

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE IMPACT OF WESTERN CULTURE UPON THE PRIMITIVE
WAY OF LIFE IN THE SIERRA LEONE PROTECTORATE

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(ABSTRACT)

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This thesis attempts to show the impact of Western culture upon the primitive tribes in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone. The information is based on books and articles dealing with various aspects of the life of the people, on comparative studies made by outstanding social anthropologists on primitive peoples in other parts of the world, and on personal experience of life in the territory.

Western culture has been introduced into the Protectorate chiefly through the work of three agencies - Christian missions, British administration, and non-African entrepreneurs. Christian missions from Europe and North America have converted to Christianity a few natives. Through their educational activities, they laid the foundation upon which both central and local governments are building at present in order to meet the increasing demands of the people for more schools. From the mission schools have emerged most of the leaders of the country.

British administration restored peace and order by putting down the frequent warfare between the tribes. It abolished the existing domestic slavery and set up government machinery. By establishing a central authority for the whole country, the British paved the way for the development of a united Sierra Leone.

The setting up of representative local government institutions has made it possible for more people to take part in the management of their own affairs. These institutions have taken over most of the functions which were formerly performed by the tribal system of government.

The mining companies and the traders have contributed to the economic improvement of the people. The mines have attracted young men from the villages, provided them with sources of income other than farming, trained them in various skills required in their new work, and built modern living quarters for them. The traders have introduced Western goods, the possession of which, in the eyes of the natives, determines the degree of one's Westernization.

The growth of large towns in certain areas is largely the outcome of the development of Western enterprise. Administrative headquarters, commercial centres and mining areas have attracted people from all over the country, and have thus increased the population in those areas.

The development of roads and means of transportation and communication have followed the growth of the towns. These have facilitated movement of people from one place to another and also

have enabled them to bring in new ideas which in most cases clash with/^{the}traditional way of life.

Westernization is also evident in the improvement in housing conditions, in the use of Western-style furniture, clothing, household equipment, and in the social activities of the people. The emergence of a social class structure based upon the degree of Westernization achieved is noticeable.

Although Western culture has taken deep roots in certain sections of the country, not all the people have felt the impact. The bulk of the population is still illiterate and lives in areas remote from civilisation. The traditional way of life in such areas has not changed very much.

Even in Westernized communities the changes have not been sweeping and wholesale. "Bush schools" exist side by side with the mission and government schools; native law with the British system of justice; the tribal system with Western representative government; and native religious rites with Christian churches. Non-educated people living in urban areas still cling to their tribal customs with some modifications.

In spite of these limitations, the impact of Western culture on the Protectorate is sufficiently far-reaching to have shaken the foundations of the traditional way of life.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis was to show the impact of Western culture upon the primitive way of life of the peoples of the Sierra Leone Protectorate. This impact is a favourite topic of social anthropologists but very little has so far been done with regard to Sierra Leone. Certain aspects of life have been modified and are still being modified by Western influences. Evidence of this modification is the fact that the elders of the peoples are complaining that the "good old days" have gone, never to return.

The word "culture" as used in this thesis refers

to the whole matrix of political, economic, social and religious institutions as well as to the beliefs, ideas, and ideals that guide a people in their private and public endeavours.¹

The writer drew information from many sources, the chief of which were his experiences during his life in the Protectorate. He consulted the following books on Sierra Leone:

1. Michael Bantam, West African City: A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown.
2. F. H. Hilliard, A Short History of Education in British West Africa.

R. F. Butts, A Cultural History of Education, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1947), p. v.

3. Roy Lewis, Sierra Leone: A Modern Portrait
4. M. McCulloch, The Peoples of the Sierra Leone Protectorate

For comparative study the writer consulted the following books:

1. Vera Micheles Dean, The Nature of the Non-Western World.
2. Margaret Mead, Growing Up in New Guinea.
3. Margaret Mead, Coming of Age in Samoa.
4. Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture.

The first chapter introduces the subject, gives its limitations, sources of material and procedure.

The second chapter gives the location of Sierra Leone on the African continent and describes its climate, topography, agricultural products and the origins of both the Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone which make up the whole country.

The third chapter deals with the founding of Freetown and its suburbs. It also describes the various groups that came to be known later as Creoles.

The fourth chapter describes the circumstances leading to the declaration of the Protectorate, its early administration and the system of domestic slavery which was prevalent there at that time.

The fifth chapter deals with the various tribes of the Protectorate. In order to help the reader understand the

modifications in the Protectorate in their historical perspective, it is necessary to give a picture of the traditional ways of life of the people. The writer has done this by describing the people, their occupations, homes, family life, religion, and their systems of government.

Chapter six gives an account of the system of indigenous education in the Protectorate. The parts played in this process by the home, the family circle, and the community at large, are described.

The seventh chapter precedes the account of Western education in the Protectorate with an account of that in the Colony because both followed similar lines of development. It describes the educational activities of voluntary agencies and of the Sierra Leone Government.

The eighth chapter describes the changes that have taken place in the Protectorate and the resulting conflicts. The changes are reflected in the political, economic, social and religious life of the people.

The ninth, the final chapter of the thesis, contains a summary and conclusion.

CHAPTER II

SIERRA LEONE

Sierra Leone, a small territory with an area of approximately 28,000 square miles, lies on the west coast of Africa within ten degrees of the equator. It is bounded on the north by Guinea, on the south by Liberia and the Atlantic Ocean, on the east by Liberia, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean.

The territory consists of Colony^{and}/Protectorate. The Colony is near the sea and it covers an area of two-hundred and fifty-six square miles. The Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary defines "colony" as a "company of people transplanted from their mother country to another land but remaining subject to the parent state". The reverse of this definition is true in the case of the colonists in Sierra Leone because Africa, not England, was their mother land. Their ancestors had been captured there as slaves in the sixteenth century and taken over to North America. The colonists, however, became subjects of Britain who repatriated them to Africa.

According to the Webster's Dictionary, a protectorate is "a relation of authority assumed by one state over a dependent one, whereby the former protects the latter and shares in the management of its affairs". This is precisely the situation in the Sierra Leone Protectorate where the British Government, through its representative, controls both the

internal and external affairs of the region. The inhabitants are called British Protected Persons. The difference between the Colony and the Protectorate lies in the degree of political attachment to Britain. The Colony is a component part of the Commonwealth and is more attached to Britain than is the Protectorate. The inhabitants are, therefore, British subjects. The Protectorate, on the other hand, is a semi-dependent state. Freetown is the capital of the whole country.

Since 1931, no official census of the population has been made, but the following are the results of enumerations tabulated in 1947 and 1948:¹

Europeans and Americans	964
Asians	2,074
African non-natives	30,447
African natives	1,824,790
	<hr/>
	1,858,275
	<hr/>

The most recent population estimate was 2,260,000 (Colony 130,000 and Protectorate 2,130,000), and Europeans probably number about 1,500 and Asians around 3,000.² Most of the non-native Africans, consisting of settlers and their descendants, together with two-thirds of the whole white population, live in the Colony. The bulk of the African native population, which is tribal, live in the Protectorate.

¹Barclays Bank D.C.O., Sierra Leone: An Economic Survey, (London, E.C.2., England, Williams, Lea & Co. Ltd., 1958), p. 2.

²Ibid.

Sierra Leone falls roughly into three main geographical areas. The Colony is mostly mountainous, rising to a height of nearly 3,000 feet above sea level. Behind Freetown lies a mountain range with Leicester Peak (1,952 feet), Sugar Loaf (2,494 feet) and Mount Horton (2,484 feet) reaching the highest points. This range, when approached from the sea, seems

to rise gradually from the sea to a stupendous height richly wooded and beautifully ornamented by the hand of nature with a variety of delightful prospects.¹

The Western part of the country consists of inland belt of plains with mangrove swamps on the coast. There are many rivers in this area, most of which are navigable for short distances.

In the east and north-east the ground rises sharply to a plateau with peaks of over 6,000 feet in the Loma Mountains and Tingi Hills.

Sierra Leone lies within the tropics. Temperatures and humidity are high and rainfall is heavy. The mean temperature is approximately 80° F. with a range of about 10° on the coast and 20° inland. Temperatures sometimes fall to 45° F. at night during the coolest time of the year.

There are two distinct seasons. The dry season lasts from November to April, and the wet season extends over the rest of the year with the heaviest rainfalls in the three months of July, August and September. In the interior the mean annual rainfall varies from

¹Roy Lewis, Sierra Leone: A Modern Portrait, (London, England, H.M.S.O., 1957), p. 2.

one-hundred and sixty to ninety inches; along the coast it has reached up to three-hundred inches in a single month. Generally speaking the climate is suited to agricultural occupations which form the main source of revenue for the country.

About eighty to ninety per cent of the population depends, for its livelihood, upon farm, forestry and pastoral pursuits. Farming is done by hand and the crops grown are rice, oil palms, cocoa, ginger, piassava and kola nuts.

Rice, the staple food of the country, is the most important crop. Practically the whole country is suited to its growth. It is cultivated both in swamps and upland. In swampy areas farmers transplant rice seedlings which they had first sown in nurseries. In upland areas, farmers simply broadcast the rice seeds and plough the land. Rain and sunshine are essential for rice cultivation.

Mechanical cultivation of rice is carried on by the Sierra Leone Government in order to increase the output, but this system of agriculture has not yet reached the farmers in the villages. In order to conduct experiments on rice growing, the Government has established a Rice Research Station at Rokupr. Farmers from the villages go there from time to time to observe modern methods of farming.

Palm trees are economically important in Sierra Leone. They grow wild in inland areas but the Department of Agriculture is encouraging the cultivation of improved varieties from Nigeria, Angola and Delhi. The Department distributes thousands of seedlings annually to farmers. From the palm fruit, oil is extracted and is used for home

consumption and for export. Palm kernels are also exported to Europe. The Sierra Leone Marketing Board, formed in 1949, controls the export of all palm produce and buys enormous quantities from the producers. In 1956 some 57,645 tons of palm kernels were shipped, worth about £2,507,889 (about \$7,523,667).¹ The Board operates power nutcrackers and pioneer oil mills to process the palm fruit. In areas where these machines are not available, the processing is done by hand.

Cocoa is not grown in large quantities. It is cultivated in the districts of Kenema, Kailahun, Pujehun and Bo. In recent years there has been a great demand for it. This demand is shown in the increase in exports from 1926 to 1945. Average shipments from 1926 to 1930 amounted to 1,500 hundredweights, rising to 10,500 hundredweights from 1941 to 1945.² In subsequent years there has also been a substantial increase. Between 1946 and 1958 exports increased from 11,440 hundredweights to 56,560 hundredweights, valued at £872,290 (about \$2,616,870).³

Coffee is now more important as an export crop than cocoa. This crop can flourish over a wider area than cocoa as it can withstand

¹Barclays Bank, op. cit., p. 6.

²Ibid., p. 7.

³Great Britain, Information Service, Sierra Leone, (Victoria Rd., Swindon, Swindon Press Ltd., 1959), p. 5.

long droughts. Before 1939, the average annual export was less than two-hundred hundredweights but since the Second World War, exports have risen from 2,771 hundredweights in 1946 to 66,952 hundredweights in 1958.¹

Ginger is grown almost entirely for export purposes. It is cultivated in the Bo, Kenema and Moyamba districts. Most of it is exported to the United Kingdom.

The piassava is a fibre from the raffia palm used for the bristles of brooms and hard brushes. It thrives best in swampy areas. Most of it is exported to the United Kingdom.

Kola nut is a tart-tasting fruit which, when eaten, keeps one awake for hours and assuages hunger. The crop is cultivated both for local consumption and for export to other parts of West Africa, especially Gambia. The nut has a social significance. It is used by the natives in ceremonial rituals. In the past it was used for barter; today it is sold to commercial firms for export to the United Kingdom.

In addition to the crops described above, there are others which are grown in various parts of the country. These are groundnuts (peanuts), cassava, coconuts, bananas, oranges and pineapples.

There are extensive forest lands in the country but lack of motor roads prevents any large-scale use. The Forest Department operates a timber industry in Kenema, one of the large towns in the Protectorate.

¹Ibid., p. 6.

Large numbers of beef cattle are reared in the Northern Province. Goats, sheep and pigs are also raised. The Department of Agriculture experiments with a variety of pigs imported from Europe.

There are a few minerals mined in different parts of the country. Iron ore is mined by the Sierra Leone Development Company which was founded by British enterprise in 1930. From 1933 until the end of 1956 the total tonnage of ore exported was 19,248,000.¹ The Company now has plans to extend its activities to the Tonkolilil district.

Diamonds were first discovered in the country in 1930. Until 1956 the Sierra Leone Selection Trust had a monopoly of the mineral mining. Early in 1956 the Alluvial Diamond Mining Ordinance was passed by the Sierra Leone Government, making it possible for Sierra Leoneans to mine diamonds under licence in declared areas. Because the monopoly was broken, the Government had to pay a compensation amounting to £1,570,000 (about \$4,710,000) to the Trust. In 1956 the Trust exported 523,073 carats valued at £1,830,748 (\$5,492,244) against £1,400,478 (\$4,201,434) in 1955.²

Chromite was first discovered in 1929 in Kenema District. It is mined by the Sierra Leone Chrome Mines Company. In 1956 the exports amounted to 18,774 tons worth £194,630 (\$583,890).³

¹Barclays Bank, op. cit., p. 10.

²Ibid. p. 11.

³Ibid. p. 12.

There are as yet no large-scale industries in the country. Small factories making soap, mineral waters and cigarettes, exist. Small-scale industrial undertakings include weaving, dyeing and furniture making. Among the village crafts are boat making, wood carving, rope making and basket weaving.

Sierra Leone is relatively poor in means of communication and transportation. There is a railway with two feet six inch guage which covers the longest distance of $227\frac{1}{2}$ miles. There is also a private railway operated by the Sierra Leone Development Company which runs from Pepel to Marampa, a distance of fifty-seven and one-half miles. It is of three feet six inch guage and carries the company's iron ore, but is not available for public use.

In the past, development of first-class roads tended to lag behind that of water and rail communications. Much has been done in recent years to construct good all-weather roads to link the large towns in the country. A great improvement in road construction has been the replacement of a number of ferries by bridges on the main trunk roads.

The only international airport in the country is at Lungi which is a town not far from Freetown. Regular services are provided by the West African Airways, Hunting Clan/Airwork Safari and Air France. These link Sierra Leone directly with other parts of West Africa and with the United Kingdom. In 1958 an internal service was started by the Sierra Leone Government.

Freetown is the major port and is an oil-bunkering station for ocean-going vessels. Passenger and cargo services to the United Kingdom

are provided by the Elder Dempster Lines and Palm Line, and to the European continent by the Holland West Africa Line. Smaller ports which deal with local produce are at Pepel, Bonthe and Sulima. Pepel is a loading port for iron ore, while Sulima is used exclusively for the shipment of piassava.

The following are some of the large towns in the country:¹

TABLE I
POPULATION FIGURES OF LARGE
TOWNS IN SIERRA LEONE

Town	Population
Freetown	64,576
Bo	15,610
Bonthe	7,554
Makeni	7,500
Magburaka	4,500
Kenema	4,000
Port Loko	3,950
Gerihun	3,708
Waterloo	3,196
Kabala	3,064
Lunsar	3,049
Kailahun	2,787
Yonibana	2,700
Kambia	2,664
Segbwema	2,501
Moyamba	2,500

¹Atlas of Sierra Leone, (Long Acre, London, W.C.2, England, Edward Stanford Ltd., 1st ed., 1953), p. 10.

CHAPTER III

THE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE

The first Europeans to visit the Colony area were Portuguese sailors. They went there in the fifteenth century but made no permanent settlement. They went in search of gold and spices which were then in great demand in Europe. The leader of the group, Pedro de Cintra, called the country "Sierra Leone" (The Lion Mountain) because of the appearance of the mountain range which could be seen far in the background from out at sea. A lion-like noise from the mountains convinced him of the aptness of the name, but since no lions have so far been found in the country, the name is obviously a misnomer.

The British were the only European nation that established control over the area in the eighteenth century. The events which led to the establishment of that control provide an interesting story. In 1772 in London, a certain West Indian farmer named Charles Stewart, arrested his runaway Negro slave, James Somerset, and proposed to transport him to Jamaica. Due to the timely intervention of Granville Sharpe, one of the people in London who were fighting for the abolition of the slave trade, the slave was rescued before the ship on which he was to sail, left London. Before this time the King's Court had passed a verdict to the effect that a slave, being private property, could be recovered. This verdict justified Charles Stewart's action to recover his slave who had been seized by Granville Sharpe. It should be noted here that

slavery was recognised as a legal institution and upheld by the Courts of England. In 1729 the Attorney General ruled that

baptism did not bestow freedom or make any alteration in the temporal condition of the slave; in addition the slave did not become free by being brought to England, and once in England the owner could legally compel his return to the plantations.¹

In spite of the legal recognition of slavery, Granville Sharpe did not give up his attempt to save James Somerset. He engaged a lawyer, Francis Hargrave, to defend the right of the slave to be free. At the trial, the Chief Justice, Lord Mansfield, proclaimed that as soon as any slave set his foot on English ground he became free. He remarked that slavery was so odious that "positive law" was the only thing to stop it. This decision affected not only James Somerset but also about "14,000 or 15,000 slaves then in England".² These were freed and left to die of cold and starvation in the streets of London, but Lord Mansfield added: "fiat justitia ruat coelum" — let justice be done whatever the consequences.³

In order to save the helpless freed slaves, Granville Sharpe tried to win the support of his friends and co-workers. They formed a group called the Clapham Set because they all lived around the London suburb of Clapham. The names of some of the set were William Wilberforce, Henry Thornton, Rev. John Venn, William Smith, Charles Grant, Rev. James

¹George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa, (London, England: Dennis Dobson Ltd., 1956), p. 24.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

Ramsey, William and Thomas Clarkson and Zachary Macaulay. Several of the men just named were members of Parliament. Because they all sought to bring about the abolition of slavery, they were called Abolitionists. While they tried to provide aid to the freed slaves in England, more and more slaves kept on running away from their masters in North America and finding their way to England in order to be free. The number increased to such an extent that Granville Sharpe and his friends felt that charity was not the solution to the problem. They realized that a place of refuge should be found for the destitute slaves. At this time the British Government did not show any concern for the problem.

It was in 1786, fourteen years after Lord Mansfield's decision, that a solution presented itself to the Abolitionists. A certain Dr. Smeathman, a naturalist who had spent many years collecting butterflies in Sierra Leone, joined the group. He suggested that Sierra Leone would be an ideal home for the destitute slaves and added that such a settlement along the West African coast would also be a base

for the purpose of checking and putting down the slave trade, and of diffusing the principles of Christian religion among the natives.¹

Granville Sharpe and his friends welcomed the suggestion and set about to collect funds for the repatriation of the "Black Poor". Soon a sufficient amount was raised to send out a mission to negotiate the purchase of land in Sierra Leone for the freed slaves. The mission succeeded in purchasing twenty square miles of land from King Tom, the Temne ruler who was a vassal of the powerful King Naimbana who was in

¹Ibid., p. 29.

charge of the whole region now called the Colony of Sierra Leone. The area bought was called Granville Town in honour of Granville Sharpe who succeeded in getting the British Government to provide transportation and supplies for the first group of repatriates.

On February 22, 1787, about three-hundred Negroes left England, under the command of Captain Thompson, for Sierra Leone. The group arrived in May. By September their number had fallen to two-hundred and seventy-six and by the following March only one-hundred and thirty remained alive. Diseases and bad climatic conditions were responsible for the deaths. Granville Sharpe did not grow despondent but continued to save what he referred to as "my poor ill-thriven swarthy daughter, the unfortunate colony of Sierra Leone".¹ The remaining number was reinforced with a fresh supply of freed slaves. The British Government sent out more food supplies. The settlers began to build houses and to farm.

When the settlers began to feel happy about their progress, a disaster overtook them. A neighbouring Temne chief, King Jimmy, attacked the colony and burnt the houses. Another start had to be made. One trading company, the Sierra Leone Company, came to the rescue. It secured a Royal Charter which gave it full trading rights over the area. This company not only carried on trade but also sought to bring about the abolition of slavery. It received financial assistance from the English public to carry out its humanitarian objectives. From 1790 onward

¹Ibid.

the company had to overcome many difficulties before the new settlement was firmly established. After the destruction of Granville Town by King Jimmy's men, a new settlement was made and called Freetown. By 1792 nearly all the "Black Poor" in England had been transported to Sierra Leone where they were joined by others repatriated from Nova Scotia and the West Indies.

The Nova Scotians were originally slaves in the southern states of America who ran away from their masters when they heard about Lord Mansfield's decision in 1772. Most of them found their way to the northern states of America. During the American War of Independence many of these runaway slaves enlisted in the Royalist armies against the American colonists who, while proclaiming that "all men are created equal", supported the maintenance of slavery. The British, on the other hand, promised the slaves not only freedom but a place of refuge. After the war, those who survived, were transported to Nova Scotia where they encountered great hardships because of difference in climate from what they had been used to. At the same time they tried to remind the British of their promise by sending their ringleader, Thomas Peters, to England to present their case to the British Parliament. As soon as he arrived in England, he contacted the Abolitionists who at once undertook to make representations to the Prime Minister, William Pitt, to rescue the Nova Scotians and settle them in Sierra Leone.

The British Government wasted no time in making arrangements for the transportation, in sixteen ships, of 1,131 Nova Scotians from Halifax to Sierra Leone. All but sixty-three arrived safely in

March 1792 and were settled in villages around Freetown. Lieutenant Thomas Clarkson who commanded the expedition was made the first Governor of the Colony in that year. Thomas Peters, the leader of the Nova Scotians, became one of the most outstanding citizens of Freetown and a confidential adviser to the Governor.

In 1800 another group of five-hundred and fifty settlers arrived. They were called Maroons or West Indians. They were Negro slaves who had revolted against their Spanish and British masters in Jamaica and set up self-governing settlements on the island. The word, Maroon, derived from the Spanish word Cimarrones, means mountaineers. It was applied to the Negroes who, after running away from the plantations in the plains, took refuge on the mountains. They were mostly descendants of tribes from Ghana and Nigeria. They were pugnacious and independent in spirit and they refused to accept their status as slaves. For many years they stirred up revolts in the island. They carried on guerrilla warfare against their masters. They administered their self-governing communities according to African tribal laws and customs under recognised chieftains. Some of their leaders were Cudjoe, Accompong, Kofie and Quako.

In order to put an end to the unrest and lawlessness which were producing adverse effect upon the sugar industry -- the economic backbone of the island -- the Governor, Sir Edward Trelawney, sent in 1738 Colonel Guthrie, on a peace mission to Cudjoe, the most renowned of the Maroon leaders. The Governor promised to recognise the independence of the Maroons and also to give them a guarantee of security in land ownership.

The peace mission succeeded and there was once more quiet on the island. But not long after the Maroons heard about the revolt by the slaves in the island of Haiti against their French masters; they, therefore, came down from the mountains and incited the plantation slaves to rebel against their masters. After bitter fighting, the Maroons were defeated. Some were pardoned and allowed to retain their lands and liberty. Their descendants still live in the island in small communities known as Moore Towns. The ringleaders and their followers were arrested and deported to Nova Scotia which seemed to have been the dumping ground for freed slaves. From Nova Scotia they were later transported to Sierra Leone. The Maroons were noted for their bravery and fighting skill. Sir Harry Johnson, a distinguished historian, wrote these words:

There was a remarkable spirit about the Maroons which, in spite of occasional episodes of cowardice or treachery, seems to have inspired a liking and respect in the minds of British officers fighting against them, the sympathy felt for the first-class fighting man. So much so, that when the Assembly of Jamaica decided to transport a third of the Maroons to Nova Scotia (and thereby rid the colony of the terror they had inspired for a hundred and fifty years), Major General Walpole, the principal officer commanding the troops engaged in suppressing the Maroon rising, declined to accept the sword of honour voted him by the House of Assembly.¹

The Abolitionists had thus succeeded in finding an asylum for ex-slaves rescued in Britain and in the New World. They next concentrated their efforts upon the complete abolition of the heinous trade. William Wilberforce, Member for Hull and Yorkshire in the British Parliament, was able to win the sympathy of his intimate friend, William Pitt, the Prime

¹ Ibid., p. 35.

Minister, for the anti-slave crusade. Wilberforce, in May 1789, introduced the first resolution to end the slave trade but he lost his resolution because of the opposition of the West Indian farmers and others who had vested interests in the West Indies. On March 16, 1807, however, his efforts became a reality when the Parliament passed a unanimous bill declaring it illegal to transport African slaves in British ships. It was one thing passing a law and another thing putting it into effect. To put the new law into effect, the Parliament decided to institute a body to intercept ships which had slaves on board. With this object in view, the Parliament negotiated with the Sierra Leone Company which had up to this time been responsible for the administration of the colony, an agreement for handing over the settlement to the Crown. In 1808 the settlement was transferred to the Government as a Crown Colony with a Governor appointed by the Crown ruling. The Governor was assisted by an Advisory Council that he himself selected from among the local Creoles. Freetown was converted into a maritime base of operation for the ships of the Royal Navy which were engaged in capturing slave vessels. A Vice-Admiralty Court was set up to try all slavers that were caught. Many slave vessels were caught and thousands of slaves were freed. It is estimated that between 1819 and 1828 the British cruisers captured and landed in Freetown 13,281 slaves, and that between 1828 and 1876, approximately 50,000 slaves recaptured from slave ships, were settled in the Colony.¹

The work of the Abolitionists is one of the finest examples of humanitarianism the world has ever known. The settlement in Freetown

¹Ibid., p. 36.

pioneered the way for the establishment of Liberia the neighbouring territory. The founders of the settlement destroyed what had been done earlier by Englishmen and laid the foundation for the spread of Western culture throughout West Africa. Dr. Edward Blyden, a famous West Indian expressed this point much more forcefully in these words:

It is a very interesting fact that on the spot where Englishmen first began the work of African demoralization, Englishmen should begin the work of African amelioration and restoration. England produced Sir John Hawkins,¹ known to Sierra Leone by his fire and sword policy. Two hundred years later, England produced Granville Sharpe, known by his policy of peace, of freedom, and of religion. The land of Pharaoh was also the land of Moses. Alone amid the darkness of those days, stood Sierra Leone - the only point at which the slave trade could not be openly prosecuted - the solitary refuge of the hunted slave.²

The colonists and their descendants came to be known as Creoles.³ As a result of their long stay in the West the Creoles had lost their African culture and traditions. They developed a way of life based on ideals and practices which they had acquired from the West. George Padmore, a distinguished West Indian author, made this point clear in these words:

¹He was the most notorious slaver along the West African coast in the sixteenth century. In 1562, 1563 and 1565 he went to Sierra Leone and bought thousands of slaves most of whom died at sea because he packed them in his small sailing vessels "like sardines in a tin".

²Ibid.

³The Webster New International Dictionary, second ed., gives a long and interesting semantic record of this word. It refers to a person of European descent born and bred in a colony. It also refers to a person born and bred as a native but not of indigenous stock. This is the sense in which the word is used here. (C. 101).

Drawn as they were from heterogenous elements, cut adrift from their ancestral cultures, traditions and customs, the repatriates intermarried and adopted the English way of life. The Queen's language became their normal medium of communication. As time went on, however, they evolved a lingua franca, known as Krio, which has become the popular tongue among both the Colony people and the indigenous tribes settled in and around Freetown.¹

The Krio language is a transfusion of numerous idioms and phrases borrowed from different languages - Spanish, Portuguese, French and West African. These are blended with words and phrases from the English language. Because of this fascinating combination the Krio language can aptly be called "mixture of mixtures, all is mixture".

The language represents the early efforts of the Creoles to develop a common medium of communication out of many tongues which they had brought with them to Sierra Leone. It is widely spoken throughout the country and, therefore, it is certainly one of the media through which Western culture has been and is being disseminated into the Protectorate.

With the help of Christian missionaries from Europe, the Creoles built churches and schools. The churches trained leaders for missionary work in Sierra Leone and in other countries in West Africa. Dr. Samuel Adjai Crowther, a Creole, had been rescued from a slave ship as a boy and taken to Freetown where he received his early education and training for the ministry. He was ordained in England in 1843 and then returned to West Africa to preach the Gospel among the people of

¹Padmore, op. cit., p. 38.

Yorubaland in Nigeria where he was born. It was exactly forty years after his rescue from a slave ship that Dr. Crowther was consecrated at Canterbury Cathedral the first African Bishop. He was assisted in his work by other Creole pastors and catechists and by the time he died in 1891, the Church of England Mission had been firmly established in Nigeria. Another distinguished Creole was Bishop T.S. Johnson of the village of Beguema in the Colony of Sierra Leone. He was for many years the assistant Bishop of Sierra Leone.

In secular life the Creoles also produced prominent leaders. James Horton, who was of Ibo parentage, and William Davies, of Yoruba parentage, were the first two Sierra Leoneans to qualify as medical doctors. Both were commissioned in the Army, as it was the War Office in London that had sponsored their studies, and both rose to the rank of Sergeant Major. Dr. Horton wrote books on medicine in West Africa and politics. His political views were strong and unpopular at that time. In 1868 he said that "West African countries should become independent immediately."¹

Another Sierra Leonean who acquired eminence in medicine was Dr. J. Farrell Easmon who qualified in 1879. He was a civil servant in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and rose to the rank of Chief Medical Officer. He was the first Sierra Leonean to conduct a thorough research into fevers which were then rampant in West Africa. He published a book on the "Black Water" fever in which he maintained that this fever was distinct from Yellow fever. His discovery, although strongly attacked at that time by

¹The Daily Mail, (Freetown, Sierra Leone), November, 13, 1958, p. 3.

his colleagues, eventually proved correct.

The legal profession in West Africa was controlled almost entirely by Sierra Leoneans. John Thorpe was the first Sierra Leonean to be called to the bar in 1850. Sir Samuel Lewis, another distinguished lawyer, was not only the first Mayor of Freetown but also the first African to be honoured by the Queen with a knighthood. Sir Ernest Beoku-Betts was the first Speaker of the House of Representatives.

As early as 1799, Freetown had been made a city with a Mayor and aldermen. The Creoles successfully handled their civic responsibilities thus paving the way for government on a national level. They were the first African community to exercise the vote in municipal affairs. Mr. G.H.S. Fyfe, formerly an archivist in Sierra Leone from 1950 to 1952, and who is now writing a history on Sierra Leone, in describing the influence of the Creoles in West Africa as a whole said:

Ghana would not be independent nor Nigeria on the verge of independence, had it not been for the wealth of educated people from Sierra Leone who were able to go throughout West Africa and help in missions, schools, government service, and medical fields.¹

The names of the Creoles echo their history. Many of their ancestors had adopted, as their family names, the patronymics of the Abolitionists and the early German and British missionaries who had worked in Sierra Leone. Thus today we find Creoles with such German names as Decker, During, Hansel, Metzger and Renner. We also find such British names as Betts, Boston, Bright, Buck, Cummings, George, Grant,

¹ Ibid.

Horton, Hughes, John, Johnson, Macaulay, Morgon, Pratt, Taylor and Thomas. In Freetown there are George Street, named after King George III, Wilberforce Street and Wilberforce Memorial Hall, named after William Wilberforce one of the Abolitionists, and Walpole Street, named after General Walpole who defeated the Maroons in Jamaica and brought many of them to Freetown. The Anglican cathedral is named after George III and the Governor's house is named after Henry Thornton who was also one of the Abolitionists.

Around Freetown there are several villages which also bear British names. Some of these villages are fairly old dating back from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Some of them are Leicester (1809), Regent (1812), Gloucester (1816), Bathurst and Charlotte (1818), Wellington and Waterloo (1819). The Creoles in these villages are extremely religious and Victorian in their way of life. Each village has a church and a school. The villages were once prosperous and thickly populated. Today the population is rapidly declining as most of the people migrate to Freetown. Protectorate people have been steadily moving into the villages so that these villages are no longer predominantly Creole communities.

Freetown has been drawing the people from all over the country. It is ^{an} administrative, commercial and religious centre. It is the seat of the Governor and his Cabinet Ministers; all the headquarters of the Government departments are to be found there. All the principal firms have their headquarters in Freetown. These firms are owned by British,

French, Greeks and Asians. As a religious centre, Freetown is the seat ^{the} of Archbishop of West Africa and the headquarters of the Anglican, Wesleyan Methodist, American and Roman Catholic Missions. Finally, Freetown is the seat of the majority of Muslims. In recent years the Muslims have been rapidly building mosques in the eastern section of the city. In fact, at present, that section is predominantly a Muslim community.

The development of Freetown from a small community of Creoles to a cosmopolitan city is very important from the point of view of the whole territory. It is from Freetown that Western culture penetrates into the Protectorate; the Creoles have contributed greatly in this respect. Yet many observers have talked about them with contempt. For example, Sir Harry Johnston and Mary Kingsley were both very sympathetic towards Africans and yet the former, in his disgust for the arrogance of the Creoles, said that they "descended from the sweepings of West Africa",¹ while the latter wrote of their "second-hand and rubbishy white culture".² Sir Richard Burton criticized the Creoles for their contemptuous attitude towards the people from the Protectorate in these words:

The men displease me because they kick down the ladder by which they rose. No man maltreats his wild brother so much as the so-called civilised negro - he hardly ever addresses his kruman except by "you jackass" and tells him

¹Michael Bantam, West African City - A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown (Oxford Univ. Press, London, England, 1957), p. 110.

²Ibid.

ten times a day that he considers such fellows as the dirt beneath his feet. Consequently he is hated and despised withall, as being of the same colour as, whilst assuming such excessive superiority over, his former equals.¹

Roy Lewis emphasizes the extent to which the Creoles have adopted the English way of life as a model:

The Creoles followed the English tradition with fatal fidelity. When they made money, they sought to raise their children above shopkeeping that they might advance that superior Negro culture which was the great hope of the original founders of the settlement. They still seek to redeem that promise; they believe now, as they did then, in education. They believe, with the Victorians, that education makes all things possible to Africans, as to Europeans.²

Some of the criticisms come from the Creoles themselves. One is reported to have said:

In the early days of the Colony, we were given everything by the English: land, implements, administration, schooling, language and culture, endless help. When money ran short, appeals went out and the African Institution or some other body found it. It seems to me that we have never recovered from that dependence. We still expect everything to be done for us. We have only ourselves to blame if the Syrians take the trade and the Protectorate people assume the leadership in Leg. Co. (Legislative Council). If we Creoles had the energy we should be running this country now, and not kicking up a fuss about the new constitution because you British won't hand it to us on a platter.³

Another distinguished Creole wrote:

¹Ibid. Kruman is a member of the Kru tribe from Liberia. The Krus are mostly seamen and they occupy the western section of Freetown.

²Roy Lewis, Sierra Leone - A Modern Portrait, (H.M.S.O., London, England, 1957), p. 35.

³Ibid., p. 34.

Since they were planted on the coast of Sierra Leone the de-tribalised Creoles have remained Christians. To the early settlers, as to the Israelites of old, God was a living reality. They had known bondage, they had been liberated, and had been brought over to their promised land. The Canaanitish Timmes, and other indigenous tribesmen raided them now and again, but God and British guns always preserved the little band from extermination. Missionaries supplied them with spiritual, cultural and material food. The Creoles had education; they clung tenaciously to a mid-Victorian type of Western culture; they held high appointments in almost every walk of life, and, what was more, they had the Gospel. Unfortunately they quickly developed a spirit of patronising superiority toward the indigenous tribesmen who formed and still form the great majority of the population of Sierra Leone.¹

The comments on the Creoles throw some light on the reasons behind the rapid changes which are now taking place in the Protectorate. The people believe that the Creoles were powerful in the past because they enjoyed Western civilisation and education, and were not tied down by customary tribal institutions. Since the Second World War, the tendency of the Protectorate people has, therefore, been to abandon some of their indigenous institutions and to adopt those mechanisms of Western civilisation which would make them become the social, economic and educational equals of the Creoles whom they have already outstripped in the political sphere with the development of more democratic institutions. Evidence of this competition between the peoples of the two sections of the country can be seen in the schools and offices in all the large towns.

While there is some truth in the criticisms against the Creoles, there are also good points to be made about them. It is true that a few Creoles, particularly those in Freetown, have in the past had no respect

¹S.A.J. Pratt, "Spiritual Conflicts in a Changing African Society", The Ecumenical Review, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (Jan. 1956), p. 154.

for their servants of Protectorate origin. There are, however, other Creoles who have educated children from the Protectorate. Many Creoles have served in the Protectorate as teachers, pastors and clerks, and have influenced the Protectorate people with whom they worked. Whatever may be said about them, the Creoles set the pace for the social, economic, political and even spiritual awakening of the peoples of the Protectorate.

The position in which the Creoles find themselves today is similar to that in which the White minority in the Federation of Rhodesia, in Tanganyika and in Kenya find themselves. They had in the past monopolised privileged positions in all walks of life; they are now in the minority and they want to maintain their status quo but they cannot because their new rivals are in the majority. If they wish to work in harmony with the new rivals, they must change their attitude and recognise trends in the contemporary Sierra Leone. Fortunately, some have already begun to change their attitude.

CHAPTER IV

THE SIERRA LEONE PROTECTORATE

The Protectorate covers an area of 27,658 square miles. Within this area there are more than twelve tribes each of which speaks its own language. The map on Page 31 shows the approximate areas occupied by each tribe; Table 2 shows the population figures of these tribes for the years indicated.

There were several reasons that made Britain decide to extend her authority over the Protectorate. From the early decades of the nineteenth century, Creoles had begun to move into the Protectorate to conduct their affairs as traders, missionaries and teachers. While some of them won the friendship of the natives, others did not. The general feeling against them was that they were proud and that they were interfering with native affairs. As they were Western in their way of life, the natives called them "White man's children". In order to ensure their safety among the natives, some Creole leaders such as Lawson, T.F. Parkes and Sir Samuel Lewis, requested the British to extend their authority over the interior.

At this time the whole continent was being carved up by European nations in their "scramble" for African territories. In order to bring the whole of Sierra Leone under her "sphere of influence", and to forestall the encroachments of the French in the interior, Britain decided to declare a protectorate over the area.

TRIBAL MAP OF SIERRA LEONE

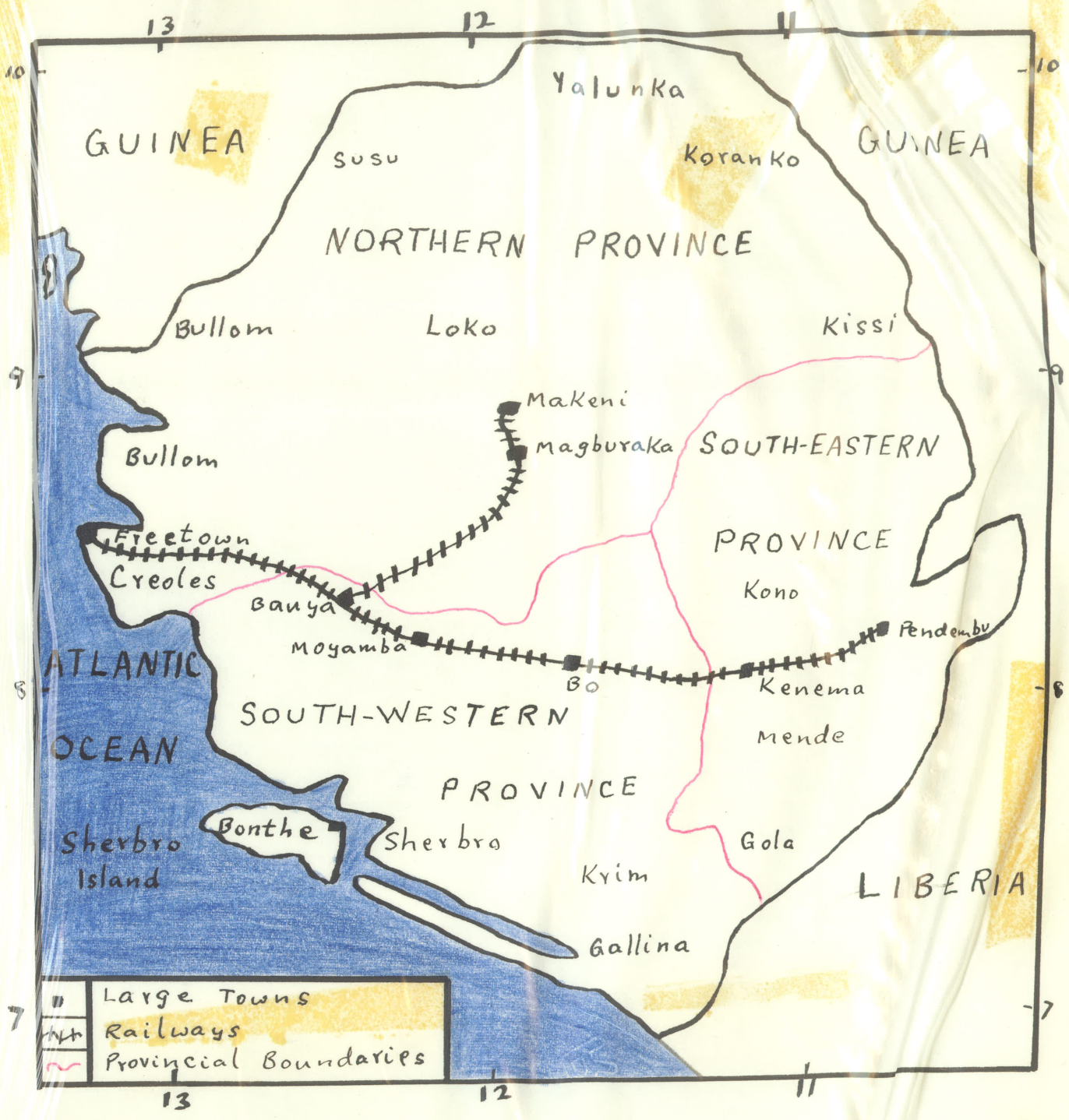


TABLE 2

POPULATION FIGURES OF TRIBES IN THE
SIERRA LEONE PROTECTORATE¹

Year	Mende	Temme	Loko	Limba	Susu	Yalunka	Sherbro	Bullom	Krim	Kono	Vai	Kuranko
1911	442,524	347,229	38,580	110,938	36,544	15,600	107,274	37,200	21,197	61,000	6,685	29,930
1921	557,674	311,418	45,052	112,010	53,210	12,400	37,200	56,556	23,471	112,215	24,541	30,100
1931	567,888	472,258	57,152	138,714	43,210	16,066	?	?	20,639	68,521	19,865	44,293
1948	586,000	505,600	76,400	174,400	49,000	30,520	?	?	44,600	79,900	35,660	73,500

¹The writer compiled these figures from M. McCulloch, Peoples of the Sierra Leone Protectorate, (International African Institute, London, England, 1950), pp. 1 - 101.

²The combined population of the two tribes for the years 1931 and 1948 was estimated at 167,200.

The reason frequently given is that Britain wanted to extend the Pax Britannica into the interior in order to put down the inter-tribal feuds which were prevalent there.

When the Protectorate was established in 1896, the task of establishing British administration in the area fell to Colonel Frederick Cardew. He had served as a Regular Officer in South Africa and China. In 1894 he had been sent by the Colonial Office in London as Governor of the Colony of Sierra Leone. During his extensive tour of the Protectorate he was profoundly moved by the prevailing inter-tribal wars, lack of means of transportation and communication, and domestic slavery. For many years these three problems occupied his attention.

In order to establish peace in the Protectorate, Cardew appointed District Commissioners and posted them to the five districts into which the Protectorate was divided. These District Commissioners had extensive judicial powers. They had to settle land disputes, criminal cases, matters involving witchcraft, factions or tribal fights and slave dealing. They were Justices of the Peace even in cases of "native law and custom".

Some of these District Commissioners, according to the Colonial Office, were not required to have legal training. They were to have "commonsense and integrity without legal education",¹ but their records

¹J.D. Hargreaves, "The Establishment of the Sierra Leone Protectorate and the Insurrection of 1898", The Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol. XII, Nos. 1 & 2 (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1956), p. 64.

show that some of them did lack "commonsense and integrity". Hargreaves, who was in 1953 Senior Lecturer in history at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, and who made a thorough research into the events that led to the establishment of the Protectorate, remarked that

one Acting District Commissioner was asked to resign in October 1897 after admitting that he had been continuously drunk for three months; another was censured for accepting presents from chiefs and for other improprieties.¹

Cardew succeeded in restoring peace and order into the Protectorate. His next move was to open up the country by constructing a railway and passable roads. His greatest problem, however, was finance. He needed money to run the administration and now he needed money to construct roads. He was forced to impose a hut tax on the natives whom he asked to pay ten shillings (\$1.35) for a house of more than three rooms, and half of that amount for smaller houses. This tax was a surprise to the natives who had not been accustomed to paying tax to a foreign ruler. Furthermore, they did not understand why they should pay the tax. In 1898 Cardew ordered the District Commissioners to collect the tax which the natives, under their leader, Bai Bureh, refused to pay. An insurrection ensued in which nine Whites and more than two hundred Creoles were killed.² The Creoles were massacred because the tribesmen regarded them as White men, a category which included all Westernized natives. Cardew felt that the rising was a

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 58.

deliberate rejection of progress, and that it was a reversion to the old order of things, such as fetish customs and slave-dealing and raiding. He, therefore, sent the Frontier Police to quell the rebellion. This force, founded in 1890 was to help the administration in establishing peace and order. Most of the members were of Protectorate origin and some of them had been domestic slaves of the chiefs. In collecting the tax they used force and brutality against their previous masters. More than anything else, their actions produced strong reactions against the administration. The rebellion was put down; thirty-three chiefs were hanged and the authority of the District Commissioners firmly established.

Sir David Chalmers, the Royal Commissioner who was sent to Sierra Leone to inquire into the causes of the insurrection, said that the tax and the measures by which it had been collected were the moving causes of the insurrection. He added that the tax had been obnoxious to the customs and feeling of the people, was higher than the people, taken generally, could pay, and that it had been enforced by disastrously inappropriate means. In these points of view, the Commissioner differed from the Governor, Cardew, who strongly believed that the rising was a revolt against Western civilisation, against rule by District Commissioners, against the suppression of slavery and inter-tribal wars, and against economic developments. Arguments similar to Cardew's have been applied by Western observers to many other risings by Africans against Western influences, for example, the Mau Mau rising in Kenya.

Certainly, the hut tax rebellion in Sierra Leone was a revolt

against Western influences but what precipitated it was more than a mere refusal to pay. Cardew did not understand native society at all. His determination to extend the Pax Britannica into the Protectorate in order to civilise the natives, forced him to adopt measures that were disastrously premature. When the Protectorate was declared, Cardew thought that it should be administered, as far as possible, by "native law and custom", but he did not know that "native law and custom" might sometimes justify certain practices such as ritual murder and slavery, which are repugnant to British sense of justice. Domestic slavery was a long-established practice among the people. It was a contract in which individuals were pledged to rich persons in return for services rendered. If a man was unable to repay his loans or to settle a fine for having committed a murder or having practised witchcraft, he would enter domestic slavery until he served long enough to settle his debts. Cardew quickly decided to abolish this institution within a year without making a careful study of it.

Cardew's principle of administering the Protectorate through "native law and custom" looked like the system of indirect rule which, in the words of Miss Perham, is "a system by which the tutelary power recognizes existing African societies, and assists them to adapt themselves to the functions of local government".¹ His dealings with the natives indicate that he did not have Miss Perham's principle in mind.

M. Perham, "Some Problems of Indirect Rule in Africa", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol LXXXII, No. 4252, (1934), p. 690.

As Hargreaves puts it, Cardew's approach to African societies was that of a "Victorian missionary rather than of a modern administrator".¹ He saw nothing good in native institutions. The chiefs and the people were to him ignorant, superstitious and uncivilised savages. He assumed that native rule was undemocratic and despotic. There was no hope of constitutional rule if he did not change the status quo.

The causes of the hut tax insurrection were many. The attitude of the Creoles towards the natives, the brutality of the Frontier Police in collecting the tax, the interference in native affairs of Christian missionaries who were regarded as partners in "cultural aggression", and the precipitate action of the administration, were all contributing factors. One Momo Jah summed up the situation in this proverb:

The pot of soup (the war) already contained the vegetables and meat (the suppression of slavery and the presence of traders), but the adding of the pepper (the hut tax) gave the seasoning to set the pot on the fire.²

As taxation is necessary for social reforms and progress the hut tax was never abolished. It was not until the latter part of 1955 and the beginning of 1956 that more anti-tax disturbances occurred in the Protectorate.

Cardew succeeded in starting to construct the railway. The longest distance covered by the railway at present is $227\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It was the first railway in West Africa but today it has been surpassed

¹Hargreaves, op. cit., p. 62.

²Ibid., p. 77.

by modern railways in Nigeria and Ghana. Its guage is two feet, six inches. It has facilitated trade between the Colony and the Protectorate thus fulfilling Cardew's aim.

Cardew was never able to deal successfully with his third great problem - domestic slavery. It was left for his successors to solve it. Until 1928, a system of domestic slavery involving over 200,000 people existed in the Protectorate. Three problems confronted British officials in dealing with the situation. The system was deeply embedded in the traditions of the people. Like the barons in Tudor England, the chiefs of the Protectorate depended, for their power and wealth, upon the number of "retainers" they had. There was no public opinion against the practice. In 1924, Sir Ransford Slater, the Governor, when writing to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. J.H. Thomas, drew attention to the last named feature and stressed that even the churches were silent on the matter. He wrote these words:

There is a total absence of any 'public opinion' in Sierra Leone adverse to the system. Churches and missions abound in Sierra Leone, but I have received no word from them on the subject, nor can I find any record of any representation from them to any of my predecessors.¹

Sir Ransford Slater's predecessor, Dr. Maxwell, had drawn up a memorandum dealing with the steps which should be taken to increase the wealth of Sierra Leone. He told the Colonial Secretary that domestic slavery was both a political and economic question and

¹Kathleen Simon, Slavery (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., St. Paul's House, Warwick Square, London, E.C.4., England), 1930, p. 66.

that it should be taken up without delay. This memorandum urged Sir Ransford Slater to waste no time over the matter.

A glance at the figures of the number of slaves and the rate at which they were being redeemed will show the seriousness of the situation, and the concrete evidence which Sir Ransford Slater had to strengthen his insistence upon immediate action.

TABLE 3
DOMESTIC SLAVERY IN THE PROTECTORATE¹

Tribe	Total population 1921 census	Percentage of persons in servitude	Number of persons in servitude
Madingo	8,705	35	3,046
Susu	53,753	33	17,738
Vai	24,541	30	7,362
Yalunka	12,400	25	3,100
Temne	311,418	20	62,283
Bullom	56,556	20	11,311
Mende	557,674	15	83,651
Fulla	6,001	15	900
Gola	8,773	10	897
Krim	23,471	10	2,347
Koranko	30,100	10	3,010
Konno	112,215	10	11,221
Sherbro	37,200	6	2,232
Lokko	45,052	5	2,252
Kissi	46,506	5	2,325
Limba	112,010	5	5,600
TOTAL	1,446,375	(about 9)	219,275

¹Ibid., p. 68. The 9 per cent above is not included in the original.

It will be seen from this table that over one sixth of the estimated population was in servitude. What is more striking is the fact that the most numerous and powerful of the tribes, Mendes and Temnes, had fifteen and twenty per cent of persons in servitude, respectively.

Captain Stanley, who compiled the figures for the Governor, also drew up the following schedule showing the number of redemptions¹ that took place from January 1920 to September 1922, a period of about thirty months:

Northern Province	619
Central Province	958
Southern Province	373
	<u>1,950²</u>

This schedule shows that less than eight hundred slaves were redeemed a year. Captain Stanley wrote, in his memorandum to the Governor, that although something definite was being achieved through the redemption of slaves, they should not rely on redemption alone for a solution of the problem. Up to 1922 there was as yet no expression of public opinion in support of the Governor's move to abolish the system, but he continued his efforts and in 1924 he called a conference of Provincial Commissioners to discuss the matter. The Commissioners agreed that the trade should be abolished but they did not agree on the time. After consultation with the Colonial Office in London, the Governor introduced a bill into the Sierra Leone Legislature asking for immediate emancipation of all slaves, without

¹ In 1909, Governor Probyn had instituted a form of redemption which enabled a slave to buy his freedom for £4 (about \$12) in the case of an adult and £2 in the case of a child.

² Ibid., p. 69.

compensation to their masters. The bill was passed and sanctioned by the Colonial Office but no immediate action was taken to implement it.

In 1927, a judicial decision in the Supreme Court in Freetown, startled British public opinion. Two appeals came before the Supreme Court under the legal title of "Rex versus Salla Silla", and "Rex versus M'fa Nonko and Others".¹ The question before the Court was whether or not a slave owner could forcibly recapture a runaway slave. Here is the story: Two slaves had run away from Salla Silla and M'fa Nonko respectively, and had been pursued and retaken by their masters who were prosecuted for assault and conspiracy. They defended their actions by saying that they had merely used force to recapture their own property, and that since slavery was a lawful institution in the Protectorate, they could not be prosecuted for using force to recapture their property. Of the three judges who debated the case, two agreed with the argument of the slave owners. The third judge, Mr. Justice Petrides, rejected the argument in these words:

This line of argument leaves me unmoved, two wrongs do not make a right. The Legislature may have neglected its duty, they may have for many years allowed a wrong to exist. If a wrong has been done by the Legislature, it is not for a Court of Justice to do another wrong and say, because the Legislature has allowed slavery to exist justice will also blind its eyes and approve of assault.... One can well imagine the mental torture an escaped slave suffers when his former master approaches to take him back to the state of slavery from which he has escaped, no doubt to disciplinary treatment, if nothing worse, for his attempted escape.²

¹ Ibid., p. 75.

² Ibid., p. 76.



The Attorney-General of Sierra Leone, against whose judgment the appeal was made, had declared:

Although English law does not recognise the status of slavery and British policy is in favour of its total abolition, yet it would be idle to assert that the government does not recognise the status of slavery in the Protectorate.¹

The contrasting verdicts of the Attorney-General and Mr. Justice Petrides are reminiscent of Charles Stewart's recapture of James Somerset, his runaway slave, and of Chief Justice Lord Mansfield's decision of 1772.²

Mr. Justice Petrides was not supported by the other judges. The argument that followed is quite interesting. Mr. Justice Sawrey-Cookson, who was President of the Supreme Court, asked whether a runaway slave in the Protectorate could take action against his master who re-captured him and so regain his property against the will of ^{the} said slave. After asking the question, Mr. Justice Sawrey-Cookson reviewed the legislation of the Protectorate and came to the following conclusion:

Here then we have the clearest possible recognition of a slave who is owned much as a chattel can be owned, and it must logically result that there is a right to follow and regain by use of any lawful means the rights of ownership in and possession of the property of which he has been deprived by the absconding of his slave.³

¹ Ibid., p. 74.

² See pages 13 - 14.

³ Ibid., p. 77.

He then passed judgment in these words:

Until the legislature makes it perfectly clear that no such right to re-take is to be recognised, I cannot find that the law as it stands at present denies that right to the slave-owner in the Protectorate ... I am of the opinion therefore that the re-taking in this instance was lawful and no assault was committed, from which it follows of course that there has been no conspiracy and both convictions must be squashed.¹

To the people in England this judgment came as a shock because it demonstrated that slavery was still prevalent in a territory under British control. The British press devoted long editorials to the subject, demanding an immediate abolition. Thereupon Mr. Amery, as Colonial Secretary, cabled to the Governor that it was impossible for him to allow slavery to continue in the Protectorate and that speedy action was essential. The Governor summoned a special meeting of the Legislative Council on September 10, 1927 and it was decided to abolish slavery in 1928. By September 22, 1927, the bill had gone through all its stages and "the 214,000 slaves of Sierra Leone Protectorate were declared free as from January 1, 1928".²

The abolition of domestic slavery caused an economic loss to the slave owners whose labour force was thus reduced. A large number of emancipated slaves immigrated into the Colony and never returned home. A few of those who had received kind treatment, decided to remain with their masters whose property they ultimately inherited.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 80.

When the Bo School¹ was opened in the Protectorate, chiefs who were suspicious of the white man, kept their own sons at home and sent the sons of their slaves to the school. It is common knowledge today that some of those sons have become Paramount Chiefs.

Since the abolition of domestic slavery, developments have proceeded slowly but steadily. A further account of the Protectorate and its peoples will precede a discussion of these developments.

¹For an account of Bo School, see pages 111, 112.

CHAPTER V

THE PEOPLES OF THE PROTECTORATE

The peoples of the Sierra Leone Protectorate may be classified into three main groups.¹ The first group consists of the Bulloms, Sherbros, Krims and Galinas. They live along the Atlantic Sea Coast and so, for the most part, are fishermen. The Bulloms inhabit the northern section of the Colony peninsula. They appear to have been the original inhabitants of the Colony area. They grow large quantities of vegetables which they sell in Freetown on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, the marketing days. The people in Freetown depend almost entirely on the Bulloms for foodstuffs. The Sherbros occupy the southern section of the Colony peninsula. They are predominantly Christians and for many years they were the most cultured and educationally advanced tribesmen in the Protectorate. The Krims are a branch of the Sherbros; they speak a slightly different dialect of the Sherbro language. Like the Bulloms and Sherbros they carry on a great deal of fishing and grow rice, cassava and vegetables. They trade in piassava and palm produce. The Galinas occupy the southern tip of the territory. They, like the others, engage in fishing and farming but they also carry on prosperous trade. In physical characteristics, all the tribes in this group are sturdy and

¹ See Table 2, p. 32, for figures.

strong. They are not very tall and they have prominent foreheads, broad and flat noses with wide nostrils, thick lips, square faces, woolly hair, and dark skin although there are a few with light complexions. The men have tough muscles with erect and well-built bodies. The women are not as strong as the men but they are extremely energetic and hard-working.

The second group comprises the Madingoes, Susus, Korankos, Fullahs and Yalunkas. These are not indigenous tribes. They migrated into the country from Guinea and Senegal in the north of Sierra Leone. They all rear cattle and carry on some trade. They are pastoral nomads and, therefore, they seldom settle down in one place for a sufficiently long time to engage in farming. The Fullahs have won a reputation as "woroks" (casual labourers). They patiently earn some money and carry on petty trade. At present they are becoming prosperous traders in Freetown and in some large towns in the Protectorate. The Yalunkas are known for their "Yelibas" (professional musicians) who are very skilful in playing the bush xylophone. In physical characteristics the tribes in this second group look very much like the North American Indians. They are tall and slim with straight, black hair, long heads, narrow foreheads, oval faces and long legs. The women are noted for their elaborate dresses and for their beauty.

The third group consists of the Mendes, Temmes, Limbas, Lokos, Konos and Kissis. The Mendes are the largest group in the Protectorate. They occupy an area of nearly 12,000 square miles in most of the southern half of the Protectorate. They are akin to the

Lokos whose language is similar to theirs. The Mendes appear to be one of the oldest groups in Sierra Leone. Migeod, a European civil servant who studied the peoples of the Protectorate for a long time, dates the immigration of the Mendes as far back as the second century A.D. He bases his point on references in the writings of contemporary Greek and Carthaginian travellers. Kenneth Little, another European who has made some research into the life of some tribes in the Protectorate, states that the Mendes arrived in Sierra Leone over four hundred years ago. The Mendes are the most politically conscious tribe in the Protectorate. During the 1898 hut tax insurrection, they played a leading role in killing Europeans and Westernized Africans. At present, they dominate the Government of the country.

The Temmes form the second largest group. They occupy an area of about 10,000 to 11,000 square miles in most of the northern section of the country. As it was from one of their earliest chiefs that the British bought the Freetown area for the settlers, the Temmes still regard the Colony as their rightful property. They refuse to regard themselves as foreigners in the Colony. It appears that when the Portuguese first visited Sierra Leone, they met the Temmes who now call the White man "poto", a word which is said to be a corruption of the word "Portuguese". The Temmes are independent people, self-confident, proud, and unwilling to be dominated by others.

The Limbas form the third largest group. They occupy the northern and central parts of the country. They have several dialects. Because they are a simple people, many rich persons prefer them to other tribesmen as servants. In recent years they have been adopting

Christianity so fast that in Freetown there is a Limba church with a sizeable congregation.

The Konos and the Kissis live far inland along the eastern border. Only a minority of Kissis live in Sierra Leone; the majority live in Guinea and Liberia. Most of the Konos engage in mining operations because the diamond mines are found in their district.

All the tribes in this third group cultivate rice which is the staple food of the country. They also grow cash crops such as cacao, ginger, coffee, kola nuts, millet and peanuts and carry on trade in agricultural products. The Limbas and Lokos are specialists in harvesting palm fruits and in tapping palm wine. They are found in any place where there is a cluster of palm trees. They are also known for their acrobatic dances. The Temnes are famous for their social clubs and for their trading abilities. The Mendes have in recent years developed their villages into large towns. The railway passes through their region and so, more than any other tribe, they have been exposed to external influences.

When studying the tribes of the Protectorate, it is difficult to give a historical account of their origins. The speculations which have been made in this regard are based on comparative study of other tribes in Africa. For instance, anthropologists say that the Mendes and Lokos are related to the Mande-speaking peoples of Guinea¹ while others assert that they belong to the Bantu tribe of South and Central Africa. In the absence of written records these speculations have been accepted as being reasonably reliable.

¹Bantam, op. cit., p. 121.

An interesting fact about the numerous tribes of the Protectorate is the similarity that exists in the structure of their houses, family unit, methods of farming, religious rites, social activities, and systems of government.

In general the people live in villages which range in size from two to forty houses. The usual design in the north is a round house with a circumference ranging between twenty and thirty feet according to the size of the family. The walls of the houses are made of mud and wattle. The men erect the framework of the houses with long sticks and thatch the roofs. The skeleton of the walls is formed by cross pieces tied to numerous upright poles. No nails or pegs are used in the construction. At all junctions of crosspieces and uprights, lashings of withes are employed. The outer walls are often decorated with designs drawn with the fingers in the mud before it dries. These drawings depict various features of native life. They either represent animals or persons.

The best time for building houses is the dry season when the grass for thatching the roofs is dry and when there is enough heat to bake the walls. At this time there is food sufficient to feed the builders. The work, done on communal arrangements, usually takes about two months.

In the south and east the houses are rectangular in shape. The conical roofs are thatched. The people know the grasses that are durable and there are people whose main work is to thatch the houses. There are generally no windows so that the roof provides a cap of darkness over the house. Ventilation is provided by air spaces between

the walls and the roof. Because cooking is done inside the house stalactites of soot hang from the beams above. The doors are closed with bamboo network or, in very few cases, with wooden shutters. Inside the main part of the house are beds made of mud fixed at the sides of the walls; these beds are separated from one another with curtains made of mats. Sacks and bundles, are suspended from the beams above. These are full of various kinds of foodstuffs for the "hungry season".

In the middle of the house there is usually the fireplace. This hearth consists of three large stones on which the cooking pot rests while the fire blazes beneath it. Over the hearth may be seen a table, made of twigs, suspended from the beams above. On it meat and vegetables are preserved by heating. The mud floor is well looked after by the elderly women. In the corners of the house are boxes in which are kept the entire belongings of the inmates of the house.

In all the houses, furniture is meagre. Chairs and tables, in the western sense, are luxuries. In most houses are to be seen wooden stools and mortars for pounding rice and other foodstuffs. Mats are made locally and are used for sleeping on and for hanging across doorways. Some of the young men who go to Freetown return with pictures with which they decorate the walls of their rooms. Many a time the pictures are turned upside down.

Over the entrances to the house, and to the rooms which are built as extensions to the main body of the house, can be seen little bundles tied up neatly with thread and smeared with blood or kola nut

juice; outside the house may be seen a long pole with a white or red flag flying. Around the necks of children may be seen hanging small bundles neatly wrapped up in cloth, or small horns or bells; these are all charms against evil spirits or witches, for in these communities nothing is considered to happen by chance. Accidents, sickness, and death, are seldom attributed to natural causes.

Near the house are women's gardens in which are grown vegetables the harvesting of which coincides with the rice harvest. The gardens are well protected by fence against animals such as goats and sheep.

Two meals a day are considered adequate; the heavier meal is eaten at mid-day. The staple food, rice, is eaten together with a sauce the ingredients of which include meat, fish, vegetables, palm oil, and spices. Meat or fish is still a luxury in most areas. There is no prepared menu, no trained dietitian. Every girl is expected to learn how to cook and the mothers spare no pains in teaching the girls household duties.

Among tribesmen, the family is the basic social unit, for everything is centred around it. The family is an extended one because it consists not only of father, mother and children but also of uncles, aunts and cousins. The various family units in a community are further classified according to kinship groups or clans. These clans trace their origin to a common ancestry and therefore the members consider themselves as blood relations. They have their own clan names such as Kamara, Kanu, Bangura, Sisay, Kargbo, Konteh and Fornah. A collection of clans make up a tribe.

The family is held together by common devotion to the elders. The general feeling seems to be that if all the different families recognise and effectively perform their duties as families, then the whole tribe which is nothing more than a broad family, will be duty-conscious, too.

Marriage ceremonies help to illustrate the life of the family. These ceremonies include the giving of presents to the bride's parents. Some Western observers call these presents "bride price". They are in error in using that term because the bride is not a commodity to be bought in the market. Indeed, the giving of presents is a recognised practice in African societies, but these do not buy the bride. It is true that young men earmark teenagers as their future brides by giving presents and performing certain tasks on the farms of the parents. This practice is equivalent to the betrothal ceremony in Western societies. Before the actual "solemnization of matrimony" takes place the girl has to be wooed and won. The suitor may be unsuccessful and claim a refund of his expenses which are in most cases repaid by the anxious successor. It is also true that even if the marriage materialises it may be broken by either party with a refund of expenses if it is the wife who rejects the husband. Polygamy is practised among all the tribes.

The system of agriculture practised by the rice farmers is "shifting cultivation". At the proper season they plant the crops appropriate to the climate and soil of the area. In due course they harvest the crops communally and then leave the land to "lie fallow" for a period ranging from three to seven years. This abandoned land soon becomes covered with luxuriant vegetation until it is ready for

cultivation again. The rotation of land checks soil erosion and restores the fertility of the land through the decayed and decaying leaves and tree trunks. By burning the trees and twigs and by engaging in co-operative activities, the farmers lighten their work. Ploughing is carried on in primitive fashion, namely, by using the machete and the hoe. These tools are made by the local blacksmiths.

The farmers sow the rice during April and May and harvest it in October and November. A good rice crop depends upon accurate planning and regular work. The crop requires rain during the sowing season and plenty of sunshine during the harvesting time. Too much rain, however, clogs the soil making it impossible for the crop to thrive. Farmers, therefore, know precisely the time they should begin their work.

The farmers' working calendar can be divided roughly into four parts. The first is the brushing time when the farmers select new lands to be cleared for farms. This selection is done early in December and by January some farmers begin to cut down the trees and shrubs. In March the farmers set fire to the brush.

The second part of the farmers' calendar is the sowing period. The sowing is done between April and the middle of June. If the farmers foresee that the rains will start earlier than usual, they may begin to sow in late March. The rice seeds are broadcast over a series of separate strips which are ploughed and harrowed by hand. Ploughing is done by hoes made by the local blacksmith. In the process of hoeing, the roots must be taken out and enough soil must be loosened to bury the seeds. A temporary farm house is built to be used for shelter during the rains while the weeding is in progress.

The third part of the farmers' calendar is the weeding season which begins in July. Weeding is done by both men and women through neighbourly organisations which are similar to the "bees" in Canada. Before the weeding is completed the rice begins to sprout and soon the farmers begin to build high huts which are climbed by ladder. These high huts enable the boys to see every corner of the farm so that they may drive away the birds from the crops.

The fourth part of the farmers' calendar is the harvesting season which begins in early September. Men, women and children work in groups. The rice is collected in handfuls, tied up in sheaves and stacked in the barns which had been built when the harvesting started. Other crops such as cassava, cotton, millet and beans which grow alongside the rice, are left to mature after the rice has been harvested. These crops are harvested in November and December and they serve as substitutes for rice during the "hungry season". Appendix A is an Agricultural Calendar for Sierra Leone.

When the rice has been harvested, both men and women engage in other activities. The men perform the harder tasks such as clearing and digging swamps, house-building, hunting and making bridges across streams. Some men harvest palm fruit. The women do the lighter works such as extracting palm oil from the fruit, winnowing rice, spinning, dyeing, and soap-making. Cotton is grown in small quantities and it is harvested late in the dry season. The women spin the cotton on a bow-like implement, carded on a steel card and reeled on a piece of wood which is rotated on a plate. The men weave the thread into strips of "country cloth", and sew the strips together to make gowns and bed sheets.

PLATE I



Woman winnowing rice.

Dyeing is a skilled trade the secrets of which are guarded jealously by the women who know them. The dye is prepared from certain herbs and roots. Blue and red are usually the colours. For soap-making, the women burn dry stalks of some crops such as the palm tree and the banana. They mix the ashes with water and pass the mixture through a strainer. They evaporate the water by boiling over a fire. The residue consists largely of potash which, when mixed with palm oil, yields "black soap" as it is locally called.

Religion among tribesmen is connected with their economic life since they have to appease the spirits for good harvests. They are polytheists because they believe in the existence of a number of supernatural beings, good as well as evil but they generally place greater emphasis on the evil ones. These evil beings which cause crop failure, sickness, drought, accidents, death, and all sorts of misfortune, ought to be appeased so that they will not bring calamity to the people. The appeasement takes the form of sacrifices offered in farms, rivers and groves.

There are also the good spirits which bring good luck, riches, power, honour, and abundant crops. Offerings made to the good spirits are an expression of appreciation for good services rendered. These spirits, like the evil ones, are supposed to reside in groves, rivers and even in animals.

The people also believe in the existence of the spirits of their ancestors. They believe that these spirits hover around them as guardian angels and that they can ward off evil spirits. The tribesmen therefore always try to please their dead ones by observing

all the customary rites. They cook food periodically for their ancestors. Such food is eaten by all the people, both young and old. They use sacred vessels to pour libation to the dead. When offerings are being made to the dead, the people expect the vultures to appear and have their own share of the food. Their appearance indicates the presence and acquiescence of the ancestral spirits. Their absence indicates that the ancestors are angry, possibly because they had been neglected for a long time. Because of their religious significance the vultures are held sacred by tribesmen.

The people also believe that over and above these spirits is a good, all-powerful, Supreme Being whose nature, they confess, is beyond their understanding. This Supreme Being has different names among the people. The Lokos call him "Ngebor" (Sky) the Temnes call him "Kuruma Saba" (Mighty Sky); the Limbas call him "Kanu Masala" (Great Sky). The people associate God with the sky because the latter like the former, is everywhere. It is only when this all-powerful God permits it that the evil spirits can assail an individual.

The Mendes have a certain religious figurine called "nomoli". They describe it as "Ngewo gbate hani", that is, something made by God. They do not imply that the figurine was created by God with his own hands, but they believe that God works through the medium of what they call ngafeisia (spirits). "The nomoli" is usually found buried in farms. Its significance is that the fortunate finder of it is the proud possessor of a particular supernatural means of increasing crop harvest. Many farmers, therefore, covet the possession of the figurine.

It has a feminine name, Madiana, possibly because it has some feminine characteristics such as its prominent breasts. It is treated with reverence. Expectant mothers are advised not to look at it partly because of its ugly appearance and partly because of its spiritual power. It is believed that the future baby might be affected by the figurine. Among the Polynesians there is a similar figurine called "Mana" that is treated with awe and reverence, too.

The "nomoli" is kept under a specially-built shelter in the farm. It is regularly fed with small portions of the farmer's cooked rice. At certain times it is smeared with rice flour. When the farmer prays to it, he says something to this effect: "I am about to begin work on our farm; I know you have been bringing abundant crops to our ancestors, so I beg you to help me. I have not neglected you but have taken good care of you. I beg you to do the same thing for me by making our farm prosper". It has been suggested that the origin of the name "nomoli" is "nu moli" which in the Mende language means "beg a person". This sounds correct since prayers are offered to the figurine.

Related to the religious practices described above are witchcraft, necromancy and charms. Witches are believed to possess the power of becoming invisible and of sucking blood from a sleeping person, most often a child. They are frequently associated with the "kaw kaw" (a large bat) the cry of which indicates the presence of witches. Only persons whose eyes have been "opened" (initiated into the society of witches) can see witches. The man who has the power to counteract the wiles of the witches is the witch doctor. He is, therefore, an important

person in the community. He alone can commune with the spirits and foretell the fate of individuals. He is thought to have the power "to kill and to make alive", to promote and to demote ambitious persons, and to provide charms to ensure prosperous agricultural years.

The leisure time of the people is a significant part of their life. The year is punctuated by many festivals all of which bring excitement and rejoicing. The people have both sowing and harvesting festivals. Music and dancing attract young men and women to their agricultural organisations. At work music is provided. With their crude implements they "plough the fields and scatter the good seed on the land" leaving it to be "fed and watered by God's almighty hand". When the farm work is completed they meet together on a fixed day when they bring together all their musical instruments for their final working festival. They dance to the music of the drum which is the common musical instrument.

The size and shape of the drum vary according to the purpose it is intended to serve. The principles of its construction are, however, uniform throughout the Protectorate, namely, a hollowed log with an animal skin stretched across the top and held taut by twines and pegs.

Apart from providing music for merriment, the drum also summons people to council meetings, warns them of imminent danger, mourns at their funerals, preserves their legends and folklores, and adds dignity and solemnity to tribal gatherings and religious ceremonies. The significance of the drum in African social life is expressed in a fragment of an African folklore which says that "the Creator created the drummer, the hunter and the smith". In the music and folk songs of the people

are expressed their history and their achievements. Some of the songs praise individuals, while some satirize them. Appendix B contains examples of these songs.

Someone has described the social life of the tribes in Northern Nigeria in these lines:

They dance for joy and they dance for grief;
They dance for love and they dance for hate;
They dance to bring prosperity and they dance to avert
calamity;
They dance for religion and they dance to pass the time.¹

This description is no less true of the tribes of the Sierra Leone Protectorate.

An account of life in the Protectorate would not be complete without a few words about the system of government. In all chiefdoms, which vary in size and population, there is a Paramount Chief who rules "according to native law and custom". He is elected by the Tribal Authority which comprises elders of the tribe. The post is hereditary in the sense that only persons from ruling houses can contest elections. It is highly coveted in the Protectorate. Rivals from ruling houses must defend their claims before the Tribal Authority.

The Chief is advised in his work by a tribal council which consists of sub-Chiefs appointed by him. The names of the members of this council and their functions are given in Appendix C.

Before the declaration of the Protectorate the Chief had tremendous powers. He was regarded as both a political and spiritual

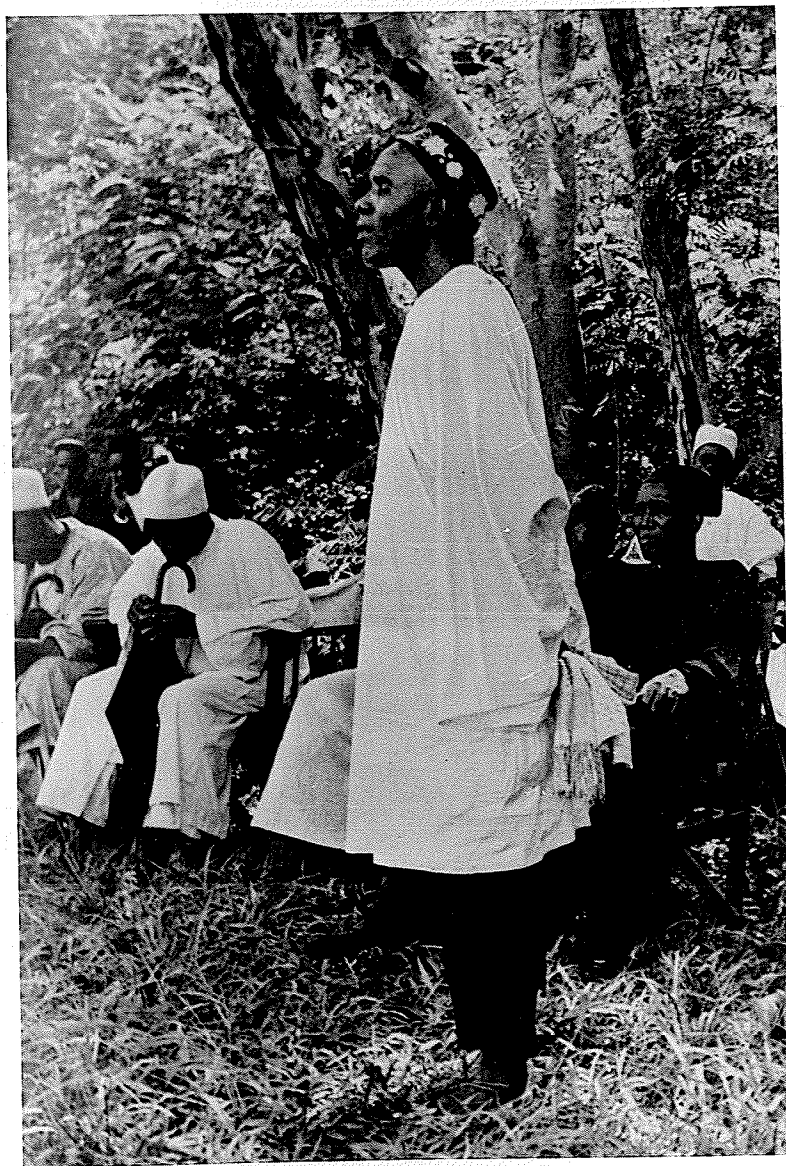
¹A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, This is Northern Nigeria (Government Printer, Kaduna, Northern Nigeria, 1957), p. 21.

leader who held his position by "divine right". His subjects could hardly oppose or contradict him. Because he held his position by "divine right" he could not be deposed. The Chief's role among the Temnes - and this is true also among other tribes - has been well expressed by a Temne writer in these words:

For us a Chief is priest as well as King. He who has been consecrated and anointed, embodies the community-soul - he cannot abdicate or be de jure deposed, for, in a sense, he and the country are one, and by the mystic chain binding him to predecessors and successors alike he is as immortal as our race.¹

Michael Bantam, West African City. A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown, (Oxford Univ. Press, London, England, 1957), p. 124.

PLATE II



Campaigning for chieftaincy.

PLATE III



Elected Chief in traditional gown.

CHAPTER VI

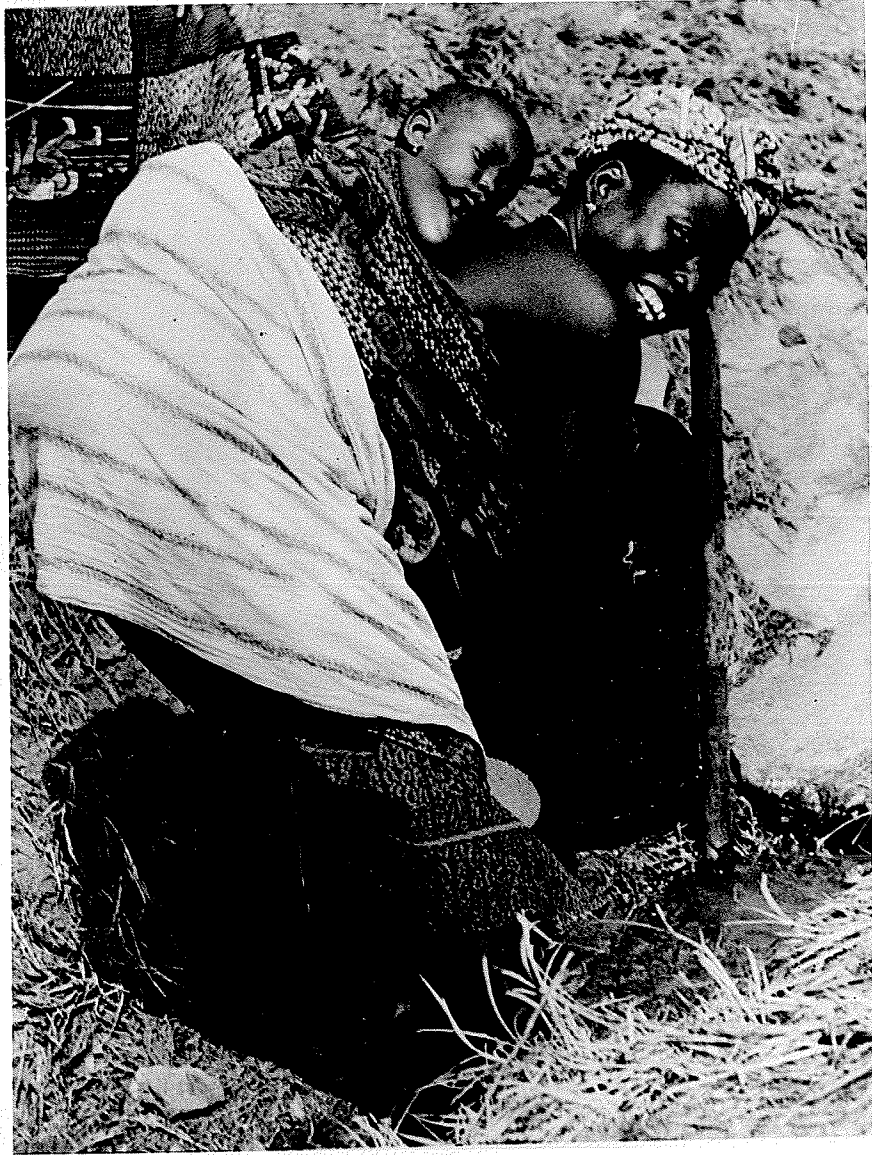
INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE

In the Sierra Leone Protectorate, before schools in the Western sense were introduced, the basic training for adult life that was required of every child was provided by the home, the family circle and the community at large. This basic training is still provided along with Western education. It follows definite stages in the life of the child.

The home is the most important institution for the training of the child. The person who has the most lasting influence on the child is the mother. During the first months of life little food other than breast milk is given to him. As the child grows up, other foods - mainly rice and cassava starch - supplement the breast milk. There are no regular feeding times; the child is fed whenever he cries. The mother feeds him forcibly until he learns to eat whatever food is presented to him. During the feeding process, the child lies or sits on his mother's lap. His hands and feet are held in restraint, his chin is supported by the left hand and his nostrils are pressed together with the thumb and first finger. The child is thus forced to open his mouth in order to breathe and the food is then swallowed.

Methods of weaning the child are equally efficient. The mother smears her breasts with some sour-tasting substance. The child tastes it and does not like it; so he keeps away from the breasts.

PLATE IV



Protectorate mother.

For the first year of life the child is seldom away from his mother. She not only feeds him but also carries him about snugly bundled on her back regardless of whether he is awake or asleep, or whether she is working in her garden or cooking at home. The head of the child stands above the clothes with which he is bound and moves this way and that as the mother walks about.

At times an older girl or sister helps the mother by acting as a baby-sitter. She, like the mother, knows when the child is sick by listening attentively to the tone of voice when the child cries. She, too, carries the baby on her back.

When the child is learning to walk, the mother ties small bells, strung on a cord, round each foot. The child, hearing the pleasant tinkling sound made at each step, wants to know where the sound comes from and so he keeps on toddling.

It is also worthwhile to note how the mother conditions her child to perform excretory functions. During the day and night she sets him between her feet at regular hours. Soon the child becomes accustomed to such exercises. There are some children who do not readily respond to this training and manifest enuresis, soiling the mats on which they sleep. In the first instance, the child is warned not to do it again; in the second instance, he might be beaten; then if he continues in his bad practice, he is disgraced by his age mates who dress him in rags and accompany him along the streets shouting "urine all over him". A few children continue to "wet the mat" after this public display. Parents seldom attribute this enuresis to physiological or psychological disorder.

As the child grows up, the parents' duties begin to diminish. He joins other children at play. The natives attach great importance to play in the development of the child. They believe that while the baby exercises his lungs, feet and hands in crying, the toddling child takes a similar exercise in jumping, running, climbing and dancing.

The play of children reflects adult activities. Their toys consist of things obtainable in their immediate surrounding. The little girls play at cooking, fetching water, and at nursing. The little boys play at house building, setting traps, fishing, tapping palm wine and playing musical instruments.

At an early stage of their life, children are given tasks that would seem to the Euro-American observer to be far beyond their ability. A child of three or four years may be seen balancing a loaded basket on his head. A year later, he is able to help on the farm.

A little girl at the age of three or four goes to the farm with the mother, helps in weeding, and carries the baby on her back. By this time the children have known many other members of the family besides their father and mother - uncles, aunts, cousins and half brothers and sisters. These are to be addressed by different titles if they are older. The Mende child addresses his older brother or sister with the word "gor"; the Temne and Loko address their older brothers with the word "kortor". The nearest equivalents for these titles in English are Mr., Sir, or Madam. It is an indication of disrespect for a smaller child to call an older person by his given name. The importance of respect is implied in a Temne proverb which says that to respect a man is better than to feed him without caring for him.

Parents and adults in the community tell stories to children in the evenings around the fire. Some stories are highly exaggerated while others are told so naturally and convincingly that children tend to believe that they are true. Examples of such stories are given in Appendix D. The children at first listen to the stories and then they too begin to tell stories. They compete in an attempt to show their story-telling abilities. Songs usually accompany the stories. The songs are sung with motions and clapping.

Before the onset of puberty no formal education is given. When boys and girls reach the age of puberty, parents begin to think about giving them training for citizenship within the society. This training is not given in the home or in the family circle but in the "bush school". There are separate schools for boys and girls. There are corresponding teachers and rites but these are not interchangeable.

The name which is given to the boys' school is "poro". There have been many speculations about the origin of this word. All of these speculations reveal the antiquity of the institution. Some people believe that the word originated from "Si'mo", the oldest of all West African cults, and that it was later introduced into Sierra Leone probably from French Guinea.¹ Who introduced it is still the question that awaits an authentic answer.

Migeod, a European civil servant who served on the West Coast of Africa for a number of years studying the ways and manners of the different tribes, seemed to agree that the "Purru Campus" of Ptolemy is a fair rendering of the "Poro Bush" of the Sierra Leone

¹ Rev. Max Gorvie, Old and New in Sierra Leone, (United Society for Christian Literature, Lutterworth Press, London, 1939), p. 28.

people. It was known to the Greeks who rendered it as "Purrou Pedion" (camp on the plain) which Migeod identifies with the Poro of Sierra Leone.¹

Another writer on Sierra Leone, T. J. Alldridge, who worked as a District Commissioner within the first decade of the declaration of the Protectorate, speaks of "the order of the Poro or Law".² Even if this translation is not etymologically correct, it nevertheless expresses the power of the "Poro" society for legal discipline. Wallis, another writer on life in the Sierra Leone Protectorate, agrees with Alldridge that "Poro" means "law" or "one word".³ Because of the common understanding which exists between members of the "Poro" society and because of their concerted action in times of trouble and violence, the writer is inclined to believe that "Poro" means "one word". A decision taken by members so binds them that no one dares to violate it because the consequences are grave. In this respect the "one-word" injunction virtually becomes law.

The corresponding society for girls is called "bondo". It is possible that it developed side by side with the "poro". The role of these two societies in the cultural life of the people is very

¹Rev. Max Gorvie, Old and New in Sierra Leone, (United Society for Christian Literature, Lutterworth Press, London, 1939), p. 29.

²T. J. Alldridge, A Transformed Colony: Sierra Leone as it was and is, its progress, peoples, native customs and undeveloped wealth, Seeley & Co. Ltd., England, 1910, p. 194.

³Braithwaite Wallis, The Poro of the Mendi, Journal of the African Society, Vol. IV (1904-5), p. 181.

significant. Every youth, male or female, must receive such training before being considered worthy to assume the responsibilities of an adult. In the West and in Westernized communities youths are eligible to vote and to assume adult roles at the age of twenty-one. In tribal communities graduation from secret societies is the required qualification for full and effective citizenship.

The boys' society will be considered first. It should be noted at this point that the word "poro" is not used by all tribes. They have different names but the goals are practically the same everywhere, namely, to turn immature boys into full fledged members of the adult community.

The sessions of this school are not held in the town or village, but in a certain area, generally a forest, selected for the purpose. While in school, the boys are at no time allowed to return to the town or village until their training is complete. Under no circumstances are female visitors permitted to see the boys. No one, except members of the society, should enter the school area. If an uninitiated person trespasses he will be initiated whether he likes it or not, otherwise there is no guarantee that he will not disclose the secrets of the society.

The principal official of the school is a man who is endowed with wisdom and mystic power in a superlative degree. He is respected by all and is honoured by the youths. He must be brave, public-spirited, law-abiding and at the same time courteous. He must have a full knowledge of all the native lore, arts and crafts, must be well

versed in the history and traditions of his people and an authentic judge of all matters affecting their welfare. Other men of good repute who are specialists in various fields of activity serve as his assistants and as teachers of the novices. He is like the Principal of a school who coordinates all the activities of the school and who is assisted by fellow-teachers.

Diedrich Westermann, a writer on various aspects of tribal life in the Protectorate, has described the role of the leader of the institution among the Kpelle tribe. His description is quoted here at length because it throws light on what has been said above. Here are his words:

The grandmaster, namu, is, of course, a human being and is known as such by the members. At the same time, he possesses attributes which raise him above the merely human. He himself is immortal; that is, his death is kept a secret, and the choice of the successor takes place in the strictest secrecy and in the narrow circle of the outstanding members; and he has the power to kill people and restore them to life. This refers, of course, actually to the secret sojourn of the poro youths in the poro bush and their later re-entrance into the community of village companions. They are thought of as having been dead and restored to life, actually swallowed by the grandmaster and reborn, which, however, the usual popular opinion quite generally conceives of as the ability of the namu to revive the dead.

A namu can conduct several schools at the same time - as many as three - which often are located some distance apart. In this case he spends alternately some time in each one and intrusts the remaining part of the development to his assistants, one of whom always carries out the inspection of a school. The journeys of the namu from one school to another are kept secret, and the students learn hardly anything of his absence; therefrom originates the belief that he may be in several places simultaneously and is bound to no locality. Often agreements are made between

various headmasters for the purpose of conducting a course interchangeably. The headmasters then hold a conference in the capital of the oldest, and the latter presides.¹

The "bush" school is usually conducted when there are many candidates available and when there is plenty of food. The whole ceremony is preceded by festivities in which drummers, soloists and dancers display their skills. The rhythms of the drums, the colourful costumes of the dancers, the variegated dresses of the visitors, the dramatic gesticulations of the bystanders, the excitement of the parents, the soft but audible voice of the soloists, the harmonious refrain of those who accompany the soloists, and the acrobatic display of the dancers, all contribute to the grandeur of the occasion.

The length of training varies from group to group. In the past it used to last for years among some of the tribes, probably ranging between one and five years. At present, under the influence of new ideas and the gradual Westernization of tribal areas, there is a widespread desire for opportunity to acquire knowledge which the "bush" school alone cannot provide. Consequently the periods of training have been reduced to few weeks so that the graduates, if they are attending Western schools, may continue to do so.

There is now no regulation regarding age for admission into the school. Again, in the past, young men of about twenty or more years were initiated. At present, boys under twenty years of age are admitted into the school.

At the beginning of the training, the boys are circumcised.

¹Mark H. Watkins, "The West African 'Bush' School", The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLVIII (July, 1942 - May, 1943), p. 669.

Where this practice came from is unknown but it is inevitable among the people since they consider an uncircumcised man to be a coward and an unclean person.

After the circumcision rites, time is allowed for the healing of the wounds. After this period the specific forms of training begin. The boys are divided into groups according to their ages and aptitudes and they receive instruction in all the arts, crafts and lore of native life, including a variety of games and sports such as hunting, trapping, acrobatic stunts, dancing, singing, drumming and wrestling. These are for the purposes of physical development, the acquisition of fundamental skills, the sharpening of the wits, and appreciation of native art. It is through such activities that the youths are prepared for adult life.

As the training progresses the teachers give the boys an opportunity to demonstrate special ingenuity, skills and originality. A youth who shows special aptitude for weaving, for example, is trained to become a master of that craft. The trainees learn the laws and traditions of the tribe.

Indays when there were frequent inter-tribal wars, boys were trained in warfare by means of mock battles and skirmishes. They were separated into various "towns" similar in location and arrangement to those in which the general population was distributed. These "towns" had to be barricaded, defended, and attacked. The boys of one "town" played the part of the attackers while the boys of another "town" played the part of the defenders. The strategy and tactics of the enemy were carefully studied by the defenders. This practice of warfare was

possible because the forest in which the school was conducted^{was}/usually spacious. If the attackers and defenders failed in their respective duties, they were shown what tactics they should have adopted. The entire war game was then replayed, both parties having learned from their previous mistakes.

Before a boy is initiated into the society, he must choose for himself the new name by which he will be henceforth called. Each retains this name for life and it is a source of pride for him to have everyone call him by that name. The man who takes care of the boy in the society bush is now called "father" by the pupil. This father is responsible for the boy's successful performance in all the rites in the school, and also for the special vestments when the boy graduates. There is also a woman who cooks his food throughout the period of training. The father performs duties similar to those of a private tutor in western systems of education.

Since the boys undergo a concentrated training in the school, they are greatly changed before they finish their training. Boys, and girls for that matter, who, before they entered the bush school, were reckless, indifferent, disrespectful and disobedient, come out well-mannered, polished, and ready to undertake any task given to them.

Before the boys finally leave the school, they are subjected to various questions and tests. Then the teachers and the society at large begin to make preparations for the graduation ceremony. This last phase is considered to be very important. The graduates are usually given a grand reception by the elders who make speeches and give advice to the boys. Generally, a prayer is offered in which all

the ancestors are invoked in order of seniority, beginning with the earliest and finishing with the one who has died most recently. The prayer is something like this:

Father Siaffa, let it reach to you; let it reach to Kanga; let it reach to the head, the Great One. This is what Leve (an old name for God) brought (showed us to do) long ago. These children whom we are "pulling" from poro today, let nothing harm them; let them not fall from palm trees; make their bodies strong; give them wisdom to look after their children; let them hold themselves in a good way; let them show themselves to be good men.¹

It is now time for the leader to hand the trained boys over to the chief and elders. He kneels before the chief and the graduates follow his example. He says something like this:

I pledge loyalty to you and to my tribe. Now I give back your forest. Here am I and here are your boys.

The chief, sitting in his chair of state, lays hands on the leader and replies: "Thank you. I bid you rise". He makes a final speech and retires in pomp and glory to his compound. The concluding ceremonies are followed by great shouting, rejoicing and the sounding of the drums.

By this time the parents and relatives of the boys, friends and well-wishers, have assembled in the village waiting to receive the graduates. These boys, now well-dressed, can visit as many people as they like. They are now full citizens with legal rights and responsibilities equal to those of all adults.

K.L. Little, "The Role of the Secret Society in Cultural Socialization", The American Anthropology, Vol. LI (1949), p. 201.

The sister-society, "bondo", will now be considered. No detailed account is necessary since in organisation, operation and aims, it is parallel to the "poro" society. As with the boys, the girls are not to be seen by the opposite sex and uninitiates while they are in training. The men construct the huts for the girls, but apart from this they have no further concern with the institution.

The leader of the society is usually a fairly old woman and she spends most of her time with the girls in the school. She is assisted by other women who perform various duties. The girls have "mothers" who take care of them while they are undergoing training. The girls also assume new names before they enter the school and retain these names for life. In both the boys' and girls' schools, the first initiated or oldest in the group holds an official position as student leader. The duty of such a leader is to assemble the students when they are required and he also assigns them to various activities. He is highly respected by the other trainees. In sorrow and in joy the leader always stands out.

The girls receive instruction in all domestic duties such as cooking, sewing, sweeping, spinning, embroidery, singing, dancing, and the care of children.

The concluding rites are nearly the same as those for the boys. These rites include ceremonial washing, a special reception, speeches, prayers and feasting. They, like the boys, are now ready to assume adult responsibilities.

An important feature of both the "poro" and "bondo" schools is the sense of comradeship and unanimity among their members. The

common bonds unite them as fellow citizens and contemporaries. This sense of oneness transcends tribal and family barriers.

In the face of the gradual disintegration of tribal society to-day, the bush schools stand out as the main repositories of the traditional way of life in Sierra Leone. They are conservative and resist innovations. The "poro" has so far successfully resisted Western interference in its affairs. It is said that as far back as 1898, the decision by tribesmen to resist the hut tax which was imposed by the Government, was taken in the "poro" bush. For this reason some observers hold the view that the society plays a significant role in local politics. No one can become a chief or hold any high position without being a member of the "poro" society. It is also said that in the past the "poro" acted as arbitrator in chieftom disputes. Prior to the declaration of the Protectorate the society promulgated general laws regulating the harvesting of the palm fruit, and maintained a uniform system of government and pattern of custom in isolated areas. Disputes affecting important members of the community were heard in camera by a "poro" tribunal. The "poro" may have lost some of its pristine glory and power but it is still active in the Protectorate, and most of the leading Protectorate men are members. All members guard the "poro" jealously and do not condone discussion of its affairs with non-members especially with Europeans who might divulge its secrets.

Unlike the "poro", the "bondo" society does not appear to be rigid and meticulous about its affairs. A few years ago, Sir Milton Margai, the present Premier of Sierra Leone, in his capacity

as medical officer, tried to introduce modern methods of hygiene and child care into the "bondo" society. Although opposition did not come from the women themselves, the older men accused the medical officer of unduly interfering in women's business. Possibly, the elders thought that such interference might later be carried by other people to the "poro" society. But the crux of their objection was that European methods were quite alien to the indigenous function of secret society.

The education acquired in the home, in the family circle and in the "bush school" are basic in every tribal community. In addition to these there are specialized fields in native medicine, religion, law and politics. Training in each of these fields is voluntary. Anyone who is interested may acquire training in as many fields as he can.

In the field of medicine, there are specialists who know a variety of herbs and roots for certain ailments. These specialists are sometimes called "herbalists" or "medicine men". Among tribesmen nothing is thought to happen by chance. Illnesses are caused either by evil spirits or by some ritual infraction of society rules. If the illness is caused by some evil spirit, the "medicine man" comes in to help. Generally the course of treatment involves a number of separate stages. The first stage is to find out the cause of the illness. The "medicine man" has a bag of smooth stones each of which represents one of the numerous ills from which humanity suffers. He arranges the stones on the ground and gives his patient one of the stones so that

he can tell it what he wants. The "medicine man" then gazes intently at the stones pointing his first finger now to one stone, now to another, and muttering something to himself as if he were conversing with the stones. This, in fact, is what he is doing but no other person, except perhaps his apprentice, understands the conversation. Meanwhile at the top of the arrangement lies his reward in the form of kola nuts or money or a fowl. After a long concentration, the "medicine man" asks his patient whether he remembers having broken a certain rule or having done a certain thing. By asking leading questions he tries to get the patient to confess some misdemeanor which might be interpreted as a concrete offence against known rules and regulations. If the patient denies any such offence the "medicine man" tells him that he is lying or has forgotten the matter.

In almost any case the patient usually confesses his guilt. The "medicine man" is a good psychologist. He thoroughly studies human nature and knows how to manipulate the emotions of patients. The writer was once a victim of a clever "medicine man". After suffering stomachache for some days the writer was told that his "eyes had been opened", that is, someone had initiated him into the society of witches. Failure to give the name of the person would cause his death. The "medicine man", through some mysterious processes, showed the writer's father some black objects which he claimed to have removed from the patient's stomach. The questions were so many and the time spent was so long that the writer, out of sheer disgust, had to make a false confession but he remained convinced that the "medicine man" was simply a quack doctor.

There are also many physical and physiological ailments which fall within the province of the "medicine man". Barrenness, insanity, and eye trouble are all treated by him. His prescriptions generally consist of herbs and roots which he alone knows.

If the illness is, however, caused by a violation of society's rules, then the leader of the particular society works together with the "medicine man" to cure the patient. Generally, the treatment takes the form of ceremonial washing.

In legal affairs, the "medicine man" also plays an important part. By means of his "medicine"¹ he can extract truth from criminals and witnesses especially in highly controversial cases. In the Freetown law court, there are native medicinal paraphernalia on which the people take oath before they give evidence. This is done because some of them are not Christians and so do not take the oath on the Bible. The paraphernalia are also used to bind a person or a group of persons, on oath, to a secret undertaking. This oath is to ensure unanimity among those involved.

Legal procedure in native courts follows definite lines. The plaintiff pays a "summons fee", and the defendant "crosses the summons" with the same amount. The court, presided over by the chief, consists of the Speaker (adviser to the Chief) and sub-chiefs. If the case is one which involves damages or a large sum of money demanded by the plaintiff, the court estimates what amount might properly be demanded, and each of the litigants pays a "hearing fee" (this is equivalent to consulting fee paid to barristers) determined by the court. Each litigant also pays a fee for introducing his "medicine" on which

¹This is an object believed to have magical powers, and upon which the litigant takes oath before giving evidence. Outside the law courts the "medicine" is used to protect the possessions of individuals.

the witnesses take oath. The litigants may also be asked to take oath to make sure that they speak "nothing but the truth".

To take an oath on native "medicine" is a serious undertaking since, if perjury is committed, it is believed that the culprit will encounter illness or death. The "medicine man" has to swear that he would not accept bribes to remove the potent properties of the "medicines" provided. In their oath taking each person says something to this effect: "What I know in this matter, if I leave it out and say something else, may I die."

After the oath-taking has been completed, the plaintiff states his case. The defendant does the same thing. The Chief, Speaker and sub-Chiefs cross-examine both of them. They then retire to a private chamber to "hang heads together" (to deliberate and take a decision). At times they disagree among themselves and so a unanimous decision cannot be reached. They therefore cross-examine again the plaintiff and the defendant. In some cases the Chief takes a stand and gives a verdict. Appeals can, however, be made to higher authorities such as older Chiefs. The case is then tried again. New fees have to be paid. If the appellant finally wins his case, all previously paid fees are refunded to him.

There are other processes through which tribal leaders try to establish justice. People who are suspected of having committed some crimes but who refuse to confess their guilt, have to undergo certain ordeals in order to prove their innocence. There is the ring ordeal in which an iron ring is taken with the bare hand out of a pot containing palm oil boiling over the fire. The hand of an innocent person will not burn while that of the guilty person will be burned immediately.

There is also the whip ordeal in which a whip, smeared with "medicine" and held in the hand of the diviner's assistant, leads the latter to the guilty person and without the effort of the holder of the whip, flogs the culprit.

A third ordeal involves the use of a needle. The diviner rubs his own arm with a concoction of certain herbs and pricks his skin with a needle. It does not penetrate his skin. Then he washes the arm of the suspect with the same concoction and jabs the arm with the needle. If the suspect is innocent, the needle will not penetrate his skin.

The last ordeal, which is no longer practised, consisted of the bark of a certain tree. This ordeal was used in the case of a very serious crime such as murder. The bark of the tree was boiled and the sap which the suspect had to drink was believed to be a poison. If he vomited or remained alive for a few hours afterwards, he was considered innocent; otherwise he died immediately of the poison. In that case his property was confiscated for the benefit of the family of his victim.

The administration of ordeals involving the death or serious injury of persons accused of crimes is now forbidden by English law. The others are still employed although their results would not, of course, be recognised in cases of appeal to English courts.

The tribal child who wants to learn native medicine has to be apprenticed to an expert. The secrecy which enshrines these medicines makes it difficult for others to know anything about them. It appears that the trainee learns by observing what leaves his master uses to cure certain ailments and also by taking part in the various professional operations. Some people believe that children of "medicine men" inherit their fathers' skills.

The tribal child who is interested in taking active part in local politics, attends court sittings in order to listen to the debates of the elders. Since native politics usually deals with chieftaincy and property rights, such a child has to learn the history of his people and the laws which govern ownership.

Native politics is almost inseparable from native law. Both are

always conducted in the native courts. Individuals who are interested in following legal proceedings and in learning how to decide cases, frequently attend court sittings. In both political and legal matters it is helpful to know some proverbs because the apt use of one may close an argument or decide a case. The defendant may quote another proverb to the opposite effect. Appendix E contains a few Loko proverbs which are often used.

It is unfortunate that there are no written records of activities of tribesmen throughout the Protectorate. The spoken word is not always reliable and it can be either forgotten or distorted. Some of the native skills have begun to disappear partly because of the lack of records and partly because of the introduction of Western civilisation into tribal areas. Mr. S.A.J. Pratt, whom the writer has already quoted, in describing the gradual disappearance of native skills and traditions, wrote:

The tribesman possesses certain traditional technical and scientific skills for work suited to his native environment and his past level of development. In the field of native engineering, for instance, he can span a crocodile-infested river with a hammock bridge. In the field of psychology, he can hypnotise a crowd and cause it to move in whatever direction he pleases. In the field of nuclear physics, he can cause lightning (ngegba) and thunder, with devastating results. In medicine, he possesses an incredible knowledge of herbs of high curative potency for many tropical diseases; he is no less renowned in surgery, where his exploits range from magical circumcision to bone-setting and delicate eye operations to cure blindness. These highly technical and scientific skills are in danger of being lost, since they are mainly held and jealously guarded by illiterate and "uncivilised" tribesmen who will not transmit them at the moment to literate and "civilised" tribesmen. What a high price to pay for a too rapid "civilisation" which does not elevate the social and educational status of the illiterate tribesman at the same rate!¹

S.A.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 156.

CHAPTER VII

WESTERN EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE

Western education in Sierra Leone was first begun in the Colony. It was later extended into the Protectorate. An account of the initial educational activities in the former will throw some light on similar activities in the latter.

After the founding of the Colony, a Government Department, known as the Liberated African Department, was set up to manage the affairs of the settlers. This Department built schools which, by the year 1841, were six in number. These schools catered for the educational needs of children shipped into the Colony, but not for the educational needs of those born in the Colony.

In the meantime, however, Christian missionaries had begun work in the Colony. Their efforts were concentrated on preaching the Gospel but they had to include education in their programmes to enable their converts to read the Bible intelligently and also to equip them with some basic education that would enable them to earn their living.

The Church Missionary Society efforts date from 1806. This society was joined in 1811 by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission. These two missions built schools in Freetown and in the villages for children born in the Colony for whom the Government was making no provision. These mission schools still form the backbone of education

in the Colony.

In 1816 three Church Missionary Society missionaries - Bickersteth, Johnson and During - arrived in Freetown. They planned with the Governor, Sir Charles McCarthy, for the building, at Government expense, of schools and churches for the settlers. The Church Missionary Society undertook to provide pastors and teachers. This was the beginning of Government assistance to the religious and educational work of the Missions. The Reverend W.A.B. Johnson worked at Regent a village which is four miles away from Freetown. His name is well remembered by the villagers for having built for them a church.

In 1841, a certain Mr. J. Miller, who was then Inspector of Schools in the Colony, and a member of the staff of the Liberated African Department, reported that there were, besides the "purely liberated African" schools, "eight government schools of colony children, which were by their nature more permanent."¹ The then Governor of the Colony, Colonel Doherty, explained that these eight schools were supervised by Government and that the salaries of the teachers in them were paid by the Government. The schools were conducted in houses built by the villagers themselves and were assisted by missionaries or native preachers. Books were supplied by the Liberated African Department and by the Missions. The records of these early educational activities show that the settlers had started to make efforts to increase the number of schools for their children.

¹F. H. Hilliard, A Short History of Education in British West Africa, (Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., London, England, 1957), p. 3.

In 1841 the British Government sent out to West Africa a Commissioner with powers to examine local conditions in detail and to report to a Select Committee of Parliament in London. His report showed that the missionaries were doing more than the Sierra Leone Government in providing educational facilities. In that year, according to the report, the Church Missionary Society had twenty-two schools with a total enrolment of 2,821 boys and girls. In addition they had 2,267 youths and adults on the roll of their Sunday schools where, besides religious instruction, the elements of reading and writing were taught. The Wesleyan Methodists had thirteen schools and a total of 1,541 pupils, of whom 603 were girls and 938 boys. They employed between thirty and forty teachers in their schools.¹

In 1868 the Secretary of State sent out another Commissioner, Mr. J. S. Laurie, to report on the state of elementary education in the Colony. Some of his comments reveal the type of education that was being given in the schools at that time. He remarked that fair writing on slates, moderate teaching of the Testament and passable spelling were not "remarkably rare achievements,"² but he complained that the books consisted mainly of Bibles, Testaments and catechisms, and was also concerned with the unnecessary duplication of schools by the Missions. He wrote:

¹ Ibid., p. 4.

² Ibid., p. 25.

The redundancy of schools is most remarkable when contrasted with the prevailing poverty of resources, and can only be explained ... by the determination of every religious body, however small numerically, to have a school of its own for the training of the rising generation in its own form of faith.¹

He submitted the following main recommendations:

1. Pupils in the schools should be divided into standards.
2. Government should give grants to all schools in which attendance and examination results were satisfactory.
3. There should be set up an office of "Director of Public Instruction," whose main task should be the inspection and supervision of schools.
4. A Government Model Practising School should be opened to improve the supply and quality of teachers.

Most of these recommendations were quickly implemented.

The office of "Director of Public Instruction" was created and one Mr. T.H. Popplestone was appointed to it. A Government Model School was opened. It was a higher elementary school, giving instruction in the three R's. Finally, as a result of the first Education Code which was drawn up in 1870, payments of grants-in-aid were introduced. A basic grant was made at the rate of sixpence (about six cents) per pupil, together with a "result" grant of sixpence for each pass in an examination in the three R's. It is interesting to note here that this system was borrowed from England where Robert Lowe had introduced "payment by results" in 1862. Just as it was abandoned in England because

¹
Ibid.

of the excessive emphasis which it gave to the passing of tests, so in the Colony, too, it was later abandoned for the same reason. The Department of Public Instruction was the forerunner of the present Department of Education in Sierra Leone.

The system of grants-in-aid assessed on examination results did not work as well as had been expected. In 1877 a disagreement between the Government and the Missions over the amount of religious instruction to be given in the schools resulted in the withdrawal of the grants-in-aid. Another Ordinance of 1882, however, restored them. This Ordinance is important because, like the Department of Public Instruction, it laid the foundation for future developments. The Ordinance provided for:

1. The setting up of a Board of Education with representatives of the Government and the Missions.
2. The payment of grants-in-aid to private schools provided they were open to all children irrespective of race and religion.
3. The better training and certification of teachers.
4. The establishment of schools including industrial schools, to be administered and financed by Government.

These provisions were implemented but a second Ordinance had to be passed in 1895 to revise the scale of grants-in-aid, to make provision for a Government grant of up to one-tenth of the cost of new buildings, and, for the first time, to make provision for the education of children of Muslim parents, and for the training of Muslim teachers.

The present century has seen further developments in education. In 1909, Mr. E.G. Rowden who was Director of Education in Lagos, Nigeria, and who was asked to investigate and to report on the state of primary education in the territory, submitted a list of recommendations. Among the most important were the following:

1. The elimination of superfluous (denominational) schools.
2. The supply of better-trained and better paid teachers, and of better equipment to the schools.
3. Improvements in the curriculum and especially the inclusion of manual training, hygiene and physical drill.
4. The provision of more frequent inspections.
5. The provision of sound moral instruction, as distinct from over-much denominational religious teaching.
6. The abolition of the system of awarding grants-in-aid on the basis of "payment by results!"

As a result of these recommendations, several changes were made in the organisation and administration of education in the Colony. An Education Department was established with a Director of Education in charge of it. At present this Department serves both Colony and Protectorate.

In 1916 a new Education Code came into effect. It graded schools into elementary, intermediate and secondary. In order to avoid the duplication of primary schools, the Government attempted to amalgamate the schools in the villages but the attempt had to be abandoned because of lack of public support. By 1929 conditions were so bad in the schools that action could be delayed no longer. Trained teachers

were lacking, equipment inadequate, buildings very bad, and curricula old-fashioned and ill-suited to the needs of children. A new Ordinance was, therefore, passed in 1929 and among its most important features was the amalgamation scheme. These were the main points of the scheme:

1. Primary teachers' salaries to be paid by Government according to a specified scale direct to the individuals concerned.
2. Primary school fees to be collected by Government (at an increased rate of 6d, 1s, 1s 6d and 2s per month according to the standard of pupils).
3. Provision of equipment and materials to primary schools by the Government.
4. Existing denominational buildings were to house the schools, but schools desiring to rebuild could receive a grant of more than half the cost.

All the denominational schools except the Roman Catholic schools, entered the scheme.

As a result of the scheme, the schools were reduced in number. It was expected that new and better schools would be built but this was far from being the case. The scheme remained the same until 1948 when the Government planned to abolish it and to replace it by a system of assisted schools in which the City Council of Freetown and the Rural Area Councils were required to assume responsibilities, with Government assistance, for the erection of new primary schools and the improvement of existing ones. The plan, first started in the Colony, has been adopted in the Protectorate by the District Councils.

In 1954 there were two Government schools, six assisted and 50 amalgamated schools in the Colony. The following table shows the number of children in school:¹

TABLE 4
SCHOOL ENROLMENTS IN THE COLONY

	1947		1951		1954	
Class	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Infant	1,874	990	2,352	1,772	2,802	1,994
Standard	3,610	1,395	5,082	2,036	5,913	2,652
TOTAL	5,484	2,385	7,434	3,808	8,715	4,646

There were, in addition, 4,988 children attending primary schools.

The development of secondary and higher education in the Colony followed a line similar to that of the primary schools. The Missions first began to provide secondary schools and later the Sierra Leone Government built only one. These are the secondary schools now in the Colony:

¹Ibid., p. 41.

TABLE 5
SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN FREETOWN

School	Year founded	Agent
<u>Boys:</u>		
The Church Missionary Society Grammar School	1845	C.M.S.
The Methodist Boys' High School	1869	Wesleyan Methodists
The Albert Academy	1904	Evangelical United Brethren in Christ
St. Edward's School	1922	Roman Catholics
The Prince of Wales School	1925	Sierra Leone Government
<u>Girls:</u>		
The Annie Walsh Memorial School	1849	C.M.S.
St. Joseph's Convent	1866	Roman Catholics
The Methodist Girls' High School	1874	Wesleyan Methodists
The Freetown Secondary School for Girls	1926	Private

The C.M.S. Grammar School followed the classical type of curriculum. When it was first started, its curriculum included composition, recitation, writing, English history, geography, astronomy, mathematics, Latin, Hebrew, Greek, Bible history, the Thirty-nine

Articles and music. Hebrew, Greek and astronomy are not taught today but the school is known for its rigid discipline and its emphasis on producing "gentlemen."

The Annie Walsh Memorial School was named after a certain Mr. and Mrs. Walsh in recognition of their generous gift of £2,500 (about \$7,500) with which the school buildings were extended in 1865. The original pupils were girls who showed promise of becoming teachers.

Just as the Church Missionary Society founded two schools for boys and girls, so, too, the Wesleyan Methodists opened two schools for boys and girls. These four schools are well known in Sierra Leone today and the subsequent schools have been organized along similar lines.

The Evangelical United Brethren Mission first started work in the Colony in 1855. This mission did not concentrate its efforts in the Colony alone. It extended its activities into the Protectorate where it runs at present the Harford School and several primary schools. The mission also founded the Albert Academy in Freetown to train young men for the church ministry and for teaching in their schools. A significant feature of this school is the fact that, unlike other secondary schools, it includes in its curriculum craft work.

The Prince of Wales School, opened by the Sierra Leone Government in 1925 in commemoration of the visit in that year of the Prince of Wales, is the only Government school in the Colony. The last secondary school that was opened was the Freetown Secondary School for Girls. It is neither a Government nor a Mission school. It is the creation of the late Mrs. Benka-Coker whose aim was to

provide an education which combined the best academic standards with essentially West African training and background. This school is one of the modern schools in Freetown. Roy Lewis remarks that it could grace any British county town.¹

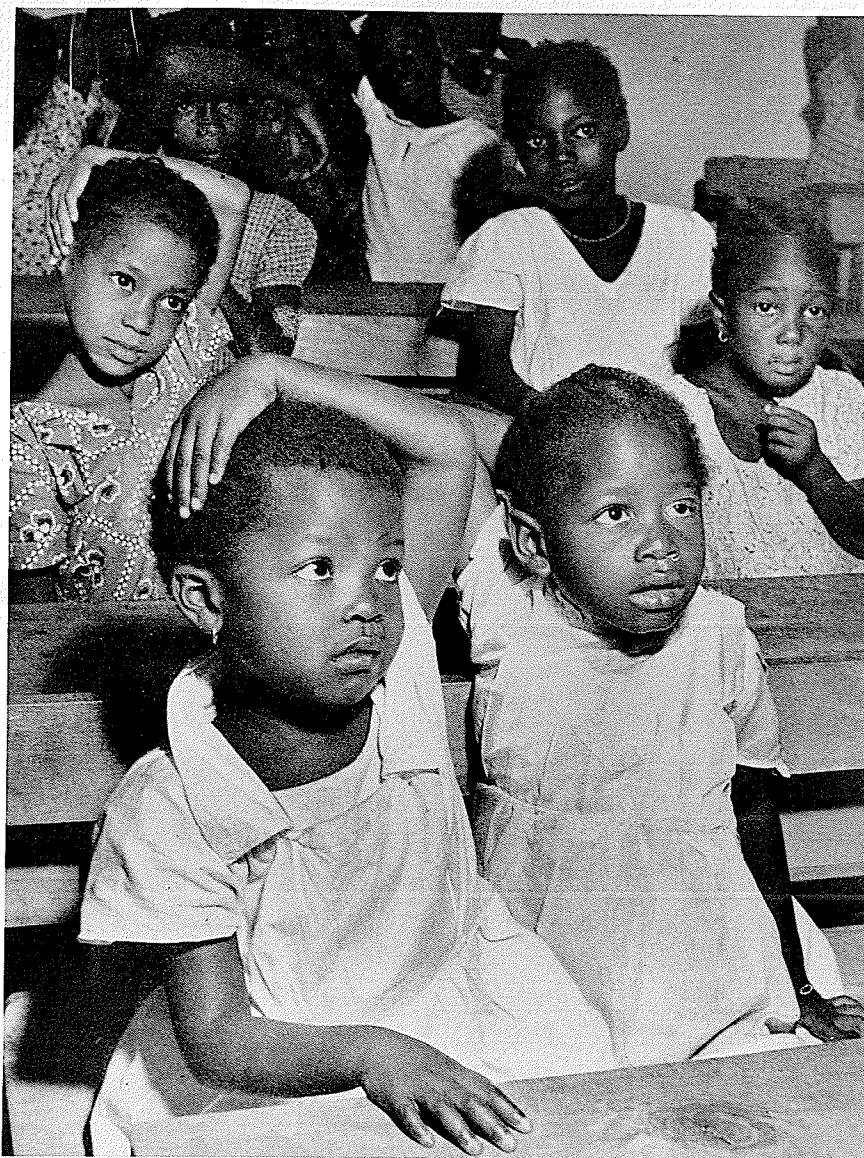
Since 1911, the Sierra Leone Government has been giving financial assistance to the mission schools. More grants are paid to schools with qualified teachers. The Government also pays the full salaries of all qualified teachers. In recent years it has given block grants for new buildings.

In order to complete the picture of primary and secondary education, it is necessary to include a brief account of what goes on in them. Children begin school at the age of five. Most Protectorate children attending the infant schools in the Colony were never registered after birth. Before they are allowed to begin school, the teacher asks them to put their arms over their heads to touch the opposite ear. If they succeed they are considered to be five years of age and allowed to begin school. They spend three years in the infant school before they proceed to the primary department. In addition to English language and literature, they study geography, history, hygiene, nature study, civics, and arithmetic. The girls include domestic science in their programmes. The primary schools which are co-educational, go up to Standard Six.

The method of selecting pupils for secondary schools is the Common Entrance Examination which is written after the completion of Standard Five (Grade Six) of the primary school. The questions are

¹ Lewis, op. cit., p. 176.

PLATE V



Establishing age of beginners.

graded according to difficulty and are intended to test the general intelligence of the pupils. The subjects for this examination are English and arithmetic. The examination is conducted on the same day throughout the country. The papers are set and marked by the Department of Education. Pupils who score high marks may be awarded scholarships by the Sierra Leone Government or by voluntary agencies.

Pupils enter the secondary schools at the age of thirteen or fourteen. The schools, like those in Britain, are divided into forms. Some schools go up to the fifth form while a few go up to the sixth form. Pupils continue to study the primary school subjects at higher levels with Latin, French, geometry, algebra, and science added.

The pupils in Form Five write the West African School Certificate Examination. In some secondary schools for girls, the pupils, after completing the third form are grouped according to their abilities and aptitudes. Those who are not academically minded go to the fourth form and in the end write the Higher Domestic Examination in place of the West African School Certificate Examination. Those who are academically minded write the School Certificate Examination after completing the fifth form. The Prince of Wales and the C.M.S. Grammar Schools which have sixth forms, prepare candidates for the Cambridge Higher School Certificate Examination in either Arts or Science.

There is also the General Certificate of Education Examination which is conducted by the University of London. This examination is open but not limited, to candidates who are not going to school.

It is taken at three levels - Ordinary, Advanced, and Scholarship. Many boys and girls who did not write the School Certificate Examination have studied successfully for this examination.

An account of education in the Colony will not be complete without some reference to higher and technical education, as well as to teacher training. The only institution of higher learning in Sierra Leone is Fourah Bay College. In fact this was for many years the only institution of higher learning in West Africa. It grew out of an institution which was started by the Church Missionary Society in 1816 at Leicester village. This institution provided education for boys and girls and it was under the charge of Reverend Leopold Butscher. In 1818 the Governor, Charles McCarthy, proposed that it be converted into a College for male students only. This proposal was accepted and the College moved to the village of Regent with thirteen boys under the care of a Mr. Bull. It remained there until 1827 when it was transferred to Freetown. At this time, the major problem of the early educationists was the lack of trained teachers. The schools had been using the monitorial system of Lancaster and Bell but the school authorities realised that such a system could not go on effectively all the time. They, therefore, drew up a plan for the training of teachers and evangelists for all West Africa. The first Principal of Fourah Bay College, the Reverend L.F.L. Haensel, an American missionary, admitted, on April 3, 1827, the first six students, including Samuel Adjai Crowther the rescued slave boy who later became the first African Bishop.

In 1876 the College was affiliated to the University of Durham, England, and in 1878 the first University examination was held at the

College. The curriculum covered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, French, German, native languages, political economy, philosophy, logic, mathematics, natural science, and music.

In the early years of the College, the training given to those who intended to become catechists and teachers included music, singing, arithmetic, reading, writing and geography. Apparently, these students did not take degree courses.

Those who did not receive their teacher training at Fourah Bay College were sent to England to be trained. A certain Charles Knight, an Ibo, and Joseph May, were sent to England to learn at first hand the Lancasterian system of teaching. On their return they undertook the management of schools.

In 1918 the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society joined the Church Missionary Society in maintaining Fourah Bay College. In 1930 these two bodies were joined by the Evangelical United Brethren in Christ - an American Mission.

During the Second World War the College met with certain setbacks. Its student population was very low and the staff was working under extreme difficulties. The Secretary of State appointed the Elliot Commission in 1943 to report on the needs of higher education in West Africa. The Commission's report was not unanimous. The majority recommended that the College should continue to provide degree courses in Arts and Theology. The minority opinion, accepted by the Secretary of State, favoured the turning of the College into a Territorial (or Regional) College, pursuing post-secondary school courses up to intermediate level. The Secretary of State's opinion aroused severe

criticisms and opposition in Sierra Leone and led to the raising of a fund to preserve the College from its threatened loss of University College status. In spite of considerable public support it was realised that the College could survive only if the Sierra Leone Government would assure it of financial support. This was accepted by the Government and in 1950 the College was enlarged to provide non-graduate teacher training courses and technological training in addition to degree courses in Arts and Theology.

In 1954 the College was the subject of another Commission - the Fulton Commission, in accordance with the 1950 agreement. The Commission recommended the development of pure science courses up to degree level, the continuation of the teacher training and technological courses, increased financial assistance, and the continued association of the College with the University of Durham. The ultimate goal was to be the status of a full University College.

These developments were fostered by the increase in the number of students. During the 1950 to 1951 academic year, the total enrolment was two hundred and thirty-seven, of whom ninety were undergraduates, nine were ministerial students, twenty-eight were taking preliminary Arts and General Certificate of Education courses, and one hundred and ten were taking teacher training courses. In January, 1954, the total enrolment was three hundred and fifty-seven. Of these there were two hundred and sixty-four men and ninety-three women. The students pursued the following fields of study:¹

¹Ibid., p. 46.

Degree courses	119
Ministerial courses	9
Teacher Training courses	112
Preliminary Arts and Science courses	<u>117</u>
	<u>357</u>

Of the total number of three hundred and fifty-seven, two hundred and eighty-five were Sierra Leoneans, the rest came from Nigeria and Ghana. In 1957 there were three hundred and eighty-five, including one hundred and twenty teachers in training.

Up to December, 1959, the Teacher Training Department was attached to Fourah Bay College. Early this year it was removed and reconstituted as the Freetown Training College, while Fourah Bay College received a royal charter conferring upon it the status of University College. It now offers degree courses in Arts, Theology, Economics and Science. It also offers a year's post-graduate course in Education to those who wish to teach. Such students receive the Diploma in Education Certificate from the Durham Institute of Education, which entitles them to teach in the secondary schools.

A minimum of three years' secondary education is required for admission to the Freetown Training College. The course lasts three years and in the end successful candidates are awarded the Teachers' Certificate which entitles them to teach in the primary schools. Holders of the Teachers' Certificate may, after teaching for some time, take a further supplementary training to enable them to teach in the senior classes of the primary schools and the lower forms of the secondary schools.

More advanced training is required of secondary school

teachers. Candidates who pass the West African School Certificate Examination but fail to obtain the requisite credits for admission to degree courses, may take a three-year course and if they are successful in the final examination, they are awarded the Advanced Teachers' Certificate.

Technical education is still in its early stages. There is only one technical institute in Freetown which offers training in various trades. Some of the courses offered deal with commercial subjects, carpentry, and engineering. The institute combines academic work with technical training.

Before leaving the subject of education in the Colony in order to trace its development in the Protectorate, the reader must bear in mind the fact that the same course has been followed in both sections of the country, namely, education has been provided first by voluntary agencies and then by the Sierra Leone Government.

Long before the declaration of the Protectorate, Christian missions had begun to establish stations in various parts of the region. As far back as the early years of the nineteenth century, the Church Missionary Society had sent missionaries to work among the Susus, a tribe living in the North-West of Sierra Leone. Later on, in January 1840, this Society extended its activities to Port Loko, one of the oldest towns in the Protectorate. In that town the missionaries were true pioneers. They had to clear the bush by hand and carry building materials head-loaded to the site. There was no one available with training in construction work. The Rev. C.F. Schlenker, who started the pioneer work at Port Loko, wrote:

In December 1840, we cleared the bush which thickly covered the little spot whereon now stand our Mission school and dwelling houses ... The Day School now consists of twenty-six children many of whom have made good progress in reading and writing, and some of the girls in sewing.¹

In the Southern and South-eastern Provinces, the Society also built primary schools as the railway extended to those areas in the early years of the present century. They opened schools at Bauya, Moyamba, Kenema and Bonthe. These towns are shown on the map at page 31.

Next in the educational field was the United Brethren in Christ Mission. In 1855, the first three American missionaries arrived in Sierra Leone and started work in the Sherbro country. The Mission confined its activities to primary education and opened schools at Bonthe, Rotifunk, Shenge, Mano, Magburaka and several other towns.

The Church Missionary Society and the United Brethren in Christ Missions were joined by the American Wesleyan Mission which opened its first school at Kunso, a small village near Makeni on June 27, 1893. The school was at first co-educational but in 1906 it was divided. The girls' section of the school was given the name of Clarke Memorial Girls' School. Today this school is widely known in the Protectorate for its contribution to the education of girls. The boys' section of the school was moved in 1918 to Binkolo, a town which is seven miles from Makeni. Later, this school was, unfortunately

¹Walker, The Church of England Mission in Sierra Leone, p. 464, quoted by the writer in "From Native Administrations to District Councils - A Study of the Development of non-Sectarian Education in the Provinces of Sierra Leone" (unpublished dissertation submitted to the Durham Institute of Education for the Diploma in Education, 1958), p. 1.

closed. By 1937 the Mission had eight day schools with an enrolment of 1,272 pupils (865 boys and 407 girls.)¹

At present the Mission also runs a Bible School known as the Clarke Memorial Biblical Seminary. It is at Bendembu, a town twenty-two miles from Makeni. It was started there in 1932 after being held at various stations before this date.

Another mission that has contributed to education in the Protectorate is the Roman Catholic Mission. It was the first to open an industrial school at a town called Mobe in the Bonthe District in about 1905. This school turned out trained motor engineers, boat builders, carpenters and black smiths. The school was, unfortunately, closed in the nineteen thirties because of lack of funds.

There are, in addition to the missions mentioned above, smaller ones such as the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion which opened primary schools at Yamandu and Baoma, the United Brethren in Africa which now runs the Minnie Mull School for Girls at Bonthe, the American Methodist Episcopal which opened the Moore Memorial School at Sendugu in the Port Loko District and the Bethel School in Mange Bureh on the Little Scarcies River, and finally the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which opened a primary school at Kambia in the Kambia District.

The curriculum in the mission schools included religious instruction, the three R's and practical subjects such as gardening, carpentry, building, sewing and cooking. The Evangelical United

¹Letter from Marie Evatt, Education Secretary, American Wesleyan Mission, Sierra Leone, December 18, 1957.

Brethren in Christ Mission added metal work and weaving. The Countess of Huntingdon Connexion encouraged the cultivation of flowers and fruit trees. The Roman Catholics trained skilled workers at Mobe. The Rev. L.W. Juby, who was at one time Acting Superintendent of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, summed up the aim of early missionary work in these words:

While we are fully conscious of many shortcomings and failings in our educational work, yet in directing the educational policy of the Mission we endeavour to bear in mind that education to be of the highest value to the African people must have as its ultimate aim the training and development of every part of the child's life, and that it is essential that the teaching of the conventional school subjects should be carefully related and adapted to native life and conditions, and that greater emphasis should be laid on the teaching of such subjects as hygiene and sanitation, the cultivation of the soil, and useful handicrafts.¹

Apart from their own funds, the missions obtained money for the running of their schools from school fees and annual grants from the Sierra Leone Government, but these grants were given only to "assisted schools" as listed on Table six. By 1936 the missions had eighty "assisted schools" and eighty-six "unassisted schools" in the Protectorate. The estimated number of children of school age was over 330,000 of whom only 9,828 were in schools.²

Meanwhile, the Government had opened a few rural schools in the Protectorate. By 1927 the Director of Education was able to report that there were six rural schools with 221 children enrolled. The subjects taught in these schools were reading, writing, arithmetic,

¹Quoted by the writer, op. cit., p. 5.

²Hilliard, op. cit., p. 32.

English, nature study, hygiene and sanitation, geography, history, and moral instruction. More schools of this type were built by the Government and placed under the managership of Paramount Chiefs. Some of the schools made rapid progress while others did not. The lack of progress made the Government close four rural schools in 1934 and arranged with the missions to undertake the education of the children who were formerly attending the closed schools. The teachers were given gratuities and the Government hoped that they would be absorbed on the staffs of the mission schools.

The disparity in the percentage of children going to school in the Colony and in the Protectorate was, by 1937, striking enough to warrant immediate attention, (2.9 in the Protectorate and 50 in the Colony).¹ Thus in 1937, the then Director of Education, Mr. W.E. Nicholson, prepared a Memorandum on Educational Policy in the Protectorate. In this he outlined a programme of educational development which, in due course, became the Government's approved educational programme. The following were the main points:

1. Government secondary or middle schools were to be established in each Province, to which the age of admission should be 12 years, and in which the courses of study should proceed from the level of Standard V to that of Junior Cambridge Certificate.

¹
Ibid.

TABLE 6

GOVERNMENT AND ASSISTED PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE PROTECTORATE
OF SIERRA LEONE FOR THE YEAR 1931¹

D E S C R I P T I O N	No. of Schools	E n r o l m e n t		A v e r a g e A t t e n d a n c e			
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Government	18	302		302	215		215
Church of England	13	447	258	705	333	190	523
Wesleyan Methodist	19	658	181	839	476	146	622
Roman Catholic	13	1,061	65	1,126	847	44	891
U.B.C.	21	1,432	325	1,757	1,061	216	1,277
United Methodist Church	5	199	54	253	152	34	186
American Methodist Episcopal	3	222	56	278	169	47	216
United Brethren in Africa	3	139	18	157	117	14	131
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	1	75	20	95	58	14	72
Countess of Huntington	1	49	1	50	42	1	43
American Wesleyan	1	44	5	49	32	2	34
Moyamba Amalgamated	1	85	25	110	58	17	75
T O T A L	89	4,713	1,008	5,721	3,560	725	4,285

¹Quoted by the writer, op. cit., p. 8.

2. In elementary, middle and secondary schools practical subjects, and particularly agriculture, should form an essential part of the curriculum.
3. The vernacular should be used in at least the first year of the primary school.
4. Native Administrations, which were growing, should receive assistance to enable them to open schools in the same way as the Missions were doing.
5. Education Officers should be posted to the Northern and Southern Provinces in order to exercise closer supervision over the schools.
6. A scheme should be devised for the systematic training of teachers.

As a result of this programme the Government began to open Junior Secondary Schools throughout the Protectorate. Two of these schools, one at Kenema and another at Magburaka, have already developed into full secondary schools, that is, they can send pupils for the West African School Certificate Examination.

Native Administrations had been established in the Protectorate in 1936. This is a system of local government which was first elaborated by Lord Frederick Lugard in Nigeria. The aim is to give the people an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the art of government in local affairs and, through the process, to acquire some experience for participation in national government. One of the tasks which these local government bodies undertook to perform was the provision of primary education in their respective areas. Thus in 1942 the first four Native Administration schools were built at Daru in the Kailahun

District, at Kalangba in the Bombali District, at Potoru in the Pujehun District and at Port Loko in the Port Loko District. These new schools soon gained popularity because they represented the efforts of the natives themselves. The schools were planned merely to provide primary education. From 1942 to 1950 there were twenty-eight such schools in the Protectorate. In 1952 there were 32 schools with a total enrolment of 3,385 pupils (2,724 boys and 661 girls).¹ In 1954 the number of schools had risen to thirty-three.

The figures quoted above have some significance. Schools were quite new to the natives at that time. To some of them, everything connected with schools was a "White man's business." The missionaries and the Government had, indeed, built some schools in some parts of the territory. The new schools were to be built in areas where there were no schools. It was in these areas that the natives needed persistent persuasion in order to send their children to school. In areas where there was a literate chief, it was not too difficult to get school children because he, as manager, showed personal interest in the school. Although progress was slow, the schools continued to spread from chiefdom to chiefdom.

In 1945, another step was taken by the Government to set up in each district in the Protectorate new local government bodies with wider powers than those exercised by the Native Administrations. These were known as District Councils. They were, among other things,

¹Quoted by the writer, op. cit., p. 32.

to promote the development of the district concerned and the welfare of the people of the area with the funds at its disposal, to advise on any matters brought before it by the Governor or the Chief Commissioner (of the Protectorate) and finally to make recommendations to Government ... on matters affecting the welfare of the district as a whole.¹

In order to avoid overlapping in the duties of Native Administrations and the newly established District Councils, the Government decided that the latter should take over some of the functions of the former. Consequently, the District Councils have taken over education. The District Councils, however, only co-ordinate the works of several specific committees which they set up to deal with different matters. In the case of education, the Councils set up in 1954, committees known as Local Education Authorities. Their main duty is to organise and develop primary education within their specific areas. In 1954 they assumed responsibility for all the Native Administration schools and converted them into District Council Schools which by August 31, 1957 numbered forty-one. In addition to their own schools, the Local Education Authorities are also responsible for the Mission primary schools.

At the head of each Local Education Authority is a Provincial Education Secretary who is an employee of the District Council. As there are three provinces in the Protectorate, there are, therefore, three such secretaries. Their duty is to direct educational developments in their areas.

¹Ibid., 50. The office of "Chief Commissioner" has been abolished. Its functions have been transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

So far nothing has been said about secondary schools in the Protectorate. Sir David Chalmers, who inquired into the causes that led to the 1898 hut tax insurrection, had recommended that local government in the Protectorate should be carried on through enlightened chiefs. The first step which the Sierra Leone Government took to provide a training ground for future enlightened rulers was the establishment of the Bo School, in 1905, for the education of the sons and nominees of chiefs. Apart from the ordinary branches of English education, the boys were to be taught farming, carpentry, bridge building, road construction and land surveying. They were to be encouraged to combine manual with mental training. At the same time, the school was to engender a kindly attitude in the pupils towards native society and traditions. In the Sierra Leone Royal Gazette of September 29, 1905, the aim of the school was explained in these words:

Under existing conditions, pupils educated in Freetown almost invariably return home with a feeling of contempt for the native towns and even for their nearest relatives. To prevent this both the native teachers and the pupils will be expected to wear country cloth and their lives outside school hours will be spent in a small town, the government of which will be on ordinary native lines.¹

The school, therefore, was the first official plan to develop the Protectorate along African lines. It has produced not only educated rulers some of whom have been Ministers of State but also teachers, lawyers, doctors and clerks.

¹Lewis, op. cit., p. 183.

The fees were 10 (\$27) per annum per pupil but this amount was paid by the chiefdoms from which the individual pupils came. The Governor of Sierra Leone at that time, Sir Leslie Probyn, considered that chiefdoms rather than individual chiefs, should pay the school fees of pupils because such pupils were being trained for the welfare of the respective chiefdoms. At a time when the idea of sending children to school was new, and when the memories of the 1898 raid were fresh in the minds of the people, progress of the school was extremely slow and irregular. The doors of the school had to be opened to the sons of natives other than chiefs. This led to an increase in the enrolment of pupils.

In the first two decades of the school's existence, 366 pupils passed through it. The following table shows the role played by these ex-pupils in the affairs of the country:¹

TABLE 7

OCCUPATIONS OF EARLY PRODUCTS OF BO SCHOOL

OCCUPATION	NUMBER
Chiefs	14
Teachers in Government Service	12
Clerks	22
Minor Posts	30
Police Force	9
Royal West African Frontier Force	11
Court Messenger	1
Gold Coast (now Ghana) Government	2
Mercantile Firms	14
Teachers in Mission Schools	7
Traders	11

- Continued

¹Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1937 - Educational Policy in the (Sierra Leone) Protectorate, p. 16, quoted by the writer op. cit., p. 15.

Table 7 - Continued

Attached to Chiefs	55
At Home	100
Deceased	41
No Record	37
	<hr/>
TOTAL	366
	<hr/>

Up to this time Bo School was still a primary school. By 1936 the staff had been strengthened and an attempt was made to raise the academic standard of the school. In 1937, for the first time, the school sent boys to write the Junior Cambridge Certificate Examination. By 1942 the school had developed to a full secondary school status, that is, it began to allow its pupils to sit for the Cambridge School Leaving Certificate examination (this is equivalent to the School Leaving examination in Manitoba). For many years Bo School was the only secondary school for boys in the Protectorate. The Magburaka Secondary School is the second fully developed school for boys in the Protectorate. It sent its first group of candidates for the West African School Certificate examination in 1958.

The counterpart of Bo School is Harford School for Girls. It was opened by the Evangelical United Brethren Mission in 1900 at Moyamba, one of the large towns in the Protectorate. It is the only secondary school for girls in the Protectorate. The school has the name of the first president of the Women's Missionary Association which was formed in Ohio, United States of America, for the promotion of missionary work abroad. It was through the efforts of that association that the Harford School was founded. The successful beginning of the school was due largely to the Paramount Chief, Yoko, a woman who gave adequate land to the missionaries for

the building of the school. One of the first three boarders in the school was her own grand daughter. She entered the school at the age of seven and "in one week (she) learned to wash dishes, speak a few English words, say a number of letters and sing three tunes."¹ Within a year the enrolment was almost one hundred, and advanced classes for older pupils were being held at the mission residence after school hours.

At the early stages of the school sewing and religious instruction were taught in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic. Later a two-year Domestic Science Course in Household Arts, covering every phase of homemaking and child care, was introduced.

The school was making rapid progress when the Second World War broke out. Towards the close of that war, the Sierra Leone Government took definite steps to promote female education in the Protectorate by offering scholarships for higher education. Unfortunately most of the Protectorate girls could not compete for these scholarships without taking further training in the schools in the Colony. There were no secondary schools in the Protectorate to prepare girls for the qualifying examinations. Consequently parents in the Protectorate insisted that Harford School should be developed into a full secondary school like any girls' secondary school in the Colony. Thus in 1943 the African members of the Harford Board of Directors presented a petition to the Home Board in America asking for a higher standard of training, additional courses for teacher training and enlarged buildings to accommodate more girls. The Home Board in America accepted the proposed expansion programme

¹ Mary McKenzie, A Story of the Harford School for Girls, Moyamba, Sierra Leone, n.d., n.p., p. 4.

enthusiastically and promised to assist with funds and extra missionary personnel. At this point the Sierra Leone Government agreed to share in the financial outlay if Harford became a full secondary school on a larger scale than was then anticipated. The government contributed about \$70,000 for new buildings and promised to pay 75 per cent of the salaries of qualified teachers. The new buildings were completed in 1947.

Two other young secondary schools need some comment. These are the St. Andrew's School, Bo, opened in about 1957, and the Schlenker School, opened at Port Loko at about the same time. Both belong to the United Christian Council of Sierra Leone. This Council consists of representatives of the Protestant Missions.

There are four teacher training colleges in the Protectorate. The Union College at Bunumbu was opened in June 1933 by the Church Missionary Society, the Methodist Missionary Society and the Evangelical United Brethren in Christ Mission. This College trains teachers for the mission schools and also catechists for church work. From its beginning the College lays strong emphasis on religious instruction. The syllabus includes a comprehensive course in Bible study - Christian doctrine, New and Old Testaments, and Methods of Evangelism. On the secular side the syllabus includes English, principles and methods of teaching, together with practice in some vernaculars and a course in history, geography, hygiene, nature study and agriculture, handicrafts, arithmetic and mensuration.

The Njala Training College, operated by the Sierra Leone Government, was opened in 1936. Its original intention was to train

teachers for the Native Administration schools but the missions could send their own workers for training there if they so desired. The missions did not, however, respond since they preferred to train their own teachers.

A second Mission Teacher Training College was opened at Bo in 1942 by the Roman Catholics. Its primary aim is to prepare teachers for the Catholic Mission schools in the Protectorate.

The last Training College was opened in 1950 by the Government. Like the Njala Training College, it trains teachers for the District Council schools as well as for Mission schools.

Prospective teachers enter the colleges after completing Standard Six of the primary schools. The training covers three years after which the successful candidates receive the Elementary Teachers' Certificate which qualifies them to teach in the primary schools. These teachers may teach for about three years and then proceed to the Freetown Training College for a year's further training after which the successful ones receive the full Teachers' Certificate. They may, after teaching for some time, take a year's "supplementary" course at the Freetown Training College to enable them to teach in the senior classes of the primary schools and the lower forms of the secondary schools. Some teachers with long experience even teach in the Protectorate teacher training colleges.

In 1954 the number of teachers in training in the four colleges was as follows:¹

¹ Hilliard, op. cit., p. 36.

Njala	75
Union College, Bunumbu	99
Roman Catholic Training College, Bo	45
Magburaka	95
	<u>314</u>

The number of teachers in training has been growing steadily to cope with the increase in the number of school children. The following table provides some indication of recent progress in primary education:¹

TABLE 8
RECENT PROGRESS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS
IN THE PROTECTORATE

Year	Assisted Schools			Unassisted			Total		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1950	12,587	3,339	15,986	2,381	564	2,945	14,968	3,963	18,931
1952	15,286	4,366	19,652	2,306	563	2,869	17,592	4,929	22,521
1954	19,223	5,829	25,052	2,531	645	3,176	21,754	6,474	28,228

According to the UNESCO World Survey of Primary Education, 1958, there were in 1954 over 52,000 pupils enrolled in all educational institutions in both the Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone. This figure represented about 2.5 per cent of the total population. Of the total enrolment, over 89 per cent were pupils in primary schools, 8 per cent in secondary schools and less than one per cent attended

¹ Ibid.

Fourah Bay College.¹ The table above shows that of the total child population in Sierra Leone in 1954, nearly half of that number came from the Protectorate. There were, in addition, children of Protectorate origin who were attending schools in the Colony. The increase in school attendance is an improvement on the situation in the first decades of this century when the figures were 8,252 and 3,175 in the Colony and Protectorate, respectively. In 1946 the situation improved further when the percentages of children actually in school in both sections of the country were fifty-five and four, respectively.²

Table nine gives a summary of school statistics for the period 1950 to 1954 for the whole country. The proportion of girls in both Colony and Protectorate was 30 per cent in primary schools, 29 per cent in secondary schools and 16 per cent in vocational schools, 12 per cent in teacher training colleges, and 26 per cent at the higher educational level.³

Table ten shows that the total enrolment in primary schools steadily increased since 1946.⁴ The increase was due to the opening of Native Administration schools in the Protectorate.

Table eleven gives the educational expenditure for the year 1954. Of the current expenditure shown, 29 per cent was devoted

¹UNESCO, World Survey of Education: II - Primary Education, 1958, p. 1134.

²Quoted by the writer, op. cit., p. 66.

³UNESCO, op. cit., p. 1132.

⁴Ibid.

to primary education, 14 per cent to secondary, 5 per cent to vocational, 9 per cent to teacher training, 17 per cent to higher education, and less than 20 per cent to scholarships.¹ The money was contributed largely by the Government which paid 61 per cent of the total amount.

In 1957, there were increases in the numbers of all educational institutions. Table twelve indicates these increases: the total expenditure amounted to £1,181,000 (about \$3,543,000).²

TABLE 9
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN 1957

Schools	No.	Enrolment
Primary	497	61,881
Secondary	24	5,924
Teacher training institutions	6	615
Technical and vocational	6	981

The Government pays the salaries of teachers in all schools throughout the country. School fees are paid directly to the voluntary agencies. Fees range from one shilling (about twelve cents) per month in the infant classes to two shillings and sixpence (about thirty cents) per month in the primary classes. Boarding fees including tuition range from £36 (about \$90) per annum in Freetown to £7.10/- (about \$20) in the Protectorate. The Government subsidizes these fees.

¹Ibid., p. 1134.

²Great Britain, Central Office of Information, Fact Sheets on the U.K. Dependencies (London: H.M.S.O., 1958), p. 3.

TABLE 10

SUMMARY OF SCHOOL STATISTICS 1950 - 54

Level of Education and type of Institution	School Year	No. of Institutions	Teaching Staff		Students enrolled	
			Total	Female	Total	Female
PRIMARY						
Government maintained Schools	1954	5	35	7	1,221	220
Government aided	1954	249	1,343	465	37,192	11,409
Unaided	1954	118			8,164	2,749
Total	1954	372	1,378 ¹	472 ¹	46,577	14,108
Total	1953	357	1 ¹	1 ¹	43,144	13,234
Total	1952	314	1,101 ¹	383 ¹	39,216	11,505
Total	1951	289	922 ¹	314 ¹	37,297	11,039
Total	1950	277	924 ¹	358 ¹	34,520	10,139
SECONDARY						
Government maintained schools	1954	5	98 ²	9 ²	4,116	1,266
Government Aided Schools	1954	14	176 ²	67 ²		
Unaided Schools	1954	1			253	1,266
Total	1954	20	274 ^{1,2}	76 ^{1,2}	4,369	972
Total	1953	16			3,312	945
Total	1952	16	172 ^{1,2}	59 ^{1,2}	3,096	835
Total	1951	15	184	59 ^{1,2}	2,702	896
Total	1950	15	163	55 ^{1,2}	2,792	
VOCATIONAL						
Government Technical School						
Total	1954	1 ³			524	84
Total	1953	1			59	-

- Continued

Table 10 - Summary of School Statistics, 1950-54 - Continued

Level of Education and type of Institution	School Year	No. of Institutions	Teaching Staff		Students enrolled	
			Total	Female	Total	Female
<u>TEACHER TRAINING</u>						
Govt. Training Colleges	1954	3			317	39
Aided Training College	1954	1				
Total Training College	1954	4			317	39
Total	1953	4			412	86
Total	1952	4			398	93
Total	1951	3			231	13
Total	1950	3			249	16
<u>HIGHER EDUCATION - Fourah Bay College</u> ⁴						
Total	1954	1	45	12	331 ⁵	86
	1953	1			227 ⁵	24
	1952	1	39	13	197 ⁵	31
	1951	1	32	12	288 ⁵	92
	1950	1	19	5	214 ⁵	63

¹Not including unaided schools.

²Including teachers of vocational and teachers training schools.

³Opened in Aug. 1953.

⁴Including post-secondary teacher training.

⁵Including students enrolled in a post-primary course in a secondary school.

TABLE 11

TRENDS IN PRIMARY EDUCATION - PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Year	Schools	Teachers		Pupils		Average Enrolment (thousands)	Estimated child population (5 - 14 years old) (thousands)	Primary Enrolment Ratio
		Total	% Female	Total	Per Teacher			
1946	252			25,093				
1947	258			26,124				
1948	253			27,452		27.5	463	6
1949	265	819	37	31,369	38			
1950	277			34,520				
1951	289			37,297				
1952	314			39,216		40.2	492	8
1953	357			43,144				
1954	372			46,577				

TABLE 12

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION, 1954 in POUNDS (£)¹

Object Expenditure	Total	Source of Funds				
		Education Dept.	Local Authorities	Special Development Funds	Other Govt. Depts.	Voluntary Agencies
Total Expenditure	865,139	529,833	34,343	234,315	26,843	39,805
A. Current Expenditure	732,644	494,496	27,595	155,083	26,800	28,670
Central Administration	82,484	77,384	1,030	-	139	3,931
Primary Education	212,551	188,352	17,748	-	-	6,451
Sec. Education	103,759	87,433	-	9,369	-	6,957
Vocational Education	36,058	20,220	-	-	15,056	782
Teacher Training	67,481	47,275	-	17,000	-	3,206
Higher Education	123,970	-	-	122,420	-	1,550
Scholarships	40,232	31,323	1,192	-	5,878	1,839
Other Current Expenditure	66,109	42,509	7,625	6,294	5,727	3,954
B. Capital Expenditure	132,495	35,337	6,748	79,232	43	35

¹ One English pound (£) is equivalent to about 2.71 Canadian Dollars.

For purposes of administration, Sierra Leone follows very closely the British system. There is a Minister of Education who is in charge of education for the whole country. The first Minister was appointed in 1953. Under him is a Permanent Secretary who is, like the Deputy Minister in Manitoba, a civil servant¹ whose main duty is to advise the Minister on matters relating to education.

In addition to the Minister of Education and his staff, there is a Director of Education for the whole country. He is a civil servant. Before the appointment of a Minister of Education, the Director of Education was responsible for educational policy for the whole territory. He still has his own staff but he now implements policies passed to him by the Minister of Education.

All the Local Education Authorities and missionary agencies carry out their plans after consultation with the Minister through the Director of Education. The latter is in charge of teachers and their salaries and he periodically visits the schools for inspection.

The Director of Education is advised by a Board of Education, a consultative body representing the Government, the missions, and the teachers.

There is also a Scholarship Advisory Council on whose recommendations the Government awards scholarships for secondary and higher education.

¹Overseas civil servants are appointed by the Sierra Leone Government in consultation with the Colonial Office in London.

CHAPTER VIII

CHANGES IN THE PROTECTORATE AND THE RESULTING CONFLICTS

British administration of the Protectorate implies the introduction and establishment of democratic principles. Before discussing the changes that have resulted from the establishment of these principles it is necessary to outline the principles themselves.

The first principle that was established was the policy of "divide et impera," - divide and rule. This was done by dividing the Protectorate into five administrative units called districts. At present these districts are twelve in number and they have been grouped into three provinces. The administrative heads of the districts and provinces are District and Provincial Commissioners respectively. These are responsible to the Governor who is resident in the Colony and who, with the assistance of his cabinet, rules the whole territory.

The second principle that was established was that of paying taxes to a central authority. The first taxes were collected in 1898 for proposed developments in the territory. The natives, who hitherto knew nothing about paying taxes to an alien ruler and who were only accustomed to paying tributes to their traditional rulers, rebelled. This rebellion was the first revolt against Western influence in the Protectorate. The second anti-tax revolts took place between November, 1955 and February, 1956.

The third principle that has been established is the development of local governments as training grounds for national government. In 1936 Native Administrations were introduced into the Protectorate. In 1942 these Administrations began to build their own schools in addition to providing other social services in their areas. In 1945 District Councils were established with more powers than the Native Administrations. It has been pointed out earlier that these Councils took over some of the services, including education, once performed by the Native Administrations. These two local government bodies laid the foundation for democratic system of government in the Protectorate, and also prepared the way for the people to take active part in national politics.

The changes that have resulted from these governmental arrangements may be discussed under two headings. The first one is the development of a national, rather than, a regional interest. The fact that the Protectorate and Colony are administered by a Governor and a nationally representative Government tends to break down local barriers. National political parties have developed in recent years through which the peoples of both sections of the country work towards ultimate unity, and towards the development of nationhood.

The second change is that there has been an undoubted decline in the position and authority of the traditional ruler, the chief. The introduction of local governments which are run on democratic principles has led to a greater measure of popular participation in matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. Political offices

which were hitherto open to chiefs and their councils are now available to men and women outside that hierarchy. The resulting rivalry for political power has brought about a strong controversy about the chiefly system of government. Influential and wealthy persons who have little or no loyalty to the chiefs advocate the abolition of the system which they regard as archaic. There are others who think that it should be retained and used as^a basis on which democratic principles could be built.

In pre-Protectorate days when chiefs had absolute powers over their subjects, they had great advantages, but when they came under British control, they began to lose those advantages. Many chiefs who had abused their positions by preying on their subjects through excessive demands for produce and services, and also through heavy fines for minor offences, were deposed. In 1957 several chiefs were deposed as a result of anti-tax disturbances the causes of which were attributed to their misconduct in ruling their subjects. Deposition of traditional rulers cuts right across the traditional belief in the lifetime authority of the holders of that office.¹ In chiefdoms where the chiefs were deposed, the natives refuse to elect new ones as long as the old ones are still alive. In fact some chiefdom authorities have been sending representatives to the Governor to request the reinstatement of their chiefs. In 1959 one such request came from the authorities of Yoni chiefdom in the Tonkolili District, Northern Province, regarding the reinstatement of their chief Bai

¹ See page 60.

Sebora Mankota III.¹ Some deposed chiefs have already been reinstated.

Before the British established their authority in the Protectorate, it was not necessary for chiefs to be educated. The changing conditions now make it preferable for them to be educated. A few of the literate ones are Presidents of District Councils and representatives of the District Councils in the national House of Representatives. Two such chiefs have held ministerial portfolios.²

The traditional role of chiefs has been considerably modified by the setting up of representative councils which have taken over most of their duties, leaving them as figureheads with ceremonial functions only. As members of the national government they do not devote as much time to chieftain affairs as they traditionally should. The conflict here is that the chiefs may belong to one political party while their subjects may belong to an opposing one. Traditionally, the chiefs have patriarchal responsibility towards all the people under their rule. As intermediaries between the government and the people, the chiefs find themselves in critical positions. To the conservative and uneducated natives, they are traitors to the old way of life; to the progressive and educated persons, they are self-seeking agents of the Government.

The future position of chiefs is uncertain. Central and local councils run by popularly elected representatives, and the rise of a large number of educated politicians who are daily becoming influential all over the country, have taken over the place which the chiefs once occupied in the hearts of the people. These elected representatives are strong political rivals to the chiefs.

¹The Daily Mail, (Freetown, Sierra Leone), Sept. 1, 1959.

²These are Paramount Chiefs Bai Farama Tass II and R.B.S. Koker.

The authority of the District Commissioners still strips the chiefs of some of their pristine glory. These Commissioners, as agents of the central government, supervise the election of the chiefs, exercise administrative control over them, and have the power to recommend the deposition or suspension of those whom they find guilty of "conduct subversive to good government."

In their state of panic, many chiefs have taken political shelter under the wings of the Sierra Leone People's Party which now forms the Government for the whole country.¹ This Government, realising that its support comes mainly from the chiefs, wishes to maintain chiefly rule for some time to come. In 1957 it issued the statement that, as far as local administration in the Protectorate was concerned, the "Government remains firmly convinced that Chiefs have and will continue to have a very important role to play in the general development of this country for a long time to come."²

In spite of this assurance, the chiefs are afraid that their political future is insecure. They, therefore, want the Government to give a guarantee of their future status before the whole country becomes politically independent in 1961. The following motion which was put forward to the House of Representatives in 1958 by Paramount Chief Ella Koblo Gulama of Moyamba, the first Protectorate woman to be elected to that body, throws light on the situation:

¹Twelve Paramount Chiefs, representing their various districts, are members of the present House of Representatives. One of these Chiefs, R.B.S. Koker, is Minister without Portfolio.

Sierra Leone Government, Statement on the Reports of three Commissioners who enquired into the Conduct of certain Chiefs in the Protectorate (Government Printer, Freetown, 1957), p. 74.

In view of the fact that Paramount Chiefs in this country are beginning to be worried about their status and future, politically and otherwise, be it resolved that Government seriously considers the forming of a separate House of Chiefs where chiefs will be free to express their opinions and to represent their constituencies as they should.¹

The Government has so far done nothing about this resolution but it contains the germs of future developments in the political status of chiefs. At present the Government is content with combining old and new systems of government. This seems to be expedient for the time being in a country where the majority of the people are non-literate and where modern developments proceed side by side with traditional life.

There is always the danger of accepting innovations out of ignorance of the effects upon existing institutions. Innovations must proceed slowly according to the rate at which they are adapted or integrated in the new environment. Dr. Malinowski warns against the dangers that may follow abrupt changes in these striking words:

Man lives in his culture, for his culture, and by his culture. To transform this traditional heritage, to make a branch of humanity jump across centuries of development, is a process in which only a highly skilled and scientifically founded achievement of cultural engineering can reach positive results.²

The political innovations in the Protectorate form only one aspect of Western influence in the region. There are other aspects which have equally affected the life of the people.

A striking feature of the Protectorate is the number of large towns that have grown up in recent years. The development of roads

¹The African Vanguard, (Freetown, Sierra Leone), Nov. 26, 1958.

²Malinowski, op. cit., p. 650.

and means of transportation and communication have contributed to the growth of these towns. In 1949, Mr. H. Childs who was then the Chief Commissioner for the Protectorate was asked by the Sierra Leone Government to draw up "A Plan for Economic Development" for the country. In his Plan, Mr. Childs recommended, among other things, the development of communications. The Government accepted the recommendation and proceeded to construct a network of roads all over the country. The local government bodies in the Protectorate have joined the Government in this project. The Government, since 1953, has replaced some of the ferries by bridges and has undertaken the widening and tarring of the trunk roads. It has also introduced "Very High Frequency Radio Telephone" systems and has established the Sierra Leone Broadcasting System. In 1958 it started an internal air service which serves all the large towns in the country.

As a result of these developments, there has been an increase in the number of vehicles. In 1952 the authorities licensed 1,230 cars and 375 lorries in the Colony, together with 514 cars and 826 lorries in the Protectorate. The average daily number of vehicles crossing the first two ferries on the roads from Freetown to Port Loko and Bo increased three times over between 1948 and 1952.¹ With the replacement of the ferries with bridges the traffic has further increased.

It is in these cars and lorries that the immigrants travel, collect new ideas and return home with foreign goods. It is these

¹ Bantam, op. cit., p. 69.

vehicles which bring in commercial goods that make the towns attractive to immigrants.

Among the towns that have grown up in recent years are Bo, Kenema, Yengema, Lunsar and Makeni.¹ Bo is the largest of these. From 1931 to 1956 its population increased from a little over 2,000 to 20,000. Several factors have led to this growth in population. Bo occupies a central position in the Protectorate. All motor roads from every part of the country converge at Bo. The railway passes through ^{it} and there is a large railway workshop where many people from the surrounding villages are employed. The town is also the administrative centre for the Protectorate. It is the home of the famous Bo School and it also stands half-way between Freetown and Pendembu, the terminus of the railway. All of these factors have combined to make the town a cosmopolitan and commercial centre. All the big commercial firms in Freetown have branches at Bo. Even the Christian missions have stations there, too.

Kenema is the headquarters of the South-Eastern Province. It owes its growth and importance to its position on road and railway routes and to its nearness to the chrome mines at Hangha, a town six miles away. The Sierra Leone Government has a timber industry there. The labour force for this industry comes from the town itself and from surrounding villages. The population increased from 4,000 in 1952 to 7,500 in 1957.²

¹For other towns, see pages 12.

²Barclays Bank, op. cit., p. 2.

Yengema in the South-Eastern Province owes its importance to the diamond mines there. In recent years many young men have been going to Yengema to find employment. Most of them have been imprisoned because of illicit mining and smuggling of the mineral. The population of the town, nevertheless, continues to increase.

Lunsar, a town which contained fifty-five houses and 400 people in 1926, derives its growth from the iron ore mines near it. In 1952 there were 2,758¹ people most of whom were employed in the mines. Most of the miners prefer to live in Lunsar rather than live in the villages nearby.

Makeni is the terminus of the branch line railway and it is the largest town in the Northern Province. All motor roads converge there. It is a bustling trading centre, the seat of many government offices and a favourite town for tourists. Its population increased from a little over 2,000 in 1931 to 9,500 in 1957.²

The five towns mentioned above are not the only centres of attraction for the tribesmen. There are several other large towns which offer opportunities for advancement in various walks of life. Some of these towns are listed at page 12.

The social effects of migration to the urban areas are significant. When a tribesman works for a year or more in a mine or industry, he learns new values and new methods of doing certain things. He learns the value of time and the fact that work and money are

¹Bantam, op. cit., p. 70.

²Barclays Bank, loc. cit.

inseparable. A certain John Taylor makes this point clear in these words:

He whose activities have always been impulsive dictated by immediate need - planting when the rains fell, hunting when game was near, building new houses when the village moved on - now finds himself caught up into the world of total work, summoned by the work-siren at the same hour every day, kept for a steady eight hours, every day or night, at a job which began before he arrived and which will never be completed.¹

At first, young men left the villages for the urban areas to earn some money and then return home to pay their annual taxes and help their parents on the farms. In recent years, however, these young men have been staying for longer periods. Some have even decided not to return home. The absence of young men from the villages causes not only depopulation but also a setback in agricultural operations. Consequently, the production of essential foodstuffs has declined sharply. In 1954 the Sierra Leone Government announced that the shortage of rice was really serious and made the following statement:

The Government will only import rice in times when locally grown supplies are insufficient, to feed people who do not farm, through no fault of their own, because they are genuinely engaged in work like that of the government services, or in commercial or industrial employment.²

The Government has since been importing rice from Italy and Asian countries.

Rural depopulation, in addition to reducing agricultural productions, weakens the traditional family unit which is the basis of tribal society. At first the urban migrant clings to the old family ties. He sends home some money for his people and often visits them and takes part in ceremonial rites. But he soon finds that the cost of

¹George W. Carpenter, The Way in Africa, (New York: Friendship Press, 1959), p. 48.

²Bantam, op. cit., p. xiv.

living in the urban area absorbs most of his income, leaving little for remittance home. If he does not go home to see his people, they will visit him and create some financial strain on him. By the laws of hospitality and according to traditional custom - a custom which is practicable only in rural areas - the urbanite is expected to lodge, feed and entertain his relatives. In order to prevent these responsibilities, some tribesmen, particularly the literate ones, have severed their family ties and adopted the Western family practice.

The writer once asked some young men why they preferred life in Freetown to life in the country. One of them answered that in Freetown there is "civilised life." When asked what he meant by "civilised life" he replied to this effect:

Freetown has tarred streets, electric lights, water taps, large buildings and plenty of money. In Freetown everyone is free.

These amenities in Freetown and other urban areas constitute, for the immigrants a "civilised life." For an individual who was born and reared in a setting far removed from "civilised life," and whose mental horizon has hitherto been bounded by the narrow bush path around his village, the contrast afforded even by a large town may be an extreme one. He will at first feel quite out of place and will stand to stare at almost anything that is new to him. Kenneth Little quotes one young man who described his first walk round a town in the following words:

I became a sort of idiot as we moved along, for I stood to gaze at whatever English-made articles I have never seen before, for example, cycles, motor cycles, and cars. I took

a very keen interest in gazing at two-storey buildings; I admired people moving in them, and I often asked my brother whether they would not fall from there ...¹

The effect of seeing and moving among strangers for the first time may be equally significant. The immigrant begins to see things beyond his small community. He meets more people and begins to gain some new ideas which he could never have gained in his tribal community. More than anything else, the "hustle and bustle" of town life leaves a deep impression on his mind. A train, a car, a lorry, a bus or an aeroplane may be frightening and wonderful at first sight. A young man describes his boyhood reaction to a ride in these words:

At the start of the engine I could not even open my eyes to see what beautiful things may be of interest to me. I was in that restless condition until we got to a station. The engine piped again, but this time I was encouraged by a friend to brave it out. On looking out I was stupefied at seeing, and at once assumed that everything else moved with us as we rode on.²

Those tribesmen who have permanently lived in urban areas find it hard to settle down comfortably among their people and accept the old way of life. As long as they are financially secure in the new environment, they are satisfied but if they are not secure, then conflicts arise in their life. They become dissatisfied with former way of life and yet they are not at home in their surrounding. These people stand between two worlds with no security in either. The situation in which they find themselves is also true of their children many of whom have no ties with any tribal group. These children form

¹Kenneth L. Little, "Social Change and Social Class in the Sierra Leone Protectorate," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LIV (July 1948 - May 1949), p. 14.

²Ibid.

the largest group of the so-called detribalized Africans.

A significant feature of urban areas is the development of social classes based on wealth, skills, education and common interests. The wide use and distribution of money, and contact with people who are economically better-off, have given immigrant tribesmen the incentive to find money in any way possible. They engage in petty trade in all the towns. Their commodities range from African to European foodstuffs. They also sell such commodities as matches, cigarettes, salt and tobacco. In the streets both men and women carry their wares shouting the names of what they are selling.

A class of "market women" has grown up in all the large towns. These women sell their wares in the market houses which are built in every large town. If a visitor wants to know the various items of the food of the people, he should go to the market. Some "market women" have accumulated enough capital to undertake wholesale trade.

The result of the trading occupations is the fact that the market is slowly taking the place of the rice farm as the source of livelihood. Those who do not engage in trade, learn to drive lorries and eventually become drivers and transport managers. Others join the army where they follow such trades as engineering, carpentry and masonry. Still there are others who become tailors, servants and office messengers.

The non-literate immigrant who eventually accumulates enough wealth to meet the demands of his new environment still feels that he lacks something which will raise his social prestige. He feels that

the educated person does not work as hard as he in order to achieve this prestige. There is, therefore, a great demand for schools at the moment. The ability to read and write and to speak English introduces the individual to Western culture. That it is a long way to Western education is hardly realised by the people to whom education simply means the ability to read and write. Their main emphasis is, therefore, on literacy. The one who can read the newspapers, the magazines and some books in public, and the one who can read and write letters for those who cannot do so, has a high esteem among the people. They characterise him as a "book man" and he is henceforth regarded with respect tinged with caution and suspicion, for he now knows something foreign. In the villages where there are schools and churches, the teachers and pastors are held in high esteem by the people.

This drive for literacy prevails all over Africa at the present time. "If we establish a technical school with a capacity for two hundred students," said a high official of the Belgian Congo, "five hundred candidates present themselves on the opening day."¹ The following letter from an African teacher in Nigeria shows how this desire for literacy dominates the thinking of the villagers who live near the boarding school in which he was teaching:

I am giving my spare time in helping in the Adult classes in the village. Our big disease is the wrong conception of "education" which to our people is the ability only to read and write. People in this area as in most parts of Africa are underfed, diseased (hook-worms),

¹Calvin W. Stillman (ed.), Africa in the Modern World, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 270.

(live under) unsatisfactory conditions, etc. We have organised a small team of students ... to help in showing the villagers to dig cesspits so that they can stop going to the bushes, to stop erosion by planting trees and grasses, and give simple hygiene lessons ...; but strangely enough their one big desire is to read and write.¹

Connected with the desire for literacy is the tremendous power which the written word has for the people. Prior to the introduction of schools, all the tribes passed on information through conversations. At present it is not uncommon for them to demand written records for almost any controversial events. Non-literate people have taken the opportunity to attend extra-mural classes which are conducted by the Extra-Mural Department of Fourah Bay College. These classes have already been introduced in many parts of the Protectorate.

Educated tribesmen tend to have the same interests which distinguish them from the non-literates. They play such games as football and cricket, lawn tennis and basket ball. They also organise social clubs for staging dances and for providing entertainments. Imported drinks, cigarettes and Western-style foodstuffs are usually served; palm wine, the indigenous wine, is seldom taken.

Drinking and smoking are not habits that can be attributed to Western influences alone. The native drink, palm wine, is supplemented by imported drinks which are more expensive. As far as smoking is concerned, there is no record to show where the practice came from and when it was introduced into Sierra Leone. Nevertheless, it has been

¹ Ibid., p. 271.

going on among men and women from time immemorial. What is new about smoking and drinking is the fact that women do so in public places. There seems to be nothing bad about smoking and drinking by women in public but their first appearance certainly created excitement and produced adverse comments from the older people.

Another public feature that can be attributed to Western influences is the practice of eating in restaurants and cafes. At present, in industrial centres and in large towns such as Bo, Kenema and Makeni, workers have their meals in these public places. At first, people, particularly women, frowned upon this innovation as being improper.

People with the same interests and social standing form a class membership of which is limited. There is a class of the "been tos," a term which refers to anyone who has "been to" a far-away country, preferably overseas, either to study or to spend a vacation. He is highly respected because of the lucrative position he may obtain on his return. The desire of girls to marry him is expressed in the following light-hearted West African song:

What shall I do to get a man of that type?
One who is a "been to,"
Car-full and fridge-full.
What shall I do to obtain a man like that?¹

"Car-full means that the "been to" has bought a car and "fridge-full" means that he has a refrigerator. These are luxuries enjoyed only by expatriates and a few Africans.

¹Carpenter, op. cit., p. 110.

The educated tribesmen, like their non-literate urbanites, tend to alienate themselves from their tribal obligations. This has been stressed by many observers, both Western and African. The late Dr. Bronislaw Malinowski, in his last article before he died, wrote:

The young African of today has to make a living, and in this he has two worlds, as it were, to depend upon. He belongs to neither of these fully and completely - that is after he has undergone the process of European training. For he becomes, through this, partly alienated from pure tribal tradition but never completely adopted into the white community. His clear and unquestionable cultural birthright has been taken from him.¹

Dr. Malinowski obviously had in mind the detribalized Africans in the United States of America. The urban Africans are never completely detribalized after acquiring Western education. Their link with tribal life may be weakened through the process but not destroyed. Their main problem is the lack of outlets in the tribal communities through which they can put into practice what they have learned from the West. In the Sierra Leone Protectorate, educated men and women in large towns where there are facilities, are serving their people as teachers, nurses, pastors, health workers, traders and transport operators. At the same time they still cling to some of their traditional values. They are in most cases instrumental in introducing modifications in certain aspects of tribal life to suit modern conditions. Examples of these modifications are social services now being provided by local government bodies and the application of democratic principles in governmental functions.

¹Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Pan-African Problem of Culture Contact," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLVIII (July, 1942 - May, 1943), p. 654.

Mr. S.A.J. Pratt, wrote the following about the declining confidence between educated and uneducated peoples in the Protectorate:

Since education and literate people tend to attract their equals, educated tribesmen have been associating with educated Creoles, who have for generations been regarded with suspicion by the mass of the tribesmen. In due course the educated tribesman begins to lose the confidence of his own uneducated people. Nothing is worse in an African community than the feeling of not belonging to any group. The educated tribesman who senses that he is losing the confidence of his own people more often than not tries to assure his less favoured brethren that he still belongs to them either by donning native garb periodically or by hurling vituperations against the Creole element.¹

Mr. Pratt's points of view only stress the fact that Westernization has been going on in the Protectorate through the influence of the Creoles. Any "vituperations" hurled "against the Creole element" are due to their attitudes to Protectorate peoples to which Mr. Pratt himself and Sir Richard Burton referred.² The fact that the educated tribesmen refuse to accept the "patronising superiority" of the Creoles makes them cling all the more to their own people.

The ambitions of school boys indicate their strong desire to help their people in various spheres of life. Most of them want to study abroad, particularly in England, the training ground for professions of all kinds. Kenneth Little once asked thirty-four boys from the Protectorate to write for him essays on their future careers. Fourteen indicated their strong desire to continue their studies "overseas," that is, in the United Kingdom. One of them wrote:

¹ S.A.J. Pratt, "Spiritual Conflicts in a Changing African Society," *The Ecumenical Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (January, 1956), p. 154.

² See pages 28 and 29.

I have already given it as a solemn oath that in due course I shall visit the shores of England for the safety and upkeep of our country.¹

Ambitions of this kind are typical of the present generation. People who had studied in England, including expatriates, give the impression that any kind of educational qualification obtained in England is a certain guarantee of subsequent success.

Of the thirty-four boys referred to above, only one expressed a desire of becoming a chief. This indicates that chieftaincy is losing its appeal to the young people. Seventeen boys wished to become doctors and lawyers, three to become teachers, four to become either journalists or agriculturists. At other schools and teacher training institutions, where similar enquiries were made, the occupations preferred were teaching, medical dispensing, engineering, and surveying. The writer, while teaching at the Magburaka Secondary School, asked the boys of Forms IV and V to write essays on their hopes and ambitions for the future. Their ambitions were very much similar to the ones mentioned by Kenneth Little, but some however, indicated their strong desire to become politicians and army officials. Some of the replies, both verbal and written, to subsequent questions, indicated the development of a strong nationalistic feeling. One young man, aged nineteen, wrote:

My mind is not actually made up for my profession. I feel that our country is vastly in need of men like doctors, engineers, agricultural teachers, and I am prepared for any of these, once I am of use to this Sierra Leone and (am) one of the people who will raise

¹Little, op. cit., p. 15.

it from its present place to a better and more improved standard. This is the debt I feel I owe to my country, and unless it is paid, I will not be a happy man.¹

Every Protectorate person nowadays, whether he is a school boy or a worker in any field, undergoes some degree of westernization. Success in achieving this is demonstrated conspicuously in the houses, furniture and clothes of the people. Everywhere people are pulling down old mud houses and putting up new concrete ones with galvanized roofs in their place. People are also abandoning old sites and building towns and villages along rail and newly constructed motor roads. At almost every place where several roads cross there is a new town fast developing into a commercial centre. The provisions made for ventilation, the decoration of the houses with Western-style furniture like tables, cupboards, chairs, couches, mirrors, electrical appliances such as electric lights, gramophones, radios, clocks, means of transportation such as bicycles, motor cycles, cars and lorries, and photographs hanging on the walls, are all of considerable social significance. China and silver wares as well as Western-style kitchen utensils are all innovations which are becoming increasingly popular. Tea and coffee are not native to Sierra Leone but the drinking of these has become habitual among the majority of urban peoples.

Several factors are responsible for improving in housing conditions. The most obvious of these is the imitation of Europeans

¹ Ibid., p. 13.

and Westernized Africans. This imitation is made possible by money earned through private enterprise or employment in the mines and elsewhere. Servants working for Europeans have decent houses built for them. The mining companies also provide comparatively decent quarters for their workers. When these workers retire they try hard to maintain their standard of living.

Another factor is the desire to maintain social prestige. The people tend to measure the degree of westernization by the kind of house and furniture which the individual possesses. The size of the house and the number of foreign articles he has make him a "big man" in the eyes of the people.

Perhaps the commonest factor is the desire of people everywhere to build permanent houses as safeguards against fire and termites. Thatching has become increasingly difficult because the young men who should fetch the grass from fields which may be very far away, are absent from home.

In a recent issue of the "Daily Mail" in Sierra Leone, there appeared an article which described the home of one of the chiefs in the Protectorate. As the article throws more light on what has been said above, it is worthwhile to quote from it at some length. It is the impression of a newspaper man who visited the chief:

A few yards from the mill that is, an oil mill for processing palm fruit was the chief's compound. There was nothing spectacular about it. A cluster of round mud-houses, some already emerging from the chrysalis of thatch to full-fledged tin roof houses. Led by a party of friends, I made a call on the chief.

A chieftom messenger opened the main gate and I entered through an archway into the inner compound. Straight ahead of me, some five yards away, was a stand pipe; a few more steps inside brought me face to face with an exciting and unexpected scene. By the right was a verandah about thirty feet long, resembling a large hall. On top of the foundation big brown terriers sat.

Whilst we waited for the chief, I could not help but gaze and study the order of things in the hall. In the centre was a large table decorated with brown floral material, on it were reference material - Concise Oxford Dictionary, Complete Works of Shakespeare, local and overseas newspapers, family photographs, a fashionable antique clock, fanciful glass and trays, and conspicuous on the wall behind the table was large pictorial map of London.

I checked my appearance at a four-foot standing mirror; walked past several other round and square tables to the extreme right of the hall and inspected the chief's radio; I then moved to the left where at the extreme end was a canopied bed, and was fascinated by a hammock of red and white striped country cloth with tassels It was the chief's reception hall, the entire arrangement of which gave the impression of a modern superstructure on an old traditional foundation.¹

The chief is B.V.S. Kebbie of Malen Chieftom. In 1956 he had visited England. His compound had been originally built by his father but he introduced the changes to suit his taste. Before the newspaperman left the chief asked him when Sierra Leone would have television.

Western fashions in dress are common in Sierra Leone. Some time ago letters appeared in Freetown press from "Disgruntled Males" and "Impoverished Husbands" complaining bitterly about the modern girls' expenditures on and preoccupation with clothes and accessories. Some other people complained about the use of lipstick and nail polish.

¹Daily Mail, (Sierra Leone), December 2, 1958, p. 3.

In the shops of seamstresses and tailors are to be found pattern books from Europe and America. Blouses and skirts take the place of "lappa" and "booba". The "lappa" consists of a knee-length wrap-round skirt which is tied high above the waist. With it is worn the "booba" which is a short blouse. A particular feature of the complete outfit is the headtie which is a square head-scarf swathed round the head with the ends forming a bow-tie in front. With traditional dress, instead of loose slippers, women now wear sandals or high-wedged slippers. Small clutch bags (purses) are more popular than the larger type of raffia bag.

Brassieres are now worn by some sophisticated westernized women. Though not yet as figure conscious as their European and American counterparts, the African women are becoming much more aware of figure defects. Now that slimming foods are sold in many stores, some women buy them and follow starch-reducing diets.

Slacks and jeans are rare. Only a few girls who have travelled abroad put them on and they do this only in large towns.

Western dress has entered even the secret societies for boys and girls. Graduates march in procession at the end of their training wearing new clothes which are not traditional dresses. Girls frequently wear not "lappas" and "boobas" but blouses and high-heeled shoes. Some girls even carry umbrellas.

Hair styles are changing rapidly. The modern girls no longer follow the old custom of plaiting the hair. They now have their hair straightened in a process which is the reverse of western waving. They put plenty of oil on their hair and then stretch it with hot combs

specially made for that purpose. Some girls leave the stretched hair loose; others tie the strands tight with black thread to form intricate scalp patterns. A new fashion that is rapidly gaining ground is that most women supplement their hair with false hair pieces made from nylon and rayon. A few women make elaborate styles with the addition of chignons and switches. Most women use artificial flowers and fancy combs to keep their hair in position.

Jewellery is also a conspicuous part of women's dresses. Babies usually have their ears pierced soon after birth - some later in life - for wearing earrings. In almost every village there is a goldsmith who fashions pure gold into earrings, necklets and bracelets. A large number of women now prefer to use imported clip earrings and so they do not pierce their ears. As the gold earrings are sometimes too heavy and elaborate, some women use imported jewellery. Beads which were formerly worn are gradually giving way to this imported jewellery.

The men have also adopted Western styles in suits, although they wear native gowns on special days. When the literate Protectorate man senses that he is losing the confidence and support of his own people, he tries to assure them that he still belongs to them by wearing native garb periodically. When he goes to Freetown or to any westernized community, he puts aside his native garb and puts on his "coat and tie." This is the kind of dichotomy in which educated Protectorate men and women live today.

The Christian religion is one of the main channels through which Western culture has been disseminated into the Protectorate. The

great majority of the people are Muslims, the minority are Christians and there are those who believe in a Supreme Being but who profess neither Christianity nor Islam. Through their churches, schools and hospitals, the Christian missions have made their own contributions to the development of the Protectorate.

There are, indeed fervent Christians among the peoples of the Protectorate. Some of them are catechists and school teachers; others have been ordained for the church ministry. There are many lay men who follow Christianity closely. There seems to be, however, some conflicts which have resulted from the acceptance of Christianity. Protectorate peoples are not completely detribalised because they still cling to some of their traditional values. They still perform ceremonial rites for the dead and believe in the power of native "medicine." It is not unusual for a Christianized person to go home and take part in some ritual which may not be correct according to Christian principles. Christians have long condemned the witch doctor and also the secret societies for what they call "primitive" practices, and yet both the witch doctor and the secret societies are firmly entrenched among the people.

Another source of conflict is polygamy which is a long established institution among the people. There are some Christianized natives who are polygamists and at the same time retain their membership of the church. The authorities of the church have been condemning this practice but they have not as yet taken any firm stand to excommunicate defaulters, possibly because they fear that their enrolments may decrease

considerably. There are other natives who prefer Islam to Christianity because the former recognizes polygamy.

Mabel Jolaoso of West Africa summarises the situation in which some modern Sierra Leoneans find themselves:

Here we stand
 Infants overblown,
 Poised between two civilizations,
 Finding the balance irksome,
 Itching for something to happen
 To tip us one way or the other,
 Groping in the dark for a helpful hand -
 And finding none.
 I'm tired. O my God, I'm tired,
 I'm tired of hanging in the middle way -
 But where can I go?¹

In the family life of a few Christianized natives of the Protectorate there are also anomalies between Christian and native marriage. There are those who marry in church according to Christian practice while there are others who first marry in church and then marry according to native custom. The so-called "bride price" is denounced by missionaries but it is still recognised among tribesmen.

An "all-African Church Conference," representing twenty-five churches in Africa, was held at Ibadan, Nigeria, in January, 1958. The object of the conference was to study the "Church in Changing Africa." One of the topics dealt with was "Christian marriage and African tribal customs." The conference realised that while many African practices conflict sharply with Christian standards, these cannot be wholly abandoned without the provision of adequate substitutes;

¹Carpenter, op. cit., p. 105.

otherwise, such abandonment would lead to dislocation within the church fellowship. Probably this realisation accounts for the passive attitude of the Christian Church at present.

Perhaps the greatest challenge to the Church is presented by nationalism which prompts dissatisfaction in African converts. Christianity is considered by most people as a foreign religion because it is new to them. They are in favour of "Africanizing Christian worship" in order to make Christianity more meaningful to Africans, particularly to the non-literate converts of the Church. There are conflicting opinions on this subject. Those who have a negative attitude towards African culture think that "Africanizing Christian worship" would be a return to paganism. There are others who do not accept a wholesale condemnation of African culture and who, therefore, urge the Church to incorporate in its worship those elements which will appeal to Africans. These people maintain that

if churches in Africa are to grow as African churches and not as extensions of Western parishes and bishoprics they must be allowed to take root in the soil of African culture so that they may grow in stature as indigenous institutions.¹

The demand for "Africanizing Christian worship" does not mean changing the dogmas of the Church; it means the use of familiar means of expression to enable the African worshipper to understand better and feel more deeply his religious experiences. The media of worship - language and music - need to be changed or modified

¹Report of the All-African Church Conference, January 10-19, 1958, (New York: International Missionary Council, 156 Fifth Ave.,), p. 26.

according to the educational standards of the people.

In Sierra Leone, the process of Africanizing the Christian church has already begun with the translation of parts of the Bible, by missionaries, into some of the vernaculars. The American missions have translated most of their hymns into the vernaculars of the people they serve and have also adopted African music in their church services. These missionary activities are well marked in the Mende, Temme and Loko areas in the Protectorate.

One last innovation into the Protectorate needs a brief comment. British legal practice and native law are adopted simultaneously. Native courts administer customary law while English courts administer English law. The two have very little in common. Customary law is unwritten, uncertain and varied, and appeals only to the non-literate people. In large towns such as Bo, Kenema, Makeni and several others, both systems of law are dispensed. The conflict here is that some offenders may be found guilty in customary law and not guilty in English law. There are instances when tribesmen leave their areas, in order to avoid trial at native courts; similarly some leave the urban areas in order to avoid the magistrate courts. There is also the tendency of educated tribesmen to prefer English to customary legal practice.

The dual systems of law serve useful purposes in cases where Western and native principles clash. For example, the Western concept of individual ownership of land clashes with the native concept of communal ownership. But, as long as the two sections of the country have adopted the Western concept of central authority, the two systems

need to be unified. There are people who think that this unified system of law should include what in English law is workable and what in customary law is suitable to modern conditions.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The West African territory of Sierra Leone consists of a small Colony on the coast and an adjacent Protectorate. British influence in the Colony commenced in 1787 when the Government bought the coastal strip of land from the local Temne chief for Africans repatriated from North America where they had been in slavery. The territory was proclaimed a Crown Colony in 1808. British authority was extended over the interior with the declaration of the Protectorate in 1896.

The economy of the country is based primarily on peasant farming. About 80 to 90 per cent of the population grow rice, the staple food of the country. Palm produce, piassava, ginger, kola nuts, coffee, cocoa, and livestock, are other sources of revenue.

In the Protectorate the people live in tribal groups, each of which speaks its own language. They all have their peculiar social organisations but their structure of government is uniform throughout, namely, through traditional rulers and tribal councils.

Young men and women are trained for citizenship in secret societies. While different ethnic groups have different names for these secret societies, the most popular names are "Poro" for the boys and "Bondo" for the girls.

Christian missions from Europe and North America first introduced western education into the Protectorate. Although the Sierra Leone Government runs some public schools at present, yet the Christian missions still control education in the whole country.

The dissemination of Western influences into the Protectorate has led to certain modifications in the social, economic, educational and political aspects of the life of the peoples. Both men and women are adopting western styles in dress, in housing and in trade. The introduction of western currency and the spread of trade have created the need for money and the demand for western goods. Coupled with these needs is the craving on the part of the people for a materially higher standard of living. Since these needs can best be satisfied in towns and mining centres, there has been a tremendous emigration from the countryside to these new areas. In these new areas the migrants organise themselves into unions which provide mutual aid in times of necessity. These unions also tend to bring together people of the same economic and social interests. This basis of common interest takes the place of the extended family in the tribal set-up.

Western forms of government have been superimposed on the traditional system, and these have brought about changes. Democratic principles are now applied to various governmental institutions. The local government bodies which have been set up in the districts are all modelled on the English system.

There is no doubt that the Western influences described in this thesis have modified, and continue to modify, the traditional way of life in the Protectorate. But, like many other communities in the world, the Protectorate community contains some moderates, some progressives and some conservatives. The moderates advocate caution in accepting changes. They want to preserve some traditional values and introduce foreign values that enrich the modern life. The progressives, on the other hand, want to abolish wholesale the status quo which they consider to be out of date. Finally, the conservatives, who are strong nationalistics, refuse to accept Western civilization as the ideal for all to follow. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, once said:

Nationalism is essentially an anti-feeling, and it feeds and fattens on hatred and anger against other national groups, and especially against the foreign rulers of a subject country.¹

The three categories mentioned above agree in their political aims but, however strong their nationalism may be, it is late for them to cast off westernization which is already deeply rooted in their lives.

The writer does not wish to leave the reader with the impression that the lives of the people of the Sierra Leone Protectorate have been "turned upside down and inside out" as a result of the infiltration of western influences. There are many people who are determined to preserve the old order with certain modifications to suit present-day

¹ Rupert Emerson, "Nationalism and Political Development," The Journal of Politics, Vol. XXII, No. 1 (Feb. 1960), p. 5.

conditions. For instance, a person visiting the Protectorate today will find a majority of the people living in thatched huts of wattle and mud daub and of grass. He will see people herding their cattle and cultivating their farms with home-made implements. He will see people pounding their food in mortars and he will also see mothers carrying their babies on their backs. He will see in many places people crossing rivers in dug-out canoes and he will see people worshipping idols and ancestral spirits, and dancing to the music of the drums.

It is true that both men and women are copying western styles of dress, but it is not true to say that they have abandoned their traditional costumes. The women still wear "boobas" and "lappas" and the men wear "agbada" especially on ceremonial occasions.

The incessant migration of people into the towns and industrial centres has certainly weakened, but not destroyed, family loyalties. Natives periodically visit their relatives, take part in traditional ceremonies, and they show strong attachment to property and family rights. Tribesmen are very proud of their names and, with the exception of a few, they try very hard to retain their family names.

Even in Freetown, tribal peoples continue their "bush" training. It is common in the dry season to hear in the evenings the songs of "Bondo" girls coming from an enclosure nearby. It is nothing unusual to meet the crowd of women accompanying the graduates from the "bush" schools with songs, music and dancing. School children become members of the societies during holidays. The only modification

that has been made is that the duration of the training is now shorter than it formerly was.

In the towns "medicine men" continue their art. By giving them licences official authorities recognise them as professionals in their own right. It is interesting to note that these "medicine men" are patronised not only by non-literate people but also by literates. The judiciary also sanctions "native medicine" by making a witness take an oath on it before giving evidence.

But while the visitor will see all the above traces of traditional life he will also see many of the signs of western civilisation. He will see modern buildings. He will see a few hospitals with full medical staff and equipment. He will see bridges in place of ferries and he will see stores equipped with western goods ranging from refrigerators to cookies. He can spend part of his evening in the movie theatre where he will see cow-boy films and other films dealing with life in the west. He can live in a home lighted with electricity and travel in trains and cars and aeroplanes. He can eat the same food that he eats at home if he so chooses. He will meet individual Africans with habits as western and sophisticated as his own. He will also encounter some Africans wealthy enough to send their children, their nephews and nieces to schools and universities in Europe and America. In the morning he will see thousands of children clad in colourful uniforms going to school. If he visits some of the secondary schools he will hear the pupils discuss the works of Shakespeare,

Milton, Dickens and Bernard Shaw. He might even be lucky enough to see a Shakesperean play presented. No doubt the visitor will enjoy browsing in the bookshops where he will find anything from nursery rhymes to post cards and maps. He will enjoy reading the school magazines and the newspapers which are all printed in English.

Among the non-Africans he will meet are Europeans, Americans and Asians. These are mainly civil servants, missionaries and teachers, and traders. If he wants to play golf, tennis, cricket and soccer, he can do so at any time. If he is interested in politics he can attend political meetings and council sittings where he can listen to the flowery speeches, characteristic of politicians everywhere.

If the visitor is interested in music, he can listen to the rhythm of the drum, the guitar, the violin and the piano. He can, if he chooses, listen to Handel's classical Messiah or to the popular American jazz.

In short, this transfusion of cultures will give the visitor the picture of an African society which is slowly but surely undergoing a transformation as a result of outside influences.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

SIERRA LEONE AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR

January:

Upland Rice Farms: Early in December and January, farmers begin to look around for new lands for brushing. Some begin to cut down the trees and undergrowth leaving them to be dried by the intense heat of the sun. Others harvest crops such as guinea corn, millet and beans, which were left unharvested when the rice was harvested.

Inland Swamps: Swamp rice, usually planted under water in October, November and December, begins to ripen. Some farmers who planted earlier begin to harvest their swamp rice and to plant sweet potatoes and cassava in the swamps from which the rice was harvested. Cassava and sweet potatoes are substitutes for rice during the "hungry season."

Tidal Swamps: These are areas near the sea or rivers. The soil is moist and fertile. Farmers plant rice seedlings when the water retreats. About two rice crops may be grown in a year.

General: Other crops such as ginger, groundnuts, yams, sweet potatoes, coffee and palm fruit, are harvested.

February:

Upland Rice Farms: At this time, brushing, that is, cutting down trees and undergrowth, is in full swing. In the Northern Province where there are grasslands and low bushes, brushing does not start until March.

Inland Swamps: Farmers plant casual crops such as potatoes, cassava, millet and yams. Some farmers harvest other crops which they had planted earlier.

March:

Upland Rice Farms: Farmers set fire to the brush and begin to clear the stumps and the unburnt trees in readiness for ploughing.

Inland and Tidal Swamps: Farmers dig the swamps and transplant the rice seedlings from the nurseries.

General: In the Mende country, farmers begin to plant ginger. In the Northern Province, some farmers complete preparing the land for sowing.

April:

Upland Rice Farms: Farmers begin to sow the rice. Children scare away the birds from the ploughed fields.

Inland Swamps: Farmers continue to transplant germinated rice seedlings. They also harvest sweet potatoes which they had planted earlier.

Tidal Swamps: Farmers begin to remove bad weeds from their crops. In some areas, short-duration rice is sown to be harvested in July and August.

General: There is, in Sierra Leone, a kind of millet called "fundi." This is similar to wheat germ in Canada. It is planted at this time. Casual crops are also planted.

May:

Upland Rice Farms: Farmers are still sowing their rice.

Inland Swamps: Some farmers continue to weed.

June:

Upland Rice Farms: Some farmers have already completed sowing; others are hurrying up to finish before the heavy rains set in.

July:

Upland Rice Farms: Everywhere weeding is in progress.

Inland Swamps: Farmers complete weeding.

General: This is the beginning of the "hungry season." Casual crops are harvested as a substitute for rice. In the Mende country, ginger is harvested.

August:

Upland and Swamp Farms: Farmers complete weeding. Short-duration rice and groundnuts are harvested. Upland rice begins to sprout.

September:

Upland Rice Farms: Rice on all farms sprout. Children begin to scare away the birds from the farm. They have to spend the whole day on the farm.

Inland Swamps: The swamp rice is still growing.

General: While children are busy driving away the birds, the adults engage in setting traps around the farms against destructive, wild animals.

October:

Upland Rice Farms: Farmers begin to harvest rice.

Inland Swamps: The swamp rice begins to sprout.

General: In the South-Eastern Province where cacao is cultivated, farmers begin to harvest and ferment the cocoa beans.

November:

Upland Rice Farms: Farmers complete harvesting and begin to stack the rice sheaves in huts built for that purpose.

Inland and Tidal Swamps: Swamp rice begins to ripen. Children are again busy driving away the birds from the farms.

General: In some areas where a temporary ban has been declared on the harvesting of palm fruit, the ban is now lifted so that the men may begin to harvest the fruit. At the same time the women are busy extracting palm oil from the fruit.

December:

Upland Rice Farms: Farmers complete stacking the rice.

Inland and Tidal Swamps: Harvesting begins. Farmers begin to dig the swamps for planting casual crops.

General: Women harvest crops such as beans and cassava which were planted together with the rice. In December there is not much to be done; it is the time for merriment and preparation for the celebration of secret societies.

APPENDIX B

TEMNE SONGS

Ah, look what is being said,
 Look what is being done!
 How they envy our play.
 Ah, I do believe (in the play),¹
 As the old folk envy the geda,
 Let them just go on envying!

I've been done a bad turn, why?
 Though not knowing me, they've
 done me a bad turn; why?
 The old folk have nothing but bad turns
 up their sleeves. Hear me, Allah!²

Oh look! The mori-man³ leaves his prayers
 And calls a curse on our play!
 If God takes him tomorrow, pity him!
 For he may go to hell. Our play is blessed.

We young men are pleased with our geda,
 We are pleased with our geda,
 What the geda says, so the geda does.
 Play, friends!

I am pleased with our geda,
 You must all play with our geda,
 What the geda says, so the geda does.
 Friends, let's dance.

Michael Bantam⁴

¹The name of a Temne social club in Freetown. The full name is "Ambas Geda" which means "we have come together." The Krio word "geda" is a corruption of the word "gather." Its combination with the Temne word "ambas" shows the influence of the Krio language on the Temnes.

The "Ambas Geda" was organized by an educated young Temne man whom the elders of that tribe regarded as an upstart because he was introducing new ideas. The song expresses the conflict between the older and younger generations.

²The Muslim word for God.

³The name for a Muslim priest. This particular priest led the opposition to the "Ambas Geda."

⁴Michael Bantam, West African City. A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown, Oxford Univ. Press, London, England, 1957, p. 166.

Tell this child: don't be impertinent to me,
I am older than your elder brother
Iyaye! So don't you be cheeky to me!

Alimania!¹ When you've done something,
then you speak.
You should see our play before boasting
of what you've done.
Alimania! Alimania!
If you are not too proud, come and join our play.

Michael Bantam²

¹ The social club that is opposed to "Ambas Geda." The song is in reply to that on page 162.

² Bantam, loc. cit.

Our play has been established: come
and tell our people.
Ah! Come and tell our people in the Temne tribe.
Alimania! Come and tell our people in the Temne tribe.

Mammy Queen¹ is an aristocrat!
Whatever she does is becoming to her,
Mammy Queen lives in Kissy Road:
It's her they're singing about.
Ai Turay, Oh, God bless her!

Alhaji² Sisay has done well for us, God bless him!
Oh, good friendship is a (precious) thing.
Alhaji Sisay of the Temne tribe, when no one knew
the Temne would progress;
Alhaji Sisay did well for us, God bless him!

Oh, Alimamy Koroma, what a pity!
Alimay Koroma started (building) a mosque³ for the Temne,
Then God took him.
Kande Bure⁴ has sent to us
To give money for a mosque.
God has done (well) for us, we Temne.

Michael Bantam⁵

¹ The female leader of the "Alimania."

² A religious title given to Muslim leaders.

³ A Muslim church. Most of the Temnes are Muslims.

⁴ A popular, educated young man. He organised the "Ambas Geda."
In 1957 he won an election to the House of Representatives. He is now
Minister of Works and Housing.

⁵ Ibid., p. 174.

A MANDIGO LOVE SONG

Quarrels end
But words once spoken die not.

Lovers may part
And still belief remains.

Marriage may break
But still respect survives.

To leave your mother's keeping
For your father's company
Why should this be
Unless through changing love?

And when from father's house
A maid goes to her man
It is the same, we see -
It comes through changing love.

When she slips out at night
To seek her lover's arms
The same old rule applies
'Inconstant love!'

My darling one!
My chief!
Today's a festal day!

Roy Lewis¹

¹Roy Lewis, Sierra Leone - A Modern Portrait, H.M.S.O., London, England, 1954, p. 137

APPENDIX C

TABLE SHOWING THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE AMONG THE TEMNES AND LOKOS

Office	
Paramount Chief	Head of the chiefdom. Liaison between the people and the Government for which he collects annual poll tax. He is elected by the Tribal Authority in the presence of a Government representative.
Kumrabai	The one who, at the death of a Paramount Chief, is appointed to look after the affairs of the chiefdom until such a time as a new Paramount Chief is elected. If he is one of the prospective candidates, he is not allowed to hold this office. He is thus an acting Paramount Chief.
Alimamy or Alikali	A sub-Chief in charge of a section of the chiefdom. He is elected by the people. Some powerful and intelligent Alimamies may act as deputies in the absence of the Paramount Chief.
Kapr	A minor official appointed by either the Paramount Chief or the sub-Chief. He acts as a magistrate. His office expires at the death of his Chief. He might be re-appointed by the new Chief.
Kapr Masim	Guardian of the "Kuma Masim" (the sacred box in which are kept the Chief's insignia.)
Kapr Gbogboro	The Chief's hunter and commissariat officer. Whenever the Chief gets short of food and livestock he sends this officer to get them from his subjects in the chiefdom.

Table (Appendix C) - Continued

Kapr Loya	The Chief's legal adviser. He is usually referred to as the "bush lawyer" because he is well versed in native law and custom.
Santigie	A constable, messenger or petty judge. He is appointed by the Chief from among the principal men of the chiefdom.
Bokapr and Bomporo	Offices held by women. They advise the Chief in matters relating to women. They are appointed.

APPENDIX D

STORIES

CUNNING RABBIT¹

Once upon a time there was famine in the land. The tortoise suggested that all the animals should feast on their mothers who had become very old and did not have many more years to live. All the other animals including the rabbit agreed to this suggestion. The rabbit then hid his mother up a tree. Soon the animals began to eat up their mothers. When the time came for the rabbit to produce his mother, he gave the excuse that his mother had died a few days earlier and that his mind was not at rest. All the other animals were enraged and chased him but could not catch him before he ran into his hole. From that time the rabbit is always looking out with his eyes bulging out and his ears standing on end. As soon as he hears any noise, he quickly returns into his hole.

SPIDER AND HIS COUSIN²

One day the spider, who regards himself as the wisest of all animals, said to his cousin: "Let us go to the forest to find food." His cousin agreed. When they went to the forest they saw a cave in which were cubs of a leopard. The spider told his cousin that they should make the leopard sorrowful by killing her cubs. By this time the mother leopard was away in search of food. His cousin did not harm the cubs but kept on breaking dry twigs pretending that he was breaking the necks of the cubs. The spider did not realize this trick, and so he broke the necks of the cubs. Then they started to return home but they heard a noise and the leopard was upon them. The leopard took them back to the cave and started to judge the two robbers. The spider was first called and asked to put back the cubs in their place but they were dead. The leopard then said that death was his fate. The spider's cousin brought out all his victims alive and so he was freed. When the leopard was ready to kill the spider, his cousin called out: "The roof of the

¹The rabbit and the spider are favourite topics for children's stories. These two animals represent cleverness.

In this story, the spider is out-witted by his cousin. He is not the only wise animal. The leopard is a contrast to either the rabbit or to the spider. She relies on strength rather than on wisdom. The moral is: "Strength is not wisdom."

cave is falling"! Then the leopard, to save her cubs, fixed her feet firmly on the ground and hunched her back to prop up the roof of the cave. Spider's cousin told the leopard to remain in this position until they had gone out to bring posts to take her place. Mother leopard replied that it was a good suggestion. So the spider and his cousin went out and never returned. Mother leopard kept on waiting while holding up the roof of the cave, but in vain. She grew very thin and died.

SPIDER IMITATES THUNDER¹

The spider once lived in a certain town. During planting time he refused to plant crops saying he would manage to find food during the rainy season. When the rainy season came he found a bag and hung it across his shoulders and went into people's gardens to steal crops. While he was in the garden he imitated thunder to frighten the people who ran into their houses thinking that it was a real thunder. The spider then filled his bag with crops and went away. He did this several times without being caught. One night, however, it did not rain; the moon was shining. He went out to steal the crops. He imitated thunder and when the people went into their houses he filled his bag with foodstuffs. But this time some people said that the noise came from the garden. So they went there, surrounded the spider and beat him until they stretched his round body into legs. That is why the spider has many legs.

MOTHER HAND AND HER SONS²

A certain woman, called Hand, had five sons. One day, when their mother went out, Thumb who was the oldest, told them that they should steal some of the food in the house. All agreed except Second Finger. When their mother returned home she asked who had stolen the food. No one admitted it; so she finally decided to conduct a test. Each child was to jump into a flaming fire and, in proportion to the amount of food each had eaten, they would lose their strength and body. They were determined not to confess their guilt and, therefore, they all jumped into the fire. They all lost in height with the exception of Second Finger who remained standing above them all. In this way their mother was able to find out that, all except Second Finger, had stolen the food. For his honesty they surrounded him and whenever they went out or were in difficulty they would see to it that he was always in the centre.

¹This story teaches children the need for honest labour, and the consequence of stealing.

²This story is also against stealing but it also teaches that it pays to be honest.

THE STUBBORN BOY¹

A certain poor woman had an only son who was very stubborn. His mother told him not to go outdoors but he disobeyed and went out. He had not gone far when he met a river-devil who was said to be stealing all the little children of that area whenever they went out. The devil, in a rage, spoke to him and asked: "Who are you and what do you want in my country"? The boy replied, trembling: "I am my mother's only son and as I am stubborn I have found myself in trouble." "Well," said the devil, "I am going to give you trouble, for you are going to be my slave." When the boy reached the devil's house, the devil told him to obey all orders if he wanted to be freed. The devil then gave him three grains of rice and a dry bone to be prepared for both of them for supper. The boy obeyed and did the cooking but in the end he was surprised to find that instead of three grains of rice and a bone, he had a whole pot of meat and rice. Both the boy and his master lived happily together for the first three days but as the Loko proverb says "a baboon never leaves his black hand behind." After the third day the boy became so stubborn that when his master told him to cook, he replied that it was his master's turn to cook.. In a rage the devil, who was very hungry, sprang on him and swallowed him. If the boy had not been disobedient and stubborn he would not have lost his life.

GBANA THE TRAPPER

There was once a man whose name was Gbana. He was a poor man living only by trapping. One day when he visited his traps he found nothing except a small bird. When he saw the bird he was angry and wanted to kill it but the bird said: "Please, do not kill me. I shall do something for you." "You little bird," replied Gbana, "What can you do for me"? "What I can do for you," replied the bird, "is to sing." Then Gbana asked the bird to sing and the bird sang a sweet song. Gbana then took the bird to show the Chief. He told it to sing for the Chief. The bird sang so melodiously that even if you were in a stone you would come out to listen. The Chief and other people gave plenty of money to Gbana who then took the bird to his mother. She was very poor. He told his mother that he was going to a certain town called Gbenka and that he was leaving the bird under her care. He put the bird into a box before he left. The bird said to him: "As you are going away, wherever you are, if you hear me sing then know that I have escaped from the box." Gbana told his mother what the bird said and asked her not to open the box. His mother promised not to do so. Three days after Gbana's departure, his mother

These two stories are meant to teach children to be obedient.

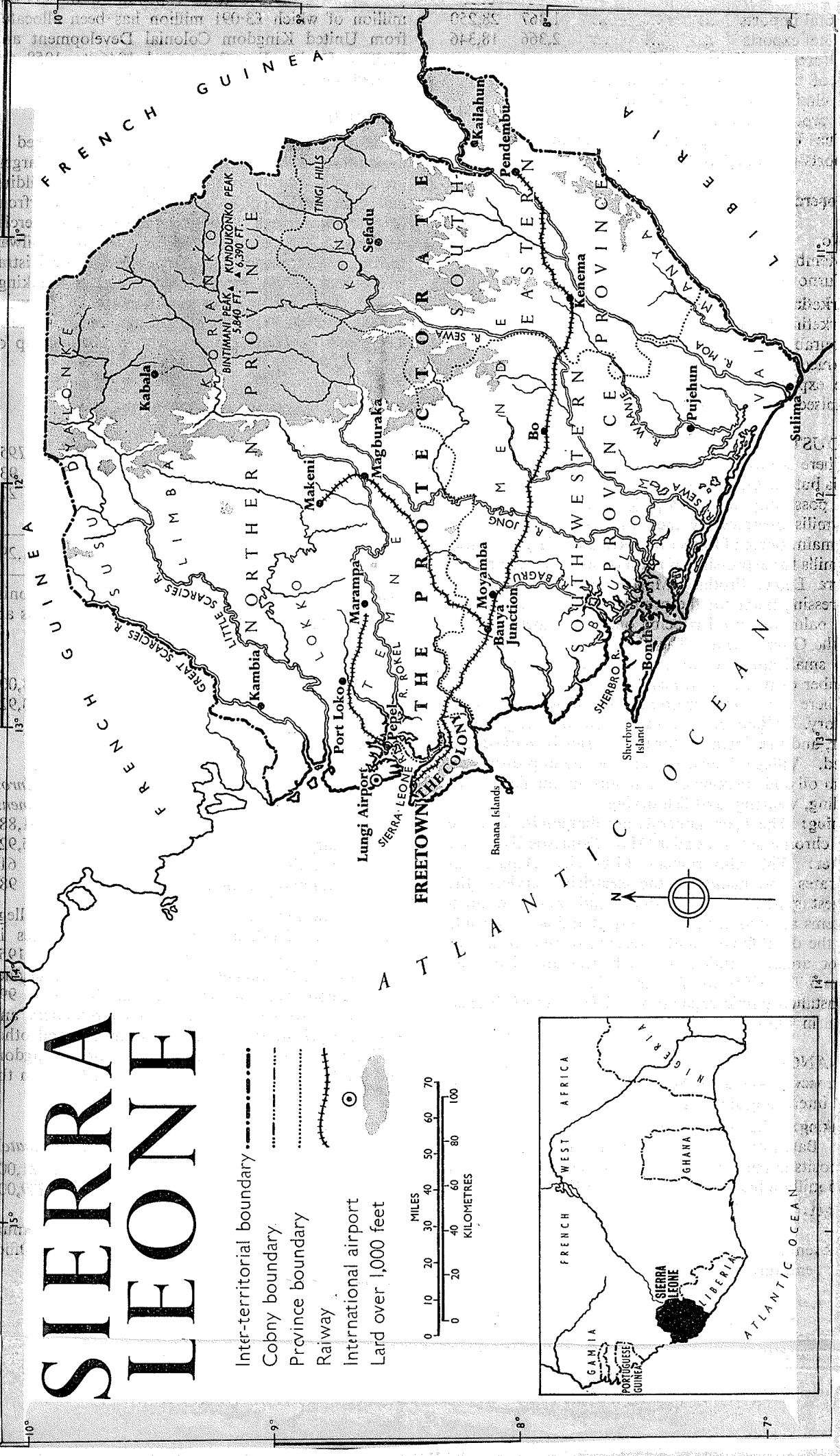
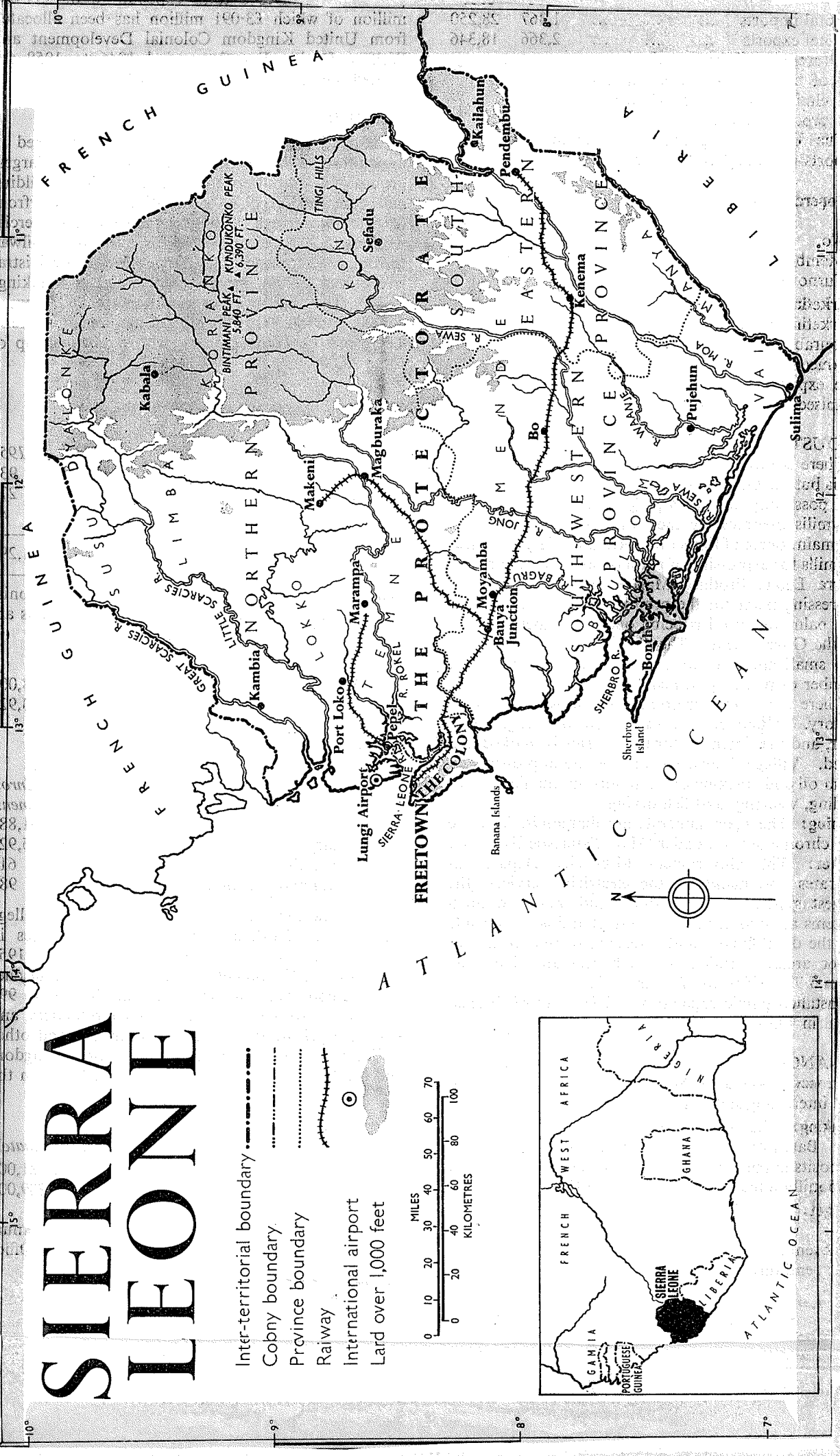
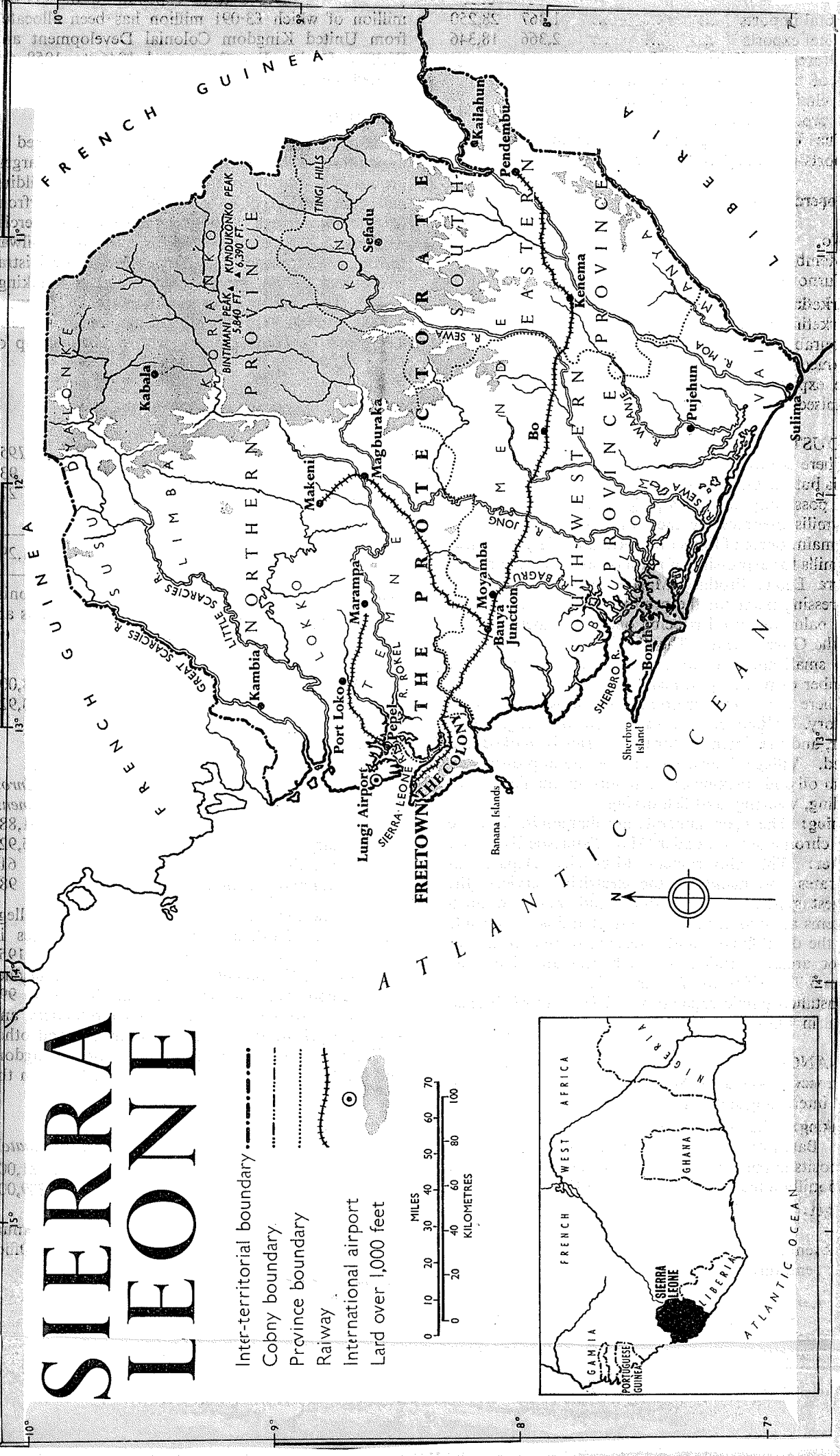
opened the box and the bird flew away singing. So his mother took an owl and put it into the box. When Gbana heard the singing of the bird, he rushed home in anger and went near the box and said: "Sing a song for me, my bird." The owl then sang: "Toohoo, Toohuit." Gbana said to his mother: "This is not my bird." He hit his mother on the head so hard that she fell down on the ground and died immediately.

APPENDIX E

TABLE SHOWING SOME LOKO PROVERBS AND THEIR MEANINGS¹

Mi hai gorna ke mai lia gor:	We know today but not tomorrow.
Ba lana gbolu bor gor jia horlor:	If you keep your mouth shut you will not find yourself in trouble. Be judicious in your conversations.
Duwu nyande nyandei le:	Skin beauty is no beauty. Appearances are deceptive.
Nu lilor nu le:	The mind is the person. All our thoughts, good or bad, come from the mind, the seat of the intellect.
Tombara genda gbaiyor ke ai nu baa:	Telling the truth is hard but it does not kill a person. Tell the truth regardless of the consequence.
Dulii ai lorwu:	Smoke never hides. A bad character always shows itself.
Kowonda hanle ngolo a lembi:	The baboon does not grow old because it wants to fight. Huge stature does not imply wisdom.
Giana a lete njau e le a kaiwa lor:	The dog that wanders about in the rain is the one that finds a big bone. Perseverance overcomes all difficulties.

It is difficult to read some of the characters of the vernacular. Besides, there are some sounds which are not in English. The writer has, therefore, used the nearest English spellings.

[illegible]

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