride in the way of life of their liberators, who had also become their religious mentors. The urbanised Wolof of Bathurst too were gradually losing living contact with their tribe in the interior, and were forgetting their folklore and literature. Catholics in particular, seized this opportunity in the mid-nineteenth century. As will be seen from Chapter II, Christianity was welcomed by the coastal Aku and some Wolof much earlier, and more easily, than even by the pagans: the Muslims however resisted it all through.

In addition to the local circumstances, there were

1. M.R. Haswell: The Changing Pattern of Economic Activity in a Gambia Village. London, 1963. p.7.

2. See Chapter II, pp.29-39.

wider issues involved. Through the long colonial era, the attitudes of the Europeans to Africans and Africans to Europeans underwent many changes. The New Testament, the French Revolution, Abolitionism, Darwinism are the factors associated with changing attitudes. Recent movements like Negritude, Pan-Africanism and the cult of African Personality are reactions to European thinking and practice. In some ways, the African has over-compensated: for example, the status and power of the "African elite"¹ has left an imbalance in the societies where the great majority are still illiterate.

Policies of the British Government directed the course of events rather more decisively. For example, the West African colonies, when their administration was carried out by the trading companies, had received subsidies from the British Exchequer. When the Imperial Government took over early in the first half of the nineteenth century, the grants-in-aid still continued. The policy spearheaded by Earl Grey was that the surest test of the soundness of measures for the improvement of an uncivilised people was that they should be "self-supporting".² As the colonies could not raise

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1. R. Clignet and P.J. Foster: The Fortunate Few. North Western University Press, 1966; and R. Clignet: Education et aspirations professionnelles. Tiers-Monde 5(17) 1964. p.61.
 2. Earl Grey: The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration. London, 1853. Vol. II. p.281.

enough money, the grants continued, but the territories came to be treated with utmost "parsimony and contempt".¹

During the 1890's, there was a change in policy: Joseph Chamberlain treated colonies as underdeveloped estates and hence started the practice of borrowing, which ultimately became, so to say, a virtue. The result was that by 1924, considerable obligations were accumulated by the colonies - The Gambia did not fall in this category, as it had undertaken no important public works for which the loans were usually floated. By and by, loans were expended on items like hospitals and schools; and the realisation grew that there was a close interconnection between trade and communications, public health, industry and labour-supply with one another and with education² - as much in the backward countries as in the developed ones.

There were, however, forces over which even the British Government had little control: the world market had been behaving like a capricious Eastern potentate. From about 1896 until 1920, prices of the exports from the West African colonies were on the whole rising - they rose rapidly during the First World War and a few years thereafter. The inter-war period was one of falling prices - occasional spurts towards recovery were overtaken by

1. Allan McPhee: The Economic Revolution in British West Africa. London, 1926. p.229.

2. Arthur Mayhew: Education in the Colonial Empire. London, 1938. p.55.

depression. During the Second World War and until 1955, the prices rose; thereafter, the era of depressed prices has been encountered.¹

In the light of this combination of factors, it would be wrong to put all the blame for slow development in West Africa on the British or the Colonial Government. Generally speaking their intentions were good: they meant developing the colonies, and the proof, although it might have come rather late, came in the shape of several important documents issued after the First World War. The two Phelps-Stokes Reports, although they were not Government documents, acquired that status after the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa had issued "Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa", which embodied the spirit of these Reports; and the subsequent documents were a living proof of the exhaustive, penetrating and prognostic nature of these Reports.

The first Phelps-Stokes Report realised that the wholesale transfer of the educational conventions of Europe and America to the peoples of Africa had certainly not been an act of wisdom. It was, therefore, recommended that education should be adapted to native life.² The second Report carried the theme forward to East Africa, and

1. J.F.Ade Ajayi and Ian Espie: A Thousand Years of West African History. Ibadan University, 1965. pp.423-424.

2. Education in Africa. New York, 1922. p.16.

emphasised that the welfare of the African community should be the object of primary consideration in the determination of educational objectives.¹

The Policy document of 1925 envisaged the adaptation of education to native life and the improvement of indigenous tradition.² With the urge to continue the work, the Advisory Committee issued a memorandum in 1927; in this it was pointed out that the mother tongue of the child was the best and surest guarantee of success and progress in the later stages of education, and should, therefore, be encouraged in the schools. Moreover, it was realised that precautions should be taken against the creation of new classes of African society, separated from the vast mass of their fellow countrymen by loss of contact and ready communication with those who had not received "the advantages of modern education." English was to be taught with a view to enriching African life; it was not to supersede anything that was African.³

The diversity of languages and dialects in The Gambia prevented the working out of any definite policy with

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1. Education in East Africa. London, 1926. p.7. See also L.J. Lewis: Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa. Abridged. London, 1962.
 2. Educational Policy and British Tropical Africa. Cmd 2374. London, 1925.
 3. The Place of Vernaculars in Native Education. Colonial Office. African 1110. 1927.

regard to the introduction of vernaculars in schools. Wolof and Mandinka were - and are - used in the initial stages of schooling, particularly in the Provinces, but any planned encouragement has been missing. The result has been that these and other languages could not be enriched, standardised and developed. Even as late as 1947, the Education Report complained that learning in the Gambian schools was an artificial activity in artificial conditions for many of the children of both Bathurst and the rural schools.¹

The Advisory Committee, although it was subjected to criticism, fulfilled its duties by issuing more documents: Memorandum on the Education of African Communities appeared in 1935, Mass Education in African Society in 1943, and Education for Citizenship in Africa in 1946. A critical study of all these documents of the '20s, '30s and '40s leaves one in no doubt that the desire of the British Government was to improve the quality and variety of African life.²

1 Annual Report on the Education Department for the Years 1947, 1948 and 1949. Bathurst, 1952.p.2.

2. The Phelps-Stokes Reports which formed the basis of Advisory Committee's documents have been re-evaluated by critics. L.J.Lewis still finds "much validity" in these reports; G.N.Brown criticised them for ignoring "the political aspirations of the African people"; and Philip Foster called them "reactionary" in implication. See: Lewis: Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa. op.cit. p.11; Brown: British Educational Policy in West and Central Africa. Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.2.No.3,1964. p.368; and Foster: Education and Social Change in Ghana. London,

Following the Second World War and its challenge to democratic institutions, there was still more growth in the concern of the British Government for the colonial peoples. The landmark was the passing of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act during the war, followed by the formation of the Colonial Development Corporation in 1948, and more Acts later on. Although the first step to provide regular funds for the development of the territories was taken with the Colonial Development Act of 1929, in some ways, the Act of 1940 was the first recognition that the myth of self-sufficiency of a colony had been taken too far. Financial aspects of these policies will be discussed later in this chapter.

The process of education which has been in operation since the 1820's in The Gambia has clearly made some impact on society. Such impact is natural, for the history of all human communities has been one of recurrent, if irregular and uneven, change in response to local discovery or, more often, "to external contacts."¹ A stage has been reached where ~~the~~ Government control has been established in larger areas of educational activity. Muslim parents have hardly any fear of the Churches as they had before. Over the years, the provision of conscience clause has come to be respected. Churches themselves have come to realise

1. Forde (ed): op.cit., African Worlds. London, 1954.
p.vii.

that, if they should carry on with educational activities, they will have to do so according to the demands of the times.¹ In fact, the Churches seem to be concentrating more on consolidation than extension of their proselytising activities.

People of the hinterland have become aware of the economic advantages of education, and are increasingly demanding more schools. Although economic motives predominate, such thinking is no less important for success in many projects now being undertaken for socio-economic advance - the existence of motivation for change is a healthy sign.² Moreover, the acceptance of "Western status-values and behaviour patterns,"³ which was previously limited to the urban communities - particularly the Christians - is being generally accepted by the people in the Provinces also. Not only is there an awareness that education is the keystone for rapid development, but also there is a growing belief that it is "a panacea that will pave the way for a technological society and simultaneously cure social and political tensions"⁴ - or, at least, check their intensification.

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1. Adrian Hastings: Church and Mission in Modern Africa. London, 1967. p.253.
 2. H.H.Hyman and others: Inducing Social Change in Developing Communities. United Nations, 1967.p.1.
 3. D.G. Burns: African Education. London,1965. p.7. With this attitude is diminishing the prejudice against educating girls and women.
 4. R.A. Lystad (ed): The African World. London,1965.p.199.

Another noticeable change is the emergence of a small élite in The Gambia, although it is rather difficult to divide African population into social categories, particularly in terms of classes.¹ Various colonial governments did, through accident or design, produce well-marked groups of educated people. The French deliberately planned to create an African elite which would help run the colonial administration; the masses were not to get "assimilation" as such, but only a French imprint. The result was that the elite in French territories remained largely controlled by and confined to the civil service. The British policy was less decisive: many elites were the products of the mission schools, and had climbed up the social ladder by virtue of their own achievement - missionary encouragement playing its definite part - rather than by any set policy of the British or the colonial Government. The concept of indirect rule was, in many ways, anti-élite. Such of the elites, as could not be absorbed into the civil service, became discontented, and some of the political movements can be traced to the initiative of such people.

Generally speaking, the British have looked at education of the African as an all-embracing development;

1. I.Wallerstein (ed): Social Change: The Colonial Situation. London, 1966. p.352.

the French used it as an administrative device,¹ but as both colonial powers developed schools largely on the metropolitan lines, their achievements as well as failings can be traced to such policies.²

In The Gambia, the ruling élite is a combination of those who grew up in connection with the colonial administration, and of those who represent an enlightened element from the 'traditional societies', which now have political power. The urbanised Aku and Wolof still retain their privileged position, particularly in the civil service. These urban communities of Bathurst are not rich - they share the general poverty of the country - they are, nevertheless, under constant criticism, particularly the Aku.³ They, in turn, are bound to resent the political élites from the hinterland. Such tendencies are perceptible in other West African countries also.⁴ In order to avoid aggravation of tensions, it might be worth bringing about "the creative fusion of the inherited indigenous tradition

1. The French themselves felt differently about it. They claimed that "when the Portuguese colonised, they built churches; when the British colonised, they built trading stations; when the French colonised, they built schools." See Lystad:op.cit. p.205.
2. Clignet and Foster: op.cit., pp.3-10.
3. See Chapter VI. pp.129-131.
4. P.C.Lloyd: Africa in Social Change. Penguin,1967. p. 137.

with the modern intellectual tradition." ¹

This socio-economic background helps us to appreciate the play of economic forces in different stages of Gambian history, particularly in the present century. Traditional societies made no critical appraisal of various factors that influenced their economic life. Agriculturists as they were, they used the simplest of tools and produced enough to keep them going - a small surplus could easily maintain a body of "specialist craftsmen and of political and ritual office." ² The self-sufficient subsistence economy of The Gambia continued for a long time.

Since the country has joined the export market, fluctuations in world prices have had repercussions on its economy, and in turn, on social services. In the beginning of this century, the country exported chiefly groundnuts, and small quantities of items like rubber, palm kernels, wax and hides. Principal articles of import were: cotton goods, tobacco, kolanuts, spirits, wine, sugar, salt, gunpowder and rice. Over the years the pattern of this export-import policy has not changed much, except for the fact that the small items of export have now nearly disappeared; and in imports, emphasis is on items of food and clothing. In the year 1903, the total revenue of the

1. H. Passin and K.A.B. Jones-Quartrey: Africa: The Dynamics of Change. Ibadan University Press, 1963. p. 182.

2. Lloyd: op.cit., p.23.

country was £55,564 - the main sources of which were: customs, port dues, licenses, excise, fees of court, post office, rents and interests, customs duty contributing the bulk. Total exports were valued at £334,017; out of this groundnuts fetched £275,394. The total value of imports amounted to £341,063.

The colony spent £67,504, the major share of which went into the maintenance of the civil establishment. Education received £849, but owing to the operation of payment by result, the six primary schools earned only £393.¹

It appeared that the small allotment for education was typical of West Africa. For example, in Sierra Leone, out of a revenue of £237,730-9-3, and expenditure of £206,464-5-1, education received £3,473: the country had 71 Assisted Schools and paid small grants to the C.M.S. Grammar School and the Mohammedan schools.²

The years up to the First World War were marked by some measure of prosperity. In 1910, the Colonial Secretary C.R.M. O'Brian wrote about The Gambia that "the inhabitants of the professional, trading, and artisan class are well-to-do, and the want of the labouring class being small, they lead an easy existence without too much

1. Gambia: Report of the Year 1903. London, 1904. pp.3-13 and 23.

2. Sierra Leone: Report for the Year 1903. London, 1904. pp.4 and 11.

exertion...the financial and commercial position is sound." ²
There was hardly any reflection of this state of affairs in educational development: there were eight schools, six in Bathurst alone, and altogether 1483 children were on the rolls. Out of an expenditure of £56,237-8-6, education received £1,320-2-0.

As will be seen from the figures quoted below educational finance in other territories was in no way encouraging. ²

FIGURES FOR 1916. (£)

	Revenue	Expenditure	Allotment for Education
The Gambia	103,075	83,217	1,003
Sierra Leone	551,106	532,940	4,215
Nigeria	2,943,184	3,609,638	46,315
Gold Coast	1,835,989	1,465,946	31,122

In terms of percentage, the Gold Coast was in the lead, but when resources and educational facilities were taken into account, there was little to be proud of in this lead.

The economic depression set in just after the First World War. The year 1921 was one of the worst in the

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1. Gambia: Report for the Year 1910. London, 1911. pp. 25-26.
 2. Figures taken from the Colonial Reports of the Territories for the Year 1916.

annals of The Gambia: the foreign trade declined as there was heavy fall in the prices of produce and goods. Large stocks of merchandise which had been bought at high rates during the boom had to be liquidated at much below actual cost, and the enormous credits given out by the traders in the Protectorate could not be collected. Although there was no curtailment in the grants to education, these could not be increased: this pattern continued until the Second World War, although the Education Ordinance of 1935 had made changes in educational allotment.¹

Critics claimed that there was inadequate development because the Governors of The Gambia were partly influenced by the attitude of the British Treasury and followed "most conservative financial policies."² Moreover, some policies betrayed callousness: for example, the five franc piece, which had been demonitized elsewhere, was kept in circulation; the result was the flow of this currency into the country. The ultimate consequences were that the country, which could ill afford to expend more than £2,500 a year on education, was saddled with the total burden of paying for demonitization to the tune of £200,000.³ The

1. See Chapter IV. pp.81-82.

2. H.A. Gailey: A History of the Gambia. London, 1964. p.166.

3. Ibid. p.168.

loan from the West African Currency Board to defray the costs, though paid by 1930, had drastically reduced the reserve fund - inevitably, development plans were greatly hampered.

Gailey felt that The Gambia, as compared to many other colonies, was "not a drain on the funds of the British Government;" the country had a substantial surplus. This could have been used for socio-economic developments, but little advantage was taken. By and by there was addition to the administrative staff which involved more expenditure; inflation lowered the real value of surplus funds; and the market for the groundnuts became more competitive.¹

As had been said before, the passing of the Colonial Welfare and Development Acts marked a change in the fiscal policies of the British Government; even so, assistance from the United Kingdom funds was still to be related to what the colonies could do for themselves - such relationship was to be made more effective through co-ordinated efforts.²

The Welfare Act of 1940 made available a sum of £5 million a year, plus £500,000 a year for research for all the colonies for the ten year period 1941-1951.

1. Ibid. p.169.

2. Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare. Cmd. 6175. London, 1940. p.7.

Loans owing to the British Government were cancelled. Subsequent Acts increased the amounts available for development.

The Gambia set about formulating schemes and the Blackburn Report was the outcome - medical and health services were to be made more efficient; rice production was to be increased; and the town of Bathurst was to be improved. Developments in education were estimated to cost £91,700 : these projects included increased facilities for teacher-training, secondary education and vocational training, improvement in teachers' salaries and feeding of school children.¹

Unfortunately, the Colonial Office gradually lost its enthusiasm, and the Secretary of State modified the availability of funds.² Gambia's Ten-Year Programme was thus alternatively blessed and cursed. In 1947, for example, it was acknowledged that the programme of development works was impeded by lack of materials; some projects had to be abandoned, either for lack of funds or because experts found them impracticable.³ Whether on

1. Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1940: Return of Schemes..., Cmd. 6532, London, 1944. p.4.

2. Failure of the mechanized agriculture project at Wallikunda, and later a bigger fiasco - Yundum Poultry Project - might also have contributed towards parsimony, if not miserliness in financial matters.

3. The Annual Report on the Gambia for the Year 1947. London, 1948. p.4.

the advice of experts or otherwise, in the Return of Schemes published in 1948, the allotment for education was altogether missing.¹ Total commitments and issues for The Gambia for the period 1st April, 1946 to 31st March, 1954 stood as under:

Allocation	...	£1,471,000
Commitment	...	£1,311,000
Total Issues	...	£865,000

A total sum of £1,058,800 was expended during 1957 and 1958 for improvement of the Colony; out of this sum, Colonial Development and Welfare grants accounted for £976,340 - the remainder was a charge on the Gambia Government.

In 1955, when the life of the Welfare Acts was extended up to 31st March, 1960, and additional funds were provided, the position of The Gambia with relation to the other West African countries was as under:

FIGURES FOR 1955. (£)

	<u>Unspent Balance of Previous Allocation.</u>	<u>New Allocation</u>	<u>Total</u>
The Gambia	525,000	200,000	725,000
Sierra Leone	880,000	1,200,000	2,080,000
Gold Coast	1,442,000	-	1,442,000
Nigeria	5,045,000	13,080,000	18,125,000

1. Colonial Development and Welfare Acts : Return of Schemes..., H.C.166. London, 1948. p.13.

The unspent balance of previous allocations indicated that sufficiently worthwhile projects were not launched in the four territories; this happened when they were clamouring for advancement. One could see the complex nature of financial commitments. Some hot-headed politician could have straightway accused the British or the Colonial Government for this "economic jugglery," but the issue was not so simple: now that the countries are independent, they are beginning to appreciate the magnitude and complexity of the problem.

Since the fifties, expenditure on education has been on the increase in The Gambia, and with it has increased the budget allocation. In 1953, education expenditure was £70,098 of total recurrent expenditure; within a decade it rose to £251,442 - approximately 10% of the recurrent expenditure.¹

The significance of the Gambia's development programme in education² is to be understood in the wider context of the country's Development Programme 1964-67 issued in 1964, and then revised in 1966, and subsequent national programmes. The total programme for the three

1. See also Chapter VI, p.131.

2. G.F. Sleight: The Development Programme in Education for the Gambia 1965-1975. Bathurst, 1966. ... "priorities in terms of both quality and quantity" have been largely kept in view.
W.A. Lewis: Development Planning. London, 1966. p.104.

and a half years (1964-67) was distributed between the economic sectors as under:

	£
Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries including marketing and processing	920,000
Communications, internal and external....	1,339,000
Works and Utilities	609,000
Land Development and Housing	251,000
Education and Social Welfare	460,000
Health	255,000
Other and Unallotted	<u>578,000</u>
Total ..	<u>4,403,000</u>

The Government was perhaps cautious - as well as conscious - when it used the words: "hoped to finance," the programme from the following sources:¹

	£
Allocation from recurrent budget ...	598,000
British Development and Welfare Grants...	2,800,000
Loans ...	715,000
Revenue and Reimbursements ...	<u>290,000</u>
Total ..	<u>4,403,000</u>

1. The Gambia Government Development Programme 1964-67. Bathurst, 1964; and Revision of the Development Programme 1964/1967. Bathurst, 1966. p.9.

The above tables bring out some noteworthy features of Gambian finance. Firstly, it is appreciated that "economic development should not be pursued as an end in itself but as an integral part of a broad action engaging all areas of advancement." ¹ Thus the plan has been saved from being deliberately ambitious. ² Secondly, it has been realised that investment in education will mean "production of skills which will assist further production" ³ - leading the country towards improved economy, if not prosperity. Thirdly, it is believed that "education does not have for its primary purpose a greater production of goods and services...its purpose is to broaden understanding, so that men may make the fullest use of their innate potential, whether spiritual, intellectual or physical." ⁴

These are, however, matters - important though they are - of internal adjustment. The feature that towers over others is that The Gambia remains almost exclusively dependent on Great Britain for foreign aid. British interests were challenged in many newly independent countries by the Russians, Americans, Germans and Chinese;

1. Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories. New York, 1958. p.5.
2. Development Plans and Programmes. Paris, 1964.p.168.
3. L.J.Lewis and A.J. Loveridge: The Management of Education. London, 1965. pp.62-65.
4. Final Report: Addis Ababa Conference. UNESCO, 1961. p.9.

after its independence in 1965, these and other countries, and even the international bodies, have shown little interest in The Gambia's development.

Furthermore, since issues of currency are made automatically against sterling paid in Britain, The Gambia's overseas trade is in effect carried out entirely in sterling; there is, therefore, no balance of payments problem. Nevertheless, it is being increasingly felt that continued economic dependence for markets, goods, capital, technical skills and personnel on one or very few economically larger states and their firms, makes political independence "inadequate."¹ There may be some truth in such conception, but there is another side of the story too: various competing interests may not necessarily help develop a country; they can also create fissiparous tendencies amongst the local leadership. Sometimes, the competition leads to political instability, social unrest and disruption. Inevitably, there is economic loss. Then, there may also be a case for wasted efforts - resources may be frittered away in ousting the other competing interests rather than using them for the betterment of the country.

Moreover, it will not be appropriate for the British Government to withdraw its support from the former colonies. Professor Lewis put the matter in its proper

1. R.H. Green and Ann Seidman: Unity or Poverty. 1968. p.91.

perspective when he said, "...We cannot irresponsibly withdraw support from a situation of which we have unique knowledge and experience. We, therefore, have a continuing indirect responsibility, all the more onerous and difficult to discharge, because assistance and co-operation will have to be given in circumstances sometimes tinged with suspicion and impatience." ¹

The Gambia has not hesitated in putting her economic problems before the world. Speaking at the World Bank I.M.F. Meeting in 1968, the country's Minister of Finance said that in his country the terms of trade have "deteriorated progressively" during the past fifteen years and that it could not provide sufficient savings for the achievement of "a reasonable rate of economic growth." ²

Hence the country is bound to remain dependent on foreign aid for many years to come; ³ in such circumstances, a challenge may have to be faced: planning, financing,

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1. L.J. Lewis: The British Contribution to Education in Africa. Journal of Royal African Society of Arts. No. 5053. December 1960. Vol.CIX, p.32.
 2. African Diary. Vol.VIII, Number 17-23. 1968.p.4185.
 3. The Ashby Report emphasised that educational development in Nigeria will cost more than its own resources can conveniently spare; thus the country will need outside help in men and money. This remains true of all West African countries, particularly The Gambia whose own resources are rather too limited. See: Investment in Education: The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria. Lagos, 1960, p.3.

advising, guiding and working of the development programmes with which the British Government or some other international agency is associated, should be done in the "right way"¹ - economic realism should prevail over political expediency. In the event of failures, apart from economic repercussions - important though they are - the psychological implications are grave. Recipient countries are very likely to distrust the sincerity of the donors; they, in turn, may put the blame on the former for their incapability: objectivity plays hardly any role in such situations.

1. The Food Problems of Developing Countries.
Paris, 1967. p.112.

CHAPTER XIV

THE GAMBIA AND ITS ENGLISH-SPEAKING NEIGHBOURS.

Importation of Western Educational influences on the west coast of Africa started with the work of the missionaries, who landed with traders and explorers as early as the fifteenth century, but nothing much is known about their work. The missionary factor became important from the seventeenth century onwards: Portuguese priests in Sierra Leone, Dutch and Dane on the Gold Coast, and the Anglican and Wesleyan Methodists in all the four territories at a later date laid the foundations of Christianity and western education.

The English Protestant missions were, in many ways, the overseas arms of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society formed early in the nineteenth century to promote schools for the education of poor children - inevitably, the approach of the early missionaries to the education of the African was influenced by educational ventures of the philanthropic societies in England. Therefore the content of the curriculum of mission schools was not different from that of the National and British Schools in England - the three R's and some acquaintance with the principles of Christian religion

were mainly taught.¹

This system prevailed in Sierra Leone, The Gambia and the western coastal districts of the Gold Coast, and to the north of Cape Coast in a far more pronounced way than in the eastern Gold Coast and Nigeria where European-town influence was minimal. Instead of being English language-centred as in the former, schools in the latter areas were vernacular-centred.² Unity of purpose was, however, affected by their common endeavour to Christianize the native.

The first Governmental intervention came in 1882, when the Education Ordinances were passed in all the four territories. The aim was to "fill the gaps," but the gravity of the situation was that there were not mere 'gaps' - there were 'chasms' to be filled in West Africa. The School Boards in their British concept never came into being, and the management boards which emerged gave the missions more say and control. Moreover, in England the system of payment by results was greatly modified by the 1880's and finally abolished before the end of the century; in West Africa, it was introduced in 1882, and in certain

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1. Rupert Emerson: From Empire to Nation. Cambridge, 1960. p.54. See also Okechukwu Ikejiani (ed): Nigerian Education. Longmans, Nigeria, 1964. p.43.
 2. C.G. Wise: A History of Education in British West Africa. London, 1956. pp.15-18.

territories continued as late as 1935.¹ Furthermore, the Boards of Education did not function in the territories, except in The Gambia, so soon after the legislation as was envisaged. Nevertheless, the Ordinances provided some system in the definition of curriculum, which radically changed the narrow concept of the past.²

The development of education was, however, slow. The missions, which still remained the main partners in the provision of education, were not rich enough, nor were their followers well enough off to pay school fees. Government grants were small, and even irregular in the beginning,³ although these went on increasing gradually.

The territories passed Ordinances, Codes and Acts from time to time as the need arose. The 'compromise', although it has been carried on under more difficult and diverse conditions in West Africa, still continues, and may do so for many years to come.

Over the years, the concept of primary education underwent much change, and towards this, the documents mentioned in Chapters VII and XIII contributed a great deal. Since independence, the four countries have gone deeply into the question of education as a whole, and this has greatly influenced the character of primary education.

1. See Chapter IV, pp.81-82.

2. See Appendix A.

3. See Chapter II, p.42.

The curriculum is much more African-orientated; vernacular languages are being encouraged in the early stages of schooling. Stimulation to re-think the wider issues concerning primary education has recently come from the Plowden Report, and the in-service courses in Africa conducted by educationists from Great Britain show how even now there is no possibility of a complete educational break.¹

The influence of British Grammar Schools on West African schools is also as old as the Protestant missions there. The Sierra Leone Grammar School was established by the Christian Mission Society in 1845; schools came to be established in the other territories in the later half of the nineteenth century. All these schools followed the curriculum of the British Schools with slight modifications.² They have shown very little innovation which could be called indigenous. They still remain a very important rung in the educational ladder. Institution of secondary modern and technical schools has not, in any way, diminished the desire of African boys and girls to enter the grammar schools and then the university, although higher standards of examinations and entry have militated against the capability of many to do so.

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1. See Chapter VIII, p. 4195. The contents of Ashbridge's book are modelled upon the Plowden Report.
 2. See Chapter VIII, p.186, and Appendix J.

The West African secondary schools have, however, been working under more trying conditions. There has been a dearth of suitable staff; the physical facilities - particularly science equipment - have remained inadequate; and their students have had to attain, more or less, the same standards as those which obtain in England, for the external examinations were at par, and so were - and still are - the entry requirements to the higher institutions of learning. Furthermore, for West African students English is a foreign language, and this has been some handicap to learning, particularly because facilities have been inadequate. Even so their performance in the examinations has not been too discouraging.¹

The development of teacher-training has also followed the pattern in Great Britain. Teachers in the beginning - foreign or native - were motivated by missionary zeal, and gave their best, caring very little for the financial reward. From 1882 onwards, some sort of pupil-teacher system came into being, and the question of salary acquired a new importance. The pupil-teacher system was superseded by the teacher-training institutions, although in Sierra Leone facilities existed much earlier at Fourah Bay College.

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1. Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. Cmd. 6655. London, 1945. p.27.
 2. See Chapter VIII. pp.188 and 192.

Now the various countries have colleges for training teachers for different levels, and after the establishment of University Departments of Education, have facilities for graduate training also.

Teaching has not been a very prestigious profession after a promising start - poor salary, status and chances of promotion have combined to make teaching a second or even a third choice of career. Although teachers' organisations exist in West Africa, they are not as articulate and powerful as they are in England.

Technical education has been very much British-orientated - no doubt, because there could be no other alternative. Science, after all, is science anywhere. Technical and agricultural schools in Sierra Leone and The Gambia were started earlier, but these did not become very popular; when established in Ghana and Nigeria, they acquired special importance. The main reason for this has been availability of avenues of employment where the apprentice could find prospects as good as in clerical jobs, if not better. Because of their better industrial potential, the two latter countries have established technical and vocational education on a more sound footing than Sierra Leone and The Gambia where the scope is limited.

The development of higher education in West Africa has been confined to the present century, with the

exception of Sierra Leone, where Fourah Bay College was established as early as 1827 to train ministers and lay workers. Fourah Bay College was affiliated to Durham University in 1876, and has followed the Durham pattern throughout. Freetown in Sierra Leone remained a 'mecca' for the students from all West African English-speaking territories. It was only in the 1940's when on the recommendations of the Elliot Commission, University Colleges were established in Ghana and Nigeria, that Sierra Leone lost some of its importance. Even then, until the early sixties, it took a good number of students from these countries. Except for The Gambia, the other countries now have universities. Study of their organization, finance, curriculum, leaves one in no doubt that they are far more closely modelled upon the British pattern - ancient and red-brick - than are other educational institutions.

It is hoped that the West African universities will live up to the basic aims of a university - that is, to further knowledge. It is gratifying to note that West African educationists are aware of this and something more: the Conference at Tananarive has emphasised that "alongside its traditional functions of teaching and research, the university must now assume new and fundamental responsibilities by assisting in the intellectual mobilization of the educated

classes, encouraging social promotion, and speeding up and diversifying, according to the need of the economy, the training of the requisite key personnel and technicians." ¹ With their unique position in areas where much research and discovery are needed, the universities can obviously make great contributions. However, they may well have to guard against prejudice, chauvinism, and pettiness - the enemies of scholarship.

There may perhaps be some justice in the view that too little has been achieved by the missionaries and Colonial Governments; but when factors like climatic conditions, the magnitude of economic problems, and diversity in local conditons are taken into account, it is to be wondered that so much has in fact been achieved.

1. The Development of Higher Education in Africa:
Conference on the Development of Higher Education
in Africa Tananarive, 3-12 September, 1962.
Paris, 1963. p.54.

CHAPTER XV.

EPILOGUE.

The foregoing chapters review the history of education in The Gambia from the 1820's to the present day. In some ways it is linked with the developments in the United Kingdom, and does not differ much from those in other West African countries: for a long time, policies and programmes were formulated with a view to meeting the requirements of all the four territories on the west coast. In a way, The Gambia and Sierra Leone have one thing in common: education has spread from harbour towns of Bathurst and Freetown upwardly; in Ghana and Nigeria it has spread outwardly from the main towns which were not necessarily coastal. But the slow-paced developments in primary, secondary and adult education, and the vicissitudes in teacher training and technical education are far more pronounced in The Gambia than in other West African countries.

The pattern of this century and a half story can broadly be stated to be the formulation of sound policies, followed mostly by poor or inadequate programmes, sometimes by no programme at all. Efforts of the missionaries, the contributions of the officials,

the Education Ordinances and the policy documents were all undoubtedly full of good intentions - intentions which were either not realised, or were fulfilled with only partial success.

The main reason has been the lack of finance.¹ Until recently, the Government has only been allocating to education a minimum percentage of its budget: the lion's share has always gone to the upkeep of the civil establishment. The missions have mobilised funds, mostly from overseas, but they had always to face the limitations of such efforts. The people in general were not able to support children at school. These factors have either checked educational venture, allowed it to die a slow death, or even killed it.

For a long time, the missionary educators could think of none other but Christian education. As the country was predominantly Muslim, and moreover was not keen on sending children to Christian schools, development in the riverine areas was negligible. The Aku and Woloff in Bathurst benefited more from mission schools than the people in the interior. The changed political situation, however, has necessitated acceleration in educational provision in the Provinces with its attendant problems of buildings, equipment and staff.

1. See also Chapter XIII.

Over the years, the staffing position of the Department and the schools has remained unsteady - no doubt, sometimes owing to circumstances beyond any one's control: disease, death and departure have all conspired against stability and efficiency. Moreover, the important posts were occupied by officers from overseas; little training was given to the Gambians for holding posts of responsibility. When an expatriate officer left the country, an institution, which was in many cases a one-man show, often closed. This lack of planning to train local leadership has given rise to many problems, some of which seem to be becoming knottier day by day.

As the country has not been able to run a higher institution of learning within its bounds, the education system is like a headless trunk. The Sleight recommendation on organising an institution on the lines of a Liberal Arts College, which has not been implemented so far, is an attempt to complete the body-educational of the country.

The Gambia, small as it is, has a right to exist as a distinct state. It can be proud of its people -

friendly, hardworking and humble; this wealth is in no way less important than material or mineral wealth. Developed nations, which have something to offer to the country, may do so without reservations. Much will however depend on leadership within the country - independence is not the end but the beginning of a struggle in a nation's progress; and in this education plays a leading role.

Appendix A.

Rules for Assisted Schools in the Settlement on
the River Gambia made under "The Education Amendment
Ordinance, 1886."

SCHEDULE A.

STANDARDS OF EXAMINATION.

STANDARD I.

- (1) To read a short paragraph from a book of words of one syllable.
- (2) To copy in manuscript character a line of print.
- (3) To name the days of the week and months of the year. Addition and Subtraction of numbers of not more than two figures each: the sums to be copied from a black-board or tablet.

STANDARD II.

- (1) To read a short paragraph from an elementary reading book.
- (2) To write from dictation, on paper, a few common words of one syllable.
- (3) Simple Addition and Subtraction. The Multiplication Table.

STANDARD III.

- (1) To read with intelligence a short paragraph from a more advanced reading book than under Standard II.
- (2) To write from dictation on paper a sentence from a corresponding book; read slowly once, and then dictated in single words.
- (3) The Multiplication and Division Tables. Sums in any simple rule, as far as and including Short Division.

STANDARD IV.

- (1) To read with intelligence a short paragraph from a more advanced reading book than under Standard III.
- (2) To write from dictation a sentence from a similar book; read once, and then dictated a few words at a time.
- (3) The Arithmetical Tables, any sums up to and including Compound Subtraction.

STANDARD V.

- (1) To read with intelligence a Paragraph from a more advanced reading book than under Standard IV.
- (2) To write from dictation a short Paragraph from a similar book; once read and then dictated a few words at a time.
- (3) Compound Multiplication and Division Simple Proportion Weights and Measures and all the Arithmetical Tables.

STANDARD VI.

- (1) To read a few lines of Poetry or prose at the choice of the Inspector.
 - (2) To write from dictation a Paragraph from some modern work; read once and dictated a few words at a time.
 - (3) All Tables Compound Proportion, Vulgar Fractions, and Practice.
-

No scholar may be presented a second time for examination under the same standard as, or under a lower standard, than that under which he has already passed.

Reading may be tested in the ordinary Class Books if approved by the Inspector; but these books must be of reasonable length and difficulty and unmarked. The Inspector may at his option examine in books brought by himself.

The weights and measures taught to children should only be such as are really useful: such as Avoirdupois Weight, Long Measure, Liquid Measure, Time Table and Square and Cubical Measures.

Appendix B.

The curricula laid down in the Education Rules,
1917, made under the Education Ordinance of 1903.

THE SECOND SCHEDULE.

Part I - The Sub-Standard.

- READING - To read sentences consisting of words of one syllable.
- WRITING - To write small and capital letters.
- ARITHMETIC - Knowledge of numbers up to 100 and addition and subtraction of figures under ten.

Part II - The Standards - Obligatory
Subjects.

STANDARD I.

- READING - To read a short paragraph from a book, not confined to words of one syllable.
- WRITING - To copy correctly in round hand a few lines of print.
- ARITHMETIC - To name the days of the week and months of the year. Notation and numeration up to 1000. Addition and Subtraction of numbers of not more than three figures. In the addition, not more than ten lines to be given.

STANDARD II.

- READING - To read a short paragraph from an Elementary reading book.
- WRITING - To write on slate from dictation not more than twelve common words of one syllable commencing with capital letters.
- ARITHMETIC - Notation and numeration up to 10,000. Simple Addition and Subtraction. Multiplication and Division Tables and Multiplication and Division of numbers by figures under one hundred.

STANDARD III.

- READING - To read a short paragraph from a more advanced book than under Standard II.
- WRITING - To write on paper from dictation a passage of not more than six lines from a corresponding book read slowly once and then dictated a few words at a time.
- ARITHMETIC - Sums in simple rules, as far as and including long division. Money tables and easy sums in addition and subtraction of money. Work to be done on paper.

STANDARD IV.

- READING - To read a short paragraph from a more advanced reading book than under Standard III.
- WRITING - To write on paper from dictation a passage of not more than six lines, from a corresponding book, read slowly once and then dictated a few words at a time.
- ARITHMETIC - Compound rules, reduction, and the following tables, viz:- English and French money, Avoirdupois Weight, Linear Measure, Measures of time.
- GRAMMAR - The parts of speech, definitions, and telling the parts of speech in easy sentences. Cases and numbers of nouns. The two ways in which an action may be expressed. (Both Active and Passive).
- GEOGRAPHY - Geographical definitions with illustrations and outlines of the five continents Rivers Mountains rainfall, races.
- HISTORY - Easy questions in English history up to the year 1272.

STANDARD V.

- READING - To read a few lines of poetry or prose at the choice of the Inspector.
- WRITING - To write from dictation a paragraph from some modern narrative, read once and dictated, a few words at a time.
- ARITHMETIC - The remaining weights and measures, Vulgar fractions and practice.
- GRAMMAR - Previous requirements with conjugation of verbs and easy parsing.
- GEOGRAPHY - Previous requirements. The continents, oceans, seas and poles. Simple latitude and longitude. The chief countries and towns of Europe and Asia, Africa and America.
- HISTORY - Easy questions in English history up to the year 1422.
- TYPE-
WRITING - Copying printed matter accurately at a rate of not less than 10 words a minute.
- SHORTHAND - An acquaintance with the first 50 exercises of Pitman's Phonographic Teacher, Reading and writing in the learner's style.
- BOOK-
KEEPING - Single entry and knowledge of what is meant by double entry, definitions of terms used in book-keeping.

STANDARD VI.

- READING - To read a few lines of poetry or prose at the choice of the Inspector.
- WRITING - To write from dictation a paragraph from some modern narrative of a more difficult style than Standard V, read once and dictated, a few words at a time.
- ARITHMETIC - Decimal fractions and proportion.
- HYGIENE - Easy questions.
- *ENGLISH
COMPOSITION- To write from memory the substance of a short story read out thrice, spelling and grammatical construction to be considered.
- GRAMMAR - Previous requirements with more difficult parsing and simple analysis.
- GEOGRAPHY - Previous requirements.
The British Empire in Asia, Africa, America and Australia.
The Islands of the world.
To draw a map.
- HISTORY - Easy questions in English history up to the year 1688.
- TYPE-
WRITING - Copying legible manuscript accurately at a rate of not less than 15 words a minute.
- SHORTHAND - An acquaintance with Pitman's Phonographic Teacher.
- BOOK-
KEEPING - Previous requirements, transactions in waste book and journal, knowledge of what the ledger is and its use.

* A pass in this subject shall not be obligatory for girls who pass in any of the subjects prescribed in Part IV of this Schedule.

STANDARD VII.

- READING - To read from any book or periodical selected by the Inspector, passages of ordinary difficulty.
- WRITING - To write from dictation a passage from a newspaper read once and dictated a few words at a time.
- ARITHMETIC - Simple and Compound Interest. Discount, Profit and Loss, with a general knowledge of the principles of Averages and Percentages.
- HYGIENE - More difficult questions.
- *ENGLISH
COMPOSITION- To write a letter or an essay on some simple subject of general interest derived from nature or from the historical or geographical work of the class.
- GRAMMAR - Previous requirements with more difficult analysis.
- GEOGRAPHY - Previous requirements.
West Africa features races spheres of influence, natural products and industries.
To draw a map.
- HISTORY - Easy questions in English history up to the present time.
- TYPE-
WRITING - Copying legible manuscript accurately at a rate of not less than 25 words a minute. Proper spacing of matter copied.
- SHORTHAND - To take down in shorthand a passage read slowly and to re-write it in length.
- BOOK-
KEEPING - Previous requirements posting, balancing and closing the ledger - balance sheets.

* A pass in this subject shall not be obligatory for girls who pass in any of the subjects prescribed in Part IV of this Schedule.

Part IV - Subjects of Instruction for Pupils
in Domestic Economy.

- COOKING - Baking, pastry, roasting, boiling, making jam, cooking rice, preparing cherreh etc.
- WASHING - Starching, blueing, rinsing, washing, bleaching, putting linen through a boiling process.
- IRONING - 1st, starched fine linen; 2nd, dresses, table linen, sheets, petticoats; 3rd, unstarched clothes of every description; 4th, preparation of clothes for ironing, folding, putting in press, etc.
- DARNING - On fine or coarse linen, canvas, stockings, flannel etc.
- MENDING - Putting on a piece on fine or coarse linen, dresses, shirts, towels, napkins or any article of clothing, in plain sewing, running, and felling, whip-stitch, herring-bone stitch or button hole stitch.
- SEWING - Machine sewing, insertion stitch, button hole stitch, herring bone stitch, back stitch, whip-stitch seaming, felling, running, gathering frilling, running of a tuck.
- CUTTING OUT - On any material, any article of clothing, from pattern.
On paper from memory, without pattern, any ordinary garment.

FANCY WORK.

- CROCHET - In plain or fancy stitches the following articles:- comforters, hand bags, shawls, hangings, table-covers, bed-covers, laces in cotton or in wool.

- KNITTING - With two needles, a striped necktie.
With four needles, in cotton or wool, plain, ribbed, or open work, a sock or stocking.
With large bone or wooden needles, in wool, in plain or fancy stitches, a shawl, or comforter.
- CANVAS WORK - 1st, plain canvas stitch. 2nd, making alphabet and figures. 3rd, squares or simple tracing. 4th, working any design in plain or cross stitch on the following articles:- shoes, cushions, pictures, chairs, easy chairs, sofas.
- DESIGNING - Drawing on muslin, linen, calico, holland, any design for the purpose of embroidering it afterwards.
- CREWEL WORK- To embroider in silk or woollen thread on cloth, velvet silk or satin the following articles: caps, shoes, cushions, pin-cushions, table covers, etc.
- MARKING - On fine or course linen, flannel, stockings, with coloured cotton any letter or figure.
- PATCHWORK - To utilise small pieces of silk, satin, velvet or any fancy material for the making of cushions or small table covers; in flannel or other woollen materials for carpets or bed covers in calico or print for pillow cases or bed covers.

Proficiency must be shown in such number of the above subjects as the Inspector may in his discretion consider reasonable.

No grant to be earned more than three times for any subject or subjects under this part of the Schedule unless where the pupil is in that year proficient in a standard.

Appendix C.

Conditions for grants set out in the Education Regulations, 1935 made under the Education Ordinance of 1935.

A grant under section 6 of the Ordinance may be made to a school under the following conditions:-

- (a) That the title to the land on which the school is situated is approved by the Superintendent.
- (b) That the control and management of the school are vested in one or more managers who have power to appoint and dismiss teachers in the school; provided that, where a number of schools is conducted by one proprietor, the appointment and dismissal of teachers shall rest with the proprietor.
- (c) That the school premises contain sufficient accommodation and are properly constructed, equipped, lighted, drained, ventilated and provided with suitable sanitary accommodation, and maintained in a satisfactory state of repair and in good sanitary condition, all to the satisfaction of the Superintendent. The accommodation shall not be sufficient unless at least one hundred cubic feet of internal space and ten square feet of floor area are provided in each class-room in respect of each pupil accommodated therein.
- (d) That, if required by the Superintendent, a play-ground is provided sufficiently large to enable each pupil to take part in organised games and sports.
- (e) That the number of attendance periods during the School year in respect of which the grant is made shall have been at least 350; provided that such less number as the Superintendent may determine shall be sufficient, if it had been necessary to close the school during part of the year owing to infectious or contagious disease, or if the school is claiming a grant for the first time and has not been opened until after the beginning of the year.

- (f) That the school does not yield a profit to its proprietor, and that the income of the school is applied solely to the purposes of the school; provided that if a school has suitable and adequate accommodation, is in a good state of repair, and is thoroughly well staffed, furnished and equipped, the Superintendent may allow a portion of any surplus funds standing to the credit of such school to be transferred to any other school under the same management approved by him, without the school being thereby disqualified from receiving a grant.
 - (g) That the school fees have not been reduced in consequence of the prospect of a grant.
 - (h) That no pupil (qualified as regards age) has been refused admission except upon reasonable grounds.
 - (i) That no pupil shall receive any religious instruction objected to by the parents or guardians of each pupil, or be present when such instruction is given.
 - (j) That in the opinion of the Board the school is necessary for the educational needs of the community.
 - (k) That the instruction in the school is based on a schedule or syllabus approved by the Board.
 - (l) That the provisions of the Ordinance and of these regulations have been duly complied with as regards the school.
8. Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing regulations, the Governor may, in special cases, make to any school a grant not exceeding the actual expenditure of the school.

9. (1) The grants payable under regulations 3 to 8 will be dependent on the sums allocated for the payment of such grants in the Approved Estimates, and if the Governor considers that the sum so allocated to any particular kind or kinds of grants will not be sufficient to permit of the payment of any such kind of grants in full, the Governor may award grants of that kind on a scale lower than that permitted by the regulation or regulations governing grants of that kind.
- (2) Nothing in this regulation shall be deemed to affect the discretion which is otherwise conferred upon the Governor by the said regulations.

Appendix D.

The procedure relating to inspection of schools
as laid down in the Education Ordinance, 1946.

28. (1) The Director of Education or any person duly authorised by him in that behalf may at any time with or without notice inspect any school or continuation class.
- (2) Any person who obstructs or hinders the Director of Education or his duly authorised representative from entering a school or continuation class or making an inspection thereof shall be guilty of an offence against this Ordinance and shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding ten pounds.
29. (1) If, after the inspection of an assisted school, either by himself or by his duly authorised representative, the Director of Education is not satisfied with the manner in which such school is being conducted, he may order the owner to make such alterations in the conduct and management of such school as he may deem necessary.
- (2) If a report is received by the Director of Education from the proper authority that the structure of the buildings of an assisted school is not in accordance with the provisions of the building and equipment regulations made under this Ordinance or does not comply with the provisions of any other law for the time being in force in the Gambia, the Director of Education may order the owner to make such structural alterations in or additions to the school buildings or equipment as may be necessary.

- (3) If any owner fails or neglects to comply with any order given to him by the Director of Education under the provisions of the last preceding section, the Director of Education may order the withholding of all or part of the grant to such school until such time as his orders have been carried out:
Provided always that an owner who is aggrieved by any such order regarding the withholding of all or part of a grant may appeal to the Governor within one month of such order.
30. (1) If the Director of Education is satisfied that any school is being conducted in a manner detrimental to the physical, mental or moral welfare of the pupils attending it, he may, after giving in writing his reasons to the owner, order such school to be closed: Provided that any owner who is aggrieved by any such closing order may appeal to the Governor within one month of such order.
- (2) On the receipt of a closing order the owner shall at once close the school.
- (3) The owner of any school in respect of which a closing order has been made who uses or permits the use of such premises as a school without the permission of the Director of Education shall be guilty of an offence against this Ordinance and shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding ten pounds in respect of every day upon which such premises have been used as a school after the receipt of the closing order.

Appendix E.

Special provisions relating to schools in Bathurst as specified in the Education Regulations, 1946, made under the Education Ordinance, 1946.

32. (1) The Governor shall appoint a Primary Schools Management Board (hereinafter in this Part referred to as the Board), to which the Director of Education shall delegate his powers and duties regarding the general management of local agreement schools in Bathurst, to be exercised in accordance with such Rules of Management as may be prescribed by regulations made in that behalf under this Ordinance.
- (2) The Board shall be constituted as follows-
- A. Voting members-
- (i) two persons to represent the Roman Catholic Religious Authority;
 - (ii) two persons to represent the Anglican-Methodist Religious Authorities;
 - (iii) two persons to represent the Mohammedan Religious Authority;
 - (iv) three persons to represent the general public of the town of Bathurst; and
 - (v) three persons to represent the interests of the Government.
- B. Non-voting members-
- (i) One person to represent the Anglican Religious Authority; and
 - (ii) one person to represent the Methodist Religious Authority.
- (3) If they so desire, the appropriate Religious Authorities may recommend to the Governor persons for appointment to the Board.

33. (1) If any Religious Authority so desires, the Governor shall appoint a Management Committee to which the Board shall delegate its powers and duties regarding the general management and supervision of the local agreement schools comprised within the group of schools with which the Authority is concerned.
 - (2) The Roman Catholic and Mohammedan Management Committees shall be constituted as follows-
 - (i) two persons to represent the Religious Authority concerned;
 - (ii) one person to represent the general public of the town of Bathurst; and
 - (iii) one person to represent the interests of the Government.
 - (3) The Anglican-Methodist Management Committee shall be constituted as follows-
 - (i) four persons to represent the Religious Authorities concerned;
 - (ii) two persons to represent the general public of the town of Bathurst; and
 - (iii) two persons to represent the interests of the Government.
 - (4) If they so desire, the Religious Authorities may recommend to the Governor persons for appointment to the appropriate Committees.
 - (5) The Rules of Management for any Committee shall be the same as those prescribed for the Board.
34. (1) Members, other than representatives of the Government, of the Board or of any Committee appointed under this Part of this Ordinance may be appointed for any term not exceeding three years, and at the expiration of his term of office a member shall retire but shall be eligible for re-appointment:
Provided that, if the Religious Authority concerned so desire, representatives of the Authority shall be appointed for one year only, but shall be eligible for re-appointment.

- (2) If a member of the Board or of any Committee resigns or dies, the Governor may appoint some other person in his stead in the same manner as that in which the original appointment was made.
 - (3) If a member of the Board or of any Committee be absent from the Gambia, the Governor may appoint some other person in his stead during such absence.
 - (4) If a member of the Board or of any Committee absents himself from two consecutive meetings of the Board or of the Committee, as the case may be, without the permission of the Governor, or, in the absence of such permission, without an explanation which the Governor deems to be satisfactory, he shall be deemed to have resigned his membership of the Board or of the Committee, as the case may be.
 - (5) The members of the Board or of any Committee shall elect a Chairman thereof from among their number, and shall also determine the number of members necessary to constitute a quorum of the Board or of the Committee, as the case may be.
35. Local agreement schools, notwithstanding that they are owned and maintained entirely by Government, shall be managed in accordance with any regulations which may be made in that behalf under this Ordinance.

Appendix F.

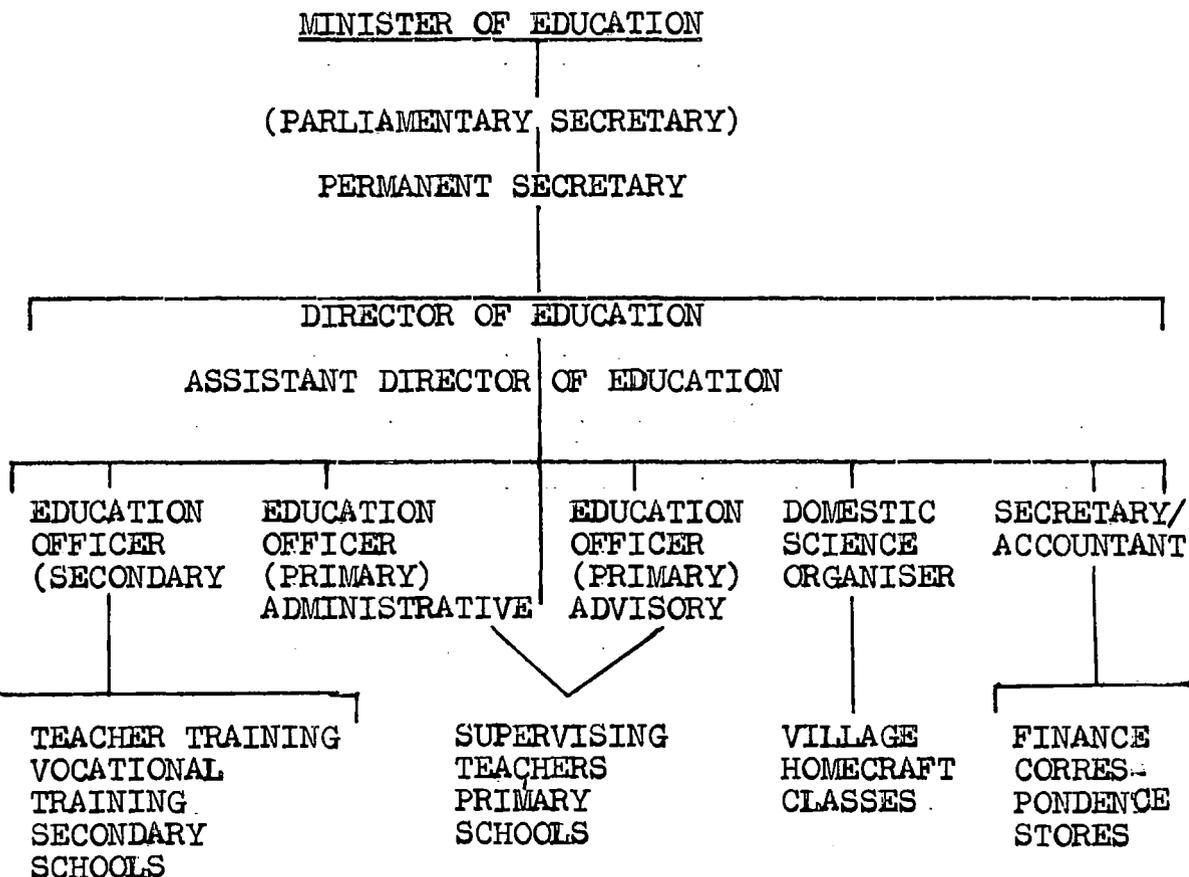
The composition of the Advisory Council on
Education, established under the Education Act, 1963.

3. (1) There shall be established an Advisory Council on Education which shall consist of the following members-
- (a) the Director;
 - (b) the Principal, Yundum College;
 - (c) four persons nominated by the Minister, of whom two shall represent the interests of female education;
 - (d) four persons, of whom one each shall be nominated by the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist Missions respectively, and one by the Imam of Bathurst;
 - (e) two persons nominated by The Gambia Teachers' Union;
 - (f) one person nominated by the Bathurst City Council;
 - (g) six persons, of whom one each shall be nominated by each Area Council;
 - (h) The Director of Medical Services or his representative;
 - (i) The Director of Agriculture or his representative.

Appendix G.

ORGANISATIONAL CHART OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

as has been operative since 1967.



Appendix H.

The curriculum prescribed in the Education Regulations, 1935, made under the Education Ordinance, 1935.

SCHEDULE A.

INFANT SCHOOLS OR DEPARTMENTS.

CLASSES (I - III)

During this period pupils should be taught the simple elements of reading, writing and number. They should also receive suitable hand and eye training, some instruction in nature study, and guidance in personal and practical hygiene; also religious knowledge according to a scheme approved by the proprietor. Where staff and apparatus are available, kindergarten methods in teaching the rudiments should be encouraged and developed.

SCHEDULE B.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OR DEPARTMENTS.

(STANDARDS I - VII)

The vernacular should be the medium of instruction where its use will aid in the thorough assimilation of the instruction given. It is important that pupils in all classes should be called upon frequently to reproduce in the vernacular the matter which they have been taught. Where English is taught or employed as the medium of instruction, it is most important that both teachers and pupils

should use it correctly. Its incorrect use leads to the formation of habits of inaccuracy in thought and speech which make it difficult for the pupil to acquire a more perfect knowledge of the language in later years and retard his progress in other subjects.

The subjects of instruction during this period should be reading, writing, composition (oral and written), dictation and simple arithmetic. The object of the instruction given in arithmetic should be to make the pupils capable of putting their knowledge to some practical use: to attain this object the exercises and problems should be many and varied and as far as possible suited to the life and experience of the community. Mental exercises should as a rule precede written work, in which great stress should be laid on the importance at all times of neatness and accuracy. Also religious instruction, according to a scheme approved by the proprietor, hygiene, sanitation and personal hygiene, and physical exercises. History and geography, hand and eye training, lessons on agriculture, school gardening, singing and drawing are very desirable where a suitable staff is available, as is domestic science for girls where a suitably qualified woman teacher is available. Where English is not the medium of instruction, it may be taught from Standard I.

Appendix I.

WESLEYAN METHODIST BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL

TIME TABLE FOR CHRISTMAS TERM: 1913.

Day		8.10 - 8.40	8.40 - 9.20	9.20 - 10.20	
	1-Senior	M	Eng.Hist. M	Eng. Grammar	M
Monday	1st interim		-do-	-do-	M
	3 2nd "A"	Scripture	-do-	-do-	F
	4 do. "B"		-do-	-do-	L
Tuesday	1 "	Latri M	Euclid M	Algebra	M
	2 "	-do- M	-do- M	-do-	M
	3 "	Ment.Arith.F	Dictation L	-do-	F
	4 "	-do- F	Euclid F	Hygiene	L
Wednesday	1 "	M	Eng.Hist. M	Eng.Comp.	M
	2 "		-do- M	-do-	M
	3 "	Scripture	-do- F	-do-	F
	4 "		-do- L	-do-	L
Thursday	1 "	Latri M	Euclid M	Algebra	M
	2 "	-do- M	-do- M	-do-	M
	3 "	Ment.Arith.F	Eng.Comp. L	-do-	F
	4 "	-do- F	Euclid F	Hygiene	L
Friday	1 "	M	Mensura M	Euclid	M
	2 "		Arith. F	-do-	M
	3 "	Scripture	Reading & Recit. L	-do-	F
	4 "		-do- L	-do-	L

N.B. M=Headmaster. F=R.A.Frazer, L=W.N.Leigh.

Day		10.20 - 11	12.30-1.20	1.20-2.10	2.10 2.50	2.50 3.	
Monday	1 Senior	Latri M	Arith. M	Shorthand M			
	1st interim	-do- M	-do- M	-do-	M		
	3 2nd "A"	Arith. F	Euclid F	-do-	F		
	4 do. "B"	-do- F	Algebra L	-do-	L		
Tuesday	1 "	Mensura M	Eng. Comp. L	Book-keeping M			
	2 "	Arith. F	Book-keeping M	Typewriting			
	3 "	Reading & poet. L	Geog. F	Latri F			
	4 "	-do- L	-do- F	-do- F			
Wednesday	1 "	Latri M	Eng. Gram. M	Arith. M			
	2 "	-do- M	-do- M	-do- M			
	3 "	-do- F	Arith F	Euclid F			
	4 "	-do- L	-do- L	Algebra L			
Thursday	1 "	Arith. M					
	2 "	-do- M					
	3 "	Hygiene F	Weekly Examinations.				
	4 "	Algebra L					
Friday	1 "	Eng. Gram. M	Book-keeping M	Type-writing			
	2 "	-do- M	Type-writing L	Book-keeping M			
	3 "	-do- F	Geog. F	Latri F			
	4 "	-do- L	-do- F	Latri L			

Recreation
Denotion

C. Lewis Leopold

Headmaster 1st Sept. 1913

Appendix J.

The Curriculum for the School Certificate in the
Gambia, Ghana and Sierra Leone as laid down in the
Regulations and Syllabuses, 1964.

- I. Languages: English Language, Latin, Greek,
French, German, Italian, Ewe,
Fante, Ga, Twi, Arabic.
- II. General
subjects: English Literature, Bible Knowledge,
Islamic Religious Knowledge, History,
Geography.
- III. Mathematical
subjects: Mathematics, Additional Mathematics.
- IV. Science
subjects: General Science, Additional General
Science, Physics, Chemistry, Biology,
Agricultural Science.
- V. Arts and
Crafts: Art, Music, Woodwork, Metalwork,
Needlework and Dressmaking, Cookery,
General Housecraft.
- VI. Technical
and
Commercial
Subjects: Technical Drawing, Commercial
Subjects, Health Science.

Appendix K.

The classification of teachers introduced by the
Education Ordinance, 1935.

(a) Certificated teachers.

- (i) Holders of a degree granted by a British or other recognised university together with a Teachers' diploma or certificate issued by any recognised Educational authority or examining body.
- (ii) Holders of a Matriculation or other equivalent certificate at a British or other recognised University together with a Teachers' diploma or certificate issued by a recognised Educational authority or examining body.
- (iii) Holders of the Cambridge Junior or other equivalent certificate together with a satisfactory pass in any recognised Training School.

(b) Provisional teachers.

- (i) Holders of a satisfactory pass in a recognised training school or in Special Training, without Junior Cambridge standing, to be certificated when Junior Cambridge standing has been obtained, or a provisional pass in the Training School with Junior Cambridge standing, to be certificated after four years satisfactory teaching work.
- (ii) Holders of a provisional pass in the Training School without Junior Cambridge standing, to be certificated after four years satisfactory teaching work and after Junior Cambridge standing has been obtained.

(c) Probationary Teachers and other unqualified teachers.

Note:- Teachers in charge of Government and Assisted Schools must except in special cases allowed by the Superintendent be certificated teachers.

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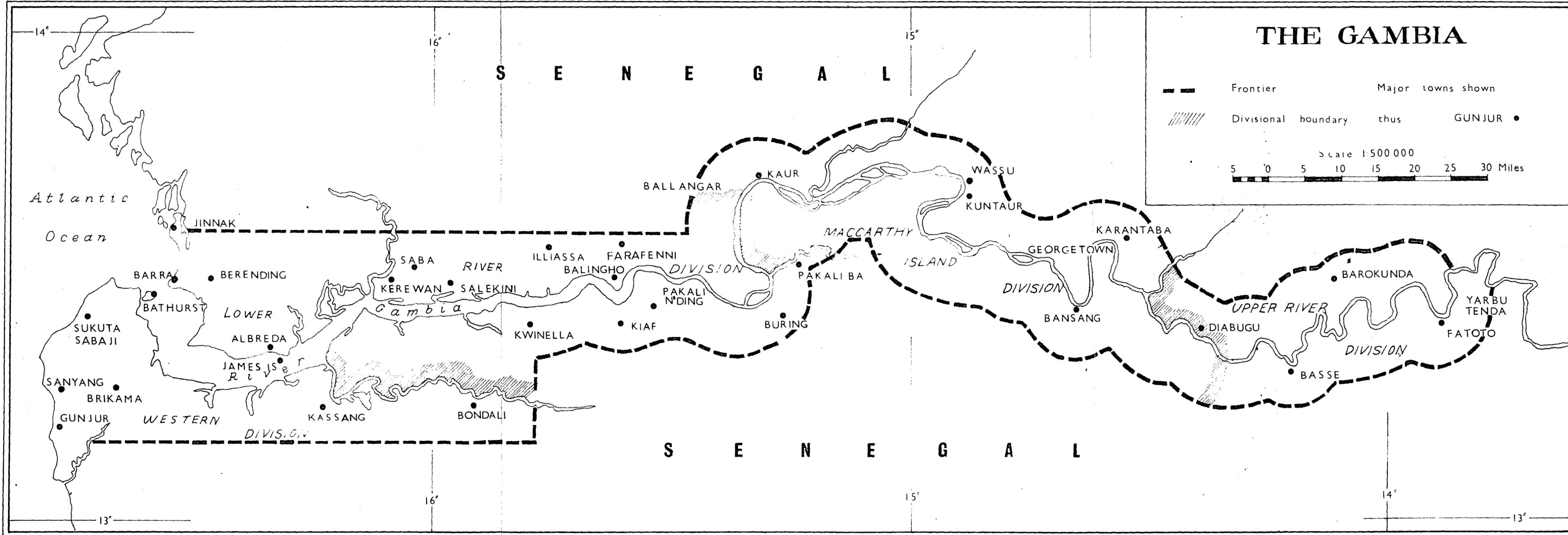
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THE GAMBIA

- - - Frontier
 // // // Divisional boundary
 Major towns shown
 thus GUNJUR •
 Scale 1:500 000
 5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 Miles

S E N E G A L

S E N E G A L

Atlantic Ocean

JINNAK

BALLANGAR

KAUR

WASSU

KUNTAUR

KARANTABA

MACCARTHY ISLAND

GEORGETOWN

RIVER

FARAFENNI DIVISION

ILLIASSA Balingho

SALEKINI

PAKALI N'DING

PAKALI BA

DIVISION

UPPER RIVER

BAROKUNDA

YARBU TENDA

DIVISION

DIABUGU

FATOTO

BANSANG

BASSE

BARRA

BERENDING

SABA

KEREWAN

KWINELLA

KIAF

BURING

LOWER

ALBREDA

JAMES ISLET

KASSANG

BONDALI

GUNJUR

WESTERN DIVISION

SUKUTA SABAJI

BATHURST

BRIKAMA

SANYANG

13°

16°

15°

14°

13°